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KING PRESS NO. 303
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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Dear Cousigne,

I wrote to you at length before I came from London; I have had a long and tedious, but, thanks to God, prosperous journey. I am now here well. I have made my report in the Commision of the Church to all their contentment; our errand in England being brought near a happy period, so far as concerned us the Commisioners of the Church; for, by God's blessing, the four points of Uniformity, which was all our Church gave us in commision to agent in the Assembly at Westminster, were also good as obtained. The Directorie I brought down before. The model of Government we have gotten it through the Assembly according to our mind: it yet sticks in the hands of the Houses. They have past four ordinances at least about it, all pretty right, so far as concerns the constitution and erection of General Assemblies, Provincial Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, and the power of ordination. In the province of London and Lancashire the bodies are set up. That the like diligence is not used long agoe in all other places, it's the sottish negligence of the ministers and gentrie in the shires more than the Parliament. That the power of jurisdiction in all things we require, excepting appeals from the General Assembly to the Parliament, is not put in ordinances long agoe, it's by the [cunning] of the Independents and Eartians in the House of Commons; which obstacle we trust will now be removed by
the zeal 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 jealoufie
of our joyning with the King, the greatest prop of the Seétaries power in
the Houfe. However, in the Jus Divinum of Prefbytery,1 printed by the
minifterie of London, you may fee that burthen taken off our shoulders; the
body of the minifterie of England, not the Asfemblie and Londoners only,
being fully leavened with our fense in all the point of government, and be-
come willing, and able abundantly, to manage that caufe, without us, againft
all opposites.

The third point [of Uniformity], the Confefion of Faith, I brought it with
me, now in print, as it was offered to the Houses by the Asfemblie, without
conferable diffent of any. It’s much cryed up by all, even many of our
greateft opposites, as the beft Confefion yet extant; it’s expected the Houfes
shall pass it, as they did the Direftorie, without much debate. Howbeit
the retarding partie hes put the Asfemblie 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
welle cost the Asfemblie fome time, who cannot doe the moft eafie 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 As-
semblie ere I came away had voted more than the halfe; a short time
will end the ref; for they ftudie brevitie, and have voted to have no
other head of divinitie into it than is fett doune in the Confefion. This
ended, we have no more adoe in the Asfemblie, neither know we any more
work the Asfemblie hes in hand, but ane anfwet to the nine Queries of the
House of Commons about the Jus divinum of diverfe parts of the government.
The Minifters of London’s late Jus Divinum of Prefbytery does this abundant-
ly; also a committee of the Asfemblie hes a full anfwet to all these Queries
ready. The authors repents much of that motion: their aime wes, to
have confounded! and divided the Asfemblie by their inftaring queftions;

1 "Jus Divinum Regimini Ecclesiastici: or, The Divine Right of Church-Government,
asserted and evidenced by the Holy Scriptures, &c.: By sundry Ministers within the City of
London." Lond. 1646, 4to.
but finding the Assembly's unanimity in them, the Independents principles forceing them to joyn with the rest, in asserting the divine right of these points of government whereupon the Parliament does most sticke, the movers of these questions wishes they had been silent. There is no more work before the Assembly. The translation of the Psalms is past long agoe in the Assembly; yet it stickes in the Houles. The Commons past their order long agoe; but the Lords joyned not, being solicited by divers of the Assembly, and of the ministers of London, who loves better the more poetical paraphrase of their colleague Mr. Barton. The too great accuracie of some in the Assembly, sticking too hard to the original text, made the last edition more concise and obscure than the former. With this the Commination of our Church was not so weell pleased; but we have gotten all these obseruations helped; so I think it shall pass. Our good friend Mr. Zacharie Boyd hes putt himself to a great deale of paines and charges to make a Pflalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it receaved in our Churches; yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless designe.

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

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

3 Probably the Silver Cup presented to Baillie about this time, which remained in his family till a recent period, if it be not still preserved by one of his descendents, who resides abroad.
part of the last two years. My wryttes 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 Newcastell. The King took very well with me. I might have had occasion to have faid 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 getts 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 Ambassador, for all his fair protestations, hes been no good instrument. But that which hes undone him, hes been his hopes for Scotland, to gett them, by one means or other, to 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 an Act of Parliament in both Kingdomes, and given so satissfactorie answr to the rest of the Propositions, as easily 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, were upon a disposition to have so cordiallie embraced him, that no man, for his life, durft have muttered against his present restitution. But remaining what he was 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 go to Scotland. Some great men there presffed the equitie of Scotland's protecting of him on any tearmes. This untymous excess of friendship hes ruined that unhappr Prince; for the better partie, finding the conclusion of the King's coming to Scotland, and thereby their own present ruin, and ruin of the whole cause, the makeing the Malignants masters of Church and State, the drawing the whole force of England upon Scotland for their perjurie violation of their Covenant, they resolved by all means to croffe that designe. So when others proposed to the Parliament the assistence of the King to recover his government in England, notwithstanding of any answr he might give to the Propositions, the better fort, before they should give answr to fo
high a question, desired a publick faft in the Parliament, and the advyce also of the Commiffion of the Church. Both with some difficultie were obtained. But after that faft, and the distinct anfwer of the Church, that it was unlawfull for Scotland to affift the King for his recoverie of the Government in England if he approved not the Covenant, the Parliament was peremptor to refufe the King free access to Scotland, unlefs he fatisfed the propofitions. This much they signified to him by their commiffioners, which we mett at Newcastle. It was easy to be grieved, and to find what to reprehend in this resolution; for indeed it was cloathed with many dangers and grievances; but to fall at that nicke of time, on any conclusion, free of more dangers and grievances, feemed imposfible. Notwithstanding of the great foumes of money, yet the disbanding of our armie in peace will be a great tafke: to fett on foot fix thoufand foot and twelve hundred horfe, 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 peft increafes in Glasgowl: my heart pities that much misguided place; all that may, are fled out of it. The Lord be with yow. Forraigne intelligence to me muft now be the larger; for all here lives in great ignorance, and neglect of things abroad. So I reft,

Your Coufigne,

Edinburgh, January 26th 1647. R. Baylie.

A Postscript to Mr. Spang. June 2d 1647.

What Dr. Strang writes to yow in the inclofed, I pray yow fatisfie him therein with all diligence. I do not like his withdrawing from the Divine Decree the act and entitie of any finne, 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 fhall be found in alfe dangerous errors. He indeed handles these Questions in fuch a way that I doe prye the man’s ingyne and learn-

4 A paper by Dr. John Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgowl, 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 Assembly meddle not with such subtile questions, but leave them to the schools. Always how some men may labour to carie it I cannot say.

After this letter lay a while besid me, I adde now, bleffed be God, good newes. David Lefley and Argyle raise from Dumblaine, the 17th of May, with a very small and ill-provided army. He made very long marches over the mountains, in stormy weather, without houses or tents. Against the 23d he come to Kintyre upon the enemie, fought and dissipate them, took in all Kintyre; hes sent a partie after Allafter, who, with a few, is fled to the Isles. This quick and happy expedition, by God's mercy, may be to us of great advantage. If the Prince and Montrofe should come over to raise new broiles amongst us, as some furmifes they intend, or if the King should put himself 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 has on foot. The pest he dissipate the Colledges of St. Andrews, and kills many in the north. We had not so stormie a May these many years. Let me hear of your receipt of this letter. My service to your wife. I remaine

Your Cousine,

R. Baylie.

For [Sir Archibald Johnstone of] Wariston.

My Lord,

These are to congratulate your health, which I hope is now firm and good. I hear Dr. Bruce, Principall of Leonard's Colledge of St. Andrews, is dead of the pest; if it be so, I wish you to consider if it were not good to endeavour a call for Mr. Morus of Geneva to that place. I know it was expected he would have been well content to have accepted a call to the French Church at London: the man would be an ornament and good instrument in our land. If you approve the motion, you would see who presents, whether the Colledge itself, or the University, or the King, or Southesk, or the Generall Assembly. It were good ye spoke with Mr. Robert Dowglafs about this purpose: no others comes in my mind meet for that place ex-
CEPT DR. STEWART OF LEYDEN. BE DOING GOOD WHILE YOW HAVE TIME: WHEN YOW ARE MORE STATES-MAN THAN BEFORE, BE NO LEFS THAN YOW WONT GOD’S-MAN. NO MAN I KNOW HES ALL THEY HAVE SO EVIDENTLY FROM GOD AS YOW: LEARN WITT FROM YOUR PREDECESSOR.⁵ I HEAR HE PRETENDED TO CONSCIENCE AND WALKING WITH GOD, WHEN THE MOST JUDICIOUS DID BEHOLD HIM IN A CORRUPT WAY; THAT SUCH A DELUSION SHOULD BESALL YOW, WHAT WOULD BE MY FROWN! 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 COMMISSION FOR THE CHURCH: DIVISION OF GREAT PAROCHES, AND SETLING OF STIPENDS WES A GOOD WORKE, WHICH WILL FALL IF YOW MIND IT NOT IN EARNEST. AS YOW LOVE THE CHANCELOUR’S CREDITE AND RESPECT IN THE COUNTRIE, KEEP HIM FROM MEDLING MORE WITH THE ANNUITIE; AND MAKE HIM SHORT IN HIS DISCOURSE AT MEETINGS; BUT I ALMOST FORGOTT MYSELF. FAREWELL.

YOUR MR. AND SERVANT,

R. BAYLIE.

KILWINNING, JUNE 2D 1647.

MY SERVICE TO YOUR LADIE.

MR. HAAK’S LETTER TO ME: [IN 1647 ?]

THE BUSINESS OF THE DUTCH BIBLE NOTES STANDS THUS. T. H.⁶ HAVING RECEIVED IN MAY LAST THE TWO HUNDRED POUNDS (WHICH INDEED CAME VERY SEASONABLELY TO SATISFY HIS CREDITORS,) BEING IT WES THE FIRST AND ALL THE REAL ENCOURAGEMENT HE HAD SINCE THE WORK WES FIRST RECOMMENDED UNTO HIM (IN AUGUST 1644); TO IMPROVE THE SAME TO THE REAL PROSECUTION AND PERFECTING OF THAT WORK, HE ADDRESSED HIMSELF 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 HOUSE THAT SOMETHING MIGHT BE DONE FOR HIS FURTHER ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT; WHICH IT SEEMS WES VERY WELL RELISHED, AND

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

⁶ "Theodore Haak, Esq." a native of the Palatinate, and one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, London, was the Translator of "The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible." This work, owing to want of encouragement, was not completed till the year 1657, in 2 vols. folio, when it was dedicated to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.
something ordered likewise; but through the multiplicitie of affaires, and the
said gentleman's frequent absence for his health's sake, there is nothing yet
effectted, though I am still put in hopes I shall not be neglectted. In the mean
tyme, I find myselfe inthralled in very great straites. I [lost] 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
couragement 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 ministers seem not to care to have the work advanced, and from
the booksellers I can promifie myselfe nothing at all. Moreover, some defire-
ing 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 shou'd most
labour to fatififie, the former being loath there should be a new Englifh text
published:—And Mr. Blair indeed advyfed me to publish the Pfalms 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 Pfalms relate to other parts and notes,
without which the reader must needs remaine unfatified:—And the misery 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 more, remove it furtheft
from them: that, indeed, what to doe or resolve I know not, haveing adven-
tured further in readiness to serve the publick in this kind than I am able
to bear. Nevertheles, 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 still the fame, and not to give it over, if, and alfo long as I can
maintain it, without apparent hazard of my undoing. I have enough to
shew that I meant sincereelie, and endeavoured real performance. Had I
mett more readie help the businesfs had 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 frustrated, or at leaft so long
delayed. Alfo soon as any better hopes appears I shall 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 paines in. That businels which you so earnestlie recommended to Mr. David Dickfone and me, was not feaible, had we ufed all possible diligence; but the truth is, although I believe ye know my willingnes to doe to my power in things that concerns you, 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 fufpition 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 settled on Mr. Arnott, who had diverse of the chiefe Lords of the Seffion to solift for him. For the great sicknes 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 twyfe 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, horfe 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

*Commentarius de Statu Ecclesiae Britannicae hodierno,* a tract published at Dantzick, 1647, under the name of ‘Honorius Reggius,’ the anagram of ‘Georgius Hornius,’ a learned writer who was a Professor successively at Harderwyk and Leyden.
weel enough, at what distance forever their affections and principles stand. Allwayes if the finger of God in their spirits should so farre dement them as to difagree, 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 rising of the best armie ever we had, for the crushing of these serpents, enemies to God and man. David Lesley has gotten all Isla, and old Collkitto, without quarters: He is now over to Mull, and purpofes within a fortnight to returne, having no more to doe in these bounds. That things goe weell abroad, it is comfort to us. That Leopold layes a little the French pride; that all the Dutch Princes, even Bavier, and the Ecclesiaftick Elefhow, have left the Emperor, I am glad; but counts it a strange prank of ingratitude in Bavier, and of unkyndnefs in the Swedes toward the poor Palatine, at whose charge moft that neutralite, I fear, be concluded. I think your States wife in taking peace with Spaine.

My Speech in the Generall Assembly [at Edinburgh,
Giving Account of our Labours at London. August 6th 1647.

It is one of the Lord’s promifes to us, that they who sow in teares 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 Assemblie’s pleafure some four yeares agoe, to send some of us, their weak brethren and fervants, to that very venerable and worthie Synod at Westminfter, to sow in that famous place some of the precious seed, not of our Churches, as enemies do slander, but of God, the Father of all Light and Truth. Our poor labours in that service were so bleffed by the good hand of our God, that although the sowing of the seed was often accompanied with much folici-
tude and perplexity of mind, yea sometimes with great griefe of heart, and
tears in a good measure, yet the visible appearance of a fair harvest, did bring
a sensible joy not only to our selves, but to many thousands more on both fide
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
again to the fame place, loadened with more of these precious fruities, which
we trust shall help to refreh the all honest spirits, though otherwise exceedinglie
faddled with the late unhappie and much unexpected occurrences.

Right Honourable and Reverend, yow remember, that all your ecclefaftick
defyres from your brethren of England, that all the commiffions and instructions
laid upon us your fervants, were only for the obtaining of Uniformity in
four particulars,—in the Worship of God, in the Government of the Church,
in a Confession of Faith, and Catechifme. For the firft, 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 pressinge your three remanent defyres. As for the Go-
vernment of the Church, the goodness of our God gave us to obtaine, not
only these initial Propofitions, whereof at our laft appearance we gave ane ac-
count to the good likeing of all then present, but also a full and perfect modell
of Discipline, which, by the blessing of God, may make in a short time the
Churches in the three Kingdomes, in all considerable parts of government,
not only urmiffone, but weell near one; as yow may fee, when you shall think
it convenient to take that modell of Discipline into consideration.

In your third defyre, the Lord made our fucceffe no lefs prosperous; a large
Confession of Faith is.perfyted with farr greater unanimity than any living
could have hoped for, among fo many learned divines, in fo distempered a
place and diſtraeted a feafon. I am confident, if the judgment of many
my wifer do not deceave, this piece of work is fo fine and excellent, that when-
ever yow shall be pleased to look upon it, the sight of it shall draw from the
moft cenforious eye, a good acceptation.

For your fourth and laft defyre, the Catechifme, my Reverend Colleague,
I know, is inftucted to give satisfaction therein. I stayed till fome good
progreffe was made into it; but long three years and sundry odd moneths
peregrination from my countrie, and afence from my particular charge,
wakened, I confefs, in me, a great langour to retourne; yea, all of us fell very desirous to be at home, and joyntly did preffe the Commiffion of the Kirk for a libertie. At laft, it was their favour to permitt to ourſelves the permiffion 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 Confeffion of Faith; also of a Pfalter, which to my knowledge had coft the Amyſembly some confiderable paines, and is like to be one necéſſar part of the three Kingdoms uniformitie. I brought likeſwife a good affurance of a perfect Catechifme to follow with all convenient diligence. This meſſage made me, in January laſt, to obtain from the Commiffion of the Kirk that welcome which is my earnest defire may in due time be ratified and approven by this Venerable Amyſembly; for after the approbation of God and testimony of confience, their allowance of my meane endeavours is that which I wifh; not as a reward for some labours and dangers I know I have undergone in your service, but as ane encouragement to retourne with chearfullneſs to my private charge, after fo 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 permifſion, 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 wifh his remembrance may be fragrant among us, fo long as free and pure Amyſembles remaine 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 pofteritie, the faireſt ornament, after John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy.

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

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

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8 Mr. Alexander Henderson.
9 Mr. Samuel Rutherford.
1 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 yow so clear an account of the true estate of affairs, whereof, since my departure, he hath been an eye and ear witnefs, 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 doe intend there is so well grounded, and so farr advanced among them, that the ports of hell, and the greatest power of man, shall never be able to overturne it; yea, that the present storme, how terrible foruer, which the prime instruments of Satan, this day on earth, and our greatest adversaries, the Sectaries, have raised, shall, by the goodnefs, 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 happines which some cannot believe till they see and feell it.

It is my heart’s wish, with which now I clofe, 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 caufeles, are very pardonable. It has often been my great comfort since my returne, that, when I have searched so farr as my mean knowledge can reach, I could find no real 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 firft prevail to make himself a ringleader, upon whatsoever cause, to divide and trouble the Kirk of Scotland, let me speake prophecie unto him: Were he this day of never so high a price, and great fragrancie among us, yet he shall become a curled foule, and his memory shall flinck 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 leasure if any thing I said was juftly offensive. For the two paffages I heard was excepted against, I make this Apologie:

For the first, I conceive it is the priviledge of every member of the Assembly to speak out, upon a fair occasion, that which he is perfuaded to be a feasonable and uëeful truth: this truely wes my cafe in that particular: If I be deceaved, ignorance and charitie, not preumption, are ingredients in my fault. For the second paffage, I intended, in truth, to give a caveat, not to our Father, but to these only with whom he ues to be offended: however, the thing is a truth undenyable, which Scripture, and all reason, will make good, and which, I am perfuaded, no member of the Assembly will deny.

If any other paffage of my Speech wes excepted against, I doe not know.

TO A FRIEND IN KILWINNING.

London and the affaires of England lye fore on the breaft of many honest men; yet the prosperitie of our own affaires here, both of Church and State, gives us some relief. Mr. Cheiflie fent us word that he wes detained at Newcastle; which did much perplex us; for our State meeting did depend upon his meffage. It pleased God to make his detainers let him goe before the meffenger 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 wes in: the other papers shew how soon all wes 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 stayed not in it, did no violence to any; only three or four regiments keeps the forts about Westminster, and guards the Parliament still. For all that, the 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 purpos'd to fend, but now it's fallen by: By it they are cleare enough for a full libertie of conscience, a destroying of our Covenant, a setting up of Bifhops, of inthralling the King so far, as in my judgement, he and they will not agree, albeit many thinks they are agreed allready. If this were, our cafe were very hard. Never more appearance of a great discord, both in our Church and State, some few dayes agoe; but, blest be God, the appearances are now much changed. Never Assemblie more harmonious than this yet hes been. Our declaration to England, a very good piece, is past without a contrare voice. An act against vagers from their own 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 past the Committee without a contrare voice; and, I think, shall passe the Assemblie alfo, no les unanimously; which demonstrates the trueth of what I faid in my Assemblie-speech, That for all the noife some made, yet truly there was no divifion as yet in our Church. Yesterday, and this night, our State, after much irreconcileable difference, as appeared, are at laft unanimously 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 flurreing in hafte in this Kingdome. 

I think our Assemblie may fitt all the next week. Mr. James Fergufhill may thank God, and his friends here, that he was 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 Assemblie, are anfuered; which should encourage them to continue to pour out their hearts unto God, in fo fad a time, for the Church and State, and men employed therein. The Lord, we hope, will arife and blow away the present mift.

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

Your sad letters of your dear Wyfe's death, I receaved. I pray God comfort you. Publick sorrow does not permitt us to be so affected with any private grief, either of our owne or friends, as otherwife we would. London hes lyen like a mylnestone on my breast now of a long time. The first week we came to this towne, my heart wes a little relieved. I thought the Lord had anwered our prayers much sooner than I expected, and had put London in so good a posture for averted 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 perfuaders of us to remove out of England, and leave the King to them, upon assurance, which wes most lykeli, that this wes the only means to gett that evill army disbanded, the King and peace settled according to our minds; but their bent execution of this reall intention hes undone them, and all, till God provyde a remeedy. We were glad when Lisle wes recalled from his Lieutenantrie of Ireland, a creature of Cromwell's, who gott that great trust for no vertue at all but his serviceablenes to that faction. This wes the first fensible grievance to that army. The second was the employing of Skippon and Maffie, in the Irifh command, and giving to Fairfaxe such a command in England as made him not very formeable. But when the third stroke came, of disbanding the most of the sectaries, and cafhiering 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 good heads; Say and his son, not [James?], albeit wiser, yet of so dull, and soure, and fearfull a temperament, that no great achievement, in reafon, could be expected from them. The rest, either in the armie or Parliament, of their parte, are not on their mysteries, and of no great parts either for counsell or action, fo farr as I could ever observer. The follie of our friends wes apparent, when at the armie's firft back-march, and
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refusfall to disband, they recalled their declaration against their mutinous petitions. Easly might all their designes have been crushed at that nick of tyme, with one stout look more; but it was a dementation to fit 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 counsell might even then have been easly overturned; for all this while, the armie was not much above ten thousand ill-armed sojors. But the irrecoverable loss of all, was the ill manageing of the City's brave engagement. Had they then made fast the chief of the Sectarian partie in both Houfes, 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 fubornation, should never have been bold to offer that destructive petition to the Houfes and Common Counfell, 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 childish improvidence and base cowardice. Since that time they have been absolute masters of all. Which way they will use this unexpected soveraignitie, it will quickly appear. As yet they are feting themfelves in their new fadle. Before they got up, they gave the King and his partie fair words; but now, when all is their owne, they may put him in a harder condition than yet he has tasted of. Their propofalls, a part of their mind, gives to the King much of his defyre in bringing back Bifhops and Books, in putting down our Covenant and Prefbytery, in giving eafe to Malignants and Papifts; but spoils him of his temporall power fo much, as many thinks, he will never acquiefce to; albeit it's spoken loud, that he and they alreadie are fully agreed.

Our State here, after long expectation to have heard someting of the King's own mind and defyres, as yet have heard nothing from him to count of. Although he should employ their help againft his oppreffors, yet he being stil altogether unwilling to give us any satisfaction in the matter of our Covenant, we are uncertain what course to take; only we doe refent to our Commissi- fioners to oppofe the propofalls, and to require a fafe-conduct to the Chan-cellour and Lanerick to come up to the King and Parliament. It cotf many debates before it came to this conclufion. Our great men are not like to
pack up their differences. The Duke and his friends would have been thought men composed of peace in any tearmes, and to have cast on others designes of imbroiling Scotland in a new warre. But when all were weary of jangling debates, the conclusion wherein the Committee was brought, was so farr to efpoufe the King's quarrell in anie tearmes, that Argyle and Warrif-tone behooved to protest against our engagement in such tearmes. To avoid invidious protestations, both parties agreed to paffe ane act of not in-gagement. The proceedings of some are not only double and triple, but fo manifold, that as no other, fo, in my mind, themselves know not what they finally intend. They who made themselves gracious and strong, by making the world believe that it was their opposites who had brought the country in all the former trouble, and would yet againe bring it into a new dangerous warre, when it came to the poynit, were found to precipitate us into dangers, and that in such tearmes as few with comfort could have undertaken. We have it from divers good hands at London, that some here keep correspondence with Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, which to me is an intollerable abomination. The present sense of many is this: If the King and the armie agree, we must be quiet and look to God: if they agree not, and the King be willing to ratifie our Covenant, we are all as one man to restore him to all his rights, or die by the way: if he continue resolute to reject our Covenant, and only to give us some parts of the matter of it, many here will be for him, even in these tearmes, but divers of the beft and wisefte are irrefolute, and waits till God give more light.

However, David Lefley, with a great deale of fidelitie, activitie, and success, hes quieted all our Highlands and Isles, and brought back our little armie; which, we think, shall be quartered here and there, without disbanding, till we see more of the English affaires. The pest for the time, vexes us. In great mercie Edinburgh and Leith, and all about, which lately were afflicted with more of this evil than ever wes heard of in Scotland, are free: some few infections now and then, but they spread not. Aberdeen, Brechin, and other parts of the north, are miserablie wafted. St. Andrews and Glafgow, without great mortalitie, are fo threatened, that the schooles and collidges now in all Scotland, but Edinburgh, are scattered. By this means my studies and domestick affaires are clean disordered, 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 army daily goes higher and higher, which to me is a hopefull pre-fage of their quicker ruine. The chief fix of the eleven members, were coming to you: Stapleton, after Hollis the second gentleman for all gallantry in England, died at Calice. I think it will be hard to the Parliament and City to bear these men long; and I hope, if all men were dead, God will arise against them. Munster is not like to be a schoole to them long. Cromwell and Vaine are like to run on to the end of Becold and Knipperdolling's race. Northumberland hes feastled the King at Sion-houfe; hence he went to Hampton-court. They speak of his coming to Whitehall. If he agree no better with the Sectaries than yet he does, that journey may prove fatall. He is not likely to come out of London willingly; and if the army should draw him, that violence may waken sleeping hounds. If they let him come to London, without assurance of his accord with them, they are more bold and ventorious than wife; and if the King agree to their state-designes, I think he is not so consonant to all his former principles and practifes as I took him.

I know you expect some account of our Assemblie. Take it, if you have patience to read what I have scrib'd in haste, on a very ill sheet of paper. I have no leasure to double; for our Commissioners enters every day at seven, and we are about public business dayly till late at night. At our first meeting, there was clear appearance of formed parties for division; but God he resolved it so about, that never Assemblie was more harmonious and peaceable to the very end. The last year, a minister in the Merse, one Mr. James Simpstone, whose grandfire was, as I take it, ane uncle or brother to famous Mr. Patrick of Stirling, a forward, pious, young man, being in suite of a religious damself, sister to Mr. James Guthrie's wife, had keep't with Mr. James Guthrie, and others, some private meetings and exercises, which gave great offence to many. When they came before the last Generall Assemblie and Commission of the Kirk, Mr. David Calderwood and fundrie other very honest men, opposite to Malignants, were much grieved, and by that grief moved to joyne with Mr. William Colville, Mr. Andrew

Baillie's amanuensis had mistaken this word, and makes it "Stapleton, Ester, 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."
fairoule, 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 Statefmens did make use of them to bear down those who had fwayed our former Assemblies. The contest was at the choyfing 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 resolved to absence myselfe from the firft meeting, if by no other mean I could be shifted the lectt. At laft, 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 wisdome and moderate, he carried all our affaires right to the end; but Mr. David Calderwood having miffed his purpose, he pressured 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 firft downfittin: he and I made our report to the great satisfaction of all. You have here what I spoke. Mr. Calderwood was very offended with what I spoke in the end; but my apologie in private satisified him. He, and others of his acquaintance, came with resolution to make great dinne about privie meetings and novations, being persuaded, and willing to persuade others, that our Church was alreadie much pefted with schifme. My mind was cleane contrare; and now, when we have truely all to the bottome, they are found to be much more miffaken than I; for they have obtained, with the hearty consent of these men whom they counted greatest patrons of schifme, all the acts they pleased against that evil, wherein the wisdome and authoritie of Mr. Blair has been exceeding serviceable. This yielding on our side, to their defires, drew from them a quiet consent to these things we intended, from which at firft they seemed much averfe. We agreed, nemine contradicente, to that declaration, which was committed to Mr. Gillefpie and me, but was drawne by him alone; alfo, after much debate in the Committee, to the Confeffion of Faith; and to the printing of the Directorie for government, for the examination of the next Generall Assemble; of the Catechife alfo, when the little that remains shall come downe; likewife for printing, to that fame end, two or three

4 In the MS. the name "Coline," uniformly occurs for Colvin, or Colville.
5 Vide supra, page 10. 6 Vide supra, page 14.
Sheet of Theses against Erastianisme, committed to Mr. Gillespie and me, bot done by him at London, at Voetius's motion; which we mind, when approven here, to send to him; who is hopeful to get the consent of your Universities, and of the Generall Assemble of France to them, which may serve for good purpose. We have put the new Psalter also in a good way. In our University correspondence, we have made more progress in good designs than I expected. With much adoe, at last, I have gotten Doctor Strang's business to a good and a fair end, according to his mind. In all these things Mr. Blair was my great assistant. If the Lord would be pleased to give us peace, our Generall Assemblies would be channels of great blessings to this Isle.

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

An express from London this day tells us, that the army's parliament presses the concurrence of our Commissioners to send to Hampton-court the propositions to the King. This seems to import the King's refusal of the proposals, and disagreeing yet with the army. And what they will doe with the King, if he refuse the propositions also, we know not; only
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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 down 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,7 AT DULÓPOLIS IN SLAVELAND. OCTOBER 13TH 1647.

I hope some man, for all his transgressions against my squeamish stomack, is at last well paid, whom the old neat-driver hes laucht foe grievouslie in print, with your patience may weell be called a loger, a bull, or neat's-head: heirafter yow know who hes the gift of a fair neat's-tongue; but medle not with drivers so long as yow are near the Thames, leaft they make yow shewe, which my friend could never doe without bladders. Always forgot 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 promisid 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 trust neither God nor man will long permit evill men to triumpe: in this confidence I rest,

Yours, &c.

We have at this time a good and full Commision 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 wifest I speake with concurr,) Scotland shall be unable for any reall service, without curing 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 defire your one man to be able to doe any service at all at this time, either for God or the poore and ſtill (alas !) deluded King, or for our lamentable persecuted brethren and cause there, or for the defence of the religion, liberties, lives, of us here againſt a partie, who, I doubt not, at their first leaſure, will ſtrech out their foot on our necks. Yet once againe doe your uttermoſt endeavours to unite your three friends, who latelie have vifite yow from this. No means here are poſſible for that end: if God give not yow a mind and abilitie to doe it, that reconciliaſtion 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 fectaries and malignants farr and near. I obteſt yow in name of God and the poore King, and enslaved England, and Scotland readie to be wracked, fetting afide all fooliſh injuries yow have gotten, either from one or other, yow will ſtirre up yourſelfe to make two or three men one. If God help yow to doe this, when I come to paint yow the third time, I ſhall put a ray on your brow longer than any of Moryſes hornes.

For Mr. William Spang: From Edinſburgh, October 13th 1647.

We gave in this day to the States a remonſtrance of the hazard of Religion and Covenant, if our armie ſhould difband. We hope that plott, long hatch-ed, and with too great eagernesſ driven on, ſhall this day or to-morrow be broken. Our dangers of farder conſuſion are great, if God be not mercifull. The perſecution at London is untollerable. I am very confident that partie, fo much oppoſite 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 ftore 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 sells 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; also the Mafora, which Buckfthorps's Bible lies 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 yow know of good Chronologers old or late. I wisli that the Arabick Bible and other books, which are come out in the late Paris Bible, were printed severallie; 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. Cheeslie hes one of them. If L'Emperour will not move some there to print ane Arabick little handfome dictionary, (for who will be fascht with these four volumes of that Italian,) I wisli 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 Popifh preffes at Paris only.

MISTAKES Rectified, in a Letter to a Worshipfull Knight, S. D. C. 8
From a Minister in the West. Edinburgh, March 8th 1648.

Right Worshipfull,

Finding your ingenuous profeflion to be fully fatisfied with what I offered, the other night, for the clearing of the groffe miftakes which yow affirm'd me were fleeing abroad of many the beft men of my coate, that yow may be confirmed in that opinion of good men, which their prefent innocence and former great deferving doth in justice 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, other wise not of the worst affections, either towards us or the cause.

I gave yow assurance that my Brethren of the ministrfie were so far from that alleaged aversnes from all Warre against the Seiectaries in England in any tearms, that I knew thefè of them that were most aperfed with that flander, to be readie to goe alongft with ane army, and venture their perfons against that enemie, if fo be they might obtaine the queftion of the Warre to be flated, as, yourfelfe did acknowledge, everie pious, wife, and unbyaff-ed spirit would gladly admit of as moft reafonable and neceffarie.

We judge it indeed convenient, that minifters be verie warie of what they speake of any matter of flate, and moft of all, what encouragement they give to the raisine of a Warre; yet everie fubje& of a kingdome hæs fo much to doe and fuffer in his perfone, eftate, and friends, when a warre commes on, and warre is fo great and weightie a cafe of confeience, that minifters, both as men and according to their calling in the Church, may well be admitted to delyver their fenfe of that which fo much concerns the confeience, both of themselves and every foule of their flocke.

In the present cafe, three things are moft considerable. 1. A conclusion. 2. The grounds thereof. 3. The impediments that lye in the way of its practice. Upon the first two, which are the maine, I conceive no difference at all: the debates on the third may be fo caufily accomodat, that if there should remaine any fenfible discrepancy amongft us about them, that very unhappie and moft needless miffortoun must be imputed to many other things rather than to any designe of ours to imposibility of undertaking, which we profefs ours elves moft willing to further, with the hazard of all these things which on the earth are deareft unto us.

The conclusion, that Scotland at this time hæs a just caufe of Warre against the Seiectarian army in England, and their adherents, none of us doth queftion; nor do we controvert the common and obvious grounds of this conclusion, whether yow speake of them in the Thefe, or of their application in the Hypo-these. We grant the notorious violation of a National League in the moft subftantial parts, where there is no appearance of satisfaction for past breaches, or of securitie for keeping in the future, except only by deluforie words, gives a just right and call to the injured nation of vindicating their league by the fword.
We admit likewise the assumption, that while the Parliament and bodie of the Kingdome of England were upon very hopefull and promising endeavours to keep every part of their league with us, there is arisen a faction of sectaries and hereticks, now prevalent in the Army and Parliament, who openly and obstinately doe tread under foote the whole and every part of our Covenant, without any hope of redresse in any peaceable way; so farr are they from having it impos'd upon any by a law, that no entreatie could obtaine of them to let it stand in the propositions to the King, where the hand of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes had fixed it, as the maine and greatest demand: their carriage towards the Covenant in words and deeds, these years past, in the fence of all, makes them most manifest destroyers of it.

This we take to be true of every part, as 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 uniformity is to guard, both by law and force, every man who pleases, in his maintenance, and practifie for church discipline, of that which is most opposite to presbyteriall government.

For the third article, the defence of the priviledges of Parliament, and liberties of the Kingdomes, of the King's person and authoritie, they have turned their armes upon the Parliament, the City of London, and whole Kingdome of England, who oppossed their ways; 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 cloffe and perpetuall prifoner, for his denyal of such bills, which gave the armie a power to be masters for ever of all the force, treasure, and lawes of the kingdome of England; neither have we any securitie but that their way is pofting to the depriving of the King's pofteritie, of their birthright, and changing the government of the State in the whole Isle.

For the fourth article, their punishing of evill instruments, for hindering the Reformation, for dividing one Kingdome from another, for making factions among the people contrare to the League and Covenant, is no other but the setting of the most eminent of this kind in the highest places of honor, profite, and power in the Parliament, in the armie, in the navie, in the city, in all
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the fhyres, for that very end, that thefe their instruments may be encouraged to goe on in fuch evill services to both Kingdomes, againft their sworn league.

For the fifth, all their keeping the two Kingdomes in union is manifeftlie to breake and fiorne the greateft bonds of conjunction and common interest of thefe two realmes.

For the laft article, their protection of all who enters in the League, is openly to banishe, imprifon, affright, keep under, and perfcute the moft eminen both of the parliament, city, and fhyres, for nothing elle but their fincere and cordiall endeavours to adhere to, and perfcute the exprefse ends of the Covenant.

That the Sectarian faction is notoriously guilty of fuch atrocious breaches of every article of the League, we doe not doubt; nor doe we pretend to the smalleft hope of recovering them by words, meffages, or any peaceable means from their paths of destrucion; neither doe we contradicet what is spoken of the evident and imminent hazard of Scotland to have their church and kingdome embroyled in all the miferies of England, the religion and liberties of both kingdomes being laid up together in the fame vefell; and the spirit, the way, the intereft, 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 interprifes; for who can forget Cromwell's threatening with his army, in the face of Parliament, the very walls of Conftantinople.

If thus farr we be agreed, what hinders us from getting presently up, hand in hand, to the way? Certainly the retardments come from one other fide 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 fatisfaccion in three things which we esteeme moft neceffare for us to have, and easie for others to grant, without all prejudice to any of their avowed ends.

We defire that our Covenant, Religion, and Liberties, purchafed of old and maintained of late at very high rates, may not by this new Warre be put 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, lofes, hazards, labours of the nixt warre, even when we have obtained our end, the totall overthrow of the Sectarian faction; for then the King, though nothing
changed in his mind, must be set up, and enabled with his former partie of malignants to act more vigorously than ever in all the three Kingdomes. The yoke of tyrannie in the state, of poperie and prelacie in the Church, is lykli 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. First, That the King be not entrufted with the full exercife of his Royall power, till he have given all assayrance, that is poiffible for him in his present condition, of his own confent and concurrence to settle the folemne 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 feafted on his perfon. We are not againft any honor, freedome, or safetie which the Parlaments of both Kingdomes fhall think meet to grant him for a tratie, before a full settlement; nor doe we speake of capitulations for keeping of Monarchick government in the King’s potteritie; only we require the forefaid condition to be previous to his Majeftie’s exercife of Royaltie, who hes declared his willingnes 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 diverfe other things of great importance dureing his whole life.

This our firft Demand is no other than that which both our Kirk and State hes ofte craved before in exprefle tears; and, that which fome men compted the great rock of this demand, we are content to remove for a demonstration of our earneftnes to comply: we are willing to change the negative expreffions 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 fo much stuck at by the King himfelfe, for readilie his Majeftie is not fo much here pinched with confcience as fome talks of: We know what laws he hes been content to pafs in Scotland for the Covenant and Prefbytery, alfo what was promifed to Ireland for Popery, and what in England for libertie to Seets and Errours. We are very hopefull that all we paffe for the Covenant and Prefbytery fhall be obtained, if our State can be but conftant to crave what all reafon urges to be granted.

Our fecond Demand is, that the Malignant partie of papits, prelates, and others oppofite to our Covenant, may not be permitted to rife to fuch 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 perfuaded 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 quietnes we are not to trouble them.

We trust the unanimity of Scotland, and the concurrence of the Presbyterian partie in England, by God's bleffing, 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 aryfe to pursue ends contrary to our Covenant, and destructive to our maine designe, though in some things they goe along with us, how can we take them for friends, and not be justly affrayed that fo soon as they find it time, they will turne as bitter enemies to us as sometime we have felt them, since their principles remaine unchanged.

In the matter of these two Demands, all I meet with profesfe a great deale of reason; 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 deceived by many men who of late did make us very solemne promises of constante friendship, that our scrupulosity in any new undertaking might justly be excused, yet all the security here we crave, is but a verie simple one as the affaires of the world now goe. What 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 stumbles in our third demand? Is it the matter of the oath? There shall be nothing here but what themselves doe grant, and use to profesfe to be reasonable. Is it the forme of the oath? What needs any scruple to swear what they profesfe to be just for the matter, and themselves firme resoluted to performe. If this be flood 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 least 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, deserve the severitie of that cenfure, which the unadvisedness of some is pleased to put upon us; also whether it be not a great temerity in them, who rather than to give us satisfaction, choose to goe on without us to present action, though they know that without our assistance, a great part of the people will neither have heart nor hand to concurre with them. We are extreme sorry for this precipitation, and affrayed of its issue. Where are either their men, money, or ammunition, requisite for such ane undertaking? Is not the enemie ready to receive them, and wayting on upon their first too well known designe? If they should be repulsed at first, would it not extreamlie discourage their friends in England, and hazard the ruin of all the remainder of the King's hopes? Were it not good to stay but a little, till a more wise and patient dealing did unite us at home, and we had some time to forme and furnish ane armie with things necessary, and to strengthen our correspondences abroad, in England, and elsewhere. The advantages of a little delay seem to preponder all we can expect by too sudden a motion; the breaking of that handfull, which for the time we can send into England, may make the Presbyterian partie there to faint, and give over all acting more for themselves; may draw in upon Scotland so much of the Sectarian armie as will overrun all our plaine countrey, and in a short time infect our Church with the leaven of their doctrine, and change the government of our estate. When wise men will not be pleased to goe on in a way of reason, to avoid apparent dangers, occasion is given to fear their desigines, and of driving them on for some purposes of their owne. Certainly the picking of quarrells with ministers, and moving of controversties betwixt the Parliament and Commission of the Church, at this nick of time, to the eyes of the most beholders, proceeds either from little widsome, or leffe sincerity to promote really the intended designe of restoring the King. Shall it be thought that wise men can intend to make warre abroad for any good purpose, when, in the beginning of their enterprize, they keep up and 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 oathes, but by consonancy of actions.

It were all the pities of the world, that, when we are so near to a full unanimity for a cheerfull attchieving of so brave an enterprize as is now in hand, we should by the malignant influence of any evill counsellors, most needlessly fall a-pieces, and lay, by our owne hands, in the ruins of our Church, State, neighbours, King, and posteritie; the advancement of the Sectarian army to a higher pitch of power than yet they have attained, or scarcely dare expect. Ways of faction, of proud and haughty disdaine, mindfullnes 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 exceedinglie endangered Countrey.—So much of our other day’s discouerfe have I drawn up for your memorie, that ye may know how ready I am to serve yow upon all occasions.

Edinburgh, March 8th 1648.

For Mr. William Spang. March 27th [1648.]

Reverend and Dear Cousine,

It’s now long since I heard from yow: in my laft by the London poft, I defyred yow to write allwayes what of mine yow receave, that I may know what miscarries; alfo to try, with all the diligence yow can, who that Jean Dalyell, fpoufe to James Reid, can be, who gott a testimoniall from the ministers of Gorcome of the birth of her fon. I deadly fuspect 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 mervaill to me that any there should be taken with De Cartes’s way: Revius demonstrates him a very ignorant atheift. I have diverse of his former pieces; fend 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 illustries. 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 penny from me. She and all friends are well. Your Nephew, I hope, shall prove a gelly ladd; but how all is in Glasgou, 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], enjoyes a happie quietnes, both ecclefiasticall and civil. I am glad there is so little dinn of Ameraut's new queftions. Also we bleffe God that the Swedes yet can keep the fields in Germanie, and that cruell persecutor and oppreffer 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 Portugal with all its appurtenances, that Catalonia and Naples doe still preferve themselves: It must be the juftice 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 hes been. The spoill of Heflen and continuance of the Palatine's miferies, affliet us. We have no more of these forraigne affaires, than what yow and the London moderate intelligence furnish us.

He is wyfer 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 fee small appearance of any good conclusion; but as they are I make yow the accompl 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, Rainbrough, and their levelling friends, our Commissioners made more serious 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 Cheefly, Callander, and all that came home
before them, gave it out confidently, in the generall, that the King had
given to our Comissioners 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 conceffions till the
Comissioners returned, I feared the satisfaction should not be found fo satisfaction as wes spoken. The too long and strict secrefie bred prejudice in the
minds of the wifteft: and when we heard the report from the Chancellour
and Lauderdale at their returne, our fuspicions were turned into griefe: for
we found the conceffions no ways satisfactory, and the engagement of some to
the King upon them fo great, as did much blemifh their reputation with many
of their most intime friends. Our debates more than a fortnight were to
come to the bottom of these offers, and to find way how we might be free of
them. We were malcontent with our Comissioners: their fecury ufage by
the Parliament of England, their compaffion of the King's condition, Lane-
rick's power with Lauderdale, and both their workings on the Chancellour,
made them to accept of leffe, and promife 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 leave against the faction of Sectaries. To this we
were not unwilling, provyding we might be satisfiied in the state of the que-
tion, and might be afured, that the armie should be putt in such hands as we
might confide in. Both these were promis to us in private; but while we
found no performance, the buffines was retarded to this day. Betwixt the
Chancellour, Duke, Argyle, Treafurer, Lauderdale, Lanerrick, Balmerino, War-
riftone, Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. George Gillespie, Mr. David Calderwood,
Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Samuell Rutherfoord, many
meetings have been had, night and day, private and publick; but as yet our
discords increafe, and are ready to breake out in a fearfull rupture both of
Church and State. Our meetings were long in private for a state of a que-
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 injoyn-
ing the Covenant in all his dominions, and settling religion according to the
Covenant." We stuck many days on that negative exprreffion, "The King
not to be restored till he had sworn the Covenant." Thus much had both

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our Parliament and Assemblie preffed upon him at Newcastle; yet at laft we were content of affirmitive expreffions: "Religion and the Covenant to be settled, and thereupon the King to be restored." The next difficultie in the question was about the Malignants: we were peremptore to have none of them in our armie who should not take the Covenant, and to have all of them declared enemies who should aryfe in armies by themselves for any end contrare to our caufe. Here we had great strugleing: In the wryte, which we called ane Agreement and Engagement, they the King's Offers, too great favour, was fhewed to Malignants: we resolved to beware of them fo much the more. The greateft flock of all was on the oath: we resolved to have these things put in a formall oath, to be taken solemnlie by all the members of Parliament and officers of our armie; they declined ane oath by all means. While we are like to come to no agreement about these things, the pulpits found loud against the dangers from Malignants, but more foftlie against Sectaries. We prepare alfo a Declaration of dangers and duties, wherein we exprefs to the full our difatiffaection with the King's concessions in matters of religion. This gave a great offence to our Commisioners. We had put them to it to give us in wryte the report of what paft between them and the King concerning religion; for his Majeftie in his letter to us had faid, he had offered to them what he was confident would give us satisfaétion. While they are neceffitate to give us in wryte these private concep- tions, and be content to have them, and our reaons againft them, publifhed to the world; they were not a little offended: but there was no reneed. To our fence, they had paft the bounds of their dutie, though both the Committee of Eftates, and Parliament itfelfe, had, in a faire generall, without examination, approved all they had done. We thought it deafferctive to our caufe and Covenant, and ourfelves abolutelie impeded from all motion for the King till these grounds of motion were publicklie disclaimed. It increased our offence, that fo many noblemen did vex us with debates and votes openlie in face of the Commiffion, after we had changed, in private, for the satisfaétion of the Chancellour and Lauderdaill, many paftages of our wryte; also that they had laboured to their power to make a partie among the minif- ters to oppofe us, Mr. Andrew Ramfay, Mr. Andrew Fairfoule, Mr. Robert Laurie, Mr. Andrew Affleck, and diverse others; but efpcciallie Mr. William Colville, who had in private objected againft one paftage, inferring
the necessitie upon conscience to restore the King presentlie to the exercize of his full regall power in all his dominions, notwithstanding of all he had done, without any condition, either of Covenant, Religion, or Propositions; that we were obliged to doe this duetie unto him, and never more to oppose till we found him abuse this power; and then we might refift, albeit no more but the abuse of this power. I did think it enough in our sub-committee to bring him to acknowledge so shameful a tenet, all of us thinking he would not have the boldnes any more in publick to speak to such a purpose; yet in the face of the Commiission, in a very jeering insolent way, being a little provoked by the indiscreet challenge of Mr. Rutherfoord, he did offer to reason for such a conclusion. We had not faild to have called him to ane accompt for his malapertnes, had not the intervention of other greater affairs diverted us.

By this time the Parliament was fett. Never so many noblemen present in any of our Parliaments; near fytie Earls and Lords. Among whom were found but eight or nyne for our way; Argyle, Eglintone, Caffillies, Louthian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Rossie, Balmerino, Cowper, Burleigh, and sometimes the Chancellour and Balcarras. All the rest, with more than the halfe of the barrons, and almost the halfe of the burgeffes, especiallie the greater tounes, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Lithgow, ran in a ftring after Duke Hamilton's vote. That partie, besides the advantage of the number of two at leaft to one, had lykewise the moft of the ableft fpeakers. For us none did speak but Argyle and Warriston, and fometymes Caffillies and Balmerinoch; but they had the Duke, the Thesaurer, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Traquair, Glencarne, Cochrane, Lee, all able spokesmen; yet the other partie had the advantage of reputation, having from the beginning been conftant in our caufe: alfo all the affiftance 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 earnest 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 purposes, either by perfwafion or violence, to have keept it in; but we let it goe out on Monday, and ordained it to be read on Sunday thereafter in all the Kirks of Edinburgh, and about. That which hastened it out was our irritation by the Thesaurer'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 Thesaurer, he said, He heard of a meeting whereat the Thefauuer had been the other night. Speaking a little of this purpose, he apprehended, that the Thesaurer had said, not only that the best men of the kingdome 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 fitten at both their feet, and heard their discoure, to know if he had heard the Thesaurer say, that himselfe was a better man than Argyle. Innes did not avow the words; but being sent to the Thesaurer from Argyle, to try if he had spoken so, he said, He would not make accompl 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 faft-day, the Thesaurer sent back word, after both fermons, that on Mufleburgh Links, at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, he should meet him, and bring a nobleman for a second. Innes, albeit no great friend to Argyle, not only offered himselfe to Argyle for a second, but told him he would refent it as a wrong if he were not admitted; so Argyle with no flesh but Innes, the Thesaurer and Lanerick his second, did meet. Incontinent all were misfled, 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 frocke. The counfell that night, with much ado, gott them to a professed coldryfe friendship. We had resolved in the Commiſſion of the Church, to have made both before the congregation acknowledge their fault; so much the more, as Sinclare and David Lesley, Eglintone and Glencarne, some dayes before; and some dayes after, Kenmure and 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 fix of us to conferr with fix of their great committee upon a flate of a question. For them were, Lauderdale, Lanerick, Humbie, Lee, Archibal Sidferfe, and Sir Alexander Wedderburn, with the Chancellour; for us, Mr. David Calder-
wood, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. George Gillefpie, Craighall, Libbertone, I, 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 satiffaction to most of our doubts; yet, after one day’s advyfement, we found it fo unsatiffactorie, that themselves were content we should take it to our consideration to be corrected as we found expedient. Mr. Gillefpie and my Lord Warriflone had drawne ane oath of association, which pleafed themselves well, but their opposites extremely ill, and their best friends but fo and fo, when best corrected. In our draught we took fo much of their declaration, and our friends oath of association, as we thought made a state of a queftion which should be satiffactorie to all; and here, to my great joy, were we on the very nick of a cordiall agreeance: but behold ane most unhappie accident, which did put us to, and yet hes keeped us in, a difcord almost irreconcileable. There was a great defyre in the cheife that were for ane engament, to safe on Berwick and Carlisle, both for the extreme great advantage of these places, and alfo to beginne the warre, for the encouraging of our friends abroad, and wakening our people at home. This they counted no wrong, nor invasion of England; their quarrell being only against the Sectaries and their adherents, for vindicating of our Covenant, for the rescue of the King, and Parliament, and oppressed Covenanters. Ane inquisition needed not against this enemie: the tounes of England, for our passing and safe retreat in the prosecution of the common caufe, ought to be patent; yet the most of us were averfe from this designe, and had long kept it off. In a few dayes we found the Parliament, two parts for one, otherwise affected than we wished. So soon as it was conftitute, there was ane inclination to make a close committee for the greatest affaires: fix of every flate were named. So long as their power was not determined, we were not startled; but fo 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 protestants thereafter did keep themselves together; and albeit the least, yet they kept the reputation of the best part of the Parliament. Privately and publickly we gave warning, that the paffing of such a vote would break us irrecoverably; but we were beleaved too late. My Lord Callander's partie were fo furiouslie earnest to poffeffe Berwick, and to begin action, that they threatened to defert Hamilton and his friends if they did delay that vote any longer: so it paffed, notwithstanding our earnest intreatings, and our friends protestations to the contrare. The iflue was, we refused to conferr any more on the iflate of ane queftion. The protestants confirmed their union. Many of the shires sent in to supplicat against all engagement, unlefs the Kirk were fatified in the iflate of a queftion. David Lesley, and Holborne, with the rest of the officers, declared their resolution, not to move without our satiffaction. After some dayes conteft, we found a great change. The Chancellor, that had hitherto been too farr 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 defyre, to fiate the queftion according to our mind, to be affured to have fuch in our armies and committees as we lyked, to give over the furprife of Berwick, and all acting by the close committee. These things, by the Thesaurer and others, were offered to us, with many faire and earnest exprefiions. As yet we are not satified by words, and some of our leaders are likely never to be satified, and refolves to truft to nothing which their opposits can doe or fay, fo 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 Ifle, both Churches and States: we mourne for it to God. Though it proceed from two or three men at moft, yet it feems remedielefs: if we be keepe from a preffent civill warre, it's God, and not the widdome of our moft wife and beft men, 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 Eccle-fiatick affaires only; that were they never fo able otherwife, they are unhappie statesmen; that as Eraftiane Cæfar-Papifme is hurtfull to the Church, fo ane Epifcopall Papa-Cæfarifme is unfortunate for the State. If no man were wiuer than I am, we fhould not make fo many scruples to settle the throne, and pull down the feftaries. Never more high and more dan-
gerous questions in Scotts hand: what the conclusion shall be, a few days will declare.

While we are sticking in these labyrinths, one of our number, not of the most rigid, falls on the overture to propone the Commission of the Generall Assembly's desires altogether immediately to the Parliament, wherein, if we got satisfaction, we were to go 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 Commission of the Church, by Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Robert Ramsay, 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 confer with us on these our defyres. The Commission, to the seven who had met 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 sticking was on the fifth, wherein we pressed to have the Malignants who should rise in arms by themselves declared enemies, as well as Sectaries. This was contrary 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 afternoon we had almost differed on the sixth, the King's oath to consent to an Act of Parliament for rejoyning the Solemn League before his restitution to the exercise of the royall power. We pressed him not to take the Covenant; but whatever his conscience was, we conceaved him bound to consent to the necessarie lawes of the Kingdom. Thus his good-dame Queen Mary assented to the Acts of Parliament for the Reformed Religion. This also did passe for the substance; only a committee was appointed to smooth some expressions about the King's restitution. We had no power to recede from any word, and so would not be at any committee for changing any expression, but believed the Commission of the Kirk would not stick 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 so, that no trust 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 satisfaction; but as yet they have not the fortune to be much believed by many. Ochiltrie's business flicks still in the throats of some. Upon too great probabilitie, Callander, by his owne partie, which is great, is wished Generall: but his inflexibilitie to serve against Montrose, upon the senfe 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 elsewhere, 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 artilllery, will not be refus'd. In private we were affured these should be the Generall Officers; but we will not be affured without sight, and our maine dificultie will be upon the committees to govern the State and Army in the intervals of the seッションs of Parliament. If herein they permitt them whom we count trustie, to have full power, when they can carry what they will in Parliament, it's a great wonder; yet if in this we gett no satisfaction, nothing else will satisfie: we expect little debate on the eighth article, to have ane oath for all this; but herein we were peremptor, and hopes to obtaine. It was my wish, that only the Parliament and officers of the army should sweare, and that the body of the land should be put to no more oaths; but it seems this association must be no leffe sworne than our two former Covenants.

While thus farr we had proceeded on Thursday, I thought we were as good as agreed; so I resolved to go home to-morrow; for the opening of our provinciall Synod lay on me as the last Moderator; also a new very dangerous infection was broken up in 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 wes not fully clozed, and I had immediate accesse and trust with sundry of the most leading men, with whom
I was esteemed to do no evil 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 insolency, 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 evil talents of more, gave them occasion to make too great progress; but having stayed till I declared myself abundantly 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 Friday morning, and to my owne house at night, with one shower from Falkirk, a weary Monsieur. The Colledge was almost totally dissolved for fear of the plague. My little duty was extremely fickle, 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 Glafgow, whether yet it may be spared from the plague, whereof I am not desperat; and what shall be the next act of the long tragedie among us. Much speech of the Prince's coming: as yet our affaires are not in a condition to receive him as I could wish; but ere long he may be welcome. I cannot, of certaine knowledge, hear any thing of that youth, whereby I can conjecture, on any hand, what to hope or feare. His Mother's unkindness to the Queen of Boheme and her fones is visibly retaliated in the eyes of all Europe. My best wishes are for the restitution of King James's family: before this, I see no appearance of any solid peace, either to Germany or Britaine. This long letter shall be a ground of a challenge, if you writing so rare and so short as this while bygone. Farewell.

Glafgow, this 28th of March 1648.

I have oft proposed to you, which yet I repeat, that it would be a good service to scholars, and profitable for printers, if you could, by yourself and friends there, stir up some of your Amsterdam and Leiden stationers to print by the alone, the Chaldee Bible with a Latine version interlinear, or otherwife, in one or two volumes; Buxtorph's Bible, and the new Paris one would furnish good helpe for the right printing; also an Arabic 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 furnifh a good prototype. It would likewise doe much good if young Buxftorph would print over his Father's Mafora and Rabbin commentaires, 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 holden by the Kirk to be unlawfull upon these three grounds especially:—

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

2. Because all the Malignants in England and Ireland are permitted to rise in alfe many armies as they can, and we refuife to take them as before for enemies, except they profes to oppose 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 these men, whose bygone life and known profesions declare they mind not religion; and they who have hitherto, in our bygone troubles, been moft eminent instruments of God and the countrey, for the advancement of the worke of religion, and the liberty of the land, are shuffled by, and all power plucked out of their hands.

These and many more reasons make us, (who were moft cordiall for a Warre, against the Seétaries of England and their adherents, for the vindication of our Covenant, for the delyverance of our oppreffed brethren in England, for the rescuing of our King from his unjust imprisionment, and reftoreing of him to the exercife of his royall power, upon his performance of these neceffare duties which the Parliaments of both Kingdomes did require from him; and for the prefervation of our Church and State from the violence of that evill faction of seétaries, whose principles drive at the evert-
ing of the foundations of all government, both of Church and State of the whole Ile: 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[atthew] B[rwbane.]

If the discord go on, it's humanly impossible to eschew either a grievous persecution, or a civil war at home, and a total neglect of the pretended welfare of the King. For a remeedy, I wish 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 an 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 you, nor long before. Our affaires since have had a great progress, but no inch to the better; all appearance of any possibility to agree, daylie does more and more
evanish. A spirit of bitterness, jealousy, and mutual contempt, grows on all hands, and the stronger partie is begun to perfiuce the weaker; and that evil is like much to increase quicklie. The course of affaires may draw both, beside any intention, to doe the worst of that which has been objected to either as their designe. The sectaries 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 these hopes to flee away. The Committee of twenty-four framed their anfwer, and gott it paft in an Act of Parliament, before it came to the Commiffion of the Kirk. They to whom the consideration of it was committed, looked fo narrowly into every word of it, that they found snares in every other line, and not one of our eight defyres fatifiied. This much the Commiffion reprefented in a new paper, [and] added a new defyre, to declare against the negative voice of the King, which the Commiffioners papers in England had fo much pressed. This draught of Mr. Ja[mes] G[uthrie's,] in the abfence of Mr. George G[jlepie,] was as ill taken when it came to the Parliament as any other, and fo as good as laid aside, till in the large Declaration they gave it an anfwer. In the mean time, they putt out the act of pofture for ftetting all the Kingdome in a defence againft invasion; but in few dayes comes out the act of leavy, which, incontinent, allarumed all. The firft narrative was ill taken, a danger from the Malignants that had taken Berwick and Carlisle. 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 Carlisle was generally beleaved not to have been underta\nken without some of our privities. The act therefore, before publishing, was helped, grounding our leavy on the danger from the army of sectaries, which these furprifes would draw downe on our Borders; and in this there is like to be no false prophecy.

Here it was where our difference began firft to be irreconcilable. We stood on the managers of the warre as much as any one thing. The commi\ntees of flyres, 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 Hammilton and Callander lyked. Our friends here gott very little of their will; but the cope-stone was putt upon our despaire, when we found Hammilton and Callander, how much contrare foever one to another, yet at laft, after there had been much speech and dealing of either to joyne with Argyle, and that, through whose fault I know not, had miscaried; at laft I say, Hammilton and Callander did joyne too friendly to our prejudice, and that in these termes, besides other, that the Duke should be Generall, and the Earle his Lieutenant. Both of them to that time had been oppofed to the employment of either; and fo long as they had any hope of our complyance, both professed a great deale of willingness to continew the old generall officers, without any change, and each offered to marre the employment of the other; but when they could not draw our friends to ingage in any termes lyking them, then peremptorilie they strooke hands, and went on without much more notice of us.

With threats and promifes they moved old Lefley to lay downe his place. For a long time we had hopes the army, which wee had kepted from dissolving, shou'd have been firme to us; but Middleton spoiled that our hope. All the officers had joyned in a supplication to the Parliament backing the deffyres of the Kirk. Had this been flood to, the desigines of others had soon been broken; but Middleton, who long had shifted subscription, at laft was willing to joyne, with one addition of a short postscript of the subscribers willingness notwithstanding to obey all the Parliament’s directions. This commentare did so enervate the text, that our friends perufuaded the officers to lay aside their petition, as that which was profitable for nothing, being clearlie emasculat by the postscript. From that day we loft the Army. David Lefley, 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 moft gallant of their officers, when they saw the Church’s advyce totally neglected.

These things did grieve much the spirits of many, and I believe few more deeply than my owne, so that my health by griefe for many dayes was impaiered; yet, by the importunitie of many, I was (before fully recovered) drawn back againe to Edinburgh. Then I found that matters totally were desperate. Lauderdaill with greif, the Thefaurer with many tears, told me, how fore againft their heart they went the way now they were in, casting the
wyte on others; who yet affured 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 oberving, and to pitch but on the maine exceptions. On sundry we agreed, and what some offered of their own concepts I gott out; yet falling to take phyfick, I was forced to keep my chamber ten days with a dangerous superpurgation. In this intervall Mr. Gillefpeie, without much contradiction, gott in[to] his representation whatever either himselfe or W[arifontone] or G[uthrie] had collected, which made it tediouslie long, and in sundry things needlefie quarrelsome, and to come fo late, that the Parliament, after ten days waiting for it, at Lauderdaille’s cankered motion, commanded their Declaration to goe out without any more notice of what we had to fay against it.

At this time a meflienger went to the Parliament of England with fyve demands, craveing an anfwer peremptorilie in fifteen dayes. That which they feared moft was to ingage in any treaty. This we ever pressed, but they thought it needles, since they quarrelled not with the Parliament, but with the army and their adherents, with whom they were not obliged to treat, and losfe the feafon of the English motions at home. The rumour of our warre made great flurrs 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 imprifoned Aldermen, the recalling of the eleven members to their places, the refcoreing the impeached Lords, the making Warwick Admirall of the Navy: the Army also was forced to divide; Cromwell to Wales, where yet he sticks; Fairfaxe to the north; but in his march he was recalled to supremacy the Keintifh: The moft of the fhares were on their feet. Had not our unhappie discords 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 pleaed; but our fatal discords were as well known at London as at Edinburgh, fo leafure is taken by Fairfaxe to quiet Kent and Essex; and
by Cromwell to hold down Wales, and by others to keep in Cornewall. Lambert in Yorkshire had time to keep back Langdale from York and Lancashire; and great pains are taken to joine the Presbyterians and the Independents against all the ryfers in the shires, and our army, as against Malignants. If this conjunction goe on, both the King and our Nation is in a hard taking.

In the mean time the Parliament and Commiffion 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 randefvouses are appointed for the shires against the 21st of May. Many presbyteries, fynods, burghs, shires, gave in supplications the firft of June, to delay the leavy till the Church gott satisfaction. Our poor towne, still singular in that unhappines, is made the firft example of fuffering. 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 anwered by the Parliament. I spoke oft, and at length, to his Grace and Excellency, as Moderator of the Presbyterie. We gott courteous and civill words enough; but deeds very bitter. Incontinent all our magiftrates and toune-counfell, that fame night, were summoned to anfwer to the Parliament, for not keeping with their men the randefvous; a fault common to them with all their neighbour townes and shires, yea with the whole kingdome well near; yet they were all caft in the tolbooth, and kept there diverse dayes; and becaufe they profefled scruple of confcience to further the leavy, they were all deprived of their places, and a commiffion fent to the old counfell that before was removed, to elecf new magiftrates; who made leffe scruple, than I wifh, to fitt downe and name Colline Campbell Provofl, John Anderfone, James Tran, William Neilfon, Baillies; and these, for a counfell, took the old cafiled men with a very little change: fo great greefe is amongst the new faction in our towne, and too great contentment in the old, to fee themselves refored to their places by the fame men and means they were cafiled, 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 miferie. 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 seffion, and their lovers. These orders were exerced with rigour: on the most religious people of our towne, hudge burdens did fall; on some ten, on some twenty, on some thirty sojours, 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 necessitie forced to flee from their houses. Our loss 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 leavied 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 sojours who had left the army, joyned with them. Much speech began of a resitance in the West. Too many ministers, both east and west, were said to be for it, if there should appear a lykelihood of a party. For myselfe, I was cleare against all such thing: I thought we had neither a just casse nor a good authority for any such matter, and the furtheft 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 resitance in the West; Fyfe also seemed to look that way: but it appears now well, that the named noblemen, whatever they mett for, did conclude of no such thing; for Argyle presenty went home to Inverary, and Eglintoun declared himselfe willing to let his men be leavied. However, Callander made haste to make the West secure. The Clydefdaill men came, on the Saturday, to Mauchline to communicate: that night Callander lay at Paisley. On Monday he made a randefvous at Stewarton, of one thousand fix hundred good horse, and above two thousand foot, at ten hours; from thence he marched to Mauchline, sending Middleton before him with three hundred horfe. The noblemen and gentlemen of the sherrifflom of Aire had fitten 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 resitance, 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 Cunninghame were content to goe, but the fojours and Clydefdaill men would needs fight. While they are more than an houre in this confused uncertainty, and fundry crying to fight, Middleton makes a few of his horse to charge; but the people presently fled. His sojours abstained from killing, only fell a taking horse, armes, and purses. A troup of the people fleeing to a bridge, and miffing the way, were forced to stand; they turned on the sojours and fought very stoutly. Here was the most of the slaughter; near fourty here fell: some fay as many of the trouper as of the people. Middleton himfelf was fore put to it by a smith: he gott some wounds; and confesses, had he not flabb'd 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 diffperfed. They fpeak as if the Clydefdaill 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 difcourfe; also by the extream great oppofition of the sojours; fo that, it fears me, if Lambert be come to Carlifle with fresh men, and have put Langdale into the town, as they fay, fo soon as our army fhall be intangled with the English, many of our people rife on their backs. To prevent this, they have past a fevere, and, as I think, one unjust and tyrannous Act of Parliament, to put all the subjefts of the Kingdom to fubfcribe their readiness 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 hes fo much contradicted as unlawfull; also to declare that the execution of the acts of this Parliament, are the most neceffare and fittest means to remeef our troubles, and preserve religion: and that all who fhall not fubfcribe this much, without delay, are juftly to be holden enemies to the common caufe, religion, and coun-

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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 worfe before they amend. It's some refreshment to us to look a little abroad. If Melander's death, and the wroth of the Bavarian army, near Augsburg, be true, I will be glad: no prince in the world I with more to be humbled than that wicked fox of Bavaria. I pity the great and unexpected misfortune of Guise in Naples. What means your Zealanders to differ 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, desyreing 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 Carlſſe. 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 horfe, which common report made them. Never ane army was fo great a charge to the countrey; the foot-fojour for leavy-money, cloathes, and armes, costing generally one hundred pounds, the horſemen three hundred merks, and their free quarter, being ane unlimited plundering of many very good and pious people. Our State hes now found, which scarcely could have been believed, that, contrare to the outmoſt endeavours of the Church, and all their friends, they can raife and maintain ane army, and doe what they will at home and abroad. The widome of some of us has made that practick to paffe, and the mystery of our weaknes 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 thyres joyne not with him. Cromwell, with the few he could bring from Pembroke Caſtle, having marched mid-way, is forced to returne to Wales, where the Lord Biron did raife a party fo foone as he had left it. Fairfax is yet at Colcheſter. It feems the Houſes, and City, and Committee of the thyres, have of purpoſe withdravwe affiſtance, that Fairfax at Colcheſter, and Cromwell at Pembroke, shoulde lye till their forces might melt away, and become conſtemptible. 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 Ŝectaries should evanifh in fmoke, and their friends in the Houſes, City, and Countrey, be brought to their well-deſerved ruine; that the King and his family should be at laſt in some neerneſs 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 fo ill prepared, that the glorious reformation we have ſuffered fo much for, ſhall be much endangered, and the moſt that ſhall be obtained be but ane Eratian weak Presbyterie, with
a tolleration of Poperie and Epifcopacie at Court, and of diverfe fects else-
where. We, who might have been the cheefe instruments to have ftopped
this evill, are for the time fo farr at odds with our State, Army, and King,
that the defpight which I feare all three hes at us, is lyke to further much
that evill in England, and draw it ere long on Scotland alfo; but the Lord
can eafily disappoint our fears. Our State, on pretence to attend to the
Prince, whom, by my Lord Lauderdaill, according to the agreement at the
Ife of Wight, they are inviting hither, but really to keep downe insurrec-
tions of people in the Weft, are leaving one thoufand five hundred horfe
more. They fufpect deadly, that the diffenters in Parliament, with the help
of the Church, may raffe the countrey, if their army were once deeply en-
gaged or worfted in England. Of this I know no ground; bot men who are
concoive of occasioning much griefe to many, falls in needleffe feare, and by
the means of preventing, draws on their defervings. Our condition for the
time is fadd: The peftilence in Glafgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh alfo;
the continuance of very intemperate raín upon the cornes; the irreconcile-
able differences of Church and State, looking towards a very great perfec-
tion of them who have been the beft inftruments both of Church and State,
are great figns 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 preffing that humiliation and mourning, which the times call
for above all things elfe.

But leaving the State, our Generall Aflemblie fat down on Wednesday
July 12th. On the Saturday before, I had been tormentted 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 firft day in the Af-
lemblie, whence I had refolved, however, to have been absent. Mr. Robert
Dowglafs and Mr. Robert Blair preached well at the faft. The Aflemblie
fat till near eight at night choifing their Moderator. Every man's addi-
tion of three to the Moderator's lift, albeit a equall and fatisfactory way, yet it
proves very longfome. Mr. Robert Dowglafs named for his two, Mr. An-
drew Cant, and Mr. George Gillespie; the Aflemblie added Mr. David
Dickfon, and Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. John Smith. Many named me;
but I was well away. Mr. Robert Blair was doubteles the meeteft man;
but because lately he had moderate, he gott few votes; Mr. Andrew Cant
gott two; Mr. David Dickfon none: it went betwixt Mr. George Gillefphie
and Mr. Smith. Mr. George did much deprecate the burden, as he had
great reaon, both for his health’s fake, and other great caufes; yet he
did carry it.

The Seffion on Thursday was fpent on the nomination of the Committees.
In all prior Affemblies, some few of us mett the night before the Affemblie
in Warriftone’s chamber, with Argyle, the Chancellour, and some others of
our wiftef friends, to confider about the choifing of the moderator, commit-
tees, and chiefe points of the Affemblie. This preparation was now to our
hurt neceffarily omitted: Argyle and the Chancellour were both abfent in
their owne houfes, to efchew the fubfcription of the bond of maintainance;
Warriftone did not appeare, not only for that caufe, but also left he fhould
have been prefled to have pleaded againft the minifters:—for the eight [seven]
minifters prefent at Mauchline-moore were fummoned to anfwer as raiers
of that tumult: Mr. William Guthrie, Mr. Matthew Mowat, and Mr. Thomas
Wylie, were diffluaded to appear; Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, Mr. John Nevay,
Mr. William Adair, Mr. Alexander Blair, did appear, and under their
hand protefted, that, directly nor indirectly, they had not perfuaded the
people to meet there that day. When for diverse weeks they had been putt
off from day to day, they were at laft difmiffed to a new citation. Allways
the good Advocate, being resolv’d in his mind, if he had been put to it, to
have pleaded for the minifters, and not againft them, was, with much adoe,
moved by his friends to lurk for some time till the ftrone went over.

The want of these private preparatory meetings, which the Moderator’s
health permitted him not to attend, did make our Affemblie needlefly long,
and very tedious; for befides that the Moderator’s way of enquireing at fo
many before every voice, was not for dispatch, his unacquaintance with the
affaires of the committes before they came to the face of the Affemblie,
made the reports untrype and unadvyfed, and fo oft needfull, after much
debate in the Affemblie, to be recommitted. The committee of prime im-
portance was that of publick affaires. Upon this the prime men were
put; but fo mixed, that the farr moft part was of the moft rigid disposition.
When Mr. Robert Ramfay, and some others, were moved to be added to
the Moderator’s lift of this committee, it was peremptory refufed, 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 commissiioners, were named. Upon the feare, that they who had corrupted the Parliament, should have been alyke active to have procured commissiioners to our Assemblie conforme to their mind, it was carefully provided, that in all Presbyteries they should be chozen who were most zealous for the Covenant, and for the proceedings of the Commiision of the Kirk, and for the maintainance thereof: so this Assemblie did confift of such whose mind carried them moft againft the prefent Engagement, which was the great and only question for the tyme. The ruling elders were, Caflilis, Louthian, Balmerinoch, Cowper, Torphichen, Kirkudbright, Angus, Creigh, Moncreife, Nether-Pollock, &c. Southeske and Loure were also commissiioners; but Loure appeared not, and Southeske finding himself putt on a mean committee, appeared no more. The chief conteft betwixt us and the Committee of Estate, was lyke to be about the work of this committee for the Commiision-book. They sent in Glencairne to defyre us delay to approve the proceedings thereof, till they had prepared their confiderations against them. The custome of the Assemblie, according to prior acts, was to examine with the firft the Acts of the Commiision of the preceding Assemblie. The exceptions the State took at their proceedings were such as made their persons incapable to voice in the Assemblie till they were cleared: now the men were a great and chief part of this Assemblie; 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 fett down any thing concerning it. So foon, therefore, as the report of that committee was ready, it was thought meet, without longer delay than ane night or two, to receive and vote it: All without a contrary vote was approven. This angered our Stateſmen, and made them fee, that all hope to make the Assemblie divert from the way of the former commissiion, was desperate.

The firſt ten or twelve days we had but one feſſion in the day, the afternoone being given to the committees to prepare work for the Assemblie. 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 Commision of the Church had done against the Engagement; but I willed 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 fix, whereof I was glad to be none; but I was not content, when, to Mr. David Catherwood, Mr. Robert Kerr, and Mr. John Smith, were joined Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. John Livingstone, and Mr. John Mackleland; 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 commisions. These of the Presbyteries of Dunfe and Chimnyde were rejected; the one had chofen Mr. Samuell Dowglafs, moderator, the same day that a complaint of him had come to them from the Commision of the Church, for his never appearing there but once, and that to different from the Church’s declaration against the Engagement. The other Presbyterie’s commision 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, consisting of the most zealous brethren of Edinburgh, Lothan, and Merfe, to cognofce and cenfure their carriage as they found caufe. The lyke course was taken with the Presbyteries of Stirling and Dunkell: they had not been exact enough in trying the alleaged malignancy of one of their number. This occasioned a visitation of them lyke-wife. Mr. Harie Guthrie, a very bold man, but in this and the late Assemblies 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 reasonings about the commisions from Burrows: none of us was much for the thing, but all for tollerating of them, for fear of offending the Burrows at this time; only the commision 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 wilfulness 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 minifters and commissioners they took a new way: their commissioners for the Assembly they named in their Towne-Council; their minifters also, as patrons, they elected there: they were content to propone the men elected, to the Session 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 commissioners elected in their Council should have the consent of their great Session, which is their six Sessions joined; also the ministers whom they name in Council, as patrons, shall have the consent of the six Sessions before they be presented to the Presbytery. And in regard of their neglect to supply their vacant places, now of a long time, the Assembly did vote six, whom they recommended to the great Session to choose four of them, and to obtain their orderly transportations from the Commission of the Church. The men were, Mr. John Mackelland, Mr. George Hutchesone, Mr. Hugh Mackell, Mr. James Ferguson, Mr. James Naefmith, and Mr. Robert Traile. All this hes added to the town of Edinburgh's offence, and is thought will not further the plantation of their vacant places.

One of the Assembly's committees I have ever been against, though yet without fruit. The town of Edinburgh is supplied with the ablest men of the kingdom; their chief service should be in Assembly-time. The custom ever has been, that so long as the Assembly sits, all these men are idle, and all their kirks must be provided by members of the Assembly. This makes many weake and ill-accommodate countrey preachers to fill these eminent rooms, 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 Universities, and gott them to meet twice or thrice more, where we debated, and concluded the most part of the overtures, whereof yow have here a double. I intreate yow read the preface of Burgerdick to his Logicks. I find, that twenty yeares agoe, the professors of Leyden, with the consent of the synods of Holland, have agreed on a course, to be taught, both
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in grammar-schools and colleges, which the magistrate has commanded to be every where but one. I pray you try at Apollonius, or the school-master of Middleburgh, or some other, if it be so, and what that course is, which you will set downe, and send over here to me in your first letter.

The three or four next sessions were spent much of them in votes and debates upon papers betwixt us and the States. Glencairne and others presented to us a petition from the Duke and the army for ministers, which they seconded; lykewise they offered all security for religion they were able; and for removing the present differences, they required a conference with us. To all this they required a present answer; at least before we past on the tryell, in order to approbation of the Commision-book, against which they professed they had diverse new exceptions. To all these we gave answers in wryte. The proceedings of the commissioners were unanimously approved; 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 approved the proceedings of the Commision, and had resolved, that no security to religion was possible so long as the Engagement did stand; only they mett once for a fashion, and gave in a paper craving scripture from us for the unlawfulness of the Engagement, and our meddling with matters of warre and peace. This paper was referred to our committee. In ane afternoone some few of us mett, and fett downe our scriptural grounds for both these points; but thought fitt to put them in the Declaration rather than in a several paper.

Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. John Smith were willing to draw the declaration, leift it should fall in Mr. James Guthrie's brisk hand. I beseeched 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 resistance of the State. I knew, that the most of the leading men thought a resistance by armes to the ways in hand lawfull enough, if the dissenters in Parliament, or any considerable part of the Kingdome, had courage and probable force to act; but it was my greatest care, that nothing should be done or said by the Assembly which might bear any such thing; and this I obtained to my great contentment. There were two points somewhat fibb to this that I obtained also, but with much difficulty. 1. Sundry at diverse times moved to have it determined, if it was lawfull to

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H
pay any monethly maintainance, since avowedly it was presfled for the ufe 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 Cæfar in conience must have his tribute, let him employ it to what ufed he thinks fitt. Alfo, if this were refufed, the excife, the portion of annuelrents, and all other dues, which were employed for the fervice of the army, be- hooved to be denied; which could not but make the State to take it by force, and the people to fight againft their fpoilers. At laft we agreed to lay this queftion alyde. It was lykewife much presfled, that fuch as had been active for the Engagement fhould be kept from the holy table; and, as I did think, the deffigne of fome was to have our Statefmen put under Church cenfures for their diligence in this Engagement. My mind in this yow have in a paper here by itfelfe. 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 Com- missioners of all the Prefbyteries of the chief infolencies committed by the fofours before they went from among us, and to put thefe in our declaration. I was willing they fhould be collected to be complained of both to Church and State, and cenfured by both fo feverely as poiffible; but was averse to have them regiftrate, for the infamy of the very nation, into our publick de- claration. In this I was not heard. Alfo, when it was prefled that minifters filent, who did not preach againft the Engagement, fhould for this be depofed, I wished, if men were modest, and otherwife offended not, that this fault might carrier no more but ane rebuke; but not only it was made depofition, but, by the motion of two or three men at moft, it was carried againft my mind, and of diverfe others, that the prior acts againft depofed minifters for Malignancy fhould be made more ftrait: 1. That none of them fhould be ever admitted to any Church whence a man for Malignancy was depofed; but alfo, that they fhould be keept from preaching till a Generall Afsambleie did open their mouth; and out of the minifterie, while one other Generall Afsambleie did find them fitt for a Church; alfo, if after their depofition they meddled with any part of the stipend or glebe, it fhould be excommunication to them. It was prefled by fome, that the not paying of the stipend to the next intrant, fhould be excommunication to the patrons or tennants, who,
upon the Act of Parliament, paid it to him who was deposed for adhering to the State. This hardly was gotten avoided.

It was against the minds of 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 paid any thing, a sharp complaint against the Sectarian army, and the Parliament's negligence to performe their part of the Covenant, which had brought on us all our present troubles: also it had some dangerous expressions, which I thought imported the rock I defyed to evite, calling our State, "A faction; yea, the mixed multitude that came out of Egypt; but the dissenters from the Engagement, the nation, and the Israel of God." With very much adoe I gott thefe helped, some in the committee, and others in the face of the Assembly.

I found the bent-faile of the spirits of some so much on the Engagement, that all things else were lyke to be neglected; therefore I pressed, that the Doctrinalls, as most proper for us, which the last Generall Assembly had recommended to all the Presbyteries, might be taken to consideration. I gott in the Catechife; 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 careful, and presented us with a draught before the end of the Assembly, 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 Psalms. 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 sefions, which he maintains to have no divine right in particular, but to be only as a committee from the Presbyterie, to execute these acts of jurisdiction which the Presbyterie thinks fitt to committ thereto.
Leaft in the end of the Assemblie, when many were gone, we should come to so grave a debait, or rather, leaft at a time of our so great strife with the State, we should fall a jarring among ourselves, it was thought best to refer the whole wryte to the next Assemblie. Upon the same ground, the Theorems were also remitted. The Psalms were often revised, and sent to Presbyteries: had it not been for some who had more regard than needed to Mr. Zacharie [Boyd]'s Psalter, I think they had passed through in the end of the Assemblie; but these also, with almost all the references from the former Assemblies, were remitted to the next.

One feffion was spent on encouraging Mr. David Calderwood to perfyte his Church story, and to consider Mr. Andrew Kerr for his good and great service to them. Both got a testimonie of our favour: eight hundred pounds yearly for Mr. David Calderwood, and one thousand yearly to Mr. Andrew Kerr, with a gratuity of five thousand merks for bygones, were appointed by the Assemblie to be payed to them out of the Church’s five hundred pounds pension; but we cannot, for any request, gett one penny payed by the Thesaurer, and have little hopes to gett any more in hafte. Much speech we had of a [Hi]story of the late troubles. In every province some were named to gather materials to be sent in to Mr. John Smith. The publick papers, in wryte or print, were desired to be all put together; but I expect no good from all these motions. If you would goe on with your History, I should be very glad of it.

We were fash’d with the opening of the mouths of depos’d minifters. Poor Mr. Patrick Hamilton, in the very nick when the Assemblie was to grant all his desire, was rejected by his oune unhappines. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective against the Church’s proceedings.

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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 Commissioners 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 Scottish 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 confufion. 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 fo farr marre him, upon tacit fufpicion, as I fufpect of small importance, that it’s lyke he shall never be permitted to preach: yet honeft John Gillon gott permission to preach, and for this I confefle I was forward; for the man, though he want letters, is very pious and well-gifted, and ftrong againft all fectaries. The preparative is not dangerous, for I believe few in ane age will fall to be in his cafe; and if many should, I would grant them the like favour, though fome misinterpret it.

The Assembly spent diverse feffions, for small purpose, upon transportations. Thefe I love daily worfe and worfe; the moft are evidently packed busineffes, little for the credit either of the transporters or transported. Mr. John Livingston, refufed to Glafgow, and defigned for Ireland by the laft Assembly, though earnestly futed by my Lord of Airds, and much ftruck to by my Lord Caflillis, who, for his reffpect, had made a conftant ftipend for his church, moft-out of his owne rent, though his parifhioners 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 profefion, fo willing to come as it became a wife and modeft man, his colleagues willing to difmiffle him; yet the private reffects of a very few, made him to be fixed to his station, which I regretted. Mr. George Hutchefon, orderly appointed by his Prefbyterie to goe to Ayr, yet he, lykeing better to goe to Bruntifland or Edinburgh than to joine with Mr. William Adair, and Mr. William abfenting himfelfe when the action came in, was appointed to byde in his place. I think the miforder of transportations will not be gotten helped, till fome honeft men doe peremptorlie refuse to obey, which, I think, fome at laft will doe; efpecially fince the filling of fo many places is referred to the Commiffion 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 againft
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 gott 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 moft were fathed for the Moderator's want of dispatch, and too much flicking wiffullie to his owne fende: Mr. Robert Blair in the moft, Mr. Robert Ramlay in all, was of my mind; Mr. Robert Dowglafs mislyked some mens carriage. The Assembly of Divines wrote to us a generall letter: to this, Mr. Robert Blair his anfwer was good and uncontroverted. The subferyving of the Bond was much against all our minds; but ane Act was drawn up against it in my absence, which I much mislyked; for it carried cenfure against the prefiers of it. This directly aimed at our flatefmen, the contrivers of it; but, in the face of the Assembly, I gott it to be exponed only ad futura. Some of my neighbors before the Assembly were fo farr in love with this subfcription, that I was forced to wryte to them arguments against it, as yow may fee herewith. Though in some parts of the countrey the subfcription goe on, yet in the chief and moft parts it is not required of any.

At this time I was greeved for the state of Glafgow. The peft 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 sicknefs. Some good, but unadvised people, were not much greeved for the calamity of that Towne; and if it had fallen only upon their oppofites, their insulting had been greevous, yet the Lord hes been marvelloufly 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 diminifhed. The long great raines for many weeks did prognofticate 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 suspected 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 correspondence 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 Commissioner. 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 express such a sense of his unjust sufferings as the world would expect; and so I was earnest to let all alone; but the Moderator carried it: and though the draught of that letter came never to our committee, but at the first 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 fins of the time did lykewise passe. One of them I was feared for; it was first, that all Ministers converging with Malignants should be censured by Presbyteries. This would have snared 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 Ramsfay and Mr. William Colvill's proceede. Mr. Andrew had, in preaching, oft fallen out into diverse impertinencies, and contradiction to his brethren; he had been oft admonished; but the man's weaknes and age, and diverse who resorted 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 itselfe. Much he denied which was proven: he untimely had fallen on an unhappie question, the Magistrate's power to re-mitt blood. The generall These which he professed to maintaine, "That the supreame magistrate, when the safety of the commonwealth does require, may dippyne 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 expressely, 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 course; however, he himfelfe walked very cannily. I was indeed offended at his malapert carriage in the commiffion of the Church, and for it, albeit it was not libelled, I contended to his fufpenfion; but it was againft my mind that Doctor Barron should have been cenfured for mere filence, yet it was carried. One or two of your friends in our Presbyterie had been, for their filence and ambiguity about the Engagement, referred to the Affemblie, 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 Univerfitities and hofpitalls, and put on them the sharpeft men we had. Lykely Edinburgh will not submitt to have either Univerfitie or hofpitalls visited, though they have moft need; and I preffed their visitation before any other; fince, as yet, they have ever declined it.

The Commiffioners for uniformitie with England were continued without change; only Lauderdaill, to my greefe, was juftly omitted. I was scarce resolved to have feen him; yet my Lady Warriflone fent me to him, as trusting in his friendship for her husband's buflinefs. He told me, that, however, to his best knowledge, there was no defigne either on his place or perfon for the time; yet that he could not anfwer what might be shortly, efpecially when in debate and difcourfe thefe things might escape him which might irritat. Upon this good Warriflone, leaft by his unfriends he might be brought in by violence, thought meet to retire to Cantyre, where, for the prefent, he paffes time with Argyle. Lauderdaill continues kind to me, and regrates much the difference betwixt us; fears it become a fountaine of great evils, either the overthrow of the defigne for the King againft the Sectarifts, or the putting up of the Malignant partie fo high, that they will hardly be gotten ruled; at beft, the making of the government of our Church, as we exercife it, to be abhorred by all in England and abroad, and intollerable to our owne State at home. I find the Thesaurer in the fame mind, but both of them faft enough, for ought I can fee, to our Covenant and perfons, except to one or two whom they efteeem the prime caufes of the difference. In Mr. William Colvill's cenfure, Mr. David Calderwood rashly had faid, "He was the painfulleft minister of Edinburgh:" this the Moderator exaggerat fo farr, as fome did fpeak of his removeall for cenfure. The
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 Assembly. At this I grieved; it may doe harme.

The State, on the Fryday before we rose, gave in a large paper of Observations on our Declaration: I take them to be Primrose their clerk’s draught. We appointed the Commission to fitt and answer them: they are but poor ones. That same day we renewed the Commission of the Church. There is too great a change of the persons, and too great addition of men who never have been members of any Assembly; also their power is too much enlarged, even to proceed all who oppose their orders, as well as of the Generall Assembly. I find divers 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 established by law; and it’s feared they will trouble the persons of some of us: but the Lord’s will be done. I think indeed the carriage of some is too high and peremptor; but if the State begin to trouble any of us with imprisonment, it will be a great ill of long and dangerous consequence.

On Saturday August the 12th we arose. In the morning I went away, desirous, after much toil, 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 unhappy Engagement I hope will not last, and so the ground of our difference with the State shall be removed: but new grounds of division may possibly arise, which may make our contentions greater. This much I have written to you, to oblige you to wryte often and larger; so much the more as our intercours 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 least, let us have it’s summ, 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.
Cousine,

Your bygone letter, 12th, I receaved, and thanks yow for it. Yow complaine of my long silence; but gives no satisfaction 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 forrow, we proclaimed, on Monday last, the Prince, King of Brittaine, France, and Ireland. We have sent the bearer, 5 a worthy gentleman, to signifie so much to his Majestie at the Hague: We purpose speedily to fend a honorable Commissiion from all Estates. The dangers and difficulties wherewith both his Majestie and all his Kingdomes at this time are involved, are exceeding great and many. The first necessarie and prime one (as all here, without exception, conceave) doth put his Majestie and his people both in a hopeful proceeding; and his Majestie’s joyning with us in the Nationall Covenant, subscrib’d by his grandfather King James, and the Solemne League and Covenant, wherein all the well-affected of the three Kingdomes are entered, and must live and die in, upon all hazards:—If his Majestie may be moved to joynewith us in this one point, he will have all Scotland readie to sacrifie their lives for his service:—If he refuse, or shift this duety, his best and most usefull friends, both here and elsewhere, will be cast into inextricable labyrinths, we fear, for the ruine of us all. We know Satan will not want ill instruments to keep him off from a tymeous yielding to this our most earnest and necessarie desyre; bot as it is, and will be, one of all Scotland’s strong petitions to God, to dispose his heart to doe his duty without delay; so we will acknowledge ourselves much obliedged to any, whom the Lord may honor, to be the happie instruments of his persuasian. Many here remember, and are sensiblé 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 Country, and all the Churches here, in their great diftrefs. I with yow made a voyadge to Hague, and dealt with our good friends, Dr. Rivet and Dr. Spanheim, to infinuate to the King their wholesome advyces. I know Somais [Salmafius], Voßius, 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 earnedlie to yow, to beflirre 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 fhall anfwer for it) readie to acknowledge, as becomes your pains, by fuch testimonies, in due time, as fhall give yow satisfaction. What yow doe muft be done quicklie; for every hour’s delay prejudgeth (we know not how much) his Majeftie and all his dominions.

Your Cousine,

Edinburgh, February 7th 1649. 

ROBERT BAILLIE.

MR. WILLIAM SPANG TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REV. REVEREND COUSIN,

Since May laft, the firft letter I have feen of yours was of the 4th Decem-ber, very concise, and moft of it in complaint of my long silence; of which ye fould have had no reaflon, if thefe to whom I entrufled my letters for yow have been honest; for I never let any occasion slip 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

"This and the two following letters are printed from the originals contained in Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVII. Nos. 83, 84, and 85. Spang, it will be observed, writes in the name of Anderson, and refers to Baillie, as Jameson. The orthography of the originals is usually retained; but the final e has been added to such words as Prince, large, place, these, &c. to make them intelligible. Spang’s long residence abroad, offers some excuse for such peculiarities."
and wyfe, who ever affected our cause, did profess to me both by word and letters. Most of my letters to yow wer inclosed in pakkets to Mr. George Gillespie, of quhoes death, to my great grief, I have latly heard. Certainly he was as able a man as our Kirk had; of a clear judgement:—that which some mislyked in him, wald easely 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 these mens unparalled 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 same exces of madnes with them.

Let Scotland chuis what fyde they pleas, that poor land fal be the seat 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 easie conquest of that Kingdom than al the Englih Kings ever had. His ground is, as I have heard from one who is of their counsell, that the bitterness betwixt thefe who wer for the laft engagement into England, and thefe who wer againft it, is so great, that ther is no means left to reconcile parties, and he is able to cruflhe thefe who hes authority now in their hand, if they be alone; so that our domeftik divisions is the cheif fay 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 purpofe. They encurrage them-"selves in thefe their hopes, by ane alledged difent entred by som of the eminentest 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 becaus their authority is so great in our Kingdome, to mak many fufpecht al runs not so smooth and fair as is given out by us; so much the more, since no publik Declaration is emitted by our cleargie, to vindicat themselfs 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 reaon, that following the example of the zealous preachers in London, ye testifie your utter abhorring of it, that ther may be extant a testimony to the world of the loyalty 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 declar 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 blissed be God, who hath put it in your hearts so to doe! this maketh your names like a fragrant fmel; and if ye be put to any hazard for the maintenance of that act, if ye will manadage your credit well abroad, ye will find real friends. But first, all wishe that cair were taken to cement at home with you, and for that purpose to remit of that rigour, in the which, if ye continew, no man fees how ye can subsist; for, be assured, the party that now is under will rake hell to vindicat themselves, and put yow to that necessitie, that ye must join your forces with thefe murthurers, and bring them again into the bouels of our kingdom, yea, and to be subservient to them, and to recall what has been done with such abolute agreement. It wer to be wished that men of all fydes wald now learne to deny themselves, if they wald approve their former professions for Religion, King, Countrey.

There is arryved at Rotterdam sone Commissioneeris from Scotland to the Prince, upon the 2d March, new ftyle, amongst whom there is one Sir Jofeph Douglaifs, who entreated Mr. Alexander Petrie to writy to me in all hait, 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, fo much the more, because I hear my Lord Chancellor is upon his way thither in a fhip, quhair, if I can serve them for any ufe, I fial not be dayling.

We have no news more than what your English moderat Intelligencer printeth. Germany is in fiatu dubio, al hankering 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 refolut, and they have met several tyms in parties, fomtyms with lofs of the one, fomtyms 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 feel 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 could get; his Apologie in 4to, et Specimen Animadversionum contra Spanhemium, bound, his treatize De Abfoluto Reprobationis Decreto, in 4to. unbound, his uther
small treatises bound together in 8vo.: Item, Ludovic de Dieu Animadversions in omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti, bound in 4to.; Rivetorum Fratrum Apologia contra Calumnias Amirauntij; Cocceius de Feedere et Testamento Dei; Linfchotani Itinerarium Indiæ Orientalis, in folio, Amstelodamensium 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 could 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. Jame-fon ane account of it. I am glad my nephew pleafeth yow fo weel; keep him in a modest opinion of himself. I fee he is hankering after his old conceit, and fhaues more inclination to other f tudies than Divinity, by refion of the little hopes of preferment for one who will not eafily enslave his judgement to other dolours. 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 f prouts.

I fend yow a new peece of that Eraflianifme againft the worthy fervant of God, Jodocus Larenus, minifter of Flufhing; who hes anfuer to it under the pres, whilk ye fal have when it comes furth. Marezius at Groning hes begun his virulency againft honest Voetius, whom he accuseth of poprie, focrinianifme, 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 yourfelv for having fuch a opinion of her, as if by her my deuty to my freinds fould be negleked; of this I may purge her, becaus I have, as I have written, left no occaion unpaft. And I am sure ye will find my letters, if ye have not got them alreddy, 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 transfgressor for a word, and whatsoever freedom I use with my freinds muft not be misinterpretate. Let your bedfellow, children, freinds, be saluted in my name, especially your brother-in-law, Dr. Strang. When I returne out of Holland, ye may expec, God willing, a large letter, and that with the firft. The good God comfort yow, and direc 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
these who hes driven his Father to that misery, I foresee 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. Anderson.

I have no leisur to wrt to any else at this tym. Commend me to my
mother and my freinds.—Let my cousine have use of such books in your
Bibliothek, as he has need of. Sie how familiar I am with yow.—I fal anfuer
Mr. David Dickfon's letter, when I gett anfuer out of Amfterdam.

(Addreffed) For the Reverend and much honored Mr. Robert
Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glafgow. M.

With ane bundel of books, marked R. B.

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

Mr. William Spang to Mr. Robert Baillie.7

Tibi foli.

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, re-
quiring me, in all haif, 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 wrt, neither could
he. Though the weather was very unfeafonable and stormie, and my health
not the beft, as ufually it falls out with me in March, yet I chufed rather to
rune these hazards then to be wanting to that gentleman's defyre. When
I come to the Hague, I enquire 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 delyvered them to Mr. Alexander

7 The envelopes or addresses of this and the next letter, are not preserved.
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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 yow 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 Majesty, for perfuading him to doe what ye require of him, viz. to joyne with Scotland in both the Covenants. The perfons whom ye deigned were ether absent out of Holland, as Dr. Rivet, Apollonius, or fuch who are not of credite with courtiers, or fuch who are known to make only use of the Court favour for their privat ends; and therfore I did bethink my self of another mean to effectuat that end, which was by addreffing my self to the Prince of Orange his Highnes.

For this purpofe I took pains to informe my self, the beft I could, of the prefent posture of counfels suggetted to the King’s Majesty, and the reafons for them; and I fand, that all thefe designd by our late Soveraine 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 vehement- cy; and if that could not prevail, uthers wer of advyfe that the King was to com to Scotland armata manu, becaus no truft could be given to fuch who were leading men in our Parliament; partly becaus they thought ther was reafon to fuppecket 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 becaus they thought that though thefe who invite him do really intend, yet they are not able to mantein him againft the Englifh usurpers, if they doe not recal their late aëts 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 protecket the King; but being straitned by the Englifh, 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 Parliament, proffed by unanfuerable reafons which yet was negleced altogether, by delyvery of the King within few moneths thereafter. The uther inftance was of the treating of our Commiffioners with the late King at the Iland of Wight, and our not performing our promife 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 haftely, 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 preyfled by the Ehrs Launderdail, Calender, Lanrick, with fuch evident felf denial of ther oune interefits, as being grievously cenfured by this prefent Parliament, that had the King bein left to himself, it was thought he could not but follow their advyfe. This honest cariage of thefe 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 curfe the hour that they have bein cafte heir to fpoyle the game they thought fure. Beleive me, I doe acknowledge the good providence of God in cafting them heir at this tyme: they have done more good for the countrey than if they had bein fitting in Parliament.

My next was to find out wherto the Prince of Orange was inclined. For this purpose, I went to tuo of the States General, of whose intimacy with the Prince’s counfels all men did fpake: 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 fundry uthers, but from none did I get furer information then from the Lord of Beverwerd, governour of Bergen, natural fon to Prince Maurice, a nobleman treuliy pious, and of a public spirit, refolute to imploy his credite for religion, and of high account with the Prince, in whose counfels he hes chief influence; as in fpaking to some of the Eftates and uthers, the Conservatour joyned himfelf with me, fo heir alfo, for which it will be weell done to thank him, for ye may be aflured he was both faithful and diligent even at that nik of tyme, when the buffines was in a crifis. 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, efpecially to remove some fcruples and objections wherwith many told he was dayly affaulted. For this end, a contreyman of ours promifed to bring me to the Prince; bot performed it not, or at leaft 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 counfellers, I was brought in to him, and had the freedom of a long hour's speech, where I fand God's affifiance and bleffing; his affifiance, in inabling me both with words and matter, for it was in Dutch; and his bleffing, in making the Prince fo attentive to what I faid, fo defirous to know the trew grounds of things, fo apprehenfive, and fo fully resolved with us for his Majefty going to Scotland upon the conditions propo"ned. I fal give yow a short and compendious account of what paffed then.

After I had thanked his Highnes for his favour in granting me fo reddly audience, and defyred to know if I might, with his good lyking, propone what I intended in Latin or English, rather than Dutch, and he defyring me to doe it in Dutch: Then I firft confoled the parricid of our late King his Father*: show how it was abhorred by the Eftaits of our Kingdom, how contrar to our Covenant, whole end, among uther things, was the faifty of the King's perfon; how not only the State had proclaimed his Son to be their King, bot the miniſtry of the kingdom alfo according to their places, had done their deuty, and had given affurance of their loyal affection to our present King, by their letters to him; and by their cair that he may be perfwaded in tyme to fhun that wicked counfel, whilk drove his late Father to fuch course, 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 expeéct more good than his Highnes, who, by being inftumental heirin, wald gaine grifter honour then by gayning of touns, &c. He anfwered, "That ther was nothing more acceptable to him, than that he was looked upon as one whoould employ himfelf for the advancement of relligion, and that now, if ever, the Reformed Relligion was in danger; that ther was no probable means to prevein the utter extirpation of it, but by espoufing 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 fpeccious, yet how fairfoever men did fpeak, he thought it madnes for a Proteftant to chuis rather to truft to a Papift, than a Proteftant who mynded truely." "And if ever (fayd I) any State mynded truely, it is our present State; their

* William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, married Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles the First: He died 6th of November 1650, aged 24.
haftines in proclayming, that cheerfulness of all joining together, doe witnes this; and now their reddines to espoufe the King's caufs, if he firft 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 exspected of the ministors? And heir he spok much of the grit influence their advyfe hes in the Eftait. To this I anfwered, that whatfoever any Prince can exscept of good subiects, that may our King look for at the hands of the Ministors, if he impoy his powr for the honouring of C[hrift]; and that al the powr they have in the hearts of the people will be for the King's advantage. Heir he spok somthing of the grit precifnes of our ministors, who could not be content with that about religion, whilk our late King had granted, and where- with the Parlament of England itfelf was weel neign satiffied. Heir I was redy to have anſwered; but he paffed this, and spok of the conditions we require of the King, viz. his accepting and entering into the Covenants. And I, at his defyre, having explained what these Covenants were, and how diftinguifhèd: "Then (fayd he) he will be eafily brought to subfcribe the Covenant, whilk concerns Scotland alone; (he meant our Nationall Coven- nant;) but that uther Covenant betuixt Scotland and England, he feared fould find gritter difficulty: 1. Because al the King's counfellers, to wit, thefe four English wald be againft it: 2. Because it reuired a deleyvering up to justice thefe who are called malignants. 3. Because, as by subfcribing it the King wald pleafe us, fo he wald diſpleas the Papifts in Ireland, and all forraigne Popift princes, who will not be fo foolish as to favour him whose advancement is the ruine of ther religion in his dominions. Uther refions (fayd he) are urged, and I fal propone them ere ye goe." So I began to anſuer; and, firft, I show that the firft Covenant of Scotland only provyds as grit security for religion as the fecond doth, and therfor the King's counfellers who advyfe him to subfcrib the one, and not the uther, for fear of diſpleasing Papifts, fpokes they know not of what, for ther is not a Papift who is not more diſpleased with the firft than the fecond." And he asking me, Why ar the King's counfellers fo much againft it? I anſuered, "That they durft not doe utherwayes than diſfuade our yong King from the Solem League, fince they had ever diſfuaded his Father from it; if they wald now chainge, the yong King, and your Highnes, who is fo gritly interefed, fould have reaon to look upon them as men whose confience did condem them for
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the abusing the father.” Heir I took occasion to represent to his Highnes the grit inconvenienc of the aboad of such counsellors about the King’s perfon; that if a course were not taken to banifhe them from his presence, they wald reddely prove as unhappy instruments to the Son as they have been to the Father; and that they are they who advyse the King to flight the presentation of Scotland, and to go to Irland, chuisifg rather he sould not reigne then that they sould not reigne also with him; men, of whose religion the world, to this hour, was never satified. So far as I could mark, his Highnes feemed not to be displeased with this. “As for the King’s deleyvering up of all malignants to justice, (I anfwered,) the Covenant doth not requyr that all malignants fal be punilhed, but only tryed, and left to the judgement of the Parlament.” “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 infance, the Acts of our prefent Parlament, declaring all who had ane hand for the engadgement 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 Parlament 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 Majestie as that.” Heir, I profes, I was at a strait: for to have given him such a character of a Malignant as the Commiffioners of the Generall Aslemblie did give some two yeers since, wald not have served the turne, the caufe 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 Parlament in England, then any who did ever fight againft them; and therfor I came to the distinguihing of malignants, some whole aimes appeared evidently to be for their aune felfs, either that they might abyd in a capacity to tyrannize over their fellow-subjects, or to raffe their fortunes, alreddy diperat by the publik trubles. Such malignants were justly unpardonable, and they had none to blame for the ruine of themselvs and their families, but their aune obstinacie. As for uthers, in whom it doth appear that privat and by-ends hes not fet them a work, their caufe is pitied; and it hes ever bein the custom 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 imploy your utmoft credite for uniting of all your contrey (I mean not, fays he, of such who have been bloody obstinat
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enemies to yow,) ye may los both yourselfs and the cause; and I know ther is nothing thatould more confound the counfels 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 waik enough to supprefs their enemies? I therfor doe as earnestly recommend this to yow, that ye wald acquaint your minifters with it, as they by yow do recommend their buffines:

If I did not think it tending to the inabling of yow to make your party good, Iould 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 fo evil advysfed as to reject this motion, if they but wald confider how fuddenly things may be changed.” I affure 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 Englifh counsel, when they were debatting the very laufulnes of our Scottifh Parlament, whither laufully indyted, maintaining strongly that that Committee quhilk called it, had no pover because they had not subferyved the acts of the former Parlament; “but (fayed he) I quikly crushed fuch a motion in the very fshell.”

“But (fayes he) the King by subferyving that Covenant will difengadge al Papifts from his service, both in Irland and elfwher, and al but Prefbyterians; for it obleidges 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 anfurered, “That fame argument our late Soverainge ufed; but how dommadgful his going about to pleafour papifts was, doolful experience hes taught, for Irland specially: it hes bein that quhilk hes withdrauen the hearts of the Protestants from him, more than any thing elfe. And what advantadge took thefe 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 Protestants called Prefbyterians, in Grit Britan and Irland is not fo mean, but if the King wald cheerfully joine himself to them, as Caput et Vindex Frederis, ther wald be no doubt of grit and good succes. As for the particulers, how much they could doe, I durft not take it upon me to fpeak: only I was fure that in al Scotland ther was not a man who
wald not be for the King; and in England, for one Independant, ther wald be found thrie Presbyterians; and the rest, being either Hierarchical men or Papists, if they wald not 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 grit men, whom ye know to be Protestants.' And heir, I suspeeting 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 apoffacie, 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 fuch; 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 falute or speik 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 desire, and humbly prayed his Highnes to continew in that holy and wholesome resolution; and to improve his credite with our King, that a fatiffactory anfuer may be given with all haift, shauing the danger of delay. "But (fays he) when will your Commissioners 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 theyould be? I anfuered, that I knew not. "Will any minifters come?" fayed he. I anfuered, "That I questioned not but fome fould come, who fould be able to satiffy al his Highnes's scruples better then I possibly could." "I wifhe (fayes he) fome minifters fould come for sundry 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 reffolution to subfcribe both the Covenants." "Then (fayed the Prince) ye may confidently affure them that I fal doe my utmost endeavour; and come ye to me to-morrow, and I fal tel yow what ye may exfpect."

So away went I, and to-morrow, being admitted to his presence, he told me, "He had made it his work yefternight to perfuade the King's Majefty; that the reffolution was taken to satiffie the defires of the Parlament of Scotland;
and that in all haste letters were to be written of, in answer to what the King received.' And heir again he recommended the cair of uniting all our noblemen in one, in passing by what faults hes bein the laft yeer; and told me, it could be most welcome news to him, if I could let him know that any thing were done in reference to this. And

Thus, Cousine, ye have the substance of that discourse, by which ye may see I have obtained the end of your letter, and that in a fitter way then ye prescribed. I most earnestly entreat yow, that ye would represent to the Reverend Brethren of the Commission how much the fame of rigidity, used by them against the last year's engagders, is lyke to endanger the reputation of our Kirk abroad, and lyke also to make presbyterial government hateful. My heart trembles when I think of this; for I am certainly enforced, by a printer, that that infamous person who goes under the name of Grallator,9 hes a big volume ready, of the late practises of the Scottish Kirk in the exercise of discipline, which ye may think are willingly furnished to him by some banished Scotsmen. Secondly, That all lovers of our caus and nation do unanimously judge that ther is no probable means of our safty if we unite not and pack not up all quarrels amongst our selves; if ther be not one amnestia for the laft yeer's engagement; for that such had reason to challenge the English army overpouring the Parliament, for breach of Covenant; and that their fears of mischief against the King were not caus'd, he is blind who sees not. If ther were faults in the compassing that work, as I doubt not but ther hes bein very grit ones, yet let not defyre of justice against these circumstantial fallings, lead us to seek the ruine of these men; or by excluding them from government, deprive the kingdom of their abilities, and waiken our selves so, that we fall not able to oppofe these treacherous and bloody Sectaries to purpose. If any of our Reverend Brethren had been heir to have been ear-witnesses what thrie of the Lords now put in your first class, did heir, in opposition to the English counsel and Montrofe, and all others who were for Irland, sure I am they wald have blessed God who brought them hither in this nick of tyme.

If any Commissioners fall come, I intreat yow, fie that some of the ablest of our minifters come also, who may be able to stand against Dr. Steuart and such lyke, if occasion eould serve, and may serve 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 fall on yow that ye most come, ye will let me know so much, that I may attend yow. Ye may be sure I fall most willingly contribute my little myte for the advancing of this so good a work. Oh! if the Lord wald blifs it, so might we yet hope for light in the midst of this darkness wherewith we are threatened. Ye writ to me that Mr. James Hamilton was ordour to keep correspondence with me. He hebegun, I hear, with Mr. Alexander Petrie, but forgotten me; yet salute him, together with all the reverend brethren of the ministry of my acquaintance; especially Mr. David, Mr. Robert Douglas, and our freinds in the Weft.

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

Your Cousine, 

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 employ 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 uthers. And my doubts are meerly proponed that I, getting satisfaction, may be able to satisfy uthers. With all whom I have conferred with about the buffines for which I went to Holland, I fand none complaing less of the rigid severitie of the Kirk and Parliament's proceedings with yow than these thrie Noblemen, whom it most concerned, as being these who are made to leave their countrey, and to suffer the plundering of their goods by these sever actes. 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 greater lenity: Neither (so far as wyfer men then I am doe fee,') fal ye ever have any sure peace without recinding this last act, of your ranking, whom ye have pleased to call Malignants, into four classes: passion hes bein too grit in that act; for it is judged a gritter fin not to protest 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 Romish severity, where eating of flesh being a breach of man’s law, is more heavily punished then notorious transgressions of God’s; and be assured 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 promoting of your ends. Ye are not disappointed in your hopes of noble Lauderdaill 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 re ficnding of what the Parliament hes decreed against them, ye will be looked upon as most ingrate men; and none shall be gladder of their mifery than the English malignants and James Grame, because they doe and have so opposed their plots. Lykwise, it wald be needfull that ye remitted much of that rigour quhilk, in your Church Assemblies, ye ufe against ministers who have proven your grit freinds ever before. It will be better to let the falls fal somquhat laigher in tyme, befor a formne compel yow; or these who think God so highly glorified by casting out their brethren, and putting so many to beggerie, making roume through fuch depositiones to yong youths, who are oft miscaried with ignorant zeal, may be made, through their aune experience, to feel what it is, which now, without pitty, is executed upon uthers. Generally, the grit pouter quhilk the Commissiion of the Kirk exerceth displeafeth all: It is but a extraordinary meeting, and yet fits constantly and more ordinarly than any Synod; yea and without the knowledge of provincial Synods and Prefbyteries, depothes ministers, injoyns, pro authority, what writs they pleafe to be read, inflicts cenfures on thse who will not read them. If the Kirk of Scotland look not to this in tyme, we will lament it when we can not mend it. They say four or fyve rule that meeting; and is not the liberty of the Kirk come to a fair market therby? We have an act that nothing fal be brought to a gritter meeting quhilk hes not first bein treated of in a smaller; but now your compend of the Generall Assembleie, or rather deputies of it, at the first instance, judge of matters, which might be better handled in leffier meetings. For God’s sake, look this course in tyme be stopped, else the Commissiion 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 these who are good; but what assurance have we but they may change, or uthers, following this course, creep into their places? We meet with daily regrants that the antient ministers are contemned, and the insolency of yong ones fostered, the very forrunner of Jerusalem's de-
struction. The Lord mak us wyfe in tyme.

Mr. Samuel Rutherford is called to be Profesor of Divinity and the Hebrew tonge in the new Univerfity of Harderwick. I have presently received a letter from Dr. Valkenier, Profesor of Divinity there, with one inclosed to Mr. Samuel; he writes to me that the States of Gelder, to whom that Univerfity doth belong, hae sent him his letters of call some moneths since, and defirs me to write also to him to haften his coming: This is by Dr. Voetius and Steuart's fliring. Ye moft be well advyfed at home what to doe, if our Kirk can want such a man, in the grit fearnefs of such. It is not his English writes that commendeth him so much, as his Latin treatife against the Jesuites and Arminians. If ye had published any thing in Latin ye wald not be suffred to flay where ye are, but then ye fould 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. Befides, the diffention of the nations, what a fearfull judgment of God is this upon us, that what we thought fould have joynd the nations unseparably, is lyk to be the great separator of them: it fears me many of our hearts in the perfute of it have not been upright. I know not how this my frenefs may be taken by fome; but it comforts me that I am affured ye know it comes from a heart addicted to the wealfair of our Kirk, no wayes discontented, that the godly party have such a fucy; only I wifhe we ufed prudence, leift we open a door to tyrannie, whilst we think to shut out tyrants out of the Kirk. The Divel hes many wyles to miflead men. That monfter of Papacy walked modestly at firft, and it was good but imprudent men that led the way to it.

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

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

I mervel where Sir Jofeph Douglas stayd so long, that we doe not hear from him these eight dayes. The ship of war quhilk our Confervatour got for himself, he procured a letter from the Prince to cause it stay for Sir Jofeph; and when it comes to Scotland it muft stay the Parlamant 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 obliged to our present Lord Confervatour, Thomas Cunyngham. It is a pity they let him be so great a lofer for his grit reddines to furnishe them in their need.
That wretched committee of your former Parliament, by the Lord Cochran's malice, were going about to wrong him gritly; if he get not contentment now when honest men rule, ye will find lefs credite heirafter. Let him know how reall I am for him, as ye know I am to all to whom I profefs 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 Commiflion, but upon condition that no man misconstrue my meaning. I know how reddy men will be in thir ticklesom 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. Moderat counfells ufed to be of account, and festina lente was a advye never a man repented of.

I write this thrid letter since Sir Joseph his coming hither, and that I heard such a change in the King. I entreat yow not to spair any occaſion in wryting to me: with our Confervatour, 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 eftait of our effairs, that he may be able to help us wherein he can, it is reaſon we fatifie him. I have promifed 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 sad and calamitous time, The Church of Scotland hath sent some of us, who are here, Minifters and Ruleing Elders, and others who are yet behind, in Commiffion to your Majeſtie, to declare, in their
name, not only the sincere and deep grieſe of that whole Church for your Majefťie's moft lamentable afflictions, but also their reall and great joy for your Majefťie's succesſion to the Throne, and their confident hopes, by the blessing of the Moſt High on your royall person and government, now at laſt to come up out of that pit of grievous confusions, calamities, fears, and dangers, wherein long they have been ſinking.

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

We doe alſo profefſe, 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 Majefťie's moſt gracious and hopefull person; earnestly praying, that the light of the Lord's countenance may ſhyne fo bright upon your Majefťie's reign, that the very thick clouds of our preſent dangers and fears may ſlie away, and a new morning may ſpring up, to all your three Kingdomes, of greater peace and prosperous, of more righteousneſs 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 Anceſtors.

For the preſent, we are loath to take up more of your Majefťie's precious time; only we preſent the Letter¹ of our Church; and what further moſt loyall defyres we have in commiſſion, we ſhall, God willing, be ready, in all humility, to offer to foone as we ſhall know of a fitt opportunity, to ſ tand againe in your Majefťie'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."
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 Rotterdame; on the Fryday we went to Delph. There we thought meet to rest till the Monday, both because of our own resolution to keep one day of humiliation in our familie for making our first address(es) to God, as also because of our information, by some of our friends who met us at the Delph, that his Majestie would be taken up with his Eafter devotions till Tuesday following. We therefore, on the Sabbath, did preach and pray in our familie, and found the goodnes of the Lord with us; and on the Monday did put our papers and affaires in order. At night we came to the Hague, and spake with some friends, who were not many here. On the Tuesday, the second afternoon, we went to the Court, and had a favourable reception. My Lord Caffilliss did speak 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 Princes Royall, the Prince of Orange, the Princes Dowager, and the Estates Generall.

The Comissioners 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 Comissioners of Parliament by ane 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 gett 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 fo handfome as we could gett them. We fpoke someting on the matter, and defyred of his Majestie more frequent and private conferences; who shew his willingneffe, and promifed to fend to us toadvertife 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 amongft themselves for the prefent being fo great, that our goeing there, we conceive, shoulde have given offence, and prejudged our affaires.

On the Monday we purposed to have given in our defyres, in the paper which herewith alfo we fend, bot his Majestie was abroad in the afternoon, fo we delayed till this day. We cannot yet make any judgement of the successe. The moft part of the Councill are averfe from our defyres; yet we have our friends. His Majestie is of a very sweet and courteous difpoftion: it were all the pities in the world bot he were in good company. We hope he is not fo far rooted in any principles contrarie to us, bot that, by God’s blessing on our friends labours, he may be gotten to doe us realone, whatsoever our fears be for the prefent. There is a very evill generation both of English and Scots here, who vomite out all their evill humour against all our proceedings. The peace of France, and ane unhappie book, Eixov Bapovix8 does us much prejudice. Also the supposed death of Huntlye2 is wretted to our difadvantage. 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 Anfwer; bot by the grace of God, shall 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 mischiefs that the instruments of Satan on all hands are preparing to

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

3 Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. His tract here mentioned, bears the title of “A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scotish 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 Scotes 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 yow, and refvs,

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 inclofed to the Commifion of the Church, yow fee the state of our affaires here. I wrote to Warriftone from Rotterdam what was the poffture of our affaires, as then we were informed. As yet our fears are great of a fore forume to Scotland; yet yefternight I learned from a great perfon here, that our affaires, blefled be God, are not desperate. There is no Scotsman that is on the King’s councill: the five or fix Englifh that are, Cottington, Culpepper, Hyde, Long, and some more, are divided. The moft are of Prince Rupert’s faction, who caresles Montrofe, and preffe mightily to have the King to Ireland: Culpepper and fome bed-chalmer-men, as Wilmot, Byron, Gerard, and the matter of the horfe, Peirce, are of the Queen’s faction, and thefe 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 laft; and by their means we are somewhat hopeful yet to cary his Majeftie to our Covenant, and the moft of our defyres for Religion; but I dare not promise fo much: yet the greateft flick, I fufpeft, fhall be our fevere Acts of Parliament. It feems all here, even our beft friends, will be peremptor for a greater mitigation than, I fear, fhall be granted by yow here. It were verily a great pitty of the King: he is one of the moft gentle, innocent, well-inclyned Princes, fo far as yet appears, that lives in the world; a trimme perfon, and of a manlie carriage; understands prettie well; speaks not much: Would God he were amongst us. I fend yow herewith a copie of what I faid to him. Because it was bot a tranfient speech, I give out no copies of it here at all; yet that we spoke fo, it did us much good; for heavy flanders lay upon us here, which the report
of our speeches helped to mitigate. Our enemies have great confidence, by the French peace, to get powerful assistance from France. I verily think, if the King and we shall agree, assistance shall be gotten from this State, and the Marquess of Brandenburg, and some others, for good purpose. I pray God guide you there to put no more impediments to our agreement than are necessary. My heart bleeds to think of a necessity for Scotland to have any friendship with the English sectaries, the worst of men, and a warre with our King and countreymen in our own bowels. What relaxation you may grant with conscience, and safely, let it be done freely and publickly with this express: It will admit upon no longer delay. Ye will communicat this to my Lord Warrenstone.

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 you I give this account of our further proceedings. After we had given in our chief paper, a double whereof you had in my last, it was thought meet we should speak with the King severally and privately. I went to him first. He gave me a long and very favourable audience, from ten at night till near eleven. The contents of our free conference possibly I may send you on a sure occasion: at this time it is scarce safe, for there is an English man-of-warre near the Brile that searches all letters comes from this: as yet we cannot get it helped. In this conference I found the King, in my judgement, of a very meeke and equitable disposition, understanding, and judicious enough, though firme to the tenets his education and companie hes planted in him. If God would send him among us, without some of his present counsellors, I think he might make, by God's blessing, as good a King as Brittaina saw thefe hundred yeares. Finding the great sticke to be upon the League and Covenant, his own taking it, and assuring to passe it for England and Ireland; of his persuassion that his past-

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

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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 unsatisfactoryness 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 presse 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 mott of the counsellors are for Ireland, and all, both they and the bed-chalmer-men, even they who are very great and reall 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 ane 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 marvell ye write nothing to us. We have been vexed these eight days with constant reports here of the North's ryfeing, and David Leffley's retireing. 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 hatre, I rest,

Your Brother,

Hague, April 17th 1649.

R. Baylie.

By a good friend of myne, a Dutch Statesman, I gott this double of the two papers the King gave in to the States-Generall; as yet he 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 fee no human way either of his or our preservation; but God is great and good. It were a thousand pities that so sweet a man should not be at one with all his people.

For Mr. William Spang. September 14th 1649.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

Your letters are much rarer than they wont to be. Except that with Captain Goreum, I saw none of yours since I was with yow; only I have
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heard these yow sent with the young man Thomson of Edinburgh were taken with his trunk by ane Irifh friggit. 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 thefe 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 hundredth 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 refting, and if I shall send it in crofs-dollers to yow with the first occasion, or what other way yow will. Caffillis and Warriftone lykes weell of your intelligence: let it be continued.

I thought to have sent yow a particular accompt of this Generall Affemblie as I had done of some others; but the diary I wrote in the time, I loft; fo I cannot now doe it; neither were there much in it worth the remembrance. The liteing of two for the moderation fell to Mr. Robert Douglafs, the antepenult moderator: Mr. Gillespie, the laft, was departed, and Mr. Blaire, the penult, never thorough weell since his English journey, was not able to come to Edinburgh, whereof I was very forry. The two Mr. Robert lited were, Mr. Andrew Cant in earnest, and Mr. Mungo Law for a fashion. The three the Affemblie 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; fo, without queftion, 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 feffion, 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 depofitions of minifters. There had been diverse commiffions, e aft, weft, south, and north, who had depofed 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, keepe in their places; but there was few durft profeffe
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so much; and I, for my ingenuous freedom, loft much of my reputation, as one who was inclyning to malignancie.

My Speech to the King, speaking fo sharplie of his Father's death, and the commendations I gave to himselfe in the preface of my book, but especially a paffage of a letter I wrote from Holland, wherein, to a familiar friend, I speak of the act of Claffes as fo severa, that it will be needfull to dispencle with some part of it for the peace of the countrey: for these things, before the Assenblie, sundry spake of me all their pleafure; yet I conforted myfelf in this, that I knew I was farr from the calumnie imposfed, and that all the wyfe men I knew profefled their agreeance with me in the three things named. My un-acquaintance with obloquie made my skin, at this first aflay, more tender than needed; for I had fo oft in print declared my fene againft, not Seetaries alone, but Malignants also, and that fo liberally, in my laft book, that I thought in reafon I fhould have been reputed above all fufpicion of that crime; yet I was neceflitate to drink more of that cup than I did truly deserve; for whoever in my Sermon to the Parliament, I was as clear as needed, and in my Report of our treatie did obtaine the unanimous approbation and thanks of the whole Assenblie, now in print; yet I behoved, in sundry voices of the Assenblie, either [to] quitt the libertie of my mind, or endure the whisperings of my malignancie to continue. This laft, though to my great grief, I behoved to choyce. I could not vote to depofe 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 againft him was mere silence in that Engagement. For that alone I could depofe no man, for the reafons I gave in the committee of the former Assenblie, when that act did pass to depofe for silence alone, if continued in: My mind did never goe along with that act; though therefore I knew the whole Assenblie almoft was otherways minded, and foresaw the mistake of my voyce by some, yet I behoved to voyce his fufpension to continue, and no farde. As for Mr. Andrew Ramfay, more was libelled and proven againft him, and all this year he carried himself in a cankerd untoward way; yet I told, I could not voyce to depofe 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 sharp letters to me for it. I had also some conteft with my neighbours in Mr. William Wilkie's procefs, whom I judged more hotly perfued than there was caufe. But my sharpest conteft was for the
Principal, whom I fand some men to perfew all without any ground at all considerable: contrare to their designe, I gott him reasonably faire off. These contests, and wrak of my friends were very bitter to my mind, and, joyning with the obloquie in the ear against me by some, did fasch my spirit sometyme, till I gott my grief and wrong vented and poured out to God; for there was no other whom I fand able and willing to help me. It was a piece of confort to me, that I knew the 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 infamie under which super-excellent Mr. Henderson lay, to my knowledge, till God and tyme blew it away. I have been ofter and forer feared for the wo of Chrifl to them whom all the world love and fpeak good of, than I was grieved for any reproachfull speeches which some were begun to mutter against me; bot this now is our condition, that the cheife men both in Church, State, and Army, how innocent foever, are whisperit to favour either sectaries or malignants.

In our Report, when I had ended what you read in print,5 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 pleaded to miftake what was spoken of Lauderdaill, albeit my Lord Caffillis, in his report to the Parliament, had faid as much of him; bot some men fearing a designe to bring Lauderdaill in imployment at this very tyme, was not pleaded 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. Livingftone, 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 earnefflie, and fo did the Chancellor intreat Mr. Robert Douglaifs, but out of tyme, that the frameing of the declaration should have been committed to one other hand than that it fell in; who, how able foever, yet was generallie thought to be among the most fever of the company to the King: but this could not be helped. Only many claues 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 expresies 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 forefaw 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 Presbytery, with power to the major part of the people to dissent, upon reason to be judged of by the Presbyterie. Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Wood were as peremptor to put the power and voyces of election in the body of the people, contrario from their eldership; but the most of us was in Mr. Gillespie’s mind, in his Miscellanies, that the direction was the Presbyteries, the election the Sessions, and the consent the peoples. Sundry draughts were offered: Mr. Wood’s, most studied, was refused; Mr. Calderwood’s also; Mr. Livingstone’s came near our mind, yet was laid 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 Assemble; where, against my mind, the Book of Discipline was press’d 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 Presbytery. This I thought was nothing so, but was silent, being in my mind contrary to Mr. David in the maine; though, in this incident debate of the sense of the Book of Discipline, I was for him. However, already we find the defect of our act; for, as I conceive, and expressed it, so in my draught, so much direction in this act is due to Presbyteries, that they ought to recommend to the Session men to be elected, without prejudice of their libertie to add whom they think fitt: but I find it the designe now of leading brethren, that the Presbyteries shall not meddle at all with any
recommendations, but leave that whollie to any particular buffie man of the Presbyterie, to whisper in the ear some leading person of the parish, to get 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 censure.

There was a designe, at the last Assembly, to have gotten the hands of many ministers to a supplication for moderating, in some things, the power of the Commision of the Church; which was expounded by this Assembly truely to have been an overthowing, 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 sever act was made against the thing; yet Mr. Douglaes caried it so, 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 confess'd 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 necefltie there might be for themselves to doe more than supplicate a Generall Assembly, had no will that any supplication whatsoever, especiallie being only intended, and never offered, should be a ground of Church-censure. However, albeit a terrible act was made against the thing, contrare 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 sould have made many prime men in our land deperate; 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 flieck 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 faw in the Assembly, 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 wifdome. Mr. Harie Guthrie, in his appeal to the Assemblie, had used some fharp and reftecting reafons, 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 paffed from his appeal, which obtained him favour not to be fader proceeded againft. Mr. William Colvill took his fentence of deponents fubmiffively; Mr. Andrew Ramfay profefled his fuffering: fome would have been at the prefent proceeding of both, as guilty of all the blood, and all the confequents of the Engagement; but Mr. Robert Douglafs did quafs thefe motions, which otherways eafily had been carried on.

It was all our minds to have had transportations better regulate than they had been; for indeed their needless frequency was intollerable, yet Mr. Robert Douglafs gott all that shifted till Edinburgh once againe be provided both of minifters and profefleurs. For their Univerfity they moved for Mr. Rutherford, but that was thought abfurd. It feems 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 Dickfon; but in my mind, neither of thefe 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 fenfe, 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 fite of three or four; Mr. James Wood, Mr. John Livingftone, Mr. James Guthrie, and me. My profeflion made me fure 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 Livingftone and me; and had not the opinion of my malignacie diverted fome voyces, I had undoubtedly been oppreffed with that charge. As it was, I efchewed it bot by two three voyces; but I bleffed the Lord moft heartily for it; for to me it had all the days of my life been a burthen intollerable, for many caufes.

The Assemblie, for the full purgation of the Church, as in former years, fo in this alfo, hes appointed diverfe committees; one in Angus, one in Stirling-
flyre, one in the Merse, one in Rofs, 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 miniters, for depositing of such as Presbyteries and Synods does spare. I acknowledge the disinclina-
tion of my mind to so frequent depositions of ministeres, and to all courtes that furthers that, to me so severe an action; but this is a great part of my malignacie.

I think at last we shall get a new Pfalter. I have furthered that work ever with my best wishes; but the scruple now aryes of it in my mind, the firft author of the translation, Mr. Rous, my good friend, hes complyed with the Sectaries, and is a member of their republck: how a Pfalter of his framing, albeit with much variation, shall be receaved by our Church, I doe not well know; yet it is needfull we should have one, and a better in hafe we cannot have. The Assembleie hes referred it to the Commisision\(^6\) to caufe print it after the laft revision, and put it in practife.

These were the chiefe things of our long and tedious fyve weeks labour; only we appointed a letter to be drawne for our brethren of England for their encouragement. The draught was Mr. James Durham's: it was his firft; it did not so fully please as to pafs, but was referred to the commisision 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 pub-
lick advice was given; but Mr. Livingstone, and Mr. Macklellan were ap-
pointed to confer with him on all his propositions.

All this while the Parliament did fitt, though ready to ryfe at our firft down-fitting, more than at our ryfing. Their main caufe of sitting was to see what we brought from the King. Thereafter, being to ryfe, conftant reports, week after week, of Cromwells purpos, to bring down the armie on us be-
fore it went to Ireland, made them fitt still to see to the defence of the countrey. To encreafe the leavies, was to put the countrey to a farther burthen, while the present was so great as could be borne, and caufed dan-

\(^6\) This version of the Psalms, by an Act of the Commission of the Assembly 23d November 1649, confirmed by an order of the Committee of Estates 8th January 1650, was accordingly authorised for public use throughout this Kingdom after the 1st May 1650; and the same version still continues in use by the Established Church, and the great body of Dissenters in Scotland. Some further particulars respecting its history will be given in the Appendix.
gerous grumbling every where; also, if ane greater army had been on foot, the world would not keep them out of England, which we did not intend, being farr from any agreeance with the King; so nothing considerable was done or could be done, though the English had come on us. They had 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 readie to treat with both the Houses of Parliament; but could not acknowledge the present authoritie. This drew from them a printed paper, in reasonable soft words; but clearly enough renouncing all former Treaties and Covenants, as broken by our Parliament's invasion, ane advantage which they would openly make that ufe 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 fuch a tyme?

While there is nothing to doe in our Parliament, they make themselves buffinefs enough. Our Westland fhyres had, in the rates of monthly maintenance in bygane tymes, been burthened above other fhyres. Oft they had complained; but no redrefs; they resolved therefore, now or never, to have it helped. Cassillies, Celfhock, Sir John Cheiflie, and others, got it fo contryved, that ane act passed for their eafe, with the burthening of the Eastern fhyres. 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 Houfe. This division was very fchonious and scandalous: it continued near a fortnight; but was at laft accommodat; yet fo that the Westland-men had their defyre. This was not well settled till the Burrowes fell out amongft themselves in a great heat. Sundry of the burrowes had been long grudging that Edinburgh should bear fo 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, whileas they payed but a twenty-seventh part, or thereaway; so in their Convention, at the Queen's ferrie, they advanced them towards a thirty-sixth part, and diminish'd Glafgow, St. Andrews, Irvine, and some others, a part of their proportion. This the Provoft and Counsell of Edinburgh took in ane exceeding evil part, and storm'd much at it, yet could not remeed it. But the moft bitter difference was the laft day of their fitt-
ing. Cafillis and others, of a long tyme, had a great defyre to have the annualrent fo low as might be. Many wayes had been projected for the payment of your Lamfons; bot all had failed. The money had payed to the 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 time to come, bot during the troubles to keep it at eight, whereof one and a half to be payed as of before, and the other half-merk to go to the Lamfons. When this was going, the whole Burrowes, except two or three obfoure ones, protested, with a high paflion, and went out; the rest fatt still, and for no dealling of Warriftone and Mr. Robert Douglaifs, would fo much as delay the clofcing of the Parliament that night, for they feared, if they had delayed till the morrow, that the people should have been fett on them with tumultuarie supplications; fo the Parliament clofed without the Burrowes; yea, the Committee of Eftates was made of a quorum, which shou'd fubfift without them, if they shou'd perfift to afbent themselvess, as they threatened they would. Much high language paffed on both fydes; yet some days thereafter, the Burrowes were made content to fitt in the Committee of Eftates: But all these grudges fticks in the ftomacks of many, waiting but ane opportunitie to difgorge them.

By William Murray's private dealing, it feemes Louthian was made willing, with Argyle's confent, to have been fent to the King, bot alone. Argyle therefore, off hand, moved in Parliament, in the abfence of Warriftone, and without the privitie of the Chancellor, or any other of his friends of the Church, to have ane new Adrefs 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 inclyning to a new trinketting with the King by himfelfe; others, that the manner of his proceeding was to marr the matter of purpofte. However, the rafhnefs 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 Libbertoun7; 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 haft, and the instructions fo fceabrous, that there was no

7 The "Act appointing Mr. George Winrane 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 only he may be moved to goe now
on the great change of the Irish affairs. 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 subtil and false way, had put himself in the government of Ulster. 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, first to Scotland,
and then to England: This was the King's great snare all this yeare, to keep
him off and agreeance with us. But behold how soon all this hope evanished;
Jones, having gotten some supply of men from England, makes an eruption
on Ormond's camp so prosperously, that he well nearer raised the siege.
However, he encourages Cromwell, without more delay, to come over, shewing
Ormond, for all his great force, so easie to be dealt with. Mackart, in the
meantyme, joyned with Sir Charles Cutts [Coote], and coming towards the
Derrie, made all our besiegers get away, because the ministers before had
preached so much against Aird's treacherie, that few of the people had heart
or hand to serve him, but generally all deferted him; wherefore he and his
party, as it were by Ormond's command, began to threaten the ministers,
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 Eng-
land, and then have at the third poor broken Kingdome, more easy than any
of the other to be swallowed down.

This being our case, lyklie our Committee of Estates may haste Lib-
bertoun to the King, to see if, when the rotten reed of Ireland is broken,
he will think better of our propositions than he did before; so much the
more as the Presbyterians in England, by a very pithie supplication, which
they sent to me, and I to our State, doe press the same point. If either we
neglect to seek him, or he continue to refuse our conditions, the ruine of both
seems to be near; and though he were joyned with us in our terms, yet he
hes delayed so long, that our difficulties and his would be insupportable but by the hand of God. Allways, we would suffer all hardships with the greater comfort, that he and we were conjoyned in God against the common enemie of God, of his house, and our countrey. If we make ane new application, who ever hinderers 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 Lauderdaleill minds [to do.] What is become of Willoughby, Maffey, Bunch? Alfo try to your power if there be any suspicion 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 Cassillis and our State be fo rare as it is to me, it will be little worth.

In my last, I wrote for Bochartus, and Petavius’s two volumes De Doctrina Temporum, fail not to fend them; alfo all Voetius and Maresius’s late things. I pray yow fend what can be had of Chronologie that is worth; Apollonius or Morus will informe: we have Scaliger, Calvitius, Lanfibergius. Haft to us Petavius: I purpose to teach some of it this year; and to affift me, write to me what yow know of Morus, and what is become of Spain and Salmasius’s pieces for the King. When ye write to me ye use not to look on my letters, fo yow forgett to anfwer fundry things I require: help this: should ye not alwayes fend to us Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus. Try, by Mynheer William, (to whom recommend me heartily,) the state of the peace of Germanie, and of Spain with France; and if any hopes from Denmark or Swedden for our King. I wish we had some treatifes of the lawfull- nes of confederations, as of yours with the French and Swedifh, for it’s lyke we muft preach againft the King’s taking any help, either of Papifts or Lutherans, or any Malignants: if there be any Latine or French books of that subjeft, let me have them. My best affections to your every way good wyfe. I hope my next may be to your nurse 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.
For Captaine Titus.  

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 send our letters with ane honest bearer. All with us is in a deep quietness and silence. It seems Ireland is lost; I think we shall be next tryed. James Grahame cannot come hither for the King's good: If he think to have any service of us without If's and And's, he must come up, and that shortly, to our demands; which if he doe, he may have us yet to be his servants against all his enemies, without exception, whatever it shall cost us. Whatever ye send 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.

My Lord,

What yow and my Lord Warriston 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 answer ye will read and close. I marvell ye are so long in sending your letters. It seems ye will stay till Cromwell perfyte his Irifh conquest; which I think will not take long tyme, and then I expect him or his deputie in the heart of Scotland. Who thinks not so, or is not feared for this, I must have leave to suspect 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, briefly discours'd in three Questions," which is said to have occasioned so much alarm to Cromwell during the later period of his life.

9 George Winraine 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.
In our present condition of heart division, for all our quietness, and subcriptions to any thing ye will, I think him blind and foolish who sees not our defence against the poorest invader is inconsiderable. I would bless the man that could shew the possibilitie of any reall reunion of our nation, for their own defence against any common enemie: 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, seem to me weell near loft, without recoverie, for a long tyme. O, if my fears were vain!

Yours,

September 7th [1649.]

[R. Baillie.]

Postscript.

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

Clarissimo et doctissimo Viro D. Gisberto Voetio, Sacræ Theologæ in Academia Ultrajectina Professori.

Reverendissimæ Vir,

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

1 Here to lye evidently signiﬁes to reside.
LETTERS AND JOURNALS. 1649.

id fibi oneris imponere voluerunt, ut opusculi mei cum translationem tum editionem, haud parva sua nullus dubito cum moleflia, procurarent. Quam vellem mihi darem etiam occasio exprimendi vel tibi vel ipsis partem aliam quam gratiarum quas in praefentia multas animo meo volus conceptas sentio. Docebit, si voles, D. Bovius ex meis ad D. Spangium litteris quis sit rerum hodie nostrarum status, et quam ingens nobis imminere videatur tempeftas, qua a Malignantibus quos vocamus, si perget Rex peffimis ipforum confiliis utramque fiam prout haecenus aurem quos nos minus habemus, quam a Sectariis, quorum res mirabili adhuc etiam in Hibernia, non Anglia tantum, succelflu flunt. Utraque haec factio pari in nos odio aefluat, et ab utraque extremia omnia metuimus. Unica nobis in Jehova fpes est. Ut multum egemus, ita valde defideramus tranfmarinorum fratrum in feriis ad Deum prorsus perseverentiam. Ab initio ufque noftrorum motuum tot in nos noftramque caufam a tua pietate finceriflimae charitatis specimina comperimus, ut fideliorem nobis in rebus quantumlibet ar6lis operam ab exterorum theologorumullo non polliceamur. Quare unice nobis in votis eft ut velit Dominus ad extremam fenectam te incolumem fervare, ut in domo Dei insignis illa tua lux diu fulgeat ad multos, quod facis quotidie, illufrandos, et ad dissipandos non eos tantum errorum fimos quibus Pontificii, Arminiani et Sociniani veftras pro viribus ecclefiias offufcare conantur, fed illas etiam tenebras quibus Independentes, Anabaptiflæ, Chiliatæ, Antinomiani, eteeraque Seclariorum turba noftræ Britanniae cælum maximo jam nifu obscure multumur. Hoc voto supplices 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 veftiram Annam Mariam, quam quod non folutaverim dum tecum ellem perfpe dolui.

Glasguae, idibus Septemb. 1649. XLI.

Anna Maria Schurmann. This learned lady, whom Baillie regrets not having visited when in Holland, had obtained very high reputation by the publication in 1648 of a volume of Letters and Poems: "Opuscula Hebraea, Graecæ, Latina, Gallica; prosaica et metrica," edited by Frederick Spanheim, and republished in 1650, and again in 1652. She was a native of Cologne, but was then residing at Utrecht. She died in the year 1678.
Let it be the Lord's will, I wish we had met for many causes. I hardly think that Dr. Strang can be in any hazard for what was before toffed and settled by the authoritie of the Assembly, except there be some new matter; and if so, let him answer for it, and doe not ye, by intermedling in that kind, defyle your conscience and destroy your name, which already suffers not a little. Your solitarie vote concerning the two misleaders of that sinfull Engagement, with wings flies abroad, to my no small grief: I think Launderdaill and Middletone, and many of that rank, nothing so culpable; and I assure yow, had I been there, I would have cordinallie casten them out. They have been more instrumentall to advance that wicked work, both by their silence and speaking, than such 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.

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 who signed the Declaration against the execution of Charles the First. It appears from Love's Trial, that a material part of the evidence rested upon a letter he was said to have received from Col. Bamfield, which enclosed others from the Earls of Argyle, Loudoun, &c. and one from "Mr. Bailey,
two to the Generall Assembly, 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 firft were called together, the Lord Chancellour, the Marquifs of Argyle, the Earles of Cailllis and Louthian, with Mr. Douglafts, Mr. Blair, Mr. Jamifone, and Mr. Wood. One and all were very much refreshed and encouraged by the two publick most gracious and most feaonal letters. The answer to them was remitted to the next meeting of the Commission of the Church the laft of this moneth, where we purpose to make more publick ufe of thefe, if we shall then find [it] stand with your safety. In the mean time, Mr. Jamifone [i. e. Mr. Baillie] was appoynted to give you some short accoempt of affaires here; which be pleased to receave.

This whole eight days before the defeat at Dunbar, the Lord had doe disposed, that, to the apprehension of most in both armies, a victorie seemed to inclyne to our side. When, contrary to all appearance, the Lord, by our owne negligence, had overthrown us, we have still lyen under that stroke, not so much by any active prosecution of the enemie, as by the Lord's hand now upon us, our divisions. A strong partie in the North, whom we have excluded from our armie for the late Engageing, did putt theirfelves in armes without publick order: It coft us some time before we could quyet them. That danger was scarce over, when ane other partie in the Weft, whom we have permitted to ryfe, and from whom we expected readie and happie service against the enemie, fell in wayes of their owne, to our great and long disturbance; which we suppose Cromwell long before this has caused print there. Unto it very myld answers were given, both by Church and State, as you will read here in the copies subjoyned: A while, notwithstanding, they perfued in their diverse way; the enemie fell on, and putt them to a totall routt, whereby he enlarged his quarters now where he pleases 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 Scottish 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 prisoner are not soe many; and among neither, any man of note, but (who is now prisoner) Collonell Kerr. Strachan indeed, the chief author of all this mischiefe, had before foullie betrayed his trust, and since is gone unto the enemie.

These mischieffes have laid us now lower in the dust before the Lord. On Sunday nixt, the 22d of December, we have a generall humiliation, most 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 controversy 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 purpose, with all possible speed, to make use of all the remainder of our forces. The Parliament the other week did call together the Commission of the Church, to be resolved, how farre it was lawfull to employ, in this case of extreme necessities, these who, for sometime, and while we had choife of men, were excluded from the service. The unanimous anfwer be them present you have here subjoynted. 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 some among us against the employing of these who before were excluded; but we hope that in a little tyme this shall change; so much the more, as in very few, in whom it is greatest, there yet appeares the leaft inclination to comply with the enemie. And to guard the better against this evill, the Church, the other day, did passe the subsequent Act, which the Parliament is about to confirme, with a severe civill censure against all transgressors.

After our forefald applications to God on the 22d and 26th of this instant, we have appointed to Crowne our King, the 1st of January, at Scoone, the ordinarie place of our old Coronations; and thereafter, so soon as we are able, to march, with the strength we can make, under the conduut 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 paffes of Forth againft the enemie; or, with the bodie [of our army], to attend Cromwell here, and to send Mafley to England with some thousands of horfe 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 necessitie is apparent for the extraordinarie diligence of our friends there to procure to us their possible assistance in this our foe necessitare 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, wife, and diligent agent for your defyres to us, and whom we hope shall be no lefs such for our defyres 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 extremitie. Expecting this dutie of love from yow and our dear Brethren, I add but this one word, that the brethren there would be carefull, as we have been, and purpose still to be, to lay, at this their new beginning, such foundations for their Armie and Parliament, that the leading men in both may be firme and zealous to preserve the Covenant, and our former principles, entire without violation: Also, if it shall seem good in the Lord’s eyes to bless our mutuall endeavours, that our friends there may be zealoufie conscientious, that what progres was made in the Assemblie of Divines for the reformation of religion be not loft, but procured untill a finall conclusion and all be ratified by King and Parliament. I rest,

Your Brother and Servant in the Lord,

Jamisone.

Perth, Fryday, December 20th 1650.

For Mr. David Dickson.

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

* Probably Col. Bamfield, who appears from Mr. Christopher Love’s Trial, to have been employed at this time in such negociations.
the Church, or been written for by any at Stirling, or, on the Commissioners generall letter to our Presbyterie, I had been defyred by our Presbyterie to ryde, and not through Mr. Patrick's coming been expresslie 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 increasſing of our present miseries. I hope the Lord will affift yow to help our Church, our King, and State, when, by the designdes of the Devill, and, at beſt, the imprudence of some men and simplicitie of others, all are lyke to be overthrowne with our owne hands: The hands of lurking Joabs will in time be discovered. This much to 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 mould defert the King, and verifie the too common furmisfe of many, which I truſt ſhall be found moſt falfe, and shortly ſhall be refuted by his deeds, I think, and many more with me of the beſt I speak with, that it would be a fearfull finne in him, which God will re‐venge. We are not without our fears that the King's flight has been procured by Hamiltone's greatest friends, expresslie for the King's ruyne. But if Argyle shouſd have any hand with the Remonſtrants for the fame end, his finne would be no leſs: That man my heart has loved till now; I hope he ſhall give me caufe to continue.6

Your Brother,

Glaſgow, November 18th [1650.] R. B.

For Mr. Robert Douglass.

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

6 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 eafe 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 pleafes, for suffering, but withall to give the world ane accompt of my diffent from the Re- monfrants wrytes and wayes. The Lord be with yow.

Glafigow, November 18th [1650.]

For Scout, Mr. Buchan. [1650.]

If great words would putt our State from crowning the King at this time and make them submitt to the commands of our Remonfranters, they may: If they will keep promise to the King, and telle 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 inclofed to yow by Mr. Robert Ramfay, thinking yow shoule have been at the meetings of Stirling and Perth, whither I was resolved not to goe, notwithstanding of many earnest intreaties to the contrare; yet, after the dissolving of the meeting at Stirling, I followed to Perth, upon fundry letters from Stirling to me for that effect. Your abfence was not weell taken by many; though I verily think your preference would not have had more influence on the Remonfrants than that of Mr. Douglafs, Blair, Cant, Rutherfoord, Durham, Wood, and others, who could in nothing prevail.

7 This letter was at first designed for Mr. David Dickson, but, as we learn from the letter itself, it was enlarged and sent to Spang.
with them. Of the whole matter, as it comes in my mind, I will give yow a simple accompt, but to yourself alone, and after to the fyre; for, as in all the meetings I was silent, and a meer spectator, except one forenoon, wherein in some things I declared my mind, so I would desire to meddle als little as may be with this unhappie strife.

After the woeful rout at Dunbar, in the first meeting at Stirling, it was openly and vehemently pressed to have David Leslie laid aside, as long before wes designed, but covertly, by the chiefe purgers of the tymes. The man himselfe did als much press as any to have libertie to demitt his charge, being covered with shame and discouragement for his late unhappines, and irritate with Mr. James Guthrie's publict invociives against him from the pulpit. The most of the Committee of Estates, and Commission of the Kirk, would have been content to let him goe; but finding no man tolerable able to supply his place, and the greatest part of the remaining officers of horse and foot peremptor to lay downe, if he continued not; and after all tryalls, finding no mal-administration on him to count of, but the removeall of the Armie from the hill the night before the rowt, which yet wes a conquence of the Committee's order, contrare to his mind, to stop the enemies retreat, and for that end to storme Brocksmouth House so foone as possible; on these considerations, the State, unanimously, did with all earnestnes intreat him to keep still his charge. Against this order, my Lord Warristone, and, as I suppoze, Sir John Cheiflie, did enter their different; 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 inclyned to doe foe; but all were quieted by this expedient.

Mr. Patrick Gillepsie, by his diligence with some Brethren of the West, had procured a meeting, at Kilmarnock, of some chiefe gentlemen and ministres of the sheriffdomes of Ayr, Clydefdale, Barenfrew, and Galloway, where he perswaded them, for the present neceffitie, to raise a strength of horse and dragoones, as they had designed in their Association, but farr above the proportion of any bygane leavie. This conclusion obtained, he perswaded 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, bevyde volunteers. With this voluntarie offer, Mr. Patrick Gilleispie, Sir George Maxwell, and Glanderstone, rode to Stirling. However many did finell, and feare the designe of a diviſion, yet the offer wes fo fair, and promifes of prefent acting fo great, that easily, even by the Chancellor and Mr. Robert Douglas's procurement, they obtained an Act of State for all their defyres. By this they flopped all mens mouths, and forced them of Barenfrew and Carrick to joyne with them. The commiſtee of Barenfrew seeing the vaſt expence of the enterpryſe, (for the very first outreck would amount to five hundred thousand pounds,) and the daily charge to four or five thousand pounds, upon the fhyres forefaid,) were generally averse from the motion. My Lord Caffillis kept off Carrick; Galloway alfo did difrelish the matter; but the commiſtee of Clydefdale, confenting of a few mean perfones, who were totallie led by Mr. Patrick and Sir John Cheiflie, being very forward; the commiſtee 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 opposition. All of us in pulpit, myfelf alſmuch as others, did promove the work. In a very short tyme three thousand five hundred horſe are gotten together, with hopes, by volunteers, to make them above five thousand. We were all in expectation of ready and happy acting, by inſalls on the enemies quarters, but behold how all our hopes were foone moſt miserable blaſted! Colonell Strachan his ſcruples were not only about David Leslie's command; for in this his friends had procured him ample enough ſatifiſcation, getting affurance, from the Commiſtee of State, that David Leslie ſhould gladly permitt the forces of the Weft to act apart, and never trouble them with any of his orders; but Strachan's ſcruples went much higher. Since the amendment of his once very leud life, he inclyned much in opinion towards the Seſtaries; and having joyned with Cromwell at Prefton against the Engagers, had continued with them to the King's death. At that tyme, by Mr. Blair and our Commiſioners 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 Gilleispie, his doubts were fo farra ſatified orſmothered, that he was brought to content the Com-

8 £41,666: 13: 4 Sterling. 9 £1000 Scots, was equal to £33: 6: 8, Sterling money.
miffion of the Church for that, and diverfe other scandals againft him: yet it seems that importunitie hes made him professe large als much complyance with us as his heart did yield to. His eminent service, firft againft Plufcar- die, and then againft James Grahame, got him the Church's extraordinarie favour, to be helped with one hundred thousand merks out of their purfes, for the mounting him a regiment; the greateft offering which ever our churchmen made at one tyume. This did not a little lift his spirit, and gett him the farr beft regiment in the armie: with the Western recrueite, it became stronger than any two regiments in the kingdome. At this tyume 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 fatisfaccion, fo farr as to act any thing againft the enemie, except there might be a treatie. And it did appear therein, that Cromwell wes not willing to retire, upon our aflurance 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 aught at leaft to be banifhed the land, or made ane perpetuall prisoner.

Strachan's axiome and debates did put the whole armie and committee of the Weft in fuch confufion and discouragement that all acting againft the enemie was made impoffible. Bot the matter fiood not at this poynnt. In our debates, at the time of the Engagement, our publick profeflions were, of our clearnes to fight againft the English fectaries, for vindication of the Covenant, and the King's juft rights, on the Parliament's grant to us of some few defyres. Meffirs. James Guthrie and John Livingstone their whisperings a little in the eare to the contrare, were not then audible: It wes strange to me thereafter, when I heard Wariítone and Mr. Guthrie speak it out, that it would take a long debate to cleare from the Covenant the lawfullnes of ane offensive warre against Cromwell and his partie; yet in a short tyume it appeared, that the quarrell of the King or Covenant or any quarrell tending to warre with the English, became to diverfe more questioning than it wont to be. Whether a fear of the troubles of warre, or defpaire of conquifing the King to the publict or their owne perfonall interefts, or a defyre to keep the government not only in the forme but in the hands it wes in, or truely judgement of mind, did draw men to thofe changes of former profefl princi-
What strict acts of Kirk and State were made against malignancie? 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. Gillefspie’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 addresies 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 Mefirs. Guthrie, Gillefspie, Hutchefone, and Durham that no commiilioner should be sent till a change in the King shoulde appeare: and when it was carried to fend commiioners, I will not forget the great stude of some to make their instructions fo rigid, that few had any hope the King would ever assent to them; and when (above hope) the King had yielded to all the Commiioners had requeyred, the induftrie of thefe 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 shoulde have ruyned the Tretie. Yet when, by the extraordinare favour of God, the King was brought in Scotland, to doe what either Kirk or State had requeyred; and, upon this agreeance, the noyse of Cromwell’s march towards us was growne loud, Sir John Cheiflie, Hoptone, and Swintone, keepe off, by their debates in Parliament, the raiseing of our armie fo long, that we were near surpryfed; 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 expressiones concerning the perfons of his Father and Mother, their procuring from the Kirk and State that terrible Act of disclaiming his intereat, 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 jealoufies in the obervers, what the intentions of some men might be; yet all was disfembled, 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 Gillespie, where Sir John Cheislie and some three of our burges's 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 Glafgow, where Mr. Patrick, Mr. G., Mr. Hutchefone, Ker, Strachan and others, with much night-wakeing, did bring forth that strange Remonstrance of the synod, where Mr. Patrick obtaining a Committee to consider the finnes procuring the wrath of God on the land, did put such men on it as he lyked beft, and by them the frameing of the draught was put upon himselfe, who quickly begatt that prettie piece which I fet you. It doubtfles 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 firft, it fell on the face of the Generall Assembleie and Parliament, and condemns both for their firft treating with the King, and for the renewing of it in a second addresse; but most for clofing of it without evidence of his reall change. Then these most bitter invectives against the State, for which Mr. Patrick had used foe high language with yow and Mr. Dougla's, in face of the commiffion, at Leith, are all brought in, with large additions to any thing was then heard. I have oft regrated of late to fee the Judicatories of the Church foe easily ledd to whatever some few of our bufe men defigned, but never more than in the particular in hand. I am sure the most of that wryte wes without the knowledge of the most, and against the fence of many, of the Brethren; yet all wes voted, nemine contradicente, except honeft Mr. William Ruffell, Mr. Robert Ramfay, and Mr. John Bell, spoke a little to some words, but on the matter let all goe. Fearing what was in hand, I could speake little. The night before I expected nothing more shou'd have been preffed but a keeping out Engagers from the armie: I loved not to appear in contradiction to some violent men; yet my heart being against their conclusion, I wes, after much soliciting and prayer, brought to a necessitie of contradicting, and had thought on some reafons for that poyn't to have been mainly proponed for my diffent; 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, caried it foe, that neither the Synod was troubled with me, nor the peace of my mind by them. I once inclyned to absent myfelfe, 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 Re-monftrance came in, my Lord Caffillis sent his man to call me to spake with him at his lodgeing. While we are a little serios about sundry of the publick affaires, I found that more tyme had gone than either of us had oberved, and telling him that my abfence from the Synod might be mistaken, I took my leave, and with all the hafte I could make I gott up to the Church; where I found, at my entrie, that all the debates on that paper were clofed, and after thrice reading, it was goinge to the vote. I adored Divine providence, who truely befide my purpose, but much to my content, had given me a faire occaion to fay nothing of a wryte, whereof I never heard lyne read. This, for the time, and since, was a fatisfactorie ground for my fi-lence, to my owne mind, in that Remonftrance, which brought to the con-fenters, let be contryers, but fmall credit; the commiffion of the Church having fo farr difavowed it, as for no request they could be induced to countenance it towards the Committee of Eftates; but Mr. Patrick behooved to prefent it himfelf, without the companie of any from that meeting, which would have occasioned a noyfe, had not the second Remonftrance filled the eares of the whole kingdom with a louder found.

Mr. Robert Ramfay and others had prefled in the Synod that for re-moveing of jealousies from many who were then speaking their doubts of some men's intentions, the officers of the Armie should putt forth a declaration of their desigmes. To me the motion favoured not; since the raifeing of these forces wes allowed by the State, all declarations from particular officers feemed needless: yet, on the Synod's motion to Colonell Ker, a declaration by him and his fellows wes promiefed, and prefently gone about by Mr. Patrick and the chieffe affociates then prefent. But, as Mr. Patrick told us, it was laid aside by the advyce fent them by Wariftone from Stirling and Mr. James Guthrie, (betwixt whom and them the pofts then and thereafter runne very thick night and day,) not fo much on that ground he told us, that they thought it illegall for fuch private perfons to make publick manifeftoes, as for that, as I fufpeft, which he told us not.

About this tyme the King's head was filled by some unhappie men about
him, especiallie Doctor Fraer and Henry [Jermyn,] with many extreame fears. After the affront at Leith, they had raised suspicions in his mind, whilk, upon the defeat at Dunbar were increaft, but by the separate ryfing in the West brought near to the head of a designe to break the treatie with him, and agree upon his expences with Cromwell. Upon these motions the Malignants in the North flpte in, and by the forenamed persons began a correspondence for the raiuing of the North, under the conduct of Middletone, for his present service. So many Noblemen were on this unhappie enterprife: Craufurd was given out for its head and contryver, albeit he professed to me his oppofition to it: Lauderdaill knew of it; but he hes faid fo farre to me, that I believe him, he opposed it to his power. However, the thing was fo foolifhlie laid, and the King, by the counfells of these about him, wes fo various in giving order for that ryfing, sometymes commanding and then countermanding to ryfe, that all the party wes put in a confusion; yet, by the information of these forefaid fooles, the King being put in fear, that Lorne, going timelie to bury a fojour, wes drawing together his regiment to lay hands on him, contrary to his former resolutions, he took horse with some two or three, as if he had been for to goe for a haulking, but crossed Tay, and stayed not till he came to Cloue [Clova] in Angus. By the way he repented of the journey, and meeting with Lauderdaill at Dudhope, and Balcarras coming from Dundee by accident, was almoft perfuaded by them to returne; yet by Dudhope and Buchan he was keeped into Cloue. But when he came to that miserable accommodate house, and in place of the great promifed forces, he faw nothing but a small companie of Highlanders; he prefently sent for Robert Montgomerie, who wes near with his regiment, and without more ado, did willinglie returne, exceedinglie confounded and dejected for that ill-advised 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 fenfible sorrowes that in all my life I had felt. Yet his quick returne of his owne accord, and his readines to give all satisfaction for that failzie, and his kind receaving by the Committee of Estates, among whom he ever fatt after his returne, (though never before,) did turne our griece suddenlie into joy, his abfence not lasting above two full dayes. Yet all men were not so loone satified. 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 ryfeing. 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 earnestly to them to lay downe. The Committee of Eftates sent a faire act of indemnitie, and foe without more ado they went home. Mr. James Guthrie had weell near marred this peace: he moved Middletone's summar excommunication. Mr. Robert Douglaſs, and moſt number prefent, 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 earnest letter, intreated Mr. James to delay a little the execution, yet on the next Sabbath he did execute the sentence, to the regrate of many.

When the Northern storme wes ended, the Western winds began to blow the louder. I told their declaration wes keept in by advice from Stirling, as many thought, to make vantage of the new failings at Court; for these wes looked on with a greedy eye, and exaggerate to the height of trueth. When, with a great deal of expenes and trouble, our forces in the West were levied, and prefent action against Cromwell promisef and expected, the very firft march is to Dumfreifs, the fardeſt place they were able to choife from the enemies quarters. The pretence was, to attend the motion of the enemie comeing 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 spoyle of a number of noblemen and gentlemen of their fadle-horſes, 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 Warſtone from Stirling to Dumfreifs. There, after some debate, the draught of the Remonſtrance is brought to some perfection, you fee. It feems one maine end of both Remonſtrances wes to fatifie Strachan, and for that end they did come up weell near to his full length both about the King and the State, the Malignants and England. For in this laſt paper they are cleare in condemning the Treatie as finfull, and notwithstanding of it, to suspend the King's government till he should give satiſfactory evidence of his real change, whereof they were to be judges, who were never like to be satiſfied,
although they were not like to be troubled with the judgeing of these signes; for the King, who had started away upon the suspicion of these things, upon the sight of them in an Army-Remonstrance, was not like to stay; foe on this escape the government of the Kingdom, and the distribution of the Royall rent in new pensions, all the former being voyd, fell in our own hand; and if the King should have ventured to stay, then an effectual course was moved to be taken with him to keep him from joyning with Malignants, which could not be but by a strong guard or imprisonement; albeit this was needless, if the course against Malignants had been taken to put 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 grosse faults were press'd against Argyle, the Chancellour, Louthian, Balcarres, and others, that in all reason, they behooved to be laid aside, and our State modelled of new; foe that no active nobleman should have had any hand therein; and as for England, they might rest secure of our Armies, not only till Church and State should agree on the lawfullnes and expediency of that warre was found, but also a clear call from England should appeare; and if we could not marre the one, and Cromwell the other, yet we behooved to move nothing of bringing this King to England, whom we had found unmeet to governe Scotland, and though thereafter he should change never foe much to the better, yet it was injustice for us to medle with a Kingdom not subordinate to us. Thus far the Remonstrance went on, and clofed with a solemn ingadgement on all their hearts, (if God blessed their armies,) to see all these things performed. I have oft marvelled that Strachan remained disfattified for all this; for I verily think, whatever he or Cromwell could have defyred in Scotland, would easily have followed upon the former premishes.

While these things are a-doing at Dumfreifs, Cromwell, with the whole body of his army and canon, comes peaceably by the way of Kilsyth to Glafgow. 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 foyours that they did leafe displeasure at Glafgow nor if they had been at London, though Mr. Zacharie Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High
Church. I took this extraordinarie favour from their coming alone to gaine the people, and to please Strachan, with whom he was then keeping correpsondence, and by whom he had great hopes to draw over the Western army, at least to a cessionation 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 west in a great suddentie and demi-disorder.

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

When, after my return to Glafgow, I did see their Remonstrance, and Cromwell's letter thereupon, on the occasion of Strachan's Querries, requiryng a treatie, which at that fame time he sent his prisoners Mr. Jaffray and Mr. Carstairs to agent, I was fore grieved, but knew not how to help it; only I sent the copies of all, with express bearers to Argyle and you at Innerary, and to the Chancellour at Perth, and Mr. James Fergafone at Kilwinning, with my best advyse to yow all, and resolued myselfe to keep the next meeting of the Commision, on the call of their letter, to declare my different, if I could doe no more. But behold, the next Prefbyterie day, when I am absen, Mr. Patrick [Gillefpy] caues read again the Commision's letter, and had led it foe, that by the elders votes, [the] men of greatest
experience and wiidsome of our Presbyterie were the two youngast we had, Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Andrew Morton. Then when it was preffed that I might be but added to them, it wes, by a vote, refused upon supposition it was needles, being clear I would doublies goe howsoever. These defpyteful votes wrought fo on my mind when I heard of them, that I resolved not to goe, for all that could be said to me by many of the brethren; yet the clerk of the Commiſſion, at the Moderator's direction, writing to me from Stirling a preſſing letter, I went along to Perth; where, by God's good providence, I have flayed since for many good purposes.

At the meeting of Sterling, there was a conference appointed of the chief members of the Committee of Eftate and Commiſſion of the Church, on the Remonſtrance; wherein there were many high words about it betwixt Wariftone and Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Ramſay and Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie, Mr. James Wood and Mr. James Guthrie, and others: no appearance there was of any issue. The time of Parliament at Perth drawing near, the King, by his letter, invited the meeting of Church and State to Perth. The defyre of many wes but to have some agreeance before; if no other way were possible, as none appeared, that the Remonſtrance might be laid aside, and much of the matter of it be preſſed in ane orderly way by the Commiſſion of the Kirk, and the forces of the Weſt be joyned with these at Stirling; since for so long a time, they had acted nothing apart, and never like to act nothing for any purpoſe alone. The Remonſtrants were averse from these motions; so all wes laid aside till they came to Perth; at which time a new conference wes appointed, and four whole dayes kept in Argyle's chamber. I then, and thereafter, wes witnes to all, and little more than a witnes; for not being a commiſſioner, I thought meet to be silent. For the one fide, Mr. Patrick and Wariftone fpoke moſt; for the other, Argyle, the Chancellour, the Advocate, and Mr. Robert Douglas; but Mr. Wood fpake moſt, and to beſt purpoſe. Mr. Rutherfoord and Mr. Durham fpaid some little for fundrie points of the Remonſtrance. Mr. James Guthrie moſt ingenuouſlie and freely, did vent his mind, for the principal point, (as he avowed he had oft before maintained,) "That the cloſe 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 thefe debates, which impeded that action, there was no re-
mead: by no perfuafion the Remonftrance could be taken up; yea, the gen-
tlemen gave in a petition to the Eftates at Perth, in the presence of the King,
urging the answer thereof; from which petition they would not paff: yea,
when they were moft eareftly dealt with to convoyne their forces, all that
could be obtained, both by publict and diverfe private intreaties, both of their
beft friends, Argyle, and others, there was a willingnes to joyne on two
conditions: The firft wes, ane express laying afide of the King's quarrell in
the flate of the queftion; the other, to keep none in the armie of Stirling
but according to the qualifications in the act of Parliament. When in these
two all of the gentlemen and officers were found peremptor, the conference
on the Fryday, the fourth day of it, wes broken off as fruitlefs; though, for
their fatiffaction, the Parliament had beenhifted from the Wednefday to
the Fryday, and from the Fryday to the Tuesday againe, for all the iflue
of blood, andftarveing, that wes every day over the Kingdome.

Before the meeting at Stirling, the Remonftrants had a folemne meeting
at Glaifgow, by Mr. Patrick [Gillefpie's] call, where, the fubfcryving of the
Remonftrance was much presf'd on the great committee of gentlemen and
officers, by the minifters, who did fitt apart in the Tolbuith, and called them-
selves the Prefbyterie of the Western Armie. That fubfcription was gene-
 rally declyned, and by no perfuafion any more could be obtained nor a
warrant, fubfcryved by Crofzie the president of the committee, to fome few
commissioners, to prefent the Remonftrance to the State. Mr. Robert Ramfay,
fore againft my mind, did offer, in his owne and my name, once and againe,
to come and debate, in their presence, with the brethren, the injustice of
that Remonftrance. This offer was told in the committee: all the answer
it gott was, that no man wes excluded to come and propone what they
pleased. Upon fuch intertainment we let them alone. Here it wes where
Strachan, before having laid downe his charge, wes commanded to goe no
more to the regiment; bot he told them exprefflie, he could not obey.
Some would have been at laying him faft, for feare of his going to the
enemie; but leaff that Ker and many more fhould thereby have been pro-
voc'd, they let him alone. Govane, for his known coirrespondeence with
the enemie, wes cafheired, and their flout-mafter Dundafs aalo. Sundry of
the officers were fufpeeted to be of Strachan's principles, albeit the moft
went not beyond the Remonftrance.
When the conference was broken off, the Committee of State went about their answer to the petitioners; and there began debate; the most found the matter high treason: the divesting the King of his authoritie; the breaking of the Treatie closed and approved by Kirk and State; the scolding highly of the Judicatories; and ingadgeing of private men to change the government: the deepness of these crymes did trouble the judges; the respect the moft of them had to the perfons 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 censuré than you have in the sentence; from which yet near fifteen difsented for one or other word, though all professed their disallowance of the wryte. This difsent was in the King's presence. If he had been abtent, as some would have perfuaded him, the difsent might have been greater; for Waristone was very long and passionat in his exhortation to wave it simply, which had been very unhandsome, since the parties peremptorilie refuifed to take it up. At the sentence, the gentlemen did ftrome, but the minifters much more. It came next to the Commission of the Church; the States had given in their fenfe to them, and requyred the Kirk's judgement. Here came the vehement opposition: The Remonfrants petitioned to have the preſent confideration thereof laid aside, leift the parties should be discouraged to act againſt the enemie: Mr. Rutherfoord preft this with much more passion than reaſon, and Mr. James Guthrie also. Here it wes where I spoke but fo much as declared my fenfe againſt the thing. Much dealing wes still to take it up: Meffrs. Cant, Blair, Rutherfoord, Durham, were fent to perfwade them; but Mr. Patrick wes peremp- tor to fhw their willingneſs to quit their life rather than their testimonie. So when there wes no remeed, at laſt, by Mr. Robert Douglaſs and Mr. James Wood's industrie moft, it came to that mild fentence which yow 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 averſe from the Remonfrance; which in a scolding way wes cryed out by Mr. John Nevay in Mr. Blair's face: to which he replied nothing. Mr. David Bennet and Mr. Hugh Peebles expreft themselves bitterlie, and were anſwered accordingly by others. Our Provoft, George [Porterfield,] spoke in his protestation of
This was to be left to the State's direction. However, when the time came, the people were indeed anxious, and now there was no chance of men's being propelled by Mr. Robert Southwell to call the Government to account. A question of employing such men before was excluded. The question was raised to be altered from that which Mr. Gildhap and the Whigs had brought in, and it was declared that it was too late, and that the House had not been open to receive the amendment. My heart was in great perplexity in this question. I was much in prayer to God, and in some degree with my mind and the Parliament were unprepared to employ men hitherto in the House for their defence. Mr. Samuel Ruthermal and Mr. John Haring and Mr. David Hare had spent a long time here in my house, and in the part of the country, in extreme necessity, against Irishman who had not been visitors. My heart was in great perplexity in this question. I was much in prayer to God, and in some degree with my mind and the Parliament of Great Britain, determined to employ men hitherto in the House for their defence.

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I am, M. M.

I received the news that you have

expected to march towards Saxony to secure the Campe-

with my best wishes for a good and safe journey and

delayed to the 10th of January, on

on the meeting, after which we went to

We met on the morning, but at the instance of the cloister, according

by Mr. Wood. Also your see-

The President wished to

have further notice, and after dinner to discuss what matters of that they liked

breakfast; we were more sociable

speak of God.

from one another and discuss what

and wish to express my warmest wishes to you, by all but the

vow to guard and to consider each other, in the best part of your heart's ease finding

and voluntary seclusion of souls in the cloister, when God

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this was to be left to the State's discretion. However, when the case was clearlie altered, and now there was no choife of men, the Parliament wrote to Mr. Robert Douglas to call the Commiffion extraordinarlie: A quorum was gott, most of these of Fyfe. The question was proposed, of the lawfullnes of employing such who before were excluded. The question was alleadged to be altered from that which Mr. Gillefpie wrytes of, and that whereto Mr. Guthrie had solemnlie ingadged, a defence of our life and countrey, in extreame necelitie, against sectarians and strangers, who had twyce been victors. My heart was in great perplexitie for this question. I wes much in prayer to God, and in some action with men, for a concord in it. The Parliament were necelitiate 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 invadeing strangers, our former strickef had been unadvysed and unjust. Mr. Blair and Mr. Durham were a little ambiguous, which I much feared should have devided the Commiffion; and likelie had done sée, if with the loffe of the Weft, the absence of all the brethren of the Weft had not concurred. However, we carried unanimouslie at laft the answer heirwith sent to yow. My joy for this was soon tempered when I faw the consequence, the uugging of fundrie 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 trust, and restored to their vote in Parliament: Against this, necelitie for our very being, and hope that the guides of our State would, by their wifdome 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 wes ane fearfull alteration of the cafe, that the King being now in Covenant, the moft, whose malignanie stood 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 respect should be now abolished. Ane other inconvenient wes like to trouble us, a feed of Hyper-Brownifme, which had been secreitly sown in the minds of fundry of the fojours, that it wes unlawfull to joyne in armes with such and such men, and sée that they were necelitiate to make
a civill separation from such, for fear of finne and curfeing of their inter-
prizes. The maime fomenters of these doubts feemed not at all to be led by
confcience, but by interest; for the officers of our standing armie, since the
defeat at Dunbar, being fent to recruite the regiments to the northern fhyles,
did little increafe that number, but takeing 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
fhould not recruite the old regiments, they ftormed, and gladly would have
blasted the new way for their owne ends. Under these evills we wrestle as
yet, but hopes for a good end of these divisions 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 Gospell, accord-
ing to Mr. Dickfon's motion, branched out by Mr. Wood. Alfo yow fee
in the printed papers, upon other particulars the Commiſion at Stirling,
which appointed these fafts, could not agree. The Remonftrants preffed to
have fundry 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 invifible, confefi or denied, unseen or feen, by all but the
moft guiltie. It cannot be denied but our miseries and dangers of ruine are
greater nor for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy matter 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 jealoufies; the body of our people
be-South Forth fpoyled, and near starveing; they be-north Forth extreamtie 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 fhall be, the Lord knowes. Many are ready to faint with dif-
couragement and defpair: yet diverse are waiting on the Lord, expeffing he
will help us in our great extreamitie against our moft unjust opprefsors.

I hope you received my laft inclofed in Callander's packet. 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]: haste 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 diverse other wrytes, which I think you may defyre to see.

This day we have done that which I earnestly defyre, and long expected, Crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scoone, so peaceable and magnificentlie as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: for it was Cromwell’s purpose, which I thought easilie he might have performed, to have marred by armes that action, at leaft the solemnitie of it. The Remonstrants, with all their power, would have oppoied it; others prolonged it so long as they were able: allwayes, bleffed be God! it is this day celebrate with great joy and contentment to all honeft-hearted men here. Mr. Douglas, from 2 Kings xi., Joaah’s coronation, had a very pertinent, wife, and good fermon. The King sware the Covenant, the League and Covenant, the Coronation Oath: when Argyle put on the Crown, Mr. Robert Douglas prayed weell; when the Chancellour fet him in the throne, he exhorted weell; when all were ended, he, with great earnestness, pressf finceritie and confancie in the Covenant on the King, delateing at length King James’s breach of the Covenant, perfewed yet against the family, from Nehemiah v. 13. God’s cafting 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 hes moft baely delyvered the Castle to Cromwell. All the minifters saw the treacherie, and protestted against it. Wariston, Mr. Cheillie, and the Provoft of Edinburgh, who put them in that truft, contrare to the minds of others, have little credit by it.

Now the Parliament having, by the needlefs length of some, fitten so long, and ended their feffion on Monaday after twelve at night; none of the

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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: Wariftone, 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 a happy benefite if your Hollanders would bring us in victuall for money: the Spaniard, nor any other, could never, by their persuasion nor force, hinder them to trade wherever they find gain. Is not this a strange frayerie, [through] love to the English murterers, that they, for their pleasure, should give over all trade with us their brethren and weell-deferving friends? Though we should never be able to revenge their ingratitude; yet there is a God who will see to it. Our case will be exceeding hard if, before the summer, your Zealanders, on piety and pity, be not moved to bring us victualls for all the money we have restling; 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 necessarie conclusion, some turbulent men are like to be factious; but to-morrow a Warning 2 is to be putt out for their reclaiming if possible. By God's blessing, our affairs shortly may be in a better posture: our great troublers, both in Church and State, have sett themselves aside. If God give us over to Cromwell, we expect little good from these men but a violent executing of all in their Remonstrance; but otherways I think they may be brought quicklie to repent their needless quarrelling. However, the Lord's will be done, who has begunne to comfort us, with the smallet appearance of better hopes.

2 "A Solemn Warning to all the Members of this Kirk, from the Commission of the Generall Assemblie: With an Act, for censuring such as act, or comply with the Sectarian Armie, now infesting this Kingdom. Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, Anno 1651." 4to. pp. 19. The Warning is dated at Perth, 7th January 1651.
The Commission's Consolatory Letter to Edinburgh. 3

Dearly Beloved in the Lord,

As the sad sufferings of the rest of the land doe much afflict us, so your more eminent afflictions, by the continuall oppressions 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 consolations, whereby your spirits may be uphelden from fainting in this day of your very sore tryall. We have been comforted to hear of your confiance in adhering to the truth and cause of God, notwithstanding of all the indeavours which these instruments of Sathan, who night and day are among you, have used, whether by terror or allurements against your stabilitie. We trust the Lord, who yet has made you to stand, shall conforme you and make you persevere to the end, keeping your garments clean and your consciences pure of all the abominations which are either openly avowed or more secretely 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 convering with these seducers; but above all, that you beware to joyne with them in publick worship, or in any private exercize of religion: Who ventures to touch pitch will be defyled before they be aware; who will take fire in their bosome cannot but be scorched therewith; who will not abtaine from the harlot's house shall not be innocent: beware of the wyles and subtle deeps of the Devill; and, among all his instruments, we intreat yow to avoid none more than these miserable apostates of our own nation; for we conceive none to be more fitted of the Devill, and given over of God to work 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 exercises to keep in and encrease the spunk of grace and zeal before attained; labouring with all care to obtaine from the Lord that softness and melting of heart, that earneftness 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 crosles, to that day of deliverance which shall be sent from the Lord, and which we believe he is haftening to yow and the rest of your fellow-fufferers over the land with all convenient fpeed: as for us, be affurred we shall not be inlacking in our addreffes both to God and men in your behalfe. Our Remonfrance to the Committee of Estates, our Letter to the Presbyteries, our Warning to the whole land, and our Anfwere to the exceptions of some men againft some of our proceedings, we have sent to you, whereof we know ye will make good ufe. So commending you unto the mercifull upholding and direction of the Comforter, till thir times of thick darknes be over, and for ever. We ref.

For Mr. David Dickson, at Inneraray. March 8th [1651.]

As yet I could not get Mr. Patrick [Gillefpi]’s papers fo as to write animadversions on them. He has (which yow defyre) goeing athort a long paper of seven or nyne fheets, and a compend of it of three or four fheets, alfo anfwer to yow of four fheets, and Mr. James Guthrie’s anfwere to yow of four fheets, and Mr. James Guthrie’s reply to the Commission’s anfwere 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 Chronologie; 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 fo calamitous a time, fo albeit I was minded to tell my mind of these papers, I must let it alone; only of the light view I took of some of them I had these thoughts:—They are a heap of clatters, mere testimonies of late papers (which Mr. James Guthrie and two or three with him put on the Church) which touch not the preffent cafe; without scripture, reafon, 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 truft, and what convincing signs of repentance. It seems to me their way is direc"llie
for destroying both our Church and Kingdome, if God help not you, and the like of you, to cross them. The present question about the more general 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 joyn 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 sojours, after Dunbar, to bring them to nothing, and to make the Western armie the only armie of the Kingdome, to be disposed on absolutelie at their owne pleasure. They gave, in my hearing, at St. Johnstone, a kind of unwilling promisse of endeavour to joyn the West forces with the North, but with two express conditions, which they knew would never be granted: The one, of purginge the North forces according to the Act of State, which was to lay David Leflie aside, and who else, officers and sojours, they liked, that Strachan, and who they liked, might rule the new-modelled armie as 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 stand to, but also his Scottish interest, as it stands in the Remonstrance, from which to this day they have not past, but by their appeale adheres to. The question, as they make it, is high enough: a formall rebellion against both Church and State; a publick contradiction to both; yea, while they call for the nation's help in a visible extreme danger, our brethren, by daylie publick preaching, and prayer, and writes, openlie doe hinder all they can to ryse, and persuades all they are able to fitt still, till the King, Kingdome, and Church be devoured by Cromwell. The sinne, shame, and hurt of this their clear and avowed deed, is nothing helped by their excuses and intentions; albeit, if they will speak out their clear mind, I doubt their intentions are farr higher than to fitt still and let Cromwell destroy their brethren. I feare their principles give them clear libertie; yea, will putt them to act against them they cannot joyn with; and they will give no securitie. I suppone that they will, with force of armes, with the bloodshed of all who stand in their way, when they see it time, suppresse the present Armie, Parliament, and Commission of Church, and frame both Church and Kingdome according to their owne modell. Grounds for this will be found in their papers and daylie
practis. I fear, however, for the Church: they are going clearlie enough to rent it. The most eminent perfons and highest judicatories thereof, that are against them only in this State and Militarie question, they totallie misregard, as the language of these papers bears. They defend a libertie for a part of the congregation to separate from the rest, where the discipline alone is not execute according to their mind. The separating part, before any sentence obtained or fought, may not always want ordinances, so must put themselves in a church state by themselves, and that independent from any of these judicatories with which they are at odds. This one principle Mr. Patrick is now preaching, and others defending in discours, if stood to, will force them to all the rest. Befide one other question, they will find it out of question that Church fellowship is stricter and more tender than any State societie, and most of all than Militarie; and where a State and Militarie separation is neceffarie, there a Church separation is much more neceffarie. I think you will make this so cleare that they will not gett it denied. The assumption of the neceffitie of a Militarie separation, the naturall and judiciall stiffness of some men, I fear, will not suffer them to quote, and fo the conclusion will inevitablelie follow, the neceffitie of a Church separation. God grant my logick here may be wrong; but of a long time I have feared some mens way tended to this end on diverse presumptions.

I think God in his goodnes to this land has engaged you, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Douglas, and my Lord Argyle in this quarrell. It's no time now to dallie, where is the boldnes and diligence of these men: have you your answers so full and strong as yow may expect no favour from them here after. I think yow would [should] not follow their roving wrytes; say to the purpose, and speak out before God to their conscience; though some of their writers will not hear yow, yet I believe God will make yow instrumentall to many of our good people, whom for the time they have deeply ensnared, and will carie any where, if God remeeds it not, to the huge scandal 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 seen on a very simple and caufeles occasion. Up, and the Lord affift 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 Gillefpi'e's, against the resolutions of the Church and State, a compend of a larger paper of seven or eight sheets, which now I fend yow, together with Mr. Patrick's answer to Mr. David Dickfon'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 sent to Mr. David; a copie whereof ye have alfo here. God hes oft 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 fourvie lybells, be openly sent 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 assure yow the boldnefs of some men in daily preaching, writing, and I fear too pragmaticke consultations, is hardly tollerable. Yow fee in Mr. David's letter to me his mind that the Commiffion should yet once againe warne and declare. I wish withall that Mr. James Wood would once more take to consideration some of the matters of all these papers together; indeed thereafter the Kirk should take courfe to stop contradictiones. Our Synods now are coming on; I wish the Commiffion might take courfe they be not corrupted should writers, preachers, and bold debaters against the Commiffion, have votes in Synods and Presbyteries, especiallie in election of commiffioners to a Generall Asemblie: It wont not to be fo. Yow will not forget a Faft for the Armye. Your Warning is not yet come to our Presbyterie: that is a monstrous neglect. If Duncan Munne had keepe his gift of printing, we had gotten a presse long ere now; it's a very great pitie that a presse in any terms should be wanting. I have sent yow herewith a paper, called Mr. James Fergufon's, which hes done good here. In Mr. Alexander Nisbett's last letter to me yow will see the condition of Cunynghame, and in Mr. Robert Wallace's the
condition of Kyle and Carrick: make what use of all these papers you like, but misken my name. Though you have all, yet I thought fit to be sure 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 Commission to do 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 Ifs or Ands. If the State be right, you are obliged in conscience to assist them, and goe before them in judging men of your coat, who, with so high a hand, every way opposes them under pretext of ecclesiastick liberties; and your not judging any their contradictions to be against your acts, I think they have left you no more place of conniving. You see what Mr. Alexander Nisbett writes to me; I understand it not, but fears there is some practice with England to hinder all riseing for us and the King, as being all malignants together. James Grahame, the other night, fast up all night with some tailors for a new suit, and the morning after, well armed and hорsed, rode east, I suspect to England, whether his matter may follow. Were it not good to issue a declaration to England, both by the King and Kirk to prevent men's malice? When they hinder Scotland to rise against Cromwell, how much more will they and must they doe foe in England; and what can be more malicious and dangerous if not seen to?

Unto the King's Most Excellent Majestie, and his Honourable Estates conveened in Parliament.

Humbly Means and Shews,

Whereas in bygone Parliaments it hath been 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 Majesty and present Parliament would be pleased to name such as they shall think fitting to fit at Glasgow, or any where they shall think it expedient, for the visitation of the University of Glasgow, with such power as his Majesty and former Parliaments have ordinarily granted to Visitors in such cases.

And your Majesty's and Honours Answer, humbly I expect,

Martii 10, 1651.

M. R. Baylie.
For My Lord Balcarras.

My Lord,

As I wrote to you twyce before, I now intreat againe, if there be any sitting of Parliament, you will gett the enclosed defyre paft, if it can be without presenting of my bill, or my name heard. When I was laft with yow, the Rector and Dean of Facultie subforyved a defyre unto me for this end; by the advyce of the rest of the Moderators, I sent lately that letter to you, which possiblbe with others is miscarried. Mr. Patrick Gillepie, without the knowledge, and contrare to the mind of all our Moderators except one, by whispering Wariftone in the case, past our laft Vifitation in the laft Parliament 1649, without all dinne or observation, 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 stands above our head; they may meet any morning when Mr. Patrick pleases, and doe with us all what they like beft. The handsomest 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; change whom you will, but not yourself: if Lauderaill be gotten in the Parliament, let him be one: have a care of this I command and charge. I think yow should prefs 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 belyde other refults of many meetings here, one be to deall with the Presbyterians 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

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 Robertsone of Bedlaw, Adam Blair of Bogtoune, Mr. Robert Barclay, Hew Kennedie, Mr. John Dunlop of Garnkirk: Mr. Robert Dowglass, Mr. John Smith, Mungo Law, Mr. Robert Kerr, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Bonnar, Mr. John Bell, Mr. Patrick Colvill, Mr. William Russell, Mr. Richard English, Mr. Patrick Scharpe, Mr. David Elphingstone, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. Gabriel Cunynghame, elder.
be prevented but by the King and Church's fair declaration to England and Maffie's messengers. I confesse, if you could get your armie any way maintained without dissoloution, I inclyne to a waiting on without any needles hastte. Time may doe us good. Yours,

S. Jamisone.

The King's goodness will daylie gaine our hearts, and Cromwell's armie, I hope, will faill more and more. I have written my mind freelie and fullie 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 hes never been pleased to let me know whether he hes receaved 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 fight of my letters, and for him write me some lynes of ane answer. We know not what you are doing. Our neighbours hes dayly large informations, I suspect to your prejudice, and of the publict, which we are not instruceted to refute. I have sent this expres to you, to learne how all goes, so farr as may be communicat. By the inclosed you may fee part of our condition. Ayr is prettie right, not seven ministers of the twenty-fix wrong; Galloway alfo is almoft whollie right; fee Dumbartan; Hamiltones is waltering. If you take not some course, our strying is in vaine, and what by our labour we have gained, your negligence will losse it to us. By Mr. David Dick's letter, I see he is buifie on a reply to Mr. Gillefpie and Mr. Guthrie: he would be incouraged. We are extreamlie evill served with correspondence from you there. If we heard more, we might be more usefull. My service to Mr. Andrew [Ker]: he hes no time nor leisure for the likes of me. I need seek no more extracts from him, since he hes sent all our Registers back againe to Leith.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, March 20th 1651.

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

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

Loving Friend,

I have now oft fent to sundry of yow there, and sometimes express bearers, who have brought me back no answers at all. I am almost angric; did I not hold in a time, when I fee the anger of impotent men is neglected. I have once more resolved to try your discretion, and fent that express to your felfe and your cousin William to crave two or three lines under one of your hands, had yow never so much adoe, or else to give up gofflprie. Anfwer so much of my last as yow think fitt, in such termes as yow care not who may fee it. We are altogether ignorant here what yow are doing, and are abused by a number, I am fure, of falfte reports. Resolves the Commission
to milken Mr. James Guthrie, and let the Parliament take minifters to taIk, that the King, in his first entry, shall have that load on his fhoulcers? Will the Act of claffes make a new divifion, even among the Anti Remonftarant? Shall no ufe be made of Cromwell’s yet fuppofed death? againft which yet we have nothing. Eglintone writes to William Home, his fervant, our baillie, that he hes throught our Vifitation: I wiIh he had rather written it to myfelfe, for the quieter that matter be it’s the better. I fhall write thanks to my Lord for his care; but I know your coufigne William Reid is the man. The chief errand of the bearer is to gett a formal extract of that Vifitation; therefore, William muft perfect what he hes begunne, and fee yow put him to it, to command the clerk to provyde with all poiffible speed ane extract to him, according to this inclofed forme, or any other that fhall 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 laft week for ane very ordinarie favour, a difpenfation, which any Lord of the Seflion ufe to give to any private gentleman, for the Commiffioners of Glafgow and Hamiltone to fitt to perfect our decreits of the Univerfitie of Glafgow, for our teynds and stipends the laft year, that wes near a poyn. The Chancellor advyfed, fince he had no power during the fitting of Parliament, to give in our petition to the Parliament itfelf; we did foe, our bill wes read and remitted to the Committee of Bills; there, for want of agenting, it wes flighted and refufed on two falfe narratives: One, that the people we had to doe with, lay under the feet of the enemie, and could not appear in Glafgow: This is falfe, for all we have to doe with, are in four paroches, Kilbride, Govane, Glafgow, and Renfrew, who comes alfe freely hither as in greateft peace; neither needs any of them be here to anfwer, for the decreit we crave is only for forme, wherein is no matter of contraverfie, but for our ordinarie unqueftioned rents, wherein we are in long ufe of payment. The other information wes, that a partie of the Englifh wes to ly at Glafgow: This is one, I hope, of the many falfe proffers of the time. I have knowne when yow have had skill to help a friend in need, and in his juft caufe: Try yet if William and my Lord Eglintoune can make a difpenfation to us, according to our laft week’s bill, pafs after our Vifitation. Yow are ane old mafon, and may be ane 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 claffe were it per sultum; only be warre of Mr. James Guthrie’s loope. By all means efchew new divisions; keep Argyle by any means possible; but for no cause losse the Kirk, if yow resolve not to losse 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 allways what comes from yow shall be welcome to me; read and close the inclosed. Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie are going on with their work to destroy our State and rent our Kirk, but we hope it shall not lye in their power. Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dick, stand very right and zealous against their evil way. The most of the brethren of the West are fallen off them, and more daily will, for their pryde and schisme 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 ministrue 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 poyfoned. For our new schisme, Mr. John Park lay it on him to get all papers: these that are good, are Mr. James Wood’s, Mr. David Dick’s, Mr. James Ferguson’s; have yow the care to gett them copied and sent to Ireland. Be not flack as yow love God, the King, the poor Kirks, and Kingdoms of the three dominions which are lyke to be caft in a new danger by our brethren, the imprudence of some, and maliciousnes of others. Send me ane accoumt both of your diligence in Galloway and Ireland, and the condition of both countreys. Your knowledge of the truth hereof may doe good.
For Mr. Robert Dowglass.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I hope yow have received the packett I sent yow with James Campbell. On Saturday at even last, there came a poft to Glafgow 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 sufferings of faithfull ministers, and the great defection of Church and State. On the Monday, Mr. John Carstairs choifed expressly the 4th of the Coloffians, 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 moft of that day wes spent in faiing and prayer by sundry of our beft people, in Mr. Patrick's house and other places. On Tuesday, much consultation wes in Mr. Patrick's house how to gett our Presbyterie ingadged in a letter to the Commiffion for Mr. James Guthrie. When we come there, Mr. Patrick preffed 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 spareing ever, were ane imputation on the King and State of a high cryme, which were rashnes in us to suppone, not having heard them firſt ſpeak for themselves; and that it were to give the Commiſſion a needless admonition, while our Presbyterie had given them no satisfaction yet for our laſt open disobedience to their injunction, which many of us judged very juſt and neceſſare; that our writing wes preſſed only to be a leading caſe to other Presbyteries to give ſome incouragement and countenance to Mr. James Guthrie in his contradictions to Church and State, which we judged very finfull, ſcandalous, and dangerous; which we would not now debate, but on a juſt occasion were resolved to witneſs againſt. Debates to this purpose could not obtain a delay to the next meeting, but it behooved
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...to goe to a prefent 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 Dennesstone, Robert Young, William Hoome. I shall doe what I can to keep other Presbyteries off yow; but if the Commiffion will not in time look to some men's ways and refleffines, the schifme will get fuch ftrength 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 ftrange work we had for the intimation of Strachan's excommunication, I speak not till ane other oc-
cafion. 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 instructions therein. However, we expected not a Synod in tymes and places fo full of danger; yet I fand our brethren here had made it fo 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 fome 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 ftrome 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 purpozed to make Mr. James Fergufone, Mo-derator; but they carried Mr. Matthew Mowat; and by this I perceived clearlie they had gotten fo many fillie yeomen prefently chosen for the pur-pose, that they could carie in the Synod whatever they pleased. They moved a committee for publict affaires; fearing the end of it, I oppofed it as need-les; but it wes voted, and a dozen of their ftrongeft men put on it. I only
could get three of my mind on it; Mafters Robert Ramsay, James Fergusfone, Patrick Colville. The first thing there Mr. Patrick Gillefpie prefled, wes the danger from junction with the Malignants, and our deuitie about it. Three or four votes paft dire&lie, running towards a new Remonftrance. This long I kempt up the Commiffion's letters, ftying 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 wes then lodged with Mr. Patrick, and Mr. James Durhame alfo, for his familie for the time dwelt with Mr. Patrick, and Mr. James Naefmith's with Mr. John Carftairs. The Synod wes putting off the time with ordinarie forms; but the hearts and eyes of all wes on the buffinefes of our Committee, for which the Synod at this unfeafonable time wes convened. At our next meeting in the Committee, they pentreprise a rage at the Commiffion's letters, Mr. Patrick, as a moderating man, proponed from his cabbin-counfelf to fend commiffioners from the afsembleie, onlie with fome few in{tructions, to crave fatiffa&tion from the Commiffion in the doubts of the brethren who were diffati&ffed. Fearing the defigne after all the nixt days tough debates, we defyed to fee the letter and in{tructions 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 permitt the brethren yet diffati&ffed, to fend whom they pleased 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 fhouhf not be ingaged in the diffatiffa&tion of the brethren. Thus farre we came with fome reluctancie of our owne mind, and thereby gained almoft the Committe to our defyre; but Mr. Patrick, knowing his advantage, wes peremptor to have the Synod involved in the diffatiffa&tion, and us in the diffent; we, after much toyle, gave over. In the Synod we had long fruitefes debates on the overture of laying aide the reading of the Warnings, and delaying the faft, adjourning the Synod till the commiffioners returne from the Commiffion. On the letter, and ftrange in{tructions, our reasons 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 Gillefpie, James Naefmith, John Knave [Nevay], Gabriell
Maxwell, Alexander Dunlop, Matthew Mowatt, John Carstairs. Their hope is to gaine yow particularlie, and a pluralitie of the Commissiion; when yow for this conference have appointed it at Stirling, or any near place, and they brought hither by their solicitation all the members affected to them. If they fail in this, at the nixt feッション of the adjourned [Synod], except strange work from them: yow had great need to deal prudently in this business. I find very many of the ministers of the Synod, who joyned not in our diffent, to be in their heart for joyning with the armie, notwithstanding of all their disatisfaction otherways. I find the body of our people in all our shyres to be heartily for the same conclusion. But Mr. Patrick and two or three other by their cunning and extreme diligence, are like to involve the body of the ministers, and, by a little time, of the people, into a remediless dissatisfaction.

Having mett after the Synod with some of the wifest of our mind in all our Presbyteries, I was defyr'd to have your opinion in sundrie things. 1. If yow have no power to discharge this noveltie amongst us, ane adjourned Synod, or yow think it not expedient to use your power to discharge it, as being kept of a clear designe to crose the publick judicatures, whether in that caze yow think it expedient that we, the diffenters, shal all be absent, or shal endeavour to be so frequent at it as we are able? for yet we are hopeful, upon diligence, if not to carry the Synod, yet to make our diffent stronger. 2ly, If this Synod shal medle to censure Presbyteries for their obedience to the Generall Assembly, or Commissiion of the Church, if it shal not be deelyned as ane uncompetent judge? 3ly, If it shal 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 Falt? We think if yow write severallie to Presbyteries to crave an answer from them of the willingnes of every minister to further the leavies and junction 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 ingaged, 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 selfe to Masters Thomas Kirkaldie, William Cockburne, and to Francis Aird, for the ingaginge of these three (who, as we are informed, and I am sure of Mr. Francis, are in their mind for
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joyning in the leavies,) would much help to get their three Presbyteryes with us, Lanerk, Ayr, and Hamiltone. These parts of your papers and letters which threatened cenfure to our brethren were taken by them in high diffaine; and by diverse others wondered at, that yow would recommend to Presbytries and Synods to cenfure any whom the Commiffion wes farr from beginning a proces with, the prime delinquents in this kind. We are all farr from defyreing the leaft trouble to any; but we think if the Commiffion on this occasion declare not their approbation of our diflent, and what- ever satisfaction they may give to our Synod's commiffioners, (which from our hearts we defyre may be fo great as to gaine them all,) yet if by them the Commiffion be drawne from any of their just resolutions, that we who have been following their directions so really and prudently as we could, are scarce well ufed; and the body of the countrey which yet are for the way of State and Kirk, will quickly be in danger to fall off to ane other way. We fear our brethren have als high thoughts to gett the Kirk and State brought about to the modell of their Remonftrance as ever, coft what it may to them- selves, or to whomsoever who flands in their way. See weell to it at this very time: yow had never more need. If we have any skill to difcerne, take heed what yow grant in changing of the place of the Commiffion; and in your meeting of the commiffioners from the Weft, there is hopes of turning the Commiffion on your owne head. The taking of Eglintone confirmes us of the great treacherie of thefe about the King. Alace! that fo good a King should have come among us to be destroyed by our owne hands, moff 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 Public Resolution, 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] anfwer 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 anfwer to Ayr is excellent. Mr. David Dick his vindication is very good. Mr. Robert Ramsay hes put out a long, and as I conceave, a ftrong paper. But I hear our brethren puffes at all, and minds to write no more, thinking their partie faft enough; but resolves to act, and let us be talking.

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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, defyring to read it; and affuring 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 West, (for all their appealls from the Commision, and carying 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 wisdome and courage, desert yow not now. Your Brother,

R. Baillie.

[To Mr. Andrew Ker, Clerk of the General Assembly.]

Andrew,

These are thanks for your last 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 Answer to the Presbyterie at Ayr: I like the hand, be who he will, exceedingly weell. How all goes here my long letter to Mr. Robert Dowglas will show 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 so soone as yow can, to send me the full and subserveyeit extracts of what pass'd concerning our Colledge and its Visititation in the last Assembly, especially the Visitors act about our stipends 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 pressing himself in a fair way, directlie and at once, I fear many shall preffe it for him in a boisterous way, to be admitted to actual service in the Colledge presently. We are here in a great straite: I pray yow faill not with the bearer, to send us full and free advyce. We conceave Mr. Durhame's settling in the Colledge is so passionately 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 some would be at. We fear his deferting of the King hurt his Majestie; 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 Assemblie did truely transport him from Glafgow to be the Minifter of the King's familie; and that the place in the Colledge, to which he was only designd, but never entered, wes truely vaiseing, to which we did elect Mr. Robert Ramfay; and in many sharp debates with the Magistrates and Mr. Patrick Gillelpie, have hitherto stood to this election. But now, when Mr. James himself is come to plead, that he was not fully transported, but by a posterior act of the Assemblie, wes to have his place recognofced in the next Assemblie; and in the meane time defyres us to admitt him according to his election, we know not what to doe. To wrong Mr. Ramfay, ourselfes, and the King, and the publict, and, as we conceive and fear, the peace of these parts, we are loath to refit Mr. James Durhame's own defyres and his powerfull solicitors: we will find it hard enough. But if they would have patience till the Assemblie, or be content to be directed by the Commissiion, all might be satisfied; but we fear the precipitancy of some will not let us rest for long. We begg your advyce.

April 4th 1651.

For John Reid; My L. L. [The Earl of Lauderdale.]

Loving Friend,

Your kindnes to the bearer on my token to yow, drawes this from me now, both for thanks, and renewing of my defyre to yow and your coufine William, to hear and affist him againe in his honest affaires. Yow shall have eight commisioners from our Synod, the strongest Remonstrants we have, to give the Commissiion ane assault more, if it be possiblle, to winne it from the Malignant partie that now does posses it. I have written my mind fully about it to Mr. Robert Dowglafs. I have done here, to prevent mischief at our Synod, what lay in my power, though to small purpose, if my advyces to Mr. Robert Dowglafs be flighted. My Lord Eglintone's lamentable surprie confirmes us all in our long fulpitions, that the King, Armie, and State, if not Church, is in greater hazard to be quickly destroyd, by villainous traitors among yow beyond Forth, than either by the English or Scots be-
fouth Forth. God help us, all of yow are suspeeted by diverfe; treacherie
and divifion is feared will deftroy all. I thought yow had taken fome courfe
to have keept Mr. Durhame there; but I see that matter hes been neglect-
ed; 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 prejudice both the King, us, and himfelfe, as
long agoe I wrote fully to your Coufigne. It had been good to have made
no noyfe 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
fiilence prejudices any man’s affaires, except impatient, rashe-headie fooles,
or falfe traitors.

Aprile 4th 1651.

R. B.

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

Honoured Sir,

Seeing Providence hes fo disposed, that according to the meaning of the
Generall Assemblie, I have gotten fome time’s retirement, and thinking it my
duty to spend that time in the place I fland in relation unto amongst yow, till
the Generall Assemblie determine in the ultimate judgement of that they re-
ferved to themselves; and not having had opportunitie of addrefling myfelfe
to the Moderators, I have thought fitt to communicate my intention to yow
as Rector, that fo by yow it being made knowne to them, I may be exonored,
either by undertaking something, or abftaining, as fhall be beft for the good
of the Colledge. My purpose in this is only to teftifie my willingnefs to
doe what lyes in me as duty on the one fide, and to doe it foe as may
prevent any offence which appearing mistakes amongst us at fuch a time
might give. I have chofen writing therefore, the rather that I might not
appear in this; and I hope ye will foe do in it as may attaine one, if
not both these ends, which is all the defire of,

Your loving friend to serve yow,

March laft 1651.

MR. JA. DURHAME.
For Mr. James Durhame. 7

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I have thought meet to give yow ane accompt of what latelie hes past amongst us, being willing to lye under the hazard of your sharpest cenfure, upon my experience of your equitie and wisdome, rather than of the more raft judgement of some in whom I have not found any such vertue. Some dayes after my coidinge home, the great neccessitie of planting our vacant places in the Colledge being represented to me, by diverse who understand our affaires best, a Rector's meeting was called, and there I shew, that the fault of not filling our places had not been in us hitherto; for, by the laft Generall Assembly, we were referred, as St. Andrewes and Aberdeen, to the Commisision of the Church, whom I knew and had seen in the case of Aberdeen, peremptor not to meddle at all in such matters, for want of the papers which bare the reference, lying for the time in the besledged Caftle of Edinburgh; but now the Commisison being masters of these papers, I knew no impediment why we might not proceed to a planting of our vacant places. I was, for my part, the more willing to make no more delay, being very uncertaine of more free and full meetings; the motion of the enemy, with his head-quarter toward us, being, upon too great probability, daylie expected, which was like to scatter us afunder we knew not how long. Hereupon we agreed on the expediencie to fill presentlie our places, if possiblie. Our next debate was upon the places to be filled: One moved that the Professer's place seemed not to be vaiking, yow being like to returne to it in a short time. The Commissioners of the University to the laft Assembly being required to declare how ye were transported, affirmed your transportation (as the act about it will shew) was abso- lute, and whatever might be said for Mr. Blair and Mr. Hutchefon, yet your submitting to that act as it was, and according to it having constantly attended the King's service, there could be no doubt of the vacancie of the Professer's place, to which you had never entered. Alfo that your tye

7 A "double" of this letter (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXV, No. 122,) has furnished some corrections. A few words at the end of it are deleted, and it wants the Postscript.
to your present minifterie was such as the Commission of the Church had declared to my hearing divers times, they were neither willing nor able to unloose. As for any willingnes in yow to returne to Glasgow, I did believe yow were very desirous to be freed of that grievous burthen of the King's minifterie, and that your inclination was, I conceived, more towards Glasgow, 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 fo willing to any such thing, yet I had no hopes that the Generall Assemble would ever consent to transport yow back again to Glasgow without his Majestie's consent, whose minifter 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 vacancie of the Professor's place. Of the vacancie of the Principall his place, we did not much debate. Our next question was about the present election to both those charges. We all agreed that the greatest necessitie for the time was, to plant the 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 Assemble; 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 truly vacant, the Rector, the Vice-chancellor, myselfe, Mr. George Young, Mr. Hew Blair, Mr. John Young, Mr. William Strang, named Mr. Robert Ramfay, as the farre fittest we knew for that charge; Mr. Richard Robertfone named Mr. Patrick Gillespie; Mr. James Vetch was not ripe to voice any. It was appointed that we should goe up together to Mr. Robert Ramfay his house, and give him the call; and it was laid on me, with one of the Regents, to prosecute the call before the Commission of the Church. All this was done at leisure in three or four hours calm debate, without the least heat or noife, or any offer of a differing 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 consultinge before hand
the Towne-Counfelle in matters of our election, did proceed from tendernets
of our priviledges, which I knew some, on their great mistakes of our acts of
courtesie sometimes before, were inclyning to encroach upon. But before I
could come home, I fand our brother Mr. Patrick, who (yow know) refuses
to countenance our Univerfitie meetings, who had given to the Rector and
ten to the Dean of Facultie a protestation against all we had done, telling
withall that the Generall Assemblie had not made your place vacant, and that
this was your owne mind, and that ye were resolved shortly to come and
take up your place in the Colledge. For the protestation, I fand nothing in
it confiderable; however, we shall answer it as we may, in time and place
convenient; for his alleadgence of the act or mind of the Generall Assem-
blie, if there be any truth in it, we are all mistaken; but the act will speak
its owne mind. The only thing that sticks with me is, what I heare
alleadged of your owne mind. I heard, indeed, that these two moneths
bygone, some in a way so clancularie, that no syllable of it was ever com-
municate to any member of the Colledge, was earneftlie dealing to draw yow
from the King back to Glafgow. This dealing, I confesse, I understood not,
lor 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 be-
stowed on yow, and of the sweet fruits are likelie to be reaped of your minif-
trie, wherefover God shall cast it, and of the eminent bleffing I would expext
to Glafgow, (which I love above all places,) and to my owne familie, and my
owne soule, if God were pleased to fix your minifterie among us; yet I do really
judge that your leaving of your prentent charge were a more eminent hurt to
the Churches in all the three Kingdomes, by the clear and certain hurt and
griefe it would bring to the King and Court; alfo the great difreputation and
fore reflection would by it fall on the King in this time when he has no fuch
need, and great ftrengthening of their injurious mistakes, who long have
been holding out the hypocrifie and midfemeanours of the King. I think alfo,
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 Univerfitie in that way, I apprehend, would waken
and greatlie encrease our now quyet and dung-out divisions. If notwithstanding, in your owne widsome, yow think fitt to come here, there is a fair doore opened for your ministrie in Mr. Robert Ramfay his place; wherein yow will have thefe hearty imbracements of us all, even of those who are obliged now to stand to the late election of Mr. Robert Ramfay, wherein they will be exceeding loath and sorrowfull to have the leift juftling with yow, whom they doe professe highlie to esteem and love, and are not to professe any thing but what truelie they find in their mind. These are the most secret and true thoughts I have for the time of this whole busines. I befeech yow, after prayer to God and mature consideration, to send me your thoughts lykeways with this bearer, whom I have sent expresslie to attend your leasure. I hope God may help yow to fall upon expedience which shall extricate us from these troubles.

Postscript.

After all this is written a common feffion was defyred by the Provoft, wherein he was hot enough; as in the Toune Counsell before, great diatiffaction was uttered against us, as wrongers of yow, as putters of yow from your place, and clopers of the doore of all hopes of your returne to Glafgow. The conclusion was a craveing of a conference with the Colledge, where betwixt him and us was changed much too high and free language; especiallie I confefs myselfe, being tempted by the needless expressions of some. The resolt of all wes, we promis'd, upon their desire, to surcease a prosecution of the act of our late election till the first of March, against which time both they and we might, we hoped, fullie understand your mind in the poynets controverted, and we might gett ane extract of the acts of the late Asembleie which concerned us. I did oft protest that these might not be counted to esteem and love yow or the Toune of Glafgow lefs, who thought in their heart a greater good to yow and Glafgow and all the Churches in the three Kingdomes, that, while yow lived, yow were fixed to the King's fide as the Asembleie had appointed, than these who pleaded loudeft for your returne to Glafgow. However, I was thought by some to speak strange language, yet I spake not so much as I have written to yourfelfe, which I believe and know does weell stand with estimation and affeccion 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 answer; so I have now sent expresslie to yow this bearer to wait upon yow ever till he gette these papers with which we have so much ado. The extract of all concerns our University in the last Assembly, I should be very glad of; but if your man have no leave in two or three days to write all these things, I beseech yow send me subscribbed these papers following: the reference of our vacant places to the Commission of the Church; the act of Mr. James Durhame's transportation to the King's familie; the act of Visitation of the Colledge of Glasgow; that part of the report of the Visitors whilk concernes our stipends. Faill not to send these with the bearer, whom I have directed to wait on yow as long as yow will. There is great diligence used to cause every one of our Presbyteries in the West send in their diffents to the Commission after the example of Stirling. However, the bodie of our people and gentrie, and I hope ministrie also, be for the State and Church's way. The consultation of the chief Remonstrants 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 inclosed to Mr. Robert Dowglafs. I pray yow let me have both your opinions and advices if we will not be able to carry our point at the Commission of the Church: I pray yow tell us if ye think our case cleare: I pray yow send me with the bearer summonds for Mr. Robert Ramfay and his parochiners, and all others who has interest to appear at the next dyett of the Commission, or blank dayes thereafter. If God give us Mr. 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 University, 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 just cause: Keep the copie of my letter to Mr. James Durhame quiet among friends: Let me know the event of the conference. I would think it expedient, if so yow think fitt, to communicat this whole
matter 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 prevale 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 towne: for to help this I wifhe my Lord did ufe the expedient I propone to him. Read his letter, clofe it and fend it away, with this bearer, to my Lord wherever he be. I have directed the boy when he has gotten Mr. James Durhame's anfwer to come back by yow and Mr. Robert Dougla's, and to offer yow what letters he carries to me, or Mr. Robert Ramfay, or the Colledge, that yow may break all up and confider all. So foone as the boy comes firft to yow, difpatch him quicklie, that he may goe to Lauderdaill, whom I ufe 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 difpatch him hither. Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie in publick did avow ye would not fend us the extract of the act of Mr. James Durhame's tranfportation. I hope neither he nor any other has fo much power with yow as to caufe yow deny us this duety and justice.

To [My Lord] Balcarras.

My Lord,

I have thought fitt to acquaint yow with a new fatherie Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie is putting us to in our election of a fucceflor to Mr. James Durhame. You will confider the whole matter in the copie of my letter to Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Andrew Ker, which I hope is communicate to

8 The "whole matter" referred to in these letters, may be briefly stated. Durham, in July 1650, had been appointed by the Assembly to attend Charles the Second, as his domestic chaplain. He was then minister of the Blackfriars Church, Glasgow. About the same time, when Dickson was translated from the College of Glasgow to Edinburgh, as Professor of Divinity, Durham was chosen in his stead to be Baillie's colleague; but he was never inducted. Having at length relinquished this charge, in September 1651, on the death of Mr. Robert Ramsay, (who had shortly before been successively elected Professor of Divinity, and Principal of the University of Glasgow, but who appears never to have officiated in either capacity,) Durham became his successor as one of the ministers of the Inner High Church.
yow. If Mr. Patrick prevaill with Mr. James, I fear it shall be very prejudicial to the King's reputation, and public affaires. I suspect, indeed, one of the grounds on which Mr. James hes reasone of malcontentment, is the neglect of his maintainance. I think he hes his owne burthens on his lands, bysyde that the quarterings this yeare, and some yeares bygone, hath made his rent small in itself, neare to nothing; he hes a numerous familie, he hes no stipend from Glasgowe: I fee 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 furnishe the first year of it presentlie: I believe he will not be low to obey that commandment. If this be neglected I think you are unadvised and unreasonable, and yow will repent that neglect. If yow have leisure, write to me how all goes, for I have sent this express to wait on yow. I find a great enough readiness in the body of our Toune, and I hope, of all the West, to rysse 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 readiness for any action comes to our eares. We cannot heare of any sturring 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 confider, yow will see our present condition here. I humblie 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 Commission, as I marvell if it shold not, on your advyse we shall desist. I have directed the bearer, when he returns frae Mr. James Durhame to come by yow: yow shall break up and confider what Mr. James writes to me, to the Colledge, or Mr. Robert Ramfay; foe 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 business are to prevent hurt to the public, to the King, to our Colledge, to Mr. James Durhame, and to Mr. Robert Ramfay his persone, which I conceive Mr. Gillefpie's practices, whatever be his intentions, will draw one quickly by this his polypragmofine. The Lord keep yow at thir times to be constant and courageous at thir times for God, and for the distressed 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 chief purpose to be handled is a defyre of the Town's common feffion, of our concurrence in a letter of invitation to Mr. James Durhame to returne to his charge here for the time of his permission to vairke from his Majeftie's attendance; I thought meet to signifie to your Lordfhip my thoughts of this meeting. Your Lordship is fully acquaint with my mind in this whole busines. Of my respecfts to Mr. James Durhame's persone, to his grace and eminent gifts, I hope himfelf doubts not, for he has thefe 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 Glasgouw, 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 professions. 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 worse, directly or indirectly, which yow conceaved was all the Town had craved, and would give them in all reaon, full satisfacion. But since now your Lordship is presfed by them to call a meeting for our concurrence in ane invitation to Mr. James unto his charge here, I am forced earnestlie to supPLICATE the declining of any such meeting, for these reasons following:—1. Any meeting for this end is like to produce such debates among us, as in our laft meeting for that fame purpose were visible. I
passe needfls and very untymeous heats occasioned through our information, of exceeding injurious and opprobrious language in the common feffion, against the members of our meeting, for doeing that which we conceive duty, without any censure, at the time or since, by that venerable meeting upon any of their members for thefe speeches against us. I remember only the long earnest reasonings there we had from diverse against our moft materiell and fundamentall privileges of passing elecftions to our vaikeing profeffions, by ourfelves, without the concurrence of the Toune of Glafgow. 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 profeffion, which rubbs on the Univerfitie no small difgrace. 3ly, Our requisite concurrence makes us instrumentall to draw Mr. James Durhame from the King, which I conceive at this time would be a hurt, and a caufe of true grief to his Majeftie, and a ground to frustrate the defire and conclusion of the Generall Assembleie; in which evills I wish none of us should have any hand. 4ly, This meeting, I conceive, will make new and farder divisions, both betwixt the Colledge and Toune, and in the Colledge among ourfelves, which moft 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 defired; whileas your overture makes a fair way for a preffent invitation of him to the toune miniftrie; and after the Assembleie, if it be found expedient, to some place alfo in the Univerfitie, upon a new call, which the precipitancie of some men, in my judgement, goes on to croffe fo farr as lyes in them. 6ly, This meeting feems to be contrare to the declared mind of your chiefe afleffors, without whose consent you are obliged, in your Rector's oath, not to proceed in any matter of confequence, as the preffent is one of the higheft.

For these and other reasons we have oft spoken, I earnestly supplicat your Lordship would be pleased to forbear all meeting on this purpose: and if, notwithstanding of all my earnest and humble defyres, your Lordship fhall think meet to proceed, I fhall be forced to protest in my owne name, and of all who hes intereft, and are willing to joyn in this or the like proteftation; which Supplication and Proteftation your Lordship will be pleased to command the clerk to enter in the Univerfitie regifter, that it may be forthcomming in time and place convenient.
Protestation against Mr. James Durhame's Intrusion.

My Lord,

Being called be the bedell 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 desiged, are to be reallie revoked; I have thought meet to signifie, that as I conceive your Lordship may not call a meeting for any such purpose; for when we mett last, it was debated, and, as I remember, acknowledged, without the contradiction of any, that the Rector in his inauguration oath stands obliedged to call no meeting for any matter of weight, without the consent of his afeffors; and all your Lordship's afeffors, as I suppone, dissenting from the calling of this meeting, according to their agreement in our last federunt, after too much debate, in ane act, written with your Lordship's hand, not to meet more upon that subject till the matter in controversy were cleared by those who had power. This being the case, it seems that this meeting and your Lordship's calling of it shall not be found just, nor at all necessary; if so be, the overture that I made the other day to your Lordship, which all then present did think could not faill 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 farr it is frae 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 Assemblie'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 Assemblie 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 claime to any right, or any benefit of the place they have been desiged unto. I am also firmly enough persuaded that our filling of that place by a new election shall be found right and legall, and all frustrating of that election, direct or indirect, shall be found wrong and contrare to order.
Notwithstanding, for our Reverend Brother's satisfaction, albeit to the University's and our own sufferring, in the meantime, we were content not only to supercede all proceeding upon our act till it might be recognized 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, presentlie to rectifie, at our Brother's owne right, that our error. And though we were, as indeed we are, very hopefull to be justified by them in this action; yet if our Brother could not be persuaded to remaine with his Majestie, which we think the greater and more generall good, neither to stay in the minifterie of the burgh, but should be determined to accept a school-charge, so soon as we could be gotten cleared by any judicatorie of our right and power, we promised to give him a fair call, so farre as lay in us who spoke to your Lordship, to a Divinitie profession among us; and that to be reckoned not only from the day of his entrance thereto, but from any day he thought fitt, were it from his first nomination to any charge here. This loving and respectfull offer we all conceaved would have satisfied our Brother fullie. 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 cases 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 absent themselves, and dissent from it, and what may follow on it, as contrarie to their former acts, and the resolutions of the Colledge in 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 appeal, in the hands of the last Assemblies, yet undiscovered. So that their meeting, if any should, would be illegall, and what it could doe upon this ground alone, would be of no effect as being done, a non habentibus potestatem in this case. I therefore doe deprecate such a proceeding; and if no intreaties can be heard, I protest against it, upon the alleadged reasons, and what farther are in my former protestation. This write I hope your Lordship will be pleased to keep in retentis, that it may be forthcoming before competent judges, in time and place convenient.

April 7th 1651. R. B.
For My Lord Balcarras. Aprile 17th 1651.

My Lord,

My advyces to John and William Reid, in my two or three laft letters, whether they were received or not, I know not. This is for a particular which your Lordship will anfwerv with this bearer, or when it's ready, by Mr. Robert Young. Yow gott us a VisitatHon of our Colledge, as I defyred; but one clause in it made it impprofitable, 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 Commissi of visitation of the Colledge of Glægow, to continue till it be recalled, or at least till the next triennial Parliament, or fome longer than to the next feffion, which may be too short a time; and fo much for this. What wisdome is it in yow to put the Church to a preffent declaration of their mind in the Act of Claffes? Are our friends fo foolishly impatient as not to wait fome little time? Why reft they not content with what they have gotten, above their expectation, till they have made fome ufe of it? If they beat Cromwell, doubt they to obtaine all their defyre? If they be beat of him, whatever they gett, can it any wayes profite them? By their rashnes they have made fuch a committee for the armie, which they muft either correft, to the fmall reputation of their wisdome, or loffe the Church. Are they fo wise alfo as to force the Church, either to eftabhlish the Act of Claffes by a favourable declaration for it, or by a diffavourable declaration on it, fuch as I think it weell deferves, to hazard a new ftrenthening of the Remonftrants, 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 wise men act fuch things as evidently are productive of fuch effects, let them be content to be esteemed, 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 speak it out, that yow refolve and have plotted to ruine the King and your Countrey, for bad ends.

Aprile 17th 1651. 

R. B.

1. IMMEDIATELY after the defeate at Hamilton, the Garison there sent to the Magistrates of Glasgow to pay a Cessè, under the paine of present plundering and factions.

2. The Magistrates did all leave the Towne, without any care of their charge, or of the welfare of the people, in that extreme danger.

3. The bodie of the people in that necessitie did meet and appoint a Committee of a few of these they conceived wised and free of all blemiffe for Malignancie; for of them all, they were only two that ever had been questioned for that fault, both whereof had given all satisfaction, and the one at the tyme of the Tumult wes out of the town.

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

5. All the moneys they intromitted with, were registerate and distribute by a president chosen every fortnight for that effect; and so clear an account wes ready allways to be made, without one penny taken by any of them for their paines in collecting or distributing or attending that service, that the bodie of the people were exceedingly satisfied with their labours.

6. But these who wont to manage the Excise in some part, as wes thought, for their owne and their friends advantage, grudged to see that mean of profite in any other hand than their owne, and were pressing the Magistrates to put the manageing of the Excise in the former hands, who had never made so cleare an account of their distributions as the Commonalitie did wish.

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

8. At last on Tuesday morning last, Aprile 29, before sermon, 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 ways to them but to him and the Magistrates, to be disposed of as they thought expedient. The other refusing on diverse reasons, it went to hot words; and when the Provost publicly at the cross, 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 process of law; he lykeways laid his hand on the Provost's cloake, and said, he charged him to ward for wronging the Committee of the commonalty. In all this William Wodrow, late prefes of the Committee, did countenance John Wyllie.

9. Immediately after sermon, the Provost and Clerk calls the Ministers together, declares the great affront they had gotten, crave their advyce in the matter. Mr. James Durham, Mr. John Carstairs, Mr. George [Young] and Mr. Hugh Blair's unanimous opinion was, that it was best, while the enemie wes in the place, to lay aside the whole matter, to be cognosced upon in a more fitt time. Mr. Robert Ramlay and Mr. Robert Baillie were absent. But Mr. Patrick Gillepie did say, this was according to his former discours very public, wherein he had said. By these incentives, and other consultations that day keepe 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 removing, and the towne in a stirre. Yet they appeared before eleven at the place appointed; and attending long, at last they send in word by officers, once and againe, that they were present ready to answer. In the meantime while the Provost comes out, and walking a while beside them, goes in againe.

11. The Councell, so soone as they fay downe, finding the parties summoned not to appear; without any delay, or calling of them when they were advertised of their presence, inflicted on them the most rigid sentence they were able, decrees their freedome and burgeschip to be cried downe, as of men unworthy to live in the towne, having affronted the Magistrates contrare to their oath; also decrees them to be commanded to ward.

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] designe were waiting on, and came out, in fours and fives, out of diverse closes to attend the purpose in hand.

13. The five young men went downe the way peaceable at their back without one word, till the Clerk, seeing his back[ing] great, cryed out, to lay hold on these men and carie them to ward; at the hearing whereof they, lifting their hats, went by the company softly towards the Tolbooth. When they were come there the Provost and Clerk commanded the officers to carie them to prifone, they alleadged the Provost had no power to put any burges in prifone, who was 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 pistolls, and scatters them all.

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

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

Information to Mr. G[eorge] Young. [May] 1651.

That this unhappie rupture grow no worfe, my opinion is, yow 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 fend for John Bell peremptorilie to be at them
on the fight thereof. If the letter be to be framed, and the boy to be fought, till the committee meet and ryse, he cannot be here this night. See presentey Wyllie be not away. Let them appoint two of their best spokesmen to goe to all the minifters with a true, short, clear information. They muft informe the States in wryte. See if they can now prepare a wryte which all of them can approve as true, which neither by witneffes nor their owne contradicitions can be oppugned. See if, before meeting, yow and ane other can frame a draught. If yow decline, or complaine of any, fee yow can prove alledgeances. In your supplication to the Minifters speak with all reverence and humilitie; cleare the question to be meerly civile, depending before the State; intreat they would not predetermine; That the violence wes used is much to their griefe; That the clerk and others were the occasioners, beginners, and authors of it; That they are not for contemning of magiftrates, either their perfones or places, but when violence is offered to their perfones publiclie, contrare to the lawes and cuftomes of the burgh, if the perfones of magiftrates in the others just defence suffer any affront, it’s no more than themſelfes profefs to be just in the highest magiftrates, the King and Parliament themſelfes; That they are farr from defiring the magiftrates to lay down their place: this is ane unjuft fclander; they defyre no more, bot as they are moft willing and ready, in a clear accompl, to fhow not only to them who have interefl to crave ane accompl, bot to all the world, that all the moneys they have receaved are trouly deburfed for the relief of the Burgh, and no fexpence of them is taken to their owne use nor the use of any of their friends; so it might be the Magiftrates pleafure to fhow to thefe who are interefl, that the very great foumes of moneys which have been this while bygane taken up, are trouly deburfed for the reliefe of the Burgh, and no conliderable part of them intervertit to private ufes: Alfo to fett doune a cleare way for time to come, how it may be fecn that all public moneys may be beftowed on public ufes alone; and no part, or no more than needs muft, on collectors or any others, at leaft not without the knowledge and content of the Deane of Guild, and Deacon Conveener’s courts; That the Commonalties proceedings wes, on meer neceffitie, for the faving of the Burgh’s deftruction, on the Magiftrates deferting of their charge without any neceffitie; That in their proceedings they were weell allowed, firft by the Magiftrates themſelves; then, as they conceive, by the King and Par-
liament; also by the body of all the people, whom they served with great toyle to themselfes, and no gaine at all. Why, while Cromwell is in towne, a quarrell should be pickit, and so eagerlie preflit, they marvell, since they were allwayes willing that any who had interest, especiallie the King and State, which then was very near, shoulde, by the leift signification of their pleasure, have them moft readie to give over their bypast very troublesome imployment; albeit they were not willing to be commanded and threatened by them, whom they conceived to be direct partie in this caufe, and that for somethings else than what looked towards the public good, either of the Kingdome or of the Town of Glasgow, at this time groaning under the feet of a public enemy, when they conceived it very unseasonable to trouble the Town with needlss quarrells.

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

**FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS. APRYLE 1651.**

**REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,**

For preventing of mistakes, we have thought meet toadvertife yow, that Cromwell, having come to Hamilton on Fryday late, and to Glasgow on Saturday, with a body of his armie, sooner than with safety we could weell have retired our selves; on Sunday before noone, he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Church, where quietlie he heard Mr. Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon, he came als unexpectedly to the High Outer Kirk, where he heard Mr. John Carftairs lecture, and Mr. James Durhame preach, graciously and weell to the times as could have been defyred. Generallie all who preached that day in the Towne gave a fair enough testimonie against the Sectaries. That night, some of the armie was trying if the ministres would be pleased, 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 most of the Brethren, severallie defyring, yea, requyring them, and the rest of the minifters in towne, to come and speak with their Generall. All of us did meet to advyse; and, after some debate, we were all content to goe and hear what would be said. When we come, he spake long and smoothlie, fhewing the scandale himfelffe and others had taken at the doctrine they had heard preached; especiallie that they were condemned, 1ft, As unjust invaders: 2. As contemners and tramplers under foot of the ordinances: 3. As perfecutors of the minifters of Ireland: That as they were unwilling to offend us by a publict contradicting of us in the Church, fo they expected we would be willing to give them a reafon when they craved it in private. We shew our willingness to give a reafon either for thefe three, or what else was excepted againft in any of our sermons. The time appointed for this was this day, at two o'clock, at Cromwell's lodging. But this morning he fent us word, it would be to-morrow, at that fame time and place, he would attend us. We truft, by the grace of God, to speake nothing for the difad- vantage of the truth and caufe in hand. Let the Lord make of this what he will: we had no mind to beginne, and have no pleafure to continue, any conference with any of thefe men; but all of us conceave it was unavoidable, without a greater scandale, to do what we have done. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brethren, the Minifters on the place.

[Glafgow,] Aprile 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- pection, they fand provisions hereabout both for foot and horfe, which we and they conceaved might have lafted them longer. It was packetts from Edinburgh, or England, the day before that put them to this haftie departure. We think, by weekly printed invitations, yow would [should] be drawing the

9 That is, for the Earl of Lauderdale or Lord Balcarras: Vide p. 155.
English over: many of them incline to the King I assure yow. Take heed to Tuesday's conference of the commissioners of our Synod with the Commission: I am feared for its issue, and excepts no good from it. The King and all his friends has need to look to it, that the Commission be not, by some men's legerdemain, drawne to alter former conclusions, and put all to a new confusion, both in State, Kirk, and Armie. If yow 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]: yow had need to take heed to it. By him I recommendit to yow before, or some other, yow will get full information of it. See that they gett no wrong by the too great diligence and misinformation of some who most cordiallie mind the King and weell of the publict. I hope Argyle, and the Chancellor, and some others, are so wise and just as not to be over-fweyed with any man's report, till all be tryed to the bottome. I am not so feared for Mr. Patrick Gillefpie's diligence as Mr. James Durhame's recommendation. If yow look not carefullie to this buffines also, yow 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 Dowglafs and Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Robert Blair if present, that they may be fixed. See for no caufe yow lose the Kirk nor Argyle. I hope David Leslie be very sure for King and countrey: see it be fo, whatever the world speake of him and others.

For Mr. Andrew Kerr.

Andrew,

Your packett of Aprile 25th came to my hand this morning, being delvered yesterdays afternoone, in Stirling, to one of our common carriers. Immediatlie I sent up to Mr. Patrick Gillefpie your answer 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 earnestlie entreat yow will be at the paines to send me these extracts subscryved: both I myselfe, and our Colledge, and sone more of our dear friends, have very much need of them. At leaft, let me have the extracts of what concerns the provision of our vacant places, our stifpends in the report of the two Visitations, and the Assemblie's acts concerning Mr. James Durhame. If at laft yow will not beftow noe 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 Remonftrants; 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 wished. I wish a good agreeance; but I hope the Commission will be loath, for their satisfaction, to put the State and Armie in a new confusion, by altering of their former grounds: we repent, if this advyse was not good. I sent to yow and Mr. Robert Dowglafs, by Mr. James Hamiltone, Mr. Robert Ramfay's large treatise: 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, but can affirm nothing: it was foe 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 Glafgow, procured by the rash and headie counsell 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, but I doubt not yow will hear too much of it. Yow tell not what the Commission did at Falkland: let me hear from yow. Your presf is exceeding low: I think, before this, the Commission'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.
Sir,

I hope yow faw what I wrote the other day to Mr. Andrew Ker. I have now little to adde, but that the courtescie of your letter to Mr. Patrick Gillespie has made him fpeak fince to his friends with great cheerfulness and confidence, and this day and yesterfay to preach als largelie and boldlie againft 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 gaine the conference to them, either all or fome. I hear they have adjourned againe our Synod, of purpofe that themselves, and all more of the Weft they can make, may attend the quarterlie meeting, and either miscarrie it, or if a pluralitie of others, (diverfe whereof they fpeak of as they pleafe,) should carry it againft them, yet they may make fo loud and considerable a partie as may give life to their defignes, that we believe be als high and danger-
ous as ever. We marvell ye have put not one man of all the Weft on the conference; bot we know your wisdome, and therefore moft securelie we acquiefce in it; only all here in your mind defires me to tell yow their opinion, with submiffion, that they conceive it very unexpedient to tranflate the conference to St. Andrewes. We who know them better than yow, think none of them is to be gained one hair-bread; bot we fear if they gett yow to St. Andrewes, they will gaine on diverfe men more than fhall be convenient. If yow keep ftil at Stirling, our Synod may be keepe; 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 obfelinacie will make none of yow unconfant; and if all your courtesie will draw none of them to their dueties, that yow will not faill from your quarterlie meeting to write to our Synod or feverall 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 moft boldly the Kirk and States juft proceedings to be preached and prayed againft, and doe nothing at all but bid Presby-
tries cenfure these great men, we will not now fpeak out what the world about us muft think of fuch 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.

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

FOR [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDAILL.

My Lord,

I hope yow read what twyce or 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 adverteife 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 bufinefs, as I conceive. The prefacles to it, the perfons of the committee, and privat letters, makes Mr. Patrick very high: if it lye in your power let not the meeting be tranfferred to St. Andrews. Doe not dreame by your conference to gain any of them, only guarde yow losse none of your friends, and fee that they who resolve to differ gett no more by their journey to joyne with them. Sucessfull is from God, wife going-about a bufinefs is from the parts God hes given, but if I find yow carelefs to ufe diligentie all possible endeavours, be content to have me one witnefs of this faulf in yow; which some will swear can be no lefs than deep treacherie and high treafon, which if yow and your Cousigne, my friend, will witninglie be guilty of, pardon me no more to trust men on earth. I advyfe yow to fee it gone reallie about, that your fojours be more civill; their open prophanitie and cruell oppreftion among our people, makes the English more lowlie [lovelie]. Alfo do not provoke nor make desperate the Remonfrants; guard againft their deignes with all care, but wrong and hurt no flefh without clear caufe.

Your Friend,

May 6th 1651.

R. B.
Our Provost's letter to the King, which we doubt not was penned in Mr. Patrick's house, I wish yow sent a copy of it. See if a committee of two or three might be sent here to try that whole business; but see well to their choice. Let them have power to take an account not only of the excise, but all taxations and public moneys for two or three years, to try the receipts and disbursements, also compliance with the enemy. Let Mr. John Smith, and ane other minister, come along to try Mr. Patrick's part; there will be many witnesses in that business that cannot come along; or if this way shall not be found fitt, but yow think fitt the principal parties be summoned before yourself, give power to the ministers here to examine witnesses. 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 malcontents, a false calumny in this case. If your committee for this be no better than that of our conference, I am glad I have nothing to do with them. Farewell. Doe me the favour to put all my letters in Vulcan or honest Jacchæus's custody.

Why hes not every regiment a minister? Why is there no Presbyterie in your armie? Had you ever so many ministers out of charge? I like weel your delay of fighting, if yow could keep up your armie, but beware it melt not, and the country faint not under its oppression. Why train yow not your fojourns, and daylie exercise them? Upon the hudge large quarters of the enemy will yow make no infall? I think Mr. James Durhame will come along to the conference, contrarie to my advyse, 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 Marshell has informed yow of Lambert's secret letters to some here, and of our fears for Dumbartane. If yow be not assured of the honestie and watchfullnes 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, lose not the King nor Argyle in any termes.

1 John Graham, Provost of Glasgow.
For [the Earl of] Lauderdail. May 12th 1651.

My Lord,

The honest man John Reid's canker at me, and his couaignes William also, I take in good part; for my jealousie of them, and theirs of me, coming all out of mutuall love to a third, whom all three minds truely to serve; and Jameson, the third, als much in his station as either of the former two, or any who goes on Scots ground, to his understanding and pith: this being, we will pack up all our pleas till Cromwell be difpatched, and then have with you both. However, I befeek you look well to this conference, whether they goe to St. Andrewes or Perth. For the quarterly meeting I am much afrayed for the event of it, that if some of you there with all your witts watch not over it, it produce great harme both in Church, State, and Armie; I should be glad herein to be miiftaken. For our Glaſgow business, I thank you heartily for the favor thefe I recommended to you all gotten; I muſt flill intreat you to favour them fo farr as you find equitie on their fide. If my mind had been followed, you at fuch a time fhould not have been troubled with that buſinesſ; and fo soon as reafon can be gotten, if my opinion be followed, you fhall be no more fashd with us. Fear from fome of you, and counfell from fome of us, hes made our Magiftrates inclineable to give to your suppliantes much of their defyres, and all I fufpeft they fhall obtaine from you, after much toyle both to you and themselves: If they truely can gett this, I think, after their agents hes fpoken with you, and approven to you 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 accomplt, either for publifh moneys, or complyance with the enemy, or whatfoever fault elfe can be made good againft them.

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

Your's,

S. J.
Reverend and Dear Brother,

The most of these we expected met in Edinburgh, Masters James Wood, David Forrest, Robert Kerr, etc. After prayer and deliberation, we resolved on the necessity of a Warning and Testimony, defections so rye, and dangers so evident; but to make it more effectual, we thought fit to invite our dissenting brethren to join with us in it, the duty being uncontroverted, and confessed to be necessary. If we joined in this, it was a step to further [union]; if this was refused, we had little hope to join in haste in any thing else. We found the chief of them in town, at a serious meeting among themselves, Masters John Livingstone, Patrick Gillepie, James Guthrie, Warriestone, Sir John Cheiflie, Brodie, etc.: they had made animadversions on the English papers, which were communicat to Finnik [Col. Fenwick]; but we could not see them. They professed all to be as much against the English as we could be, yet they were not pleased 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 Hamiltonone and I were sent to Mr. Hew M’Kell and Mr. George Hutfhewone, to defyre them to propose our motion to Warriestone, or to whom else he or they pleased: they undertook this very cheerfully, and defyred me to speak to Brodie, whom they had oft found on the same thing. I did so, and he promised to join in dealing effectually for it. The ill we, Warriestone, Mr. Gillepie, and Mr. Guthrie, met with them, and after a long debate, gave them a shifting answer; that their meeting was dissolved, and the brethren gone home, and they could say nothing, though none of note was gone but Mr. John Livingstone, and their chief men were all present. This dealing did grieve us all, and made us see more of the progress and incurableness of the schism. For all this we would not give over; we agreed to the materials of a Warning which we sent to Mr. Blair, to be put in forme, and to go alongs the Presbytries so soon as may be. I drew them so that no word of them should be offensive; so our brethren and we desired Mr. Blair to be careful that in his draught there should be no word to irritate, hoping, when it comes to the brethren in Presbytries, they will be loath to dissent and oppose alone,
for our defect, that we cannot confess such guilt as they will have to be on us without conviction. We established a correspondence betwixt the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and St. Andrewes, and, in the mean tyme, drew a short direction for brethren's carriage, and advice to people, especiallie commissioners of fhysres 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 zealoufie against the way of the English: this they are very angry at, and threatens to remeud it. They impute much of this to Waristone, who, on the advyce of friends, is gone out of the toune. Good Sir John Seaton was the firft that subcribed his free and willing acceptance of the incorporation for Eaft 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 almost all burghs and fhysres will, under their hand, renounce their Covenant: Glasgow and the West purposes to refuse, for which we are like deeply to suffer; but the will of the Lord be done. Yow shall hereafter hear what I know. I expeft no satisfaction to your deifyre from Edinburgh. It were good ye were at a poynt what ye will doe for us. The Lord direct yow.

My service to Margaret.

Your Brother,

R. Bailie.

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

For Mr. Baylie. March 23d 1652.

My Reverend and Well Beloved Brother,

The longer brethren live at distance, they will see the greater necessitie to unite in the Lord. Ye see what a wicked compliance is made with our oppressours, and how our Solemn League and Covenant is grossly violated by this subscription. In the defection of so many, the standing out of your Commissioners was 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 byas; 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 haften their union; without this extremeties 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 determina-
tions, acts, cenfures, all be quite laid aside; all authoritative acting either
by Commiffion 1650 or 1651 laid aside; correspondence entertained by all
Synodals in the kingdom, that by consent we may fall upon a public way
againe; in the mean time, about planting of kirk's, neither satisfaction nor
dissatisfaction to be taken notice of: If uniting on such terms may be
had, they are accursed that would hinder the same, by seeking satisfaction for
what is passed: for my owne part, I think I see evidentlie enough some
things amiss utrinite; but I would prefer one act of oblivion herein, least
new debating exulcerate our fores. I remember my love to Mr. James
Fergusone, and communicate my mind herein to him. Grace be with you.

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 myself
against it more than any other have; but the refufeall 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 Scottifh Republic, this to me is a high-enough crime. Our commonalitie wes never countenanced by me the laft 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 laft Assemblie, and that men cenfur'd shall not make so much as the leaft acknowledgement for all their erroneous and very evil Remonstrances, Protestantions, and other miscarriages, whereby they have directly ruined the Commission and the Generall Assemblie, and hes been very instrumentall in the publi{ft 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 Chrift, 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 unworthie either to fitt in Presbytries or Synods. All this I take, albeit with grief, yet in patience and silence, bot fo as I count fuch writes and fpeeches, no lenitives at all for healing. The God of truth and peace send fuch overtures of peace, as may be imbraced without a greater mischieffe 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 professed a Father in Chrift.

Your Son in Chrift,

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. APRIL 1ST 1652.

REVREND 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 careless, wanting a guard," &c. General Monk "raid up fra Dundie quyetlie in the nycht, upon Thursday the 28th of August, came upone the Committee quyetlie in the morning, tuik thame prisoners, and robbit thame of all that thai had, and schippit thame toward England, quhair thai war committit " to the Tower of London; and they remained prisoners till September 1652. (Vide Nicoll's Diary, pp. 56, 106.)
liver it: I write it with a fore heart. I fear Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame be on ways to increase our mischieves: I see the Synod of Glasgow and Fyfe are presently to be assaulted in their new way for Union, to burie the Assemblie indeed, and to put tyrannous men's feet againe on the neck of our Church. If yow there will contribute to these courses, anfwer to God and men for it. Is this the fruit of our Edinburgh meeting, and all the promises wes made to us of a testimonie and a commiffion? I see our prifoners at London's letters, which I faw, have not been fo groundless as I took them. I would deyre 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 (worfte 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 witnes thereof, but not a confenter thereto; though over againe, bot for one sober word to this purpose, I should be openly avowed unworthie to fitt in a Prefbyterie; yea, though I should be counted worfe than all that, and worfe hardly can be than ane accursed man: I groan at fuch [horrible] termes for no cause at all, bot sober dutie in the fear of God. The Lord be mercifull. If yow please, yow will write with the firt occasion.

Your Brother,

R. Baylie.

For Mr. Wood. April 1st 1652.

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

5 Nicholas Lockyer, an English Independent minister, who was in Scotland at this time with the English forces. Vide infra, p. 213.
discharged it. There is strong hopes that Cromwell, on fundry obligations, will send with Sir Henrie Vane back to our brethren, either a Scottifh Republiff or such conditions as will fatiffie them: Will you not have patience to look on a little? before the time of the Generall Asfemblie, we will fee much more: Why fhould our precipitation contribute to further evil designs of dangerous men? Also that Mr. Lockier was fent for by some of the Scots to overfee the erecting of new congregations in the North: what is doing there, and what speed Gairdner, in his rebaptizings, fome come, yow will know better than I. We expect shortly Lockier and Oxenbridge here. All that fears me not, fo much as the counfells and actings of mild and moderate brethren: Marshall alone, in fome of our judgments, destroyed more the Kirk, Kingdome, and Covenant, in England, than all the seven diffenting brethren. Had the half of fome men's zeale and authoritie been fpent against the shamefull prefumption of a few turbulent men, which hef has been to fhew faults utrinque, and to put the whole Afsemblie juft in their condition, it had been better this day than it is with our Church. Nothing hef has more encouraged, and does daylie more, thefe men in their hardnefs, than their declining. Mr. Dickfon and Mr. Dowglafts 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 imprifonments. 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 modeft as to pronounce all who will not follow their propofition to be unworthie to fit in a Presbyterie, yea, in termes, to be accurfed. I fear when yow and I both, and all who will follow Mr. Blair's advyce, he done our best, very many brethren and their flocks will beg the English protection, that in no termes they may ever come under fome men's government, either ecclefiasticall or civill; though no man hef been, and no man, I fear, shall be readier than my foolish felfe; yet I thank God, Mr. Blair, and his great counfellor Mr. Durhame, he wakened me at this time to give both him and yow this watch-word in the beginning of this your dangerous Synod. I hope yow will misken to Mr. Blair, and all others, except thefe who are intime friends to the Asfemblie and Commiffion, all this my freedome, which for the time great both grief and feare hef expressed. Fail not to communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forrest, that I
may have yow three witnessse of my heart's temper, which I submitt humbly to your censur.

The act about expecantants came first from your Presbytrie and Synod; how just for ever and expedient it be, yet I never practised it, and assure yow it was never practised 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 careful, 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 farthest, I think, yow can goe, is to appoint some two or three of your Synod to joyne 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. deal; 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 prisoner's 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. 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 desyre and very great need of your counsell has 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 should perish before their eyes. The crying necessity of some healing of that breach makes the most of these who have been, and are opposite to them, desyreous to have it in any tolerable termes, and for that end hes had many thoughts and sundry meet-ings, but as yet all in vaine. At laft Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame, men of

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 inclosed. By our prayers to God, and all the diligence we were able to use, though the minor and weaker part, yet we kept them off at this time from all, so much as ingaging in the matter, till we had leisure to advertise and take counsel 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 tumeous 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 all good as buried; the authority of all posterior Assemblies is fearfully shaken, and putt 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 capacity to goe on, by their purging, 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 chiefe and best men, so that the refuifers will be exceedinglie weakened by this abstraction, and become both odious and contemptible. What to doe I am in a strait: fail not, if possible, to give your advice, for it will be to me of great weight. The great and kind Lord uphold your hearts, and furnish you with all comforts needful, both in the inward and outward man, to the honourable discharge of that great and high talk 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, byfides the faults yow find in it, your positive mind of the termes yow with us to agree; or otherways, to goe on as we may in our differences.

For Mr. Wood. April 8th [1652].

Reverend and Dear Brother,

We have had great and fore labour these dayes bygone; before, and in our Synod, fundrie of our brethren were inclyned to break off presently from the declyners of the Assembly. When, with enough adoe, I had gotten these quieted, others of our brethren, as James Ferguson and Patrick Colvin, etc., were clear for agreement to this paper, which Mr. James Durham, as from Mr. Blair, also Mr. Patrick Gillespie, etc. did pres with all their power, great vehemencie, and subtilitie. By the help of God, we 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 chief of these who have adheared to the Assembly will joyne in it, and the refuizers will bear great odium to protest against it. It is exceeding neceffare we had frequent letters about it, and a meeting, even a commiffion, if yow think fitt. I wishe we had the mind of our Brethren in bonds: it would be a great encouragement to me, on either hand, as they inclyned. I have written to them for it; and if yow think fitt, I wishe yow, or Mr. Blair, did the like, with all possible speed. My mind I have written to yow at such length latelie twyce, that I need not now repeat. Your mind on the whole matter send over, with the first occasion, to Mr. Robert Lowrie, that I may make the best use of it I can.

Your Brother,

R. Baylie.

Our brethren hes dispatched correspondents to Galloway, Argyle, and Drumfreifs, to endeavour the synodick 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 shyers, on the paper which yow would send them there, they may be reader to give their opinion when yow call them to meet. Though some of our friends, as Mr. James Ferguffon, etc., be almost for all the paper, yet the most of our brethren, as Mr. David Elphingstone, Mr. John Bell, Mr. George Young, are passionatelic 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 Doungles and Mr. James Wood. I wish yow meet with some about yoursefl, and call Mr. William Jamesone 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 engaged in these termes. Use all possible means to have your mind at me if yow can before a fournight. I wish also yow write to your brethren and others at London, and to others, with all speed.

Your Brother,

Glaflgow, 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

The word not seems to have been here omitted, judging from Baillie's explanation at the commencement of the following letter.
the historie: When, after waiting long for our testimonie from St. Andrewes, agreed on in our last meeting at Edinburgh, and my sharpe craveing of it from Mr. Wood, in that letter yow saw, at last I got a long letter from Mr. Robert Blair, the purpose whereof was these Overtures in effect, which displeased yow, and with that certification, "That he accounteth them accrufed 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 termes of Union, and letter of Mr. Blair a-worke for them, I was a little perplexed for the issue, especiallie being told, in face of Presbyterie, distinctlie by Mr. Durhame, "That who would be against such an Union were not worthie to fitt either in Presbyterie or Synods." I gott only this for declining, and that modestlie, to be on a committee of our Presbyterie to draw such Overtures to be a reference from us to our approaching Synod. To this terrible reflection, I said no more but simplicie, "Brother, this requires no an answer." Conjecturing by all this the designe with all earneftnes, to engadge the Synods of Fife and Gla[wgow in these dangerous Overtures, and being a little wakened by Mr. Blair's wryte and Mr. Durhame's words, I dispatched presently an other letter to Mr. Wood, to be communicat to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forrest, obteffing them to guard against this assault, and to do their utmost to fave their Synod from meddling with the matter of these Overtures, and go no farther than a conference on the general, without prelimitation. When we come to the Synod, we had a fore labour. A committee they carried by their number, whether we would or not; the Overtures were the draught of Mr. Durhame alone, presented to the committee, which we carried, much contrare to their mind, that they should not be so much as presented to the Synod; and to keep the Synod from ingadgeing, we were peremptor, and carried it, that they should not be so much as read or spoken of, under whatsoever notion, in the Synod; only we confented to the adjournment of the Synod to June 2d; against which time, in the Committee, we promis'd to propone these Overtures to our friends far and near for their advyce, and to be readie then to speake our mind on them, which now we would not; though the most

8 These Overtures, by Durham, were presented to the Synod at Glasgow, in April 1652. A copy of them is given in Baillie's MS. and will be added to this letter.
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of us shewed our averleness from the matter of them, and most for the forme, that any Synod should take upon them to meddle with what concerned the Generall Assembly. My great fear was, farther drawing off us, by this motion, some of our chiefe friends; yet God guided it so that it was prevented. Mr. James Ferguson, and Mr. Patrick Colvin, were at first inclineable to much of the matter in the Overtures; yet, ere we parted, I found both faft enough to oppose them as they flood, and in the way they were defyre, 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 see my forwardness for these Overtures was not so great as yow suppoze. Write once more to our brethren at London, that, if possible, I much defyre we may have their mind at our meeting in Edinburgh. Mr. Dickson, in both his sermons here, and oft in his private discoure, declares himselfe clear for the Assembly 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 affaults from Warristone, Mr. Hew M‘Kell, Mr. Blair and others.

I purpoze 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 course with thefe of St. Andrewes to shift the meeting, whereof I could be glad. Yow will be doubteles, as I have been, much refreshed with Mr. Dickson’s zeal and wifdome in this busines, whereof I wish our brethren at London and elsewhere were advertised. Cause send to Glafgow, to Mr. George Young’s house, so soone 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 snares which Sathan, by diverfe hands, better and worfe, now dayly setts for our feet.

Your Brother,

Glaafgow, April 25th 1652.

R. BAYLIE.
[Mr. James] Durham's Overtures for Union.

Being still more and more convinced of the necessity of Union among the Ministers of this Church, be the many evils that accompany these differences, [the Synod] do therefore think it expedient, to endeavour some way of healing, at least of preventing the growing, of the same. And though they neither intend hereby judicially to condemn or reflect on any acts or proceedings of any of them, either on the one side or the other, preceding this time, (but to leave both sides without prejudice by this agreement,) yet for the ends foreseen, they do voluntarily condescend mutually in the things controverted, in all so far as concerns their practice for the interim, as follows:

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 pressling of all acts concluded in the last Assembly at St. Andrewes and Dundee, and also the pressling or spreading appeals, declinators or protestations against the same; and that both these foresaid, together with any sentence intended or followed thereupon, shall be for the time, (as to practise and our use-making of them in any thing) as though they had not been; this being all ways so understood as inferring no actual condemning of either of them, as is said.

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

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

5. Like as it is their purpose, if God shall give ane free General Assembly, to endeavour for a full and judicial settling and oblivion of the foresaid differences, and all consequences that he has followed on them; and, in the meantime, to proceed in all affairs according to the uncontroverted rules and acts of our Church.
This Agreeance may be drawne to the laying aside of all the present controversy, the matter being, for the particulars, removed but by the Assemblie itselfe and submision of men cenfured; else no Assemblie firme hereafter: And with cautions against feared domination, and a due proceffing of novelties tending to separate congregations, Why should not ane oblivion of Malignants, the King and they having satiffied, 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 conveneed; 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 kyrks, unsatifactory; the people appealled to the Synod; after much loud and clamorous debate, Sir John Cheiflie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie gott a committee, allmoft 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; alfo another Committee to try and cenfure fundrie members of that Presbyterie, being joined with fome of the Presbyterie itself. Viis et modis they have drawne some of the Presbyterie to their fide, 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 tyranous course. When no intreaties, nor fair overtures for peace could be heard, the whole party of the Presbyterie protested, that no decayner of the Generall Assemblie should be a judge to them; to which they of our mind adhered; for which Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Sir John Cheiflie did preffe vehementlie that all of us shoule be removed for censure. We were willing to remove, on condition that they against whom we protested should be removed with us as our partie, who could not fitt to
judge us for protesting against themselves on so great a ground; on their refuual to remove we likewise refused. The next cause was Mr. Robert Hume, where they proceeded the clean contrary way, though the people were unanimous and constant in their call: the whole Presbyterie had unanimously approved him in his tryalls as one expectant, and the most ministers were fullie satisfied with all his tryalls; yet on a parties dissent, for no considerable reason, they could not be brought to determine any admission, so the people appealed from their clearlie partial judgment. The letters of the Commiision 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 but 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 one new devotion in materia proxima to a separation. However Charteris be inbodying in a church so fast as he can, and celebrating the communion to his profelytes, yet, for all our dinne about him in our last Synod, he was not so much as cited for the beginning of a process either before Synod or Presbyterie; all their fire for cenfuring their other brother, yet (as they mutter for fear to provocke the English) is turned to cold water, and a great deall of tendernefs, when they have adoe with Sectaries. We befeek yow ingadge us no more in ensnaring conferences. Goe on in the high clear pathway of our Generall Assemblies without all prelimitations: Lead us no more into temptation. Als our brethren in Glafgow, Lanerk, Dumbartan, Irvine, and Ayr inclines strongly to elect by themselves; when others (though the major part by one or two led declining elders) refuse at all to elect, I hope yow will not be against it, that in this act we make use 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 prevails little with diverse. Beware of neuters their counfells; no man serves the diffenters so strongly as they: A great deal better for the trueth that they did declare themselvses opposite wholly. Send your returne to Laurence so soon as yow can.

Your loveing Brother,

R. B.

In the end of our Synod, Mr. Patrick with Sir John, with consent of our
Moderator, obtained ane act for keeping our Synod book from going back to the next Assemblie; against which we protested. This is a clear evidence of their purpose towards the Assemblie following.

For Mr. Robert Ker. June 4th 1652.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

By the inclosed ye see the condition of our affaires. I pray yow send me your own senfe of my question about elections. Sundrie of us purpoifes to be in Edinburgh a little before the Assemblie, whether commissioners or no, to guard the best we can against previous undermyning. I hear Mr Blair has joyned in the different from the act of the Synod approving the constititution of the Assemblie. I hope this must be a mistake, be having so oft spoken for the constititution of the Assemblie. So great and causelesse a change cannot, I am sure, befall him. However, I would think it expedient, if so it seem good to yow, to write to the Towre, that our confessors there would be pleased to write serioyfie to Mr. Dickfone, Mr. Wood, and above all to Mr. Blair, to doe their dutie in the Assemblie; and to oppofe as it becomes them, not only manifeft oppofition to the Assemblie, but that which is more dangerous, all tampering by enfnaring 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 deferve it. As their letters broke our laft snare, fo I think a wise and plaine admonition at this time, would doe much good. I wish yow write for it, bot withall give them a caveat to provide, that farr les noife be made of letters either to them or from them than lately hes been; for I am much aiveryd that fome malicious men, finding their crooked designes crufted als much by their letters as any other mean, procure them shrewd offices. Try where the Synod of Glafgow's book is, and how we may gett it. Your Brother1 had it to write on it the Minutes of the laft Assemblie.

Your Brother,

R. B.

1 Robert Ker, to whom this and many other letters are addressed, was Minister of Had- dingston, and brother of Andrew Ker, Clerk of the General Assembly.
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FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON. JUNE 4TH 1652.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I have defyred Mr. Robert Lowrie to communicate to yow my letter to Mr. James Wood and Mr. Robert Kerr. I pray yow fend me your advyce on the whole matter, efpecially 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 befeek them to speak 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 extremeft oppofition. 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 first your anfwer to my laft; alfo 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 Assembling; both in generall, concerning all comes in their owne thought for our direction; alfo, in all comes in your mind to propone to them; especcially what we fhall doe with the men cenfured, when they add their protestation againft the next Assembling 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 tyannie, and their adherents, especciallie the Commissionerers for Union? The giving of it is apparentlie our ruine and of our Generall Assembling, and the great defire of brethren who are waiting for this occasion to gett us removed, and the Kirk put in their hands: The fparing of it for any danger, will, I fear, be scandalous. I earnestlie defyre
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your and their mind concerning this our greatest point. 3. Also, what advyce they will give us anent our other brethren. If we receive them, we will stumble the other; If we keep them still out, who, for little faults, were depofed, or are willing to doe all for satisfaction we ought to require, we are injurious, and puts them to desperat courses. Beware of prelimiting conferences: beside your giving a juft exception against the Aslemblie, they are exceeding dangerous, and only to enfnare us: consent not to countenance them. The Aslemblie may not be so 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 successfull in evil, that, if a stoppe be not putt to their ruheing into all vacant places wifer modeft men only of their cavell, they will not find the Church out of danger, before ane other Aslemblie, to be overwhelmed by them. The counsell of neuters must not be regarded; it is they, above all, who increafe that partie, and weakens us moft by all their counsell's and proceedings. Write to me before you go out of Edinburgh.

Your Brother,

Rob. Baillie.

For Mr. James Durhame. July 8th 1652.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Having looked upon together the Caufes of the Faft communicat to us, we have thought meet to acquaint yow with thefe our thoughts thereof, in private, to receave your brotherlie advyce and direction thereupon, as God shall put it in your mind.

We have been earneft of a long time to have had publick and solemn Fastings, for many most important Caufes, both to the land and this place; but have always 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 necceffare exercife upon any Caufes we know, or which, befide our prefent knowledge, we shall be inftucted in, by yow or any.

As for the paper prefented to us; in the Firft 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 schi-m unwit-
that the ordinances out of the mouths of these of us who have been for the
publick, have been alfe good as deserted, and that without any resentment
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 enmitie to Christ, wherein many are faid to be rooted,
were clearlie and positivelie fett downe. Also, what are the kythinges that
never here have been misfod to obfrue the thrvinges of the gospel; and
what ventings of hatred at the power of godlinefs; what bitternefs and mock-
ings of pietie is understanded: these moft heavy crymes would not be charged
without clear and convincing evidences. We think the madnefs of a few
rascall persons is not here pointed at, neither the speeches against the true
misbehaviour of pious people can be taken for any wronging of pietie; and
what there hes been more here, we defyred 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 alfo, that what is faid 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-
stood, it would firt be shewed to be guiltie of fuch 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 gospel, and the
spurnings against faithfull warnings would be fett doune in particular. We fear
that to our brethrens knowledge and small refentment, fome of our persons
and miniftrie be in too great contempt with their chiefe famillars; and
though many be discontent with the personall misbehaviors of fome of us
against the supreame authoritie of Church and State, what concerns that the
message of the gospel?
That the late conjunction of these now in place, should be as far aggravate as possible, we heartily consent; and have many witnesses 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 unhappy Remonstrance contryved? Who avowes every line of it to this day? Who were the authors and persevering fomenters of these fatall divisions that visibly hes ruinated the land, both Kirk and Kingdom? 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 spoke of malice, invyings, and variances in families, would be much more particularlie aggravate as one of the most visible finnes of the place; which, if the root of it were truly searched, we take it for a sinfull fomenting of this grievous ill to make the fountaine of it enmitie at the power of godliness, and to esteem the one partie to be the people of God, (as the dialect of some is,) that so the other may be counted the people of the Devill; we are willing heartily to goe along in 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 visibly lies on them, in our judgement, it is but to perpetuate divisions among this people, to the reall hurt of pietie, and the continuall miserie of this poor place.

As for the Fifth, we acquiesce in it.

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

In the seventh, we acquiesce.

These are our thoughts of that Paper. If the Lord shall be pleased to
help yow to clear us in the things named; and if ye hope there may be any
tollerable agreement in them, we shall be glad not only to joyne in the Humili-
ation itself, but in all the Caufes yow bring, for all that we queftion is bot
some parts of a few. Before that this matter be precipitat, either in a com-
mittee or feffion, we with yow delayed it for some time. But herein let the
Lord direct. We ref,

Your loveing Brethren, for the time much grieved in
spirit, and abafed 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 Prefbyterie, Mr. Patrick caried it to make
no ele&ion; we did give in, without dinne, the inclofed Proteftation. The
churches of Leinzie, Cathcart, and Kilbride, they will plant only with the
moft violent young men of their owne fide, and are fure, by one mean or
other, to marre all others to the utmost of their power; they mind nought
bot to compaffe their designe, and for that end to tread downe all in their
way. Some in Finnick have declared for separafion, againf whom M. W.²
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 laft Aflemblie, 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 be-
tray the liberties of our church in the day of her diftreffe, I truft there shall
be witneffes for her without all fuch, be they who they will. The fruite
of this labour will be but a new schifme to ftrengthen the former, a renting of
the next Aflemblie, als dangeroufly, as wes the laft; and whoever will be a
leader to this work they will fucceed to Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick
Gillefsie. 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 Hutchefone and Mr. Hew [Mackail.] Beware of my Lord Wariftone's importunitie. The Lord help yow. Mr. John Livingstone is very buffie.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, July 8th 1652.

R. B.

[Reasons of Protest.] Wednesday, July 7th 1652.

The Moderator having put the question, What answer should be given to the Letter of the Commission of the late Generall Assembly; and the pluralitie of the Presbyterie having voted, that, contrarie to the desire of that Letter, no Commissioners should be choisen to the Assembly to be holden in Edinburgh the third Wednesday of July; We under-subcriyvers did dissent from that vote, and entered our protestation against it; protesting lykewise, that it should be free for us, for the preservinge of the libertie of the Presbyterie and doing of our duetie, to choife Commissioners as we shall find convenient for the next ensuing Generall Assembly, which is to fitt doune the 21st of July instant. The Reasons of our Protestation are thefe 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 Assembly and Commission thereof.

2. It does marre the next and all subfequent Generall Assemblies, ever till the protesters against the last Assembly 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 Assembly. Which assurance were a most unjust and unreasonoble prelimitation of the Assembly following.

3. Because not only the chiefie leader in that vote wes Mr. Patrick Gillepie, who, according to our former protestation, oft renewed, ought not to have had voice at all, nor to have fitten in the Presbyterie, being deposed from his miniftrie by that late Generall Assembly; but also more nor a triple number of ministers were against that vote, only two being for it, to witt: Mr. James Hamilton and Mr. William Young; other seven having voted positively for a present election, to witt: Masters Zacharie Boyd, George Young, Hew Blair, Robert Young, Robert Baylie, Gabriel Cunynghame, Archibald Den-
neftone; whiles Mr. John Carstairs 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 voicing. The ruling elders also who carried the vote should not have voiced in that particular; because they all stood in actuale opposition to the last Generall Assemblie, being either actuell 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 answer, I confess, hes grieved me to purpose; 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 answer might have wakened better hung splenes than are the best of yours. But we desire to fear God, and to love and honour yow, 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 such ane strange answer to our humble and modest letter, as truely we intended it, that we purpose not to fasche yow with more of that kind. We shew yow what we misliked in your paper; that without all dinne and debate it might have been helped by yow in private. We went alongst with yow in all the Causes of the Faft: the most of them absolutely. The exceptions we took at some parts of a few, concerned one excess, and one 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
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paper, which wes to conclude us, might not bear, as if the one side of the divided were the people of God, and the other God's enemies. We think such an application of this distinction injurious, and many ways very hurtful. What sins were in this place in James Grahame'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 gospel, into many among whom we convers: 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 defyred to be clear ere we had joyned in it. Christ's mercies to us have been so many, and our hopes of salvation by his bleffed blood so great, that we would be loath, upon knowledge, to excuse a thought that refleeted on him; but the bickerings of neighbours among themselves, merely for the things of this world, to put all those on Christ, and what the humours of provoked people does cast out one upon another for miscarriages, whether true or but apprehended, to father all this on 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 censures ye are pleased to put upon us for this, and that without all passion, if we should sett them doune before yow together, we hope ye would not like them so weel at the second fight as at the first. We truth ye would change these 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 progress of pietie we know here: continue in it so long as any think fitt.

What yow speake of reproaches of Mr. Dickson's ministr, that they should be put in the Caufes of a Faft, we doubt it shall not be the feffion's mind. The late most shamefull reproaches of his preaching and perfone, too well knowne, were never so much as cognofed upon, more than the publict revilings to his face of that other brother yow name, (now bleffed); yea, the bafe threatnings of him, and the rest of us, with stroakes, 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. Do not esteem these things calumnies, for we know too well the truth of the facts, though we be altogether ignorant of any notice was ever taken of any of them by these whom it concerned, when yet words against the persons of others have usually been followed to the utmost, and censured with all possible rigour. You may remember when exceeding gross calumnies, against some of us, judicially convicted of falsehood were notwithstanding totally slighted. The defect we complained of was the conniving at the many most scandalous finnes of the other side, as if no such thing ever had been. This still you seem altogether to misregard. We are not willing to apply to this your neglect, the terrible censures you put upon us for no such cause. How great occasion soever you give us, yet we forbear to provoke you in the least, but commits this whole matter to your owne review; if you continue in your first sense, we must lay it over on our common Master, and continue to mourn before him for that which oft has been the burden of our spirits, waiting for his help and remeal in his owne time, since to us, the help of man is vaine. The effect of all our desires, first and last, is, That without noise, these parts of your paper we touched, may be put in such expressions as shall avoid that evil we spoke of; and that ye would cause add these other open scandals, a pairt whereof we have named, leaving many more which easily may be remembered; for, in our judgment, in a day of solemn acknowledgement of the finnes of this place, such things cannot be omitted, without a great deal of undutifulness both to God and man. The Lord direct you what to doe in this grave business, for with you alone we have dealt in this matter; neither intend we, for our part, that it shall come to any other hand nor yours.

Your loving Brethren,

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

FOR MR. ROUS. AUGUST 20TH 1652.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

Being intreated by the bearer Mistress Lamy, upon the remembrance of old friendship, I make bold to recommend her to your favour. I have been oft a solicitor to you 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 endeavours for that her pension and almes, which, I suppose, is all the subsistence she has, after a long and faithfull service to these who now are removed. I am hopefull, by your affittance, she shall obtaine so much, if no justice, yet charitie and mercy, that she shall give thanks to God and yow so long as she lives. She tells of a letter yow wrote to me without ane answer; be assured I never saw it, for if any thing from yow had come to my hand, I would not have been long in answering. I have been oft sollicitous in this terrible tempest for yow in particular, but could learne nothing certainlie of your condition, before this bearer the other day did informe me of it. I was very glad to hear yow was alive, and, in the great change of many men's minds and estates, that yow were the same I left yow,3 sincere in the Covenant, and still to your power furthering what concerned God and godly men; the continuance, for the little remainder of your life, in this gracious course, will crowne your (long agoe) very white hairs with a rare and almost singular garland of inward peace and outward honour, among the generation of the just.

If I were beside yow, I would use my wonted freedome to poure out before yow many complaints, and much grief for what is past, and no small fear for what I yet apprehend is imminent; but distance of place, and iniquitie of time, makes me cutt off such purposes: only I cannot suppresse 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 forgot thus, year after year, and permitted to languishe 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 blest your memorie for it. Withinge the prolongation of your days yet for some time, for this and such services to Christ and his saints, I rest,

Your affectionat friend and humble Servant,

R. B.

3 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 solicititation 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 these of whom we have deserved the best things, our silent mourning will cry aloud in the eares of the Lord, to the small advantage of them who trouble us without all cause. If you be able to prevent this mischiefe, it will be a good service, not only to God, and many of us his children, but also to these who, by troubling us, may procure to themselves, from the hand of our Saviour, much more evil 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 you in such imployments. I wont to find but a few there lyke-minded to you two in the things of God and his Church.

For Mr. James Wood. December 10th 1652.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I have been expecting, as you promis€d, a calling of our Commision. 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 you of either purpose, I have sent this expresse to give you 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, Masters James Fergusson,
Patrick Colvill, William Fullerton, John Gemmill, and myself; Mr. David Dickson excused himself, in a letter to his sonne, by the weakness of his body, and the length of the journey. Of the other mind there came bot four: Masters Patrick Gillepsie, John Carstairs, Alexander Dunlop, and Hugh Binning. We shew ourselves willing to hear whatever they had to say to us for the agreeing of our present differences. They propounded to speak our minds of the differences, if so be we could be brought nearer to them, were it but to acknowledge some defection and backsliding, hoping, as we fand it thereafter, to have drawne out some difference among ourselves about this proposition, as it’s said it did among yow. The points they required our sense of wes: The treatie with the King, the Commission’s answer to the Querie, and their answer about the Act of Claffes, the constitution of the Generall Assembly, and the controverted acts thereof. We were willing to declare our mind in all things; but defyréd also to know their sense of the separation from the forces at Stirling, of the Western remonfrance, of their opposing ever since the publick resolutions of Kirk and State, of their protestation against the Generall Assembly, of their erecting of a Commission, of their giving out Causes of publick facts, wherein they determine all our controversiés, and layes the main causes of the wrath of God on their opposites proceedings. We did declare our mind unanimously enough in all the first. They did declare their mind as unanimously in the rigour of all the other; so any drawing near one to one other, while we remained in our present judgements, appeared desperate to us all; yet, after much talking, and on their professions to be very desirous of peace, and of their willingness to have all differences laid aside for their part, we were not averse from trying if any just peace were possible. And for this end did offer to propose to the brethren of our mind, to meet among ourselves, so soon as might be, to see, 1st, How farr they might be content, without all reflection on the Generall Assembly, and former Commission, or any of their Acts, for peace cause, to lay aside these debates which did cause this present rupture; 2d, To agree what Testimonie to give, so far as concerned the ministers of Christ, against all falling away from the Covenant, which now is like to be the generall temptation of many. That from these meetings some few, were it one from a Presbyterie, might come to Edinburgh, or some where else, to confer with these who shall attend them from our differing brethren; who, if God may be
pleased to help them to come toward some reall agreeance, may return with diligence to these who sent them, and report what they had found either in the two named particulars, or in what else yow please to add. I have sent this express bearer to yow, to know how ye like of this motion; for howsoever all of us inclined towards it, yet we resolve to follow it no further, if ye be not alike well pleased with it. If, after consideration, yow think good it be followed, yow then will call to speake with yow, at St. Andrewes, such of the brethren of Fyfe, Perth, and Angus, as yow find expedient; and, on your advertisement, we shall write to these we find most fitt of Aire and Galloway to meet at Munyboill, of Clydefdale and Dumbartan to meet at Glasgow, of Louthian and the South to meet at Edinburgh. Mr. Patrick Gillesepie will have some of the other mind ready to wait upon these who shall come from these meetings at what time and place we shall appoint. If ye find not this course good or tymeous, advertise me with the boy, and there shall be no more of it. I will write to none to keep this appointment, till I hear from yow, and yow have named both the time and the place, and the manner of the conference, both among ourselves and our differing brethren. If yow name a time, let it be such wherein there may be space to advertise the forenamed parties, first to meet among themselves, and then to send their commissioners to the common meeting at the place yow shall name. If yow think fitt, yow may desire the brethren of the North of our mind to meet for the same purpose among themselves at Aberdeen. These things would be done with all diligence. Expecting your answer, I remaine,

Your loving Brother,

Glasgow, Wednesday, 10th December 1652. R. Baylie.

I received your letter, and followed all your advyce. Communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman, whose letter also I received, and thanks him for it. There is very great noife here of Mr. Blair's letter to Mr. James Durhame, and of his speeches in your late conference, to the very great disadvantage of the late Generall Assemble and Commiision, contrarie to his own former proffessions. If this could be gotten amended by yow there, we would be very glad of it, both for the publick cause and for that reverend brother his owne reputation.
REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

The Commission of the Kirk, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, 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 whersoever they fand themselves grieved by the Presbyterie's delaying any longer to plant that kirk according to the acts of the late Generall Assemblie; We, undersubcryvers, hauing with much patience waited on and used all means in our power to move the Presbyterie at laft to plant that exceeding long defolate congregation, are now reallie grieved to see that plantation fo 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 neceffarie to that poor defolate people who has wanted ane minifter 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 reft,

Your loveing Brethren in the Lord.

Glasgow, January 3d 1653.

There joyne with us in this defyre, albeit for the time abfent from toune, Mafter Robert Young, Gabriell Cunynghame, and Mr. Archibald Denneftone.

5 This circular letter, written by Baillie, refers to a case which he frequently mentions in his letters at this time. The barony and parish of Leinzie or Leinyie, in Dumbarton-shire, comprehending the two parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld, originally belonged to Stirlingshire. The parish was ordered to be disjoined in 1649, into Easter Leinzie or Cumbernauld, and Wester Leinzie or Kirkintilloch; but it was not till 1659, when a new church for the eastern parish was erected.
For Mr. Patrick Gillespie. January 1653.

Right Reverend,

Yow had no cause to wonder for that which wes expresslie told yow, and necessarlie 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 last protestation, but these who satt still with the Commissioners, to performe the dutie recommended to them by a speciall act of the Generall Assembly and Commission of the Church, were taken by us for the only allowable Presbyterie of Glagow. Their delegation of ministers to preach in Leinzie to us was a lawfull and expedient presbyteriall act: That I was one of these who were sent, was burthensome to me and truelie against my heart; but being unanimoulie desired and voted to goe there the nixt Sunday, I thought it my dutie 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 kingdom of Christ in the hearts of my hearers, as I shall be enabled. If in this purpose any unadvised people shall doe violence either to me or others, it shall be my endeavour not to deserve any such affront; but if yow know tumults to be designed, I shall pray God to pardon 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 dutie to imploie your power with these rathe 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 conceive 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 here-after when yow see ill done, which possiblie if yow had pleased 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 pleases to be putt in my way.

Your loving 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 opposers to be bot a small partie, in regard of the whole, who in reafon ought not to prejudgethe right of the farr moft part, I should not at all have meddled in that matter. However fair and sober dealling will be found the best of it, both before God and all men.

For his Reverend and Dear Brethren, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Ash, Mr. Cranford, Mr. Clerk, faithfull Ministers of Jesus Christ, within the City of London. January 21st 1653.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

You have been pleased to accept so kindly of my former letter, as the bearer, Mr. Wilkie, made me to understand, that I am emboldened to importune you with this second. My long experience of your respects to me, and more of your pious and compassionate disposition to all our suffering Brethren, made me expect no less than what Mr. Wilkie wrote of your kind acceptance of my recommendation, and your readines to endeavour by your best advyce and affiquence, the relief of our numerous suppliants, in their very sad condition represented to you by that gentleman our agent there. We were once in good hopes, to the comfort of many here, of some considerable support from your Parliament. But the unexpected increas of their weighty affaires which has interveened, has much blasted all our former expectation. The long and chargeable attendance of our agent, without appearance of any fruit, makes us inclyne to recall him. The disappointment 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 you, my Dear Brethren, heartie thanks for all the kindness you have shewed to him, and to intreat you for your best counsell to him, if in such a juncture of your affaires, he
may yet have hope, by some further stay, of any success in his negotiation, worthie of his charge and paines. In the meantime our prayers to God shall be for yow and the rest of our Brethren there, that in this day of darkness 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, so prays

Your very loving and much honouring Brother,

Glasgow, January 21st 1653. R. Baylie.

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

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOUR Honours letter of February 1st, being this day communicate to us, according to your direction, we make unto it this humble returne; That we believe in our consciences the right of Ordination of ministers to vacant congregations belongs to the Church by divine right, and the gift of Jesus Christ. In this truth we conceive we have the full consent, not only of all the ministers of Scotland, whatever otherwise be their differences, but of all Protestant Churches, yea of those who are of the 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 has quarrelled that right. The planting of some Kirks among us at this tyme lies heavilie 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 Commision of the Church. A very numerous, and now almost three years desolate 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 was servd 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 duty 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 Popish, denies 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 Presbytery of Glasgow, and Committee joined to them by the Generall Assembly and Commission of the Church, subscrib'd at our direction by our Moderator,

Mr. Hew Blair.

Glasgow, February 8th 1653.

For our Worthie Friends, the Rector, Dean of Facultie, and the rest of the Masters of the College of Glasgow.

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

GEO. SMYTH.

EDW. MOYSLEY.

ROB. SALTONSTALL.

Edinburgh, February 1st 1653.
My Letter to the Judges anent the Grounds of my Protestation against Mr. Patrick Gillespie's Entrée in the Place of Principall.

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 thefe 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 should minifter to him no just cause of complaint; neither since that time, directly or indirectly, to my knowledge, have I opposed or made any impediment to him to obey that order. But when, as I conceive beyde that order we were required to defire and invite him to accept of that place, the most part of the Facultie did fhow 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 priviledges of our Universitie, whereunto I am tyed by oath, to make choife by a free election, as of all the rest of the Masters, fo of our Principall. And when we have made choife to try his qualifications fo farr as we finde it expedient; bot where neither a voice in election nor any place to try is left to us, though I will not oppofe, yet I cannot defyre nor invite any man to accept fuch a kind of call as infringes our priviledges.

(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 Gillepie stands a deposed minister by a Generall Assemblie, which to me was a very lawfull one, and which in my judgement, I am obliged to obey. Wherefore till he have satisfies 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 Gillepie is not furnished with that measure of learning which the place of our Principall does necessarilily require.

These things, at your Honours commands, I doe subscribe.

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 first meeting, on Tuesday thereafter; whereunto they returned the inclosed answer, which now we send unto you with ane expresse 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, you would be pleased to believe, that in this whole matter we have endeavoured to doe no more than what in conscience we did esteem ourselves obliged to doe, and without all purpose to doe the least 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 wisdome, to walk so humbly and circumpefectly 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 duetie,

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 authoritie is given to us, the Commissioners for Visiting the Universities, Colledges, 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 fit, 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 Prefbyterie, without our approbation, least ye contract a further trouble upon yourselves, and the people whom ye think to please therein. This is the desire of

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,

Yow will perceave by the inclosed what stormes Mr. Patrick Gillespie 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 Prefbyterie, which long he has been secking, 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 dueties of our calling upon ane human unlawfull command, you will see in the Presbyterie’s letter to the fame Judges, wherein we were all fully unanimous, and none more nor our brethren Mr. James Ferguson and Mr. Patrick Colvile, though, in some circumstances, they did modestlie differ that day from the rest. We conceaved ourselves necessitate to goe on, without delay, to the ordination, not only because we fand no juft nor legall cause of any delay, which all acknowledged; but also, on the delay of never so few days, we saw a great many more difficulties coming upon us than we durft venture upon. This case is a leading on to all Scotland, and will be a beginning of fore perfecution to many, if God prevent it not. I wish yow may doe your beft endeavour to hold off us now, and yourself 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 speake with the Judge Smyth together, at leaft that yourself did speake with him to take our letter in good part; yow must doe it some time on Sunday, or not at all. I have sent yow two doubles of all, the one, when yow there have considered them, to be sent to Mr. James Wood, with my letter to him, and the other to Mr. Robert Ker, with the first sure hand Mr. Alexander can find. 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 consequence, and the corrupting of our Universitie, may not be done before our eyes, and we be altogether silent; such pusillanimitie and unfaithfullnes will provoke the Lord, grieve and stumble many, incourage our adveraries, and nothing prevent our perfecution. The Lord help and direct yow in this busines. Let me hear from yow with this my expres. The testimoniall yow desired, when I considered it with your fonne, I thought not meet to crave it, for the reasons which will satiffie yow at meeting. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

Glafgow, February 10th 1653.
Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, 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 Professour, Mr. John Young, to be a member of his separate Presbyterie, though neither minifter nor ruling elder, which is likelie the other will accept of. He is likelie to summond us before the Civile Judge for the deliverance of our Presbyterie book to him, and so to make the English determine, which of us are the right Presbyterie, Synod, and Generall Assemble, to whom the rights of the Kirk, and stipends, etc., doe belong: The man is restless.

After advysement, we have thought fitt not to present our Presbyterie's and Colledge letter to the Judges before Monday at night, only to make way by Mr. John Flesher to speak them according to the information, but not to give it them in write, for they will but send it to Mr. Patrick Gillefpie to make a needless noife on it, and to tell, that satisfactory letters are coming. It is necessarie to keep very secret both the English letter to us, and our answers to them, for if they goe abroad, it will irritate them as much as any thing else: we are on a ticklish businness; 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, blest be his holy name. In this point of tryell there seemes no darknes to me at all.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. FEBRUARY 10TH 1653.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

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

Your Brother,

R. B.
For Mr. James Wood. February 10th 1653.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

Yow have here bot a part of our long stories, yow will 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 yow think fitt. Yow have here my Lord Wigton's information to a friend; the grievances wherefore we called the committee; our answer to the English letter; my answer to their letter to the Colledge; my letter to Mr. Dickfon. I hope yow will not condemne us of rashnesfs, who would not be stopped by the English letter to doe our duetie, and execute the commiſſion laid on us by the Aſſemblie, the commiſſion of the Church, and Prefbyterie. Our flay had been very scandalous and hurtfull, though our going on we foresaw it full of hazard; but after much seeking of God, and mutuaſe advyce, all of us thought it best not to take that stoppe. The Lord his will be done. I hope to fee yow at the Commiſſion; I wish it may be frequent. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. B.

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

For Mr. James Wood. February 14th 1653.

James,

Yours from St. Andrewes the feinth of this instant I receaved this day. Yow complaine of my long silence; I have, I hope, anſwered abundantly by my large packett this laſt week. I add now this paſſage: This morning the Reſtor summoned us to a meeting, to hear what Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie would fay to the Facultie. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, wes fiek; the Dean of Facultie, Mr. George Young, wes abſent, on what occasion I yet know not; the affeffors were not defired by the bedell to meet; the four
Regents and I kept with the Rector. Mr. Patrick Gillespie told us, that though as yet he could not fullie nor finallie accept the Principall's charge he was invited to, yet he would offer us this overture, That till the Generall Assemblie, which, rightlie constitute, had ane great oversight of Universitie places, he would be content to accept so much of that charge as might stand with his ministrie in the town, to overfee the discipline of the house, and to doe what else he was able in that charge. When he was removed, I defyred them to advyse till to-morrow before we concluded anything in a matter of that consequence. Two of the principall members were absent; none of the affeffors were summoned. The matter was totallie new; a Principall in part, not fullie for a time, not finallie, but till a Generall Assemblie rightlie constitute; a Principall with a full ministrie in the town; a Principall, upon no invitation from the Colledge, but some private men, after a Facultie had judicallie refuied all invitation. 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 Principall, and take his oath of doing his duetie in that charge. Against this I did protest, as a violation of the rights of the Church of Scotland, and priviledge of our Universitie, 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, calmely, without heat, yet fadly; but when I had faid all, without any fcruple he accept[ed the] charge, and gave his oath of faithfull administration; and prefentlie moved, that our factor, a near allye of mine, might be removed, and Mr. John Spreule choisen in his place, which accordingly was 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, much more Mr. Guthrie's, as I take it, than my Lord Waristone's. I thought it needfull

7 "The Nullity of the pretended Assembly at Saint Andrewes and Dundee: Wherein are contained, The Representation for Adjournment; The Protestation and Reasons thereof; together with a Review and Examination of the Vindication of the said P[retended] Assembly, &c. Printed in the year 1652," 4to. The Vindication of the Assembly was written by James Wood; and the Review, probably by Guthrie, from Warriston's notes.
to answer it presentlie with five or six sheets, or at most within ten, of Animadversions, setting down the points whereto their controversy is now drawne, especially the heads of the Western Remonstrance, which there, and the grossest 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 abhorr'd the labour, and caft 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, succincet, handfome, modest taking answer, I conceave would doe it better than any other, and these stiill are my thoughts of that matter. Will you let Lockier triumph whole yeares? O lazinesfs, lazinesfs! To the answer of my Lord Waristone, I would prefix the Western Remonstrance, and Mr. Blair's censure on it. Muircraft's letter to Lancashire was Mr. Rutherfoord's, as himself fayes. See the Commission may be frequent. The Lord help us, our storm is but growing.

Your Brother,

Glaugow, Mononday, February 14th 1653.

R. B.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG, FOR EDINBURGH.

APRIL 8TH 1653.

Our Difsenting Brethren being extraordinarie diligent to fill all vacant places with no other but opposers of the last Generall Assembly, 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 almost fainting, and if not affifted at this time by our brethren, are almost inclininge to fit still and give all over to their

* 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 different alone and fruitless protestations.

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

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

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

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

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

1. Though by our threats of ane Anti-Synod, we obtained the dissolution of our Synod before constituton, yet our diffenters, by the cannie conveyance of some, obtained a consultative committee for our differences; which we could not well get putt off, though we faw it would prove at length very factious to us. Yow will read the tenor of it. The firt work, and generallie intended, is to visite the Presbyterie of Glafgow. 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 advyce. We purpose to offer Union in the termes the Generall Assembleie 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 depofed minifters and protefting ruling elders; but if this be refufed, as
certainlie it will, we must delay our joyning with them who, without caufe,
separate from us, till the Generall Asfemblie or Commission of the Kirk
fhall otherwise appoint. Our joyning with them in the termes which they
alone will accept of, burying all publifh differences, is but to give them the
caufe to ftrengthen their fchipfme, to make them to wrack whom they will,
as we think they purpose to doe diverse.

2. We find more of their crueltie againft Mr. James Ramfay, to pro-
nounce fome kind of new fentence againft him, notwithstanding of his declyn-
ning of them as no judicatory; yea, they purpofe to plant his church with
fome other, over the head of all heritors, feffion, and almoft all the people;
and in this they doe free the parofhe from the Engli{h, who have appointed
Mr. Beverlie to be minifter there, at the desire of twenty seven perfones, the
chief of thefe whom our brethren fhirred up to oppofe Mr. James Ramfay.

3. We undertaund, by the dire€tion of fome, thefe people of Leinzie, now
declared fe€taries, are to petition the Engli{h to inhibite the fitting of our
Prefbyterie as a null Prefbyterie, under the paine of fequeftration to all
minifters and elders who fhall fitt, and to all that fhall appear before us. Is
there no reemed for this? Doe the Englifh at London allow Judge Moyfley
to execute all Mr. Patrick Gille{pie's devyces, to the utter overthrow of all
our church liberties, and the cruell wracking of all who muft adhere to
their ductie.

4. Ye{terday there was delivered to us a letter, fubfcruyed by Mr. Andrew
Cant, directed to Mr. Robert Baylie and Mr. James Fergusfon, to be co-
municat to the ref of our mind in the Weft, a large and injurious inveftive
againft all who will not joyne with the protefters to ferve the enemie to con-
tinue the yocke of ftrangers for ever on their native countrie, and to lay a
neceflitie on the confciences of people, to exclude, without all caufe, the
King, the Nobilitie, and all who will not be profelytes to them, from poftef{ing
their civile rights. It feems to us exceeding neceflar to caufe revife all the
wrytes of thef{e fchipfmatique men, and draw their tenets to{gether in their
own words, that the world may fee 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 wish backed with reasons against their principall tenets, and answers to the chief objections: We think Masters John Smith, Robert Hamilton, and Robert Ker, would be put to this task.

**For Mr. Robert Dowglass. April 8th 1653.**

Sir,

As our prayers to God were for your gracious upholding, during the time of your imprisonment, so have we heartily blessed God for your happy deliverance 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 defy to be faithfull, have sent one of our number, Mr. George Young, to salute you and your fellow prisoners, and rejoice with you in our name for all the kindness the Lord hath shown to you and to us; yea, the whole land, in your petitions, during the time of your suffering for the publick, and for us in your common cause. The God of Heaven be blessed who hath mercifully preserved you all, and returned you free to us of all, and adorned with much praise to the grace of God, who, all the time of your trial has enabled you to walk exemplarily in faithfulness, courage, humility, patience, and wisdom, for the great comfort of many of both nations, though to the confusion and grief of some. We trust the same grace of God shall enable you to the end to go through what remains of farther trial, and make others in these miserable times to undergo, by your example, with the greater cheerfulness and confidence, what piece of affliction the Lord shall think fit to measure out unto them. It is no small joy and strength to us all, that we have gotten yow again, to be advysed and directed by yow, as we wont to be in all our perplexed causes. For the time, there be sundry things we have directed the bearer to intreat your counsell and assistance. If you think it fitt, at the first hour of your leisure, we wish you called to your chamber, Masters David Dickson, John Smith, James Hamilton, Mungo Law, or any yow think fitt to hear our brother, in what we have instructed him to propose unto you, that, after consultation, you may send us your advyce what to do, for at this time we have great need. The Lord's best blessings be upon you, and preserve yow 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 Fergusson, and Mr. Patrick Colville, are come in. Mr. James hes ane anfwer to Mr. Andrew Cant’s letter, which at the first reading I liked fo weell, that with a small or no review, after it’s gone to Mr. Andrew Cant firft, it may goe to the preffe, for good advantage to the truth, till our other wrytes may come forth. My Wife and youngeft daughter are under a languifhing diseafe, both liker to die than live; also my charge and distractions are fuch that I can doe nothing in the publict for the time. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and the reft of his minde, are become fo impudent as to fett themselves with all their strength against Mr. James Hamilton’s coming among us. But if they carie that point our caufe 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 cafe 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 mifregard the malice of that handfull, stirred up only by unreasonable men, to further their error and, destructive desigines. Mr. James Fergusſon will informe yow of all. Communicat this letter to Mr. Mungo Law and Mr. John Smith, from whom I expeſt all the help they are able, as they love either us or the publict. Mr. Robert Dowglas muſt help us, or we muſt faint, and give all over. So soon as my familie will permitt me, I purpoſe to come in and see yow. After yow have spoken together, faill not to wryte your advye to me, beydes what yow think fitt to fpeak by tongue, with Mr. James [Fergusſon]: his pen, yow see, is exceeding good: I wish yow had from him some obser- 

vations on the Nullity. The Lord help yow.

Your Brother,  

R. B.
Mungo,

I have defyred Mr. David Dickson to show yow and Mr. John Smith my letter to him, which I pray yow call for, and consider. Mr. James Ferguson will informe yow farther. Let me know, with Mr. James, what hopes and encouragements we may have from yow, whether compassion, wifdome, and zeale, will cause yow to let Mr. James Hamilton come to us, and confirme him against thefe unreafonable creatures plotts; but above all, to tell us, if, by God's blessing, yow can foe reprefent truth to Mr. Moyfley, as he, on the exceding falle informations of our oppofites, will not goe on to make havock of our churches with foe tyrannous and high oppreffion, that I perfuade myfelfe his masters in England will have no caufe to give him thanks for. Infead of granting Mr. James Ramfay 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 worfe than it wes; and yet yesterday, at our meeting, when we put Mr. Patrick Gillefpie to it, to read all thefe terrible scandalls, 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 wife man, did think deferred any farther than a Prefbyteriall rebuke: I hear fince that two other also wes [for] fome farther. Let me know if yet yow can gett Judge Moyfley off him, and off my good neighbour, who will never ceafe to fyre all with new motions, week after week, according to his refleffhefs. Communicat this to Mr. John Smith.

Yours,

R. B.

They are moveing to celebrate a communion here, which will fett all in blame: our Magiftrates and all their partie, who hes advyfed to take places from the English, muft be excluded; the Seflions protefting againft the Generall Assemblye we will hardly admit; they will exclude fuch multitudes for one caufe or for one another, that the end will be the fett very refynes congreagation of their owne adherents. We purpofe, by all the fair means we can, to keep off thefe very untimeous motions. In the mean time, let us have your advyce in this also.
For Mr. Rodgers's Mother-in-Law, at Newcastle.

Mistres,

Yours of the 11th of March I receaved; but before this I could not give yow ane particular account of your desires; the liberall almes yow sent to me doubtles the Lord will accept and reward it; it refreshed the bowells of one and twenty householders, almost all widowes, for to foe many did I give it; to nineteen ten shillings, to two frye. I sent to Mr. Rodgers Mr. Patrick Gillefpie's testificate of this, as he required: I held up your name as yow required, except in a generall. I doe compassionate the afflicted condition, both of your body, mind, and estate, whereof yow write to me; bot the Father of Mercies, and God of all Consolation, is able to cause your comforts superabound above all your sufferings. Your experience, now of a long time, of the Lord's love, obliidges yow to have hope and confidence of ane happe afflu out of all temptations; only continue to seck, and yow shall find more kindnes in Christ than yow 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 plentifull harvest long after our death, though it appear not above ground so long as we live: your sighs are registred in the Lord's book, and your tears put up in his bottle, to come downe in a showre of healing grace; yow know not when, only be waiting and hopeing, were it in death, above hope, and all yow can see, that your Covenant promifes are keept 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 seasones of working in his own hand, and let him injoy that his soveraigne prerogative.

Our woefull and very caufelefs divisions doe yet continue to some of us very grievous, but as yet remedilefs, 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 thynne 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. Dowglas and the brethren, it is fore againſt my heart; but my Wife hes, these fix weeks and more, been in that condition that I could not be absent from her, and yet I have bot small hopes of her life. Upon your laſt letter with Mr. James Fergusſon, I have done my best to have to yow my little ſymbolum: make what uſe of it yow find expedient; only let it be in private, and not come abroad, for it's of that ſtraіn that might bring me to cumber. I think Mr. James Fergusſon's letter may well goe abroad. Caufe Mr. Dowglas joyne with yow to ſett on Mr. James Durhame effectuallie: he will be with yow the next week; he hes declared himſelf a little more againſt our brethren's way: yow may doe him good. Their way thrives no where in Scotland fo much as here about, whereof I conceive Mr. Durhame the chiefe instrument, though oft beneſide his purpofe: the man is of exceeding great weight deſervedly. I have deſired him to write Cafe-Divinitie,1 wherein he is excellent, and daylie growes. If yow further not Mr. James Hamilton's dimiſſion to us, yow loſe our Preſbyterie, and inbeares to the publict caufe, for we will not be able to ſtrive more, bot give it over. Advyſe with the brethren what ſhall be done in Mr. James Ramſay's strong caſe; if it be neglecor, yow will have many more ſuch ſhortlie; and, however, even his caſe alone must not be forgotten by yow, to whom he and we, who have intereſt in it, are dear. The Lord be with yow. Soſoon 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 exonered both towards you and others, especiallly, 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 fin before God, and to mourn for your unhappiness, that in these miserable tymes have been the first who have labored to corrupt our Universitie, with diverse pernicious and foul destroying errors, as sundry of the forenamed are, if I understand rightly the nature of error.

For Mr. Robert Baylie.

Sir,

Whereas, in your paper, 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 unsuccefive 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 neceffarly follow, I doe not owne my Notes in fo farre, but detest both the antecedents and consequents. But to write of the particulars, and to examine them at length, my bodilie weaknes will not permitt me now.

Whereas yow make me worfe than Vorftius, truely Sir, in the fection after that de Subfïdentia, I expreflie oppofe and refute Vorftius, who queftions God's simplicitie, and I anfwer his arguments as I can. If I be not deceaved, when Vorftius calls Eternitie fucceffive, he makes it fome inward accident in God, (which is blaſphemie I think,) but I mean no fuch thing, but only that hodie et cras coexift not; and, therefore, when God coexifts to this day, he doth not fimul coexift to the next day, because the next day is not yet; but I mean no fucceffion 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 expreffions be in the Notes), I think the myfterie moft evident from the Word; but for the way of it, I think it safest to keep our conceptions and expreffions 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 fay, Sir. The Lord lay not to your charge the heavie accusations yow lay on me.


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

Reverend and Dear Brother,

This, my third to yow, is only to give thanks for your kind acceptance, and anfwering in deed, of my two former. Mr: Wilkie, our commiffioner, hes reported fo much of your care to us, to promove to the uttermost of your power the charitable supply of our diftrefled 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 readiness to
go on for the perfyting of what is so well begun, even to give your best
advyce and affittance to this same gentleman, whom we have sent againe, with
some others, to receive, in the city and country, what shall be freely offered
by the pious benevolence of these whose hearts God shall stirr up, by you and
your brethren, to contribute to that work of compassion and charity.

At this time I have no more to adde, but this one word, to let you know,
That on the 20th of July last, when our Generall Assembly was set in the
ordinarie tyme and place, Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall begett the Church with
some rattes of musqueteirs and a troupe of horfe; himself, (after our faft, where-
in Mr. Dickfon and Mr. Dowglafs had two gracious sermons,) entered the As-
sembly-house, 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 English forces? or of the English Judges in Scotland? The
Moderator replyed, That we were ane Ecclesiasticall synod, ane Spirituall
court of Jefus Chrift, which medled not with any thing Civile; that our
authoritie was from God, and established by the Lawes of the land yet fland-
ing unrepealed; that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, the moft of the
English army flood obliged to defend our Generall Assembly. When fome
speeches of this kind had passed, the Lieutenant-Colonell told us, his order
was to difsolve us; whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him, elfe
he would drag us out of the rowme. When we had entered a Proteflation
of this unheard-of and unexampled violence, we did ryfe and follow him;
he led us all through the whole streets a myle out of the towne, encompaf-
ing us with foot-companies of musqueteirs, and horsemen without; all the
people gazing and mourning as at the saddeft spectacle they had ever seen.
When he had led us a myle without the towne, he then declared what
further he had in commiffion, That we should not dare to meet any more
above three in number; and that againfl eight o'clock tomorrow, we should
depart the towne, under paine of being guiltie of breaking the publick peace:
And the day following, by found of trumpet, we were commanded off towne
under the paine of prefent imprifonment. Thus our Generall Assembly, the
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glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is, by your foouldiarie, crushed and trod under foot, without the least provocatione from us, at this time, either in word or deed. For this our hearts are fadd, our eyes runn downe with water, we figh to God againft whom we have finned, and wait for the help of his hand; but from those who oppreffed us we deserved no evill. We hear a noife of farder orders, to difcharge all our Synods and Prefbyteries, and all prayer for our King: many the moft moderate reckons fuch orders will make havock of our Church, and raife againft many the beft men we have, a fore perfecution which, God willing, we purpofe to endure all patience and faith, giving juft offence to none.

I detaine yow no more. The Lord mind his Zion in thefe lands, and bleffe yow, who for the tyme f tand in the moft eminent pinnacle thereof. Thus refts,

Your Brother to serve yow,

Glaftgow, 27th July 1653.

R. Baylie.

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

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Your kind and refpeftfull letter I receaved from Mr. Wilkie, our towne's commiffionier. Your afliftance to him, in furthering the charitie of your neighbours to our diftreffed people, I affure [yow], wes a very good and pious work. I muft intreat yow to continue your beft 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 defigne I like weell, and thinks yow can hardly fpend your tyme on a better subjeft. I doe well approve your purpose, to take in, among the reft, our Mr. Boyd, not Bodie, though, in Latin, we call our Boyds Bodij: that man, indeed, was one of the moft eminent divines of the Reformed Churches for all good qualities. There is fo much, before his Commentarie on the Epiftle 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, wifdome, eloquence, humilitie, single life, and every good part, for some yeares the moft-eyed man of the three Kingdoms. Wifhing yow good speed in that and the rest of your labours, I ref.

Your Brother to serve yow,

Glaſgow, July 27th 1653.

R. Baylie.

For Dr. Lazarus Seaman.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Understanding, by our towne's agent, Mr. Wilkie's letter, your kind remembrance of me, I thought fitt to let yow know that my remembrance of yow is very fresh, and oft sweeto my mind, in these most lamentable tymes. It is one of the grounds of my hope, that the Lord will not be pleased to permitt theſe confusions, and theſe oppreffions, to be perpetuall, when I fee yow and others preserved in a right mind in the midſt of fo great apostacie; for what else would the Lord preferve men of eminent parts and grace, but to be not only present witnesses of truth and right, but, in the Lord's approaching feaſon, powerfull instruments to proſligate, by their light, the prefent errors and confusions. I did write to fome of my dear brethren there, to aflift the bearer heirof in that lamentable buſinesſ he wes fent to agent. I wrote not to yow, thinking yow had lived at Cambridge,⁶ and not at London; but feeing it is otherwise, I intreat yow alſo to consider the gentleman's informations, and further him in his work. I afſure yow his papers and reports are true: I ſhall need to ſay no more to yow of this matter.

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

⁶ 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 yow be in towne, and have a little leasure, I wish yow may revise them, and let them goe, or suppress them, as yow and your orthodox brethren shall think fitt. The Lord be mercifull to the distrefted nations, and furnifhe yow, who there stand on the pinacles of the ruined temple, with a large measure of the Spirit of Christ. We here oft desire to commend yow there to the Lord's grace.

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

Glasgow, October 8th 1653.

R. Baylie.

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

Reverend Brother,

I have many times been mindfull of yow since I came to this place, and was resolved now and then to have written to yow oftner than once, were it not that two things hindered me; the one wes, my fear least ye might come to danger by my corresponding with yow at this time; the other wes, my very earnest defyre to lurk, even in this place, not thinking myfelfe worthie (the Lord knowes) to be taken notice of by any, bot rather to have my habitation amongst the owles of the defart, because of my very great ufeleffnes and fruitleffnes amongst the sons of men. And though this my desire of lurking (truely not for any fear of danger in doing of my dutie, but upon the fore-mentioned accompt) hes been much in my heart and amongst my wishes. I have been so farr from attaining it, that though the malice and envy of my evil neighbours, and other unnatural countrymen, (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 praife) I find my God graciously present with me, furnifhing me with courage, joy, peace, and content-

6 In his answer entitled "The Dissasive 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 Borrowtonness. He was for the time confined in Edinburgh Castle; His offience was praying for the King; but he was released before the 20th July 1654: Vide infra, p. 253.
ment: so that whatever has been in the mind, either of these who are in power and put me here, or of these, who being their favourites, has 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 truely gracious, honest, and loyall, in the land, shall get good thereof hereafter; bot even these also, who in their hatred has had a hand in my affliction, imprisonement, and perfecution. And amongst other mercies, I cannot bot observe this for one; that though I want not my owne conflicts, privately in my mind, anent other things, even this long time, yet in this I have no scruple at all. The Lord in his goodnesse hes made the ground of my suffering very clear to me; honour be to His name for it; so that though others are ready to cry it downe and reproach me for it, yet through the Lord's strength, (he calling me to it,) I durft hazard to suffer whatever men shall be permitted to put me farther unto than this fame ground. And it is my very earnest defyre, that privatelie and prudentlie, as ye may have opportunitie, ye may, in my name, exhort your honest brethren, and other gracious acquaintances, not to faint or shrink in the least measure because of my afflictions, but rather to be resolute and bold in the Lord, in doeing of their dutie, and particularlie in adhering to that point in hand, which by men is inhibited, omitted, and controverted; for certainlie, as the Lord shall gett glory, and trueth 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 submission 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 banifh me, yet neither that, nor the sequestration of my stipend, doeth trouble me in the least, for I have laid my compt for the worst they can doe. I know they are all in chains and can doe nothing, but as the Lord, for his own honour and my good, shall be pleased to permitt them to doe,
and so whatever he sends I shall make it welcome: Lo! here am I, let his Majestie doe with me what seems good in his eyes. I say no more, but referring you to the inclofed paper, I earnestly beg the help of your prayers, and remains,

Your loveing Brother, November 11th 1653. J. Jamisone.

The Earl of Lauderdaill to Mr. Robert Baillie.

Reverend and Worthie Freind,

These sufferings which it hath pleas’d God to call me to this long time past, having disabled me from doing any service to my friends, 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 meaure of health then I could have expected in this cours, so different from the life I formerly led. Althogh in that I finde great prejudice by my long reftraint; yet it pleaseth God to give me some meaure 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 moft affectionat freind,

Tower, the 17th of December 1653. Lauderdaill.

For my reverend and worthie freind, Mr. Robert Bailly,
Profeslor of Divinity at Glasgow.*

* The original letter thus addressed, is preserved in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XLIX, No. 27.
FOR MR. WILLIAM TAYLOR, MODERATOR OF THE PROVINCIAL SYMODY 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, assuring myself, that this pious charitie in yow and diverse of your brethren, is a sweet favour both to God and men. Yow will be intreated to affit, both by your advyce and countenance, our Commissioneer, 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 spoken some of your stationers for that end. When I come to Scotland, 1647, I moved the Generall Assembly, with the affittance of Mr. Blair and Mr. Gillespie, to appoint him, out of their not very great plenty, two hundred pounds sterlins, for the perfecting of this work. This soume we caus’d faithfully to delyver him there, the Assembly, on our report, nothing doubting of the gentleman’s German, and candid honestie to performe his undertaking. When some tyme had gone over, and the book did not appear, I wrote once and againe of his promise, and my undertaking for him: at last he returned me somewhat a bitter answere, refusing to goe on in that work, unlefs 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 soume, I might have gotten that work done in

9 Vide supra, Letter and Note, p. 7.
Holland: it's a pity that this piece of service should lye behind. I know your Synod hes no jurisdictiion; yet, if the gentlemen be in London, I think if some two or three, deputed from your Synod, would be pleased to deal with him, he might be possiblie moved to perforine that service, or give back the money he got from us, as he wrote to me he would, that we might beftow it on some other, who, we are perfuaded, on such a recompence, would gladly doe it for him. Yow will be pleased to confider of this motion for the publick good. The translation of the whole Dutch Bible I think needlefs, 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 Materiaalls 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 fteps 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 eversion both of Church and Kingdome, yea of the very being of the Nation.

2. To give glory to God, in acknowledging our just deserved from his hand, of all that is come or coming, by the continuall tract of the uncontroverted finnes in all ranks and eftates, 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 prefent unhappie divisions, stupid securitie, and, through the incumbent terour, the totall laying aside by many of the cleareft, oft-sworne, and covenanted duties to God, Church, King, and Kingdome.

3. To waken, by pithie exhortations, unto a great mourning, privatelie and
publicly, 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 darknes, wherein allurements, terours, and evill examples brangle the stabilitie of many. The substance of every article would be repeated, especiallie of these which, by the mist of new glosses, are most overclouded, and where weak ones had most need to be confirmed.

5. To presse, after the studie of Scripture, the seruous reading of our precious Confession, Catechisme, and Directive, for the establishing of our heart against the heresies of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, Antitrinitarians, Familists, Seekers, and Atheists; also the diligent perusal of the Propositions for government against the schismaticke 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 forefaw this hour of strong temptation coming upon us, so providing it of his great merrie.

6. To speak, in the bowells of tender compassion, and yet in the just and necessarie zeal of holy indignation, to the conscience of the many apostates of this Nation for their reclaiming, and of staggerers for their confirmation.

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

8. To endeavour the composing of the hearts of people to live quietlie and peaceable under the yock of the prevalent power, and to suffer patientlie what the Lord shall permitt to be laid upon them in their estate, libertie, or persone, for their necessarie abstinence from all they know to be sinne 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 Huchefone and Mr. Hugh M‘Kell to the Remonstrators, particularlie to my Lord Warriestone, my Lord Brodie, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Patrick Gillespie; who refused to accept of them.

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

Sir,

That your late short one, and your long one a year agoe, was not answered, and that you had no frequent 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 yourself: my desire to be silent and keep no correspondense in this evill time, was the only cause of it. But understanding your mißcontent with it, I thought fitt to tell you that I was much refreshed to see under your hand the submiffion of your spirit to the incumbent calamitie. It was often my fear it should have broken you both in body and mind long before this; but since God has spared your life, which to my apprehension was in great hazard, more wayes than one or two, and has given you to put your mouth in the dust, and take your very heavie chaftisements out of the Lord’s hands humblie and lovingly, I am very hopeful your issue shall be good. Continue your studies to better your knowledge, whereof I have heard much by your late companions; but above all, your religious exercises of mortification of all known vanities. As it is often my prayer to God, so for all is come and gone, it’s my prettie confident hope, that these many and great endeuments which God has given to you, and you by his great mercie, I hear, have improven, shall yet be employed for the good and comfort of many.

1 This letter seems from Baillie's MS. to have been addressed "To John 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 coufine Mrs. Kennedy, that did much refresh me. Such sweet submiffion and eminent grace cannot but be looked on by God and blest. I must break of. I am just what I wont to be to all men and to yow.

Your's,

R. B.

FOR JEREMIE WHITTAKER, MINISTER AT LONDON.²

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Understanding by Mr. Wilkie, our agent, your great care to further him in that his labour for that poor distrefled people here, and withall your kind remembrance of me, I could not but give yow heartie thanks for both. I am glad to know yow are yet to the fore. I believe it goes the better with many for your interceffions to your Master, which, with delight, I remember wont to be very gracious and singularlie melting. We here are groaning to God under many heavie preffours. The beauty, strength, and order of our ecclefiasticke meetings are well near gone, I grant much by our owne fault. The abolition of almoft all our Church liberties, and putting the power of planting and displanting of Ministers in the hand of strangers, to whom church discipline does not belong, is heavy to us. The putting downe of our Generall Assemblies and Kirk Commiffion, and giving a liberty to any who will to profeffe many grievous errors, when we did expe6l, in performance of a very solemne sworn Covenant, a full and perfect reformation, does oft break our heart, and a flood of farther evills 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 duft, 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 yow, but earnestlie defyre yow would continue your prayers to the Lord Jefus for the defolate Church of Scotland, that the Lord would restore us, as we were that day when love and compaffion drew us in a Covenant with yow. The Lord be with yow,

² Mr. Jeremiah Whittaker was minister of Mary Magdalene Bermondsey, in Southwark. He died within four months from the date of this letter.
and continue yow, and other gracious brethren there, till, by your prayers at the throne of grace, yow have gotten that very 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.

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 sundry of our Brether, and these also there East, thinks our being together so long has been for our hurt, yet I am so loath to break, that for this time it shall be my earnest endeavour to keep together upon our ordinary protestation, if so our Brether be content on the 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 necessitie on us to fitt by ourselves. However, all thinks it necessary that we be so frequent, ministers and elders, as we can. Yow will not faill to be in tymously on the Monday, for it must be yow and Mr. Durhame who must deall betwixt us to keep us together, and bear witneff on whose fault the breach comes. It were a pitie if your mind shoulde be content to defert us at such a tymee. 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 speake a little with yow, Mr. J. Bell, M. P. C., M. A. N., to resolve how, with the least dinn, yow may have in whom yow can against that time, and to advyse what else is needfull. Shall others for evill be so active, and keep so frequent meetings farr and near, and we still fit looking one upon another while all be lost. 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.
1654.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. JULY 19TH 1654.

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 passage being flopt, or difficult, and all corresponding betwixt any in these and thir parts being lyable to misconstruction, I choifed rather to be silent than for that tyme to write any. But now, the Peace being subscryved 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 first opportunitie.

I have had many a weary heart thefe tymes bygone, for many a croffe accident both private and publict. But till the goodnes of God upheld me, and to this day hes protected and affifted me in every thing, and given to me a comfortable subsistence, rather more as leffe than any of my neighbours, bleffed be his holy name. After a long decaying and ficknes my most gracious and vertuous companion wes removed June 7th 1653. In the midft of a great and just griefe I had this mixture of comfort, that, to the full satiffaction of all, in her whole life, ficknes and death, the grace and wifdome 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 wishd. Befyde my ordinarie labours, I have gotten my Hebrew Praxis, with much fafcherie, at laft, from the preffe; also, I expected to have had my Catechife, and Anfwer to Cotton and Tombes, printed before this: If in fuch miserable tymes I can gett out thefe testimonies of my faithfullnes and diligence in my calling, I will be glad. My little Chronologie growes in my hand, and I hope it may doe good: it is my greatest taske for the tyme.

The cafe 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 Gillefpie for our Principall; but moft of us esteeming that purpofe exceeding abfurd, we gave a call to Mr.
Blair, not much contrarie to his owne mind, as I thought; but when that
did not succeed, we gott Mr. Robert Ramsay 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 these whom it concerned, to accept that
place; but I ever peremptorilie refuiled: I knew it belonged to Dr. Strang,
and in the manifold depositions, and dimissions of places, we have had these
years bygone, in Church, State, and Schooles, I had seen few thryve, but
exceeding many who succeeded to fall in great hurts, if not shame and
death: I loved no changes, especially to a place of civile action; however,
God guided my mind to be resolute not to medle with it. So soon as the
English come amongst us, one of their first cares wes to plant our Universitys
with their owne. Mr. Patrick Gillespie and our Regent Mr. John Young,
fell to be great among themselfes and with the English; both of them
aimed at the place; at last they agreed, so that Mr. Patrick should be Princi-
pall, and Mr. John Divinitie Professior. Our Rector, Commisfar Lockhart,
having joyned affectionately with the English, concurred in the designde. I
wes much grieved with it, for I saw, befoye many other incongruitiees, 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
foolishly peremptor to establish Mr. John Young Professior: the English were
ready to have done it; but at Mr. John’s desyre, permitted the Colledge to
do it themselves: his father, Mr. George, our Dean, dealt long effectuallie
with his sonne, not to grieve me by accepting of that charge, but in vaine.
When it come to the election, for respect to Mr. George, I wes content to
be absent, with a declaration of my diffent and resolusion, which yet I have
kepted, in not countenancing him in the exercice of that charge; for to me
it seemed hard, that a young man, a Regent in Philosophie, how able foever,
should immediately turne Divinitie Professior without any call from the Church,
especially being profesedly opposite to our Church and Generall Assemble.
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 reason nor ordinarie practife; the other two Regents were against the thing
at that tyme, intending Mr. James Durhame, who indeed had been our
lawfullie electe Professior, whose entrie, for good reasons, we had stopped;
but thereafter I most gladly would have had him in, when, by Mr. John
Young, for his owne desigine, I was disabiled 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 strenght.

After much whispering with the English, at laft ane order and command was presented to us by our Rector, from the English Judges, to accept of Mr. Patrick, whom they, according to their power, had appointed our Principall. Mr. John Young, Mr. James Veitch, and Mr. Richard Robertson, were willing to doe what was defyred; but the most part of the Facultie, Mr. George Young, Dean, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Vice-Chancellor, I, and Mr. Patrick Young, dissented and protested. The Rector, in this inequality, professed he had no voice, and acknowledged that the Facultie had refused to choice Mr. Patrick; yet, as a private man, he would goe with the three dissenters, and encourage Mr. Patrick to obey the English order: thereafter, the English sent us a command to write our reasons why we refused. This, the Dean of Facultie, Vice-Chancellor, and I, did severallie under our hands. Notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick accepted the charge, and since hee professed it; albeit, in this the second year, he has been pleased to make not so much as one lefion. I doe not abstain from the most of Colledge meetings, with my protestations, oft at the beginning repeated, of my not acknowledging by my preffence either of the two for Principall or Professor; and when we subscribe common writes, I usuallie adde to my name P. S. S. Proteftationibus Salvis. In other things, we keep prettie faire; but I fear we cannot long agree. At Mr. Patrick's first entrie, the eldest Regent, Mr. Richard Robertson, (whom violently they had thrust in over all our priviledges, by a committee of their Visitation,) had putt in his Dictats exceeding many open errors, heresies, and blafphemies. I miskent the matter long, only I defyred Mr. Patrick, who had become so intimate with him, as after that scandale to boord him at his owne table, and Mr. John Young who also boorded there, to fee to it. After the scandale grew very flagrant, and no course at all was like to be taken with it, at laft, I called for the Notes, and drew out that paper I heirwith fend to yow, and communicate it to the Facultie, in the young man's own preffence. They appointed him with his owne hand to delete out of his Dictates, sundrie of the wicked errors. They all professed they miflyked 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 keeper in the Colledge one who had taught so blaspemous heresies, and who yet was not sensible, for any purpose, of his sinne, I would let the world know it for my owne exoneracion, and would charge this connivance on him, and the whole side on which he wes. Finding me that clear, I think Warriftone and Mr. James Guthrie advyfed him not to be heard with me in this; fo, not before the very end of the year, he was removed, but with no censure at all; only on a narrative of weaknesses of bodie, he dimitted his place, and contrare to my mind, his dimiflion wes accepted; yea, a pension of twelve score merks during his life wes appoint-ed to him. It grieved me to see no zeale at all against the most grievous errors in the most of my neighbours; yea, though I communicate that paper to Mr. James 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 midt of a terme, with profefion not to be willing for any request to meddle more with it. According to our order, a program was affixt in all the four Universitie, to invite at a day all who pleased to compear. Two of our own, Mr. Hew Smith and Mr. John Glen, did appear, very good youths and schollars both: while we are going to prescryve them their tryell, ane order from the English is delyvered to us, by our Rector, discharging us to admitt any to tryall for any place, without their appointment. Some nights before, Mr. John Young had come to me to enquire, If I could be content to admitt to the vacant place Mr. Sandilands, the Rector's brother, without competition? I told him I could not in conscience, for beside that I conceav-ed the young man unfitt, by our old priviledges, lately injoyed very strictlie by our Viftors, we were oblidered to a competition, for which we had then affixt a program. Mr. John, finding me resolute, 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 stipend. However, when the vacant places of Mr. John Young and Mr. Richard Robertson came to be supplied the next year, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie desires to call to the first Mr. R. Mcquard [McWard], without any competition: for this we have a new conteft. I told him of our lawes renewed in our last Viftitation, wherein his owne hand wes chieff; also that
two of our owne, invited by our Programme, wes waiting for their tryell; that the young man he named I knew to be nothing fitter than any of the two; and that the old Colledge of St. Andrewes, wherein he wes Regent of Humanitie, had refused, that fame year, to admitt him to a vaiking place without competition: Notwithstanding, it wes carried in the Facultie, to call him without competition or any tryell. Our Facultie was now fully conforme; the Vice-Chancellor was dead; Mr. George Young wes changed, and his fonne, the Professor, wes made Dean of Facultie in his father's place, contrare, as I conceaved, 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; Afeffors were declaired, by their laft Vifitation, to have no decifive voice: Soe I wes left alone; and then indeed, speaking sharpie for the evident overthrow of our priviledges, when my offer wes refused 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 should be broken, Mr. Patrick Gillepsie did publiquelie boast 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; fo he griped our purfe, that no man should gett any flipen but as he thought expedient; and this ever since I have found. With all these injuries, I fatt still expecting worse. At the Regent's entrie, I afbented myfelf; the young man incontinent fell fick, as before he had been ficklie: he is like not long to live; so, to all our fense, it had been his good never to have come hither. There was a competition for the other place,

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

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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 clearlie warrit him; yet there was no remeind, 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 fo little as he should not carrie the place: of this mote such a mountain was made, that Mr. Patrick began a proces against him, to declare him incapable to compete. With difficultie he was admitted to a hearing. In the time of our judging, I found many sensible of ane evident partialitie: I departed in silence; for this Mr. Patrick cryed after me, He would teach me better manners. At this I smiled, and went away. My chief exception was, that the young man, though he had the testimonie of all the apostates in the Colledge of Aberdeen, yet Mr. Andrew Cant's, though written to, was not gotten, and Mr. Patrick, with passion, had refused to put him to subscrive the Covenant, when I in his ear defyr’d it. At the beginning of the year he took all the keys of the little chambers from my schollars, whereof they had long, by my allowance, been in possession, and gave them to whom he liked better. Dr. Strang had bestowed six hundred merks on the building, for which the Facultie most unanimously had assigned him a chamber for his use during his life time, in ane act subscriv’d 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 intrtummet with, though allowed and subscriv’d by all the auditors of the compts for more than twenty years, without question. Also, of my receipts he challenges six hundred pounds, which I offered to be determined by the Colledge own lawyers, or other arbitrators; but without law there is no remeind; and to law I told him, I will not goe, though I should lose 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 lefsons of the Principall and Profeffors, under the paine of a mulct. This by many of the chief schollars was never subferyved, and never preffed 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 conscience bound up, declyned modestlie that subscription, thinking in their minds (as many more did) that Mr. Patrick was not lawfull Principall, nor Mr. John Young lawfull Profeffor; but withall gave him no offence: for this no subferyveing he put them publiclie 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 thefe two young men to any of my lefsons. This inolence grieved me, yet I neglected it; only told him at meeting that I could concurre in no fuch violence. While we are vexed daylie with new unexpectted motions, there is affixed diverse tymes on the Colledge gate, and scattered in the Colledge Clofe, and put in the mouth of all the schollars, a number of moft base and scandalous Latine verses, 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 publiclie and privatelie, and made fuch affrightment among the schollars that fundrie got away: some of the beft qualitie would no more returne. This remedie did no good, for every other day new papers, of many base villanies, were spread and sent over all the countrie. This put Mr. Patrick in a high humor to goe for Edinburgh, with ane English 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 Livingftone 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 leaft 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 Ree?tor, falling in a foule fornication, behooved to be changed, and the
designe being to have none of the Ministers or others, convenient on the lift, but only the laird of Pollock and goodman of Glandertstone, and the Covenant being to be laid aside at that election, when usually it wont 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 accents, I could not subsckyve without my prejudice; and the Colledge giving fundrie instructions to be agented by Mr. Patrick at London, with the Protector, I would subsckyve none of them. I expected for all this a storme, yet God guided me so that we parted calmlie, 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 commiision 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 Gillepie in Glafgow, and Mr. Samuell Colvile they offered to the Old Colledge of St. Andrews; this last is yet holden off, but the other three acts as Principalls. All our Collidges are quicklie like to be undone. Our Churches are in great confusion: no intrant getts any stipend till he have petitioned and subsckyved 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 Prefsbyterie, and well near the whole congregation, calls and adimits, he must preach in the fields, or in a barne, without stipend. So a sectarie is planted in Kilbryde, one other in Leinzie, and this guyse will grow ryse to the wrack of many a foull. We thought at the Generall Assemblie to have gotten some course for this; but Colonell Lilburne, the commander-in-chief, gave order to sojors to break our Assemblie before it was constitute, to the exceeding great grief of all, except the Remonstrators, who insulted upon it; the English violence haveing trysted with their protestation against it. Since that tyme we have had no meeting for the whole Church, not so much as for counfell, though the Remonstrants have mett oft, and are like to sett up a Commission and Assemblie 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 alse bent as ever to purge the Church: to punifh men truely derseving censure, we are alse willing as they; but
their purgeing is for common a very injurious oppession. 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 Warriestone, Mr. James Guthrie, and others, still profes their great aversion to the English way: however, their great aversion of the King, and of the late Assemblies, and their zeal to make up the Kirk and armie, and places of trust, 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 strange pranks: however, they are going on prettie faft; their wracking of the congregation of Leinzie, and dividing of the Prefbyterie of Glafgow; their doing 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 last dealings.

From their meeting in Edinburgh, they were instructed to have monethly fafts and communions as they could have them: at their communions they excluded more than the halfe of those 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, exercised from morning to even. The great defigne of all this was evidently but to increafe their partie; whereof yet in most places they mifled. Alwayes the word went, that they purposed to put up committees for purging and planting every where as they thought fitt. I was fo charitable as not to suspect them of any such purpofe, when the land wes full of confusion and danger; yet I fand myself disappointed; for at our synod, the Moderator's sermon ran on the necessitie of taking up the too-long neglected work of purging. The man's vehemencie in this, and in his prayer, a strange 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 pressed, in the enrie 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 intimated our great willingnes to caft out of the ministrie all
whom we conceived either unfitt for weaknesses, or scandalous; but a Synod so divided in judgment as we were, we conceived very unfitt for any such work. When we found our defyre flatly refused, and perceived a clear designe to set up presently their tyrannous committees, we, as we had resolved before hand, and were advysed by the ministrie of Edinburgh, and others of our mind, required them, that our Synod might be rightly constitute, That ministers cenfur'd by the Generall Assembly, and elders notoriously opposite to the last three Generall Assemblies, might have no voyce. When this was flatly refused, we shew we were necessitate to fit by our selves, and leave them in their separation from the Generall Assembly and Kirk of Scotland. When, by all we could say, nothing could be obtained, all of us who adhered to the Generall Assembly went to the Blackfriers, and there kept the Synod, leaving our Profession with them (C.) Some brethren travelled all the next day betwixt us for a union; we offered it gladly, on condition, that they would be content for this tyme of the land's trouble and danger, to leave all medling with things controverted, or else to constitute the Synod according to the Act of the Generall Assembly. When neither could be obtained, (as yow may see in the paper of mediation (D.), we did constitute our selves in a Synod by an Act; whereof yow have the tenor subjoyned (E.); and when we had appointed a fast, the cauSES whereof I likewise subjoyne (F.), we closed to meet at Irvine at the next dyet. To our absent brethren we sent the letter following (G.), and ane information of our proceedings to the neighbouring Synods of Lothian, Galloway, Argyle; also Fyffe, Perth, and the Merse.

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

⁶ There is inserted in the MS. this marginal note, in Baillie's own hand: "Mr. Somervail and Mr. Jak cleirit themsefes to me of this falt."
on Mr. R. Hoome, whom we had made minister at Crauford-Johne contrare to their mind: their committee laboured to their power to try that their owne invention; but failed therein. There is an old man, Mr. John Veitch, minister of 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 insufficient. But their chief work was at Dowglas. The noblemen, gentlemen, 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 fubferyved a call to the young man, to defy his tryells might be before the United Presbyterie, and not before our part of it, from which the Remonfrators had separate. This motion they fo fomented, that thefe few elders, with a very few of the people, were moved by them, contrare to all the congregation, to give a call to a silly young man, a meer stranger, from Fife, one Mr. Francis Kidd, who had never been heard nor seen in the bounds. This man they bring to the kirk on the Sunday: when the people refuifed to let him or them enter, he preached on a bray-side to some strangers and a few of the people of Dowglas, and even thefe runne away from hearing of him, except a very few. Preaching ended, they sent one to read a edict at the church-door, who refused to give a copie of what he read: without more ado, on Monday morning, they past all his tryells in one houre, and came to the church of Dowglas in the after-noone 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 fword, as wes avowed on all hands, on a bray-side, without preaching, they admitted him minister of Dowglas: ane abominable example, generally much abhorred, which shews what we may expect from that partie. Our Synod appointed some to joyn with the true Presbyterie of Lanark; who mett the week thereafter; tried with all accuracie possible what could be found in the feandale of Mr. Robert Hoome; fand nothing but malice of some partie, fomented by ministers; with the unanimous content of the people of Roberton, frengthned the minister, and appointed a helper to be settled there in ane orderly way; admitted to the Church of Dowglas Mr. Archibald Inglith, after all tryells duely performed,
with the blessings and tears of the congregation. Readily they will procure 
an order from the English, that the fipend and church shall goe to Mr. 
Kidd, and his twelve or sixteen followers, and Mr. Archibald Inglisf shall 
be tolerated, with much adoe, to preach to the whole congregation, Mar-
qufes of Dowglafs, Earle of Angus, whole heritors and people, in the 
fields, or a barne, without a fexpence of fipend.

In this glafs fee our condition. It is fo in fundrie congregations allreadie, 
and like to be fo in many more; not fo much through the violence of the 
English, as the unreasonable headinefs of the Remonftrators, which for the tyme 
is remedilefs; and we, for fear of worse from their very evill humour, give 
way to permitt them to plant diverfe churches as they like best. This formed 
chifme is very bitter to us, but remedilefs, except on intollerable conditions, 
which no wyfe orthodoxe divine will advyfe us to accept: We muft imbrace 
without contradiction, and let grow, the principles of the Remonftrants, which 
all reformed divines, and all fates in the whole world abhorres; we muft 
permitt a few headie men to waste our Church with our consent or conni-
vance; we muft let them frame our people to the Sectarian modell; a few 
more forward ones joynd among themfelfes by privie meetings to be the 
godly partie, and the congregation, the refi, to be the rafcallie 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 fundry of them already hes 
done, to imbrace the errors of the tyme for their defftruction. Against these 
abominations we ftrive fo much, and fo wysely, as we can. Mr. Robert Dow-
glafs, Mr. David Dickfon, and others, hes yet gotten Edinburgh right: The 
faction which Mr. Robert Traill and Mr. John Stirling have there is unconfi-
fderable. Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood keep St. Andrewes and 
Fyfe prettie right: Mr. Rutherford, to the uttermoft 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 fpedd; albeit 
his confident Sir William Bruce of Stanhoufe be made the English sherriff. 
In Lithgowshire they have ufed great violence, imprifoned their chiefe 
opposite Mr. Jo. Vaughan, forced a fillie 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 moft 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 worse till the Lord remeed it.

As for our State, this is its cafe: Our Nobilitie, weell near all are wracked; Dukes Hamilton, the one execute, the other flaine; their state forfault; one part of it gifted to English fojours; the reft will not pay the debt; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt:—Huntlie execute; his fonnes all dead but the youngeft; there is more debt on the Houfe nor the land can pay:—Lennox is living, as a man buried, in his houfe of Cobhame: Dowglafs and his fonne 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 Remonstrators, who were and are averfe from him;—Chancellor Loudoun lives like ane outlaw about Athole, his lands compryfed for debt, under a generall very great difgrace:—Marichell, Rothes, Eglinton and his three fonnes, Craufurd, Lauderdail, and others, prisoners in England; and their lands all either fequestrate or forfault, and gifted to English fojours:—Balmerinoch suddenly dead, and his fonne, for publict debt, compryfeings, and captions, keeps not the callie:—Warrifton, havige refounded much of what he got for places, lives privile, in a hard enough condition, much hated by the moft, and negleched by all, except the Remonstrants, to whom he is guide. Our Criminall Judicatories are all in the hands of the English; our Civile Courts in their hands alfo; only some of the Remonstrators are adjoyned with them: In the Seffion7 are Craighall, (now dead,) and his brother Hope- toun, Mr. A. Perfon, Southhall, Colonell Lockhart, and Swinton: The only clerks to the Seffion are Mr. John Spreule and William Downie. The Commissariat and Sherriffs Courts are all in the hands of English fojours, with the adjunction, in some places, of some few Remonstrants. Strong garifones in Leith, Edinburgh towne and caitell, Glasgow, Ayr, Dumbartan, 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.
LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

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Lithgow, Perth, Dundee, Bruntsfield, Dunnottar, Aberdeen, Innernefs, Inneraray, Dunstaffnage, etc.

Of a long tyme no man in the whole Ifle did mute: all were lull'd up in a lethargick fear and despaire. Only the other year, Glencairne and Balcarras, understanding of one order to apprehend them as corresonding with the King, retired to the hills of Athole. Kenmure haveing escaped from England, when his houfe wes burnt and his rents seafed upon, got to the Lennox with a few horfe: Lorne, being but coarfelie ufed by his father, joyned with Kenmure. To these fundrie did affociat, Glengarie, Athole, Seaforth, not so much to doe any thing against the English, as to make some noyfe of a partie, to encourage the King's friends abroad to send him supplies of men, armes, and money. At once a great animofitie did ryfe in every fhyre of the land; very many young gentlemen made bold with all the 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-seas, did increase dayly both the number and courage of this partie.

But behold inward divifion doth hazard all at the very beginning. The irreconcileable discords of Argyle and Hamilton had undone the Ifle, and almoft both the families. Glencairne, Hamilton's coufigne, did much mistrust and flight Lorne. Ralftone, and the Remonftrant gentlemen of Kintyre, seemed readie to arme for the English, against the King's partie. Lorne and Kenmure, with the men they had raifed, went to Kintyre to supprese these. They, on hope of the English affiftance from Aire, fortified the castle of Lochheid; but while neither Argyle nor the English appear in their defence, they rander the houfe to Lorne's diferetion. Kenmure thinking the besfiedged 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 conceaving that it was bset for the advancing of the King's affaires, that till the King himself, or one of authoritie from him, should come, the partie should be ruled by a committee, without any supreame officer, and that all admitted to counfells and command in the armie should declare for the Solemne League and Covenant. For these ends he dealt with Lorne, Seaforth, and Athole, till Glencairne produced a commiffion under the King's hand to be Generall, till himselff
or some from him, should come to take the command. This unexpected commission put all to a submiffive silence, but increased heart-burnings. Lorne, profefling all firmness to the King and cause, was not willing to take orders from Glencairne, till he did know more particularlie the King’s pleasure. For this end, he, Balcarras, and others, wrote to the King their difcontent with Glencairne’s command. These letters were intercepted and brought to Glencairne; whereupon he gave order to Glengarrie to apprehend Lorne, to anfwer for his fedition. Lorne hardlie enough escaped Glengarrie’s perfute; Balcarras retired; and, a little after, with his Lady, went difguised through England to the King. Notwithstanding of all these pitiefull and shamefull debates, Glencairne’s partie ftil increafed, and his conduct became conliderable: the whole Highlands, Isles, and much of the North, and numbers from the Lowlands, were come unto him; fo 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 floit and refulute men as we ever had on the fields, the moft of them old fojours. 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, fome months, notwithstanding of all the reiterat promises, no foraigne affiftance at all did come; but on the contrare, the Holland peace was proclaimed; the treaty of the Protector with Swane [Sweden] went on; the French ambaffador at London was feomnly receaved, as the Spanifh and Portugale had been; all humane hope began much to faill, efpeciallie after Monck’s coming downe as Generall, the Proclamation of the Protector, the Act of Union, and the Ordinance of Grace, which forfauald and deeply fyned fo many, and subjected 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, Wilhart, Forfyth, and fundry more of our Scotsmen unhappily: All these things were fo hard prefages, that the moft gave all the King’s affairs for gone; and many did think that the King, whether through perfonall weaknesses, or the treacherie of the few counfellors about him, or the cros aspect of all Europe towards him, had fo far difappointed 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 severitie to crush them, and for their laces to lye more heavily on the whole subdued countrey, beginning with the best of the ministers; who, after mutuall advyce, find themselves in conscience necessitate to keep the King full in their publick prayers. We have been very carefull to give the English no other offence at all; for in all this Northland ryfing, to my best knowledge, there is no minister in Scotland who has had the leaft hand or any medling. However, for this our great treason of naming the King in our publick prayers, (as we conceive our duety, Covenant, and Directorie for worship do require, as ye will see in the papers herewith sent unto yow,) (H.), we are like to suffer heavie things. For all this, our eyes are towards the Lord: we expect protection from him, and if so he think meet, we are willing to sell our testimonie, in faith and humble modestie, with all the sufferings which the injustice of men may be permitted of our Heavenlie Father to impose upon us.

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

I shall close at this time, with a desire of your advyce, with the first occasion, in a particular of my familie. My second sone, Henry, a prettie boy of seventeen years, among the beft schollars of his classe, very diligent and carefull of all dutie, and welbeloved of all as a gracious and vertuous youth, befyde my expectation, and contrare to my defyre, tells me, that of a long time he has been inclined, and now is resolved, to be a merchant. All I, or other friends, can say, does not divert him from this resolution,
which, he fayes, after frequent and earnest prayer, grows in him. This is his Batcheller year; with difficultie I can move him to stay it out; he could be content to serve as a prentice. I conceive it his beft, if his resolution continue, to fend him over in the hinder-end of harvest to yow, to spend the winter, and what time more yow think fitt, to learn Dutch and French, to keep a merchant-book, or what elfe yow made my brother's fonne learn, and then to give him a little ftock to ware, at the direction, and with the over-fight, of some friends. Yow who understand thefe things, give me your full and free advyce in this whole matter. I had purpofed him, as alfo my eldeft fonne, for the minifterie; and I thought he had alfe faire beginnings as any of his age, towards that holy calling. But his peremptor resolution makes me, with grief, change that my deaigne for him.


While I waited long for a bearer, I add further: Our Triumviri, Masters Leviftone, Gillefpie, and Menzies, ftyed long at London without much access to the Protecor: He thought it good to write for Meflrs. Dowglafs, Blair, and Guthrie. Mr. Blair excufed his health; Mr. Guthrie, by a fair letter, declared his peremptorinefs not to goe; Mr. Dowglafs, by Monk's friendlie letter, gott himfelf alfo excufed. On their not coming, Mr. Leviftone gott leave to returne, and is at home; Mr. G[jillefpie] 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 cast under such a Committee as now guides all ecclefafticall affairs in England, abso- lutelie as the Protecor thinks fitt, the moft whereof are Anabaptifts and Independents, and gentlemen of no ecclefafticall relation. We thank God that perfecution on the minifterie is not yet begun, except what the Remon- ftrators drawes from the English on fome 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. Gillefpie's abfence, our Colledge has been long at peace, though these diverfe moneths all discipline has been loose among us; the boys, after the fray among them for the scandalous verses, never weell
fettleing; no examination at the end of the year, no solemnne 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 pitifull invective against me, (I); a fowler injurie than I ever heard was done to any honest man for such a cause. The Lord armed my mind with Chriftian patience fo that I totallie milkent it; only I wrote the inclofed paper and fent it to himself, whereupon he scraped out of his schollers bookes, after fome dayes, that evil lefson, and no more dinner was here of that matter.

My next vexation was with our Anti-Synod: after their pranckes in Lanark, they mett synodicallie very frequent at Glaflgow, fell on a committee for purging all the Presbyteries; I alone went up to them, intreated them with many fair words to delay at leaft any fuch work, and for that end gave them in a large paper, which a very gracious and wife brother, somewhat a mid-man betwixt us, had drawn for that end, (K.)8; which I fend alfo to yow, that from it yow may more fullie learne our preftent temper. All this labor produced little; for notwithstanding they proceeded in their work, and appointed their purging and planting committees; bot with this provifio, that they shou'd have, at their next meeting, a conference with any I pleafed of my mind before they proceeded. Against their day I had our part of the Synod mett, and full information of the brethren of Edinburgh and others for our proceeding. We preftentlie put up a purging and planting committee alfe well as they, and of these we appointed a number to confer with them. With much adoe we gott them to stay till the first of Auguft, upon a new conference: againft that day Mr. James Fergusonone drew up a paper of his Overtures for our reunion (L.), and I drew up another (M.): yow have both here. What the iflue shall be yow may hear afterward; only these things lye heavier on my heart nor on any man's elfe I know, for usuallie at the tyme of these comforts janglings, I am fick and diftempered with grief and discontent, though every one of them gives me more respect than to any other; yet for the remediles breach I am heavilie oft troubled

8 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 but 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 advantage: yet we cannot hear of any great progres he has made. So foone as Glencairne had rendered his commiffion to Midletone; on a jarre between Monroe and Glengarie, Glencairne, speaking for Glengarie, got a challenge from Monroe; which he anfwered, and beat Monroe, to his great commendation. This affront, not fo much reffented by Midletoune as need had been, together with the King’s too much neglect, as fome fay, in his late commiffions, of Glencairne’s very great services, upon the information, as it’s thought, of Lorne and Balcarras, he left Midletone, and came with a small partie to the Lennox. The noife of this malcontentment did exceedinglie discourage many; but at once Glencairne carried it foe, that all this discouragement was quicklie changed; for with the small partie he had he defended the pasf of Aberfoyle fo well against Monck’s frequent affaults, and fent out, for good purpofe fo many small parties to Clydesdale, Barranthow, Cunnynghame, 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 beside them one full regiment of foot and one other of horfe, left at Glafgow and Kiflyth, 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 carried all out of his way; ftragglers were fnapped up; the hills made fundrie, both horfe and men, ficken and die. It was oft printed, that Morgan had Midletone fo inclofed in Sutherland that he could not escape to the south; yet when Midletone thought it time, he divided his men in parties, and paffed by with eafe, both Morgan and Monck, coming to Perthfyre 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-
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lith, and sided 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 ſpeak alreadie of quartering. It feems Midletone minds no fighting in any bodie, but ſhiftes till he see what tyme may bring forth. The countrie every where fuffers much; yet is patient, for they see no remead; alfo the viſtuall 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 [Swe-den’s] diſmission, and why her laſt act ſhould have been (without all neceffitie) a ſtrict friendship with the Protecor, is much marvelled. Alfo, why for the Protecor’s friendship, contrare to the mind of the other Provinces, these of Holland ſhould have caſt off the Prince of Orange? And if Spayne be with the Protecor upon a league offensive and defenſive, how comes it that both France and Portugall ſhould, by their ambassador, 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 Salmatus dead? What is become of Blondell? What new books are among yow? Try to me what of Chronologie is lately come out.

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

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

Glasgow, July 21st 1654.

That you may know the way of planting our Churches, have this late practical. Mr. John Galbraith of Bothkennar was deposed for tippling and other faults, three or foure yeares agoe. When Mr. James Guthrie continued to preach in Stirling, after his deposition by the Generall Assembly, Mr. John Galbraith followed his example, and returned to his pulpit: his people did love him better than Stirling did the other. Of the Presbytery 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 presbytery. Mr. Robert Wright, and other two or three, adhering to the Assembly, made themselves another presbytery. Mr. George Bennet and other two were neutrals, and abstained from both. Mr. James Guthrie began a process 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 compliance with them, yea, to mislike Mr. Patrick Gillefpie's way; yet Sir William Bruce of Stanehouse, his speciall and intime friend to this day, hes taken the sheriffship of Stirling from the English, and continues ruling elder in Mr. James Guthrie's presbytery. 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 mislike them. Thereafter one Mr. John Blair, never heard nor seen by the paroch, is named by Mr. James Guthrie's presbytery to be minister of that kirk; for that people having adhered to a deposed minister, must be counted malignant, and so lose their right to call, and their right of calling must fall in the hand of the presbytery; so ane order is procured by the presbytery's ruling elder, Sir William Bruce, from the English,
to admit that Blair. Mr. James Guthrie caufes conveen a great number of his faction, from diverfe paroches about, and gets Mr. Robert Traill from Edinburgh, and Mr. John Carftares from Glafgow, and others, to flpend 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-parifhioners, fo soon as the Sheriff produced his English orders for the admission, did cede; but the people continued all day cafting ftones 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 Englifh, and does no wrong! Our oppreffion is great and crying.

At Glafgow, Mr. Andrew Gray, a youth of twenty-two yeares at moft, lately laureat at St. Andrewes, upon one preaching or two at Glafgow, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and his friends will have him admitted to his place.1 I refufed to consent; the youth being fo young, and utterly a stranger to us; his tryells of expeftant being haftilie past in the Prefbyterie of Hamilton; and none of the minifters either of Edinburgh or St. Andrewes, the places of his residence, being acquainted with him, as he profefed; alfo his voyce being fo weak, that the moft in our kirs heard him not. The Magiftrates and Town-Counfell being utterly againft his admission, dealt with him earnestly not to trouble them: at firft, his modefty was fo great, that a small impediment feemed enough to fkarre him from accepting of any charge; but fo foone as our Seffion (which is bot the echo of what our brethren fpeaks) had given him a call, without haft he went on to his tryells, and, over the bellie of the towne’s protestation, wes admitted by their part of the Prefbyterie minifter of Glafgow. His voice is not yet fo good as to be heard by diverfe. He hes the new guyfe of preaching, which Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, containing the ordinarie way of exponing and dividing a text, of rafing doctrines and uifes; but runs out in a difcourfe on fome common head, in a high, romancing, unscripturall ftyle,2 tickling the ear for the

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

2 His Sermons and other practical writings, like those of Binning and Leighton, notwithstanding “the new guyse” which offended Baillie, have retained their popularity, and are still occasionally republished.
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 restitution, 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 diverse mints have been made: tyme will clear the honettie and dihonnettie of many. Our life here is a warfare; yet God supports us, and we faint not. Blessed be our Father! who, through all these confusion, will bring his children to glory.

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

After some refreshment from a fruitlefs journey through the hills, Monck is againe to the field. He, Cooper, Twiflingtone, and Argyle, are at Dumbartone, advyfeing on a hard and sorrowfull work, what houses and what cornes to burne: this work is begun on both fides 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 you told me that Mr. James Veitch was very angry with the Preface of my Praxis, as if a part of it had been desinged against him, I defyred you, of your certaine knowledge, to assure him of the contrary, and as I had told him before myself, so I was purposed at my first leasure againe to assure him of that great mistake: for truely I would have
been loath to have given him or any of my colleagues the least offence. If I had foreseen, or yow had told me, when yow did peruse it a year agoe, before it was printed, that yow had conceived either he or any in our House, would have been grieved with any thing in that or any other of my wrytes, I would have willingly scraped it out: but 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 expresslie 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.

Befide the complaint which offends him, I made it bot of some, and that aliquando, and for such things which in our meeting of the whole four Universities was denied by no one man, but heartily condescended by all to be remedied, as the book of our correpsondence makes clear. As for Mr. James he was of these years that, when laureat, let be since, he could not be called Adoleſcens, 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 dyteing, without all books and all papers, whether of his owne or others. I take it to be many wyues 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 caufe of offence. At his trylells and admiffion I was at Edinburgh; at my returne I confented indeed to the proteftation which the Rector, Dean of Facultie, yow, and others, had made concerning the Colledge priviledges, but without any reſfection on Mr. James his perſon. Since that tyme he and I have keped fo good correpſondence as he did deſyre, 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 profefſed 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 inveſtive which, the other morning, he dyte to his schollers expresslie against

3 Baille's "Appendix Practica ad Joannis Buxtorfii Epitomen Grammaticae Hebrææ," was printed at Edinburgh, in 1653, small 8vo.
me. It's not enough to make me a printer of contradictions, ("Sed quid multis? Hæc proprio gladio seipfa jugulant, aperta funt contradicétoria"); to make me so ridiculous a blatterer as I must be laughen at in the schollers books, with ane Ha, ha, ha! ("Domino hæ blateranti imputanda funt:—Ha, ha, ha!") not only to declare me, from his owne fad experience, bot to make it good upon me in a single combate, and to demonstrate it in a publict tryell betwixt me and him, that I am ane more dull and ane more unfitt man for teaching than any the moft dull and unfitt Regents in Scotland of whom I complaine, ("Sed vos eftis obtusi, et ad docendum inepti,—quæ fi alicui, imprimis domino hæ blateranti imputanda funt; quod experientia nunquam fatis dolenda demonstrare possumus:—age ineatur singulare certamen, agatur duello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis craflus, quis obtusus, 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 stand in, when with much importunitie, and long dealing by all who had interef, I wes drawn unto it, I publickly profeffed myfelf to be much fitter to be a scholler to others than a master to any. For indeed, I am farr from these abilities which Mr. James profeffeth here to be in himfelfe: I am none of these who are conscious of no infirmitie, ("Nec ullius infirmitatis confci.") However, I take it no wayes well that he dytes me to his schollers to be guiltie of great wickednes, whereof I think I am free: he proclaimes me a "Vitiligator," that is "Vitiofus litigator," a man like Theon, a poet, "rabiofæ loquacitatis et petulantiflimæ maledicentæ," 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 pleased to make use of good books, ("Nos vindicemus a quibusdam vitiligatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus,—libris cum scriptis tum impressis usi fumus, utimur, et utemur, ro-dente interim fua interna 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, must be pronounced not only void of all learning, but a foolifh spending of my time in writing nothing bot fables and toyes; ("Neque eruditionem effe exilimo in congerendis et confarcienidis nugis et fabulis æstatem terere"); yea, I am declared to be profeffed with a bitter
spirit, with bitterness itself, with a spirit plainly malignant, which I take to be no other than the devill: I must be a kaill-wyfe crying out with her flinking breath, and openly rageing; I must be a falsf man, and without reafon; I must be a beast, a horf, and that a furious one, running on my neighbors; ("Quidam hodie—spiritu acerbo, et plane malignante, inftar halitus vetulae olæ vendentis, fefæ offentante, falfo et fine ratione debackati funt,—non au-
dentes fuum amarem depromere,—inftar equi ferocientis invehuntur.") But that which is worth 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 beft divynes of the kingdome, for all good qualities, fuch as Mr. Robert Dowlglas, Mr. David Dikfon, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Wood, etc., we must altogether be dyed a faction, fo great enemies to grace and pietie, that by our impious attempts piety is defroyed, ("Homines quidam quorum impio conatu corrupta jacet pietas"); that we are men who greedily seek after vaine glory and popular applaufe and worldly wealth, ("Umbratilum homonem, inanem gloriæ, ventofoam vulgi famam, et alia hujus vitæ commoda, unicie venantur et auæupantur"); that we count it a peft and ane epidemick difeafe that God is filling the kirks and the schooles with a generation of young men, whose eminent pietie and great learning does good to foules, which we with our impietie would corrupt, ("Res quæ eos angit est peftis et morbus epidemicus, qua laborat ecclea et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irrepet; foboles adolescentium exorta est quos Deus replevit vera pietate et egregiis in omni literarum genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu corrupta jacet pietas, invehuntur"); and, as if all this had been bot little, he imports, that he hes much worfe than what is exprefled alreadie, ("Cætera prætereo," "cætera tacéo," "at pluribus parco.")

I wish yow may speak to him of this his strange fact: If he will stand to the defence of it, I pray yow tell him from me, that whatever fene 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 reproofes; that not only at this tyme, when the whole land, Kirk, and State, are full of the fury of the Lord, and of the rebuke of our God, drinking the cup of trembling, and the dregs of the cup of the Lord's fury, while they that afflict us fay to our foule, bow downe that we may goe over, I purpose, at the Lord's com-
mand, to lay downe my body as the ground and as the street to them that will goe over; and after Chrift his example, to give my back to the fmiters, and my cheeks to them that pluck off the hair, and not to hide my face from shame and spitting; yea, if he pleafe to dyte alfmuft againft me to-morrow, and once a-week to write invectives of me to the end of the year, I can take them on my shoulder, and bind them as a crowne unto me, as a part of my sufferings for righteousnes. These many years bygane it hes been my resolved practise, wherein I purpose, by God’s grace, to continue, in all my perfonall injuries, to doe good for ill, to pray for them that perfeute me; for I mind not to revenge, I require no satisfaction, but profefts my only mind is, even through this outrageous injurie, be vertew of Chrift’s command, to doe to Mr. James a good turne, if it lye in my way.

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

"Etsi magna pars anni jam elapfa fit, et temporis anguftiae quibus stringimur nos moveant ut ad finem Moralis Disciplinae, in cujus amoenis hortis diu fpatiati fimus, properemus, ne tamen inter moralitatem actuum humanorum et ipsam virtutem moralem, nullius diferiminis conscientia convici, aut nullius infirmitatis confci, togam deponamus, et ex Almæ Matris ædibus rei clamitantes fugiamus, coacti fumus hic unum vel alterum verbum apponere, ut nos vindicemus a quibufdam vitiligatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus. Res eft, afferere audemus, Disputationes hafce Ethicas, et ii praemiflas Logicas, etfì proprio Marte concinnatas, non tamen effe lafcinias ex libris qua scriptis qua impreflis, (neque exiflimo cordatum aliquem scholastici cum vitio vertere alciui uti libris, cum scriptis tum impreflis, quibus ufi fumus, utimur, et utemur, rodente interim fua interiora Momo,) imprimis ex penu recentiffimorum Jefuitarum furreptas, aut confutam mendici pallam, aut
confarcinatum multarum nugarum magnum centonem; neque refertas esse erroribus et veris in philosophia hærefibus, ex Jesuitarum doleis hauflis, five vanitate animi, five indolis protervia, five incuta prudentia, quod quidam hodie in doctores philosophiæ hujus regni, (quia in eos exiftimant esse posse impune licere, praetermissis alis in quos non audent fuum amarorem depromere,) spiritu acerbo et plane malignante, infar halitus vetulæ olera vendentis, sefe offentante, falsio et fine ratione debacchati sunt. Sed vos eftis adolescentes. Fateor, sed adolescentia non est vitium si cætera recte procedant, imo et plures ecclesiæ pastores sunt adolescentes, in quos dudum plura hujus farinæ deblaterata effent, nisi timor notæ impietatis et infamiae, ab ipsis inuftæ quorum animi eorum pietate, eruditione, et fedulitate aluntur, extrinsèco obflaculo fuiffet. Sed vos eftis obtufl et ad docendum inepti; (cætera praetereo, quæ si alicui, imprimis domino hæc blateranti imputanda sunt, quod experientia, nunquam fatis dolenda, edoéti demonstrare poffumus.) Ha, ha, hæ! Forfan verum, fed male a te ferimus; quedam a quibufdam, fed non ab omnibus. Age ineatur singulare certamen, agatur duello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis craflus, quis obtuflus, imo et quibus vel ob indolem, vel ob eruditionem (neque eruditionem effe exiftimo in congerendis et confarciendis nugis et fabulis ætatem terere) quibus adjiciatur, si fit animus, ætas, bellius convenit doctorum philosphiæ cathedra, et quibus melius discipulorum subfellia. Sed quid multis? Hæc propio gladio feipsa jugulant, aperta sunt contra dictoria; ac penes obtuflum aliquem est tot plauflra metaphysicarum quaestionum congerere, quas non omnes capiunt, multo minus intelligunt: iniqui igitur Judices, at pluribus parco. Res uno verbo est quæ vos angit, peftis et morbus epidemicus qua laborat ecclesia, et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irreplit; nimirum Dei providentia in commodum ecclesiæ et republcae literarit, foboles adolescentum exorta est quos Deus replevit vera et sinceræ pietate in Deum, et egregiis in omni literarum genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu (cætera tacceo) corrupta Jacet pietas (quod quidem mea fententia pejus est quam disciplinas alicujus magiftelli arbitrio corruptas effe, quod neque concedimus, cum contrarium fit in aperto) inftar equi fero-
cientis invehuntur; quia splendor pietatis et eruditionis illorum his præripit umbratitem honorem, inanem gloriam, ventosam vulgi famam, et alia hujus vitae commoda, quæ unice venantur et auxupantur."
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 discontent 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 defyre the continuance of your prayers in my behalf, for more submission to the good will of God, and for patience in this my condition, which, for ought I can see, is not intended here to be altered in haste. But I will labour, through the grace of God, to have patience and not to make haste; for He that made tymes and seafons, knows what is fitteft for me, and will, in His due time, turne all to the best. This is the stay and comfort of Yours,

Lauderdale.

London, the 14th March 1654.

For Mr. Thomas Fuller.

Reverend Sir,

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

[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.

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 seem to promise an Ecclesiastick Storie: it were a pity but it should be hastened. However I am one of those who could gladly consent to the burning of many thousand volumes of unprofitable 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. Purchafe in his Pilgrimes, from the intelligence he had by English and Dutch travellers and merchants, together with the printed treatises of some late Italian, Spanifh, and French writers, gave us a very good account of the World, the whole Univerfe, the present condition of it, as in his time. I conceive no man were fatter than yow to let us know, in a handfome, 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 prefent flate of Asia, I truft it should be fo accepted by judicious men, that yow should have from many all desirable encouragements for the perfuying of the refl. Your cartes are very neatly and singularly well done: yow would not be fparing of them. I wish, in your Palestine, 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 prefent flate, joyned with thefe of the old Scripturall flate, as of Egypt, Jerufalem, &c. For thefe and the like happy labours, we, at fo great a diftance, can but encourage yow with praiſe, love, and prayers to God; which yow fhall have, I promife yow, from me, as one who very highly pryses the two wrytes I have feen of your hand, and judges by thefe that the refl yow have done or fhall doe, will be of the fame excel- lencie. The Lord blefs yow and all your intentions; So prays

Your very loveing and much honouring Brother,

Glaſgow in Scotland, Auguft 22d 1654.

R. B.

5 Fuller's work, "The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Chrift until the year 1648," the publication of which Baillie was desirous might be hastened, appeared in 1656, folio. The author, in his address to the Reader, in his usual quaint manner, thus mentions a similar wish expressed by another friend: "An ingenious gentleman some months since, in jest-carnest, advised me to make haste with my History of the Church of England; 'for fear (said he) lest the Church of England be ended before the History thereof.'"
Reverendissimo clarissimoque Viro D. Gisberto Voetio, S. Literarum Professori in Academia Ultrajectina.

Reverendissime Vir,

Singularis tua in me coram humanitas, et amica femel iterumque per literas salutatio, imprimit vero eximum illud et nunquam oblitterandum officium, de quo interea temporis per epistolam multas serio gratias habui, Belgica meae ad Brambium replicae editio Ultrajecti; icta omnia faciunt ut jam ausus sim ad te transmittere binos hanc tractatulos, quos nuper in studiose nostrae juvenitis gratiam publicavi: priorem grammaticum, cujus tria habes exemplaria; eorum unum tua cura deferri cupio Lugdunum D. Golio, et alterum Basileam Joanni Buxtorphio, eo fine quem in praefatione indigito. Utinam hac occasione a viris praestantissimis, tibi, nullus dubito, amicissimis et intus notis, tua auctoritate impetres meum multorumque defiderium; tres intelligo Praxes, Chaldaico-Syriacam, Rabbinico-Maforeticam, et Arabicam. Magna icta beneficia non solum auctoris, sed etiam tibi exoratori, Christianae omnes scholae lubentes deebunt. Si vero contingat, quod nollem, ut uterque de quacunque feu causa feu praetextu refugiat puerilem illum quidem, et si viris, ut ego arbitror, fatis dignum laborém, et academiis omnibus, fat fecio, perutilem, habes, ni fallor, ex tuis discipulis non paucos, qui tuo hortatu animati et confilio instruxi, omnes ictas Praxes, parvo tempore magna sua cum laude et aliorum commodo, possunt edere. Egregius tuus in comoda scholae zelus longe lateque dudum innotuit; ut hoc etiam ipsis beneficio velis quam fieri potest mature procurare, multorum est desiderium, et mea magna spes. Illic vos habetis, præter alia supra nos, ingens commodum Latinorum, Graecorum, Hebraicorum, et Arabicorum typographos, qui mediata vestra omnia eleganter et emendate statim imprimunt. Quidni ex Parisiensis et jam Londinensis Bibliis edant illi, in studiose et suum etiam amplum commodum, fœrisim Biblia Arabica et Syriaca, cum interlineari Latino; quotusquisque enim est qui cæterorum omnium sumptui ferendo par est?

Verum id quod animum meum magis sollicitum habet, est radicatum jam in omnibus Protestantium scholis cacoethes; artium et philosophiae Encyclopaedia nullibi, quantum intellitio, ea accuratia traditur, quam vel docto-
rum vel disciplinarum dignitas postularet. In Jefuitarum, aliorumque monachorum Hispanorum, Gallorum, Italorum, et Germanorum, curi-
bus verfandis noftri dicipuli omne fuum tempus propemodum conterunt:
quantum hoc eft noftris Academiis cum dedecus tum detrimentum? Nulli-
ne in Ifraele fabri? · Quamdiu nos ad Philiftæos ob exacuenda ferramenta de-
scendere cogemur? Præter alia multa hujiusce pudendi malì incommoda,
anon nimis quam multi noftrorum aolefcentum a teneris ipfis unguiculis
ea hauriunt incauti principia, quorum odorem tetrum et venenatum non
nifi fero et difficulter, fi modo unquam, eluunt? Præter ea quæ corruptarum
mentium magiſtri dedita opera infpergunt, ut inde retia et laquei dicipulis
tendantur, quibus aliquando pertrahantur ad tranfubfiantiationis, adorationis
imaginum, liberi arbitrii, Trinitatis in unitate, duarum naturarum in una
perfona inconſiffentiae, et alia Pontificiorum, Arminianorum, Socinianorum pra-
vidiſima dogmata; probe nofli quæ fatuus haereticus Cartefius sub novae fuae
et perfectionis philosophiae velo molitus fìt. Profe6lo non parum intereft Ec-
cleſsiis Reformatis, ut orthodoxum, folidum, et perſpicuum philosophiae cor-
pus, tam fystematicum quam textuale et quaſtionarium, exftet, in communem,
fì fieri poffet, omnium Academiarum uſum. Erant apud nos non ita pridem
multi egregii philosophi, qui, fi id agere voluſſent, curfus philoſophicos non
contemnendos publico dediffe poterant; fed ea hodie noftras Ecclesiæ et
ſcholas una cum regno calamitas premit, ut a nobis nihil ejufmodi jam fìt ex-
pectandum. Nefcio fi in Anglia aut Gallia fratres ullos in præſentiarum habe-
amus, quibus volentibus fimum et valentibus onus hoc poffet imponi. Quan-
tum haecœnus intelligere potui, ratio tradendæ philosophiae locis iftis ad hunc
diem apud noftrō curta nimis fuit et superficiaria. Unica in vobis reſtat ſpes.
Exiflimo in veftro Belgio, etiam in Helvetia, Hassia, 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
Encyclopaedia poffet expeſtari; ut eam omnes, certe permutæ Proteſtantium
ſchola, magnis cum gratiis ambabus ulnis ampleeſterentur; quæ magnō cum
fruſtu, magnaque cum voluptate ſtudiofis praeeegeretur; quæ dictatorum hodie
a regentibus, ut nos folemus nuncupare, multi deceſtus supplementur, errata
corrigerentur, plurimi abufus apud multos, alias incorrigibiles, proſligarentur, et
a Proteſtanti nomine foeda dedecoris nota tandem aliando ablueretur, cum
non ultra necelfe haberemus ad Pontificiorum philoſphorum infeafilmas
lacunas tenellam nostram juventutem amandare, dicam an protrudere? Systemata logica, ethica, physica, et metaphysica dudum accepimus a docetissimis et summe industriis viris Keckermanno, Burgerfdicio, Scheiblero, et a Vosilio rhetorica; fed quod ultra defideramus est, præter ista comoda fatis incipientibus fundamenta, Aritatelici etiam textus in logicis, ethicis, et metaphysicis, brevis ac perpicuæ explicatio, partibus quæ nostrò seculo non sunt accommodatae omiissis, et ad fingula capita aut saltem libros subiecta quaestionum et locorum communium vulgarium paulo fuior enodatio, fed brevior, nervofior, et clarior quam suis hodie divipulis Jesuitæ tradunt. Mathematicorum etiam corpus plenum et ad juventutis usus accommodatum nollet neglign. Alfedii fœcleta non satissaciunt. Utinam Academiarum curatores audoritate, confilio, hortatibus, praemii, aut etiam imperio, profesbres suos ad opus hocce perficiendum vellet impellere: præsens pofteraeque aetates, mini perfluere, gratissimam et utilissimam huæce fementis meltem demeterent. Multoties hac de re anxie et majori cum dolore quam spe meditanti, unus tu occurrebas, qui mihi videbare apud omnes nostrorum in Germania et Helvetia Academias, ea merito auctoritate pollere, eaque instrui prudentia, ac boni publici zelo flagrare, ut, fi quis alius, posse, Deo tuis conatus aspirante, viros huic cæpto perficiendo non ineptos reperire, repertofque illis a teipso et aliis incitamentis animare, ut non illubentes velint Deo, reformatis Ecclesiis, nostro huic et frequentibus faculis, laudatissimam hanc suam operam collocare. Menumi fieti etiam quot et quam fælebrose chronologorum quaestiones, æque ad diferta Scripturae verba elucidanda necessariae, in tenebris adhuc jacent. Quantopere nuper apud nostròs fervere folebat hoc studium, Scaligeri, Funccii, Bucholcéri, Calvifii, Capelli, Emmii, et aliorum laudatissimi labores demonstrat: hanc nobis gloriæ Jesuæ nunc eremptum eunt voluminosis Saliani, Petavii, Tornielli et aliorum scriptis. An nemo quifquam est vel in Belgio vel Helvetia, vel in superiori Germania, qui volens est et idoneus huic vacare curæ?

Multi jam sunt anni ex quo Bibliothecam edifi divit; valde desideratur editio ejus altera cum auxilio; sed quod ante omnia studioi hic omnes a te expetunt, est caeterarum tuarum Difputationum publicatio, cui dudum in primo volumine obfrinxiffe tete ocelamitant, et mirantur qui tam tardum nomen evasêris. Propinquum, nuperum, et dolendum nimis Spanhemii (heu qualis theologi!) exemplum docere te poteft, quam maturanda, imo festinanda
fint omnia quæ habes in scriniis; nimis quam multorum posthumi labores variis cafibus perierunt.

Vides quam familiariter in tuum finum effuderim animi mei senfa, confidens fummum tuum candorem æqui bonique omnia consultiurum.

Quod ad alterum meum tra&atatum, adolefscentibus etiam noftris defiantum, si quid in eo veritati non confonet, oro doceas, ut quanto oclus corrigatur. Tandum finio, Dominum venerans, velit tibi largiri multos et felices dies, quo tuo honori, et Ecclefiarum emolumento ac folamini aliquandiu adhuc in terris alacer infervias. Votum hoc est fratis tua observantiffimi,

Glasguae, Idibus Septembris 1654.


REVERENDO ET CLARISSIMO VIRO ROBERTO BALAE, THEOLOGIS IN ACADEMIA GLASCUENSI PROFESSORI DIGNISSIMO.

que ejus dialectis distinctissimae sunt, Armenica seilicet, et antiqua Coptica, feu \AE{}gyptiaca. Hodierna \AE{}gyptiaca ante 400 annos introducta, aut potius facta vulgaris, est ipsissima Arabica. Has quinque orientales si quis ex abundanti a limine saltaverit, operam non luferit; fed non puto operae pretium facturum quenquam theologorum, si in penetralia earum se immiferit, antequam rariores et praestantiores scriptores viderit ad copum suum aliqua ratione facientes. Multa de Coptica Athanasii Kircherus in Copto Prodromo, multa de Perfica alii, plura de Armenica nonnulli buccinant; fed manus oculatae sunt, credunt quod vident. Libelli parænetici feu morales, liturgici, rhythmicopoetici, catechismi papistici, mythologici, non tantum temporis merentur. Satis mihi fuit acquisita facultate legendi, et perlufratis grammaticis, partem aliquam in scriptore delibasfe, tum ut curiositati meæ satisfacerem, tum ut proprio judicio dicernere, et propriis oculis videre possem, an linguae illæ effent distinctæ ab Hebraica, cum dialectis feu filiabus, an vero ei propius aut remotius affines. Haecenus plus fatis de linguis.

De chronologia non ita folicitus sum, cum copia magis scriptorum hic laboremus quam inopia. Unum solum meo judicio reflt, ut quis historiarum profeflor, aut potius minifter, unus atque alter vicarius, (illi enim in minoribus ecclesiis mole negotiorum minus premuntur,) ex omnibus scriptoribus chronologicis, tam pontificis quam noftris, magnam partem a me in Bibliotheca Theologica indicatis, methodum artis chronologicæ colligat, per definitiones et divisiones, ad exemplum Alifedii in Præcognitis Theologicos, et Scaligeri in Canonibus Ifagogici; additis ad singula capita quaestionibus et controversiis, cum rationibus in utramque partem adferri folitis, et indicatis quorumcumque autorum libris ac nominibus. In secunda parte hujus artis, quam canonicam vocant, velim tantum annos ab initio mundi ufuque in hunc diem per ætates, intervalla, articulos, et fecula, quasi in tabella distribui, et singulis quaestionibus et controversiis cum rationibus utrinque allatis subjici. Videbo an uni atque alteri ex nostratibus minimis opus hoc hoc commendari queat.

Accedamus nunc ad philosophiæ cursum, de quomaxime laboratur. Sytemata, compendia, synoples tecum relinquuo. Certe in illis plus fatis praestitum videtur. Rerum folummodo, ut controversiae logicae, phyficæ, metaphyficæ, imprimis, deinde etiam ethicæ ac politicæ, (quæ tamen ad theologiam pleraque fi rejiciantur, nihil abfurdì committitur,) accurata, breviter, perficue ventilentur, et rationes atque exceptiones utriufque partis examinentur; ac tandem pro veri-
tate, hoc est, pro philosophia, facris literis atque orthodoxiae ancillante, determinetur, contra recentiores Suarezium, Conimbricenses, Ruvium, Telefium, Baranzanum, Oviedo, Mendoza, Vañquez, imprimiti protervum paradoxium et novaturientem sophisttem Ariaga, ad haec, contra Taurellum, Gorlaem, Cartesium, et Cartesianos, Socinianos, Remonstrantes, Libertinos. Aristotelis textum an feorfim cum brevibus et perspicuis notis, et generali librorum ac capitum analyfi, feu hypothesi, per modum tabellae excudi conventiat, an vero potius cum curfu queftionum feu controverfiarum, nondum ftatuere poffum. Certe prolixii illi libri Metaphyficorum vixullo ordine conftripti, et farraginem multarum rerum continentem, non videntur juventuti sacro ftudio deftinatae proponendi. Totius mathematica, musicae scilicet, staticae, opticae, aerostonomiae, geographiae, illustriores queftiones in faficulum ex praefantioribus artificibus colligendae, praemillus folum elementis necessariis, ex arithmetica, geometria, fpheric, musica collectis. Systemata ipfa staticae, astronomiae, geographiae, opticae, studiofi diétis elementis imbuti, abfque manuductione fuo tempore legerent. Hoc quidem confilium noftrum effet. Quibus autem hac tempeftate tam utile opus demandandum fit, et a quibus expectandum, fato me nondum videre. Si enim veftrarum quatuor Academiarum tam preclarum institutum in fpongiam incubuit, quid de noftris Beligiis sperdandum? Quaedam ex illis per Cartesianam philosophiam graviter conculciunt funt; aliae intefinibus super eadem philosophia diffidiiis admodum adhuc vacillant et fluétuunt, turbinibus nufquam figentiibus, nufquam quiescentibus; fabrie philosophantibus contra obniventibus, et hoc unice agentibus ut clavum teneant, nec fluétibus opprimantur. Nifi Deus ex alto nos refpexiffet, jam praefentiffimum periculum alicubi imminebat, trahendum ad partes theology; ita impletum fuiflet in nobis, quod Bernardus de ecclesia paulatim collapfa olim pronunciabat: "In pace mea amaritudo amariffima," etc. Quod si haec tempeftas aliquando desaeviat, et non amplius protrudantur in cathedras philosophicas novi philofophafrī, et fultī ac petulantesci juvenculi, tum demum nobis de curfibus philosophicis conjuncta Academiarum opera adornandis cogitandum effet. De Palatinatu, Haffia, aliisque Germaniae partibus, frufrata verba facimus; quod scholis nondum aut vix instauratis, veterani et exercitati philosophi illic non fuppetant, quod sciam, qui subtiliter et erudite graviffimis controverfiis ventilandis, et ad theologiae ftabilimentum adaptandis fufficient. Celebris nunc apud Gallos et Helve-

Exemplar libri tui D. Goliie deftinatum curavi, atque una literis meis ad ipsum confilium et votum tuum de adminiculis linguarum orientalium significavi; fed nihil responsi haætenus recepi. Alterum exemplar D. Buxtorfio tranfmittam, fimul ac studiofus quis eo peregrinaturus obtulerit. De statu ecclesiæ veftæ in particulari parum aut nihil hic certo cognoscimus: non definimus tamen eam precibus nostris Deo commendare. Post tenebras lucem speramus. Hoc omnibus voabis agendum, ut Æxé̂sia doctrinae reformatæ cum simplicitate rituum ac regimenis religiose custodiatis, atque una praxin pietatis qua publice qua privatimstudiose promoveatis. Quod ut quisque nostrum in sua statione ex animo velit et agat, Deum nostrum in Christo supplex veneror.

Tui obfervantium.


FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEEB-BELOVIT BROTHER MR. J. HAMILTOUN,
MINISTER AT EDINBURGH. 6

JAMES,

I hope you gott myn of October 1. Mr. George [Young] heirwith gives you ane account of our Sinod, and Mr. Ja. F[erguson], which I sent you on Friday,7 ane account of their Comittee efter the Synod. Mr. Ja. Fer. hes 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 followed. 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.
count of it ere long. M. P. G[illefspie] and S. G[eorge] Maxwell, and Mr. Alex. Dunlope, purpofes to be there on Tuyfday, with Broghil and Munk, to tak of their part y all these calumnies which Mr. R. Trayl wreit you had laid on them. Be on your guard, for they ar to presf you for a meeting for Union. I shew them a meeting was needeles, till firt they gave their fence of our Overtur at our laft meeting; which, for that end, I gave them. I think you would fand by our laft conclufion, that it is needeles 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 hes cruftit Wariftoun and M. Guthry's motion of the Covenant, fo he is refolut to cary on the Union, contrary to their mynd, though they fould divid on it, if fo he be bure to be accomodat for himself. A paper is neceffar to aunfuer your former arg[uments] of prayer for the King, even in cafe of fuffering; (call no needeles meeting of these who ar farr off; wher your letters may do as weell: faill no to let us knou all you ar doing;) I can not aunfuer, (nor can I find in my hert to affay it,) what was brought from the Covenant for that deuty. Let fome there be cairfull to faififie Mr. Thomas Boyd: M. R. Douglas knoues him, he is a zelous man for our caufe, to his pith, and, if onfatiﬁed, 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 saw from you the laft week.

They who have reed the New Covenant, fayes it's a very fhred peice, of tuo feet of paper. It would [should] be fearchit for\(^8\) with all poiffible caur: it declairs the mynd of thefe who are for it, to state the fhime of our Church for ever; it reveles more of their purpofes. They profefs this their motion for Union is their \textit{ultimus conatus}; and if it faill on our fyd, some of them fpeeks of ane Eraftian 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, \textit{infra} p. 297, attributes it to Guthrie, but he evidently had not seen the paper itself; the copies of which, as never formally adopted, were not allowed to get into circulation.
fundry of themself ar against, yit you had need to be very warry of Mr. P. Gillepsie] at this tyme, both of his dealing with you for Union, and with the Inglish for power to their fyd. The Lord give you wisdom, 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 materials 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 myfelf 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 leaft we could receave before we shold joyne. Though among ourfelves unanimouslie we had agreed to keep up our part of the Synod, if the substance of all thefe were not granted, and the brether of Edinburgh, to whom I went for advyce, had approve that our resolution; and the chief of the prefbyteries of Aire and Irvine, with whom I had mett also at Irvine, had agreed to adhere to these overtures; and if they, being minimum quod fac, shold be refused, they concluded to set up their two prefbyteries in a synod by themselves, according to their ancient priviledge acknowledged in all our late Generall Assemblies; also, when we mett at our synod, these on our fide agreed againe to adhere to former resolutions: Notwithstanding, when the brethen of the other fide had peremptorilie refused our overtures, and drawne on a new conference, to try if two of each fide, particularie Mr. James Fergusone and Mr. George Young for us, Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Patrick Gillepsie for them, could fall on any other overtures which might unite us, these four among themselves condefcended to the inclosed paper (A.), and ingaged themselves to doe their beft to persuade others thereto. When I did fee 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 againft 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 most declare their contentment 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 Glasgow, except one; and of Dumbartane except two; and of Irvine except two. Finding it so, I was glad at my heart that a fair door to my private peace was opened; for not being willing to accept of the terms of that agreement, I had a clear reason to absend myself from the synod and prebyterie, united on so unjust termes. The brethren of my former mind finding me resolute not to joyne with them, were defирious to keep with me, especially the authors of the late overture, Mr. Fergusone and Mr. Young. But this by no means I would permit; for they having declared almost all their willingnes to unite on these mean termes, I would not have them draw back, contrary to their minds, upon my dissent: so with much ado I got them to joyne, and let me, and a few more, serve my owne mind of abstaining from their united meetings. This hitherto I have done, to the great quietness of my owne mind, and freedome of the very frequent and vexatious janglings, wherewith, in all meetings, I was wont exceedinglie to be troubled: only I am grieved to see my predictions too truelie to come to pase; the Remonstrators, as unquestionable matters, to doe within the bounds of the synod whatever they think expedient. Mr. Archibald Dennyestone, without any considerable fault, they depos'd: when he fled to the English, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, as I foresaw, by his greater credite, stopp'd all hearing there. Mr. David Adamsone, though of many libelled scandalls they got not one proven, yet still they keep on the pannel; and our most regular plantation of Mr. James Ramsay, Mr. Archibald Inglis, and one in Robertoun, they will have annulled, and the most irregular plantations of their men to stand. At their next dyett they will fall on whom they please, without controll. However, being free of 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 house 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 dealt with Mr. Wood to be content of a conference at Edinburgh upon that subject, together with the other purposes we were much vexed with, prayer for the King, and admission of compliers to the communion; also they went on to designe the conferrers. For us they named Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. David Dickfon, Mr. Hew Mackell, Mr. W. Raite, Mr. William Dowglafs of Aberdeene, Mr. John Robifone of Dundee, Mr. James Wood, Mr. James Fergusone and me. For the other, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, Mr. John Livingstone, Mr. Samuel Rutherfoord, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. John Carftares, Mr. Samuell Auften, and some three more. So soon as I heard of this motion fo far advanced, I was much feared for the consequence of it, and therefore writ to Mr. David Dickfon to beware of the danger; and being West, called Mr. John Bell, Mr. William Russell, 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 myfelfe. When I came there, I fand the brethren not at all minding the matter; but fetting the hazard before their eyes, I got them roused up to look about them, and to commissionat me to bring from the West whom I thought fit 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 Gillefpie 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 other-ways, it was so, that we could have no conference. We had drawne up ane overture, as we thought, very favourablc, and so far as we could goe (C.1.), according to the Assembly'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. Rutherfoord'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 mett among
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 some probabilitie of accommodation from Mr. Dickfon
to us, and Mr. Traile to them, there might be a meeting fo foon 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 over-
ture was laughen at by their high stomacks; and as for that of Mr. Blair's,
we were offended all of us with it, as granting to the Remonftrators almost all
their unreasonable defyres. For this we expofulted 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 ourselves, and with Mr. Blair, Mr. Durhame, Traile,
Stirling, and Carftares, on other things for good purpose. For a number of
years, the communion had not been celebrate in Edinburgh, Glafgow, St.
Andrewes, Dundee, etc. moft because all the Magiftrates were fo deep in
complying with the Inglifh, that they were excludit from the table by the Act
of our Church, and long constant praéife, except they declared their re-
pentance, which they would not doe, nor durft we crave it of them: alto
they were fo importunat to have the communion, and impatient to be longer
excluded, that they were on headie and evill defignes againft us, if we gave
them not fatisfacon herein. The Minifters of Edinburgh inclined to admi-
them on very fmall acknowledgement. We in Glafgow were all for that,
except Mr. Durhame and myfelfe, albeit we were both much modified at that
time; bot thefe of St. Andrewes were very averse from their admiffion, ex-
cept 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 admiThem on a generall testimonie in our doctrine againft their compli-
ance, and private admonifhing of them to repent for it, laying it on their
confeience 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. Gil-
lefpie's celebration, notwithstanding their voluntar moft groffe and avowed
complyance, and to controvert the admission of Magistrates for compelled compliance in a farre leffer degree. This stopped his mouth, and he contradicted no more. As for prayer for the King, we spake not much of it in publiet; but in private I found, that most of the companie thought it might be forborne, were not for the proclamation to forbear it under the penaltie of losing our fipends; 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 persuaed him and Mr. Robert Dowglafs to goe with Monk's recommendation to the Protecor, to entreat for their spareing in this conscientious practife, 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 doubtfome nature. It's true, all the estates of the kingdome, yea, every particular perfone of note, have submitted, 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 since Worcester, 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 shall for any trouble leave it, it's hard to fay. I fent yow three papers from very good hands, for the continuance of this practife; and Mr. Hutcheson wrote a fourth, which I did not fee, better, as I heard, than all the former. For myfelfe, I never wrote a line on that queftion, but adhered to the thing without queftion; albeit what ye wrote from Voetius ftumbled me, and the generall practife of all our brethren of England and Ireland more. What we fhall doe in the end we doe not know. This is the greatest difficulicie that fticks in our ftomacks; albeit in mine, Mr. Dickfon's, Mr. Durhame's, Mr. Smith's, and others, more; in Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Blair, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Fergufone, and moft of others, leffe. It's our prefent 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 chased

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fome weeks from their flocks, and with very much adoe obtained fome forbearance of the Generall. How long we fhall be fpared, we cannot tell.

I did write to fome of the minifters at London (F.) to caufe fome friends repreffent our cafe to the Protector; but the anfwer (G.) I got did promife little: yet (by what means I know not,) to this day the ftorne is holden off; whether confcience, or pitie, or fear, or diverfion by other affaires hes helped, it's uncertaine.

When Mr. Patrick Gillefpie wes with Cromwell, he affifted and pleafured fundrie in the matter of their fines. All the three did preach once or twice in the chappell. Cromwell wes kinde enough to them all; but Mr. J. Livingftone came firft away. Mr. P. G. and Mr. J. M. for the two Colledges of Glafgow and Aberdeene, obtained fundry favours; the superiorities of Galloway as the Bifhop had them, and two thoufand nine hundred merks a-year out of the cuftomes of Glafgow, for maintainance of burfars at our own nomination, with the Toune's maintainance for the ufe 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 haveing regrated to us his great charge in that halfe-year, that it had exceeded two hundred and fifty pound fterling, and all that he had receaved of Cromwell was one hundred pound, I was content the Colledge fhould allow him ane hundred pound; but it wes caried by vote to three thoufand merks. His flipend that yeare, I think, was two thoufand merks, and his depurfements for us about (one thing and another,) ane other thoufand merks, besides one thoufand merks for books to the Librarie. For all this I think he was no gainer: his journey and way of living at London was funptuous. Yet all this would have been weell taken, had not the laft halfe of his gift (H.) contained ane order to the Judges to allow no intrants any flipends but thefe who had the teftimony of fo many of the Remonftrant faction, in every diocefs, as they fet doune. There were only a few of our mind joyned, who could have carried nothing againft the others, fo the planting of all the churches was, in effeét, devolved on that faction. The claufes in the order appointed the judges to affift them in the ejection of all whom they fhould declare scandalous, as ye may read in the order itfelfe printed by the councill. So foone as this wes knowne, however, the Remonftrants in our bounds and in the south were glad, and begane to make ufe of it; yet generally it wes 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 suppressed, for fear of dividing their partie, who in other things also did not weel 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 rashnes, and Mr. James Guthrie's way; though after the breaking of the land Mr. David retracted somewhat of this retraction, yet so much stuck of it as made him not fully of Mr. James his judgment. The people did like neither weel, but Mr. David best of the two: thence emulation and some contentts in the feccion 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 feccion to his owne mind: who opposed his way, were removed, on diverse pretences; the remainder were but few, these were persuaded to call to Mr. David Bennet's charge, one Mr. Rule from Angus. To this election the bodie of the toune was opposite; but when Mr. James, neglecting their opposition, went on to admitt him, the people did tumultuously, with cries, and shouts, and strokes, oppose it; yet Mr. James admitted the man, and caused summond above threescore of the chief burgesses before the English Criminal Court at Edinburgh for a ryot. Being all put to ane affise, to the Judges open disatisfaction, they were all absolved once and againe. Their advocate did publiquely serve Mr. James with very coarle language; but the Judges did favour him all in their power. This all did mislyke in Mr. James as a dangerous preparative to the whole land: however, it made his people irreconcileable to him. The Synod of Perth mett at Dumblane: when they were about to declare against the violent intrusion of Mr. Rule, Mr. Guthrie appeared with a declinature of their judicature.
This did irritate them so far as they did appoint some of their number to goe to Stirling, and intimat his sentence of deposition by the Generall Assembly, the nullitie of Mr. Rule's admission to Stirling, and of Mr. Blair's to Bothkenner, to elect a new feccion for calling of ministers to Stirling, and to approve that as the Presbyterie of Stirling from which Mr. James had separat. This provoked the Remonstrant partie to meet at Edinburgh, where, what course of revenge they have resolved upon, I fear we shall hear in tyme. There is speaking of propositions to be sent to Cromwell for investing the Church-government in their parties hands. However, Mr. Rutherfoord was sent to Stirling to preach against the Synod's proceeding, though Mr. Rule was a known fornicator. There was an other very enormous practife of our brethren: a good and able young man, Mr. John Jamefone, being planted, almost unanimously, in the parish of Eccles, by the whole Presbyterie of Dunfe, some few of the Remonstrator side gives a call to Mr. Andrew Rutherfoord; Mr. John Livingstone, with two of the Presbyterie of Chirnside, admits him to his tryell in reference to that church. The brethren of Edinburgh hearing of it, did earnestly write to Mr. John to beware of such a clear overturning of our fundamentall discipline (L.): yow see what an answer Mr. John returns (M.). However, they goe on with all speed with the tryell; and, with an English order and guard, forces him on the people. When the Synod were about to declare against this unheard-of intrusion, Mr. John and his friends give in a strong protestation (N.). The Synod declared against them (O); and they, be the English force, keep out Jamefone, and put in Rutherfoord. The Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and St. Andrewes, 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 oppofit to their desires: that fame Synod of Lothian [it was], which, in a well framed act (P 2.), opened Mr. William Colvin's mouth. These fatall divisions, which wracked England and our Kingdom first and laft, which with our eyes we have seen the only considerable means of the ruine of thefe who are down, and ryfeing of thefe who are up, are like to put in the hand of that unquiet faction of our brethren, or else into the hands ofraftian statesmen, all church-jurisdiction; so at once we shall have no discipline to look after, but to preach, pray, and celebrat the sacraments, and be glad to be tollerat to goe about that without controll. When Quakers
falls a-raileing on all the miniftrie, 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 minifters there, are herein fo heartles and discouraged, that they dare speake nothing which may be interpreted to give the leaft offence. I marvelled, that when I sent my anwer to Cotton and Tombes, to Mr. Calamie for his Imprimatur, yea, a Dedicatorie epiftle (Q.), he was fo feeble-minded as to refufe both my Dedication, and his owne Imprimatur; yea, with difficultie could I gett his Imprimatur to my verie Catechife: A strange change of tymes, and great feeblenes of men!

Concerning our Colledge-affaires, this year we had nothing but quietness; for I have given over to firr more in vaine, abfenting myfelf from what I lyke not, and the reft 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 fcholar-craft: through ficknes the laft part of the year he could not wait on his clauffe: our fchollars were few, the laureation private, and tryells superficiarie. I got leave to bring all the fchollars twice a-week to my Hebrew lefions, and difcourses on the Catechife; whereof I was very glad, for divinitie fudents we have very few. To these I dyted, twye a-week all the year, my chronologick queftions. Mr. John Young discourefd and dyted enough after to them, in fundrie subjefts whereof I took no notice. Mr. Patrick, before the end of the year, dyted two or three hours fomething on the firt of Ezechiel; but his maine task was, that which he goes about very weell, the building of a very fair hous, on Mr. Zacharie Boyd’s legacie: this he does fo that no man can do it better; but the cheapnes of victuall makes our rent fo small, and our prodigalitie is fo great, that we are like to fall in the common difeafe of great scarcitie of

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7 The copy of this Epiftle, and most of the articles mentioned in this letter, are not contained in the M.S. volume of Baillie’s papers.

8 The author of various works, but best known by his “Satan’s Invisible World Discovered.”
moneys. I was lyke to have had a particular fashrie, whereof yet I am not free: our Bibliothecarie's place was but ane honorarie attendance, without more charge; the benefite of it is, the dyet with the Regents, a good chamber, and some twelve pieces a-year. This I had design'd for a son of John Barnes, who lived with his brother a minister of England: the Toune-Councell presented to one part of the provision, Mr. David Dick to ane other, and the Colledge to the rest; I thought the Provest, (James Bell, the youth's uncle,) would carry the Toune-Council, and Mr. Patrick Gillepsie also, for the Colledge, the Provest 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 secretely I had gone this farr, my son, Mr. Robert, falls in love with the place. I a while disuaded him from all thoughts of it, yet at last he perswaded me to be of his mind, if so I could be fairly disengaged with Mr. George Barnes: This Providence did for me, for the young man's friends fand it not expedient he should leave England, and so thanked me for my kindnes. Being freed of this voluntare impediment, I told Mr. Patrick Gillepsie the caufe, shewing him, that though I was sure to carry the Toune and Mr. Dickfon's presentation, yet I would neither seek, nor accept them, unless he were content of my boy to that charge. He defyred to speak with the boy, and finding him discreet enough, and as fit as any other, he told me he would be for it. To ingage him farder, at his defyre, I left the speaking of the Toune and Regents to him, and did open my mouth to none of them; but behold, when I was secure, and had no more doubt of the thing, after a moneth he calls me, and shews me, that the Regents and others had been at him, heavilie regrating, and rebuking him for ingagement to my fon in that place; yea, that Mr. Robert Hodges had, besides his knowledge, obtained a presentation from the Toune-Council. This unexpected newes falsed me; yet I told him the first motion had come from the boy, and not myself; that if I had not left the management of it to him, I could easilie have helped all, and yet I would aflay it, if he knew no impediment in my boy himself. He affured, that none had made any exception against him but that he needed it not. I shew him that exception was of ignorance, if not malice; for the place in question was not like thefe of Profeflours 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 obloquie. I told him the justice of our proceeding would quiet that quicklie; only I would try if I could reduce the presentation, which was obtained by surprize from the Toune-Councell. This I quicklie and easilie got done, and a presentation from them, and Mr. D. D., to my son with great cheerfulness. When I spoke to the Rector, Dean of Facultie, and Regents, all assured me, at the first word, of their great willingness to concurre with me. When I had brought the presentation to Mr. Patrick, and the report of the favour of all who had interest, he shewed his good content; yet all this half-year has he shifted to conclude it. If in the end he should elude me, I should take it for an egregious injurie; but would put it up with the rest in silence; but I doe not expect it. The great obloquie was all from my good friends, John Graham, and speciallie Mr. John Spreule, who stirred up Mr. Hodges to seek that presentation, when he did not mind of it, having ane other place of the Colledge that might serve him. For my familie, the Lord keeps all my children in health and welfare as ever, and my mind at peace, blessed be his name! and afflicts me in all I have to doe, as I would wish. For marriage, I dare not yet meddle with it, till I see what the Lord will do, with my great hazard, about that which they may expone, if they please, in me and others, high treason, praying for the King. If in this I were secure, it's like I would follow your example in a second marriage, albeit I know not yet the partie; but I trust in this the Lord will be mercifull to me.

Concerning our Commonwealth, how it is conceived here, I give yow this account. The riseing of the Highlands has proven, as the most of wise men ever expected, hurtfull to us. The countrey was much oppresst by it; the King's partie much weakened; the English embittered the more against us; and their inward divisions and factions holden in so long as that partie flood 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 own foolish pride and divisions, brought them to nothing, and made them capitulate one after another, till at last all are come in. John Grahame of Duchray is the last, who indeed was among the most honest, stout, and wise men of them all. The English gave tolerable termes to them all; and by this 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 wife in tyme. Lorne's difference with his Father keeped him longer out; yet he also at last was persuaded to come in, albeit he and his father are not lyke to be good friends. His Father, leaft he give any occasion to the Englifh to fufpect his collufion with his fon, keeps the greater distance from him, albeit the moft think the domeftick divisions among them are fo 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 Englifh 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 fon's violence; but when it was on the way, he repented, and gott a new order for their returne: yet they would [goe] on; yea, took up his owne beft house of Inneraray, made the kirk and schooll their flables, and hardlie at this very time have been gotten removed. The people's great hatred lyes on him above any one man, and whatever befells him, few does pitie it: at this very time his flate is very flattering. 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, forfaulfers, fynes, as yet continueing without any releafement, and private debts from their former troubles, are wracked or going to wrack. The commonalitie and others are oppreffed with maintaineance 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 poiffeid 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 fojours; our Lords of Seffion, 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 fojours and two of our complying gentlemen, Colonell Lockhart and Colonell Swinton. We expect little good from them; but if one heavie excife, as is faid, be added
to our maintenance, and the paying of all the garisons lye on us, our condition will be infupportable; 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 unjuftlie afflicted by men.

The other year, when the good Parliament fatt doune, we were in great fear. Their firft declarations were fo pious, but to me fo full of the Anabaptiftick straine, that I was afraid of them. They were elected abolutfie 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 fet, than they flew fo high, as to mind nothing but a Fifth Monarchie on earth, to overthrow all magiftracie and miniftries as it stood, and put all in a new mule of their owne, wherein publicklie fome fomented them for their owne wiser desigines. However, they were far on in overturning all remaining foundations of Church and State. The Generall, with fome of his confident friends of the army, disfolved them by force, leaft they should have overwhelmed him, themfelves, and all, in their new Babell, and took on himfelf the new office of Proteftour, with a power, to him and his councell-supreme, beyond, as it seemed to many, the recall line; yet neceffarie for the tyme, and quietlie acquiefced in without contradiction. To mollifie it a Parliament was called, after the old way, but of men ingadging to the new way of government: they went from Scotland threttie, and from Ireland alfe many. Ours and their choices were men who, for peace, were resolved to doe or fay any thing they fand tollerable to their owne large mind, and, I think, were all fo complying with the Proteftour as he would have wilhed: yet many of the chiefe in this meeting were fo unfattified with one above a Parliament, (a true and high royaltie as they conceaved,) that at their very firft don-fitting they fet themfelves to overturne this new building, for their love of their too much-fancied republick, in a free and absolutely supreme parliament: Ane unhappe dreame! unfitt for the government of the people of this ifle at any time, and moft as now difpofted. The Proteftour finding it fo, made no scruple to difcipline them, and, without more adoe, to purge the Houfe prefently of all who, under their hand, did not ingage againe to preserve the modell of government appointed by the Proteftour and his friends. When many of the moft flurring heads, by the refuifeall of this engagement, were put out of the Houfe, it was expected, that the reft would have fo fully complied as they had written with
their hand; yet for what causes we know not, the Prote&our found them also so undermining of his government, that he thought it fitt to diffole them. Hence all filled with new discontents: but the Prote&our had so farr, with his witt and diligence, provided for all, that there was no confiderable ftrurr. Lambert and the chief of the army were, by hopes, made so faft, 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 Jersey, and there so ftrickly kept, 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 fundrie other officers of the armie, both in Scotland and England, are clofe prifoners, for designs to turne the armie againft the Prote&our. A number of the Royall partie arifeing, in a very confused imprudent way, in many fhires, were all eaflily scattered, and the chief of them made faft, and fundry execute for their conspiring; albeit in what, and how farr, we know it not. We were glad that no Scotsman was found accessorie to any of these designs: it seems our people were fo ill-burnt, that they had no stomach for any farder medling; only Crauford, Lauderdaill, 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 ftrurrs make the Prote&or more vigilant. The fall out of his coach, and the attempts more than once for his life, by Gerard the taylor, and others, shews the violence of fome spirits. The raffeing of all the three laft Parliaments; the speaking of a Crowne, and title of a King or Emperour, which fome thinks is not vaine; the putting of Ireland under the government of his fon Henrie; and Scotland under a Councell onlie of fome fix or feven 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 po fible courfes are taken to fatiffie England; but Scotland is not worth the minding: in England, fixty thoufand pound Sterling a moneth, the halfe of the maintainance is diminifhed; but we fear the new excife fhall double our maintainance. Albeit the rifeing 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.)
seems 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 fatiffieing 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 Spanifh againft the French, invading by sea, both Naples and Catalonia, beside the secureing of the ships and cannon, should have had affuure from the Spanifh for pay two hundred thousand pound fterling; and thereafter, that their defigne was to free all the English captives at Tunes, Alger, and Saly, and to intercept the Spanifh plate at Cales. Alfo that Penn’s great armie of twelve thousand men had been, not only to have taken St. Domingo in Hispaniola, but alfo Mexico in New Spaine. These high and advantageous desighes did much please the spirits of the vulgare; but now miscontentments are feared, even on that ground alfo, to arife, that so hudge expence hes been laid on the people for fruitlefs desighes; and that in their farr voyages, many lives have been loft for no purpofe. Since this tyme Blake hes lived on the English charge: the Spanifh hes born no expence. The burning of the Turkish ships at Tunes is faid to have provoked the Turks at Constantinople, and elfewhere, to robb many English of life and goods; that none of the Spanifh fleet is yet gotten, and if medled with, it were a breach with Spaine, which were a beginning of a needlefs warr at ane unfeasonable tyme; that Penn’s great navie and armie hes done no service at all, but in Hispaniola hes gotten a great affront.—Thefe things from the Diurnals: the miscontent Royalifts blaze farr; but the Protecfour is wife enough to fee to all these murmurings of fillie people: in quieting of malecontents he hes a strange both dexteritie and skill.

For Church matters, there is no ecclesiasfick 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 raillers againft the Protecfour’s perfon; 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 expext our Councell of State will fee to it.

For things abroad, they are thus represented to us: that the French totallie
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	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 Spanifh and Auftrian; that for this end they passe by the daily taking of numbers of their ships; the defeat of the royall navie in its way to Dunkirk, whereupon alone followed the losse of Dunkirk; the taking from them the plantations of Canada, and St. Christophers, and others; that all this, the French diffembles, and seek the English friendship, till they have done their buffinefs elsewhere, as daily they make fo good progresse; that Conty takes in towne after towne in Catalonia, which is interpret the great weaknesses of Spaine, that is not able in Spaine itself to crush a little French armie; in Italie also, the Spanifh in Millaine is put hard to it, when the French, with all the power of Savoy and Modena, and the neutralitie of the Venetian, Pope, Florence, and Genoa, deals with him. Only it's marvelled what follie moved the French, in their passage through Savoy, to fall on the quiet Protestants of the 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 carree of the French victorie. But many here do suspeft the matter not to be fo great; not fo much because the French King, and Pope, and Savoyart, disclaims it as none of their deeds; but because fo manie diurnals does fo much insist upon it, and so much noise is made of it here, the Royalifts fay, that of this blood of the saints this politick ufe is made, to make people fee the happiness of our prefent government, wherein we live in peace, free from the crueltie of Papifts; and if Charles Stuart came here, the people had caufe to fear, from him and his mother, thefe 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 fifter. But we fear too much of this perfecution be true, let any exaggerate and abuse it to what end they think fitt. But the terrible progresse of the French, and most to our prejudice, is in Flanders, where the English junction with Spaine, if in tyme, might easily have stopped them; but if to the conquiefe of Loraine and Halfatia, they add Flanders, and get of the Spanifh 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 againft 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 perfone, with the great royall armie.

We think here it's good for yow that the Swedes are gone to Pole; for had the vulgar reports and your late fears being grounded, that this hudge armie and their confederate Brandeburgh, with the content 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 loft 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 Cofacks and their own diviions have fo lamentable wracked them, to accomplish their miserie, and prey on that kingdome, without any new cause since their last peace, they will not have the blessing of many Chriftians to go along with them. For albeit that proud kingdome of Pole, for their groffe poperie and other foule herefies and shamefull avowed incelitious marriages of their two last Kings agreed to by their States, be highly sinfull, yet they were a good barr for Chriftendome on that fide against the Turks and Tarters incroachments; and if they be ruined, a great gap will be opened for the Scythian barbarians to fall on us all. Many here did think the Swedifh designe had been for Germanie, albeit we knew no particular quarrell; yet that which we fee 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 master of fo great and well provided ane armie of their owne, both by sea and land, and having fo great alliances in Germanie, and interest by their new conquest; the Emperour being fo weak, ficklie, and near death; his fon fo young and unfitt for government; the Crone of Hungary being fo long denied, the Hungarian diviions being fo great, and the Transylvanian fo powerfull, wife and famous a Prince; the Elector of Saxony being fo oft beat by the Swedes, and the Bavarian yet being little above a child; the houfe of Palatine, Brandeburgh,
Heffe, 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 Auffrian 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 fecrecie, 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 deffitute 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 Turkiſh affaires, when the State of China, and the outmost Tartars, is so well known. I wish yow sent us that Atlas of China, which latelie that Flemifh prieff did print at Amfterdam. The vanquishing of the great kingdome of China by the unhappe Tartarians, is a moft 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 Chriff's Kingdome, and of making souls to be saved, which now so evidently perish! It is for this end chiefly that I ever took notice of the motions of States and Princes, to see if any beginning did appear of performing the Lord's great promifes; the coming in of the Jewes, the abolishing of Anticriff, and reforming of the Roman church, the bringing of Mahometan and Pagan princes to the faith of Chriff. While nothing of all this does yet appear, my heart is oft grieved, and prays 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 weaknes of the Auffrian family, made me once hope that the tyme wes near when thefe bloudie and great supporters of Anticriff should fall: but the Lord is wife, and knows what he is doing.

Postscript. December 1st 1655.

While, for lack of a bearer, this lyes long before 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 expected or wished. I will not in words express the fense of this kindnes, especially in
that your wife and seriose dealing with him to returne to his book, it hes prevailed, and he is again as diligent a student as ever, without any inclination to merchandife, for which I thank God and yow. I think his being with yow well worth all the tyme, labour, and charge he hes spent on it. The fix pounds sterling he borrowed from Mr. Winch at London, I have caufed pay, and received Mr. Winch's discharge of it. The rest of his account to yow shall be anſwered with the first opportunity. In your care of Dr. Strang's book, yow fhew your friendship both to the dead and living; I am glad it is in Elzevir's hand; caufe haʃte it fo much as may be. I find this fault in the heet yow fought me, that the marginall index is confounded with all notes or citations which were any ways on the margine, without any distinction of place, character, or distance. It is not tyme now to get this helped. I hope it is near ane end.

While Mr. Wood, Rector of the Univerfitie of St. Andrewes, had oft to doe with Generall Monk for the Univerfitie, and always gotten civile hearing, it was thought fitt, that Mr. Dowglafs and he should repreffent to the Generall the manifold and increasing grievances of the Church; which they did in this paper, (R. 1.). The Generall professed himſelf willing, but unable to redeem them; only undertook to fend them to the Protecor; with whom yet they ſleep, together with their representation againſt Mr. Gilleſpie's charter, as they call it. The Generall oft ſpoke anent prayer for the King. Mr. Dowglafs, and others, fhew their utter unwillingneſs to quitethisfo long as the Proclamation flood; and when the Sheriff was fet to trouble them, had he not given over his begun proces, they had prepared protestations. The Generall declared his unabilitie to take off the Proclamation for the tyme; but hoped the new Counſell, when it came doune, ſhould 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. Dickſon, dealt kindlie with them; and understanding their fick at the Proclamation, albeit with ſome difficultie, got the Counſell to take it off, (R. 2.); ſhewing withall to the minifters the strictneſs of his instructionſ against all who continued publicklie naming of the King. After much deliberation, they thought fitt to give it over. They once purpoſed a declaration, and a paper for removeall of objections; but foreſeeing the offence from theſe writes would have been equall to the continuance of their practice, they abſtained, and only drew this paper,
which they sent to me, and no other, (S. 1.): Mr. Wood's larger answer to objections I have not yet gotten, (S. 2.). The example of these in Edinburgh is like to be followed by all: some yet stick. Our Remonstrants did grieve and mock at this change. Some of our people, from whom we did not expect it, were offended; but above all, Generall Monk was irritat 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 converfed much with him, write in the time of our last Synod a long letter to Mr. P. Gillefpie, which he read publickly to a grand committee of his mind, as if we had uttered to the Generall and President very many calumnies against them, especiallie their aversenesse from all peace with us their brethren. On occasion thereafter, both the President and Generall, to their owne faces, witnesed 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. Gillefpie 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 difcord continued. The meeting was called, and keeped, November 8th, by a number of both fydes from all the parts of the Kingdome. 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 Wariftoune, Sir John Cheillsie, Colonell Ker, Mr. S. Rutherfoord, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. P. Gillefpie, Mr. James Naefsmith, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell: Ours were Mr. Robert Dowglas, 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 Wariftoune's materialls. The firft was this, (T.): It to us was fo high and absurd, that we could scarce belieue our own apprehensions of it, and resolved, by
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queries, to try their positive mind anent it. I drew this paraphrase on it, (V.), and Mr. James Fergusone an other; out of which Mr. Wood drew this third, which we gave them to answer, (X.) To be even with us, they, November 13th, gave us Querees on our overture, the first of June, (Y.); and withall, ane answer to our Querees, (Z.). Having pondered these, we returned ane answer to their Querees, (A. A.), and our sense of their overture, (B. B.). Our concessions were so many and great, that Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Caritares, 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 Wariflone and Mr. Guthrie did carry it so in their meeting over Mr. P. G[illeespie,] that this verie captious paper was given in to us, (C. C.); which Mr. P. G[illeespie] denied openlie to be the sense of their meeting, and Mr. G[uthrie] affirmed it was; and hardly by distinctions could they be brought, even in our meeting, to agree among themselves about that paper. However, we agreed to give it a soft unreflecting answer, though much provoked, (D. D.); yea, to gaine them, we gave in this representation also. At last they gave us their clear and finall sense, (E. E.); with which Mr. Gillespie refusied to joyne, but deferted their meeting. Mr. Wood was here called from us to see his father die; but we gave them this last paper, of Mr. James Fergusone’s hand, (F. F.); and soe, after twenty-three dayes flay, we closed the meeting. We heard in the midst of our conference, they had voted the setting up of twenty-four ministers and fix elders, twenty-nine of all, even their part of the Commission of the Assembleie [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 Council for assistance to that their most presumptuous and unreasonable committee which ever our Church did fee.

At our Synod of Glasgowe, where this conference for union was hatched, there was other two dangerous motions. Warifone 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 Covensants which concerned the King, Parliament, or liberties of the land, or mutuall defence. At this motion the Council was highlie offended, and spoke threatening words of Wariflone and Mr. James Guthrie for this
attempt: yet after their apologie, were so well pleased, that the Generall gave Warifhtoune 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 firft, they proponed this Covenant. The English agents, Mr. Gillefpie, and Mr. Leviftoune, difputed againft it in vaine. Mr. Gillefpie, fo soon as he went weft, called a meeting at Kilmarnock to cruft it if he could. Wariftoune hearing of his defigne, sent S[ir] J[ohn] Cheiflie to keep that meeting; where there were bitter and reflecting debates betwixt S[ir] J[ohn] and Mr. P[atrick]; yet Mr. P. carried it over S[ir] J[ohn,] that all should declare their mind anent the Covenant; where all, except four or five of little weight, diflented, yet fo that they should enquire the fene of the godly of the bounds anent it, and report at the next Synod. S[ir] J[ohn,] in this foyled, prevailed againft Mr. P[atrick] in ane other vote of their mind, for erecting of the Commiffion [16]50 for purging the Kirk. Thefe interfirings put us in hope that faction would divide among themselves. At Gaflgow, the report was, that all the godlie in thefe parts miflyked the motion of the Covenant; however, the godlie in Fyfe and Lothian were faid to lyke it; yet, on the West's miflyke, the motion for the tyme was laid aside. But behold, from some of the feffions of Gaflgow it was moved, that the ordinance for testifieing, 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, resolved to proclame his ordinance, and did it after his departure; but after his preaching to the Councell, and keeping of their kirk the whole Sabbath, and going with the President in his coach to dinner, thefe things made us not at all to understand Mr. Gillefpie's meaning; yet this was visible, as Mr. Guthrie wrote harpelie againft 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 cenfures; but will have us content to their libertie of profecuting their Protestations in posterior Generall Assemblies, not only for condemning of the Publick Resolutions, (which we in conscience judge necessar truths, the grounds of our apologie to foraigne Churches, and the world, for our innocencie in all these fearfull scandalls which our brethren’s tenets and practises hes occasioned to be cast upon the face of our Church and Nation), but also for condemning the laft two Generall Assemblies, as null in their very constitution, which to us were in their grave to burie all Generall Assemblies for ever, which for constitution cannot be more lawfull than these two. 2. That whatever necessitie we may have of a Generall Assembly, or whatever 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 paucitie of their partie, compared with the multitude of their opposites in the generalitie of the Presbyteries and Synods, (for sundry whole Synods will not have anie one of them, as Angus, Murray, Argyle, and I think fundrie others; diverse Synods hes bot very few of them; as Fife bot seven, whereof two only considerable; Perth at 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 furceafe 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 purging, and whatever falls to be controverted, whose acts the Synods shall have no power to ranverse without the previous advyce of a generall consultaturie 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 Glasgow defyre 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 diffimilitudes apparent in our case, from this of their demand for the whole land, yet they passionately cryed downe our motion, and rather choiced to reject all peace with us than to hear of any such overture. 4. All plantations most be taken from the congregations and seffions, 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 choiceing of a minister. By this devyce they hope quickly to fill all vacant places with intrants of their faction, as they are carful to doe wherever they have any power to doe it. 5. Though we should yield to them all their defyres, yet doe they exprefflie deny to us that which we count the essence of Presbyteriall subordination, a submisson to the sentence of our Judicatures for tyme to come. They seem to be for the thing in generall, but not for a submisson 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 praetise, both to differ and contradict the sentences of the best Synods of Scotland, such as Lothian and Fife, in any planting or purging 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 Commission [16]50, to be a settled judicature, with absolute jurisdiction over the whole Church, ever while they think tyme to call a Generall Assemble. This to us is worse than Mr. Gillespie's ordinance, which they so much cry doune, for it was alone for stipends in order to planting; but this is ane usurpation of the whole immediat jurisdiction; worse than Independencie, that incroaches not on others, but exempts only their owne adherents from others jurisdiction; worse than Episcopacie, that never made such havock, and so causeleslie, of all Presbyteries and Synods at once. The event, is feared, will be the forfaualter of all our ecclesiastick liberties, in taking of them out of both our hands, to be depositted in an Eratian State-committee, till our Remonstrators think fit to joyne with us; whereof I have no hopes as things now goe in the land. Near two year agoe I drew up the state of the questions they had then started: from this and my former letter you see what they have added, and it's not unlyke, as error is very fertile, they will not stand at all they have declared, but hes a farde race to runne; however, I send you herewith that paper also, (G G.), as ane evidence of my care to discharge that part of my speciall office, to attend to the doctrine, and observe the corrupters of it, and their corruptions, the great cause hes put me on most of my labours these years bygone.

For matters of State, at home and abroad, we meddle not at all with them; only we observe the footsteps of Divine Providence as they offer them-
felves to the eyes of all beholders. Generall Blake’s navie hes cost a vaft charge, without any profite. The expedition of Hifpaniola, as I read it in a London description, is full of shame and losse, both of charges and men, hes drawn on one open warr with Spain, which will hurt our trade. Our emptye coffers will not be furnifhed with all the ordinarie incomes, though great, and much greater than before; nor by this new pressflour of the cavi- leers, the separating of them from others, even these against whom no new tranwegoffion 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 scandal of that unhappie apollate 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 maintaineance will be more burdenfome than ufefull to the Popifh partie. The progreffe of the King of Swan is ftrange. Since the taking of Cracow, we know not what he wants of that great kingdome; I cannot think that Brandeburgh can be fo ill-advysed as to draw the remainder of that storme on his own head, without all occasion. If the Lord will be pleased to advance the gofpell by that pro- digious change, we will quicklie fee: it seems he takes that kingdome by the right alone of arms, and makes it hereditarie to himfelf and the Croune of Swan, with the Poles univerfall consent.

Since I came from Edinburgh, there is two or three papers more past betwixt us and the Remonstrators, which makes our wounds wyder, especiallie fince by violence they avow openly to opprefs us; one part of them under Wariftone and Mr. Guthrie’s patronage, though diffallowed by others, puts into their hand the power of making all the churches voyd. They look, by their supplicating of the English, for erecting of themselves in a commiffion for purging, against which the Presbyterie of Edinburgh hes given ane honest testimonia, (I.I.). Ane other part, under the patrocinie of Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. J. L[ivingstone] by the English 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 fee how I expres my sente 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.

December 31st 1655.

Your Cousin,

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 yow to his people there. I have no yet seen your funerall sermon on Mr. Whitaker: fend 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 yow free, ye shall be free indeed," I have oft pressed him to make public: he was the preacher now living who ordinarily most affected my heart; I wish yow pressed him to let so many of his papers be published as may be. I hear Dr. Young hes a good treatise for the preffe. I am sure zealous Mr. Edwards had fundrie: yow have been midwife to some already after their death, and I alfo. A pitie some men's labors should perish, and others should not perish. Mr. Marshall long ago loft the hearts of our Nation. He was the main instrument of that Nationall Covenant with God, and among ourselues, which wont to hing on the walls of your churches: it will hing ever before the eye of God, the prime Covenantter: never a league so openly and univerfallie tread upon, and obliterate without all just caufe. I wish Mr. Marshall, for faving of his own soule, before he appear at Christ's barr did exoner himself with the Protectour, if he come to visit him, as I think he will, or otherways in write, about everie article of that Covenant. I think
the Proteætour will take it as well to be freely and friendly dealt with by
dying Mr. Marshall as any man on earth; and I hope Mr. Marshall will be
loath to deny this very necessary and last service to Christ and his own foule,
if yow there will require it of him. But as silentium perditit Amyclas, so
in these days gracious men's fear to offend their friends by their freedome,
leaves them even in their death to the dangerous offence of God. I blefs
God yow have so much as the shew of a Presbyterie and Synod. Why has
not all England and Ireland so much? Why want yow a Generall Assem-
blie? Why have ye no power at all to execute ecclesiastick juridiction?
not so much as Independents, Anabaptists, or Papists have among their owne.
For all these, as we hear, are tolerate to exercise their discipline among them-
selves; only yow Presbyterians are either restrained or not carefull to use
your libertie. Can it be any maxim of State to deny that libertie to Presby-
terians in England for the exercise of Protestant discipline, which the Popish
Kings of France and Pole did never deny to our brethren, to whom they per-
mitted the libertie of their religion? But so far as we know, yow have never
fought this benefite. Whatever ye doe or leave undone, we here take all in
the best part it may be taken; considering your difficulties: yet, for myself,
I loved ever ane ingenious simplicitie and honest zeal more than too much
cautious wifdome. While yow are permitted to use the shaddow of your
powerles Provinciall synod, were it not good to appoint a committee of a few
the fittest to confult, as on other things so, how to stirr up thefe whom they
know fittest in all England for writing on every needfull subiect. Yow have
many moff able pens as any Church this day; for want of upflirring many
of them are like to doe no service. What yow commend to me, I have no
leasure for it, beside all else, my weekly preaching and four publict lesfons in
our Colledge take up all my time; and in our vacation, some other things
which I have of my owne, and of other men's, for the press, take me up.
Yow have a multitude there much fitter than I for that and all things else.
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 Conscience will be
abroad, I hope, before this come to yow. But some of yow there would be
put on to profecute that excellent subiect. Will yow let Mr. Cotton's osten-
tative bragges, of the Independents appropriating to their faction this part of
divinity, go as a fensible truth? Mr. Baxter's writs are read with a good eye
by many; his last piece of Judgement, preached and printed in the mids of your citie, in the preface, commending yow citie ministers, and your discipline, so highly offends and stumbles many: it seems to be stuffed with grosse Arminianisme: Why take yow no care either to gaine the man from his errors, or yoke with him some able divines to guard against his infection? Sundry here are thinking to take him to task; but I love and highly esteeme the man, for much good I find in his writs: I think him ill loft. Noble Mr. Vynes or Mr. Burges, if they were set to deale with him in a loving private way, might doe weell; mind this. I see Mr. Haak, at last, is printing there the Dordracen Notes in English; his longsomenes, 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 press, is to me the most excellent book that ever any where was printed, if Dr. Waltham's perfyte his undertaking. If either yow or any of your friends had fashions of that to me very commendable man, I wish yow made my addresse to him, that now and then I might write to him for the publick good: let me know if this may be without your fatherie. Our arme here is broken for all discipline, most by our differing brethren running to a schisme. Poperie encreaseth more than these seventy years. We lately had a long twenty dayes conference at Edinburgh for union with our brethren; more than a dozen of papers past among us. I send yow here one to shew yow what we offered; but we find the true stick to be beyond their old error, (which yet no Church, surely no setted State in the world, will approve) of the unlawfullnes to joyne in defence of the nation against the invasion of a forraigne enemie, if so the nation's armie have some officers otherways qualified than a few private perfons 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 visiblie 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 vols. folio.

3 By this phrase he no doubt means, "had acquaintance with."
hes lived on earth. But our brethren now are proceeded further to declare the body of our presbyteries, synods, and congregations, to consist of a pluralitie of corrupt members, so farr as they refuse openly 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 fight of God, whomever the word of God, or any rule of our Church, or any just reason requires to be purged out; albeit we think the pluralitie of our Church judicatories and congregations was never better than this day, or ever, in their eye, shall be better in any Nationall Church. However, because we are not so rash as they to condemne so many unheard, they have flowne out to a strange devise, to set up a few of themselves as a Committee of the Generall Assemble, with full jurifdiction over all our land, to put in and out of the miniftrie 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 supplicat, will authorize them in so unexampled ane tyranemie, as that our division be used for ane occasion by the State to take in their owne hands, from us both, all ecclesiaslick jurifdiction, which will be to us a great increafe of our miseries. When we had satisfied the proclamation against publick prayer for the King, we expected more equitie and favour than before: we wish we find no much leffe. The Suppllication 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 suspect it is sent up to the Proteļtour to have his mind of it, and there we have no friends to repreffent 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 promife, doe lye there, without any returne we know. But the Ordinance, which some of our brethren did obtaine of the Proteļtour, that no fipend should be given to any intrant but such as in effecl they lyke, though not only we did demonstrate its mischief, but the chief of the Diffenters themselves disclaimd it, in this paper of Warihounes and Mr. Guthrie's; yet it firmallie continues, to our great grief and hurt. In all these, and many more grievances, we mourne to God; and upon this occasion I let yow know our condition, that yow may mourne with us, for more can no be
expected from yow at such a tyme. It’s ane eafe to a burdened spirit to discharge itfelfe in the bosome of a compassionate friend, fuch as long yow have been to the Church of Scotland, and myfelf in particular. The Lord uphold your spirits in his wayes in these very defective tymes. My prayer and bleffing be on the constant brethren there, and all their labours. My speciall love to yourſelf.

Your Brother,

December 31ft 1655. R. B.

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

Sir,

By reaſon of a weak head and a goutie hand, I cannot poffibly write fo largelie as yow may except, and as your letter doth require. This is the firſt writing which I have undertaken for the space of a fourtnight, and now I put pen unto paper with difficultie, that I may not ſeem regardleſs of, nor unthankfull for your intelligence.

Mr. Marshall⁴ was dead before I received your letter, and I cannot give yow intelligence of any conferrence with the Protector, either in reference to the Covenant, or any other concernment. He was more ſatifiered with the change of government, both civill and eccleſiaſticall, than many of his brethren. Dr. Young⁵ is dead alſo; and his papers about Diſcipline are fo voluminous, that no ſlationer 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 fo backward in putting to preſſe that Anſwer to Mr. Hooker, which Mr. Rutherfoord hath made and ſent hither. We have latelie loft worthie Mr. Vines:⁶ thus God increaſeth our breaches: His Majeftie teach us favinglie the meaning of these very fan providences. The fame courſe (whereof yow juſtly complained) is taken in England, to over-

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⁴ Stephen Marshall, B. D. died in November 1655, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.
⁵ Thomas Young, D. D. Vicar of Stow-market, in Suffolk, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge: Vide vol. i. p. 366; and Appendix to the present Volume.
⁶ In the MS. “Wines.”—Richard Vines, A. M. Minister of Weddington, and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, died in February 1655.
throw the power and practice of Presbyteriall government, and to advance Independencie, as also to indulge Anabaptists, and other erroneous persons. As for Mr. Baxter, he is doubtles a godly man, though tenacious in his mistakes. Mr. Burges and Mr. Vines dealt with him to reduce him, but could not convince him to satisfaction. There are many good treatises published by able men among us, though diverse others are so much in the pulpit, that they cannot appear in the press. 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 yow will accept these lines, and pardon my brevity upon the account forementioned. I have sent the sermon which yow defyre. I pray yow present my respects to all my friends, as yow have occasion. We mind yow in our prayers heartily. The Lord help yow 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 yow, or of the sad condition yow and the rest of our dear Brethren with yow are in, but out of the multitude of busineses that have hitherto hindered me. Truely, Sir, yow are in my heart, and my prayers are not wanting for yow, that the Lord would teach yow the meaning of his severe dispensations towards your Nation, and that yow may learn righteousness by them; and that the Lord would heall the sad divisions that are between yow and your godlie brethren. I shall shortlie find a spare tyme to wryte to yow 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 yow, and Mr. Douglaes, 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 you propose to me is very fad and dangerous. My first thoughts are these; that you guess 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 dilemma is hard. If you refuse, it's very lyke they will employ the Remonstrators, diverse of whom will follow their leader, and will put themselves in power, both for stipends and all things else belonging to Erastian jurisdiction, for making havock of our Church; against whom all our complaints will be slighted, and you and all of our mind must suffer what the Remonstrators please to procure. If you embrace the rest, you shall seem to your people and all the country 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 totally evanish, and many hearts will be cast fully open to returne where they were, or run out to any bye-way they like, with a high misregard and disdain of all we can say or doe to the contrary. 2. Our fellows in these labours, and most beloved, shall be our Remonstrating brethren, yea, our northern separatists, the flock will be our excommunicat, etc. with whom we must joyne in silence. 3. We must serve in our turns as chaplaines at their call who will not be of our Church, but diverse may be known Independents, Anabaptists, Erastians, apostates from our Covenant, active instruments in oppressing our country; which is hard to digest. 4. If, according to your conscience, you discharge yourself faithfullie as their soules require who are your hearers, you draw on yourfelves greater trouble than you would eshew. If you be allways silent it is a great sinne, shame, scandale, change of our way of preaching in all our former tymes. 5. Your example draws out any of all the land, whose coming to preach there, or refuseing, may undoe them, and this be a laeting 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 sorts, though excommunicate,
which will be a hodge-podge of all religions under our ministrie, a farr worse evill than wicked toleration. 7. Who can recount the mischieves of that hellish invention? The Protector to this day hath never asayed 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 wish they were only English, and these Presbyterians. The Lord direct yow. I feare the croffe we wold efhew will not be long keeped off: I know the fpirit of the Remonftrators is reflefs, and cannot ceafe from inventing one mischief after another without end. We are too little in prayer for a delyverance from our oppreßion: With verie much ado I got yow followed in abftaining, etc.; but come of it what will, I will not get yow followed if yow go to this purpose.

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 sweet fellowship with yow, and others there, is oft refreshfull to my heart, though the Lord juftifie has overturned, by the hands of unjuft men, all our once fair bloffoming 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 promises, 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
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would doe me a pleasure if you would give me account of that whole work, and of the men who are employed about it. I have sent you a copie of a letter of mine to Voetius at Utrecht, and his answer to me the last yeare: I have no hope to obtaine my defyre in these parts over-sea; if you there do it not, it will not be done. I think, if you or any of our friends would deale in earnest with Dr. Walton, he could easily give us a Letter grammar of the Arabick, and a full Praxis; also of the Samaritane: for Chaldee and Syriack we want not helps. This were a good service to the publice, and a help to many who, by his Bible, are stirr'd up to the study of all these languages. But the great thing we have need of is a Course of philosophie. I pray call at some of your stationers for my Hebrew Praxis: consider the preface of it, and compare it with these two letters; I doubt not but you and all real scholars will be in my mind. If by Dr. Tuckney, our good friend, late Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, or any of your acquaintance at Oxford, or in the citie, yow could finde out two or three for to goe about this excellent good work, for the great advancement of learning, and great service and honour, not only of this Isle, but the whole Reformed Churches, which lye under a great dishonour and grievous hurt, that to this day they are so negligent and base as to take the most of all their philosophy from the worst of the Popish divines, Friers, and Jesuites. I hope love to this usefull and noble designe, and old friendship, will make you content, at your leasure, to let me know if any thing may be expected of this kind from among you. My heartie love and best wishes to you and all yours. I reft,

Your much honouring and loving Brother,

Glafgow, August 27th 1656.

R. Baillie.

If my *Appendix Practica ad Epitomen Grammaticae Hebraeae Joannis Buxtorfii*, printed at Edinburgh, 1653, be not easily found there, I shall at the first occasion send you 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."

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 Tod's Memoirs of the Bishop's Life and Writings. Lond. 1821, 2 vols. 8vo.

9 As in a former letter, Baillie writes Walton's name, "Waltham."
FOR MR. SPANG AT MIDDENBURGH. SEPTEMBER 1ST 1656.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

I MUST intreat that you would be pleased to write oftener than of late you have done. Your occasions to Roterdame, and from thence hither, can no be but frequent. I defyrred yow to try if yow can get a course of the French Currents of Antwerp or Bruffells; let me try the last moneth of them: yow remember yow sent me, for three or four years punctually, the French Gazet from Amsterdam; see if the like can be done from Bruffells or Antwerp, to which you are now nearer. I long exceedingly for Dr. Strang's book: what yow have for the Colledge tend it with the first occasion: I hope your bygone count is payed, and more money will be sent yow shortly. I pray yow, in your first to Voetius, remember my heartie service to him for his kind and prolix answer to my letter. Try if he hes any returne, either from Buxtorf or Golius, about my motion to them: we all long for a new enlarged edition of his Biblioteck, and a third volume of his Thefes. I am informed that there is no man fitter to draw a Philosophick Curfus than his own son: will yow try if he can be persuyaded to it, who now is in ley for any service. What is Heidanus for a man? What is become of Morus and Blondell? Is there no man who, after Spanheim, does mind the controversie with Ami-raud? As long since I defyrred yow to gather the adversarie pieces of Voetius and Maresius, and send them to us; doe it yet. What is my good friend Apollonius doing? Is there no more of Bochartus, or Henricus Philippus, come out? That the more willingly yow may give me ane account of all this, behold I am at the labour to let yow know how all our affaires stand here.

To myself the Lord is still very good, continuing my health, wealth, credit, welfare of all my fix children, affittance in every part of my calling, bleffed be his name! I live peaceably with all men; I go to no Church meeting, presbyterie, or synod, on the ground I thow yow before. Mr. James Durhame is independent with me, (which contributes to my peace,) but his grounds are diverse. 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 Assemblie appointed him minifter for the King. We then called Mr. Robert Ramfay to that profefion. When Mr. James was wearie of the Court, his partie here was earnest for his re-turne to the Colledge. The man then, and before, and to this day, was to me very precious and deare; for however I have (as oft I told him,) been very difatisfied with many of his wayes, yet I counted him one of the most gracious, wise, and able preachers now in this Isle. I could have been gladly content he had come to Mr. Ramfay's place in the miniftrie, or to Dr. Strang's place of Principall; but to his former place of profefion, whereto we called Mr. Ramfay, I was not content he should returne, and did oppose it what I could; so much the more, that I found, from himfelfe, 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 deffyre; my friend Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and others, fell passionat to have Mr. John Young to the profefion, and caried it, fore againft my mind. Mr. P. G[illefpie], by the Englifh, fet himselfe doune in Dr. Strang's place. The fession drew up fo un-orderlie a call for Mr. R. Ramfay's place of the miniftrie, that the moft of the towne drew up a profeflation againft it: Mr. Durhame counted his proper place to be that of the Colledge which Mr. John Young had poftefled, and not caring to tak [talk?] of the profeflation, did ferue in Mr. R. R[amfay's] place of miniftrie, (no man contradicting him,) from time to time, but in a loufe way; and when our great jars in Prefbyterie and Synod arose, did ab-ftaine as weell as I from all meetings. On this his carriage as malcontent he hes had sundry 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 sayes, to further the work of God in all Ireland, and to be Proveift of a Colledge which he hopes to get erected in that place. Sir John hes made the President Broghill deal with him for that effect, and put the Proteftour alfo upon it. My heart truely would be forrie if he should remove: he is the minifter of my familie, and almost the only minifter in this place of whom my fould gets good, and whom I refpecket in fome things above all men I know: he hes a very fatisfaeotrie 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 opposition of his re-entrie to the
College, though I remain in the mind I did no wrong; and as things then were, I could not have weell done otherways 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 Gillefpye with a very great care, induftrie, and dexteritie, managing it himself as good as alone. But our inward and moft necessar materials are too much neglected. The Bacheller Regent, Mr. George Sinclair, almoft the whole year, was dangeroufly sick, to the great hurt of the claffe. Mr. P. Young, Magiftrand Regent, was exceeding negligent in his attendance, to the great hurt of that claffe. Mr. J. Veitch, the Bajon Regent, partly through ficknefs, and partly by tryells and call to the miniftrie, neglected much that claffe. Mr. A. Burnet waited, according to his parts, much better on the Semies. Our divinitie students were but few, and however they had leffons enough from Mr. J. Young and me, yet they minded studie but little; for when they fee their weak companions, the second or third yeare after their laureation, put in the beft 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 satification of all, except a very few who choied ane Englifh sectarie, to whom they promised the stipend; when, after two years trouble, the Englishman removed, our brethren Mr. P. Gillefpye, 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 fon 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 Foryth, lately a baxter boy, laureat within these two years, a little, very fecklefs-lyke thing in his perfon, and mean in his gifts, but the fon of a Gillefpy: to him, the parifh weary of strife, wherein by the English power they were allwayes oppresed, yeilded in silence without opposition. In Campfib likewife, in [place of] Mr. Archibald Dennesstone, depofed by them without any confiderable caufe, much to my grief, and againft the heart of his parifh who loved him, they have planted
Mr. John Law, within thir three years brought from a pottinger to be laureat. In Rugland,¹ against the people's heart, they have planted a 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, having, 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 Glasgow, Mr. Andrew Gray being dead of a purple fever, of a few dayes roveing, the Magistrates would have been at the calling of Mr. J. Fergufone, one of the most excellent young men of our land. But to this Mr. James Durhame and the rest were fo averfe, that they were ready, publickly, to have oppofed it. So the Magistrates knowing their unabilitie to carry any call contrarie to their mind, yielded to let them call whom they pleafed. Mr. James Durhame would have been at Mr. J. Law before they put him on Campfie; but Mr. Patrick caried 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 Glasgow: yet they put him in nemine contradictente, and that without all the ordinarie tryalls, being unable, for his health, to have undergone them: appearandly the burthen shortly will crush him, except he go on to doe as he hes done yet, frequently to let his place 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 feventy-eight years, having 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 procefs against him, for small unconsiderable caufes, and depofed him; when he is charged to remove from his house, and all he hes there, his fon, by the friendship of Swinton, gets the English to take notice of the violent oppreffion; who, after a full hearing, decerne the old minifter to enjoy all, even what before he had been content to quite. This preparative is dangerous for our whole Church; but the unhappy violence of these 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 oppref; but a miserable one: it puts all our Church caufes in the hands of the English, who defyre to be judges of them according to their Erastian 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 moft of his neighbours, Mr. Allan Fergusfon of Drimmen, escaped their hands. The laft Synod had put a committee to the Prefbyterie of Dumfartan to try a number of flanders noyfed upon him: when, besides all his elders, four-four and fourteen witnesfes are sworn and tryed, nothing at all is found against him. This procee, and another of his neighbour Mr. David Adamfone of Fintrie, where also, after much noyfe, nothing was found, hes made their fervour of purgeing in our bounds much to relent; for, as oft I told them, they will find on tryell, that the men to be purged out are on their fide, not on ours, if there were any justice. At that fame Synod the depo- fition of Mr. R. Hume was ratified, as I was informed, very unjustlie.

In the other parts of the land we fee no relenting of our brethren's fervour. Mr. Livifloun, notwithstanding all the trouble about the planting of Eccles, hes gone on to the lyke enormous practice at Sproufloun, coming in on the Prefbyterie of Dunfe, with two or three of the neighbour prefby- teries, and planting Mr. S[amuel] Row, one of their parte, contrare to the mind of all the Prefbyterie; how farr againft the fundamental laws of all our discipline yow will fee in the Prefbyterie's declaration, (A.). Mr. James Guthrie is still in content with the people of Stirling, but in more vexation than formerly; for his colleague, Mr. Matthias Simfone, is as headie and bold a man as himself, and hes good hearing with the English, fo that he is like to get the fippend; and [Mr.] Rule to live perquire. Mr. James and Warifloun are on their old defigne ftil, to fet up their Commiffion for tyrannizing over the Kirk; but it's like the English will not countenance them, the thing is fo 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 profefion a Prefbyterian: 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. Dowglafs and Mr. Dickfon, 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 longfome, and all must be done firft at London. It's but the other week that Mr. P. G[jillepie'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 himself,) 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 eldest matter of it, and for sundrie years employed to overfee it, almost as Principall, was wished by sundrie who loved it and him, to be placed there; and there is no doubt he was the fittest man living for that charge: but here was the infuperable difficultie; a fair call could not be gotten. The fyve masters who had power to call were divided; one Campbell, a Remonfrator, minded the place, and, by his party, was no unlyke to have carried it from the English; one Martine, the eldest matter then in charge, alledging it to be his right to succeed, with the consent of other two masters, 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 peremttror letter to the ministers and masters of St. Andrewes to admitt Mr. James Wood Principall to the Old Colledge without delay. When the Univerfitie is conveened, and the letter read, Mr. Campbell proftested: 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 fatiffied 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 refufed to call him, I think it was hard for him, upon whatever caufes, to medle with it. I love not that we should juftifie or harden the English in their usurpations in our Univerfities rights: but these things I will debate with himfelf at meeting.

Ane other paflage of ours I was not fatiffied with: Swinton was excomunicaf for his early complying with the English. Sundrie of his friends were earnest to have him relaxed, that in their necelfar affaires they might have the more libertie to impoy 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 least on the scaffold, at the King's execution, if no more, excommunicat on the lyke occasiion; yea, the Synod of Glasgow at Aire took the censure off Mr. P. Gillefspie and Mr. James Naefsmith, without any acknowledgement of a fault, or defyre to be relaxed. To this strange enormity, all formallie voted; only Mr. James Fergusone, Mr. Thomas Kircaldie, Mr. George Young, were absent; Mr. John Bell and Mr. Alexander Nibet removed themselves; but no diftent was entered.

Our State is in a very silent condition: strong garrifons over all the land, and a great armie, both of horse and foot, for which there is no service at all. Our Nobles lying up in prifons, and under forfaultries, or debts, private or publict, are for the most part either broken or breaking. No more word of delverying Crawford, Launderdaill, Eglinton, Montgomerie, Ogilvie, Merchall, 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 delveryed to Monk before it came to Glencairne's hands, and his answver of it also before it came to the King; and yet, under the most fearfull imprecactions can be devis'd, the villaine wrote, unrequired, that he had done no such things. Some says, it would have stood hard with Glencairne's life, had it not been the President's favour, procured by Mr. James Sharp. The dyvour act, of lands for creditors at twenty years purcach, has made much clamour; albeit none who has any credit has made use of it. All the Advocats are returned to the barre. Balcolmie and Ker makes some more dispatch in causes than was [before.] The Great Seall of Scotland, (with Cromwell's large ftatuie on horseback, Olivarius Dei Gratia Reip. Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae Protector, under the arms of Scotland Pax
Quaritur 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 fpoken of to be as great as was ever.

The Spanish warre has wracked many of our merchands; albeit, in God's mercy, 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 Bilkainers, near Burdeaux, and James Bar's ship, which, with himself, by a pitifull misguiding, was blowne up almoft in the barberie, we had no more losfe this year, whileas a world of others has been wracked; many more in a few moneths than was all the time of your warre. It is much talked, that it is both your men and ships that serves the Spanish in all these spoils. Our fleet, waiting in vaine on the coast of Spaine, does little good to the merchands in thefe coasts, and yet the taxes with us are great; the maintainance was towards ten thousand 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 scarce here, and groweth dailie scarcer, and yet it's thought this Parliament in September is indiected mainlie for new taxation. What England may bear, to whom the Proteftor 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, beside the fynes, for-faulters, debts, and other miferies, seems unable to bear what lyes on already. Wife men think the Proteftor 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 elfe they expet; 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 folicitation for votes to be chofen Commiffioners as now among us. It's like there fhall be none of the whole number more cordiall for all the Proteftor's defyres, be what they may, than these that come from Scotland. It's faid Mr. James Guthrie and my Lord Warifloun, with their friends, have been fitting more than this fourntnight in Edinburgh,
drawing their papers, to be sent by some of their number to the Proteëtour or Parliament. They were so absurd, that Mr. P. Gilleespie, 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 Toune 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 worse.

Through God's mercie our Toune, in its proportion, thrives above all the land. The word of God is well loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought and we defyre; yet in no toune of our land better. Our people has much more trade in comparison than any other: their buildings encrease strangely both for number and fairnes: it's more than doubled in our tyme. ¹ I pray God to encrease his blessing on this place of our birth, albeit I am feared for it; for on Sunday was eight dayes at four hours in the morning, August 17th, there was a sensible earthquake in all the parts of the toune, though I felt it not. Five or six yeares agoe there was one 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 forraigne affaires, they are thus represented to us: that the frequent tumults of Constantinople, killing Visier after Visier, and threatening the young Sultan himself; does weaken much that Empire, so that Venice the alone has been able to keep up warre with them, these dozen of years, with yeartlie advantage; but we think it strange that this Republick this last year has buried no less than three Dukes. The French continue their fate of unhappiness beyond the Montes: beside their disafater 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 lies round about their trenches.

This Pope seemes as diffimulat a companion as any of his predeceffors. His self-denied Holines would for a whole yeare have none of his kindred

¹ The population of Glasgow which at different periods presents a striking instance of encrease, in 1610 amounted to 7644; in 1660, to 14,678; in 1755, to 23,546; in 1801, to 77,385; in 1821, to 147,043; and by the late census, in 1841, to 257,592.
come near him; but at last his old master and lord of Siena, the Duke of Florence's importunate prayer must overcome his obstinacy to permit 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 ecclesiastic 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 Italy, but all the neighbouring nations. We are glad that the fearful civil warres of the Switzers is like to end so soon in peace. We hope their peace will be a guard to the Protestants in Piedmont.

We marvell that the Cardinall of France should have had so hard contests with the Parliament of Paris, and so many in that popular subject of money: when the Pope, and the clergy sitting in a Generall Assembly so long at Paris, are not very well content; when Orleans is from Court, and Condé in the head of a Spanish armie; at such a season to provoke the Parliament and people of Paris in the tender matter of moneys, seems to favour more of the Cardinall's Roman courage than his Italian wisdom. Turenne, to us afar off, seems not to have been more unhappie in this siege of Valenciennes than unadvised. A half-eyed man might have foreseen the remediless danger of his armie's cutting in two, so that the only means 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 useless to the other, in whatever danger: this seems an imprudence unanswerable in a leafe renounced generall than Turenne. That Condé did not fall on his half of the armie, as he did on Senetere, it was the great mercy of God to him and our religion in France, that in his ruine might have gott a great wound; and as it is, the wicked Papists may count it a complot betwixt him and his old friend Condé, that he was not lighted on. If these disafters force the Cardinall unto a peace with Spain, I fear it prove much hurtful to the Protestants every where. As Orleans is at Court alreadie, so if a generall peace bring Condé also, the Cardinall is undone; and whatever this may worke for our King, yet I fear the hurt of Protestants every where, if Spain, Auffria, and the Pope, be not hindered by France to execute their wicked designes.
If Sueden and Brandenburg, immediately on the junction, have defeat Caff- 
mine 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 widdome, that so long has been so great an impediment to his pro- 
gress, and more of your States, that will fail so farr 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 
Polishe King, and the Spaniard, albeit France and Sueden cannot but deeply 
refent it, if they had leisure to mend it. We will stand on our watch-tower, 
and look on with an 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, Antichrift's ruine, the bringing in of the Jews, the 
breaking or Christianing the Turks, and other Pagans: also, if any thing 
may come forth for the putting off our shame, and repairing of our ruines in 
this lands.

The King is so farr forgot here, that not one man, so farr as I know, keeps 
any correspondance with him; nor doe we hear at all what he does or intends: 
yet I think diverse pray to God for him, and with his restitution. But if 
men of my Lord Broghill's parts and temper be long among us, they will 
make the present government more beloved than some men wish. From 
our publict praying for the King, Broghill's courtesies, more than his threats, 
brought off our leading men. My averseness from that omission, yow see in 
my anfwer to Mr. Dickson anent that point, (B.): what was said by Mr. 
Wood for leaving of it, yow have here also, (C.). About the time of ab- 
staining I was a more earnest suppliant for him than ever; whereupon some 
of my good neighbours did deferre me to the Counsell 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 un- 
happy Remonstrators did still occasion trouble. Mr. Liviiiton made no bones

3 Vide infra, page 343.

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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 Councill and Judges, and goe home in coach with the President, and say his grace at his table; yea, in Glasgow to preach to their circular court, and feast the Judges in his house. This made the Councill endeavour to have so many of our best preachers appointed by turne to come to Edinburgh to preach to them. When my opinion was craved in this unhappie motion, I gave it the answer you may see at (D.), and, by God's blessing, got it crushed for the time; but how long, I know no; for Mr. Liviftoun being solifitd to go to Ireland, was sent over there by his Remonstrator brethren to make a visite and returne. It hes been their designd this long time to fill Ireland with their partie; and they have come too good speed. I did what I could to help that evill; 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 evill this may work we know no: Especially Warrifone and Mr. Guthrie's impatience to be out of work, and keeped downe, inclining them, as some fay, to come nearer the English than they did: yet their designd being evident to play the tyrants in the whole Church, and to put the Magiftracie 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 prevaile. Mr. P. Gillespie fand their designe so unfeasonable, 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 commiffion of the Sheriff-dome of Aire and Baranthrow to himfelf, on purpofe, as they fay, to have been that partie's agent with the Protector in all their desires. But my Lord Cochrans diligence and widdome bracke Sir George's designd. 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 firft he had declared for Independencie, I presfled in two diverse 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 ufed. Hereafter, when not only he deferted his poor charge of Stanhoufe,
but set himself by the English in the kirk of Kilbryde, the beft stipend in the west, taking the manse and glebe, kirk, and all to himself, and his congregation of Independents, gathered from the parishes about, of twenty persons, or within thirty, leaving the parish of about two thousand to build a house, and contribute a stipend of their owne; this fearfull oppression, and of moft pernicious example, made him appear not to be fo 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, besides 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 couping horses. When no bodie could get order of him, God put to his hand, and easly 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 far as I heard, for any of his publick offences.

This sect of Quakers is like to prove troublesome: they increase much among the English both in England and Ireland. They in a furious way cry dounge both ministrie and magistracie; some of them seem actually possessed with a devill, their fury, their irrational passions, and bodilie convulsions are so great. Lieutenant Osburne, 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 ane open leader to them in the street of Edinburgh, without any punishment. Sundry in Clydesdale, of the most zealous Remonstrant yeomen, hes turned so; and their increase is feared, which is the just recompense of admitting the beginnings of error. They are patient as yet of strokes; but if the Fifth Monarchie men of the late Parliament had prevailed, or if their partie goe on in its growth, their fury is lyke to goe to unmercifull killing (with their predecessors) of all their opposers.

When I had written this farr, your letters, with the boy Maxwell, came to me: I shall endeavour to see the boy used as you desire. I have directed that your twenty-two gilders, fix fivers, 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-
haufit more than his expense. I have not yet seen what books yow have sent, but the Antwerp Gazet I wish we had for the two last months, to see the way of it. I know from them that saw 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 so far advanced; endeavour to get from some man there, if yow can, some commendation in the frontispiece: so soon as it is done, send me so many copies as yow bargained for gratis, or to be paid as yow have agreed. I am forie if he have the least of Amiraldisme; had I perceived it, I would have scraped it out. If that vent weell, the rest of his treatises shall follow, wherein will be no matter of offence, I hope, to any. Whatever is to be got of the questions of Amiraud pro or contra, or of the Janfeniits 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 sending of it back, as Vaffius de Historicis Graecis et Latinis, which I hear now yow sent, 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 wishd he were dealt with to undertake this great and necessar service; might not Apollonius be moved to mind that matter? Baxter is lyke to fire England; and fo be tymous with these errours: See what yow can get done againft that evill.

Our Church-strifes are no lyke to agree; the Remonfrants make it their endeavour to put themselfes, as the Commiffion 1650, or under some such notion, in a committee to purge and plant all Scotland, with the English allowance to them as the Godly partie; one of the vileft, most shamefull, 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 professed friend, Mr. J. Sharp to Cromwell; with what instructions I know not; but I hear very fair and honest. The Remonfrants cry out on this message, though alone to guard against and prevent their mischievous deesignes; they will not be long a-fending one after him, to defyre openly, what long, by their letters and secrect agents, they have been dealing for. This strife at this tyme is shamefull and dangerous; I love it not: my advyce was never fought to it; but on our part, it seems necessar: 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 bleffe and preferve thefe Princes for the good of the Protestant interest. Your States, as they stand, are
not loved here: they have given to Sweden a great, needless, and untunymous
provocation, which though diffembled, 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 bles.

Your Cousin,
1st September 1656.

R. B.

For the Right Honourable Mr. Francis Rous.

Sir,

Understanding by a letter from Mistress Lammy, that you were yet to
the fore, and helpfull to suppliants, and mindfull of me, notwithstanding of
all the changes past, yea, for my cause that poor gentlewoman's good friend,
I did rejoynce. I pray God yet to prefervue you some time, for I know, so long
as you are able to come to the Councell, or speak in Parliament, or come near
the Protector, yow will, to your power, after your wonted manner, be doing
good both to the public and so many private persons as you are able: among others this gentlewoman I still recommend. Yow were a speciall in-
strumet to save the Churches of Brittaine from the mad folies of thefe Fifth
Monarchifhts of the last Parliament. I am glad yow are a member of this
Parliament; for I doe assure myself you will be a speciall watchman in the
House, and a continuall remembrancer to the Protector that the Church of
God in thefe dominions, (for which I have oft been witnefs of your speciall
zeall and care,) shall suffer no new detriment. We here had been much hurt
by the ignorance and error, if no the disdainfull neglect, of Englishian men, had
it not been for the very great wisdome, equitie, and moderation of that ex-
cellent man my Lord Broghill; the most gaining perfone to the interest of
these who employed him, of any that ever yet came from thence hither. Shall
the Presbyterians in England and Ireland never winn to the exercife of their
Discipline? Shall that libertie be denyed us in England, which the Kings of
France, and Pole, or whoever so much as tolerate our religion, hes ever
granted? Shall all the labours of the Assemblie at Westminster, and so many
Ordinances of both Houses, turne all to smoke? It is worthie your laft service
to God and his Church, in your extreame old age, to endeavour to obtain of
the Protector some reafon to the servants of God in this point. Shall fuch
men as my Lord Lauderdaleill and Crawfurd languifh 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. Marhall, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Vynes, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Gillefpie, and many more of our late dear friends are gone: at once the rest of us will follow, and stand before our Master. Shall there be no more word of our Solemn Oath and Covenant? Is it turned to Martin’s Almanack? Is it pulled down from the walls of all your churches? Will the Lord be silent for ever? Can he alter with our changes? We here live as silently and peaceablie as any there could wish us; but for myselfe, while I live, by God’s grace, I shall never hold my peace to God in secret for Sion’s 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 Pfarler in England praftified as it is here, and no other? Will you there never come to any Order? Is it poftible 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 speake of these things to yow who knows them better, and minds them more than myselfe. The Lord blefs and be with yow to your end.

Your much honouring friend and Servant,

Glasgow, September 6th 1656. 

R. Baillie.

For his Reverend and weell-beloved Brother Mr. James Wood, Minister at St. Andrewes.

Dear James,

These are thanks for your kind and honest answer, November 28th. Your name shall not be mentioned, nor more use made of your information than for myselfe, for the flagrant scandall is notour, and a testimoniall is neceffare by all law and cuftom; yet Mr. R. M[acward]’s high commendation will poftiblie 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, fay and fwear what they will to the contrare. See to your Colledges as you may: they are fully
masters of Glaſgow, Aberdeens, and almost of Edinburgh. This commiffion of Wariftone’s, Greenhead, Mr. P. Gilleſpie, and Mr. James Guthrie, will draw our affaires to a quick crifis; be this be weel at yow, it’s like all the four will be on their way to London. I thought it had not yet been time for some men to seek openly their due rewards for their great service. I doubt nothing but one of their chief businefs will be to get, what Mr. P. Gilleſpie had obtained, the whole Magiftracies in the land put in their partie’s hand. If they had this, Glaſgow alone, befyde other services, could give them fundry thouſand pounds a-year, as they wont to doe, to be difpos’d on without all count, as they thought fitteſt. If the burroughes and fhyres fee not to it, they will quicklie be their hard taskmaſters. This equall committee, to purge and plant without any account, is the total destruction of our government. Will not Mr. Blair give ane honest testimony againſt it to Cromwell, and all the world, before he die? If he neglefte this office to the Church of Scotland, it will reflect much on his reputation. It feems Mr. James Sharp must procure a meſſage for two or three of our mind to decipher theſe men to the whole world, without more circumloquation. For myself, I like no the barre, nor minds ever, but by violence, to ſtand before it. If God be not mercifull, I think these men’s malapart novations, and ſeeking ſhelter to their proud tyrannie from the fword that lyes on our necks, will end in an Eratian flauerie, pulled on us by thofe that were wont to be moſt zealous for our discipline. Will Mr. Livſtoun bring, from Aberdeen’s neſt, a profeffed Independent to ſucceed to Mr. A[nrew] Rutherfoord’s miſorder, and Mr. Blair not upbraiđ him for it to his face! I pity your pressſours: the Lord help, fustaine, and direcť yow. Blesſed be God, that continues yow, or any man in thofe tymes, orthoſoxe and honeſt.

Your’s,

December 8th 1656.

R. B.

It will be needfull yow write a narrative of your tranſlation from the New Colledge to the Old, for your friends, to ſtop the mouth of our ill-willers. Send me a copy, to make uſe of it for your advantage in thir bounds, where there is moſt need. It would be one of Mr. J. Sharp’s chief cares to gett a settled order for our Universities, that Independent 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 fadder, 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 yow an account how far we went, upon our passionate desyre of any tolerable peace, to give them all satisfaction in our conference, November [1655], weell near a whole moneth; wherein how far fundry 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 answer'd a Querie or two from the Parliament and Committee of Estates, anent the lawfulness of their making use of such men in their armie, for the defence of the land against forraign invaders, as were fully reconciled to Church and State for any transgression sometimes they had fallen into. Their plea here was, that we had Answered these Queries so as we were perfuaded in conscience was according to God's word, the law of nature and nations, the constant and never-controverted practice of our land, or of any land, and the constant practice of these who now are in power, as much as any. This then was all their quarrell.

When they feared the Generall Assemblie of St. Andrewes would approve of these our Answers, and would not be gotten to countenance their new most dangerous and unnaturall both tenets and practices; before that ever any question came to be debated, they gave in their Protestation and declinature
against that Assemblie, and the two other we had sence, as Null, upon reasons which make null all Generall Assemblies with us for ever, till they be matters 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 controverties, if so they would live peaceable 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 ordination and jurisdiction in all cases that any man should controvert; and that standing committees of an equal number of them and us, they nameing their owne, and we ours, should be appointed for final determination in all things controverted. In many of our Presbyteries they have none of their mind, and in some Synods none; in most of the Presbyteries and Synods where they have any, their number is very few. The grant of this demand to us was impossible: We had no power to deprive all the Presbyteries and Synods in Scotland of that power which Christ, and the laws both of our Church and State, did invest them with; nor thought we it reasonable to give our brethren a negative voice in all the ecclesiastick jurisdiction of Scotland. This was too rich a reward for the divisions they had raised, and so long needleless 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 pressed on us another concession, that since the pluralitic in Presbyteries were men corrupt, we should agree to them a freedome and exemption from all subordination to those judicatories in their present condition. This to us was a desperate demand, to make us content to cut the sinews of all Presbyteriall government in our land till the Presbyteries were fully conformed to their mind; nor could we inflict so fore a punishment on all the Kirk Judicatories before they were heard to clear themselves of so base an imputation. The presbyteries and synods, to which subordination was denied, was none of the worst temper, but those chieflie of the very best: Lothian and Fife, Edinburgh and St. Andrewes, more nor Argyle or Caithness. Befide that, we in our hearts were perfuaded 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 judicatories in any Reformed Church generally so good as ours, our Brethren themselves being judges; nor to any indifferent beholder are these presbyteries which our Brethren have gotten made up fullie to their mind, in any thing better than others who are all opposite to them. Nor count we this challenge from our Brethren ingenuous, since we see it evidentlie, that so soone as they become masters of any presbyterie or fynod, as by their over-diligence they have made themselves of some, there is no more dinn in these places of purgeing: the insufficiencye 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 fad hearts we committed our cause to God; but our Brethren presentlie did make their address to the English Councell, petitioning to be erected in a Committee to visite, to purge, and plant all the churches in the land. We did supplicat alfo to avert so terrible and so unexampled oppression, and, by the justice of that court, got it for the time declined: Ever since, in their own wayes, both clandestine and open, they have been about the obtaining of that exceeding irregular power. We knowing their resolution to deal with the Protector himself for it, when our brother Mr. Sharp, on his friends occasiones, 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 representatons had marred all they thought to have obtained by letters and by their Independent agents, they have openlie bent up the chief of their partie to desire, by the great favour they have themselves every one of them with the Protector, and divers about him, a Commission to doe by force what we could not yield to them with our content. 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 fame 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 jurisdictiion 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 one ordinance for putting
all the Magistrates of the shires and burroughs in the Godly, that is, their partie’s hands, the clamour was so great against this injustice, that quickly the Counsell got that order recalled. When, about that same tyme, those who are now commissoners had drawn a new large Covenant, farr different from the Solemn League, to be sworn and subscried by all whom they should admit to their Godly partie, it was so hatefull to the English Counsell, and so grievous to many of their own side, that they were forced to lay it aside; but this their last designe which now they come to reprezent to the Protector, (however, we doubt not, in low, soft, ambiguous words, yet, in effect, importing the ruine of our Church government,) will be found worse than any thing which lately they have designd.

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, against the Malignant and Episcopall partie: you know we were never inlaking to yow to the uttermost of our power; our diffrefs now is great, we defyre your compassion, your prayers to God for us, and your countenance to our cause, when yow know it may profit us, and not hurt yourseflses.

We are not so much feared that the most unreasonoble defyers of our Brethren can be granted, by any of farre leffe understanding and justice than these who now have audience with the Protector, as that, by our Brethren’s suggestions and importunitie, both they and we, to the ruine of our dear-cost Ecclesiaftick liberties, be put under a new Erastian government, which shall end in perfection of thofe who are truly godly among us. If by your countenance and counsell to Mr. Sharp, or by your dealing with your friends about the Protector, (if so be yow have any,) yow can help to keep this very dangerous florme from us, yow shall doe an acceptable service to God, and a great good deed to our groaning Church, and a seasonable favour to all of us here who defyre, in this hard tyme, to be faithfull to God, and the trust he hath committed to our keeping. Expecting herein a comfortable anwer, I rest

Your loving Brother in the Lord,

January 12th 1657. R. B.
(D.) For the Right Worshipfull his assured Friend,
Mr. Francis Rous.

Right Worshipfull,

The constancie of your kindness towards me, which from tyme to tyme yow are pleased to signifie, in this seafon, when old friendhip by the most is buried in oblivion, makes me still confident to use with yow my wonted libertie. I hope what I wrote some five moneths agoe with Mistres Lammie, yow did receave. The purpose of my present writing is to acquaint yow with the imminent danger of the Church of Scotland, (which I know yow have sincerely loved and highly priz'd,) to be pitifullie oppreft and enslaved to a few of our brethren, who long have vexed us with their most causefles 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 refused peace, unlefs on new conditions, which we never heard of, nor expected to have heard of: 1. That they behoved to be freed from all subordination to our Presbyteries and Synods till they were new constitute and purged: 2. That, for the interim, the whole jurisdiction of the Church, in every thing controvert'd, 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 total subversion of our Presbyteriall government, on a very injurious and falfe pretence, that subordination must be denied, not to the worft or weakeft of our Presbyteries and Synods, but the very beft, from which they are moft averfe, as those of Lothian and Fyfe. That our brethren would have broken all in pieces our Church government by weaker and worfe pretences than professt Independents we would never have expected; but that they would have attempted, as they doe in their second demand, the usurpation of all Ecclesiastick jurisdiction to themselves, a farr smaller and more inconsiderable faction among us than the Independents are among yow, we did never dreame till themselves did openly professt it; and when we did refuse it, they supplicat the Counsell here to be invested in it; and now when
the justice of that court 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 Protecor himself. If any of your seets there would not only petition for a toleration to themselves, but also the priviledge to have the full Ecclesiasitck jurisdiction over the land, I doubt not their desire would be rejected with scorn, though it were sweetened with a clause to have an equall number of others joyned with them, whom yet they know assuredly would never associat with them in any such work. Such an enormous phansie was never yet proponed by any of your heteroclites; yet the present defyre of our brethren seems to be very like, certainly to the body of this land, even to those who are esteemed juftly, as we conceave, 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 Protecor's justice and wisdome 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 resuit of their unhappy, rash, unadvised, and causeless contentions with us, some one thing or other that may be very dolorous to our nation, and vexatious to the moft of the truely godlie in our land. There is a brother of ours there, Mr. James Sharp, who can give full and true information of all things which concerne our present condition: I wish 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 flatlon,) yow will be willing, in this tyme of our distres and danger from our owne, (whom leaft it became, of all men, to have put us to this vexation,) to speak a word for us to the Protecor, that at leaft we may be secured from the incroachments of these restless men, who, so long as they expect countenance and assistance from him, will never cease to put their quiet neighbours to new troubles. I would be loath to marre them in any favour they could defyre in other things, for the men are my good friends in all things perfonall and private; but the crushing of their forefald deigne, I count it pietie and justice, their own good, the Protecor'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 beseech yow to contribute what yow may, that with the greater cheerfullness I and many more here may continue to pray for your remaining yet sometime upon earth, for the perfecting of all yow have in hand, for the glory of God and the good of his whole Church. So doe I 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 fenfe: 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 far as may be, my name; for my name, I know, is unluckie and unfavorie to those in power there, nor like I myselfe any thing the worse for that. God help and guide yow.

Your's to power,

January 18th 1657.

R. B.

For his Reverend and well-beloved Brother Mr. James Sharp, Minister at Craill.④

James,

Yow see what I have written in the inclosed, at the desire of our friends here; if they mislyke my writes, I have desired them to suppres them; if otherwayes, to send them to yow. If yow, on the place, think fitt to deliver

④ It seems scarcely necessary to remark that Mr. James Sharp, Minister of Crail, who appears so prominently as the agent of the Resolutioners, afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews.
them, either to those they are directed to, or to the fire, doe as yow think fitt; only I defyre, so farre as may be, my name to be suppressed; for yow know, beside elder quarells, how oft my name stands printed in Mr. Love's proceffe; so intreat those to whom yow deliever my letters to keep them to themselves, else my name may hurt yow, and the caufe yow have in hand. I hope yow shall, by God's help, easily get the defyres of those headie men cruished; but all my fear is, that the end of your strife will be the Protector's determination to subject our poor Church to some new Erastian modell, which shall be very grievous, albeit farre more tolerable than the tyrannick Turkish yoke of the Protestors. If for the averting of this mischief, yow finde it necessar to cause send up for any more, I think M. R. D., and M. J. W., shall be sufficient: if there were need of more, I think G. H., or J. F., or R. K. of H. might doe weell. If yow come speed in the maine, I wish yow laboured to get abolished that very unjust commisson of visitting the Universities; and that which M. P. G[illefpie] did obtaine, that no Independent should violently take the church and stipend of any parish, as was done in Kilbryde and Leinzie, and much les 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.

January 18th 1657.

Your's.

R. B.

FOR ME [MR. ROBERT BAILIE].

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,

Because I fear I did it not before, I thought fitt now to show yow, that your old friend, my Lord Warriston, did, in that conference before the Protector, affirme, (while he was speaking of the evill effects of the Resolutions,)

5 Vide supra, foot-note p. 105.
6 These initials stand for Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. James Wood, and George Hutcheson, James Fergusson, and Robert Ker of Haddington.
7 "He should have a long-shafted spoon that sups kail with the devil."—(David Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs. Edin. 1641, 4to.) Had Baillie sufficiently known his correspondent, he might have taken this Proverb to himself.
that there was one of the 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 opportunity 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 Warrifhone did mean; 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 Gillespie be come home, or coming before the rest, let me know, who am

Your moft 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 reason yow should be burdened with particular answares, only I defyre to know, by a word in your’s to the Brethren of Edinburgh, that mine did come to your hands. Yow see the enclosed. If I were with Warrifhone I would say to him for answer: 1. That his profeffions to me constantly, since he was a child, and my scholler, were of so great friendship, and that such offices of uninterrupted kindness had allwayes past mutually betwixt us, that I could never have thought, that for any caufe whatsoever, he would have spoken of me to any living, much less before the Protector, words which tended so exceedingly to my hurt, without the least signification ever to myself, directly or indirectly, that he harboured any such thoughts of me. 2. The thing that I am informed (by this letter of a worthy Brother,) he did speak, if truly he meaneD it of me, (whereof my old and continuing respects to him make me doubt,) is exceeding false; for I doe utterly deny, that in all that long, and weell near a moneth’s conference, there was one word spoken by me, or any other, that looked any thing like the speech here written, to my knowledge; nor was there any occasion of it, for in my judgment, as he weell knows, his new singular tenets in the Publickt 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 leffe untrue, as I am ready to depone upon oath; and I hope my positive negation will be as much believed, where I am known, as some other men's affirmation without proove. 4. It hes never been the Protector's pleasure to trouble any man for his simple judgment or heart's affection in questions anent the Covenant, 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 inquest even of those who differ from me in judgement of the Publick Resolutions, I hope I would pass with all good a report as others of my neighbours. 5. I have had many free private discourses with my Lord Warristone, these twenty-nyne yeares, as use to be among most intime and more than ordinarily familiar friends, but that one which I suspecet he meaned 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 spoked 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 desiered 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 joyn with the present terminus ad quem. Herein I defyred 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 clearnes in the terminus ad quem, without any scruple of conscience, if I were loosed from the former; and while he was beginning to shew me how I might be loosed from it, a gentleman did come in to him, and interrupted us, that we proceeded no farther. Since which time, to my best remembrance, I had no discourse with him, private or publick, concerning any serious businesse; and why he should have spoked before the Protector, of this, my proponeing to him alone, so innocent and simple a cause of conscience only for my own satisfactiion, and why he should have so fearfully metamorphosed it, I cannot conjecture. Surely if any
other man's rashness, (for malice, I know no man living that professes to have it at me,) had brought me to any trouble, either for my words or deeds, I would have address'd myself to none sooner than my Lord Warriestone for his counsell and assistance; as he may remember, in his late distresses, I had been one of his fastest friends.

This, and much more to this purpose, I would say to him if I were near him; which, as you find occasion and expediency, I wish you did communicat unto him, or any other, for my clearing from his unadvised speech, if so be he will expone it of me; whereof yet I doubt. Praying God to help you in your very hard, dangerous, and vexatious task, I rest,

Your's,

Glasgow, March 9th 1657.

R. BAILLIE.

(J.) For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Baily, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow.¹

Reverend and Much Respectit,

London, March 21st 1657.

Your third I receaved yesterday; and that I sent no returne to your former two, I hope will not be imputed to my neglect of the respects I owe and bear to you, when you consider that, in my letters to Edinburgh, I give notice of the recept of your's; and that the employment I am put upon doeth so take up my time, as that I have much a doe to give the full account which is necessarie of all paffages relating to our publick concernements to the correspondents at Edinburgh, by whom I trust ther is such notice given to these of our judgement, and to yourselfe in particular, of the state of matters heir, as may plead for my omissions in making these particular returnes to letters sent to me, which are in my desire to doe, could my leisure allowe it. Sir, I delivered your letter to M[aste]rs Calamy and A[th], 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 yet had the opportunity of meeting with him; which caused my delay of wreating to you before this. As to the matter of your last, I shall breifly relate to you what is fresh upon my memorie of the ground of that report, which your worthie

¹ From the Orig.—(Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. XLIX. No. 4.)
Brother signifies unto yow. While in our debate 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 afferited, that one of the reasons why we could not disclaim the Publick Resolutions was, leaft heirby we might barr the body of the land from ryfing in armes for the assistance of the King, in case of his invasion. Whyl 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 passid any act or declaration to that purpose. He answereared, He did not charge any of the Church Judicatures with it, he had only fayed that one of our judgement had professed so much in privat to him, which they had putt in print, and was not takin notice of by us. I answereared, That what was spoken by the suggestion of any one in privat to him, I knew not, nether came I hither to make answear for it; but if he could alleadge any thing to that purpose of the Judicatures, I was ready to make my reply according to my knowledge; but I left it to be considered, how impertinent and bloody such an allegation was in such an audience, upon the privat suggestion of any one person. This is the truth of the whole which passid as to that, which I think will not be denied by the Protesters heir. If the Lord Waristoun did mean yow, I think he hath dealt injuriously with yow upon many accounts; but he did not name yow then, nether have I since heard, by any in this place, yow wer the man he aimed at. Howbeit, I did this day read your letter to one, who hath promisid the next week to acquaint the Lord Waristoun with it. I hope it shall not much trouble yow, that through an inconsiderat heat, such an expression was uttered by the Lord Waristoun which did strike at yow, when yow considered, 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, blisst be God, they have little advantaged their own caufe, or prejudicid yow, and the other honest men who stand for the interest of Christ, with unbyassed and rationall 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 befreindit 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 fadd exercises his servants are putt to because of these, for the beft: faithfull is He who hath promised; and that I may be kept up by his strength, under this task, which yow truelie terme hard, dangerous, and wexatious, your prayers are expedit by him who commends yow to the grace which can establish and perfect yow; and is, Sir,

Your werie loving Brother in Christ,

JA. SHARP.

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

A Parcel of a Letter to Mr. James Hamilton.

However, for securitie hereafter, I pray that no syllab come to me from yow that yow care all in the Meal-merket did know, so Mr. Sharp will be at ease, and I and yow will need no excuse for our fluarie and rath efficiencie; yet I fear our too great and too wise silence is our greatest sin. I see by the English letters, which doubtles yow all must know, wherein yet my name needs not be heard, that as the moft articles of the City's Remonstrance for kingship are past, nemine contradicente, so especiallie that of religion, as weell 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 modells besides the text of Scripture, are abolished. Also, that who differ from thir shall be protected, if they worship God in Jesus Christ, and doe no civill injurie to the peace, which I think all the sects profese, Independents, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, Seekers, Arminians, Lutherans, Socinians, most of the Quakers. The only excepted are Poperie, Prelacie, and Licentiousneffe in
the abstract: but seeing popish, prelaticall, and licentious men profess the qualification, and will give securitie for this, their exclusion seems to be but of freewill, which is not durable. That this should be concluded in a Civill judicatorie for Scotland by so many of our Nationall commissioners, nemine contradicente, and in presence of our chief Protetors and grand Remonstrators, Argyle, War[ifone,] J. G[uthrie,] P. G[illeispie,] with their absolute silence, when they are clamouring the Protector for a number of small and very false accusations of our Church, not long ago would have been counted a wonder, if not impossibly. 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 persecution has never been the surest way to escape it. Any counsell to you there, much my wiser and better, I offer not. God help and direct you.

Your's,

March 30th 1657.

R. B.

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

Reverend Sir,

I have receaved laity three letters from you, expressing the great re- centment yourselfe and others have of the Provifo past heir concerning qualifications, etc. It is known what endeavours I usit to prevent the paffing of it; and, if our freinds had been in the House, or, as the House was at that time constituted, had that busines been carried by reason, and not by violence and faction, the motioning of it had been explodit with shame. I know not what may be the apprehenions of these with you of the consequences of it, and though I find that the sticklin of one heir for the paffing 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 disadvantage, being a demonftrable evidence of ther spirit and way to

* From the Orig. (Wodrow MSS. Fol. Vol. XLIX. No. 5.)—The passage at the end, inserted within brackets, appears to have been purposely omitted in Bailie's MS. In this, and the preceding letter of Sharp, his own orthography is retained.
all sober men hear, who see clearly they drive at domination and rule, and
may be satisfied with nothing lese; and doe conceive, that for all their being
reputed with yow that they have overacted and outwitted some hear, 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 highest
pinn. Sir, my opinion is, that your people would doe well to compose them-
selves to silence and patience as to what is past. The lese notice they take
of it, or noise be made about it, the lese fear they may have of the preju-
dices of it. Were yow hear at the source of effaires, yow would see that
the Protetlers and ther abettors have not such cause to boast and brag as
they doe. It is fitt they doe so, but good for us to wait on God. Doe not
think that the late transactions hear will be the measure and rule of future
actings in reference to us. Beleeve it, ther will be a greater change then
some doe imagin, though it is not to be expected that we can have a just
satisfaction to our desires in reference to our establisshed disciplin; yet doe
not think that our necks shall be put under the yoke of these men.

I had of late an large conference with the Secretary of State, and made men-
tion of the cafe of your City in particular. He promised to me that some-
what would be done speedily for rectifying of matters. If yow marre not your
own busines by unseasonable stirring, and not keeping close what may be
suggested to yow as a remedie for the present, that may be done shortlie which
will give satisfaction; towards which I shall not be wanting in my endeavours,
so far as they can reach: I cannot wye [vie] with your grandee Patrick.
[What yow did hint of your being caution for your Town, I did not take up
till 2 or 3 dayes agone, when I was so presed by your Bailie hear, that he
would thrust into my pocket five pices, that I might not come from Lon-
don without a pocket-watch. I was surprised with the motion, and could
not obtain of him to take them back. Yow would doe me a favour to wret
to him that he may take them from me, for I know not upon what account
they are given. I have not been usit to the lyke, and without budding, if I
could serve the interest of honest men with yow, I am very free to it.]

The Spirit of counsail and courage rest upon yow. I am Your's,

Ja. Sharp.

Loudon, 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 Councill: but let it not trouble yow; that enyne, 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 senfe. Your neighbour Patrick Gillespie's disease, is the maine thing has been here talked of these three weeks. For my selfe, I will he his perfon in all things weell; however, I have exceedinglie miflyked his way. If the Lord at this time remove him, we are in hazard to have his place quicklie filled with a worse. Waristoun's restless diligence will labour his friends there to put in one of his owne humour. Patrick Gillespie's wife will ply her husband's friends, Dr. Owen, etc. to obtain the Protector's order to our Councell here, to command us to make 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 aitay to obtaine from Secretary Thurloe, and others there, yea, if yow can in time, from my Lord Broghill in Ireland, such letters to the leaders of the Councell here, that they might be pleased to call for Mr. Dowglass and Mr. Dickfon, and follow their opinion in planting of that place; if so, they shall nominate a man whom they themselves, and all who are for the Presbyterian way in both nations, shall acknowledge to be als fitt for that charge, and alse

5 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 you in this also can marre the Professors designe, and further ours, it will be a notable service; and we all shall be much bound to you for it. The way and means to accomplish it, we leave to yourself: we know it will be the harder to perform, that we think it expedient to keep up the man’s name for the time. I hope you will be loath to returne before the agitators goe before you: thereafter come so soone as you 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 you to doe out your vexatious service with successe, and return you safe to us.

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

For Mr. Rous.

Sir,

I did expect to have heard from you with your Grandchild, when you sent him to us. However, upon my many obligations to you, from his first coming to this time, I have, (as I hope he will bear me witnes,) been so carefull of him in his perfon, studies, company, dyet, and all things concerned him, as it lay in my power. I purpose, God willing, to continue my oversight of him, and am glad to have the occasion to doe service to one of your so near relations: This is all I have for the time to signifie to you. Only one word concerning our brother Mr. Sharp; that so farr as you may be pleased to give credit, not so 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 best knowledge the very truth, unjustly contradicted by these men who have broken the peace of our Church, and continue, by their obstinate error, and reflefs pursuing of their oppreffive desigines, 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. 332,) was written by James Wood.
bility of healing. Had not your wisdome and equitie there been pleased to have opened one ear to our anfuers, we were afrayed they shoul'd, by your power, before this have brought on a heavy and very causelesfs perfeccion on us. As in God's mercy to us yow have not hitherto concurred with their unhappie proposals, however gilded with spesious pretences, fo our trust 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 salutes yow, praying that the Lord would continue yow yet some tyme to be instrumentall, with thefe who here have power, for the good of them in both Nations who, in quietnes, deife to serve the Lord Jesus 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 sent me, wherein yow expreffè fo much care towards one in regard of his relation to me. But if yow knew the manner of fending him to Glafigow, yow would not have thought it strange that he was not recommended to yow; for, upon some 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. Gillefsie here, learned of him the way of the College, and of bringing him into it, not knowing your interest therein, but only as a Divinitie Profeflor there. But now yow have gone fo far to take notice of him in refeect of me, I muft acknowledge myself ingaged to yow, and fhall 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 busines, I am forie that there are fuch differences between those that are fo near in spirit, and deife 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 opportunity to act further in it personallie, but am ready, if God shall give power and opportunity, to advance such a work of truth and peace as this is; and so recommending you and your Church to the grace and favour of God, and to his Spirit of unity, peace, and holiness, and remains,

Your very faithful Friend to serve you,

Whitehall, 10th [October] 1657.

F. Rous.

(L.) [For Mr. R. Baillie.] London, October 13th 1657.

Reverend Sir,

Your's from Edinburgh I did receive, but because the subject to which the purpose of it did relate, hath been since in another condition than was supposed at the writing of it, I thought you would the more easily dispense with my delay to give you a return to it. Your's of September 29th came not to my hand till October 12th in the afternoon, and that 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 straignt to a significant person of the Counsell, of whose active friendship I have had many proofs; I did acquaint him with the business: he bade me give to him the full state of the matter in writing. Accordingly I did draw [it] in paper, with the desire for a present remedie expressed in your letter: I inclosed the copie of his Highness letter you sent to me. I waited the opportunity of putting it
into his hand; when I saw he was to speak to other members of the Councell, and probably to his Highnes, 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 passed here by the knowledge of the Councell; howbeit the Lord may be pleased to order that particular (as he hath done other passages of their flickering here) for a further discoverie of the practicating domineering spirit of these men, to render them lesse capable to oppresse, if the honest men of your Town do stand to the maintaining of their just rights, and ply the Councell in Scotland. I know by letters from some of them lately sent to leading persons here, that they have both friends there and here, and hope that your Metropolitan shall not be able to bring them under his yoke: It might have been expected, that when that letter was obtained, he was in such a condition as might have barred violent, carnall, and revengefull intendments; and his co-agitators should have seen the Lord's rebuke of their injurious wayes. He intended to be at home before the day of election; but being under the Lord's arrest, he would interpole by his agents for this delay.

I have nothing now to doe at London, where my stay and toill hath been so long that I may be excused (when the Lord hath now defeated all the assaults of that faction for Church-power) if I meditate a speedy return; which I shall delay till the next week, that I may doe what I can for the service of your honest men. I was not forgetfull of them when I had occasion to speak with Mr. Secretary, and others of the Councell, these weeks past; and believe it, they have a prettie good senfe of their condition, and I think they will evidence it. I suppose you have ane account from Edinburgh, to what paffes our publick businesses is brought, to 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 country, and hath not been since at Whitehall. I doe remember my respects to your R[everend] colleagues, Mr. George Young and Mr. Hew Blair. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus rest upon you. I am, Sir,

Your's,

JA. SHARP.
I receaved one from your baillie, James Pollock, and was mindfull of his desire signified by it, though I could not prevent what was in a clancular way, here drawne from the Protecor to your Towne's prejudice; which may be in time yet remedied. These who covet to rule among you, I think doe not expect to have it by your good will. I pray yow excufe my not sending a particular returne to him, to whom I desire my service to be remembred; his ufage 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 Glafgow. Upon my representation of their case in paper to some of the Councell, they dealt so effectually in the busines, as by the Councell's order here, it is whollie referred to be determined by the Councell of Scotland, but with this 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 speake this day with Mr. Secretary concerning it, who hath asfured, that it is so as above written; which is the expresion in terminis uttered by him to me this afternoon. If Mr. Gillefpie, upon his return, make any buftling in that matter, your honoest men need not be discouraged from prosecuting their just rights by all he can doe, either there or here. Let them use their moyen with their friends in the Councell, at Edinburgh; and if they apprehend any hazard by the power of some there, let them labour for a delay of hearing of the busines before the Councell till it please the Lord to bring me home, (which I hope will be within 20 dayes at fartheft), and then I may truft they shall get no wrong. I know not what the faction with yow doe bragg; 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 suppoze: the Lord our God is holy and true, and will not allwayes further crooked designs.
It is not fitt your Towne take any notice at all of me in this buis-
ness, I shall be ready to doe them any service upon an juft and honest 
account I befeek you, Sir, communicate nothing of this letter to any but 
such as yow truft for secrecie. The Lord's Spirit and prefence be with yow. 
I am your's, in Chrift, 

JA. SHARP.

London, November 21ft, in hafte, 1657.

(N.) [For Mr. R. Baillie.]

Reverend Sir,

While I am here in towne I receave 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 Council here: I cannot upon all occasions folicite 
them at times when my being with them may be taken notice of; but I hope 
the refult of the Council, 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 Council, since my laft coming to toune. I shall only 
fay this, that those among yow are much miftaken 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 Councill feverallie in it, and had affurances from 
them of what now is made good by their order; and if your honest men fhall 
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 prevaill with them to swerve from their liberties in the laeft, 
they have themselves to blame for future inconveniences. One of the Council 
told me, he had fatisfied Major Darnie [Dorney] with what was done. This is 
but a hint in hafte to yourself, which I hope yow will not make known as come 
from me; but believe it, there is no caufe why your honest men shoulde in the 
laeft recede from their way in owning their juft rights, and though I doe not 
make much dinn in businesse of that nature, yet I have matter to blefs the
Lord I have not been altogether useless in serving so just an interest. I must lay it upon you to make my excuse to your Magistrates and Council that I have not given them a return to their letter. I pray you, as you 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 haste.

Remember my respects to Mr. George Young. Go on in your way of election where no scandal is made out to incapacitate any by the Act of qualifications.

(P.) For his Reverend Brother Mr. James Sharp, Minister at Creell[Crail].

James,

How our Towne's business will go on Tuesday I know not: my neighbour is as high as ever. If it goe wrong we must be on you again. In Mubbot's letter, the last week, from London, to the Governour of our town, I see the Council of England are on an oath of renouncing of Charles Stewart's interest: This, to me, is point-blank a renouncing of our Covenant and Oath to God; if this be not prevented, it is a ground of.fore persecution only for conscience. If we act any thing against the present power, let them doe to us as they find cause; but if we refuse ane new oath renouncing an old, whilk the last Parliament of England drew on us to keep them from ruine, and so to lay a foundation for Cromwell's present power, our sufferings for this may be heavie, but unworthy to come from them who drew us to the first oath, which we cannot renounce, though they have done it. If your power be any thing worth with Broghill, Thurloe, or any other, I humbly intreat you to prevent this great mischief, a most needless ground of trouble only to tender consciences: to others, oaths are nought but cobwebs. I have given you a warning; this course will undo many whom you love, and me with the first, for any thing I know: do in this what you may. This, taken in tyme by you, may easilly be remeeded: but if the Protector be once engaged in this persecution most needless, he will not be so easilly brought off
it as he was from the idle oath of tender. Who cares now for an oath but a few quiet conscientious men, who will never trouble the present government, if it trouble not them.

Your's to serve yow.

Glaugow, 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 fee; but none calling for it, I would not be officious to obtrude it to any; only, Sir, I send it to yow, who made the motion of it to me, to be made ufe 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 these of our Acts wherein indeed we were unanimous, I doe testifie, that I did consent and subscryve not only that Act of the Colledge, allowing to Mr. Gillespie three thousand merks for his first service to us at London, but also to the Act allowing him, during his lifetime, the half of the profits of the Bishoprick of Galway that should be by his pains and diligence augmented; and likewise for his procuring of our last gift, I did most willingly subscryve ane Act for a gratuitie to him of three hundred pound sterling, out of the first and readiest incumes of that gift: That my consent and hand was to all this, I am very willing yow assure, in my name, any whom yow shall hear to doubt of it.

May 3d [1658.]

[Robert Baillie.]

7 Rector of the College of Glasgow. This short note probably enclosed the one that follows it: See the postscript to Baillie's subsequent letter to Spang, (infra, p. 371-373,) respecting Gillespie's disputes with the College and Town of Glasgow.
Cousin,

That which oft I promised yow, a large account of our affairs this twelve moneth past, yow have it, but in a confused way for want of leasure. Our Church hes been prettie quiet, our troubling Remonstrants not having yet prevailed with the English to get authoritie from them to exercize their tyrannie among us. The great instrument of God to crofs 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 Intructions, subservyed, and at first seen almost only by three, Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. David Dick, and Mr. James Wood. The Remonstrants agreed not very weell among themselves. My Lord Wariftoun, Mr. Gillefpie, and Mr. Guthrie, thefe three refleff heads, looked not one way. But after the affronts Mr. Gillefpie received from the Synod of Lothian; and my Lord Wariftoun's dometick straites had made him content, contrare to his former resolutions, to embrace his prior place of Regifter from his Highnes; and Mr. Guthrie's continuall vexation by Mr. Simpfone his colleague; and Mr. Simpfone of Airth being provocked by the Synod of Perth's meddling with the great scandall of the fatherles child, reflecting fore on him, they resolved at laft to goe up together, and openly to petition his Highnes for all their desires.

When the Synod of Glafgow had taken off the cenfure of the Generall Assemblie from Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and Mr. James Naefsmith, in the strange way I wrote to yow of before, that partie thought it advantageous to them to have that act of Glafgow acknowledged by the other Synods. For this end they resolued to fend Mr. Gillefpie correpondent from Glafgow to the Synod of Lothian: they thought they would not refufe him for many caufes; and if they admitted him, it was a leading cafe to the other Synods to pafte from the act of the Generall Assemblie in its cenfure without all satisfaction. That meffage was not much to the mind of Mr. Gillefpie himfelf, but Mr. John

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8 This letter has no date in the MS. but it appears to have been written in June 1658.
Carftares and others would needs have it put upon him. When he came, his 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 efcewed all dinn, being unwilling to enter in contest; but Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie’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 wes for referring it to a committee to be cognosced on, he took it fo ill, that he broke out in a railing, telling them, “Their fword was but of wood, and their arme was broken,” and much more evill language; to which Mr. Dowglaff gave ſtout and ſharp replies. I knew this irritation would not be eafilie forgott; it was a ſpur for their voyage to London.

There was a very foule ſcandal 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 Remonſtrant preſbyterie of Stirling,) takes the woman’s confeffion, in face of the congregaſion, 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 deſcpolator (both written by Mr. James Simpson’s hand) as of a corrupt judicatory. 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 fee; but it was ſuch as some of their owne, as Mr. John Carſtares, and others, refuifed to ſubſcryve: we may know it by their propoſalls, (B.) which to the very laſt they preſſed to obtaine 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 Afſemblie-men and Remonſtrants, who ſhould have power to determine all differences in planting and purging in all the Preſbyteries of the bounds.

2. That there ſhould be a committee of deſeges from all the Synods, of equall number of Afſemblie-men and Remonſtrants, to determine finallie all differences eccleſiaſtick in the whole land. 3. That the Protector ſhould no‐minate a committee to plant kirks, and that the power of giving of ſlipends in all vacand churches ſhould be in this committee. 4. That the Parliament
should renew the Act of Clauses, to the end the places of civill power should be in the hands of their party. The last they obtained, for Lieutenant-General Lambert, and the Generall-Majors in the Parliament were much their friends; and others, whom their diligent agents Garthland and Tweddall made for them. At first their motion was rejected; but thereafter, when our friends were out of the house, they got it past in an additional proposition. It was intended chiefly for the changing of our Glasgow 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 affureances 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 toune, a letter from the Protector to suspend the new election of magistrates in our burgh till farder order. Our late magistrates, with the concurrence almoft 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 sollicitation, they could obtaine nothing at all. One of the caufes of frustrating their hopes was, that the London ministers was flatly for us against them. You see what information I writ up to Mr. Ashe, a prime citie minifter, 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 favours of his partie; but after both his and mine were read, and Mr. Sharp with his five opposites had been heard at length, in diverse meetings of the Citie ministers, all of them professed their disatisfaction with the way of the Remonstrants, and satisfaction with our proceedings. Mr. Wood had drawne a Representation of our differences, which Mr. Hutchifon, in his smoothing, to my fene, had something enervat, not only in its sharpnes, but vigour. This Mr. Sharp did print at London; which (since these too readie scribes have not answered,) did us much good with all intelligent men.

The Remonstrants, finding no Presbyterian friends, plyed hardlie the Sectaries, did pray oft with them both privately and publicfly, so that with all their power thefe befriended them; I mean Dr. Owen, Lockier, Caryll, and
other Independents: Lieutenant-General Lambert and Fleetwood, with the great officers of the armie, most anabaptists, were affectionately for them. At last the Protector, being wearied, did name a duodenarie committee to hear both, and report their judgment to the Councell. Mr. Sharp refused to appear as being a mere private man, having no commission to transact anything of public concernment to the Church of Scotland; but being charged at the second meeting, he appeared, and gave such answers to his opposites challenges, that they could get nothing there for a good tyme. Of the twelve, six were conceived to be presbyterians, and the rest enemies to our church-discipline. Of the first fort none kepted but one, Mr. Manton; the others kepted weell, and were readie at last to report to the Councell their advyce to grant all the defires of the Remonstrants, as they had reason, being avowed adversaries to our church-government. When it was at this nick, Mr. Afhe, by his letters, procured Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Cooper, two presbyterians, who had been named on the committee, to meet; they, with Mr. Manton, after a new full hearing, were so well satisfied with Mr. Sharp's replyes, that they drew up their judgement by way of testimonie, (E.) against the Remonstrants desyres. This wrought so upon the Councell, that they resolved not to interpose in our debates, only to write a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Traill, and Mr. Stirling, to agree at home among ourfelves; yet in this letter, by cannie conveyance of their friend Mr. Scobell, (I think,) clerk to the Councell, they had gotten foifted in a very hurtfull claue, that where there was difference about stipends, it should be determined by the testimonie of four named in Mr. Patrick Gillespie's ordours, which the Parliament had expressly abolished. That claue was represented both to the Protector and Councellors to be so unreasonable, that it is like there shall no letter at all be sent to us. The storme we were afraid for, by God's mercy, for a tyme is put by; but how soon it will waken again, we doe not know.

Mr. James Guthrie left them before they came to their greatest contest, whether for want of moneys, or difference among themselves, I know not, though they put all the ministers of their mind in our bounds to pay, at the first, forty shillings sterling, for their maintenance, and all of their partie, men and women, to a voluntarie contribution; whence, out of Glafgow, some say, there went up one hundred and eighty pounds sterling; 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. Alfo, they say, they agreed not so weell among themselves: certaine it is that Mr. Guthrie opposed my Lord Warifloun's refuming his place of Regifter. If it had been upon both their profefled principle of the unlawfullnes to take places subordi-
nate to an unlawfull power, I could the better have excused it; but Mr. Guthrie, (as one, who should have known it with the beft, informed me) with all his power, did labour secretely to get that place to his confident friend Swintoun, with the burden of a yearly pension of three hundred pound sterling out of it to Warifloun; I know not what to fay to it. However Mr. Guthrie left them in the mids, having obtained nothing but a pension of a hundred pound sterling to his colleague Mr. Rule, out of the treafurie of vacant flipends, the fpoil of other churches, which is now dryed up. My Lord Warifloun is now also returned, having, with his place, obtained the moft of the Regifters which were carried out of the betrayed (as many fay) Caftle of Edinburgh to the Tower of London.

Mr. Gillefpie remains there forely fick, some think in diſpleafure that his defyres were not granted. However, at his laft going to Hamptoun Court, he got no speech of the Protector: if this grieved him, I know not; but he went immediately from Hamptoun Court to Wombledoun, Lambert's houfe, being Saturday night; and haveing ingaged to preach on Sunday morning, before fermon, he had five flooole, and, after his painfull preaching, fourcore before he refled; thereaft, for many dayes, a great flux and feaver, togetheer with the breach of an hulcer in the guts, put him to the very brink of death. Many thought it the evident hand of God upon him, and would not have forrowed for his death. For myself, I was grieved, forefeeing the hurt of our Colledge by his removeall. He had obtained from the Protector to us, all the benefices of the whole Chapter of the diocefe of Glaſgow; alfo the Abbacy of Corfregall, and fundrie other things, which, jure devoluto, fell in the Protector's power. This gift he could have made advantageous to us; but, as I fufpeft, no other man fhall make any thing of it: beside, 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 fingular 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 should
have been more unpleasent; so that, after some weeks desperat diseaife, when his flux and feaver began to abate, I was glad, and wifhed 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 againft that evill, if he could; but how all thefe things will goe, a little tyme will inform us. If he remove, my defire would be for Mr. Sharp, or failing him, for Mr. Fergusfon: for myself, 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 get Mr. Durhame in it, or Mr. Young, that his profeffion 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 reflfles humour of that partie at home was somewhat quiet, waiting for the iflue. Our Synod of Glaſgow, whether for want of matter, or being deferted and contefmed by many, has paft this year without dinn. Mr. Robert Semple of Lifmahegu's foule proceed 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 fcandalls, is not fo much as challenged. Mr. Harrie Semple, a busy agent for them, prevented his proceed 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, Dowglafs, and other places, moft where that faction has been troublefome. Thus does our Church affairs ftand.

For our State, all is exceeding quiet: A great armie, in a multitude of garrifons, bydes above our head, and deep povertie keeps all eftates exceedingely at under; the taxes of all forts are fo great, the trade fo little, that it's marvell if extreme scarcity of money end not, ere long, in fome mischief. What came out doors of the Parliament was this: All who came thither were complying and confident men, and none more readie to ferve his Highnefs, in every thing, than all that came from Scotland: if any were doubted, they were hold[en] off till their commiffions were weell examined. The maliciouſnefs of the faction with us keept out Commiffar Lockhart, commiffioner for Glaſgow, a large moneth: yet at laſt, by Ambaffador Lockhart's letter from France, he got in. The great work at firſt was, to settle the excife, and maintainance for the army; a vaſt 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 faftest friends, not above five, that the city should petition the Parliament to advise 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 House 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 fo oft printed before, that it could not goe doune at first with them. That which made some of them, especiallie their head, Lambert, fo adverse, was his owne evident intereft; for in all men’s eyes he was the heir-apparent to the Protector’s power; but the Kingship cutted him off clearlie from that hope. About this, many sharpe debates were in the House and out of the House 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 citie, as if Charles Stewart had employed them for a present 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 poyfoning 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 imprifoning of Sir Harie Vaine in Cairbrugh [Carisbrooke] castle, and Generall Major Harifon, did quicklie evanish: But that which inclined the most to further the Protector’s Kingship, was their expectation of a regular government thereby, without the perpetuating of a militarie rule by the sword, to which fo vaft and arbitrarie charges would allways 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 also were glad of a professed and open royaltie, hoping, in tyme, it might further the returne of these whom they counted the lawfull heirs of the Crowne.

When the Protector, as they faid, was willing to have come, and declared his willingnes to accept, after much debate, private and publick, of the
article of Kingship, alse weell as the rest of the advyce, that same morning his good-fon Fleetwood came to him, with some papers, affurreing a strong combination in the armie to oppofe that motion. Upon the which affrightment, his Highnefs went to the painted chamber, and called the Houfe to fhw 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 beft and moft intime counfellers, Broghill and Thurloe, thought this a great error; yet it feems it was the beft expedient: for at that time Lambert and the Generall-Majors power was fo great, both in the Houfe and Armie, that if their obstinacie 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 moft feomnly inftalled 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 fermon and feaft. In all the action the French and Dutch Ambaffadors ftood on his two hands, congratulating in their masters name. The hearts of many were forie to fee in effect all the Kingship eftablifhed on Cromwell in peace. Yet this did not fatiffie; 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 paff in Parliament a right of a thoufand pound a year for his good service. All men expected that when fo easfly Lambert was quaffed, the next feffion of Parliament would have quickly made Cromwell King; yet it did not sooner meet but great mifcontentments were apparent: the Houfe of Lords, according to the petition and advyce, did fit; Manchester and many would not fitt: Caflilis difdained it; there was no more Peers for Scotland but Wariffoun 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 queftions 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 stickling so high, after a few dayes fitting, they were dissolvd; the Protector calling to God to judge betwixt him and them, and they saying, Amen. In his speech, he attested God he had rather choen at a wood-fyde to have keaped sheep, than have undertaken the office he had, if the love of the people's peace had not constrained him: he assured of Charles Stewart's readines to come from Flanders with an army, and sundrie lifting men for him in London. A storme after this was expected, some prodigies seeming to foretell it: a little after his inital, a magazine of powder blowing up many houses and persons; about the house in Fogo-muir, near Duns-Law, in December, an army of pickmen appearing to many; and some dayes after, some thousands of canon, in a formall shape, for many dayes being seen by many, both English and Scots, made of the snow without the hand of man. For all this, nothing to this day is seen but a deep peace.

It's expected a new Parliament may be called, and sundrie hyres are said to be forming petitions to his Highnes to accept of the title of King. Many in the army, both in Scotland and England, are cast out; but who remaine, writ up their supplication, encouraging the Protector to proceed; it's thought, on the councell's act and armie's petition, the Crown shall be put on, and confirmed by the next Parliament. They speake 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 marvels how this can be; for the English navie is readie about that place to fink 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; bside that, the moft who proseffe themselves for the King among us, or over sea are of so exceeding ill principles and humour, that few do wish to be under their power.

For our more private affaires, thus they stand: The Magistrates of our towne have guided their affaires much better than they wont to be here, or any where this day in Scotland; by a voluntar fleton on the malt, they have payed near two hundred thousand merks, or a verie great soume of debt left by the former Remonstrants, by buying the Gorbals, Craig's, Blantyr's teinds, &c. at great rates. They have payed the English maintainance, so that no man, these three or four yeares, of greatest burden, hes been fletoned
to a shilling. They have made the Laigh-Church as good as new; bigged a fair grammar schooll, a fair mill, and two wells, in the heart of the towne. For all this, Mr. P. Gillespie, fo soone as recovered from his deadly disease, informes the Protector of them as so misshent men, that he obtains an order to flop them to proceed at Michaelmas in their ordinarie election. When we heard of it, we writ to Mr. Sharp, who took such course about it at London that his returne was, we needed [not] care for it, for it could not prejudice us; for, indeed, Mr. Patrick Gillespie’s carriage at London was fo high, vain, and fumptuous, that he became to be milyked; and his frequent familiar walking with Lambert, and some idle speeches, of the Remonstrants power to raise in Scotland twenty-four thousand able yeomen for the good cause, reported to the Protector, added nothing to his credit; yet when he came to Edinburgh in his coatch from London, with his horse of twenty-five pieces 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 Glasgow. Mr. Douglaſs and Mr. Dickfon, on my letters, had dealt with the counsellers against Mr. Patrick’s oppressing and calumnious accusations. The Proveift and Clerk of Edinburgh, and other friends, dealt in the same, seeing Glasgow’s cafe would be a leading one to all Scotland. So for all that Wariftoun, Swintoun, Argyle, and the rest of the faction could doe, little could be obtained against us; only our folks, being foolishlie confident, went too soone home, and in their absence, Mr. Patrick obtains an commiſſion to try and report what could be objected against the magistrates and counsellers. On the commiſſion were five, Major Dorney, a fectarian preacher, but in time with that partie, the Governour of the Castle of Dumbartane, an anabaptift, as they say, Lieutenant-Colonell Simons, Commiffar Lockhart, and young [Hamilton of] Orbifloun. At their first meeting, their proceeding was fo illegall, that Orbifloun and Lockhart refuifed against it, and refuifed to fitt. Our Magistrates appealed to the Councell, and refuifed to anſwer; notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick moved the three English fojours to proceed, as they did, till they had sworne and heard all they pleafed, on proveift, bailies, and moft of the counfell; against some they fware about fourtie witneſſes without 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 designes of the exceeding busie and bold Remonftrants defeat; that the Protector had difmiffed him with very good words, affuring he fhould be loath to grant any thing to our prejudice. He commended himfelf in his laft speech to four of us in particular, and by name twyfe, Mr. Douglafts, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Blair, and me, professing his forrow that he was a fumbling-block to us. The reafon of this kindness, I take to be, 1. My Lord Broghill and Secretar Thurloe's reports of us; 2. That the Prefbyterian partie in England who adheres to us is exceedingly great and strong, and, after the armie, is the Protector's chief eftrength againft the Sefctaries, who generallie are out of conceit of him; 3. That our adversaries are found but unconfiderable, and a headie partie, much joyning with the way of his adversaries. However, we bleffed God, that by Mr. Sharp's labours, was keeped off us for a tyme a much feared fiorne: At his coming from London, he appointed a correspondence with one Major Beak, a zealouf Presbyterian, for affifting us in what we might have to doe.

We appointed Mr. Wood to draw a short declaration of our willingness to have any tollerable peace with the Remonftrants, if fo, for tyme to come, they would promise to be submiffive to the eftablithe government: this now is printed, (G.); but they fcirp at all we can doe or fay for peace, except we fubject ourfelves to their good pleafure. There was something moved in our laft meeting of a few, to doe a little more for ingaging the Protector: I crufted the motion at the beginning, inveighing againft it; fo for the time it's dead.

At this tyme, Mr. P[atr]ick G[illefpie] was diligent to get his accusations closed in Glasgou, [before] the three Sojours with their clerk James Porter, (the factious clerk catholicke of fynod, prefbyterie, common fession, and the five particular fessions, and of every committee they have,) Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Spreul instructing every witnefs as they thought fitt. When all was ended, they went to the Councell with the depofitions; but finding the Counsell not fo ready as they expected to goe their way, Mr. Gillefpie takes himfelf to a new way, wherein he was like to have obtained all their designe. Their crafts-baillie, John Hall, a wavering and volage man, albeit the Proveift's nephew, fuffered his lightnefs to be abufed, and to tell all the evill tales he could of his colleagues. Walter Neilfon, deacon-conveener, Mr. G[illefpie's]
speciall enemie, against whom was more deponed of too much drinking and profanitie than any three of their companie, in his ambition to continue in office, was willing to joyne in a clanculary way with the former to serve Mr. G[illespie's] deignes; and above all, W. Anderfone, imploved 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. [Gillespie's] and Mr. John Spreul's directions, had laid it so cunningly, that it was a marvell their plott miscarried. 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 desires, that he might seem to have some hand in that he could not help, puts in a supplication that all should be sent home in peace, and accusations laid by, as hopeful they would make a new election, which shou'd be right and acceptable; the Councell, nothing the more for this supplication, but on Mr. Sharp and other foliftation, 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 choose according to their priviledges. The day before the election, and no sooner, they fand out Mr. Patrick's new plott, and fundrie of them went about to prevent it the best might be. When they came to the election, they carried not only that W. Anderfone shou'd not be on the lite to be Proveift, but shou'd have no place in Councell, as being neither merchant nor craftman: they got John Anderfone of Dowhill, proveift, [John] Walkinshaw and James Barnes, baillies, James Campbell, dean of gild, John Hall put off the councell, and all made close 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 disappomtment, Mr. Gillefpie and his partie are inrag'd: they fend back new supplications to the Councell against an irregular election; they obtained summons against fourteen to anwer to the former depotions; and now both parties are in Edinburgh to plead this caufe: the event yet is uncertain, and both are very confident to get their desires. The chief of the Toune-Councell are John Bell and John Walkinshaw, right wife, diligent, and bold men, who hes had many shrewd rancounters with Mr. Gillefpie 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 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-business for the Town, he took off them fiftie pieces; and for some gift he procured to the Colledge, bevyde 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 fix thousand merks out of the Colledge rent at a time, when not only there was not any thing to pay the Masters stipends, but in the mids of the year there was nothing to pay the masters and burfars boord; and as if this had not been enough, beside near three thousand merks of depurments for compts of things needless to the Colledge, he took ane other gift from the Colledge, for the same service, of three hundred pound sterling, to be payed out of the first and readiest of any thing came in of his last gift; he professing, at the receiving of the Act for it, that when all was payed to him, he was still a loser in his last journey, wherein few doubted but he spoke truth in regard of his hudge waste. His partie, who employed him to London, contribute to him above one hundred and fifty pound sterling, which they supposed should have sufficed for his charges; and the Protector gave him two hundred pound sterling, which he supposed should liberallie have defrayed him; yet all did it not. They say that never Bishop in Scotland lived at so high a rate; and the maine cause why he meddled to have his own faction in the magistracie, was his assurance, that these who now are in place, when they come to audit the Colledge counts, will not allow but complaine of his vaft and unreasonable charge. This, and much more, they threaten himself to libell against him: How all will go we will hear shortly. However, he hes wakened a very great strife among our people, who without him would have been quiet.

Aberdeen will never be out of some fire. Mr. Meinzies being wearied of his Independency, seems content to return to the Presbyterie and Synod; yet Mr. Cant and he hes continuall fighting from the same pulpit, till at last
Mr. Cant is removed, 1 in small reputation. But before his death, his son, Mr. Andrew [Cant,] publickly had fould flytings with Mr. Meinzieis, in the schooles, before all the schollers; whereof Mr. Meinzieis 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 Libris, wherein Mr. Meinzieis follows Twifle and Rhetorford πρὸδος; the other oppoves these exprefibly, and goes too farr the Arminian and Molinifts way: however, that plea has made much din.

In St. Andrews there is no more concord. The plea about Mr. Wood’s fetting in the Provoftrie of the Old Colledge is fcarce fetled, till a worfe does arise about the planting of his place in the New. While he and Mr. Sharp are too lingering in putting in it Mr. Scougale, 2 a good and noble scholler, minifter of Lewchers, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, at Mr. Rutherfurd’s defyre, gets secretly the Protecor’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 3 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 fucceeded Mr. Lightoun in his miniftrie at New-bottle; where my Lord Lothian, his earneft caller, and many of the people, became quickly so unkind to him, in his stipend and other duties, that he was outweareried with them. His father, 4 or rather Mr. Dowglas, moved my Lord Broghill to defire the Toune-Councell to prefent him to the vacant place

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1 In the margin of the MS. Baillie has added, “This was generally reportit, but yit he lives.” After the Restoration, in consequence of various proceedings, Mr. Andrew Cant, senior, withdrew from his ministerial charge in Aberdeen, and died about the year 1664. His son, in 1675, became Principal of the University, and one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.
2 Mr. Patrick Scougall, son of Sir John Scougall of Scougall, was minister of Leuchans in Fife. He was minister of Dariie in 1636; translated to Leuchans in 1645; from thence to Saltoun in 1658; and consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1664.
3 Mr. Robert Leighton, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, and Archbishop of Glasgow.
4 Mr. David Dickson, Professor of Divinity. His son was appointed Professor of Hebrew, 3d September 1656.
of the Hebrew Tongue; which accordingly was done, and he settled there in Mr. Lightoun's absence at his yearly progress to London: on his return he flikked 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. Gillepie'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 film-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 angers Mr. Lightoun not a little; but all is quiet, for the minifteric there of our mind, carie all things quietly and wisely, without much noife. In the Toune Counsell there is too much, and seen divifion, the young Proveifh carryng all over the Clerk and others with a proud high hand, to the Toune's hurt, as I hear.

We grieve for sundry unhappy accidents and sudden deaths among us. My Lord Killmars, a moft gallant youth of nineteen years, among the tallest men of the Ifle, in a few dayes ficknefs of a purple feaver, died. My nephew, my belte friend in Glafgouw, the strongeft 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 fifter. Young Dughall, a very fine 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 Rofs, a good young youth, as was supposèd, fallen in adulterie with his child's nurfe. The Earl of Eglintoun's heir, the Mafter Montgomrie, 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 Balcloogh'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 maried Sir William Balfour's second daughter; as my Lord Paflay, the other year, loft himself, in marrying, at London, a daughter of

5 William Lord Kilmours, eldest son of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn.
6 Porterfield of Duchal.
7 Alexander, eldest son of Hugh Lord Montgomery, after whose death he succeeded to the title of Earl of Eglintoun.
8 James, eldest son of James, second Earl of Abercorn.
Sir John Lenthal, who had born to Sir William Fleming some children; and my Lord Kenmure cast himself away, in that same place, on a foolish marriage which will accomplish the ruine of his familie.

The Earle of Rothes is put in the castle on a most shamefull occasion: My Lord Howard's sister matched with my Lord Balgony, Rothes's sister's son, Generall Leslie's yoe; this Howard's wife, a very light woman, came to make a visit to Fife, where her carriage everywhere was exceeding wanton; Rothes openly bare her too much company, to the offence of many. However, about that tyme she is gotten with child, which she bears at London: her husband, finding that he had not been near her for three or four moneths from her conception, falls in an outrageous jealously with her; suspeets my Lord Bellaffis, whom his brother fights in that quarrell: but suspeets Rothes more, and in a rage pofts towards Scotland to fight Rothes. The Protector hearing of it, caufes follow and apprehend Howard, and sends an order in hafe to secure Rothes in the Castle of Edinburgh; where yet he lyes in great infamie.

My Lord Forster [Forrester,] on a great suspicion of incest with his wife's sister, 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 speechless for a long tyme: his death fundry dayes was expected, but blessed be God, I hear this day he was better. My Lord Toftes, 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. LXXXIII.

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 less than a quarter of ane hour. My Lord Balcolmie, the best Judge we had, going in well to the Tolbooth, before he sat downe on the bench, fell dead immediatlie. Sundry 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 well 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 well. Only good Mr. Durhame has kept his chamber above these four moneths, and his bed more than this moneth, of a lent feaver and defluction, that puts his life in great hazard: in the absence of Mr. Patrick Gillefpie more than a year, and Mr. Robert M'Quare [M'Ward] seeking his health at London, a great burden of continuall preaching lay on him, and the perfecting of his work on the 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 ablest men in Britaine. Our good friend, Mr. William Wilkie, unhappilie, by a wrong step on the street, fell and broke his leg, which yet, after some moneths, is not whole.

I blefs God for his kindnes to myself, my health and chearfullnes continues. Being married October 1st [1656], it pleased God, the 15th of July thereafter, to give me a fair daughter, Margaret, who yet is well. 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 eldest daughter to Mr. Hew Blair's son, minister near Lithgow. I took all these for favours from God; only my son Mr. Robert's long sicknes troubles me; he has a fore paine in his belly after a flux, that as yet we cannot get cured, but I hope God shall be mercifull to me in his delivery. Harie is a hard student beside myself, and profits well. The rest of my children thryve, and are well, and these are spurrs in my side to

6 Sir James Learmonth of Balcolmie, a Lord of Session, died 26th June 1658.
7 Durham's Commentary on the Book of Revelation was published at London 1658, folio, but it was posthumous. Baillie prefixed to it a commendatory letter, which will be inserted in the Appendix.
8 Mr. William Eccles of Kildonan, soon after this became Minister of Ayr, but was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. See the account of Baillie's Life, prefixed to this work.
9 By her first husband, Mr. Robert Wilkie, one of the Ministers of Glasgow.
mind God's service. I hope to get my 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 wish heartlie were on that subject. These three years of absence from Presbyterie and Synod, has given me great peace be I wont to have. I know no how long I shall get this quietness enjoyed.

The publick affaires, as reprezentated 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 unkindness to the Britifh familie, and that of Orange, their needles provocations oft of Sueden, by open favoursing all his enemies, and drawing to their power Brandenburg from him; alfo their too strait allyance with Spaine, and neglect of France, portends no good, though their successe against the Portugall ships, in the very bay of Lifbone, and their boating of the Bishop of Munfter unto a peace with the City, were very pleasant to us. They are a very noble member of the Reformed Church, which we pray God to help and blefs; albeit their State feems to f tand 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 inables the Venetians so long to hold up with the great Turk, and are sorry for their losse this year, both of Tenedos and Lemnos, and what elfe 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 Mulcoviter had been ftoated by his father-in-law; but it feems it was but a fable. We are glad that all his aflayes against Sweden are proven fruitlefs.

It feems 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-peice, what did they but courfed about? Montmedy, Bourburgh, and Mardick, are but three fecklefs bicocks; the getting of Heldin recompences weell the losf 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 lost Olivenza, yet glad that all the Spaniſh power could obtain no more. It seems the Spaniſh patience has sent home the English navy without all fruit of their three or four yeares fumpuous attendance, but the loffe of Blake their general. As for the burning of some vefſels in the Canaries, it was no great busineſs, since now all the plate seems to be come home without impediment. Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie preached before the Protecor, in his velvet rarelie cut caſſick, a very flattering thankſgiving for that signall service, thanking God for the great reformation of the Church.

That young prince which Spaine has beſtōn 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 myſelf, since the battell of Lipſick, I have loved the house of Sweden to this day above all foreigners, and by the strange succefſes God gives to their valour, I expect more good to the Church from them than from any others; however that unhappe Christina's apoftacie, and after ſuccesſiſes, has grieved my heart. I was very glad that the inceftuous Cardinall Caſimir's crown, which his foolifh and weak head could not bear, firſt, by a generall conſent of the Polonifh nation, and then by many signall victories over them, who retraeted their fwayne conſent, was lyke to be settled on Charles, fo active, wise, and succefſfull a prince; when the ſtrong conſederacie of Aſtria, Pole, Moſco, and others, raifed that hideousſome on him, I was grieved and feared. But moſt of all, my diſſaine was againſt the Dane, whole 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 honestlie, draw Charles from Caſimir upon himſelf. Who can pitie him in all his prefent fufferings? 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 allædged, 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, allædges nothing of that loffe, I marvelled, since all elfe he proponeſ feems lighter than what Charles objected to Caſimir at his breach with him. It feems strange, that Charles, with a handſfull of men, has fo easily poſſefſed 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 sensible. Strange that neither the Auffrians, nor Poles, nor Muscoviters, 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 wisdome 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 Swedifh armies, which the Lord forbid; for after Sweden, we love Brandeburgh next beft. 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 promifed their crowne to the Auffrian for his prejudice. Our wish is that the Muscoviter, for reforming of his churches, civilifeing of his people, and doing some good upon the Turks and Tartars, were more straitly allyed with Sweden, Brandeburgh, the Tranfyllvania, and other Protestant Princes.

We should rejoice if, on this too good a quarrell against the Auffrians, in stirring up the Dane to invade Breme, which the peace of Munfter gave to the Swede, he would turn his victorius army upon them and their affociats with the affidance of France and a good Dutch league. It seems no hard matter to get the Imperiall crowne, and turne the Ecclefiaftick Princes into secular Protestants.

A long tract of dreames I have on the succes of Charles, if God help him to begin where his heroick uncle Gustave left, but all these I put in God's hands, who knoweth his own appointments. I expect out of thecommotions which the Lord lets be now on the earth, his Majestie will be pleased to work out what he has promifed of inlargeing his Son's kingdome, of the bringing in the Jews, of abolifhing Poperie and Mahometifme. And alfo, I pray and hope for the reflitution of our sweet Princes to their owne, by the means himself knowes, though invisible yet to men.

Postscript.

While these lye long bedefide me on the occasion I write to yow, I add now
this further. Mr. Gilleipie and our Toune's-folk had sundry 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 unsufficiency for his place, and maladministration of the rents of the Colledge. This put him in a very high rage, for he imagined, that whatever libells he gave in against other, no man durst have been so bold as to have libelled him. So soone as he came to Glafgouw, it was his first care to call a Facultie, and shew us the libell, defyring we would joyne in a testimonie to clear him of it. All the rest were most willing to give him superlative commendations: I told them, I regrated these needles contefts betwixt him and the toune, which he had drawn on himself by his persevering of them both at home and abroad with great eagerness, that they did not concerne us; for myself, at his entrie, I had protested of his unfitness for the Principall's charge, which under my hand did stand in the records of the Councell, which I could not contradict; for the other articles I should be willing to testifie any thing was true; however, I 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, so simple as he could devise, for my satisfaction, as he said; but I shew him a number of clear untruths in it, which I could not attest. So excusing myself, the Facultie, without me, did write their testimonie, and appointed Mr. John Young and Mr. A. Burnett to present it to the Councell, together with a testimonie from diverse of the students of divinitie; the common Seflion of the Toune did send George Porterfield with one other, but verie impertinently drawne; the town infifted in their petition to be heard, to prove their lybell; the Councell sent all home, advising to agree among themselves against such a day, otherways all should have a hearing. Mr. Gilleipie's spirit permitted him not to speak of agreeance, while he lay under the infamie and scorne of their lybell, and so negleected to make an overture to that end. When the day came, the Commiffioners from the towne were earnest to have their lybell put to probation; the first draught of it had been but extemporall, by John Bell's hand; but then, more advisedlie, Mr. Robert Govean had put it in a farr better frame. Mr. Gilleipie and his partie imputed this to me and Mr. George Young. He denyes his part in it: I avowed my affifting to my power, by my letters to my friends of our towne, in their just 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 so long and so violently Mr. Gillefpie had been libelling them without cause; but for myself, their first paper I never faw 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 ftood 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 miftake, as I did many others: for any thing in the libell, they needed no my information, for all was notour to many, as well as to me. However, Mr. John Young, the Colledge commiffioner, was very earneft in Edinburgh, with our town's-folk not to preffe it furder; their friends alfo of the Councell preffed them to the fame; fo they were content to let it hing over his head for a tyme, till they fee if he move any thing furder againft them, which he threatens he will doe; but they doe not now regard his utmoft endeavours.

Mr. Durhame yet continues extrimely fick, much regrated by all: no man looks for his life. 7 My sweet boy Rab, on Tuesday May 25th, was removed to my very fore and juft grief. 8 All who knew him bore witnes of his pietie,

7 Mr. James Durhame, died at Glasgow, on the 25th of June 1658.
8 Baillie being alarmed for the state of his eldest son Robert's health, applied to Dr. Robert Cunningham, an eminent Physician in Edinburgh, for his advice, stating the case, and enclosing a letter on the subject from Dr. Sylvester Rattray of Glasgow. Cunningham's reply is still preserved, (Wodr. MSS. Fol. Vol. xlix, No. 8.) from which we learn, that in consequence of his absence from Edinburgh, Baillie's letter must have reached him after his son's death. The letter, "Datum Edinburgi, 29th Maij 1658," is addressed, "For the Right Reverend Mr. Robt. Baillie, Professor of Divinitie at Glasgow. This." It begins,—

"Right Reverend.—Immediatelifter after my returne from Winton, legi et relegi epistolam tuam, perbrevem quidem, sed ratione morbi diuturni et periculosi quo corripi audio dilectum tuum Filium, longiorem quam vellem. Morbum indigentiam presentes medici hydropem, in quorum sententiam pedibus manibusque co:" &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 fore, 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 feare was for a longsome disease and insupportable paine, which the Lord mercifully prevented, far sooner nor I or himself or any did expect, for till the last day he still walked with his cloathes on. In that morning, after a potion which he said to me, in my ear, he thought occasioned his greatest paine, he took some shots of wind in his bellie which tormented him fearfully, to a great crying of as great paine as ever woman had at her last fhoure: they were indeed the passion of death: one of these, was in the morning at nine, lafted above an hour, another, at fix at night, greater and longer; in both, allwayes crying to God in great devotion and patience, beseeking a hastening of removeall. When the height of these fits were over, he craved all pardon for clamour, rested on God, bleffed 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 profesed, that one of the grounds of his comfort was, that from his childhood, God had helped him to endeavour a keeping of a good conscience; that in the world he never had pleasure, but the Scriptures of God had oft been his delight and great refreshment. I can write no more, this sad subject, as ever I felt, makes me to close. The Lord be with yow and all yours.

Your sorrowfull Cousin,

[Glafgow, June 1658.] R. BAILLY.

Keep all thefe things to yourself: they are the inside of all our affairs, which I defyre none to know from me but yourself alone.
[For Mr. Robert Douglass.]

Sir,

Being desired by yow to give my opinion of Mr. R. his Preface to his Survey of Mr. Hooker's Survey, with all reverence to my much honoured and beloved Brother, I professe my grief and scandal with some pages of it, wherein I conceive, most needlely, he is pleased, in the presses of London, among the midst of all the Sectaries, without any occasion, to spit in the face of our Mother Church, and to give her to fore wounds without all cause, that I doe not wonder of that Reverend man, (whom Mr. R. wont to reverence, and, as I think, yet does as much as any else living,) who, to divide of yow in your High-streets avowed, that before he had written any such things, he could have rather chose to have had his right-hand stricken off at the Croffe of Edinburgh by the axe of the hangman.

Mr. R. avowes,—That the Remonstrants among us are troubled on every side, in the streets, pulpits, in 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 mizerie. This, to my best knowledge, is utterly false. I know fundrie whom they have persecuted, and, by their favour with the present power, have kept from

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1 This letter contains Animadversions on the preface of a work by Samuel Rutherford. The original is preserved in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xxvi. No. 11. Except the signature, and one or two verbal corrections, it is not in Baillie's own hand. Neither copy has any address, but it appears (infra p. 387) to have been written to Douglas.

2 In 1644, Mr. Samuel Rutherford published at London his large work "The Due Right of Presbyteries: or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland." To this an elaborate answer was written by Mr. Thomas Hooker, in New England, but printed after his death, as "A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, &c." London, 1648, 4to. It was this work that drew forth Rutherford's volume, "A Survey of the Survey of that Summe of Church-Discipline penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford upon Connecticut in New England," &c. London, 1658, 4to, pp. 521. The publication having been delayed, (supra pp. 303, 306,) the author took occasion to prefix to it an Address to the Christian Reader, containing very severe remarks on the Resolutioners, being the only portion of the work on which Baillie animadverts in this letter.

3 This evidently refers to Mr. Robert Blair.
all possibility of remeedy; but I remember not any of them that has been put to the least suffering. Sundrie of them, whom whole Synods has declared unlawfullie admitted, are, to this day, kept in their usurped places, by their greatnes with the civil 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 situation, and accept of one another, for to gaine some quietness.

Thereafter we are challenged, in the streets of London, before all the Sec-taries, and from thence to the world, of Six particular crimes: First, That we have framed an Engagement for the present power which we allow every intrant to the ministrie to subscribe, or else to want his maintenance; to wit, their resolution “to live peaceably under the present government.” That any man, let be meeting of our mind, did ever frame any such write, is more than I know, or ever before heard of; the lawfulness and expediency of the resolution itself, Mr. R. avows: now, that the subscribing of what is lawful and expedient should become unlawfull, when thefe 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 utmost did keep up, an order from the present power, That no intrant to the ministrie should have any maintenance, but they alone to whom they did give a testimonie under their hand. With how great difficulty this monument of their tyrannous injustice was gotten overthrown, 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 ministrie, because they will not be satisfied with the Publick Resolutions. Surely unsatisfaction to thefe, to my knowledge, was never cenfur’d among us. When, after much toil and debate, all on both sides did profess their willingnes to lay aside publick agitation of need-

4 Baillie here refers to a letter that was addressed by Robert Blair to James Durhame.
5 Mr. James Wood, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary’s College, (of which Rutherford was Principal,) was translated in 1657 to be Principal of St. Salvador’s or the Old College, St. Andrews. Vide supra, pp. 316, 365.
That and for friends the fynods, wilt, all our according pertinently crave fword unbyaffed trare. Whether, Assemblies which of acts, by the secret actings of the faction, kepted out of places for no other cause but their dif-satisfaction with the way of the Remonstrants. That any one man can be produced, who even for his publick preaching against the Resolutions of the Kirk and State was actuallie kepted out, is more than I think can be shouwne: I am sure it never was in the Synod where I live.

The Third challenge: That we make such a subordination essentiall to Presbyterianall government as imports a neceflitie of Obedience to knowne unjuft acts, even a tyrannicall and popish, an absolute and illimitat obedience. Why shold such an untruth be faftened upon us, which is point-blank contrare to these 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 practife among us without all question; which is the doctrine and practice of all Presbyterians beyond fea; yea, of all Protestants who maintaine the jurisdiction of Assemblies. Why should the sword of such a calumnie be put in the hands of Sectaries against us, that we crave obedience to any of our judicatories, even when they command, not in the Lord, but contrary to the law. Such a question to us is moved very impertinently; for the world knowes, that we make no doubt but the acts of our Assemblies pointed at, concerning the Publick Resolutions, are, so farre, according to scripture, reafon, and the senfe of all churches, of all nations, both friends and adverfares, that the opposers of them will be disallowd by all unbyaffed 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 defyres, 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 anfwer that they could promife neither to presbyteries nor fynods, as now constitute, any subjeftion at all, in regard that the body of our presbyteries and fynods was made up of persons so faultie, as no subjeftion was due to them; and that their purgeing of all the judicatories

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behov'd to precede their acknowledgement of any dutie to them as they now stand. This to be the true Scots of their paper, both their formal words, and constant practice since that time, puts it out of all doubt.

That new started question by them, we alledge, it did abolish the very foundation of Presbyteriall 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 over-throw of the whole government of our Church for the time, and ever till it be framed over again according to the Remonstrants modell.

Farder, what here is added to that new Question, seems to overturn not only the presbyterie among us, but all government, civill and ecclesiastick, 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 controul of any judge or judicatorie upon earth, whether civill or ecclesiastick. No Christian doth question but it is better to obey God than men, and when it is known that God commands, the countermand of men is not to be followed; but the question is 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 Assemblie, yea, Æcumenick Councell, unanimoufie 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 falfe 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 satifie the obstinatelic erroneous person; if such a practice be maintained, shall there be any order remaining under the sun? What possible remeed 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 extravagancie cuts the sinews of all government ever was, is, or can be imagined: It makes every erroneous person the supreme judge on earth to himself of all questions, without any subjection to any power; were its judgement never so right, if so the errant
man think it wrong, and adhere to his own fancie, though contrare to scripture and reason. It concerns our brethren, and all men on earth who are for any government, as much as us, to see to the issue of such conclusions. The Judicatories believe their acts to be the will of God; the particular person believes his contradiction to be according to the will of God: the Judicatories, all of them, higher and lower, propone their scriptures and reasons, wherewith the whole Church is satisfied; the erroneous person continues resolute in his opposition and rebellion to all directions of all judicatories on earth, unwilling to be silent for an hour. What shall the end be? When our Generall Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Sessions, are all cast off, and when opposers has joined themselves in new societies of their own minde, what will they doe when that befalls them, which ever to this day has been the ordinarie cafe of all these who has opposed and divided themselves from the orthodox Church? One or more of their company disagree from their conclusions, contradict them, and counteract them; when for this they are reproved and cenfured, they deny subordination in that cafe, avowing themselves to be right and their cenfurers wrong. What here shall be the remedie? Must all order give place to confusion for ever?

The Fourth challenge is a fearfull railling against the body of our ministrie, and, as their papers for union speak, the pluralitie of our presbyteries and synods; also against the bodie of our people in all our congregations. The Quakers may well equall this language, but in any Independent that yet has written I have not read the like. Experience might have taught our Brother at last to have written more modeflie of others. He knowes how that exceeding fals Teftimonie against the King and our laft Armie, most unseasonable sent before them in their laft marche into Lancaffyre, was receaved by the judicious brethren there; and the no leffe fals Witnes for the Remonstrators against our Church sent thereafter to London, was receaved by the gracious brethren there. He knowes likewise, I suppose, how the moft, if not all, the fained fables which are the great grounds of this verie comprehensive slander, were convicted of evident falsehood in very publick audiences lately at London, where by the agents of the faction they were very boldlie spread. I am sure in the Synod where I live, where these invectives against the crying weaknes and scandalls of soul-murdering ministers, wont to be moft frequent and vehement; so soone as that partie, through their opposites weari-
nefs to contend, became masters of the presbyterie and synod, we have heard no more to count of concerning that subject. The few upon whom they tryed their inquisition, after near one hundred witnesses, beside all the elders, were sworn upon their proceffe, were found honest men; and although I have heard say oftener than once openlie in the face of the synod, that the true weaknesses and real scandals of ministers would be found on their side of the house, yet, to this day, not any of their faction with us has been put to the least tryall: so doe they purge the Church where they have no impediment!

The Fifth challenge is our receiving to the Covenant and Church-fellowship men who, again and again, had broken their engagement. This needed not to have been objected, for the taking of men's public 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 severity which some men would have used in our land's extreme distress was the leffe regarded, when their designe became evident by this severity 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 thefe who had forfaken their Covenant, and was excommunicat for it, did appear visible. And what doe they speak of Covenants who openlie has torne our Solemne League and Covenant in peices, and at their own hand has cutted off divers prime articles from it? frameing to us a new one of their own mould? which, had no the present power impeded, behooved to have been subscribed by all who would not have chosen to have been excluded from the societie and advantages of their godlie and thriving parte.

The Sixth challenge is but a repetition of the Fourth, that so many insufficient 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 weel examined, it will be found that they needed not to have made any challenge of this nature. They can dispatch, when their interest requires it, all the tryalls, which use to cost us presbyteriall meetings for a whole quarter or half a-year, in one morning. Sundry are grieved with the great 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. Doubtless 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 farther strictnes either scripture or reason shall require, will not be refuifed by us.

It is in vaine to mention the Ministers of London, for they all weell know how little their judgements in our preffent debates is valued by the Remonstrants. When, after their full hearing of them and us, we were approven, and the Remonstrants dilfyked, did this hinder their agents, by the help of their better friends the Independents, Anabaptists, and Raffians, their only intime familiars and confidents, with whom they keeped frequent fastings and prayers in their conventicles, to seek from the civill power a tyrannick jurifdiction over us, for the ruine of all the preffent government of our Church? Was not this their passionat perfute weell 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 leaff delay till this long. How much, firft and laft, they have made themselves the Godlie partie in Scotland, though in the streatching of their charitie they will admit some of us to ftand 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 ftand in the firft rank of the Godlie in our land, it is a great mistake; and they will not doe weell to put to the inqueif of their neighbours, the true pietie, let be the degree of it, of sundrie no the meaneft of their faction.

So farre for the time I have told you my mind of a few pages in that Preface. I bleffe the Lord that keeps yet you and others there at the helme of our Church, when from time to time new stormes arife, from whom leaff they shoud. The Lord continue you still till better times come, when you may be better spared than now you can.

Your's to be commanded,

Glaftgow, Julij 31st 1658. R. Baillie.
[For Mr. William Spang.] Glasgow, November 11th 1658.

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 yourself I use to send no thanks, but to your kind wife, my wife sends many. I am glad all your children are weell; I pray God 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 moft for Ireland; and I also did long much to have him in the miniftrie, without the reach of our good faction: his prosperous successe yow will fee in the inclofed. My boy Harie, bleffed be God, growes in pietie, learning and wisdom; at his own defire I permitted him to goe to Sir James Dundas of Arnistoun, near Edinburgh, to be his chaiplane for some tyme, to fee some more of the world, and to fitt him to speake in public: he always refents your kindness and your kind wife's. I have thought fit to fend to yow the second 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 myself or others. I fend 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 incorruagement 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 spoiled, for all the English fair promifes to the contrare. Give me an account of Elfevir's returne to yow, fo foone as yow can.

Though since my laft large one, there is not much I can writ, yet to

6 Probably Dr. Strang's work, "De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturæ;" the publication of which, however, was completed at Rotterdam, but not before the year 1663.
shew yow my diligence, have our affairs since. Our Towne now is prettie quiet, haveing at Michaelmes chosen not only such a proveift and baillies, but also a councell as hes not one man in hazard of Mr. Gillefpies accusations; yet still he is pyking some one petitie quarrell or another, to hold them waking. The chief difference is now about planting their churches. Mr. Durhame, a little before his death, advise 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 excesive affection, did continuallie preach and pray of him, in a very extraordinary way, the nomination of his succeflour, he took it weell near for ane oracle of God. My owne judgement was that two of the three were very unfitt, and the third but of very ordinarie sufficiencie. Mr. George Campbell, a boy of twenty yeares, laureat two years ago with my Harie, who was in the circle with him, and in all things thought his match but in his extreame flattering of Mr. Gillefpie: this boy, when named, had never so much as spoken in any public exercise. 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 Remonftrant. Mr. James Ferguffon, my succeflor in Kilwinning, was earnestly defired by the towne: my entres in Kilwinning hindred me to joynie in his removeall thence, but I could not deny, that evidently he was much fitter for us than any named. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie led all our fefitions whither he pleased. Mr. George Young's power with the Councell was no leffe. The fefion went on firft with the unfitted, Mr. George Campbell, though none of them ever had heard him preach; the towne protesting against his election, till he were heard, he refused the call. The fefion fell next on Mr. Francis Aird. The towne fell on a very good overture, that they should joynie with the fefion in the call of any whom they pleased, if so they would joyn with the Councell in a call to Mr. James Ferguffon, for whom they should provide both a new church and a new flipend, as good as any other, which would have been above fourtie thousand merks charge to them; this was so fair, that the moft of the fefion was readie to have accepted it, but Mr. Patrick caufed 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 rest. The end of it, I think, shall be that the feffion, being refuifed by all the three, will turn themselves to some headie one of the faction, who will like their call the better that the Magiftrats oppofe it; and the body of the townе finding themſelves fo mifchantlie abufed, and continuaλie tyrannized over, without hope of renee}, will endeavour, as it is in Stirling and Lithgow, the erecting of a new Seffion, with the mifregard 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 conflented to that division, and when thereafter, Mr. George Young and Mr. James Fergusfon, 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 Glafgow, and gotten a legall call and transportation to Mr. James Fergusfon, or any we had lyked: that this now can no be gotten, the authors of that evil union now grieves, and I laugh at their too late repentance.

For the Colledge, we have no redreff of our diſcipline and teaching. Mr. Gillefpie’s work is building, and pleas; with the dinn of mafons,wrights, carters, fmiths, we are vexed every day. Mr. Gillefpie, alone for vanitie to make a new quarter in the Colledge, hes caft downe my howse to build up ane other of greater show, but farr worfe accommodation; in the meane whilst, 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 strange wayes of getting money for it, by his own induftry alone; an order he got from the Protecor of five hundred poundfterling, (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 spoill of churches and incumbents. Upon these foundations are our palaces builded; but withall our debts grow, and our stipends are not payed; for by his continuall toying our rent is mouldered away. When our magiftrates repreffed this, and much more, in a libell againft him, his good
friend, Swintoun, obtained to him a fair abolution from all without any cog-
nition of the matter; but to pleaze the Toune, his accusations against them
were also as good as waved.

Ever since Dr. Strang's dimission our oeconomie hes 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 laft in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillespie had agreed with a new
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 Philofophie-burfars
at a third table for twenty four pounds a quarter. With this I was not content,
for it burdened our rent with above five hundred merks of needlefs charges
yearly. For the Principall and four Regents twenty pounds fterling; for
the fix Divinitie-burfars of the fowne we behoved to add one hundred
pound, becaufe 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 thefe fix, a hundred pound was needfull to
make them fiftie merks in the quarter a-piece: the fix of the new donation
for Divinitie, and as many for Philofophie, had to doe their own turne. I
thought alfo, that the towne boyes would be hurt who would get nought but
their boord, which they had freely from their parents or friends, and employ-
ed their pension on books and cloathes; alfo, sundry moft hopefull young
men would refufe, for shame, to come to a Burfars-table. Againeft this was
alleaged, the comelie order of all other Colledges, and the grudge of the
schollars when some were put to the table, and some not; for the charge,
that the fourth vacation quarter of the twelve burfars of the new donation
would doe much to supply it: hereupon I was content they should try
it for one year.

At our counts we did not well agree, yet had no dinn. The Magiftrates
were not called to them, which was againft both right and cuftome. I re-
fuwed to fubfcryve without an exprefs exception of the article of fix thoufand
merks for Mr. Gillespie's journey to London. The other year, when I was
in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillespie had obtained from the Facultie twenty shillings
fterling a day, for the eleven moneths he had been in England, beseide three
or four thoufand merks of other charges in particular accompts. This, to me,
was unsupportable; for his vast expenses before, and the lowness of the prices of victuall, had put us that we were hardly able to defray our ordinary charge. But this donative I forefaw would make us unable, for some years to come, to win to our very stipends. Upon this we had a sound reckoning in the next Facultie; Mr. Gillepsie afferting his loss 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 sums that year, and I doubt if twenty thousand merks, one way and another, did not passe through his fingers: But I said his expence concerned not the Colledge, for that journey was not at all for us, but for the service of his partie, to trouble the Church: that the commission he had from some of us, (from myself he had none,) it was but on the by, in his spare time, to deal for the profits of the Colledge; what he had done in this kind I was very willing he should be liberallie acknowledged, but out of the profits of what he acquired, not out of our other rent, which could not bear it: Withall I told him, that we were not in use to give money to the purchasers of our gifts, much above all his; that the purchasers of the parsonage of Govane, of Kilbrie, of Renfrew, of the Bishoprick of Galloway, had not receaved of the Colledge a groat. The end was, I dissented; the rest went on, as his own silly creatures, ready to doe whatsoever 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 busines at London against all his desigines. To draw that man off us towards himself and partie, he invents this trick: In a Facultie meeting he prefles the expediencie of having a courtier Chancellor of our Univerfitie, and that Thurloe was fittest. I was against all English flesh; but he carried it, and sent up to him a sealed parchment of that honour. But before that came, we got Mr. Thurloe informed of the designe, who therefore civillie 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. Gillepsius Pro-Cancellarius et Praefectus:" A poor glory!

Our Church lyes as it did: the Representation printed by Mr. Sharp at London, they durft never afay to anfwer; but our late Declaration of new
desires of peace, they answer'd a piece of it with a very bitter pamphlet; to which Mr. Rutherford printed a preamble in his Preface to a late answer to Hooker. Being desired, I sent my observations on that preamble, to Mr. Douglas; but on that and their whole pamphlet, Mr. Hutchison has written a very accurate and solid Review, with some additions of Mr. Wood's; all which I think are now on the press. It is very like the end of this obstinate difference will be a formal separation: the sooner the better for the Kirk; for they abide among us only to encrease their partie; and if they were formally separate, they could doe us the lesse harme.

The Countrey lyes very quiet; it is exceeding poor; trade is nought; the English has all the moneys. Our Noble families are almost gone: Lennox has little in Scotland unfold; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the Baronie of Hamilton, is fold; Argyle can pay little annuell rent for seven or eight hundred thousand merks; and he is no more drowned in debt than publick hatred, almost of all, both Scottish and English; the Gordons are gone; the Douglas's little better; Eglinton and Glencairn on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families [e]states are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the tyme. What is become of the King and his family we doe not know: some talks that he should be in the Hague: many takes his unkindness to Balcarras very ill; especially that he should 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 unexpect'd: 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 sturfe, the crying out of the Devill and an Northerne armie, muft be but a fable. We were feared for trouble after his death, but all is settled in peace. We doubted what might become of the Officers of the armie their petition for the Generalitie to Fleetwood; if they inft in it, it cannot but breed evil blood; but they are wifer than to differ when some would be glad of it.

In a letter which is printed supra, p. 375.

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; 'tis thought his condition every where is very low, and the Frenches very high, so that the former danger from the Monarchy of Spaine may quickly become as great from the Monarchy of France, and that all neighbours, for their own safety, may be forced to guard as much against the one, as they wont to doe against the other. What the great causes have been to draw back the Swedes from Pomer to Copenhagen, we are expecting to know by that peece lately printed, at London, for that end. All marvell that the Danes, after all their cowardice, have been able so long to defend Copenhagen from the victorious Swedes. 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 Brandeburgh shall pay dear for that rode. We hear that Opdam, in the Sound, has done yet naught against the Swedes; and that the fear of the French and English will keep your States from all action there, for all the shew they have made. Upon this men's eyes are fixed more than on any thing else: for if they should yoke in earnest against the Swedes, all doe think the French and English will fall on them, both by sea and land, and neither the Spaniards nor High Dutch will be able to maintain them. The Lord himself guide these great affairs. We blest God that the Turkish threats hies this year produced no more harme, neither to Ragotfi nor the Venetians. It seems the articles of Munster are totallie tread under foot; yet it will be a hard pull to cast the Swedes out of Breme, Pomer, and Pruis, and the French out of Alfatia and Lorain. It's much that Torn has stood out all this year. What is the cause that Douglaes is the man employed in Lisland, 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.
In Edinburgh, at their election, there fell out a passage much against the mind of many. Sir Andrew Ramfay,¹ a right sharp young man, but very proud, had carried himself for two yeares in the place of Proveifit, very haughty; 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 suggestion moft of Baillie Jauifie, who desireing 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 Provost and that Baillie, did what they could to bear down the Clerk, and were readie, when able, to have shuffled him from his place. The Clerk, and all the Towne, would moft gladlie had Archibald Sincerf for Proveifit, the farr fittest for the charge: bot Ramfay keeped Sincerf² from the lites, according to the late aét of the English Parliament, for his guilt of the Ingadgement; and got on the lites himself, Baillie Jauifie,³ and (being perfuaded that none would give him a vote,) Sir James Stewart.⁴ Thomfon finding it fo, he wrought underhand, that any living might be choften rather than his enemies Ramfay or Jauifie: 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 Thomfon, my good friend, I railed on him, that for revenge of his private fithe and spleen againft Ramfay, he had betrayed the publict interest into the hand of a Proteflor. I was impatient of all apologies; yet I hear Sir James has given assurances enough to Mr. Robert Douglaſ, and others, and denyes his Remonftratiftm. 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 Syderes was First Baillie in 1656.
³ John Jossie was First Baillie in 1655 and 1657; and again in 1660.
⁴ The father of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees. He was Lord Provost in 1648 and 1649.
weell believe, nor much trust him; but feares the great evill of this pranck of the clerk: Sir James once caft him out of his place; if he doe it again, no man will pitie him.

Being wearied, I have now laid aside my Chronologie. I have drawn the storie, sacred and profane, shortlie from the fountains through the whole Old Teftament, in feven epochas, to every one of which I have subjoyneyed 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 first epocha of it to the death of John the Evangelift, and at the back of it, feventeen of the chiefeft queftions: Being tyred, I fubsift: It may be I revife it and adde more queftions, especiallie from the Apocalypfe; therefore what yow find of new books that may further me in this deſigne, let the Colledge have them: I think we want few of the old. This year’s studie I caſt it on the noble head of Juſtification, moſt to meet with Bishop Forbes, printed latelie at London by Mr. Thomas Sincerf, Bifhop of Galloway, T. G. and our moderat midmen, whom I have esteemed, ever since I knew them, reall Papifts in the moſt 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 conſounder of the head of Juſtification. I pray yow in your firſt to Voetius, remember my heartie service to him, and tell him from me, that many his lovers here long for a third volume of his Diffputations; alfo, that they exceedingly defyre some Exercitations from him on the way of Amiraldf, and that the head of Juſtification were vindicat by him from Baxter and Forbes, and all other adverfars. We love here very well Maresius’s writts, all but his bitter flittings with Voetius: We long to hear, that these two very eminent and usefull men were better friends. What yow sent us of Jefuit Sempill is but a preface to his Dictionarium Mathematicum, which we pray yow fearch for.

5 The initials, T. G. (Thomas Gallovidiensis) stand at the Editor’s preface of the post-humous work of Bishop Forbes referred to, “Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Contra-versiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, &c.” London, 1658, small 8vo. pp. 466. The Editor, Thomas Sydeserff, was the only one of the Scotish Prelates deposed in 1633 who survived till the Restoration of Charles II.

6 Hugo Sempilius Craigbateus Scotus, De Mathematicis Disciplinis. Antwerpiae, 1635, folio.
REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

These are to let yow know my defyre to understand your welfare, and if it be well with gracious Mr. Calamie, Dr. Reinolds and others our dear Brethren there. Blessed be God, your acquaintance here are all as before, except that our unhappy Remonstrants continue in their obstinacie. My maine purpose to yow at this time is, to let yow know that Mr. Baxter does us more harme than all your Sectaries. The man’s pietie and parts make us still honour, pitie, and spare him; but his intollerable boldness, after his avowed Amiralisme, to follow and go 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 talk in all his errors, which truly he has a way to insinuate more than any heterodox I know in this side of the sea. I entreat that some of yow would advise how to get this dangerous evil remeded, at least stopped. Your addresse by Dr. Reinoldse to his Highness, before the Independents by Dr. Goodwin, I doe not weell understand how it was not a very solemne and public burial of the Solemn League and Covenant; but here we are exceeding sparing to put any cenfure 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 you for it. When I had thought fit to send him to some
familie for one year, to serve [as] a chaplane, for to help his breeding, you were
not only willing to receive him, but to use him all the while as a child, not
as a servant; and now, Sir, by your great favour having obtained in some
measure my designe upon him, and finding myself fallen more tender than
before, my purpose is to have him at home after the terme, but so that he
stay till you 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 prosperity 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 fit to send you 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 formal address to the present power as the Supream Magistrate,
which no Church Judicatorie in Scotland had ever yet attempted, and Glasc-
gow Synod should not begin without the advyce at leаst of the Synod of
Lothian and Fife, equallie concerned in that motion. 2. The petition to pre-

7 Baillie's only surviving son, Henry, had gone to be chaplain in the Arniston family, near
Edinburgh. (vide supra, p. 332,) 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 advise 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 commissioner against Toleration, when he comes to London, shall not as much endeavour advantages to the Remonstrant partie as any thing else contrarie to the late articles of union of this Synod; yea, is it not like that the petitioning against toleration, which none has hope will be granted, is but a mere pretence for putting on their designes. 6. If the pluralitie of the Synod conclude any such commissiion, can the dissenters be guarded against a charge of horning for payment of their proportion of whatever expence a committee shall modify for carrying on that petition.

When Judge Ker and Sir John Cheisfly appeared as elders in the Synod, their designes were suspected the more, yet no such motion was made till towards the end of the Assembly; at the back of an other trivial act it was like to have been past without observation, yet Mr. W. Eccles and Mr. R. Wallace topped it so that it was sent to a committee to be debated; there, after much debate, it was resolved to acquaint the Synod of Lothian with the motion, and unless they gave them satisfactory reasons to the contrary at the next diet of the adjourned Synod in the end of May, to proceed with the petition, and to send (for the opponents satisfaction,) Mr. P. Colvill up with it. Mr. P. Gillespie told them, that so soon as his health and affairs would permit him, he would go 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 advantagious tearsms, 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 parifhioners of Badernock, Montrofe, Keir, and all the heritors, with almost all the presbyterie, people, and feffion, would gladly have Mr. John Anderson there placed, but Mr. R. Law hes stirred up a few headie fellows of Bamor to preffe for Mr. Nicol Black, a domeflick of Mr. James Guthrie's. For the furthering of that de-signe the Synod has joyned a committee, of their sharpest hooks, with that Prefbyterie for planting that kirk: without hoft, contrary to the Act of the Presbyterie of Irvine, and all the diffents and proteftations of our town, they appoint Mr. Ralph Rodger, before the firft of June, to come hither.

Many were greeved, when the Judges were here, that one Foyer was not hanged; a moft wicked hypocrite, [who,] under the colour of pietie and prayer, hes acted fundry adulteries; but by some of our faction (to whom he was too dear,) their dealing with the Judges, no more was put in his libell than one adulterie, for which he was but scourged: great appearance of his witchrie alfo, if he had been put to a reall tryell. Yet that which greeves us moft for the time is the very heavie oppression of our town, in all their plantations. Our feffion, by an Act of the last General Affembie, claims a divine right to elect the minister, albeit our feffion for the time is nought but the good pleasure of Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who absolutely rules it; the Presbyterie is no leffe obfequious. The whole parish, almost all the householders of Mr. George Young's congregation did unanimously draw a petition to the feffion for a call to Mr. James Fergusson; wherefore the feffion this day made read out of all pulpits ane admonition against the misorderly subcribing of papers, and that the feffion, according to their right, would provide them of a mini-fter. The other Sabbath, Mr. James Blair, minister of Cathcart, the first whom the Presbyterie had ordained to supply Mr. G. Young's place, did preach to the Magistrates in their faces that their oppofition to the feffion in plantation of their churches (which was only by a petition to the Presbyterie and Seffion, now the third time, for Mr. James Fergusson) would draw on them the punishment of Core, Dathan and Abiram; and much more evils were threatened passionatly by that weak young man against them, for their
rebellion against Jesus Christ. We are exceedingly grieved that there is no visible remead 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 Fergusson, [is] to deal with some stout honest man, Scots or English, who on the Magistrates, Councell, and Peoples call, will be induced to come under the protection of the English, with a defiance to Session, Presbyterie, and Synod, all which, they say, is nought, but their adversary, Mr. Gillespie. This I understand not. My owne remedie is a Generall Assembly; if so yow in your wisdomes there find not that cure worse than all our disease. I think Mr. Sharp might easily obtaine to us a Generall Assembly; and that he might get it cautioned against the most, if not all our 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 yow there have no other remead for us but this third, I shall acquiesce to it, though I think ere long it will come nearer to yow when we are gone: I meane, that still we shall be patient sufferers, when they in their high pride thrust in on us whomever they please. However, my interest in the familie of Eglinton and parish of Kilwinning hinders me to move for Mr. James Fergusson's removall from them; yet without all doubt, he were the meetest man in Britaine for this place, for many evident good ends, and therefore these good men are so peremptorie against him.

Your very loving and much honouring Friend,

R. Baillie.

For his Reverend Brother Mr. R. Douglass, Minister of Edinburgh.

Sir,

We have sent unto yow this expresse. By what the town and I writ to Mr. Sharp, yow will see our condition: yow will read and close them. I doe conceive our Church and Land was never in so great hazard to be hurt by the Sectaries and Remonstrators as this hour. And however I see no appearance of any friends to us with this present power, yet I conceive it
exceeding necessaries that Mr. Sharp should stay still a little while longer. M. P. G[illefle] is thought here to have taken journey this day, with the Lady Swinton, towards London. He expects no less than ask and have; yet I trust the Lord will marr him nothing the less that he has no visible impediment. Having little more ado in the west, I think they will begin the execution of their new orders on Lothian and Fife. The Lord help you, who, under Christ, are at the helm of our poor tossed Church in this high danger.

May 18th 1659.

Your's,

R. Bailly.

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

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

Dear Brother,

Glasgow, May 18th 1659.

I wish this may overtake you before your coming from London; however, let me know if it comes to your hands. My neighbour, P. G., albeit he have as much to try him at home as any man I know, having involved himself and us in great buildings, in a bargain also of a thousand pound sterling for tithes, and many law pleas; yet yesterday morning going to loup on, as we thought, for Edinburgh, he told us he was going straight to London for urgent business of his own. I know he expects the quick grant of any thing he can desire from those that now are in power, and many here fear he will renew all his former irrational desires for the prejudice of our Church, of our Towne, of our Colledge; nor know we who will oppose him, but that, without all hearing and debate, by my Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, and Dr. Owen, his familiar friends, he shall obtain whatever he lykes: His former committees, for stipends, yea, for tryall and censure, of his owne nomination, yea, whatever new forme he and Warriston shall invent for our

* The original (Wodr. MSS. Folio, vol. xxvi. No. 17,) is addressed on the back, as above, in Baillie's hand, but without any signature or mention of the year. In his 4to MS. of Letters, the year 1659 is given; but the letter itself would have fixed that date.
whole Church; lykwise, the renewing of that late act of Parliament for qualifications of magistrates in burgh and land, with such additions that their partie, to the great hurt and disquiet of the land, may be put presentlie in place; and though Glasgow have conformed themselves to that act, yet by new calumniuous inventions he will endeavour to have them displaced. One James Forfyd [Forfyth], not to be Laureat before Lammes, his wife's sister's son or oye, must be, without tryall, put in a Regent's place at Michaelmes: that a place may vaik, he deals with Mr. Patrick Young to dimit; on his refuseall he boasts him with a processe. When he finds that will not doe except he can carie more votes in our Facultie than in that causfe he is confident of, he resolves to bring in more members to vote with us. Always before it was his care that no Towne minifter should be a member of our Facultie, and put them off who were on, and to this day kept them off; but now, on a meer desire to strengthen us, he propone to bring in Mr. R. M'Quard to be our Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Alexander Jamefone to be Deane of Facultie. The most part of the Facultie knowing perfectlie the designe, though too solemnlie denied, did refuse the motion. To make Mr. Thurloe a friend to himself and his party, he sent him up for a bud, a patent from the Colledge of the Chancellorship, which I doubt Mr. Thurloe never accepted, being informed of the design; yet in thankfullnes he got Mr. G. the Protecor's hand to a charter, and command to us, to add to Mr. Gilleipie's stipend of a hunder and fourtie pound, out of our rents, whether new or old, a hunder pound more yearlie dureing life, with a narrative altogether untrue and unjust. When he named Mr. Thurloe, Chancellor he took to himself the Vice-Chancellorship, and since has ever subscribed Principal and Vice-Chancellor; but yesterdye morning he peremptorlie layes doune his Vice-Chancellorship that it might be put on Mr. R. M'Quard, to be sure of a new vote. This we caried over him, that the Chancellor should name the Vice-Chancellor. His purpose and profession both is to move Mr. Thurloe to put his Vice on his confident Mr. M'Quard. I am sure if you prevent Mr. Thurloe with a right information he would not doe it; for I believe that Mr. Thurloe never accepted that vaine-glorious place, or if he did, that at this time he will be loath to medle with it; and however, if he knew that our Chancellor never named a vicar, but by the advyce, content, yea, desire of the whole Facultie, would not in this oppressive designe, hurtfull to our houfe,
ferve Mr. G[illepie'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, Jefus Christ alone, when the Reformers had pulled from her all images she wont to pray to: Weell is us that Chrift cannot be pulled off his throne. By all means stay there awhile, were it but to be a witness of our countreymen's great insolencies. 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 alwayes fayoured 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 loffe and oppression, for which our Proveft wrote earnestlie to the Generall, and received a very kind and promising anfwer. These are to intreat yow to hear the matter and information, and help my neighbours by your best directions and affittance.

The enclofed is a double of one I sent to yow by Mr. Douglaſs, before yow came laſt from London; I fand after it neuer 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 Confeffion of Faith, they except the thirtieth and thirty-first chapter, to which no Seetarie gave in a diſſent, but only two Erastians, that the world may know, within their jurifdi&ion, Chrift may be allowed no spirituall government of his Church; this is weell begun): I hope yow will get us Vifitations for all our Univerſities, who hes great need of them, if we can get weell-fitting sheriffs, elſe better to want them, and that we continue under our prefent prefſours till a better tyme. Only, in the mean while, I wish yow advert to Mr. Gillepie's diligence for our houfe. He hes written to the Generall to get all our former gifts confirmed in Parliament; and to William Thomſon
to be his agent herein. I refused my hand to this, though I wish he got the thing, only with the exception of one gift, most unjust, a hundred pound sterling a-year, out of our rents, to himself yearly, beside his stipend. Mr. Thurloe, whom I am glad to see again Secretary of State, got to him this order from the Protector, Richard, on three very false narratives. 1. That he was not sufficiently provided, while he has an hundred and fourty pound, much more than ever any Principall here had; and, as I think, more than any Principall in Scotland he is to this day. 2. That his labours were extraordinary, more than any other before him; while his labours he has been as good as none at all in any part of his proper duetie, except in toyes and folies, which concerned us little or nothing. 3. That our rents might weell bear that his augmentation, while it appears they doe not discharge our ordinary burdens. Our Eonomus for the masters and burfars table he not received a tippens this year, but he 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 he has gotten a fixpence of stipend this year, nor is like to get. This is not only for want of law, but also throw his needles waftrie, that hee caft us in much debt; who, at his coming had many thoufand pounds to the fore. Mr. Thurloe is our good friend, but he has been abufed by Mr. Gillefpie to pafs such a unjust gift; also, he got an order from him, (who, I suppose, never accepted of our Chancellor's oath,) to nominat Mr. Robert M'Quard our Vice-Chancellor, alone to serve Mr. Gillefpie in his evill desigines. I know yow could eafilie have prevented all this, if you had got my letter in tyme here inclosed. Only, now I defyre yow marre, if yow can, the paffing of his gift. I wish the rest were confirmed, but with a claufl of excluding any personall gifts since the year 1650, or some fuch thing Also, I think, Mr. Thurloe would doe weell, as a stranger to our nation and affairs, and, at fuch a distance, unable to be fudie informed of many things paffes among us, in a letter to us, to signifie his unwillingnes to continue longer under that title of our Chancellor, which Mr. Gillefpie did put on him, alone for a trick, to serve his own desigines. James, [1] craves yow many pardons for this long libell. Doe in all this as yow think fitt: only by a line, let me know if these be come to your hands.

Be carefull none fee thefe, especially William Thomson, my old very good and familiar friend, with whom, at the Crosfe of Edinburgh, the laft
tyme I saw him, I bitterly discorced for his putting Sir James Stewart in the Provostrie. Now and then I am praying to God for yow, and purposes to continue.

March 10th 1660.

Your's,

R. B.

For Mr. James Sharp.

James,

These are only to let yow know that myself, and, I hope many my betters commends yow, and your employments, now and then heartily to God. If it please God to work out this wonder, his own onlie work, marvellous in our eyes, and more in the eyes of the potterie, to bring home our sweet Prince in peace, I think, in this case, the greatest pull will be about Episcopacy. Concerning this great difficultie I sugget unto yow this my advyce, to cause seth with all possible speed some serious 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 present leaders of the Episcopall party, Dr. Tailor, Mr. Pierce, Dr. Hamond, Mr. Thorndyk, Dr. Heilin, Bishop Wran, Bishop Bramble, and others. Their humour is exceedingly bitter, and high even, in their late writes, not only against the Covenant and all Prefbyterians, but the Reformers abroad: they are most expresse and bitter for all Arminianisme, for the farre moft of Poperie, as much as Grotius maintains. If shortly and plainly, their present tenets, beside Books and Bishops, were put in the text, and the proofes 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 honest Protestants towards their desigines. No bodie can undertake this for purpose and in tyme, but some there. I think, if half-a-dozen were fet about the reading of the books, and pointing or drawing out the passages, Dr. Reinolds, or Mr. Prin [Prynne], or sundry others, in a fourtnight, might get it reade 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 latest peeces. Baxter is unhappy;
he would be requested either to be silent, or simile regulat in his writing, by these brethren who are wiser than himself.

Tell my Lord Launderdaill 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,

April 16th [1660.]

R. B.

Postscript.

Dr. Waltoun, albeit bitterlie Episcopall, yet, for his great work, I wish he were cherished, though it were with the Priveiftrie of Eaton Colledge: that affe Lockier being cast out, it might be a means either to win or silence that highly deserving man. Our restfull Remonstrators, as I hear, are still on plotts for new divifions; their first defigne is, to divide Launderaill and Glencairne, two most eminent men that now are left to our nation. The world knows the Remonstrants love neither, but would break the one by the other, and so, once more, us all in them. There is work enough, and reward also, for them both, if they agree. The ashes of our former ruine are yet smoaking, we are scarce begun to peip out from under that rubbifh, whether the coal of our former remeadlife's divifions, 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 devill; fee to it, as God shall be pleafed to help yow. I hear the great projectors are my Lord Lie and Sir John Cheiflie, 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 wayes self-feeking, as all the world knows.

1 His edition of the Polyglott Bible: Vide supra, pp. 304, 309, 310.

2 Nicholas Lockyer, an Independent minister, in great favour with Cromwell, by whom he was promoted, on the death of Francis Rous, to be Provost of Eton, 14th January 1658. He did not long enjoy this office, as he was deprived at the Restoration, and the place was conferred on Nicholas Monk.

3 Sir James Lockhart of Lee: (See Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 319. Edinb. 1832, 8vo.)
For his Reverend Brother Mr. William Douglass, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

Yow have here 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. Elphistoun, B. of Aberdeine, builder of your Old College, borne in Glasgou, a merchant's son, but a landed gentleman, near cousin to the Lord Elphistoun:—Mr. Peter Blackburne, Bishop of Aberdeine, whose hand was chief to order your Marishall Colledge, just after our orders of Glasgou, borne and bred in Glasgou, 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 Glasgou, bred in our grammar-school, much conversing in our Colledge, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James; he left our library a parcel of good Greek books, noted with his hand:—Mr. Cameron, borne in our Salt-Mercat, a few doors from the place of my birth, a Regent of our Colledge, and then Principal of it:—Trochrig, borne with us, and our Principal; fee 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 town, minister of it, very pious and learned; long chief minister of Edinburgh; I dare say the most eloquent and gracious preacher that ever yet lived in Scotland:—Mr. Dickson, borne in Glasgou, Regent and Professor in our Colledge:—Mr. Blair, borne near our town, 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 Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and founder of King's College there, in the year 1494: He was an eminent patron of literature, and died at Edinburgh 25th Oct. 1514.
2 Marischall College, Aberdeen, was founded by George Earl Marischal, 2d April 1503.
3 The posthumous Latin Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, by Boyd of Trochrig, published in 1652.
nation, as his book against Jesuit Hamilton's doeth shew:—B[ihop] Spotswood, as the Superintendent his father, and the President his fone, were all bred in our Colledge:—Blafius Laurentius, Mr. R. Laurie's grandfather, born with us, and long a Regent in our house, one of the bravest philosophs and humanists in his tyme:—Marcus Alexander Bodius, that excellent poet, as I knew it of his brother and nephewes, was, I suppose, borne near to us, and bred with us; Joannes Rofa, Mr. Jo. Rofe, borne and bred with us, a brave poet, (as Robertus Magnus, borne here, a Regent here, and our Professor of Physick;) their verse you may fee in Deliciis Poetarum Scotorum:—Guil. Hegatus, Principal of the Colledge of Bordeaux, a good philopher and poet, borne 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 no, or do not for the tyme remember.

As for your Sermon, I send yow no censure 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 hundreth year and above antiquitie before St. Andrewes and us, that I have not read any of your writs in patience since, nor I think ever will, till, for these two lourd escapes, yow give great satisfaction. The Lord be with yow. Our Remonstrators remaine what they were, men for their owne faction alone.

Your's to serve yow,

Glaflgow, May 23d 1660.

R. B.

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

5 Mr. Robert Laurie, who was afterwards Dean of Edinburgh, and Bishop of Brechin.

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

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

8 "The Stable Truths of the Kirk require a suitable behaviour: Holden forth by way of Sermon, &c. before the Provincall Synod of Aberdeen, April 18, 1659. Aberdene, printed by J. B. in March, Ann. 1660." 4to.

9 "Academiarum Vindiciae, in quibus Novantium prejudicia contra Academias etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earundemque Institutio recta proponitur." Aberdonie, 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: fend it back to me with these Thefes. What was written the 1ft February, was too long in coming to yow and me. The end of May, I think, our Colledges must fend their Feverall answers. Advife me if I fhall 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 raife tragedies upon it, as if I did take upon me to depofe him before the time: advife 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-eaft, they are all miscontent with some thing in this change. I have heard some of them preach these three last 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 Bifhops, Books, destroying of the Covenant, setting up of profanitie; and heirupon presfes privie meetings, as in a tyme moft neceffar. The fermon this day was spent on that purpose. These fett meet- ings, 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 pafed all their bygone midmeneours, not few nor small, and made byganes byganes; yet I can fee no hope of any fair play in tyme to come, but a refolution, to keep up a schifme and a partie of the godly, as they will have them called, for themselves, that fhall obey no Church Judicatorie farder than they please: This spirit is now aloft more than ever, flirred up lately in their Edinburgh meeting, from Wariftoun, Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Gillespie, and Mr. Rutherfurd's commiffion, by Mr. M'Quard: advert to it, left it goe to a new mifchief. Argyle and Mr. Gillefpie 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 himfelf put not the evil spirit of caufeles division from among us, both in Kirk and State, which now againe is burning. I think we fhall 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 reft,

May 27th [1660.]

Your's,

R. B.

Yow let us know nothing, neither what Mr. J. Sharp nor what yow there are doeing. We are weared 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 those who, in my heart, and all needfull expressions, adhered to the King in all his distresse: He had my continuall prayers to God for his restitution, any way God pleased, even the most hard: diverse know my frequent expressions of readiness 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 pass, both for the matter and manner, there were few that had a more hearty joy for it than I, and was more offended (even in my pulpit) with those who were not so joyfull as I thought became them. While I am going on in my daily renewed joy, behold your unhappy Diurnals and letters from London hes wounded me to the heart. Is the Service-Book read in the King's Chappell? Hes the Bishop of Elie (I fear Dr. Wran), the worst Bishop of our age after Dr. Laud, preached there? Hes the Houfe of Lords paft an order for the Service-Book? Oh! where are we soon? The granting to us in Scotland the confirmation of what we have, brings us just back to J[ames] Graham's tymes. Is our Covenant with England turned to Harie Martin's Almanack? Is the solemn oath of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, subscrib'd so oft
by their hands to eradical Bishops, turned all to wind? Why did the Parliament, a few months since, appoint the Covenant to be hung up in every Church of England, and every year to be publickly read? Is Cromwell, the great enemie of our Covenant, so soon arisen out of his grave? Can our gracious Prince ever forget his solemne 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 tollerat what he will, I purpose while I live to be his most loving and loyall 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 leaft of all by him for whom the Lord has wrought at this very tyme 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 bleffe that plant which himself never planted? It's a scorn to tell us of moderat Episcopacy, a moderat Papacy! the world knows that Bishops and Popes could never keep cayevats: 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 Gallovidianus, 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 Lancafhyre, and other fhyres? Be affurred, whatever surprrise be for the time, this so hideous a breach to God and man can no faill to produce the wrath of God in the end. Shall all our blood and labour for that Covenant be so easilie buried? Though all fleshe, English and Scots, for their own designs were silent at so needfull a tyme, I doubt not bot the Lord himself will hear our cryes againft 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 Restitution of our King, resolve to complains to God and man, while we live, for the returne of Books and Bishops.

Thus farr I have poured out my heart to yow at this tyme, who, I believe, will be loath for any caufe to apostatise from your well-tryed constancie. This is from your L[ordship's] old friend and servant,

R. B.

June 16th 1660.

[For the Earl of Lauderdale.]  

My Lord,

I receaved on the 30th of June, what long before yow sent to me by Mr. Jo. Wilkie, two copies of the French letters, vindicating the King's constancie in his religion. The one, as yow directed, I sent immediatelie 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 regrate, which I hope your Lordship hath receaved. This is on a particular. Mistrifs Gillespie has gone to her friends at London to solicate her husband's pardon and confirmation in his place of Principall in our Univerfitie. I would no be strait-laced in pardon almoast to any penitent man; but truelie if his Majestie should be that farr abused by any there, as to confirm him in that place whereto he had never any call, but the English intrusion, nor any parts to discharge it as all the nation knows, I would be forced to subscribe what his partie preaches in my eares, though not in their 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 Chrift Colledge of Oxford, and Lockier in Eaton. My Lord, the word goes that his chief confidence is in your Lordship for the good offices he did to yow with Lambert in your prifon. But by all the interest I have in yow, I con-

* Lady Margaret Kennedy, eldest daughter of John Earl of Cassillis: At a later period, (in 1670 or 1671,) she became the wife of Dr. Gilbert Burnet, then Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.
jure yow not to medle with him. It would draw infamie upon yow, and the
offence of our whole Church, and all who truelie loves the King and hates
the Remonstrance. Ye would wrong our Univerfitie, oppreft by his evill
talent, and myſelf in particular, who deferves no injurie at your Lordſhip's
hands. Yow are too wife to be enchanted by that firen's fongs: for her
venturous boldnes she ought to be fent home, if not with an affront, yet
with a fevere frowne.

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

R. B.

Glasgow, July 2d 1660.

FOR MR. HUTCHESONE.

GEORGE,

I got your laſt, and all my papers back on Saturday. I am oblidged to
yow, and yow only, for a serious care to revife them. Most of your cor-
rections, both literall and reall, are right, whereof I will make uſe. Your
difference from me in some points I take very wel, and shall confider of it.
The Scripturall hiatus in the seventy weeks is my great grief, and I would
count him a happie man who could help it. The third edition of my Laden-
fium, at London, had additions: I hall 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 hall 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 Peti-
tion againſt Books and Bifhops? I fear we cannot anſwer for our miserable
flackneſes herein alreadie. It is more than time that all the gracious minif-
ters in the citie and countrie ſhould doe their beſt to procure fo many and fo
ſtrong petitions as poſſible, 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 sore 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 tried by daily comers from London. We have lost a fair game by meere misguiding. A pitie but Hyde and some others had been removed from Court long before this. That Middletone, a sojour, is to be Commissioner of our Parliament and Assemlie, I fear it import some unpleasant service to be in hand. The Remonstrance, the Act of the West Church, the Protestation, I abhorre, as very base and intollerable pranks; but God forbid that any would be put to suffer for them, who will play fair in time to come. I doe inclyne, as yow advyse, to deal with Hamond and Jesuit Petavius, and King Charles's Reasfons for Episcopacie; but I cannot determine when, till I have seen Hamond, (I expect him shortly from London,) and I have gotten my Chronologie to the presse: in this advyse me. It is not framed so that any part of it can goe alone. If Thomas Catherwood, on your recommendation, or your printer at London, would undertake it, I shoule require nothing but some bound copies, to be distributive to friends. Assift me in this, else I must let it lye still, 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 time nor expediency will allow me to write that which may acquit me from that charge of neglect you may commence against me, and therefore shall entreat your patience, and exercise of your charity towards me, till I have the opportunitie of satisfying you. The King at my first address in Breda, was pleased to ask me very kindly about you; and at my taking leave at Whithall, commanded me to remember him to you by name, with others; and I can assure you, he hath a particular kindness for you, and will give a demonstration of it. His Majesty hath been pleased to send by me a gracious letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to be communicated to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, which I am confident will satisfy all who are satisfiable; it will be printed, and within a day or two, a copy transmitted to you. 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 mercy, 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 contests there are swallowed up by thee 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 compoefing of these differences untill a Synod be called. Your noble friend who hath sent you the inclosed, (however he is represented by some with you,) is a fixed friend to the interest of the Church of Scotland, and to that cause we have owned: we have cause to bleffe God that he is put into such a station by his Majesty, 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 you to the prejudice of that Noble person: they are calumnies, and I hope will not have belief with you, and other honest men. I think it were not amiss you 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 yow could; there are matters fitt for yow 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 yow to the Lord's grace.

Your's to serve yow,

Edinburgh, September 5th 1660. JA. Sharp.

I shall entreat yow to prefent my service to Proveift John Bell. I beg his pardon for my incivilitie in sending no return to what he wrote to me at London. I trust the reason upon which I fell into that omission will plead for my excuse when communicated to him, which I 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 unsatisfied with it, for I desire not to know the complaints of my friends, when I cannot help them. Your letters of fears and jealousies of me came too soon; for, let me tell yow, charity and old acquaintance ought to have made yow not to have been so credulous as to have hearkened so much to clatters. My crime, I thought, should have been feveritie, and not too much acting for Remonftrants. But we will, I hope, agree when we meet. All the account I can now give yow is, that instead of pleading for Mr. Gilleespie, I have obtained a grant for another to be Principall of Glafgow, and waits but for a formall presentation for his Majeftie's hand; he was prefented by the Ufarper, and therefore the King makes no bones of the disposing of that place, and, I affure yow, I did not plead for his continuance. This yow may believe better than thefe who told yow I was pleading for Remonftrators; this honest bearer, Mr. Sharp, will tell yow all that yow would know from this place. I shall only add, that whatever ye hear, I am where I was, and by consequence,

Your affectionsat friend to serve yow, LAUDERDAILL.

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

My Lord,

I receive what you wrote to me with Mr. Sharp. His Majesty's remembrance of me, I thank you 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 you did not deceive, neither his Majesty nor yourself, in affuring 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 you deceive yourself in believing my true respect towards you now of a long time, above any in our land of your quality. As for my late grievances, I am content to suspend their debate till we meet. For the presentation you write of, I shall advise it, when it comes to my hand, with the brethren of Edinburgh. I was never desirous of any place but one, the regency of the Bajouns. The Principal'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 peremptorily refuse it, Dr. Strang, to whom it did truly belong, being then alive. Age and weakness make me now more unfitt for it than I was then. Beside that, Mr. Gillepsie, by his good administration, has put that place for the time in a very miserable condition, as at our first Visitation will be apparent. Beside other grievous burdens, he has left upon us, by his vain-glorious buildings, the debt of above ten thousand merks, and ten thousand pound will not perfite, what fore against my heart he has laid a necessity on us to perfite, or be accounted poor feckles fnaifties, 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 blest change that God himself had wrought, become of us and our building what God pleases. The Chancellor affures me, that the King and State will help us to perfite that work, (which indeed is the prettiest building in all our land,) and will not be outstripped by Cromwell in kindness to our University;
but of the time and wayses 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, subffcrived to Dr. Strang, two hunnder pound. This our good Thesaufer Traquair shifted ever to pay till our troubles began. The world now knows his Majestie's care to fee his Royall Father's debt payed, fo far as he can, with increafe. The Chancellor and others affure 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 Thesaufer. I hope your Lordship, who gets his Majestie's hand to so many things will get it also to this little particular; were it but for your kindness to me. And what, if in the precept his Majestie would, of his royall bounty, double it, as oft he hes done to others who can doe him leffe service? Surely if we get it, or if we get it not, I shall, God willing, be carefull to fett on the frontispiece 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 moft fittting your temper. So soon as yow may, let me know what to expect, or rather let me receive from Mr. Sharp, who will fend it fafely to me, his Majestie's warrand to the Thesaufer for the reall and ready payment, of which his Majestie and your Lordship fhall think fitt. I purpofe never to feek, nor to have any thing for myfelf; for, bleffed be God! I have enough for myfelf, and all my fix children; but I would fain fee our College out of that debt [in] which the vanitie and prodigalitie of that man has almost drowned us. The Lord bleffe and help your Lordship in that high and ticklifh station wherein now yow f tand.

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 payed 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 gratioufie 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 "kind ness," which he must have esteemed as in no way cancelling the original obligation.
[For Mr. George Hutcheson, Edinburgh.]

George,

Since I saw you, reflecting on what I heard and saw there, and somewhat he comes 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 wrack of the Remonstrators, with our help, be but a state designe to make us instrumentall to weaken the Kirk, to oppose their farther designs we are egregiously abused. I fear this Parliament, if they will abolish not only the Act of Patronages, but that whole Parliament, yea will meddle with our Solemn League and Covenant, with our connivence and silence, it will be Mr. W. Russel'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 Casillis 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. Dickson 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 buffines 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.]

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. Afhe and Mr. Clerk, to doe their best for a strong petition from the Presbyterian ministers and Citie against Episcopacie and Liturgie: who hes marred it till now, they have been fools or knaves. Yow there should have done it, but ere it be not done I will try it, if yow alone approve. I am fore grieved: simple men are impatient of cheating.

FOR MR. DICKSON.

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

Yow have here what, on your desire, I promised to send; dispose on it as yow, Mr. Douglaes, and Mr. Hutchefon shall find expedient. If yow find meet to send it abroad, let it be nameles, and well corrected at the preffe by Mr. Archbald Cameron. But by no means let it come out before the Parliament have ended with all they purpoze towards the Protesters; for I would be forie that any write of mine shoulde bring trouble to any man: I would rather choice to burne it. 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, feventeen dayes after the date of it; and I put off the sending yow a returne, till my coming to Edinburgh, where I apprehended yow might be at the meeting of Parliament: this is the cause of the delay of the account, which now I shall give yow concerning the matter of that letter. I sent your letter to Lauderdail, which came

7 A brother of the celebrated divine John Cameron: vide vol. i. p. 492.

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 post. Since which tyme I have receaved no letter, have 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 busineses, 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 tranmitting it to my Lord Lauderdaill, who, I am confident, will take care of it. Couriers, they are so taken up with other busineses, that they have neither leasure nor mind for framing draughts, and the readiest way will be to send a draught to them. I doe not think but he hes either alreadie written to yourself, or will write to yow by his brother Charles Maitland of Halton, who is now coming down.

Mr. Young did his busineses, 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 with 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 sincerity,

Sir, Your's,

JA. Sharp.
[For Mr. James Sharp.]

James,

Yours of the 13th I receaved the 15th; whereby I see your great kindness to me continues, for the which I remaine 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 agoe 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 filent, 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 should not goe to the preffe till the Parliament (and I with the Church also) had ended all they have to say to any of them. However, I have performed what I have 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 fend yow herewith the double of mine, that if yow think fitt, he may look on it with one of yours to second it. Mr. Gillepie indeed hes left us in such a condition, that (as I hear he boasts, on too good grounds, few shall desire it in haste,) I will be loath to medle with it, if his Majestie, by Lauderdaill's means, will not help us out of our straits. My fift motion for a precept to the Thefaurer I thought would have had no difficultie. For a presentation 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,
be impartial: for Noblemen, the Chancellor and yow would advyse of some who might keep with us, such as Montgomerie, Fleeming, not Cochrane at this time, nor Montrose: [for] Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Lennox, Luffe, Kilmahew, for Baranthrow, young Houston, Craigends, also Kilsyth, Heiflet, Cunninghamhead, Bedlay, Commisfar Fleeming: for Burroughs, the Proveft, and Bailzies, Dean of Gild, and Deacon Conveener of Glasgow, (at least two of them, Walkinghaw and Baillie Barnes,) the Proveft of Aire, Irvin, Dumbartane: for Ministers, Mr. James Fergusfon, Mr. Alexander Nisbet, Mr. P. Colvill, Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame elder, Mr. R. Wallace, Mr. Hew Eccles, Mr. R. Birnie, Mr. James Hamilton of Cannathen: Nine a quorum, four ministers and five others. This, if yow pleafe, yow can manage well, or something like this; and becaufe there may be some Sederunts at Edinburgh, the Thesaurer and Caffills might be put in, Mr. R. Douglaes, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Hutchefon, yow, and Mr. Wood, Mr. Smith, etc.

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

Your's to serve yow,

January 1st 1661.

R. Baillie.

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

Reverend Sir,

I receaved two of your letters laitley, 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 perfon, and can give yow fuch ane account of matters relating to your letters, as will make it unneces matchy for me to fend yow a large returne. I would not have imagined that fuch an abuse and gros injurie could have been deigned againft yow. I shall doe my beft, by the Lord's help, to give them check-meat. Any court I may be supposked

¹ From the original, addressed as above, (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xlix. No. 6.)
to have, (upon the continuance of which I doe not build,) shall be with all readines and good will, layed out to doe Mr. Baily service. My Lord Commissioner is a wery judicious and moderat person, and, by his carriage in the publick 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, nor the Thesaurer: 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, befor my coming from London, yow had the King's word for it, which I truft he will not alter. It is necesfarie yow come, within eight or ten dayes, to this place, to pay your respects from your Univerfitie to his Majeftie's Commiffionar; then we shall have opportunity to commune about your visitation. The late Act of your Synod, to my apprehenfion, and of the brethren heer, was unfeafonable, and will doe more harm then good; it scapes not the construction of imprudencie and unhandfomenes putt upon it, at the left. I have not yet feen your peece yow lent to Mr. Dickfon. I was preffed to preach the laft Lord's day to the Parliament, of which I hear variety of reports are fpread, which will be increased by the foolishnes of the diurnall maker; but I know yow will allow me charity till yow fpeak with me. Yow fee how I fcrible; I make no doubt of your coming hither, and therfor shall adde no more, but commending yow to the grace of Chrif, I am,

Your's, JA. SHARP.

[For Mr. Robert Baillie.]

Reverend and Worthise Freind,

To convince yow once more that yow was too credulous in beleieving that I was dealing for Mr. Gilefpie, receave the inclofed paper, which indeed

5 John Earl of Middleton.            5 William Earl of Glencairne.
4 John Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay. 4 On the 6th January 1661, which serves to fix the date of this letter.
3 From the original, (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xlix. No. 7): the address is not preserved.
be impartially: for Noblemen, the Chancellor and yow would advyse of some who might keep with us, such as Montgomerie, Fleeming, not Cochrane at this time, nor Montrose: [for] Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Lennox, Luffe, Kilmahew, for Baranthrow, young Houfton, Craigends, alfo Kilfyth, Heiflet, Cunninghamhead, Bedlay, Commiffar Fleeming: for Burroughs, the Proveft, and Bailzies, Dean of Gild, and Deacon Conveener of Glafgow, (at least two of them, Walkinghaw and Baillie Barnes,) the Proveft of Aire, Irvin, Dumbartane: for Minifters, Mr. James Ferguffon, Mr. Alexander Nifbet, Mr. P. Colvill, Mr. Gabriel Cunninhame elder, Mr. R. Wallace, Mr. Hew Eccles, Mr. R. Birnie, Mr. James Hamilton of Camnathen: Nine a quorum, four minifters and five others. This, if yow plesafe, yow can manage well, or something like this; and becaufe there may be fome Sederunts at Edinburgh, the Thesaurer and Caftills might be put in, Mr. R. Douglafs, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Hutchefon, yow, and Mr. Wood, Mr. Smith, etc.

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Your's,

JA. Sharp.

[For Mr. Robert Baille.]  

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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 forts 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 please; it shall little trouble me. This paper should have comd long agoe, if I had sooner gotten a copie of a presentation. His Majeftie gratioufly promised it at his firit coming, and readily signed it the other day. So to him yow owe all the thankes. I can onely fay for my felf, that I shall ever be ready to witnes to yow that I forget not old freindship, and that I am, in the old manner,

SIR,

Your moft affectionate freind to serv yow,

Whitehall, 24th January 1661.

[Lauderdaill.

[WHARRANT 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 Glasgow, the said Colledge hath been without a Principall, and that the intrufion of Mr. Patrick Gillepie into that place, in these late tymes of Ufurpation, hath been no small prejudice and detriment thereunto, and being very fenfible how necessarie it is for the good education of youth, and the flourishing of pietie and learning therein, that this place be filled with a man able and well qualified for discharging thereof, and knowing well that Mr. Robert Baillie, Profeflor of Divinitie there, is a fitt and well-qualified perfon for this employment: Therefore his Majeftie ordains a Letter to be made, paft, and expede, under his Highnes Privie Seall of his Kingdome of Scotland, nominating, prefenting, and appointing, likes as these his Majeftie nominates, prefents, and appoints the said Mr. Robert Baillie, during all the dayes of his naturall lifetime, to be Principall of the College of Glasgou; giving, granting, and dif-
poning, likeas his Majestie by these, gives, grants, and dispones to the said Mr. Robert the stipend, fees, profites, emoluments, casualties, 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 pleafure, all and every the famen, ficklike as freely and fully in all refpects as any other Principall of the faid Colledge has, might, or ought to have done heretofore: Heirby requiring the Moderators of the Univerfitie of Glasgowe, with all convenient diligence after finge 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 preffentation of Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE to the place of Principall of the Colledge of Glasgowe for all the dayes of his life, with the stipend, priviledges, profits, and casualties belonging to the fame.

Lauderdaill.

[For Mr. William Spang.]

Cousin,

I LONG much now to hear how it goes with yow and your familie, and what is become of Dr. Strang's book; for it is long fince I have heard from yow. As yow defired, and as my cuftome is, I give yow here one account of our affaires fince my laft long letter; though yow readilie know all, yet it's not unfitt yow should know our fende and concepțion of them also. We expefted this year for great quietnefs at home, and for troubles abroad; but God, who governs all, has much disappointed both our hopes and fears, making farre more confusion at home, and quietnefs abroad, than was expected.
When the Portugalls had defeat the Spanish army at Elvas, and Turein had possessed so many places in the midst of Flanders; the English being master of Dunkirk, and, with their navie on the coast of Spaine, fearing 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 Ragotsi, of the Venetians, and the Basla of Aleppo, increasing the tumults in Constantinople: These things made us expect great changes abroad: but before we were aware the scales turned; France in the midst of his victories stopped, on what true motive we cannot dreame; his allyance with his cousin of Spaine seemed not so desirable, the Lady being so far in years beyond the King, and no great matter for tocher offered, as we can hear. How Piementillic, who cheated the poor Queen of Sueden out of her religion, her kingdome, and reputation, should have gotten the Cardinal of France so farre enchanted as to lay down armies, when they most prospered, 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 refuse of his sister, 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 obstinate adherence still to the Spanish against the Portugall; the Queen of Spain’s two sons has put that old languishing King once again on his feet; your States beating of the Suedish navie; the King’s repulses from his too furious and unreasonable assaults of Copenhagen; the Imperiall, Brandeburgish, and Polish armie, falling on Pomer; the Dutch league of Colen, Mentz, and others, making no diversion; France lying off; the English navie’s 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 Roskill’s capitulation. However, the fearfull ruining of all Denmark’s countrie, and the stopping of Sweden in all his designes through the strong armies leagueed against 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 shed in these bounds than we feared: we are firie for the ruining of the Prince of Holsten and Courland; the Turks also seem to be in a much
better condition; the Persian invasion of Babylon being a mere fable; the Baffa of Aleppo and all his partie ruined; Ragotfi put to depend on the Emperor for a subsistence; the Vizier, by sea, putting in Candy what men he will; the Muscoviters victories against the Tartars and Cofaks being of no consequence: So, where we expected a quick overturning of states and impries in a short time, affaires are so turned about, that what was shakeing is more firmly established.

But with us all contrarie: our very firm-like foundations in a moment overturned. The Protector 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 scarce with his mouth could he declare that much of his will; there was no more witnesses of it but Secretary Thurloe and Thomas Goodwin. Some did fearfully flatter him as much dead as living. Thomas Goodwin, at the faft before his death, in his prayer, is said to have spoken such words: "Lord, we pray no for thy fervant's life, for we know that is granted; but to haftle 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-parafites. 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 fette downe on his chyre; and, after a most solemn inftalment, got address to almoft from all the fhyres, cities, regiments of the armies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Dun-kirk, from the navy, from the ministrie, Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptiftick, all striveing who should be firft and moft promifing. All neighbour-states of France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Brandeburgh, Ham-burgh, Portugall, congratulating his succeffion. No appearance of the smallest air of opposition, till the officers of the armie did begin to petition for a Generall, and payment of their arrears. For their satiffaction a Parliament was summoned againft the 27th of January. This did meet frequently: some fay it was prettie well chofen, of men who for the moft had good designes for the publick, and aimed at a solid fettlement both of Church and State; but among them were many for contrarie designes. The firft fencing was about the Act of recognition: for albeit, at the entry in the Houfes, every one took

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the oath in the humble Petition and Advyce; yet when it came to an Act of recognition, many and sharp debates arose. It was carried to acknowledge Richard for Protector; but withall, that the Bill could not passe till the limitations of his power, the full securitie of the privileges of Parliaments, and libertie of the subjects, should passe in the same Act. A committee was appointed for that work, and Sir Harie Vaine seft 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 prefent breach betwixt us and yow; but since your fleet did nothing but supplie Copenhagen with some men and victuals, and did not transport any of the confederate army to raise the siege; it seems the English and Holland instructions have been, not to fight, and so to do but little service to either partie all this long summer. Whether yow will do fo still, when the English are returned, we will shortly fee.

The Parliament’s nixt 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 nyneeteeen hunder thousand pound Sterling; the necessare charge of the Armie and State was above twenty-two hunder thousand; it was no marvell then that the arrears of the armie should exceed twenty-five hunder thousand, and the Protector’s debt many hunder thousand pounds also: How all this should be payed without the countrie’s ruine, was the Parliament’s great care. While they are about this, the officers of the army have their daily meetings, in Fleetwood’s lodging or Wallingfurd-house. The Anabaptiflick 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 firft principles, to overthrow Oliver’s selfie innovations, to abolish the other Houfe, and all government by one, under whatfoever name. The Parliament finding these popular addreses take much with the officers, and that fuch meetings on fuch high consultations could not stand with their au-
thoritie, resolved an Act for dissolving the meeting of Wallingfurd-house, and to command all officers to attend their severall charges in the three Kingdomes, and to take an oath of obedience to the present Parliament. While the other House is aduyfing on that vote, the Protector joyns with it, and accordingly commands the officers to be gone to their charges. He and the House suppos'd that they had so great a partie of the armie and citie for them, that there was no hazard of any force: but they fand themselves quicklie mistaken; for the officers, with all speed, making a randivous at the back of St. James's Park, in the Pell Mell, at eleven a'clock at night, before the Protector had provided any thing for opposition, they came immediately to Whithall, and made the Protector confent, under the Great Seall, not to the adjourning, (which at first would have satisfi'd,) but the dissolution of the Parliament. To this most hardly he did confent; but his uncle Difbrough, and brother Fleetwood, drew him to it with firme promifes of the armie's readiness still to serve him. When the officers saw the Parliament so easly dissolved they fand themselves unsecure, till, contrare to Fleetwood and Difbrough's mind, they made the Protector lay downe his place, and took, for a tyme, the government of all into their own hand. To this alfo the Protector did quietly submit, 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 Protector's confidents; the regiments of the Protector, Ingolsby, Whalley, Goff, Falconbridge, Howard, and others, were given to Lambert, Overtoun, Okey, and fuch whom Oliver had outed. The Tower was taken from Barkfted, 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 aduyfement, they fell on a very unexpected overture, to fet down with a Parliamentary power, so many of the Long Parliament that remained uncaft out, when the Protector, in the year 1652, had disfolved them. Of these they fand in the citie and about it, about fourtie; whom, with Lenthall, their Speaker, they moved to fit downe in the house, the sixtth of May; who since that time hes ruled as a Parliament. At the very first all the Armie's propofals past 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 some other sharp pamphleteers made; which they misregarded. For the citie of London, the most of all the regiments in the three
nations, did send them congratulatorie addresses, so full of good words as ever.
were made to either of the Cromwells; whose names by many were then
peared in the worst language, pictures, and pamphlets, that could be. Some
ffurr was expected from Henry [Cromwell] in Ireland, Monck in Scotland,
and some other of the Protector’s friends; but all came to just nothing.

The new old Parliament’s first and chief work was to constitute the armie.
A committee of nomination was to nominate everie officer in every regiment;
the crouner, lieutenant, major, every captain, ensigne, etc. All these were
appointed to come to the barre of the Houfe, to receive their new commis-
sions, and make their oath there to the Parliament. This was a long and
faltious work, and is not yet ended. Many officers were left out without
any accufation. Nothing in this was the work of the Generall, which many
took for a flighting of him. The armie induced all this as coming from the
hands of their trufly friends; but an other work of the Parliament flartled
them more; the eftablifhing of the militia of the counties in fuch hands as
the Parliament nominat: thefe 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
feems this countrie-militia was but for a tyme.

While thefe things are in doing, there arife a generall miscontent among
the people every where in England, which bred a conspiracie in many fhyres,
to take armes at severall rendezvouses, the 18th of Auguft. But before the
1st of Auguft, all was revealed: Maffey, Titus, and others, from the King,
were faid to have been for diverfe moneths at work in the citie and countrie
to make a partie. The chief flickling was where leaft expected, in Cheffhyre
and Lancalhyre: Sir George Booth had drawn the moft of the people after
him. The report of this thing flew every where, and increafed the num-
ber and strength of the conspirators hugelie above truth; for when it came
to the proof, they were found unconfiderable. Fleetwood and the militia
of London, keepe down the citie, the rifeing whereof was moft feared.
A few old troupes and the new militia of the fhyres did preveene, and
eafie fupprefs, the rendezvouses in Kent, Hartfordshire, Glocelfershire,
Notingham, Derby, Leicefter, Shrophire, and other places. Lambert,
with four or five thouſand horfe 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, Prefton, 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 confefions, they say, are fo liberall, that manie talks he hes been but ane emifiarie of purpose to difcover 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 confefions. At the firft, many of the Preby-terian minifters in the city and country, was faid to be on this plot; but this lykewayes appears now to be a vaine report. Ere long, doublefs, we will hear of all the bottome of the businesfs; 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 difslove, and pay off the countrey-militia, that it might not ftand when there was no more ufe of it than to be a visible curb to them. Yet the people’s generall mifcontentment 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 eftablifhed. The Parliament and army agree againft all monarchie, whether of Kings or Proteftors, and againft the Houfe of Lords; but what forme of Republick to fettle, this they differ on. Some are for the perfeverance, if not perpetuitie, of this part of the old Parliament that now fitts; others for a new Parliament of Commons, chofen according to the qualifications which this Parliament fhall agree upon; others for a Parliament of two or three thouthand of the people, with a co-ordinat power of a Senate, to be a check on the peoples extravagancie: what of thefe fhall 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 mon-frous blasphemer, out of prifon; and have moved some wife Prebyterians, Independents, and more sober Anabaptifts, to syncretifme againft their danger, will force the armie once more to raife the Parliament, and fupplicat.
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 sixth of May without all law, nor appearance of any in haffte. My Lord Warifhtoun was called to the Houfe of Peers by the laft Protector: when the Parliament was dissolved, his old friend, Sir Henry Vaine, got him in the Council of State, and the most ordinare chairman thereof: all the weight of Scots affairs lies on him alone. Argyle, though he went thither a Commissioner for Aberdeenshire, and sat in the Houfe of Commons, complying with the Protector fo long as he stood, and with the new Parliament fo much as any desired; yet was misregarded; and for fear of arreifment for debt, slipped away home with small credit or contentment. The reft of the Scots commissioners, Swinton, Garifland [Garfand], Major Barclay, Earle of Lithgow, Earle of Tweddale, etc., comply as they pleafed, did signify little thing; but Warifhtoun was all. He was made to believe that our union would be a short busines; 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 fo long, that they say it's laid afide 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 Garifland, young Dun-das, our Quakers, and many others, for a full tolleration to be infert in the act of our union. This was fo well backed by some of the officers of the armie, that till it be satisfied, nothing can be gotten done, though Warifhton doe his uttermoft againft it.

Upon fufpicion 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 prefent government: Who refused were laid up in prisons; Montrose, Calendar, Lorne, Selkirk, Kenmure, Didup, Loudoun, David Lefley, Sir James Lumfden, and others. Some took it, as Glencarne, and, as they fay, Rothes, Montgomerie, etc.: but it's thought there was no Scots flefh on this designe, whether because not trusted, or not defired 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.
LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

What was talked of Kinnoul and General Major Montgomerie, landing in our Hielands wes 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 noise.

Our Church lyes as it was, full of grief, for inward divisions, and outward hazard. As yet the English troubles us not: and truly they have no cause; for, whatever be our thoughts, yet in all expressions we are so quiet and peaceable as they could with. Being arrayed for Wariſtoun's unceffant desigines, the brethren of Edinburgh moved Mr. Sharp to goe up again to attend his motions. The Protector Richard took very weell with him and fundry members of Parliament; but when these were put down, Warrifton deferred him to the Councell, as correspanding with Maffley and Titus. Being upon this called to the Councell, 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 Glægow, yow 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 Protector Richard a patent, commanding us, out of our rents, old and new, to addde yearly to Mr. Gilleſpie's former stipend, a hundred pound sterling yearly, upon three very untrue narratives. 1. That he was not sufficiently provided; while he had a hundred and threttie pound, which is more than any Principall hes in Scotland. 2. That the Colledge rent could weell bear it; while as now, it does not pay our stipends and table till the year after. 3. That the labour of his charge was extraordinar; while he does as good as nothing in his proper charge, but goes about buildings, pleas, and journeyes, all the year over. We thought neither law nor reafon 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 passe from his former gift of the half of the augmentations of Galloway; 4. That this his gift should not be for his fuceffor. On this a write was drawn, and all fubferyved; but herein I was offended, that when he defired the by-runs of the augmentations of Galloway passing from them in time to come, and we
granted his desire; in the very first article, he put in the teinds of 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 closed after his coming, and long agoe spent. From this he passed; yet, by debts and compositions made, these bygone augmentation amounts to above two thousand merks, the half whereof he took. We would have been glad he had rested here; but his next motion was, to pull down the whole forework of the Colledge, the high Hall, and Arthurlie, very good houses, all newly dressed at a great charge. I was very grieved at this not only totallie needless but hurtfull motion, and got the most of our number to be in my mind, though he offered to get it builded without any cost to the Colledge, out of the remainder of Mr. Zacharie Boyd's mortification, eight thousand merks in my Lord Loudoun's hands, the vacancies of kirks, and other means he would procure. All this satisfied no diverse of us, yet warrin us by Mr. John Young's vote, we behooved to let it goe. I reasoned much for a delay, till in the next spring we had gotten some money, and saw how the world would goe; but all in vain: prefentlie the Hall was pulled down. All since, 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 also fashed us: we expected great things of the Deanrie and Subdeanrie of Hamilton; all came to four or five chalders 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 thousand merks of burfar-money, there would be two or three thousand of by-run dueties, and we behooved to borrow the rest; to this also we contented, but not very willinglie, for fear of clammers in the end. The bargain yet flicks unperfected. He appointed a new factor to take up the bygonies, of the readieft, his wife following him to London, a thousand merks, as he had done another when he went. Our order is, that our stipends should be payed to all men proportionable; but when he had that two thousand merks, there was not a groat to give any man of that year's stipend, the half whereof was due at January 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 Rector to see if we would defyre him to stay on our affairs. 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 business; but grieved that we misregarded our business so far as not to have sent up some other of our number to wait on it. He went up and came down with my Lady Swinton in her coach. What will be his next designe we know not, but I think we will not be long a-hearing it.

Our Toune has been in more peace than formerly. Mr. Gillepsie's four months absence, want of publick judicatories has helped to it; but no good will in some is lacking to keep in the fire. The last trick they have fallen on, to usurp the Magistracie, is, by the diligence of their feccioners to make faction in every craft, to get the deacons and deacon-convener created of their side; and herein they have much prevailed: but with such stirs as sometimes it has come to strokes: but this lent-way does no fatiflie. It's feared, by Wariftoun's diligence, some orders shall be procured by Mr. Gillepsie, to have all the Magistrates and Counsell chosen as he will. These in place has guided the toune so moderately and wisely, that none are expected to doe it better: notwithstanding of their hudge charge to defend themselves against Mr. Gillepsie's pleas, they have still kepted the toune free of all taxes, when all our other burghs are wracked with them. They have builded a fair meat-market, 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 Young¹ was very sad to them; he was wife and active, and very watchful for their good, kepted them at peace among themself, prevented and crushed many designes 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 fixty-firft of his age, with the great regrate
of all, except the faction to whom he ever profefled opposition. He was
one of the best and kindest friends I had. For the providing of his place
there has been much dinn, and like to be more. The Magiftrates, Town
Councell, and all the parish, who are considerable, did choice Mr. James
Fergufon; but the feflion choice Mr. John Livioune as one moft active
for their partie, wife and powerfull with the English. Mr. John Carftares's
superlative praises of him, in his preaching and prayers, were according to
his manner effeptive. At the intimation of his call the parifh and magiftrates
profefted, but they went on, and fent to invite him from prefbyterie and
feflion; but the town and parifh fent to intreat him not to come, on the
reafons of their proteftation. His answers to both were but coldrfie; yet
the great diligence that is used with him, by the chief of the party, may make
him to come. If his Synod loufe him, which readifie they will, for any
opposition of magiftrat or people he will not regard it, who diverfe times
has admitted others contrare to the mind of feflion, prefbyterie, synod, and
all. We will shortlie fee the end.

Mr. Ralph Rodger, for all his averfnefs, his Prefbyterie's determining him
to fly, and our Town's proteftation, yet on the Synod's act is come; and if
he goe on as he has begun, will be as fober and profitable minifter here as
any they have. Mr. Francis Aird, whom they would have had, is dead
shortlie of a feaver in five or fix dayes. Mr. David Veitch, one of the
ableft of our prefbyterie, minifter of Govan, having preached on the Sunday,
was buried before the next; fo unhappie is it to fecceed depofed men. In
Decerfe [Dalferf] poor Mr. John Hamilton was put out, I know no for what:
his two succeflors, good men, Mr. John Weir and Mr. Francis Aird, did both
die unexpeftedlie. Mr. William Wikie, I thought, was unjustlie put out of
Govan, albeit his very evill carriage since has declared more of his fins, yet
both his succeflors, Mr. Hew Binny [Binning], and Mr. David Veitch, died
in their youth. Mr. John Crichtoune was too justlie depofed from Paflay,
yet his successor, Mr. Colvert, was suddenlie 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 perfuing their brethren without reason, I never did approve.

Sundrie heevie 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 spoke no more, but died. Thomas Brown, late baillie, having supped, lay down and died before midnight. Thomas Main, our factor, at his breakfast weel, while he stretcht out his hand to the cup, is suddenlie overtaken with a palfie; spoke no more, but in a day or two dies. Thomas Robison, in Salcots, fitting at his own fireside, is 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. Archbald McLauranche, minister at Luffe, a widow, a very well-favoured woman, being found in the act of bafe adulterie with William Watson, and William Hume, was put in the tolbooth where she hanged herself. Janet Hiegat 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 perfon and estate, and knowing, if he were reputed dead, his wife, by conjunct-fire and otherways, would keep his estate; he went, with his brother and two servants, towards England. These 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.² In the mean time he goes beyond London and farmes a piece of ground, and lives very privatelie there. He had but one boy, a very hopefull youth,

— 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 horfe, whereof in a few dayes he dies. In this reall death, by God's hand, who will no be mocked, the hope of that house perished. So soon as the Duke's debt was satiffied by felling his own lands, the secret journeys of my Lord to his own house were espied, and fo much talked of, that he now at laft appears in publict, for his great difrepute; and though he disposes of his estate to his good-son Sillertoun\(^3\) after his death, yet many think both their effates will goe.

There has been a great plague amongst the horfe in all Britain, to the death of many thousands of the beft. What yow inquire of the apperation in Galloway is notourlie known. In Glenlufs parish, in John Campbell a webfter's house, for two or three yeares a spirit did whiles caft stones, oft fire the house, and cut the webs in the looms, yet did never any considerable harms. The man was a good, pious, refolut man, and never left his house for all; fundrie minifters of the Prefbyterie did keep fasting and praying in the house without moleftation; sometyme it spoke, and the minifter, Mr. John Scot, was so wife as to intertain large discourses with it. It were long to write all the paffages: this twelvemonth it has been silent. A fturdie beggar who had been a moft 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 troublefome enough, but for the time is silent. There is much witcherie up and downe our land; though the English be but too spareing to try it, yet some they execute.

For myself, bleffed be God, I am weell. My laft yeare's fitting in a riven chamber, gave a fwelling 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 ftudies. My daughter Lilias lives weell in Aire, and hes heired Kildonel [Kildonan] with a fine boy. I married my step-daughter the other moneth to Mr. Robert Watson, minifter at Cardroffe, a young man of verie good reputation. My daughter Helen is almost a woman: Elizabeth and Mary are growing fat up in grace and ftature. My youngest, Margaret, Dr. Strang's oye, is a very prettie quick child of two years old. I blefls the Lord in these evil dayes I get leave to lurk within our precincts; except on the Sabbath to church, goeing very rarely any where abroad.

\(^3\) Sir Robert Hamilton of Silvertonhill.
My desire is that it may be well with yow, your kind wife, and all your children. Our cousin, good Nanie Gibson, had a felt gravel ending in a ulcer; it created her great pain, till in a moneth or two it took her away. A daughter of Ja. Tran, of a great stone, but after a 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. Caftelmilke, a good meek gentleman, near fourscore, healthy all his dayes, fitting down well to breaking, pretently fell downe in a found, and died in a few houres. John Gibson 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 Herbertson long weak in his chamber, yet on the bonefire-night supped, drank the King's health, and within an hour died unexpectedly. Mr. Gavin Hamilton, late 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 bedefe me, that I might fee some fetting of thefe 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 defpaire of human help for our evills. I heard sweet Balcarras at the Hague did die of grief for that calamitie;⁴ his bodie his lady brought home, and caufed 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 fatified with Chancellor Hyde's very unjuft breaking of his neck: God will fee to it. It was the Parliament's work, espeially Vane, Hafilrig, and Scot, to fearch out all the complices of Sir George Booth; and doubtlefs, 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 honeft men. But behold, when they are running to fuck this blood and fpole, the Lord cafts ane other bone in their teeth. The officers which had defeat Sir George, lifted up with that deferving, expected from the Parliament all they could defyre. With this confidence they approach the citie. Many of them subscrewe a petition, to get all the generall officers eftablishe, and when this did not weel relifh in the Houfe, (for Hafilrig and

⁴ Alexander Second Earl of Balcarras, died at Breda 30th August 1659.
Vane were very jealous of Lambert, they prest it harder: whereupon the Houfe, trufting to the late oaths of obedience from all the officers, makes bold to call the Lambert, Ashfield, Cobbet, and diverfe others. Upon this affront, the officers went to the Houfe, and with threats dissolved them. In this new confufion, all was put to a fland, not knowing what to doe: a judiciar blind-ness fell among them: all were malcontent, and raised in mind to expe& and defire 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 cuftodie, at Dalkeith, did oft solicit him to attempt for the King; but doubts and feares flill kept him off: yet when Haflrig and others had impor&uned 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 fhyles, and defired them to advance fix moneths maintenance. Though this in our deep povertie was almoft to us un-feaflable, yet on good hopes, it was cheerfully and quickly done. He had of his owne above fiftie thousand pound ftterling, which helped him to give good satisfaction to his fojors, while the armie in England was put to live on free quarter, all the fhyles refufing to pay any more money till a free Parliament did command it. There went a ftrong Remonftrance amongft the moft fhyles, againf& an arbitrary fword-government and all taxes, till a free Parliament; but to fugar it, there were two claufes put in, one againft the Stewarts and all Monarchie, one other for full libertie of con fiance to all Sectaries. This encouraged Monck to declare to the officers of the armie at London, his defires of a free Parliament. This did much fhatter them; and when many papers had paft among them, and Monck continued refolute to march into England for that end, Fleetwood fent down to him Mr. Caryll, Colonell Whalley, Goff, and his brother-in-law Dr. Clargis. These wrought him to a treatie, for which he fent three of his officers to London, Cloberry, Wilks, and Knight: thefe were fo laboured on by their friends, that they made an accord, and fub-fervyed 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 Highhecher, who was created Earl of Tarras in 1660. She died without issue in 1661.
Sorrie, Holmes, and many Anabaptists, filling their places with a number of Scottifh old fojors, he refused that accord as done contrary to his instructions. Finding him grow in resolution and strength, they sent to the north Lambert with five thousand of their best horse, and some three or four thousand foot, with which he came to Newcastle on free quarter. Monck came to Berwick in the mids of December, and lay on the fields in a very cold winter, near Caldstreim, with fix or seven thousand good foot, and within two thousand horse. Many of our Noblemen came to him at Berwick, and offered to raise quickly for his service all the power of Scotland; but the most of his officers refused it, fearing the stumbling of their armie and friends in England; for as yet all of them, in their right-well penned papers, did declare as positively as ever, with divine attestations, against all Kings and Monarchie, and for a free Parliament, and all former principles. Lambert was the farr strongest, and easily might have cut in pieces all Monck's partie, and made havoc in our poor land, as they say it was their purpose, designing the chief of our nobles and ministers for the scaffold, and many ministers for Jamaica, whereof I heard myself was one; but blessed be the Lord who kept us from their bloody teeth. Monck resolved to keep his ground at Caldstreim, and if he were beaten, to retire to Stirling, and take our help. Our nobles, by his allowance, but without all engagement, sent 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 get his interest considered in the treatie. He got from both courteous words; but, in effect, was by both neglected. Coming back with a perplexed heart, with his brother York, through France and Flanders, to his Sister at Breda, scarce tolerat by the States Generall's connivance, to abide in the Prince of Orange's bounds, he is much refreshed by what he heard from Scotland. About the same time Broghill and Sir Charles Couts sends Sir Arthure Forbes to him from Ireland, and some from England makes him hopefull of Lambert. This puts him in an uncertainie to what partie first he should apply himself: Hyde inclined most to Lambert; Lauderdaleil's letters, and these from Scotland advised to trust Monck or Scotland; however, Ormont inclined to accept the Irifh offers. All the messengers he dismiffed kindly, with good anfwers. But in the mean time, Colonell Wotham invited Hasilrig, and some of the militia of the late Parliament, to Portsmouth, 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 Hasilrig came near with his forces, reported to be far above the truth, both Fleetwood and Defborough retired, and Hasilrig entered; and incontinent fat downe in the last Parliament, sent letters to Monck to haffe up, and emitted an act of indemnity to all who did submit. Lambert was not able any longer to keep his people in order, so retired speedilie towards London, and, with Fleetwood and the rest, accepted the act of indemnity, and retired to their houses.

On the 1st January 1660, Monck did march orderly, and at leisure, to London: wherever he came he was received as an angell; bells and bonfires welcomed him. All declared their earnest desires of a free Parliament, and gave him great encouragement to procure it: he was civil to all, but referred 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 counells. 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 commifion, to curb his power. They had put Vain, Whitelock, 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 fhyres 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 fitten long in the citie, very secretly, a committee of two from every fhyre, and four of the citie, advising how to cast off the yoke of flaverie. When they fand the rump of the Long Parliament of forty-four to reject the petition of manie fhyres for a new free Parliament, also the petition of two hundred and fifty members, unjustlie by Cromwell cast out, to be readmitted; and all that could be obtained from Hasilrig, 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, mett in common counsell, and voted no more addresses, nor more payments, till a new free Parliament did sitt. Herewith the House is inradged, and votes the unciting 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 counsell was abolished, and a new one appointed to be chosen. Monck was commanded to see these votes execut, and so to become most odious to the people, that the more easly they might destroy both. Monck was in a very hard taking, yet did obey; and the people permitted him patiently to doe all he pleas'd: The gates and posts are pulled down; the common counsell is changed; but behold a present change. The fool Hasilrig had wyped the Citie's and Monck's nose to the blood. Monck, by conference with the secluded members, presbyterian ministers, and chief citizens, is encouraged to write a sharp letter to the Parliament, of his resentment of their severitie to the Citie, and dallying with Fleetwood, Lambert, Vaine, Ludlow, and others, though declared against; farther, of his owne engagement to the Citie, that within five dayes they should issue letters for calling a new free Parliament against the 25th of Aprile.

In the mean tyme, Hasilrig, Scot, and others, did send many meffages to him; and near had gained him to come out of the Citie, and lye at Whitehall: but Mr. Sharp's night labours here were happy. On the 20th of Februa Monck went to the House, and sett down the secluded members. At this the citie and countrie's joy was unexpressible; bells and bonefyres every where; Monck made Captain-General of all forces by sea and land of the three kingdoms, and General-Major of the citie-militia; Hasilrig, Secretarie Scot, and others of the rump, sneakit away to the countrie; Lambert and Overtoun were put in the Tower; a Councellof 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 Lauderdaleill, Crawfurd, and all of ours, were freed of their long priions. Commiisioners from our shyres, Glencairne, Durie, Carden, William Thomson, with Monck's good allowance, came to London. Frequent private meffengers went to the King. He, from Breda, sent over Sir John Greenville and Dr. Morley, with a very gracious meffage,
to both Houses, to the City, to the General, which satisfied all. An order of Parliament given to proclaim the King, May 8th; which was done over all England most solemnly. A Committee of six Lords, twelve Commons, 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 City, with the most solemn hew and heartiest joy that, I think, was ever in England. At Whitehall, Mancheiter and Grimston, 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 professions, to live in peace; for satisfaction to the foesours of their arriars; for keeping them in possession of the Crown and Church lands, till they were satisfied; 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, master of the horfe, one of the Privie Councell, Generall of all the forces under the King; Ormond, steward of the house; Mancheiter, chamberlaine; Lauderdaill, a gentleman of the Bed-chamber; Hyde, Chancellor; Nicolas and Culpeper, Secretars; Reinolds, Calamy, Manton, Baxter, chaplaines; the countrey militia put in hands confident; the King, Duke of York, 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 disband all forces by sea and land. For this end, byfide the maintenance and excyfe, a pole-money was appointed to defray arriars; great foumes came in, and a cheerful enouph disbunding was made; so that before this, except a few garrisons, and a very few horfe and foot, are all peaceably disbanded in the three Kingdomes: a mightie, unexpected work.

The King, in widdome, moderation, pietie, and grave carriage, giving hudge satisfaction to all; the Parliament restored him the power of the militia, his
negative voice, the determination of all ecclesiastic differences, and whatever he could have wished; took a course for buying back his revenues, and much augmenting them. He endeavoured carefully to relieve all that had been sufferers for him or his Father. He pressed the Houses to haste the bill of 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 shameful death; to hing up the bones of Oliver, Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride, on the gibbet at Tiburne; to disgrace the two Goodwins, blind Milton, Owen, Sterrie, Lockier, and others of that maleficent crew.

The most of our Nobles, with very many of our Gentry, run up to Whitehall: all were made welcome. Old places were restored to Crawfurd, Caffillis, and others. No wonder the Chancellor's and Secretar's place were taken from Loudoun and Lothian, and given to Glencairn and Launderdaill; yet with recompence enough to them both, whom some thought deserved little. Loudoun had his pension of a thousand pounds, and gift of annuities continued; Lothian got his second son Director of the Chancery, which Sir John Scot was thought not to deserve. Montrose's Marquifat was confirmed; the customes of Glasgow given to him till he was payed of a great soume; Argyle ordained to refund him a great soume. Selkirk made Duke Hamilton, and out of the customes of Leith twenty thousand pound sterling affigned. Marshall got ten thousand pound sterling of the customes of Aberdeen. Dudup, Earle of Dundee, a soume out of the customes of Dundee. The King gave among them all he had in Scotland, and much more. For Judicatories, he appointed the Committee of Estates of the year 16[50] to sit down, and the Parliament, December 12th. For a Commissioner, by our Nobles content, leaf it shoule be for it, the Lord Middletone, Earle of Fettercairne, was nominat; who was not very acceptable to many; especiellie not keeping the day of the Parliament, but causeing it to be adjourned to Januar; yet when he is come doune, his wisdome, fobrietie, and moderation,

5 In the MS. it is "10,000 p." but see vol. i. p. 390. In Scotch money it would be £12,000.
6 Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Director of the Chancery, pathetically laments that, "albeit he was possessor of the said place of Chancery above forty years, and doer of great services to the King and Country, yet by the power and malice of his enemies, he has been at last thrust out of the said places in his old age, and likewises fined in £500 sterling, 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 weel, to the great joy of all.

But as nothing is perfectly bleffed on earth, fome water was quickly poured in the wine of many; I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a sharp and free letter to Lauderdaill. Bishops and Liturgies were every where fett up in England and Ireland without contradiction: our League and Covenant, by a number of printed pamphlets, was torn to peeces. This was the more grievous, that at the beginning it appeared moft eafie to have been remeved: his Gracious Majeftry was ready to have been abfoluteely advyfed by his Parliament; the leading men there were avowed Covenanters and Prefbyterians: Lauderdaill and Mr. Sharp, both at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear; Monck was for us in that at the beginning firm enough; the Queen and her partie was on our fyde: the Epifcopall men were fundrie of them as evil as before; Bramble, Wran, Helein, Thorndik, Coofins, Sincere, Hammond, Peirce, none of the beft or moft orthodox; Jufon 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 strange, and very grievous, and I fuspeft we know not yet the bottom of that mysterie. I wish all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faithfull: fure they have not been fo prudent and induftrious as, I think, they fhould have been. However, as this was the original of all our late trouble, I think it will not fail in time to procure new commotions, if petitions and remonfances 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 juftling, even by petitions, might give occasion to thefe who were watching for it to make some new commotions, made our friends eafie to be prevailed with not to oppofe the King's defires; especiallie the King promising, by con- ferrence with the chief Prefbyterians and Epifcopalls, to doe his endeavour for their agreeance; as indeed he laboured much in this, and, by his declaration, did draw both fome nearer than they were; but for little fatisfaction to either of the partie: the Epifcopall, not having all they wont, were discon-

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7 The names of the English Bishops are here somewhat incorrectly written by Baillie's amanuensis, for Bramhall, Wren, Heylin, Cosins, Sydserf, Hammond, Pearce, Juxon, &c.
tent; the Presbyterians fand the other had gotten too much, and more than in conscience they could ever affent to; yet, for love to the King, they were silent, when all the Bishops were solemnly installed, and the Liturgie every where restored, clear contrare to our Covenant, and Acts of the English Parliament since 1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great actor in all this Epiftopall businefs, while a few hour's treaty, or but a petition from the Houfes, Generall, and Citie, fent with the Commissioners to Breda, might cauflie have freed us, for the great good of the land, of all these vexations.

It was a hudge grief alfo 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 ficknefs of the maifles 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, was to the King and all his loving people a very great grief; especiallie that third heaviest stroke following, the death of that moft excellent Princeffe, and exceedinglie beloved both of the King and all his subiects. I wish what fome fpeak of her [Mother's] clandestine marriage with Harie German's [Jermyn's] brother's fon may be found to be a moft falfe lie. However, these moft fad accidents did temper our exceeding great and juft joy. Alfo there were fome feares of the fectarian partie's plots; but, bleffed be God, they are come to nought: that bloodie mad spirit of Munfter lodges in many of them. The Chancellor's speech, clofeing the Parliament, fhowed their defigne, on the 25th of December, to have fired the citie, feafted 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 actuallie appear fince; for while the King is conveying his Mother to Portsmouth, fome of these fanaticks did rife two diuerfe times in the night; but were eaſily, by the mayor of the citie alone, compefct, without any conliderable blood, bleffed be God; for sure it is, that partie is yet too strong; but likelie their own madness will shortly annihiate them.

The Bifhop of London did baptize Charles the Duke of Cambridge at Worfter houfe; the Lady Ormont was godmother. The Queen enterained that night the Dutchefs of York, at her table; and to-morrow the King

8 Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England, better known by his title as Earl of Clarendon.

9 Mary, Princess of Orange, 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 Monsieur 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 stickling there was in the west to have had meetings in thyres for new Commissioners. They lyked not Glencairne's imployment; they spoke of Lauderaill and Crawfur'd; but their designe was, Lockart and the Remonstrators interest. My Lord Lie, Sir John Cheislie, Sir George Maxwell, my Lord Stairs, Mr. Gillefpie, and others, were said to be the contrivers. They laboured to have had Selkirk and Caflilis with them, but this was soon cruftied by Monck and Morgan; for they were informed of their inclination to Lambert more than to them. When the Committee of our Eftates, to our great joy, had fit downe in our Parliament House, to prepare matters for our Parliament, Mr. James Guthrie having mett before at Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with diverse of his partie, did tryft it fo, as he and they met in Robert Simpson's house, the next door almoft to the meeting of Eftates, and did draw up a petition to the King¹, making many proceedings of their joy for his returne, but withall remembering him of his Covenant to suppreffe Bishops and Ceremonies in England, and to beware to put the government of Scotland into the hands of Malignants. They also writ letters to Mr. P. Gillefpie, and the chief of their partie in the west, to meet them at Glasgow the next week, with so many as they could bring with them. The Committee hearing of this, immediately sent some of their number to them, seased on their papers, brought them before their court. They were forie, at their first dounffitting, to have to doe with ministers; but Mr. Guthrie's restles and proud insolence did irri-
tat, especlallie when all their number, Masters R. Traill, John Stirling, Alex. Moncreif, John Semple, Mr. John Murray, Mr. Gilbert Hall, and sundry others, did absolutely refuse to acknowledge any fault. Surely they had no warrand to meet, being no Kirk judicatorie, and their ill band of Remonstrance could give them no priviledge in a bodie to admonifh the King, how to govern England, and tax him for making malignants members of judicatories. Upon their obstinacie, all were sent to the Castle. At once Mr. Thomas

¹ This intended Supplication is printed by Wodrow, (App. vol. i. no. 2). Guthrie and the rest of the subscribers were apprehended on the 23d August 1660.
Ramfay went stark mad: he was allways 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[illespie] to the castle of Stirling; Mr. James Simpson to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; as also Mr. John Dickson, minister at Rutherglen, for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statefmen. Mr. James Nasmith also, for speeches in pulpit, was confined to his chamber in Edinburgh. But above all, Mr. Rutherford was disgraced; his book, *Lex Rex*, burnt by the hand of the hangman at the croffe of Edinburgh and St. Andrews; himself confined to his chamber, his flipend sequestrat, and himself cited before the Parliament. Mr. Andrew Cant, preaching against Mr. Rutherford's hard usage, was accused before the magistrates of treason. He dimitted his ministrìe, and came to his son at Libberton, where both live very quietlie: The Commissioner used the old man very courteouslie, and likelie will protect him from trouble. Sir James Stewart and Sir John Cheiflie were sent prisoners to the Castle, where yet they abide. Wariftoun fled, whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his places void: his poor Ladie could not obtain to him a passe from the King to live in banishment; so he lurks daylie in fear of his life. Argyle, by his son Lorne's letter, being advertised that the King took kindlie with all men, ventured to goe to London; but in the chamber of presence, before he saw the King, a warrant under the King's hand meets him to be caried to the Tower close prifonier: 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 Castle, and Swinton to the tolbooth close prisoners. Captaine Govan was cast in the tolbooth for a long tyme in irons; Jafray of Aberdeen, Ofburne the Quaker, were likewise put in the tolbooth; the chief of the Remonstrators were cited, and made to subscribe their renuncing 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, subscribed all. Our folks, John Graham and Mr. John Spreule, lay long in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for refusing; but at last they, John Johnston, and Thomas Paterfon, subscribed it. James Porter, our catholick clerk, was confined to his house, and referred to our magistrates, to be disposed on as they pleased. That whole partie was clean run downe to the contentment of the most; for they have been ill instruments of irreconcilable division for twelve years, both in Kirk and Kingdome. For myself, I 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 easifie obtained, though before it was desperate. The pitie and favour of many is turning towards them, by the insolent behaviour of some, who are suspectted 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 evill they have done, and the nature of their office. An exceeding great profanitie, and contempt both of the ministrie and religion itself, is every where prevalent: a young fry of ministers in Lothian, and Fife, and elsewhere, looks as if they intended some change, without any fear or reverence to the elder ministers, who latelie put them in their places. The wiseft and beft are yet quiet till they see whether thefe things will goe. The goodnefs of the King himself 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 wanref3 being quieted. He sent his wife to London, to offer all service to the King, as Sinclair4 said to Glencairne, and he to Mr. Sharp, who writ it to Mr. Douglafts, he offered to doe his endeavours for Episcopacie, (though this he denies.) However, he got no access for countenance, only occasioned the King to remember me, and name me to his place. Lauderdaill writ to me, that it stuck only at a forme of presentation, which he desired Mr. James Sharp, when he came home to send up to him. The interveening of other things makes it stick yet there; for myself, I never moved in it, directly nor indirectly, nor purposes to doe. Ten yeares agoe I might have had it with the likeing of all who had interest; but I settled it on good Mr. Robert Ramfay,

3 *Wanrest*, or cause of inquietude, alluding to Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

4 John sixth Lord Sinclair. He was related, I believe, to Gillespie by marriage.
by an Act of the Generall Assembly. Since his death, Mr. Gijlepsie 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 businesseś in our hands, which few who know will be very willing to undertake; yet, on the report of my refusall, sundry are busie seeking it by their friends, far and near. Many of my friends deale with me to take it: I have promisèd, when the presentation comes, to advyse; before, I can neither accept nor refuse.

Your Sifter, I waited on her to her death, which was very peaceable and gracious as you could have wished. Your Nephew is well, as you 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 hate. Mr. Patrick Bell’s letter to herself will tell her and him the true cause of it. His diligence, indeed, he 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 him⁵ above any divine now living, and thinks him the most orthodox, profitable, and deserving man we have, and would be glad to doe whatever is in my power for his pleasure. My own answer I quickly drew it, and sent it to Edinburgh, to be communicat to St. Andrewes and Aberdeen, who I think did like it, but were to draw an answer in common for us all, by Mr. Wood’s hand; whereof I was well content; but since that now is refused, I have sent my own here as you see it. Close my letter and send it to Utrecht.

I have now my piece⁶ ready for the press: 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 fundrie of the chief Episcopall men; so I despair to get it printed at London. Most of my matter is new and pleasant. I have sent you the Summa, to be communicat to whom ye

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⁵ Gisbertus Voetius.
will: I hope yow may get it printed there freely. If yow advyfe, 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 excuse, whereof I am not content. I have no forgot your debt, but want of law puts most men here to a stand. My heartie servise to your good and kind wife, and all your sweet children.

Our information of forraigne affairs is this, which yow who dwell nearer the fun and the world can correct. My heart was very sad for the King of Sueden's death, though most here were glad of it. I hoped such a victorious valiant Prince was like to be fitted for putting the world in a new better mould; but God hath otherways appointed. That generall conspiracie against him, procured by your State, with the French and Englishe deferting of him, hae broken his heart; though his sickness seems to have come from his too fore labours at the siege of Copenhagen. It was his happiness to die at Gottenburie, February 15th, in his Parliament, before he had left any of his reputation, and to have his son 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 well 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 Muffcovites, after so manie diastes, to trouble Pole? Shall that inceftuous unhappie Queén still be scorning the world with the offers of the Crown of Pole to whom she pleases? Her laift dealing in France, that Anguen might marry her sister, Edward of Palatine's wife's daughter, is like a trick of Mazarin to get Condé and his son out of France, at leift to divert their fanfies for the time, with that peak, from plotting against him. Christina grows in folli, 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 monafterie 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 shoul not have been left to the Turkish furie: I fear his states shall turne Turkish or Austrian. Still we
marvell what Mazarin can mean by his Spanish peace, when West Flanders, Catalonia, and Millain, were liklier to have been conquised by the French than these many yeares. Condé is brought home to France: Portugall is totallie deserted: What can the end of this be? The people are nothing eafeed of their taxes; the clergie complains as much of their oppression. The Prince of Orange, too well desiring of the house of France, s spoiled in his minoritie, by treason, of his patrimonie. The Venetians not assistted either by France or Spaine, with any considerable help, more in their peace than warre; but the Venetians put in a worse case after their help than before. However, guide as they will, blessed be God for the peace of the Kirks abroad, and the happy restauration of our King, when all the world abroad absolutlly, and at home also, well near, had deserted him. At last I break off.

Your Cousin,

January 31st 1661. R. B.

[REVERENDISSIMO CLARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. GISBERTO VOETIO.]

REVERENDISSIME FRATER,

Tuas ad me dudum accepi, et si aliquot mensibus postquam a te scriptæ fuerunt; alteras in gratiam viduæ concivis mei Walteri Bowie, alteras de duabus quaestionibus a Facultate vestræ Theologica nobis proposisit. Quod præter meum morem responsum tamdui dilatum est, culpa saltem primaria mea non fuit. In viduæ causa 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 æs alienum alicujus momenti lege potuerit aut adhuc possit agi; præterquam quod viduæ debitor lapfus sit bonis, nec, si leges aperiuntur, solvendo fuisfet, nisi Patricii Beli, de quo scribis, hominis honestissimi, et singulæri D. Bowio tam vivo quam mortuo amici, charitate ac diligentia medium, spero efficax et tempestivum, fuisfet adhibitum, de quo ipse epiftola hac inclusa viduæ rationem reddid. Ausim spondere veram, tam a meipso quam D. Belo, amicitiam viduæ in quocunque nostra opera poterit illi esse utilis.

Quod ad alteras de quaestionibus, ut primum venerunt in manus meas, in paucis diebus responsum, quod jam mitto, exaravi, et ad Edinburgenses
transmittis, ut cum Andreapolitanis et Abredonensisibus communicaretur, omnifsque ad maturum, amicum, et plenum responsum hortatus sum. Ipsis institutum fuit commune nostrum omnis nomine scriptum concinnaffe, quod cum aliquot mensibus expectatium, tandem comperi, ex quorundam tam apud vos quam nos caufum interventum, consilium eos mutaffi. Ne autem ego etiam tibi deeffem, quem profiteor poft breve illud quod tecum habui Ultrajeicti colloquium, et perlepta tua varia scripta (omito multa amiciiffima tua erga me officia) tuliffe 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 diutius tibi deeffem, et fi fero, tandem tamen, communico fententiam quam putro doctrinae et praxi ecclesiae Scoticae conformem, tuaeque ac collegarum tuorum menti confonam. Rerum nostrarum statum, imprimitis a feliciiffimo Regis reditu, et diu desiderata feetariorum usurpantium ruina, scripsi, ut foleo, fufe D. Spangio. In praefentia multa nobis funt γιλιθασια, quae speramus mirabiliter benemium Deum suo tempore commutaturn in dulciors, prout infinita ipsius sapientia videbit suum honorem nostrumque commodum requirere. Ipfe te tuosque collegas, omnifsque reformatarum ecclesiarum veros doctores conservet a malo, et aspiet omnibus omnium alboribus. Sic precatur tui studiofimus et honorantiffimus 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 goodnifs and all our desires, become the head of our House.7 When I was with your Lordship I fhew our extraordinarie neceffitie; your Lordship was alfe willing as we could defire to help us to your power. We were, by the good English powers, (who, bleffed be God, are now annihilat,)

7 William, Earl of Glencairn, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was elected Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, 25th October 1660.
possessed in the vacant stipends about us. This was the chief ground whereupon Mr. Gillepie ventured to cast us in so great debt. The Parliament, we hear, has for seven years decreed all vacant stipends to belong to the King, to be distribut unto the ministers who has suffered for their loyalty to him and his Royall Father. I am sure our House has suffered more by the administration of one intrudit upon us by the English violence, than all the ministers I know in their 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 bygone undispofed 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 obliedged to refund it: that Visitation we referre it wholly to your Lordship's discretion. Bedlay and Mr. Sharp will conferre with your Lordship about it at your leasure. The Lord 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. Hamiltone writes he sent it over to yow. I would not have fashd yow at this tyme, had it not been the occaion yow will read in the inclofed; yow will be pleased to read, close, and deliver it, yea, for my caufe, yow must agent it. I wrt to yow I had no face to come abroad till yow got the returne yow promisef from Lauderdaill; that which I most defire 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 exceed to a great foume: we have great need of it; for we are turned the veriest divers [dyvours] I know. Mr. Gillespie found us in twenty thousand merks to the fore, he leaves us large in twenty thousand merks behind; as the Visitors will see in our counts: he has left us work now necessary to be perfited, which ten thousand pound will not doe. James, if we get you no a joyn for beggar with us, we are undone. Good James, what shall I doe with the worme, it has imprifoned me, and put me from all service this while: when I grow better, you will have me to be the old man.

February 1661.

R. B.

James, have you no so much power as to stay the railing on us of that very malicious Diurnaller? If the Parliament would put on him the penaltie of my worme, I think it would quickly temper his very uncivill pen.

Unto The Honourable the Estates of Parliament, We the Universitie of Glasgow humblie mean and show,

That whereas, through the occasion of Dr. Strang, a most loyall divine, his removeall from his place, and Mr. Gillespie's intrusion therein by the English Usurpers, we are brought to great poverty and debt, so that this year we have been necessitate thus to give over our table, and no Master within the house has gotten any part of their stipends; yea, the large half of our last year's table and stipend lyes yet unpayed; beside a neceffitie is laid upon us to perfect our farr advanced building, which ten thousand pound will not accomplish: We doe humbly supplicat your Lordships that our suffering condition may be considered, and recommended to the Honourable Lords of Councell, to be redressed out of some part of the vacant stipends in our bounds, or what other way their Lordships shall find expedient. So shal your humble Suppliants and Servants allways pray for your Lordships properitie and happinefs.

In name of the Univerfitie of Glasgow, their Commissiioner,

R. Baillie.
Address by Principal Baillie to the Commissioner.  

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 Seminarie, it is our fixed purpose, by the grace of God, not only to remaine most loyall towards his Royall Majestie, but also to be readilie obedient to all your Grace's commandments, hoping that, by your Grace's favour and mediation, we shall enjoy these privileges which, from our first erection to this day, his Majestie and his blessed progenitors has of their Royall bountie been pleased to confer upon us, and from time to time to confirm and encrease. I shall say no more for the time, but pray God to bless your Grace with the continuance of his Spirit upon you, for the refreshing of our languishing countrey after many sore distresses; for fully quieting of our Church from the trembling fears of diverse, (I hope most needless,) since we have the word of the best, and, without all peradventure, most honest Prince in the world, for secureing our Church from all innovation; also for the cherishing and advancement of pietie, vertue, and learning, the fountains of loyaltie in all our seminaries, especially that of Glasgow, on which, since its first being, all our 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 Kingdome.

For Mr. James Robertoun [of Bedlay.]

Sir,

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

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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, with your advyse. I heard of a lift, I think drawn by Provost Bell and Mr. John Young’s advyce; the persons were all honourable, and above exception: Duke Hamilton, Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Eglinton, Earl of Wigton; but what needs my Lord Cochrane? Gentlemen, Kilfyth, 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 Ramsay, and Mr. Matthias Simpson, and Mr. Edward Wright? These are put on us for a trick, I know, and shall tell you at meeting. Why should the Provost and Baillie of Glasgow, and John Bell, the auditors of our compts, and for the time interested in our pleas, be fet over us? May no the Provoosts of Aire, Irvine, Dumbartane, serve for burgesses? Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame of Miniabrock, Mr. Matthew Ramsay, Mr. James Ferguson, 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 such be forgot? Thir things to yourself alone. It is by your advyce mainly I have embraced this place; the Visitation may doe us great harm, and me discouragement, if no weell managed. Albeit the condition of the fooles of Aberdeen has procured one; yet both St. Andrewes and Edinburgh has declined it, and I wish we had none at this time; it will cast out men for small faults, and put far worfe in their place; it will be so compos’d as to pafs over the most guilty. I know, if we must have it, yow will doe your best by the Chancellor to have it so right as may be. I shall say no more for the time. The Lord be with yow.

Your Cousin,

Monday, Mart. R. Baillie.

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

If we needs must have a Visitation, see it containe no power to plant places but according to thesettled 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 bleffe) 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 addreffe, in the Hague. But it is, and shall be one of my remembrancers, to walk in that place in my great weakness according to his Majestie's expectation, as one minding dutie to God, to his Majestie, and those over whom, how unworthy ever, he has been pleased to set me an overseer. And for your Lordship I have no words to change with yow; yow know me weell enough. It's my heart's desire oftentimes to God to preserve yow from many, many snares are dailie near yow. I will write nothing of that I have to say, if God ever grant me a meeting with yow. Only what I wrote once or twice to yow before of the great necessity and debt which Mr. Gillespie's gloriosity and vast spending has put our poor House into, and our expectation of some remeaf of it by his Majestie's warrant to the Thefaurer to pay us that two hundred pound which his blessed Father subfcribed to Dr. Strang in the year 1633. To this yow think not fit to anfwer one word. I shall fay no more to this; but I know much more of his Majestie's goods has gone, and will goe farr worse ways. If I may by a line from your Lordship know of the receipt heirof, it will be a superaddition to your old kindness. However, I reft what long I have been,

Your Lordship's affectionat friend and servant,

Glafterow, Aprile 10th 1661.

R. B.
LETTERS AND JOURNALS. 1661.

For Mr. James Sharp.

James,

What I promised to Mr. Drummond I now performe. Yow see what I write to the Secretar; I pray yow let it go under your cover. Yow will close it, and I hope assist 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 [Gillefie] 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 lyie 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 oblidged friend to serve yow,

Aprile 13th 1661.

R. B.

For my Lord Lauderdaleill.

My Lord,

Having the occasion of this bearer, who promises to me assuredlie to deliver to yow in hand or burn it, I tell yow that my heart is broken with grief, and that the burdein of the public I find it weightie and haftening me to my grave. My prayers dailie, when my heart is loofed, 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 needlesslie so. What needed yow doe that disservice to the King, which all of yow cannot recompence, to grieve the hearts of all your gracious friends in Scotland to whom the King was, is, and will be, I hope, after God, most dear, with pulling downe all our Laws at once which concerned our Church since 1633?  

6 The Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland.

7 The Rescissory Act, on the 20th March 1661, entitled, “Act rescinding and annulling the pretendit Parliaments in the years 1640, 1641, &c.” viz. to 1648 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 thrve? Is it wifdome to bring back
upon us the Canterburian tymes? The same desigues, the same praftifes,
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 anfwere on their highest pain for all mifcarriages. It was one of
King James's wisefte praftifes to permitt his greatest favourites to fink, before
that, by protecring them, the grief of his people should fall on his back: ye
have feen the contrare principle destruvtive, and it will ftil be fo.

My Lord, ye are the Nobleman of the world I esteem moft and love
best. I think I may fay and write to yow what I like. If yow have
gone with your heart to forfae your Covenant, to countenance the in-
troduction of Bishops and Books, and strengthening the King by your
advyce in these things, I thinke yow a prime tranfgreffor, and lyable
among the firft to anfwere to God for that great fin, and opening a door,
which in hafte will not be clofed, for perfecution of a multitude of the
beft perfons and moft loyall subiects that are in all the three dominions.
And if otherwayes your heart be where it was, as I hope indeed it is,
and that in your own way yow are doing what yow can for the truth of
God, (yet dailie I have my great feares for yow,) I think yow f tand in a
tickifh place, and some of these yow doe converfe with to be but men.
Remember your cousin Hamilton's poifoning before King James's eyes with-
out search: my heart whiles trembles for yow. I will continue to pray for
yow doe what yow will. Mr. Guthrie, I ever oppofed his way, but fee that
none get the King perfuaded to take minifters heads: banifhment will be
worse for them than death: how fhall 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 myself 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 thoufand
pund of debt, and in a neceffitie of expending twenty thoufand pund in per-
fecring his glorious buildings. The English furnifhed him liberally. For us
we have nothing but what we expect by your Lordfhip from his Majeftie's
benignitie. I am an ill beggar, yet I muft ftill craike to your Lordfhip while
I live; which I think fhall not be long; for your Prefbyterians at London,
their misguiding hes flaine 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 wes then in, and which I write to yow and ye received, though the first copie perished. If yow or Mr. Sharp, whom we truflled as our own foules, have swerved towards Chancellor Hyde's principles, as now we fee many doe, yow have much to anfwer for. This possiblie may be my laft to yow, therefore I crave no pardon for its length or impertinencie.

Your Lordship's old friend,

Glaflgow, 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 occafion of jealousies and falfe furmifes this my journey will give; but whenever the Lord shall returne me, I trufl 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 preffing, 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, fent] to me by Mr. John Young. All peace and mercy [be with you. I] am,

Your's,

[Edinburgh, end of April] 1661.  JA. Sharp.

8 From the original, Wodrow MSS. Fol. Vol. xlix, No. 3. It is not contained in Baillie's own MS. The left hand corner with the date, is torn away, but it was no doubt written from Edinburgh before the end of April.

9 Sharp on the 23d April, preached before the Parliament of Scotland, being the day of the King's Coronation; and on Monday the 29th of that month, along with the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, he set out from Edinburgh on the journey to London here mentioned.
FOR MR. HUTCHESON.

George,

Your's came hither when I was out of towne. What ye desire me to write to L[auderdail] 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 C[hancellor], R[other], and Sh[arp], at their last going up. I think verily if that wicked change come it will haften 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 call 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 some of us were resolved to suffer, but were drawne off by your example most; In this ye will have some, but, I fear, ere long very few followers. Yow are all 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 jacera, but all, both Popish and Episcopall divines, that are for Divine right of Episcopacie, contradic theERAfitians who will give the King any ecclesialick supremacie. Did any prince ever plead that he was any more than the civill magiftrate, though εἰσὶ ἐκκλησίας ἀδ omnia, τὰ ἐκκλησίας? They have declared in face of Parliament, above twenty tymes, that they understand no ecclesialick jurifdiction; that they will not, or dare not, register any fuch declaration; and for our fatiffaction they will not alter a letter of what is come down to them. This is their wilfulnes, and poffible fomethings worfe, but is not ground enough for our refufeall of the Oath without that word. If they shoul 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 conclufion and foolifh. Thirty-fix years agoe, when I entered Regent in our Colledge, I took both oaths of
Supremacie and Alleadgeance, but was not hindred thereby to oppofe both books and bishops to my pith. Though yow get your word "Civill," they would no leffe conclude all power they intend from it, than they doe without it. I pray God direct yow there in this particular; it may be an occasion of fore trouble to many quickly.

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 no[t]; he was not at ws: be affured I shall never countenance any fuch man as ye descreve. Aggree among yourself[es]: Let the Presbyterie and people ther, with the satiſfaſſion of my Lord Kenmure, aggree on a graſcious able man; and for our part, we shall further his plantation in any thing lyes in our power. Wishing the Lord to be with you, I ref

Your friend and fervant,

Glaſgow, the 15th Julie 1661. R. Bailly.

We shall entreat yow to caufe deliver the tuo encloſed, by a fure hand, with your firſt conveniencie.

FOR MR. SPANG.

Cousin,

I hope ere now yow have receaved my book, and that ere long I shall have your fenſe of the printing of it. Since my laſt long letter, thus our affaires went, fo 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.
fioner was met at Mussilburgh 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 fhyres and burroughs shoulde 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 Caffillis 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 Allegiance was next appointed to be taken by all the members: there was insert in mids of it, the maine clause of the Oath of Supremacie: "That the King was Supreme Governour over all pertons in all causes." About this fundry did scruple; yet when the Commissioner and Chancellor declared, that they intended thereby no Ecclesiasticke power to the King in word, sacraments, or discipline, but a supreme civill power to put churchmen in all things to their duetie: all were satified, and took it in that sense; only Caffillis and Kilburnie refus'd, 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 fhyres and burroughs, should take it. The Ministers of Edinburgh desired a word to be added, which would have satified all, "Civill Supremam Governour," and without that word, "Civill," they seemed peremptor to refuse it. At this I was very forie; for I feared it should occasion trouble, and a new schisme, without great cause, as I wrote to them when the Act of Parliament came out, of putting all intrants in the ministracie to it; and, as I hear, they will put all Masters of Colledges to it. For my self, I took the oath of Allegiance and Supremacie thirty-four years agoe, when I entered Regent, and yet never scrupled it. My Lord Caffillis, without doubt the truely best man of our nobilitie, and as løyall as any, for this scruple is as good as removed from Parliament: and though he be since at London, and his favour and countenance enugh of the King, as weell he deserves; yet it is like to put him from the exercife of all his places, of Justice-Generall, Lord of Counfell,

2 At the opening of Parliament there usually was a grand cavalcade, consisting of the Officers of State, the Members of Parliament, and other persons of distinction; styled "The Riding of the Parliament." An account of the procession on this occasion, Tuesday 1st January 1661, is given in the earliest number of the "Mercurius Caledonius."
Session, and Exchequer. The Sheriffdome of Air had elected Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, with the laird of Blair, the Chancellor's brother-in-law; but their scrupulousfie being feared, a new election was made of Kilburnie and Haislead [Hazlehead]. Kilburnie, following Caillilis'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 annull the Parliament 1649, which had annulled that of 1648, and had sent for the King on an unreafonable Treatie. This paffed easlie; but at once the designe appeared of annulling all the former Parliaments since 1633, which had given any civil fanchion to the Generall Asfemblie of Glasgow 1638, or any after Asfemblie which ratified our Solemne League and Covenant or Church Government, and all we had been doing the years bygone. This caufed a great noife and all grief over the whole land; so that for a while the motion was retired, and fuch intention denied; but when things were better prepared, it was openly pref, and caried, scarce fourtie appearing in the contrare. While the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, Synods of Lothian, Fyfe, Glasgow, and others, were preparing petitions againft this, they were fore threatened, and that of Fyfe rafied by Rothes, that of Lothian by Callander, Dumfries by Annandale, etc. When, by our own privie ways, we had gotten the King informed of all this, we were once in good hopes of a re-meed; but yet that appears no. Lauderdaill, in whom we trusted, being overpowered and diverted by the greater court of Hyde, and the great zeall that 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 Majeftie's letter to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, confirmed our hopes that no change should be made in our Church; but feeing what is past fince, we know not now what to fay, who defire moft gladly to get any true ground of apologizing for all the King's and State's actions. Some fpake of a dangerous improvidence in thefe Acts, as if all poiffibilitie of any folide agreeance betwixt the King and his subjefts were thereby taken away, if any discord, which God forbid, shouuld ever again fall out: for what securitie is left to the King
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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 alleadgeances
of
fears, temptations, inconveniences and the like, which will never be wanting.

The moft of the Parliament's work was on delinquents procedes. The
great one was Argyle; many hearings had he on his long lybell; his defen-
ces were very pregnant; the Advocat was some tymes uncivilie tart to him;
the Commiffioner alfo sharp enough; Sir John Gilmore in many things
reasoned for him: there was no inlack of full hearing and debates to the
uttermoft. His act of indemnity keeped him from all that was libelled
before the year 1651; fo 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 purfe; for many are poor, and he was very rich. His matter's chief
indytement was, complaynce with the English, his fitting in the Parliament at
London, his afflitting Monck againft Glencairne and Middleton on the hills.

When his libelled crimes appeared not unpardonable, and his son Lord
Neill, went up to fee his brother Lorne at London, and fpoke somewhat liber-
allie of his father's satisfactorie answers; Monck was moved to fend downe four
or five of his letters to himself and others, proving his full complaynce with
them; that the King should not reprieve him. The Chancellor and Rothes
went to Court\(^5\) to fshew the hazard of his escape. The man was very wife,
and queftionles the greateft subje6t the King had; sometime much known
and beloved in all the three dominions: it was not thought safe he should
live. The condemnatorie sentence he took weell; fpped the night after
cheerfullie; parted with his gracious lady that Saturday at night chri6tianly.
Mr. Dougla6s 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 sleep. On the Monday, he breakfafted and dyne6; about two o'clo6k
he went through the streets, with his hat on, with his friends, very cheerfully;
did mount the scaffold, at the Croffe; fpoke well at the corners of the sca-
fold; prayed twyce: Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Hutchefon waited on him. He

\(^5\) Along with Sharp, on the 29th April: Vide supra p. 460.

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blest the King and his family; attested God of his freedome from all designes against the King or his Father; gave some pieces to the executioner; laid down his head on the block very courageously; at the stretching out of his hand, (the signe agreed on,) the Maiden\(^1\) 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 fix-horse coatch, did cary him through Falkirk and Glasgowl, 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 Montrose’s head had flood.

In the beginning of the Parliament, Montrose’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 solemnitie\(^5\) 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 moft excellent man our State of a long tyme had enjoyed; but his complayne with the English and Remonstrators, took my heart off him thefe eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and still prayers 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 Montrose payed near a hunder thousand pund; his old debts of four or fyve hunder thousand merks will not be gotten payed. Many wonder of his debt, and think he must have money, for he got much, and was allwayes sober and spareing. My goodson, Mr. R[obert] Watfon, was with his Lady in Roskeneth the night the King landed in England: he told me, all the dogs that day did take a strange yowling, and gloawring up to my

\(^{1}\) “The Maiden,” or instrument used for beheading State-criminals, is preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

\(^{5}\) There was published at the time, probably by Sydserff, “A Relation of the True Funerals of the great Lord Marquess of Montrose, his Majesties Lord High Commissioner, and Captain General of his Forces in Scotland, &c. [Edinburgh] Printed in the year 1661.” 4to, pp. 24.
L[ord's] chamber windows for some houres together. Mr. Alexander Colvin, justice-deput, an old servant of the house, told me, that my Lady Kenmure, a gracious lady, my Lord's sister, from some little skill of physiognomie, which Mr. Alexander had taught her, had told him some years agoe, her brother would die in blood.

After Argyle's precess, these of the ministers took up most of the Parliament's time. Mr. James Guthrie's libell was tartlie drawn, and witillie answered; yet he defended all he had done; justified the matter of the Remonstrance, Proteftation, Caufes 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, perfifting obftinately, he was condemned to be hanged, and his head to be fet on the Nether-Bow. Though few approved his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely ufed. Mr. Rutherfoord, had not death prevented, was in the same hazard. Mr. Gillefsie had gone the fame gate, had not his friends perfuaded him to recant his Remonfrance, Proteftation, complayne with the English, and to petition the King and Parliament for mercy; all did agree to supplicat the King for him; and now he hes obtained libertie to abide at Ornifloun, and fix miles about it, till the firt of March. Mr. James Nafsmith, and Mr. John Dickfon of Rutherglen, Mr. John Stirling, and Mr. Traill, did follow his way. But Mr. Robert Mackward, Mr. Rutherfoord's servant at London four years, made minister of Glafgow the way I wrote to yow before, in a fett sermon of purpoſe, declared his grief for the Parliament's hard ufage of the Covenant, wherein all honeft men did concur with him; but in fo high language, as entering a proteftation in heaven againft the Parliament's deed, whereof he took all his hearers for witneses; such termes none did approve, yet for all that either one or other could say, he did obftinately fland to all; which provoked them to passe a sentence of banifhment upon him. 6

All the reft of the imprifoned ministers are fet free, some upon one satiffaſtion, and some upon another. How long their or our libertie shall laſt, we know no; for the Parliament feems 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 banifhment, he expected to have met the same fate as James Guthrie, and had prepared (for the scaffold) his Last Speech, which is still pre- served among the Wodrow MSS.
They took a way to nominat to themselves preachers; Mr. Dougla's indeed began, but was no more employed; Mr. Dickson, Mr. Hamiltoun, and others of the ministers of Edinburgh, were past by; as all we of the weft, 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 feckles divines, at the pleafure of a very rafcall, Tom Sincerfe7 the diurnaller, a profane atheifticall papift, as some count him. Mr. Blair, Mr. Dickson, and Mr. Hutcheson, were, without all caufe, mifchantly abufed by his pen, without the reftentment of our State, till his Majeftie himfelf commanded to fentence him.8 To myself I fand the Commiffioner very courteous: with much adoe I got myfelf shifted of preaching. Mr. Wood and Mr. Colvin did their duetie very honeftly. Diverfe of the northern ministers, and some others, play'd the lycophants; diverfe are staggering: but what his Majeftie was informed, that the moft part of the Miniftrie, efpicially the moft grave, wife, and learned, were for Epiftcopacie, is utterly fable; for the moft and far beft part are lying in the dust before God, for what they fee, and for which they fear, the great plague of God, even for the encreasong abominations of burgh and land.

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

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

7 Thomas St. Serfe, or Syderff, fon 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 Syderff was the Editor, appears to have terminated with No. 10 [12] on the 28th March 1661.
poor; yet they laid on a greater burden than many Parliaments before them these many yeares, fourty thousand pund sterling a-yeare during the King's life; but to be lifted in a way not very burdensome, a moderat excife on drink alone. When all this alfo is distribute among weell-deferving men, the necessfities of many, and greed of fundrie, will not be gotten satysfied.

At the beginning of the Parliament there were many brave desigens for Fishig, and more ufe 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 equitabe and wise Prince. While it's adjourned from July 12th to March 12th [1662], it was not very acceptable: they feared the intervall was but for the ripening the desigens of bringing in books and bifhops, either in whole or in part, as preparatorie to all was in England; alfo to fyne many for small faults, to supply the waftrie of undeferving men. The Act of debitor and creditor was very heavy to thefe had to doe with it. It was a pitie, when the King intended 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 fome, to the contrare. Our good Towne was particularly greived that the nineteinth part of the Excife should be laid on them alone, notwithstanding of all their very diligent commiffioner John Bell could doe to the contrare. The Towne of Edinburgh got a part of their Excife to defray their prefent burdens: but get what they will, it does little good; for their debty it is above nyne hunder thoufand merks, though flill they be flenting their Towne for their needless prodigalitie. They fay, the dinner they gave to the Commiffioner, in the Colledge-hall, did cofl them large fyve hunder pound fterling.

In England and Ireland thus affairs are: After the King had difsold 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 solemn, as ever any coronation before: our only grief was, that the Bishops, in anointing, crowning, and all, had so deep a hand. It was thought the former Parliament, how bountifull to the King foever, had one defect in the legalitie, that it was not summoned by the King, but called by the former Parliament; to remead this, another was called to meet May 8th. Great care was had to get, in all the shyres, men commiffionat according to the heart of the court: the Presbyterian's also made some stickleing for this, but to no purpose; for the Chancellor was so active, as the most affectionat of the old Cavileer partie was generallie chosen. When they mett, the Chancellor's speech advertised them to beware of the Presbyterian ministers, as pestiferous incendiaries: this grieved us sore. But when the Houfe of Commons did not only vote the Bishops into the Houfe of Lords, but the Solemne League and Covenant to be burnt with the hand of the hangman, all our hopes were turned in despaire.

The Parliament of Ireland, which fatt downe the same 8th of May, was not behind, but put Bishops in the Houfe of Lords; yea, choiced Bishop Bramble to be fpeaker in the Houfe of Peers, though Mr. Davis of Derrie was readie to challenge him of many adulteries, and other odious crimes. The perfecution of Presbyterian ministers began to be very hot: almost all of them, both in England and Ireland, were put from their charges. The King, before the Parliament, after sundry conferences with the chief of the Epifcopall and Presbyterian partie, had emitted a Declaration, albeit full eneugh for Books and Bishops, yet it had sundry limitations for the eafe of Presbyterians; but all was neglected. The Bishops and Books were fully eftablifhed, as of old, without If's or And's: this caufes 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 Epifcopall oppreffors, who little regard their prayers, knowing that they have neither any will, nor any power, to use any force againft them. Pamphlets on both fides flee thick abroad.

The King declared to all his three Parliaments the unanimous advyce he had gotten from all his counsellors, to marrie the Infanta of Portugall; and all his Parliaments gave their heartie content to it, though it was vifible it brought with it a prefent warr with Spaine. This was little regarded,
especiallie since Holland adhered to our King, and submitted, to him all their differences with Portugall. The great conditions, which yet are secret, and the great hopes of the Princeſſe readiness to be of the King's religion, makes all to lyke the match weell, and to pray for a bleffing to it. The Parliament at London would gladlie [have] been (as they fay) at changeing the Aët of Indemnity; but the King's peremptor adhering to it made them let it alone; only fome more executions, and forfaultries of them in the Tower are expect-ed. It was much, that Sir Henry Mylmie [Mildmay] and Robert Wallop escaped with drawing to Tiburne with ropes about their necks on hurdles. They fpeak 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 eneugh taken by all generallie; yea, though Solicitor Saintjons [St. John] fhould be added to them. The King defires the Parliament to adjourne till winter, that he may goe to his progreffe 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 pofted to court; the Commiffioner, Duke Hamiltoun, Montrofe, the Thesaufer, Athole, Aboyne, and others. There was there before, the Chancellor, Rothes, Lorne, and more. It's thought their agreeance will be scarce good upon their private interefts, and especiallie about Lorne, whether he fhall be restored or not; but I fear they fhall agree too weell to trouble our poor Church. The King's late declaration is no wayes fatiffactorie; it continues our Church-discipline only dureing pleafure, and discharges any preaching, petitioning, or medical with the Church-government. Mr. Sharp is the only man with whom the King advylës; and many fay he is corrupted by Hyde; which I wish [may] be fælle; 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 prefentation 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 thefe reeling times fome unhappie man fhould be fet over our heads. I moved the Facultie to call to my profesſion Mr. James Ferguflon, a moft wife, gracious, and able man: I was lyke to have gotten him; but when the Synod was ready to have voted his translation, Mr. John [Young], my colleague, with
an unhappie overture, put them to a delay; and since, we were discharged by proclamation to meet, so I fear I shall lose him, which makes my burden the heavier. The Toune now is absolutelie guided by the Bells and Campbells alone. They guide indeed weell, but keeping the government among themself almost alone: I fear ere long it caufe 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 yesterdays 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 senfe 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.

¹ I expected from yow, 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 so long quiet. I know not if this hunder year they were out of some motion four year together. Who can be the chief Minifter of State in place of the Cardinall? We hear no more of their affairs than if they were all dead. That great earthquake in the south of France, what it may portend we expect in tyme. Our Queen's retireing out of England, with her daughter Henriet, some thought was more on 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 fo good teames with all their neighbours. We hope Spain, in his old age, and infancie of his fon, 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 fo slow drawn to it. Our heart is fore for the condition of Transylvania. Is that brave familie of Ragotsi clean rooted out? But what we hear of cafting all out of Pole, by act of Parliament, who will not declare themselves Papists, grieves us fore. Though that fool Chriflina of Sueden be contemned

¹ William Earl of Glencairn, Lord High Chancellor. ² James Roberton of Bedlay.
of all, we think it juft with God and man. Bleffed be God! who yet defends
the Venetians against the height of the Turk’s rage.

When the King was going to his progresse, and the Parliament of Eng-
land to adjourne, July 20th, they changed, as we hear, their resolution: the
Parliament fat still; the King gave over his progresse for this year; he is not
for to fend for his Queen in hafte. What may be the reafon of this change,
we yet doe not know. I am glad to find yow continue juft in my fene of our
publief affaires.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP AT LONDON. AUGUST 29TH 1661.

DEAR JAMES,

WHAT yow are doing there now I can learn from no man. I am sorry that
none of our old friends keep correffpondence with yow, at this fo neceffare a
tyme. For myself I ref 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: Bleffed be God! hitherto there hes been none
offered. What now there among yow may be in agitation, yow on the place
know. Yow were the moft wife, honeft, diligent, and fuccefffull agent of the
nation in the late dangers of our Church in Cromwell’s tyme: your expe-
rience and power now is greater. In this very great danger, apprehended by
many, of other changes and forer troubles from the Epifcopall partie, both
here and there, I hope God fhall make yow as happy inftrument to prevent
all our fears, and to allay all our preffent sorrowfull perplexities, as yow have
oft been before. Let others think and fpeak of yow as they pleafe, and in
their follie give yow matter of provocation, if yow were not wife, grave, and
fearing of God, yet yow fhall deceave us notablfe, and doe us a very evident
evill turne before I believe it. Since firft acquaintance yow have ever been
very faithfull and loving to myself in all occasions.

For the tyme, there be two favours I intreat from yow: Firft, that you
would help our Colledge in its very great neceffitie. This year we keeped
no table; not one matter of us hes gotten a fix pence of stipend, nor will get
in hafte: for our laft year’s table a thousand pound is yet aughtand and

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the prodigall waftrie of Mr. Gillespie hes put us in above twenty-five thousand merks of debt. Mr. John Young, as yow know, gave to the Chancellor, our noble Chancellor, some memorandums for our help, whereof yow promised to hold his Lordship in mind. I wrote to the Secretary once and again, as ye know likewise, in that matter, but without any fruit as yet; except yow join with those our two Noble friends, I think we but thrench 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 twelvemoneth bygone, given many thousand pounds to them that hes farr lefs deserved, and can doe him farr lefs 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 speake with anent our Church, as he hes twyce declared he purpofes, yow would see effectually that I be none of them; for neither am I able, in this my fixtieth 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 diffuade 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 fathrie for me, which still I purpofe 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 prefence we can get nothing done in our Colledge
affaire. I wish your Lordship, from my heart, a prosperous returne, so soone as the publick and your Lordship's own affaires may permit. These papers Mr. John Young delivered to your Lordship, I hope are 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 list of above twenty-fix 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 excise of Glasgôw, above twenty thousand merks, and yearly two thousand four hundred merks for twelve burfars, payed quarterly, out of the customs of Glasgôw. I hope I am in no error, to think that your Lordship and I should be no leffe fibb to the King and his bountie than Mr. Gillespie and his Chancellar Thurloe was to Oliver. My good Lord, be intreated to do for us what ye can, to help us out of our beggarie and dyvorie, wherin we lye, by no fault of mine.

I have but one word more, as your Lordship's care and kindness did fave all the ministrie and gentry, be-west Glasgôw, from the fore trouble otherwayes would have come on many of them: so, if ye would win and weir, while ye live, the bleffing of us all, defect not our poor Church at this tyme of her greatest need. Permitt not our gracious Soveraigne to be deceived, by any whomsoever, that it will be fo 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 disloyaltie, (which yet hes been a naturall and neccesfar libertie for all subjects in all places and all tymes,) you may doe what yow will, and none speak against yow fo much as in a supplication: but I am sure our Prince will egregiously be abused, if truth be not told him, that putting of Bishops upon us

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 ensared in mistakes: for he is a generous and publick spirit'd Soul, witness his great emprovement of the University of Glasgow, both by the enlargement of the fabrick, and increasine 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 Fanatics 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 Majestie, he 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 obliged, 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 fairest of all, as I wish and hope it shall. The conscience of my loving and honouring of your Lordship from a child, emboldens me to all this freedome. The Lord blefs your Lordship, so prays

Your humble and much obliged servant,

R. B.

FOR MY LORD LAUPDAILL.

My Lord,

That I get no answer of any I wrote to your Lordship, I take it weell, knowing what else yow have to doe. It satisfyes me when I know ye receive mine, to be made ufe of as ye think fit. I was a while in perplexitie for yow, hearing stories of combination againft yow; but as I took them for fables at first, so I am glad they have proven fuch 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. Gillefpie 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 Matter of our house hes gotten this year a tuppance of stipend; yea for our laft 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 Majestie, when fo many of no greater deserving have obtained fo liberallie, I had never put my head in that yoke, under the which already I groane. Shall Mr. Gillefpie for his vanities gett between twenty and threttie thousand merks of the Ufurpers, and we for our necessities get nothing from the King, no not his Father's debt subcryved to us in the year 1633, the Acts whereof, as yet, I hope are no
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 you 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 fifty score in Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, 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 joyn 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 infalliblie would bring the greatest grief and miscontentment, generally, on all here, that for some hundred years any action of any of our Princes ever brought on this land. I am fure, 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 ingadged, fye on yow all who are about him. Let the King doe what he will, he will ever get the bleffings of us all; but believe it, that the too just grieues of the people will light at last, fickerlie, on some of your heads.
I have sent my Chronologie to Holland for the preffe. I hope it shall give offence to no man, though I fall in debates with many. The dedication will not goe this three moneth, and before it goe your Lordship shall fee 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 laft two Dukes [of Hamilton], and eminent Bal- carras. Your Lordship's fervant, as ye shall deferve.

R. B.

If our Kirk were out of danger, and our Colledge out of debt, I would give little for the kindnes of all the courtiers in Christendome.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

My Lord,

As the world goes now, I fear I will be forced to importune your Lordship ofter farr than I purposed. My Lord Chancellor told me, that his Majestie had fpoken to him and yow of me, that fome there had given him an evill information of me for reprinting lately my Parallel. I told my Lord Chancellor the fimple truth, wherewith he was presently fatisfied, and promifed to write up for my clearing. Yet I thought fitt to informe your Lordship alfo, that at your conveniencie yow would clear my innocencie to his Majestie. Thfe obfervations on the Scottifh Service-book I wirt twenty-four years ago, and delivered for the moft part in the Generall Assembly of Glafgow; by the advyce of the chief of our Church and State, were printed at London 1640; fince that time I never looked after them, till within thefe few weeks I faw a copie of them as reprinted at London 1661. This is a very falfe lye; for there is not a word of them reprinted but the title-page alone, by fome cheating printer there, to make fome old copies of the firft and only imprifion 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

* 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 firft volume.
written half-a-dozen of little tractats against Books and Bishops, and near as many against Sectaries; but I would be loath now to reprint any of them. Yet if any there should reprint them utterly without my knowledge, it were not my fault. I expect your Lordship, in this particular, will right me with his Majestie.

Your Lordship's Servant,

September 9th [1661.]

R. BAILLIE.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

I HAVE written fundrie to yow of late, with greater freedome possiblie than the tymes doe admitt, but I shall endeavour to trouble your Lordship with little more of that kind, resoving fo great silence as I may towards all men; but mourning to God, while I live, for these things I never thought to have seen. I hope your Lordship hes righted me with his 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 laft anchor on earth, for help in some things concerning our Houfe, wherein if ye shoulde neglect me, I will be exceedingly afflicted, and ignorant what to doe nixt. Mr. Gillepsie, beside the great debt he left us in, having found us in none, continues to vex us yet farder. By his numerous and powerfull friends, in the laft day of the Parliament, got through an Act, whereby he claimes 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 Seffion 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. Gillepsie to desist from such sycophantick pursuits of us, whom he hes peeled to the bones alreadie. His Majestie, in my presentation, hes under his hand declared, That Mr. Gillepsie ab initio was an intruder, and had never any right to his ordinarie stipend as
Principal, which, on that declaration, seems, might in law be repeated from him; but wishing him no harme, we only desire that his Majesty would declare to the Chancellor his pleasure, that he might be discharged to crave any more money from us, especially since the first of October 1660, the time when he was removed from us to prison for his crimes against the State; and to command him to be comptable for the fountains of money he has taken from the Colledge, over and above his ordinarie stipend: such an order from his Majesty, and nothing else, I know would ease us from great trouble and expense, which otherwise his restlesnes will quickly put upon us.

In a second [thing], also, I beseech your Lordship to pitie our condition. My Lord Chancellor, when last there, obtained, under the King’s hand, a recommendation of our hard case to the Councill, 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 sute to your Lordship, to present a line to his Majesty for his hand, not to the Exchequer, but the Collector of the Excyfe of Glagow, to pay us at last that two hundred pound sterlign which his blest Father, in the year 1633, gave us a præcept for to the Exchequer, and for which the officers of the Exchequer gave us sundry times an order, as the doubles here enclofed do shew, but never a penny of it could we obtaine to this day. Indeed Mr. Gillepsie got from Oliver, well payed, a gift for our building of fuye hundred pound sterlign, also for twelve new burfars out of the customs of Glagow, which puts us in the greater hope of his Majesty’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 Majesty, I hear, does graciously promise to all the Universities liberall recompenes for all is taken from them; in that we shall humbly wait with the rest for his Majesty’s conveniency, hoping your Lordship will not be forgetfull of us when other Universities are provided for. But for the Subdeanrie of Cader and Monkland, which we latelie did purchase from the Dutchess of Hamilton, with all the mortified money we had, as my Lord or my Ladie, I hope, will testify to your Lordship; our lawyers aduyfed us to seek from the King a signature of novodamus for that our interest: We
did prepare it; but our great friends, my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Sharp thought it unexpedient to fend it up at this tyme. Only we hope your Lordship will be carefull that no other gett a presentation to that Subdeanrie, which we have bought at a dear rate, without the which we are not able to subfift; and if your Lordship could think it expedient to get a line from his Majestie, signifying his pleafure to ratifie to us what the Dutcheffe and her Father were secured in by his Majestie's bleffed Father, and all the law which then was in Scotland, it would be a fingular 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 poffeffion.

My Lord, I fhall be loath in hafte to fah your Lordship with fo long epiftles; but you know I am one of your old fervants, and it is for an Univerfitie which in the tyme of my Prefidencie is like to ruine, if you my old patron put not to your hand quicklie to help it. What you can get done, or fees you cannot get done, I intreat with all poftible feepd I may be adver-tifed. What you direct your fervant, John Don, to write to me with, if it come to Mr. Hamilton, minister of Edinburgh, he will fend it me with a fure hand. I prefsie hafte becaufe our action with Mr. Gillefpie, before the Coun-cell, begins 19th of this instant, and ye know he drives furiouslie. I hope old kindness will not yet permitt you to defert me in this very evill world. I remain a fuppliant 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 fervant,

R. Baillie.

What I write of Monkland and Mr. Gillefpie, let fo few know it as may be for caufes.

Glasgow, October 1ft 1661.

For Mr. James Sharp.

James,

I was glad when I looked on the double of my laft to you, to find your mistake to be the clean contrarie way. Whatever grief my heart has from vol. III.
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 receaved 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 concurr with yow. If yow two in this new
world desert me, I must take me to my books and my seeds, and leave this
station wherein yow two moved the King to settle me. Our signature for
Monkland, as yow advyfed, I have delayed till the thick of your businesfs 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 storne that comes on us, by
a new claime of Mr. Gillefpie of ten thousand merks, that found us much
to the fore, and leaves us in twenty thousand merks of debt, as he must
confeffe, but, as I count, thretie-fix thousand? Should he be heard to
plead for more money from us, even since the first of October, when by the
States order he was removed from us, for his crimes, and declared by the
King never to have any right among us? Should this impudent injustice
be tolerat? If it goe on, I will be forced to entreat yow to complaine of it
to the King; and if no redresse can be had of it, earnestlie to defyre yow to
procure for me so honett a regresse as may be to my former station; for
truelie, almost dailie anxious perplexities for his heavie debts, does oft take
my meat and sleep from me, and may bereave me of my life, if I be not some
way freed of them. James, I doubt not of your kindnefs; and if I did,
I would not thus trouble yow with my letters.

Your twenty-year old friend and servant,

R. BAILLIE.

Glasgow, October 1ft. 1661.

FOR MY LADY DUTCHES OF HAMILTOUN.

MADAM,

Your Ladyship is my old friend; and, before yow were borne, your
Father and Uncle were oft very kind to me. That bargaine good Mr. Gil-
lefpie made for us with your Ladyship, our laft payment of it to Preftoun of two thousand merks, with annual rent, we purpose God willing, to performe faithfullie at the terme of Martinmas. In our confultation with our lawyers, we find, they think us very unsecure by this new world in our bargaine, except by your Ladyship's and my Lord's help we get a new fignature of it from the King. For the time we requieft your Ladyship, or my Lord, may be pleased to declare to my Lord Launderdaill the truth of our bargaine, and your willingnes that the King's hand fhould be put to a fignature for us, fo foone as we can gett it readie to prefent. Expecting this justice and favour from your Ladyship, I remain,

Your Grace's humble and much obliged fervant,

R. Baillie.

Glafsow, October 1ft [1661.]

[For Mr. William Spang.]

Dear Cousin,

My laft was by the hand of my lad Harrie. I have keeped my chamber thefe fix weeks, and yet does keep it through a rofe in my legge; but, blessed be God, I now walk up and downe my chamber and yaird. The Doctor thinks I have a scrubie: I find an univerfall weaknes, especiallie of my stomack. It were a favour to me to be gone; yet I am willing to abide my appointed time, and take my part with others in thefe very hard tymes. It was one of my speciall defyres to have my Book printed, which yow, of your singular kindnes, have procured fullie to my mind. I will not be able to return yow this speciall favour. It is in fyne paper, a brave letter and volume; I could not have wiished it better; only I would intreat yow would haften it fo much as may be, that it be not opus posthumum. As yow have sent me the two firft sheets, I wish yow sent me likewise what fince are caft off. The corrector had need, for the credit of the preffe, to be more carefull: in thefe two sheets yow fee what groffe faults are escaped, which makes folacifms and nonfences. Do your best to caufe help this.

Your new peice of Voslius is but a bagg of clatters, blown up with infolent pride, unbefeeing a schollar, or any modest man; whom I mind
never to know. The rest yow sent us were without catalogue or price, but it is good yow keep beside yow an account of all such things. Send me with your next an account of all the Colledge is due, but be intreated to be only in English money which we understand. I have delyvered to Mary Hamilton, as yow defyred, one hundred and one pound, fiftein shilling: yow have herewith her discharge to yow of it, and such testimonialls from our Toune as yow defired. Let me know your receipt heirof with the fame bearer.

The stuffe for my Wife's gown, which came not to her till the other day, was very good, but in the measure there is some mistake as it feems. Yow write it is elevin Dutch ell and a quarter: it hes gone through many hands; what came to her is but nine Dutch ell and three quarters; so that it is a Dutch ell and a halfe leffe than what yow sent, when Adam Ritchie with a Dutch ell-wand hes measured it sharplie. This cannot be helped. I have sent yow here a patterne of the stuffe, that yow may send me two Dutch ell and ane halfe of the same stuffe, for my wife's gowne does require it, and cannot be made up without it.

The publick affaires yow know them as well and better than I. Our Kirk, all the English tymes, had been very faithfull to our King, and so instrumen
tall as we could for his restitution. We had lost much blood at Dunbar, Worcester, and elsewhere, and at last our libertie, in his caufe. We did firmyl expect, at his Restitution, a confortable subsistence to ourselues, and all our Presbyterian brethren, in all the dominions; and believe the King's intention was no other; but, by divine permission, other counsells thereafter prevailed, and now carry all. When the King was at Breda, it was said he was not averfe, from eftablilhing the Prefbyteery; nor was the contrare peremptorily resolved till the Saturday at night, in the cabbin-counsell at Canterbury. At the beginning it went on softly: Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Reynold, were made chaplains: but at once it altered. This did come from our supine negligence and unadverience; for the Parliament, then confiting of the secluded members, the Citie, Monck alfo, and the Armie, were for us: Had we but petitioned for Presbytrie at Breda, it had been, as was thought, granted; but fearing what the leaft delay of the King's coming over might have produced, and trusting fully to the King's goodnefs, we haftened him over, without any provisio for our fafetie. At that time it was, that Dr. Sheldon, now Bishop of London, and Dr. Morley, did poyfon Mr. Sharp, our agent, whom we trusted; who,
peice and peice, in fo cunning a way, hes trepanned us, as we have never
win fo much as to petition either King, Parliament, or Councell. My
Lord Hyde [is] the great Minifter of State who guided all, and to whom, at
his lodging in Worcester-houfe, the King weekly, and ofter, ufed to refort and
keep counfell with him alone some hours; and fo, 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 easily,
and is still in acting.

He had for co-operators the Commiffioner, Chancellor, and Rothes:
Lauderdaill, and Craufurd, were a while contrare; but feeing the King
peremptor, they gave over. His Majeftie's letter to us at firft, penned by
Mr. Sharp, promifed to keep up our Church government eftablifhed by
law; and to fend for Mr. Douglaifs and others to conferre about our af-
fares. The laft Mr. Sharp hindred; for with him alone it pleafed his Ma-
jeftie to conferr: and the fene 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 eftablifhed by law, as it was in the
year 1633; of putting downe our Synods, and Prefbyteries, and Seffions; of
calling up Mr. Sharp, Mr. Fairfoull, and Mr. James Hamilton of Camnethan;
also Mr. Lighton, then at London, to be confecrate by the Englifh Bifhops;
which, after fome tyme, they were by the Bifhops of London and Worfe
ter, and others, with many Englifh guifes. Their feas to all the Scots, and
many of the Englifh nobilitie, was great. They ftyed there fome moneths
longer than was expected, that they might be fufficiently instructed in the
Englifh way. When they came downe, they were receaved by a number of
Noblemen, Gentlemen, and the Magiftrates of Edinburgh, magnificklie: the
Commiffioner'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 Bifhops and a few
of the Prefbyterians, where it was hoped his Majeftie would bring the
Bifhops to a great condefcenfion, at laft it was found they would yield in as
good as nothing: fo the Houfe of Commons formed a Bill of Uniformity, that
all should be put from their charges who did not conforme to the Bishops orders. On this the House of Lords did make some demurre, and yet does; but we doubt not of their agreeance to it at last; and from thenceforth a fearfull perfection is expected, for the prevalent part of the Episcopall faction are imbittered, and, both in doctrine and practice, it seems, fully of the old Canterburian stamp. God be mercifull to our brethren, who hes no help of man, nor any refuge but in God alone: We fear our case shall be little better.

Our Parliament was adjourned from the 10th of March to the 8th of May. The Commissioner and our Nobles desyred not to leave London till they had seen the Queen. Also much talk was of discord betwixt the Commissioner and Thesaurer, about the collection of the new revenue of fourty thousand pound sterlign. The Thesaurer 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 partied the one, and my Lord Hyde the other; the strife was more long and loud than was fitt; the King agreed them at laft 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 Rosse, Mr. Murdoch M'Keinzie to Murray, Mr. Forbes to Caithnes, Mr. Robert Wallace to the Isles; Dr. Wishart designed for Edinburgh, and Mr. David Mitchell for Aberdeene, are not yet come out of England; nor old Sincere appointed for Orkney. Mr. David Fleasher [Fletcher], whose patent was for Argyle, refufed it, the rent being naught. The Commissioner gave the feast after the confecration, as his Majestie had defrayed liberallie all their charges in England.

Our Bishop,\(^5\) the other week, took a start to come to Glaſgow. The Chancellor convoyed him, with Montrose, Lithgow, Calender, and sundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our town's folks, both horfe and foot, with all our bells ringing, brought them to the Tolbooth to a great collation. He preached on the Sunday, soberly and weell; but Mr. Hew Blair, in the afternoon, ridiculously worse than his ordinarie. Some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the Colledge on Monday morning. Against this I reafoned much; but was over-voted, to our great and needleſſe charge: two hundred pound

\(^5\) Andrew Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glaſgow.
payed not our charge. Mr. John Young made to the Bishop a speech of welcome, beseide my knowledge. The Chancellor, my noble kind schollar, brought all in to fee me in my chamber, where I gave them feck and ale the beft of the towne. The Bifhop was very courteous to me: I excused my not ufeing of his ftyles, and profeffed my utter difference from his way; yet behoved to entreat his favour for our affaires of the Colledge; wherein he promised 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 shou’d not fitt in Glaſgow, 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 Galfoun. The guife now is, the Bifhops will trouble no man, but the State will punifh feditious minifters. We are in the moft hard taking we have seen at any tyme. It’s the matter of my daily grieſe, and I think it hes 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 Lauderdaill; but it feems it now will not be welcome to him. I writ to him of it, but he did not anſwer: however that will be the laſt sheet. For 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 fashioν,

Your Cousin 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. I.

LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME THIRD OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XLVIII.—M.DC.LXI.

1648.

Fol. 9 b. My Sudden Thoughts, on Saturday 12th February 1648, of the Motion of Warre then in all men's mouths. See page 37

12. The humble Petition of the Prefbytery of Glasgow, unto the Honourable Estates of Parliament. This paper was drawn up by Baillie, who adds, in the margin of the MS., that "P. G. [Patrick Gilleespie] changit much of this to the worse." 47

25. Baillie's "Extemporall Notions," in answer to the Queries, If men who have been active in the Engagement should be suspeded from the Lord's Table? and, If the monthly maintaine may lawfully be payed, before the first Question be determined? 58

26 b. Instru&ctions to the Commissioner of the Univerfity of Glafgow, for the Correspondence of the Universityes, 56

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

1649.

69. Collec&tion 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

1650.

70. Reasons why his Majeftie's owning the League and Covenant for Scotland, cannot be satiffactorie, 17th April.

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

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

74. The King's Speech to the Committee of Estates, after "the Start," [11th October.]


74. A few Animadversions on the Western Remonftrance, by Baillie, addrefsed to Mr. Robert Ramfay, but left unfinifhed, December 1650.

77. The fenfe of the Committee of Estates upon the Western Remonftrance, Perth, Friday 20th November.

77 b. The fenfe of the Commission of the Generall Assembly upon the Western Remonftrance, 26th November.

77 b. An Answer from the Commission of the Generall Assembly to the Quærie of the Parliament, [concerning the admiffion of Engagers to the Army,] 14th December.

78. Act [of the Commission] againft thofe that joyne in counfell or armes, or that complie with the Sectarian Army, 14th December.

1651.

79. Reasons of Diffent by Baillie and others, from the vote of the Presbytery in behalf of Guthrie and Bennet, ministors of Stirling, 11th or 12th March.
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<th>Paper Description</th>
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<td>85 b.</td>
<td>The Commission's Consolatorie Letter to Edinburgh. (Baillie adds in the MS. “by my hand.”)</td>
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<td>89 b.</td>
<td>The Humble Petition of the Commission to the King's Majesty, and to Parliament against the promiscuous admission of Malignants to the Army, 18th March.</td>
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<td>96.</td>
<td>Reasons of Diffent (by Baillie, and others?) in the Synod of Glasgow, against a vote of dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Commission, 4th April.</td>
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<td>101.</td>
<td>My Answer to Mr. Robert Ramsay's Quærie, Whether Ingadding Officers who have satisfied the Church, may lawfully be employed in our present Army?</td>
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<td>103.</td>
<td>Lancashire's Quæries Answered, by L. Colonel, (the name is left blank in the MS.)</td>
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<td>104.</td>
<td>A true Information of the Affairs of Scotland, by one who truelie feareth to lie. In Baillie's MS. this paper is said to have been “Drawen by Mr. Rutherfoord, and sent in by Mr. Murecraft to Mr. Gee, in Lancashire, immediatlie before the Kingis March to Worcester, June 1651.”—There must, however, be a mistake in this, for the paper itself comes down to May 1652, with a Postscript evidently written in July or Auguft that year.</td>
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<td>105.</td>
<td>Letter from Mr. Robert Blair to Mr. David Dickfon, 20th October.</td>
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<td>106.</td>
<td>The Provinciall Synod of Lothian's Act against the Protesters Commission, 5th November 1651; and “Their [the Protesters] faucie Answér,” 14th November.</td>
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<td>1652.</td>
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<td>106 b.</td>
<td>The Commission's Letter to Mr. John Robertson, minister of Dundee: (Baillie adds, “by my hand.”) 7th March.</td>
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<td>107.</td>
<td>A Breiff Information to Ministers, concerning a present necessarie Warning against the Tender. (By Baillie, and intended to have been enlarged by Mr. Robert Blair.)</td>
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112. b. Proteftation againft the Provinciaall Afeembie of Glaſgow,
8th October [1651.]

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

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

119 b. Proteftation againft the Prefbytery of Glaſgow for not choosing
Commiſſioners to the Afeembly, 7th July.

121 b. Reaſons of a Faſt appointed by the Generall Aſfeembly to be
kept 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 Uſurpation
of the Englifh, in April, after Mr. Douglas's returne.

1654.

155. C. The Proteftation and Declaration of the Synod of [the
Reſolutioners, at] Glaſgow, 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 Glaſgow, 4th, 5th,
and 6th April.


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

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

164. K. Mr. James Fergusſon's Letter to the Anti-Synod, pre-
sented by Baillie, 12th June. 254

168. L. Mr. James Fergusſon's Overtures to the Anti-Synod: or
Overtures breiflie proponed. 254

169. M. I. The fame Overtures enlarged, and the Equitie of them
Afferted. 254
176. M. 2. My Overtures, entitled, "Overtures for Union in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, proposed in a Conference by the Brethren adhering to the late Generall Assemblies; to the Brethren Protesters against the famine, 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 propone to the Anti-Synod. 1. Overtures of Reunion proposed 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. Instructions 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.] 354

243 b. R. Articles exhibited against Mr. Patrick Gillespie, wherefore he ought not to be Principal 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,"


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.

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.

1661.


285. Baillie's Answer to two Questions proposed by the Professors of Divinity in the University of Utrecht, (in Latin.)
APPENDIX No. II.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.
M.DC.XLVIL—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 desireable that further inquiry should be made in other quarters respecting such MSS. The publication of Gillespie's Notes of the Proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, from two copies in Wodrow's collection, although these apparently contain only a portion of the 12 or 14 volumes he mentions, would form a most suitable companion to Dr. Lightfoot's Notes, or "Journal of the Assembly of Divines."

Gillespie returned from London, along with Baillie, to attend the General Assembly at Edinburgh, August 1647; and on the 6th of that month, as our author informs us,——
"He and I made our report to the great satisfaction of all." Baillie's own Speech on that occasion is already given at p. 10 of this volume; and Gillespie's, hitherto unpublished, is now subjoined from a contemporary MS.; but not being in his own hand, the peculiar orthography has not been retained.

George Gillespie was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly in July 1648, while he was in a declining state of health. Having gone for change of air to his native place, Kirkaldy, he died there 17th December 1648, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, to the great loss of the Church of which he was so distinguished an ornament. He left under his hand, subscribed on the 15th December, a "Testimony against Association and Complacency with Malignant Enemies of the Truth and Godliness:" Written two days before his death. This, along with a Letter to the same effect addressed to the Commission of the General Assembly, on the 8th September, are subjoined to his posthumous Tract, "An Usefull Case of Conscience Discussed and Resolved, concerning Associations and Confederacies with Idolaters, Infidels, Hereticks, or any other known Enemies of Truth and Godliness."—Edinburgh, 1649, 4to.]  

[Moderator.] Sir,—I have been long defyrous to return here, that I might as waitt upon my particular charge, so also give a farther account to this Honorable and learned Assembly of our employments with the Assembly of Divines at London.

I speak ingenuously, the Lord knows, that I was altogether unsufficient for so great a work, and such an employment. My Colleagues indeed, have been both painfull and succesfull. Only this I would desire to profefs, that with some uprightness of heart I have studied to lay hold on occasions of promoving the work of God there, and the service of his Church in this land. Neither have our labours been altogether without success, which we ascribe wholly to the blessing of God, and therefore desyre, that as prayers have been made to God in behalf of our Commissioners and that Assembly of Divines, so thanks may be given in behalf of both for their good success, and peaceable setting about the work wherein the Lord hath employed them.

Ye know we have acted in a double capacity according to our Commission: We have gone on in a way of treating with the Committee of Parliaments and Divines jointly, and have given in many Papers, as concerning the Officers of the Kirk excluding scandalous persons from the Kirk Sacrament, the growth of Heresies, and such things, as in your judgment and ours, was defective among them. We have acted in another capacity, debating with and assisting the Assembly of Divines their debates: much of their time hath been taken up with the triall of Ministers, for Presbyteries not being established in that land, Ministers to be admitted in several places behoved to be tryed by them; yet the heads of our Commission have been 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
herefies and errors that overflow that land: nay, their intention of framing of it was to meet with all the considerable Errors of the present tyme, the Socinian, Arminian, Popish, Antinomian, Anabaptitian, Independent errors, &c. The Confession of Faith sets them out, and refutes them, so far as belongs to a Confession. This Confession of Faith hath been, to my knowledge, very much commended of them that had occasion to see it, even by some of the Prelatical party too. It is not yet fully approved by the Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords have approved it; the House of Commons have approved the first chapter of it, and was going on in consideration of the rest of it, at that tyme when they were taken off by the late commotion there, and emergent differences.

For the next Head of our Commission, ye know the Directory for Worship is settled long ago by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. I confess it is not yet observed by all there fo as it ought, yet it is observed by many, to the great good of that land. We shall only add to that head, the matter of the Psalms; all grant that there is a necessitie of the change of the old Paraphrase. This new Paraphrase was done by a Gentleman verie able for the purpose, but afterward it was revis'd by a Committee of the Assembly of Divines, according to the originall, and was approved by the whole Assembly. The House of Commons hath given it a full approbation. The House of Lords hath not as yet, many defyring and pressing other Paraphrases also to be made use of in congregations, if they please. All the Animadversions sent by you were taken in due consideration. There are also here some new amendments made by the Gentleman himself: Here is the book, the perfect copy and ultima cura of it.

The Third Head was Church Government, which, as it was the most contraverted of the rest, so it hath suffered manieft obstructions. There was a practicall Directory for Church Government drawn furth without Scriptural Propositions; but because some thought a Model of Church Government could not be framed, which were Jure Divino, there was another Directory for Government drawn up in Propositions, with Scriptural truths, proving the fame. Here they are both.

Now in relation to this head of Church Government, there was a Committee of the Assembly and Parliament appointed to see if the Dissenting Brethren might been drawn to agree upon a common rule, according to the word of God, peace of the Kirk, and the Covenant. There was some hopes of ane Accommodation, but because of some difficulties, especially for that they would have had a liberty of gathering their sepaerate churches out of others already constitute; upon this it brake up. Only a new motion was made of it for establishing that Committee of Accommodation before I came away, and their differences are yet lafting, and their ways, as I conceive, inconsequent.

Now, the erecting of Presbyterianall Government hath been opposed by diverse parties: First, By these that deny all Governments: These are Erafians. 2dly, By these that would have another form of Government than the Presbyterian; of those some have
studied to get in a moderate Prelacy, and a model of that fort hath been put in the
hands of some Parliament men, as I have seen, others labours mightily for Indepen-
dency. 3. It hath been obstructed, and receaved many wounds, by these that would
have a Church Government framed in a prudential way by the wiifetime 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 business, which the Assembly and godly ministry there dare not condescend to in
conscience; whereupon the Assembly, sticking to that that they conceive agreeable to the
truth, they presented a Petition accordingly. The Petition was easen, being con-
ceived a breach of priviledge. Among other incongruitities, they urged a double
number of Ruling Elders at least to that of ministers, and if they please, four tymes
more, so that all what ministers do say, may be made null by the major part of Ruling
Elders. To this we gave in our Reasons to the contrarie. It was upon the occasion
of this prudential mould, that the Nine Queries were sent to the Assembly by the
House of Commons, that the Assembly might be put to it for a particular model of
Church Government, which was expected by many, they could never doe it, and so
this might be ane ground to go on in their intended prudential way. These Nine
Queries, as I am very confident they may have a full and satisfactory answer from Scrip-
ture, so I believe they [would] have gotten ere now, were it not the Assembly had been
necessarily diverted by other things, put in their hands by the Parliament. There is a
fourth impediment that did hinder much the Presbyteryal Government, because there
be many that would be content of it, so being it were with Liberty of Conscience that,
if they pleased, they might come under it, otherways not. This is become a common
plea, not only to Sectaries, but also to the Prelatical party: Doctor Taylor, the
King's chaplain, hes written a large book for the defence of Liberty of Conscience.

The last Head of our Commisjon was the Catechism. The framing of this the
Assembly have been very laborious in, and have found great difficulty how to make it
full, such as might be expected from an Assembly, and, upon the other part, how to
condescend to the capacity of the common and unlearned. Therefore they are a-making
two distinct Catechisms, a Short and plaine one for these, and a Larger one for thosе
of understanding. They have had no time yet to do any thing in the latter, but 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 wiifetime of this Assembly can very well
judge of them, without great information; yet, since ye are pleaed to defyre ane
accompt of affairs there, I shall shortly express what we conceave to be the greatest
dangers hindering the advancement of the defyrecl Reformation in that land, and these
we conceave are growing greater, when we were in expectation they were growing
lefs than before. The diseafe was in the body; now it is broken furth in the spirits,
before the grosse humors were purged away, and so the danger is double. There is a conjunction of interest among those that have been averse from the Covenant, and those that have been ayming [at] a Reformation of religion hitherto, the Prelatical party and Independent. There is a great deal of indeavour used to unite them, although, I believe, that by this tyme they see that their interest and principles are inconstitible.

2. A second danger there is, which needs must be great, because there is a redivivation which is worse than the first disease; that which hath been build up is now a-casting down, and that which hath been a-casting down is a-building up. The Service-Book, which we thought had been buried, is now allowed at Court, and the sequestrat 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 remote 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 justly conceived to be a sovveign remedy against the former evill, so when that is cast aside, it must make the dangers the more and greater: many refuse to subscribe that League and Covenant, and it is no wonder, seeing it hath not a civill function 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 professe in their publick papers, that it is not their intention to oppose Presbyterian Government: They take God to witnes their intention is not against the Covenant. What is the intentio mentis we know not, or the intentio operantis, but intentio operis looks far otherways. Nevertheless of the forementioned dangers, yet, on the other part, there is hope in 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, shoule 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 close of the work.

2. Next, we have grounds of confidence from the petitions of many, especially of London: Ye may understand very well the hearts of many by the petitions that have been occasionally from tyme to tyme published.

3. There is hope from that that is put in execution already: You know there is no government owned by the Parliament but the Presbyterial; although they have not come up so far as the Assembly of Divines have holden forth to them, yet that is the only government owned by them, and is put in execution in 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 judicatary from the inferior. There is so much done as is more than a day of small things; so much as we would have greatly accounted of, if we might have hoped for it ten years ago, when we were a-coming out of Egypt.

4. There is encouragement to us, from the great discovery of the ways of Sectaries: Many who by their being very plausible gained ground before, are now down in the opinions of many, and their army, though now they prosper very much, yet have lost very many of their friends by their carriage of late, being fully persuaded their ways are not of God.

5. From the Assembly of Divines: God hath blessed that Assembly very much, and they do resolve, that whatsoever others shall do, or whatever dangers or fears shall arise, that they shall not suffer themselves to be led away from the prosecution of that Solemn Covenant, and the ends of it; that they will adhere to that Confession of Faith, Directory of Government and Worship, which, according to the written word, they have resolved upon.

And truly, Sir, they have defrayed me to assure this Assembly of their solid resolution of adhering to Presbyteriall Government, and the other ends of our Commission from this Church. I speak with warrant from the Prolocutor of the Assembly, as is clear in this paper, which, for my memory's sake in the premises, I have here, being subscribed by the Prolocutor and the Clerk; And withall, their desire was to make their excuse for their not giving answer to diverse Letters from the Parliament and Assembly of Scotland; for that they being only Assembled for giving advice by the Parliament, not being a National Assembly as you are, they were loath to interrupt the Parliament, whose warrant they behoved to procure, the Parliament being now otherways most seriously employed. I shall only add, friends in England do bless God for this Assembly's writing at such a seasonable tyme, and expect so much shall come forth from you as shall refresh their faddened 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 Scotch forces by Cromwell at Preston, on the 17th August, was in a great measure owing to the contradictory orders issued by the Duke as General, and the Earl of Callander, as second in command; and that no portion at least of the blame could be thrown upon Baillie. The capitulation entered into is thus mentioned by Oliver Cromwell in his letter to the English Parliament, 20th August 1648:—

"The next morning the enemy marched towards Warrington, made a stand at a Pass near Winaick. We held them in some dispute until our army was come up, they maintaining the Pass with great resolution for many hours; but our men, by the blessing of God, charged very hard upon them, beat them from their standing, where we killed about a thousand of them, and took (as we believe) about two thousand prisoners, and prosecuted them home to Warrington Town, where they possessed the Bridge. As soon as we came thither, I received a message from Lieut.-General Bailey, desiring some Capitulation; to which I yielded, and gave him these terms:
That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, and horses, upon quarter for life; which accordingly is done. Here are took about four thousand compleat arms, and as many prisoners; and thus you have their Infantry ruined." (Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1238.)

This Capitulation may be considered as presenting the termination of General Baillie's military career. How long he survived is uncertain; but a few words may be added as to his family. His eldest son James Baillie was born 29th October 1629. He married Joanna Forrester, daughter of George first Lord Forrester, on whose death, in 1654, without male issue, he succeeded to the title and property, as Lord Forrester. His affairs, however, became much involved; his Lady, as Baillie reports, (supra p. 367,) died of a broken heart, about the year 1657; and he himself closed a profligate life in a tragical manner, being murdered in his garden at Corstorphin, 26th August 1679, by Christian Hamilton, wife of James Nimmo, and a grand-daughter of the first Lord Forrester. (See Fountainhall's Hist. Notices, p. 233. Mr. Sharpe's Note in Kirkton's Hist. p. 182, and New Statist. Account, Edinburghshire, p. 212.) General Baillie's second son, William, born 12th December 1632, married another daughter of Lord Forrester, and on his brother's death in 1679, he succeeded as third Lord Forrester, but did not assume the title. He died in May 1681, and his son William, after an interval of 17 years, claimed his right of patent, in 1698, and became fourth 'Lord Forrester. (See Douglas's Peerage, by Wood, vol. i. p. 602.)

At Warrington, 22d August 1648.

We Under Subscribres doe hereby declare upon our faith and honour, that We, with the rest of the Officers and Souldiers then present, did advyse Lieu.-Gen. Baylie to accept of the under-written Capitulation, and consented to the same, before ever it was signed.

At Warrington-Bridge, 19th August 1648.

It is aggretiet betwixt Lieu.-Gen. Cromwell and Lieu.-Gen. Baylie, that all armes, ammunition, collours, and other furniture and provision of warre, be delvered without imbattellment to Lieu.-Gen. Cromwell, or to whom he shall appoint. That Lieu.-Gen. Baylie, with all Officers and Souldiers with him, shall be prisoners of warre, and that with the content of all the said Officers and Souldiers.

That they who shall foe randar themseldres, the said Lieu.-General Cromwell shall assure them all of faiff lyves, goods, and what else belongs to them, except horses, to be delveryed after they are difpofed of, for their better accomodation; and in the meantyme to be furnishd with horses for their journeys.

O. Cromwell.

W. Baylie.
We doe lykewayes declair upon our faith and honour, that these Reasons following, were the motives of this appointment:—

1. We were abandoned by all our Horfemen.
2. The number of our Foot then with us did not exceed 26 or 2700.
3. Scarce the halfe of them had keepe their armes.
4. Since the 13th of Augut they had received bot 2 pound of victuals a-peice.
5. There wes no ammunition at all amongst them.
6. When by Lieu^t^-Gen. Baylie's ordour they were brought from the open field nearer the Bridge of Waringtone, for the defence of the fame, into ane inclofure, the whole collours were not accompanied with scarce 250 soldiours; the rest left their armes and ran to the Muir, from whence no perfuation of Officers could bring them untill the Capitulation wes clofed.

7. Before Lieu^t^-Gen. Baylie had brought up the reare of all that were uncutt off, my Lord Callander had given ordour to diverse officers, to wit, to Lieu^t^-Col. Kerr, Major Knox, and Capt. Rutherford, as Kerr deponeth, to prepare for a barricade to the Bridge, and stopping of all the stragglcing foot at the Bridge, till they could see what best appointment they could make for themfelves. Lykewayes Lieu^t^-Gen. Middleton did advyfe Col. Dowglas, by Collingtoun, and by mouth, Col. Turner, to caufe barricad the Bridge-end and guard it weell, and to tell Lieu^t^-Gen. Baylie, when he shouold come up, to make the best appoitntment he could for himself and the rest of the foot. The lyke commiffion he gave to Major Wm. Dowglas, and defryed that the rest of his horfemen might be sent him up from our reere. (Sic 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 Tuyiday in the night.
3. Why we left Preston-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 requisite for the retreat of the Foot? for want whereof the most of them were ruyned.
7. Why at Waringtone the Horfemen did abandon the remnant of the Foot?
LXXIV.

LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND. 7TH FEBRUARY 1649.

[This and the next eight articles of the Appendix, are given from Baillie's MS.]

[Charles the First was executed on the 30th January 1649. The Parliament of Scotland, immediately upon receiving intelligence of this event, proclaimed Charles the Second King, on Monday the 5th February; and, as Baillie writes to Spang, (supra p. 66,) "We have sent the bearer, a worthy gentleman, to signify so much to his Majestie 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 greatnes, and powred forth our supplications and prayers to God on his behalf, and doe aborre these unparaleiled proceedings of Sectaries against his Majestie's perfone 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 strengh, to continue in prayer and supplication for your Majestie, that yow may feare the great and dreadful name of the Lord your God, and reigne in rightouſnes and equitie, and the Lord's people under yow live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſfe 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 obstruited 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 caufe of all these evills. It hath been the cunning of the Popifh Pruraliticall and Malignant partie to traduce Prefbyteriall Government, and the Solemn League and Covenant as destruſive to monarchie, and with so much witt and induſtrie they manage these calumnies, that your Royall Father, to our exceeding grieſfe, was keet at a distante in his judgement from these things, that doe much concerne the kingdome of Jefus Chrift, the peace and safetie of these Kingdomes,
and the establishing of the King's throne, and was estranged in his affection from them who most tendered his person and authority.

And seeing the Lord now calls your 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 company, and shun the counsells of the ungodlie, who study 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 loyal subjects odious, that they only may be gracious. And that your Majestie would avoid all the temptations and snares that accompanie youth, and humble yourselfe under the mighty hand of God, and seek him early, and labour to have your senses exercised in his word, and that your Majestie would establish Prebysteriall government, and allow and enjoyne the Solemn League and Covenant, and employ your Royall power for promoting and advancing the work of uniformtie in religion, in all your Majestie's dominions. It is by the Lord who bears rule in all the kingdomes of the sons of men, that kings do reign, and whatever carnell policie fugges to the contrarie, there is nothing can contribute so much for secureing the kingdom in their hand, as being for his honour, and studying to doe his will in all things. Therefore we know not so speedie and sure a way for secureing of Government in your Majestie's person and posteritie, and disappoiting 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 SeCTaries, and we were faithfull and free with your Royall Father, would God he had hearkened to our humble advyce.) The Lord grant unto your Majestie wisdome to dicerne the tymes, and to make ufe of the opportunitie of doeing acceptable service to God, and engageing the hearts and affections of your people in the beginning of your Majestie's reigne, by condescending to these necessarie things; so shall the Lord bleffe your Majestie's person, establish your throne, and our spirits, and the spirits of all his people in these lands shall, after so many yeares of affiction, be refrehed and revived, and encouraged not only to pray for your Majestie, and to praife God in your behalfe; but in their places and stations, by all other suitabe means, to endeavour your honour and happines, that your Majestie may reigne, in prosperitie and peace, over these Kingdomes, which is the earnest defyre and prayer of

Your Majestie's loyal subjects and humble Servants,

The Commissioners of the Generall Assemble.

Edinburgh, 7th February 1649.
LXXV.

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

1. You shall be carefull to try, so far as yow can, what is the King's inclination and disposition, what are his principles, who are his Counsellors in whom he most confides, and whose counsells he most followes; especiallie, how he is grounded in Religion, what countenance he gives, or what affection he bears to Prelacie, the Service Book, and the government, worship and ceremonies that were in the Kirk of England; and what forme of worship he ufes in his familie; what ministers he hath with him; whether he seekes God in private or not.

2. Yow shall expresse our deep fenfe 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. Yow shall reprent unto him the affection of the Kirk of Scotland unto Monarchie, and the continuance of the fame, as in the perfone of his Father, so in his perfone and posteritie.

4. Yow shall show him how Presbyteriall government is not only confistent with, but helpfull to Monarchie; and to take off calumnies to the contrarie.

5. Yow shall reprent unto him our faithfull dealings with his Father, and our continuing constant in our principles in reference to religion and government, without declining unto the extreems either of Malignants or Sectaries.

6. Yow shall in a discreet way, at fitt opportunities, reprent unto him the finnes of his houfe, 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. Yow shall labour to informe him of things contained in the Nationall Covenant, and League and Covenant, and the true grounds of ours and England's entering thereunto, and persuade him to subscribe these Covenants, and to enjoune the fame, and to advance the work of Uniformitie, and establih Presbyteriall government, the Directorie of worship, and Confession of Faith, and Catechisme, in all his Majestie's dominions. And yow shall show him how that this only and effectuall way for securing Religion, establihing his throne, and settleing and secureing the union and peace of these Kingdomes.

8. Yow shall take occasion to show him that Prelacie was a mere usurpation in Scotland, and never establihed 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 pra Ctife of the Kirk of Scotland.

10. Yow shall effectuallie and seriouflie represent to him the evills of the counsells and deigne of the Popifh, Prelaticall, and Malignant partie, and labor to persuade him to forfake their counsells and courses, and to cleeve to thofe that are ftraight for Religion and Government, and will be faithfull both to God and him.

11. Yow shall shew him that we look upon the former idolatrie of his Mother as a mane caufe of the evills, both of finn and of punishment, that have afflicted thefe Kingdomes. And thereupon seriouflie to represent 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, eftablifh his Throne, fatiffie 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 Weftmonafterienfem deputati in fuo ad Hollandos diverticulo, efficit ut noftrros jam ad Regiam Majefatem in Hollandia delegatos tuæ curæ fiderent ameans com- mendare. In magnis cum Rex tum res tota Britannica in præfentiarum hærent an- guftiis. Attollimus oculos ad Dominum, in quo noftrum auxilium et unica spes fixa re- manent. ExpeÓtamus a fratribus tranfmarinæ perfeverantium in fuis ad Deum pro nobis precibus, omnibusque qua fe dat occafio charitatis officiis et mutuis operis, ut Chrifi Regnum, quod mancipia Satææ cunctis infernis machinis labefactari funderat, fartum teço con fervetur, et incrementum capiat. Non laborabimus, fcienti, ut putamus, com- montrare quæ fit rerum noftrarum hodie conditio. Si quæ, hac in parte, dominum late- ant, docebunt quam voles prolixæ coram quos mittimus fratres. Abs te, Reverende Vir, obnixæ petimus, ut pro magna tua prudentia, et auctoritate qua in Aula Araufionensi ac Regineæ Bohemiae polles, velis pro virili promovenda curaro que Serenissimo Regi per deputatos fratres humillima poftulata et saluberrima confilia deferenda commifimus.
Quam hic navaveris Deo, Regi, Ecclesiae, et nobis operam, saufa sit et felix, remuneratur certe celitus Jehova; et nos gratissima mente repositam conservabimus.

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

Dabantur Edinburgi, pridie Kal. Martii 1649. R. DOUGLASIIUS. Conventus Moderator.

LXXVII.

LETTER FROM THE SAME TO DR. ANDREW RIVET.

CLARISSIMO VIRO AC FRATRI IN CHRISTO DILECTISSIMO, DOMINO ANDREÆ RIVETO, IN ACADEMIA LUGDUNENSI SACRÆ THEOLOGÆ PROFESSORI.

Reverendissime, Dilectissime Frater,

Exploratus a multis jamannis tuus in domum Dei zelus, compertumque de reformatis omnibus ecclesiis studium efficit, ut quis sit rerum apud nos in praestentia status per fratres nostros dilectissimos tuae prudentiae confidenter aperire, et a tua Pietate fraternorum auxilium expectare non dubitemus. Probe novissi, fat scimus, quam at rum, quam diuturna mala, Regna haec et Ecclesiias jamdudum vexent. Maximum Temper bonorum hie omnium defiderium fuit per prosperam pacem imponendi tandem aliquando finem durissimis calamitatis, quibusceum integro jam decennio, et quod excurrit, conficlati sumus; sed ecce nova Temper tempestas, prioribus soevior incumbens, rejecit in novum malorum mare. Dederant nostri quantam maximam valebant operam, ut aequie conditionibus thronus, pristinuque splendor, et quaecunque defiderariullo jure poterant, Regi restituerentur; sed male feriati sufrurrones, calamitatum nostrarum vel primi aufores, vel affidui futores, nunquam definebant peffime consultum principem suis artibus perdere. Status Regni, ut primum inaustum de Patris nece (quod facinus toto pector exercamur) nuncium accepero, quam fieri potuit maxima solennitate absentem statim Filium edicto publico Regem declararunt, et Literas egregiae sua voluntatis plenas tam terra quam mari perscripserunt; Legatos suos Londino veftram Hagam proficiei jussurant, et alias iftius Legationis socios hinc amandarunt, qui humillima sua postulata, et saluberrima confilia novo Regi communicarent. Id quod ante alia in praestiantarum solicitos habet, tenella est Regis adolescendis indoles, licet optimae spei, quam circumfederunt jam multo piorum in utroque regno confilis vel aperti remper hosfes, vel non fatiss conflantes amici: hoc est, Reverendae Vir, in quo tuam operam industriamque nobis necessariam arbitraremur. Scimus quo zelo flagres erga Dei veritatem, et quo tenearis desiderio videndi nostram Britanniam in puritate religionis, et justa legum libertate, fir-
maque pace stabilitam: scimus quantopere abhorreat tua aequanimitas ab eorum hominum perversitate, qui vel suis erroribus perversae valore adhaerentes, vel suis privatis compendiis promovendis, aut reparandis dispensii inclinantes, incitant regem in praecipitii 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 exoratam cupimus, ut velis non gravate confilio et auctoritate tua, quibus plurimum istic locorum vales, adeque fratribus quos illue delegavimus ad res omnino maximas procurandas, quam non nostrum tantum tam Regni quam Ecclesiæ, sed et totius insulae, regis insuper regiae familie salutem, imo vero reformatorum omnium Ecclesiærum emolumentum, unice spectare certissimum habemus. Exsirimus Aurora Principem, et regiam ipsius conjugem, Regiamque Bohemiæ, flectendi tenellum Regis animum ad fana confilia non mediocris facultate pollere. Scimus quanta meritissime gratia apud ilorum omnium Serenitates valeas: quantumcunque tuae prudentiae visum fuerit piissimo huic operi incumere fperamus Dominum in suo die remuneraturum, nos certe gratissima semper mente recognituros pollicemur.

Tui in Domino fratres amantissimi, a Nationali Synodo Deputati, et, omnium nomine, ROBERTUS DOUGLASSIUS, Conventus Moderator.

Dabantur Edinburgi, pridie Kal. Martii 1649.

LXXVIII.

BAILLIE'S LETTER TO RIVET.

[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, DELEGATOS DEGENTI HAGÆ COMITIS, S. P.

Reverende Vir, et Mini observande in Christo Frater,

Memini probe quantum debuerim ab octennio, et ultima, humanitati et benevolentiae omnium vestrum, quorum Londini confortio et communicatione sum usus, tuae premissis, qua etiam Hagæ Comitis, sed, vos civis festinantibus, ad breve tempus sum fruimus. Filius meus, qui inter Principis domesticos Hagæ vivit, monuerat quidem venisse ex vestra Scotia delegatos, qui agnitionem Regem salutarent, et cum eo a gerent de justis condition-
ibus ei proponendis, ut Regnum apud te inchoaret, et inter eos esse quoddam eximios Dei servos; sed eorum nomina non mihi indicaverat, alioquin ego te faltem prævenissem, et veterem inter nos confuetudinem renovassem; quod nunc facio, tuis literis, et nostri Spangii fratris & amici conjunctissimi, adonis. Ego certe, si ab initio accepissem literas, quas a celeberrima Synodo ad me misistis, et credidissim me aliquid posse, ut aliqua ratione negotiatione vestrarum promoverem, nihil me retinuisset quo minus ad vos excurrissem, præfertim hac anni fatis favente et non incommoda tempêtate. Sed cum mihi fuisset nunciatum Celsissimum Principem meum pronun fatis ex feipso esse ad res vestrarum promovendas, et Regi Serenissimo confalia omnia suggerenda quibus fleCTReretur ut se fidei fuorum apud vos subditorum committeret, quod etiam D. Spangii nomine fuerat confirmatum, atque ita apud eum necesfarium non esse meum interventum, subfiti hic, meque ad precès converti, ut Deus vestræ negotiationis eventum ad optatum finem dirigeret. Non fìne angore animi intelligo alia prævaluisse confalia, et Regem esse in procina, ut ex Gallia in Hiberniam se conferat, et per nos etiam hic brevi iter fuum in istuat; quæ via mihi videtur ad pernicem Regis et regnorum, reformatae in illis ecclesiæ, tendere, et indicium esse iram Dei nondum deferbusse, qui haec confalia finat prevalere. Vieces etiam vestrarum doleo, et laboriose peregrinationis parum felicem succelfum, nisi quod perceperitis bonorum omnium in his regionibus benevolentiam vestrarum rebus favenientium, sed efficaciam deifle, cum folius Dei sit animos regum inflectere ad meliora confalia. Scribo ad Reverendissimos Synodi vestræ Paftores; eis gratias maximas ago pro suo de me judicio, et omnía defero quæ a me exspectari postunt in communi Ecclesiæarum caufa, quod apud te, Vir Reverende, iterum profiteor; tibique, et D. D. Collegis, felicem et faustum ad vestrarum réditum, et meliorem eventum rerum vestrarum voveo, quam qui exspectati debeat a confilii eorum, qui non solum a carne et sanguine pendent, sed qui, affectibus etiam suis indugentes, animos gerunt adversus Dei caufam exacerbatos, quos vel fleCtat Deus, vel reprimat. Interim me precibus tuis commendo, et mearum vicefissim subfìdum vobis promitto, tibique omnia prospera voveo. Vale.

Tuus omni officio et affectu in Christo,

ANDREAS RIVETUS.

BRÆDE BRABANTORUM, 5 Kal. Junias CIO.JOC.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 in his own breath to take the Covenant than the King can now have.

2. The Scots and English Covenanters will never forfake that Covenant, nor joyne 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, joines 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 devyded amongst themselves, and to force the most of them to sitt still and doe nothing for him.

5. Upon this dissatisfaction, the Scots and the English Covenanters sitting still, the King must putt himselfe upon strangers and his Father's broken party, whose first service must be to overthrow the Presbyterians in the three 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 turne desperate. In the mean time, the Sectaries gett time to settle their new Republick.

6. It is believed, generally, that the King's obstinacy comes not from himselfe, but his Counfellours, 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 marvilled what can be the true ground of the stick. The Popish party are no more at all hurt by the Covenant, than by these Acts of Parliament against them, to which the King's Father allwayes promis'd his full consent. The Covenant cannot come near any Papist, bot by particulare Acts of Parliament; and such Acts can bring all the trouble on them they feare, as much without as with the Covenant.

8. As for the Prelats, the King's father offered Acts of Parliament to abolish their vote in Parliament, to divest them totally of all civil employments; to sett up Presbyteries with them, to put the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction in the Presbytrie, as much as in the Bishop, their Moderator. These concessions destroy whatever argument either his Majestie or the Prelats can bring for keeping up any roote of Episcopacie, either of honour from former laws and customes, or of conscience from scripture: For the legall and allledged 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 wife Counsellours who will have the King and all his people destroyed for such a necessity as this; and if satisfaction in this poyn may be obtained, consider if his Majestie's affairs do not require that with all speed, cheerfulness, and fullness, it be offered; how often has gracious concessions by parcells, and out of time, been for no purpose?

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

Ans. This is a groundles alledgeance. No Scottifman at all will fall off him for the Covenant. All the late ingagers professt ever for it. James Graham's friends also doe boast of zeall 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 necessaire, but the Church of England may want them as the rest of the Reformed doe, and that the King and Parliament may lawfullie lay them afyde on the pressfure of smaller inconveniences than now doe compass the King and his kingdomes. If any of the Clergie be in one other judgement, their number and power is so inconsiderable, that their obstinacie in this needs not be stuck upon. As for the Papifts in Ireland, they need be no more offended with the King's joyning in the Covenant, than with his assenting, as his Father did, to Acts of Parliament as severe against them as the Covenant. Their offence here is not much to be valued, the King will not employ them, being idolaters, and the most of them guiltie 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 thefe of the Popifh, Prelaticall, and Malignant party, who will in no tearms joyn in the Covenant, with the certain los of all the true Covenanters in the three Kingdomes, who are tyed in conscience not to assist in armes or counsells 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 enjoyn in Scotland what is against his conscience? But what in the Covenant is against his conscience? The abolition of Poperie cannot, for in this he is no more tyed to perfue the persons of Papifts 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 necessitie 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 devote Bishops of all civill employment, and to joyn with them for ordination and jurisdiction a pref-
byterie. This is to abolish the legall and alleadged 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 to Ireland, that the Prince, Prince's Douager, and some of the States Generall, were dealt with to indeeavour, that the States Generall in their answers to his Majestie's defyres, might be pleased in a friendlie earneftnes to advyse his Majestie much rather to goe to Scotland than Ireland, for such reasons as their own widdomes will easlie suggeft; for the present these come in my minde.

1. His going to Ireland now joynes him with the worst part of his subjects, and declares that his chiefe confidence is in them who, befide their avowed Poperie, are so defiled with innocent blood, that one association with them cannot but be curfed of God, and detested by all the rest of his good subjects.

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 defyrous that his Majestie by his authoritie would joynie and give his Royal assent and concurrence in all things for the good of Religion, his own honour and happiness, and the welfare of his Kingdomes; and considering how necessarie it is that this Kingdom make their speedy addresse, and render to His Majestie their faithfull 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 Caffills, Earle of Lothian, Laird of Brodie, Laird Libbertone, Sir John Cheefly, Alexander Jaffrey, and William Glendinning, all seven being present together, or to anie two of them in case of the abfence of the refit, to reipare to the King's Majestie, for doeing, 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, repaire to the King's Majestie, deliver our letter, shew your commiʃion, and tell the true reaʃones and excuses of your not coming sooner to his Majestie.

Yow shall shew his Majestie, that as this Kingdome was not wanting in their faithfull counfells 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 faithfullnes, contribute their utmost endeavors for the preservation of their late Soveraigne, as their letters, instructions, declarations, and their Commissioners papers witnes.

Yow shall shew his Majestie with what unanimitie, alacrity, diligence, and solemnitie, the Parliament did acknowledge him King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

Yow shall shew his Majestie that his Father's opposition to the Covenant and work of Reformation was the chief caufe 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 Kingdome.

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 affectiʃon of all his good people to his Royall person, authoritie, and government, after fo great distractions and troubles, and notwithstanding the appearance and apprehension of new furrs and dangers; lykewise yow shall, by all the good reaʃones which yow can thinke upon, endeavour to persuade his Majestie to give the satisfaction defyred heartilie and speedilie.

If his Majestie shall shew his willingnes and resolution to give the satisfaction defyred in the saidayd Act, and to make the same known to the Parliament here, and to the Commissioners of the Kirk, yow shall in our name invite his Majestie to come to his kingdom of Scotland, and assure his Majestie, that he shall be receaved and entertained with all safetie, 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 Majesty upon these grounds resolve to come hither, his Majesty 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 counsels of his Parliament, and such as are or shall be authorized by them, and in matters ecclesiastick, the council 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 desire them to interpose, and make use of their assistance to move the King to give satisfaction as is above specified.

You shall likewise deliver our letter to the Estates of Holland, and shew how sensible we are of their kind respects to our King, and our defires to entertain all friendship and amity with them; and you shall deal both with the Prince of Orange and them for a safe and honourable convoy to his Majesty to this Kingdom.

You shall shew his Majesty the great dangers, and irreparable losses which most inevitably ensue upon his delay or refusal of the foresaid defires; for by delay his enemies will be encouraged and strengthened, and the people be forced to couch under the burdens, and submit to their yoke, desparking of any means of relief or delyverance, and then the redresse will be more difficult, and opportunities once lost cannot be recovered. The neglect of opportunities which were frequently offered, and not taken hold on by his Royal 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 Majesty 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 an agreement of the people, or any other name or deveyce be settled or take root; it will be more easie to maintain Monarchical Government, than to repeal and cast out any new forme of Government, after it is once established, and the people habituated thereto. And if now, when by the power and prevalency of Sectaries, and the armie in England, that Kingdom is subdued and almost lost, and Ireland in very great distraction, his Majesty shall delay or refuse to satifie the defires of the Kingdom of Scotland, especiallie 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 contraine 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 Majesty's granting of the foresaid Defires, will so farr indeare him to this
Nation, and assure their affection and duties to him, as they will not only receive him with all 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 faithful 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 setting religion, is the surest foundation of a well-grounded peace, so it will certainly be the best and the most effectuall way to establishe his Throne in righteousnesse.

Yow shall concurre with, and be assisting to the Commissioners of the Church, in pursuance of their Instrucciones, taking their advyce also in maninge of your's, especiallie in these things relating to Religion.

If the King's Majestie be willing to give satisfaction to this Kingdome, yow shall defyre him to recall all Commissiouns issued forth for acting any thing by sea or land, to the prejudice of the Covenant or this Kingdome, or the prejudice of any who doe or shall adhere to the Solemne League and Covenant, and Monarchical Government in any of his other Kingdomes.

I.XXXIII.


[The Commissioners, on their return from the Hague in July 1649, presented a Report to the Parliament, and also to the General Assembly, containing copies of the several Papers interchanged with Charles the Second in the course of their negotiations. Most of these papers and letters are included in Baillie's Manuscript; but they were published officially at the time under the following title:—

"The Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland with his Majestie at the Hague, and the Papers interchanged betwixt his Majestie and them, as they were Reported in Parliament and the General Assembly. Appointed by Authority to be published. Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie, 1649." 4to, pp. 30. There is also an edition reprinted the same year at London, 4to, pp. 27. The first portion, or the Report to Parliament, may be found in Mr. Thomson's edition of the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vol. VI. pp. 451–459. The other portion containing the Report of the Church Commissioners, in which Baillie was more immediately concerned, is here subjoined.]
REPORT, &c.

As We were commanded by the Commission of the Church, we made ready with all the speed we could for our voyage to Holland. According to your prayers, the good hand of our God brought us safe through the sea. On Tuesday March 27, we made our first addresses 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 Sectaries 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 unparalleled practices of some against the Person of your Majesties 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 subjects, who sincerely seek the establishment of your throne in righteousness; and as you love the glory of God, the good of religion, your own honour and happiness and the peace and welfare of these kingdoms, you would not hearken to the counsells, nor countenance, or own the courses of them who have been, and are usurpers upon the priviledges, and disturbers of the peace of this Kirk and Kingdom. Our Commissioners will acquaint your 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 resolved to walk still after the same rule, in our several stations 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 gratingly incline your young and tender heart unto the speedy embracing and following of the counsels of truth and righteous-
neffe, and grant unto your Majesty a long and happy reign, that we may live under you, a peaceable and quiet life in all Godliness and honesty, who are

Your Majesty's loyall and loving Subjects, and humble Servants in the Lord, the Commissioners of the General Assembly.

[And in our name, and at our command,

Mr. R. Douglass, Moderator.]

Edinburgh, March 1, 1649.

Before we offered any of our desires, we thought it convenient to assay the putting away of that which we feared might prove obstructive to all our intentions: Before our comming, that unhappy and cursed man James Graham had been sent for, and too well intreatned by thefe of the English Counsell, who left affected our Covenant, and all the late proceedings of our Nation: Our first Paper therefore on Fryday, March 30, was for the removall of this evil man from his Majesty's presence and Court. The Commissioners of Parliament had defired the fame before, the firit anfwer they got was but dilatory: we conceived it the more necessary for us to joyne with the fame their desire again; our Petition was in these terms:—

May it please your Majesty,

According to our Commission, we do reprefent in the name of the Kirk of Scotland their earnest desire, that such as lie under the censure of Excommunication may be discontenmented by your Majesty, and removed from your Court; especially James Graham late Earle of Montrose, being a man moft juftly, if ever any, caf out of the Church of God. It hath been the cuftom of Chriftian Princes in all places and times, to maintain fo far the discipline of all Churches which themselves did proteft by their laws, as (according to the order of Chrift) to decline the familiar converfing with every one whom the higheft censure of excommunication made as Ethnicks and Publicans. Your Majesty's walking in any other way would be contrary to the rules of Scripture, to the praCtife of these Princes whose gracious examples will be your Majesty's moft wholesome paterns, and would certainly give a great stroke to all the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, which your Majesty's Royall Grandfather by many of his laws, and your Royall Father in his Parliament of Royall Scotland 1640, hath expressly ratified, and we trust your Majesty will never intend to alter; leaft of all at this time, in the hopefull beginning of your reign; for gratifying of a perfon, upon whose head lies more innocent blood, then for many yeers hath done on the head of any one, the moft bloody murderer in our Nation.

We hope for fo much mercie from our God, that his gracious Spirit fhall incline your Majesty's heart to give us juft satisfaction in all our necessaries desires, that the cordiall union of your Majesty with your people, fo 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-
stitute imperitence) to disfavour, and pollute all companies, and provoke the anger of
the most high God against all places of his familiar acese; shall not be permitted by
your Majestie to stand any longer in the entry of our hopes, to our great discour-
gement and fear, left by his guilt, example, and acting, all the humble desires and wholesome
counsels which we are intrusted with, shou'd be obstructed and frustrate.

Friday March 30, 1649.

Cassils.

Robert Baillie.

George Wynram.

James Wood.

His Majestie's Return to us both was in this Paper.

I do 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 ourselfes,
or by others, this man remained still in our way, as an open enemy to all our designs; a-
so that his Majestie's answer to us was put in one paper, and was altogether the same
with his answer to the Commissioners of Parliament, without any direction either to
them or us, expressing his acknowledgement of our capacity as Commissioners; yet
having obtained the King's promise of a satisfactory answer in reason, to that our first
Petition, so soon as the rest of our propositions were given in; and judging his Majestie's
receiving of our message, and anfwering of all our papers without any quarrelling of our
Commission, whereof in every paper we made express mention, to be a real acknowledge-
ment of us as Commissioners from the Church; and not being instructed to break
off all treaty at the beginning, upon dissatisfaction in such things, as the Commissioners of
Parliament, so we also thought fit to proceed.

The main things we were intrusted to propose to his Majestie, were the Nationall
Covenant of Scotland, the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes, the
Directorie of Worship, the Confession of Faith, the Propositions for Presbyteriall Go-
vernment, the two Catechifmes, as they were agreed unto by the Generall Assembly and
Parliament of Scotland. These fix pieces we did bind together in a book, and delivered
them to his Majestie, speaking somewhat to the matter of every one of them, and en-
treating that his Majestie would be pleased to read and perufe them all, what ever
feruple might arise in his mind from any of them, we offered our best endeavours to

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fatifie him therein; But our positive desires concerning these particulars, we gave in on Thursday, April \( \frac{16}{4} \), in this Paper.

**MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,**

Wee the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, hoping for an answer satisfyory in reason to our first paper, according to your Majestie's gracious promise, do go on according to our Commission, to signifie, 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 Majestie's pleasure to give them assurance, under your hand and seale, of your approbation of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, subcribed by your Royall Grandfather, approven and enjoyed 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 Affemblyes of Scotland, the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Assembly of [Dyvines at] Westminster, after long and serious deliberation, have unanimously found to be the best and necessary means of setling Religion, of establihing the Throne, and bringing back prosperity to your Majesty, and all your three now lamentably distrested Kingdomes; also of the Directory of Worfhip, Confeffion of Faith, Catechifme, and Presbyteriall Government of the Church, agreed upon, according to the Word of God, by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Generall Affemblyes 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 subcribe the Nationall Covenant, with the Solemn League and Covenant, and give your royall assent to such Acts of the Parliament of Scotland as shall be offered to your Majesty, for the establihing and enjoying of the premises in Scotland, and to such Acts of Parliament as shall be offered by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, for the establihing and enjoying the same in England and Ireland; and in the mean time, that your Majesty would be pleased to lay aside the use of the Service Book, and conform the worship of God in your Royall Family to the Directory. We are fully perfuaded that your Majestie's cordiall joyning with your loving subjects in these means of advancing the honour of God and true religion, shall procure from heaven the Lord's powerful assistance, 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 Majestie's granting these most humble and earnest desires shall be a chief and effectuall mean to knit to your Majesty, in all duty, the hearts of all your good subjects, not in Scotland alone, but every where else, and shal loose to your Majesty none at all, who either loves the truth of God, or minds your Majestie's happinesse above their own particular unjust interestes.

**CASSILS.**  
**ROBERT BAILLIE.**

April \( \frac{16}{4} \).  

**LIBBERTON.**  
**JAMES WOOD.**
Upon Friday the day following we received from his Majesty this short Return.

C. R. April 16.

I desire, for the reasons mentioned in my former papers, to know whether the last papers I received from you contain the full demands and propositions you or any of you have to make in reference to Church or State, and if not, that then you deliver what remains, that I may consider of the whole, and proceed accordingly.

To this on the Saturday we made this Reply.

Unto the paper delivered to us by your Majesty this day, we do 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 easy. What the Commissioners of Parliament have to deliver in reference to the State, we leave it wholly to themselves, they being in a commission and capacity altogether distinct from that which we have from the Church alone.

April 7th, 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; Alto by answering sometimes even in print, a multitude of calumnies wherewith our malignant enemies, with much artifice and malice, did labour to poison the eares of his Majesty and all about him against our Church and Kingdom.

But finding time to drive over, and no answer according to our mind appearing, we gave in on May 1\(\frac{5}{8}\), the following Writ.

Upon the 1\(\frac{5}{8}\)th of April, We, the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, did in their name present their humble and earnest desires of these things, which they conceived necessary for the security of religion, for the establishment of your Majesty's throne, and for putting of them in a confident expectation of the Lord's bleffing upon your Majesty's Government; since that time we have been alwayes wayting, and often humbly moving for an answer; but as yet none at all is given, we cannot conceal, but so long a delay hath affected us with griefe, so much the more as your Majesty hath
declared your resolution to be gone from this on Thursday next, which makes the time we have to consider what your Majesty shall be pleased to offer very short. Wherefore with all humility and earnestness we doe supplicate that without the losse of more time, now at last we may have so gracious and 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 these their counsels: which are most likely to procure to your Majesty and all your dominions, an happy deliverance from all their present distresses.

May 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 assure you, that I desire nothing more, then that I may entirelie unite the hearts and affections of all my good subjects of Scotland to me, and amongst themselves as well for the honor, peace, and prosperitie of that Kingdom, as that they may joyntly and unanimously assist me, in the revenge of that horrid and impious 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 such an Union, I will consent to all that in conscience and honour I may, without imposing on my other Kingdoms. As first I will maintain, confirm, and defend the Government, Ecclefaistical and Civill, of Scotland, as is settled by law, and the ancient known laws of that Kingdom, as likeways all such Acts of Parliament as have been actually conferred unto by the King my Father, being personallly present in Parliament, or by his Commissioners lawfully authorized by him; and particularlie, the laws concerning the National Covenant, the Confession of Faith, and Presbyteriall Government of that Church; touching that part of the League and Covenant which concerneth my other Kingdoms of England and Ireland, it is not in my power justly to take any resolution therein, without the advice of my respective Parliaments of those Kingdoms, by whose advice and consent onely, lawes are there to be made and altered, neither can I consent to any thing which shall oppose or disturb the Peace lately concluded in Ireland, but I am very willing to refer the full consideration of the said League and Covenant, and of all the other particulars you mention (as to England) to a free Parliament to be convened there by my writ, as soon as the condition of that Kingdom will permit me so to do, by whose advice I am resolved to govern myself therein; in the mean time, as I am very ready to do all that is in my power to the safe and quiet protection of my people in Scotland, under the benefit of the laws of that Kingdom, as 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 dissensions and divisions may have produced, and the better effecting the happy union before mentioned, I am very willing and desirous to confer to any Act of Oblivion and Indemnity to all persons of what condition soever of that Kingdom of Scotland, excepting only such persons, (if any such there be, in or of that Kingdom,) that shall hereafter, upon sufficient and due evidence in a lawful tryal, be found actually and expressly guilty of that late, unparalleled, horrid act, of the murder of their late Sovereign. And if it shall appear unto me, that the League and Covenant containeth anything in it not comprised in these Acts concerning the National Covenant, and Presbyteriall Government of the Church of Scotland, and necessarily to the welfare of the said Church and Kingdom, without reference to England or Ireland; I shall, upon the first settling of such an Union, and the passing of such an Act of Oblivion as is before mentioned, apply myself to give full satisfaction therein. Passionately desiring to remove all occasions of misunderstanding between myself and all my good subjects of that my Kingdom of Scotland; and what is not particularly answered at this time, shall be supplied by an express, whom I will dispatch into Scotland as soon as conveniently I can.

May 1649.

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 OBEEDIENCE 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 Ecclesiastick Government of Scotland as it is settled by law; and particularly, these laws which concern the Nationall Covenant, Confession of Faith, and Presbyterian Government of our Church; their blame must be the greater, who have been authors to your Majesty, to give so frequent, open, and familiar acceffe to James Graham, most solemnly and juftly excommunicate by that Church: which thing cannot but be thought, as it is indeed, a great violation of the Ecclesiastick Government. To our desire in the matter of our Nationall Covenant; that as your Grandfather by his own hand, and your Father by the hand of his Commissioner, had subscribed it, so your Majesty would be pleased to subscribe the same; no answer at all is given. But our prime dissatisfaction is, that what we petitioned concerning the Directory, Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and 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 comprized in the Acts concerning the Nationall Covenant, and Presbyterian Government of the Church of Scotland, next that they are necessary to the welfare both of the Church and Kingdom, and thirdly, that they have no reference either to England or Ireland: When all this is made to appear, an Act of Oblivion of all that James Graham and his complices, or any other have done during all the time of these sad distractions, must be past, and a union with all these men must be fully settled, before your Majesty do so much as apply yourself to give any satisfaction in these things.

Such an Answer we know cannot fail to grieve the whole Church of Scotland, and all their Covenanted Brethren in England and Ireland; who, under the pain of most solemn perjury, stand bound to God, and one to another, to live and die in that Solemn League and Covenant, as the chief and necessary security of their religion and liberties: which the popish, prelaticall, and malignant faction, by their pernicious counsels and actions, now of a long time have been overturning, and to this day continue diligent in promoting to their power that their destructive designe. We marvail how any can object conscience or honour against your Majesty's granting to us what we desire in the Covenant for securing the Protestant Religion, who have themselves been counsellors and perverters, that your Majesty, without all scruple either of conscience or honour, should conclude, subscribe, and seal, antecedently to, and without any Parliament, yea contrary to all the Parliaments of England these hundred years, a libertie of the Popish Religion to the bloody rebels of Ireland.

Your Majesty would be pleased to consider, that any relation these things we desire may have to England, hindereth them not to be lawful Acts of the Generall Assembly of Scotland, legally ratified by the Parliaments of that Kingdom; which, when your Majesty does approve, nothing is imposed upon England, since their own Houses of Parlia-
ment and Assembly of Divines did not only act the same things, but in all their treaties with the King and with Scotland, for divers years together did earnestly premise them. Your Majesty's Father, in his last message to the Commission of our Church, did offer to ratify the Solemn League and Covenant for all that had taken it, or should take it in any of the three Kingdoms, and in his last treaty with the English Commissioners in the Isle of Wight did, as we are informed, offer to confirm the Directory, Presbyterian 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 Majesty. The abolition of Episcopacy and of the Service-Book your Majesty maintains, confirms, and defends in Scotland: the duty done with a good conscience and allowance of God in Scotland cannot be against conscience, nor offend God in England: no Reformed Church, no Protestant Divine out of England, did ever esteem Episcopacie or Liturgie necessary: All Scotland, the most of England, the best part of Ireland, do judge the abolition of Popery of Prelacie, of Liturgie, and joyning in a Covenant for that end, a necessary duty. Your Majesty, 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 Majesty to be humbled under his mighty hand, to seek and relie on his favour, to be zealous for advancing his affairs, to establish the Solemn League and Covenant, to provoke him no more by holding up in his House, against the hearts of all the orthodox abroad, and of the godly at home, humane inventions borrowed from Rome, most unhappy to Britain. No mean in our judgement is comparable to this, for opening the armes and hearts of your best people to embrace your Majesty's person, to second, with their lives and estates, all your just desires, to employ, with cheerfulnesse, their whole strength to settle you upon all your thrones. The refusing thereof, we are persuaded, will be displeasing to God, will discourage and discontent extremly all your Covenanted Subjects, who otherwise are most cordially affected to your Majesty's service, may tempt you to alliances with idolaters, to a dependence upon strangers, to a course of cruel persecution against your best subjects, will be pleasanter to none but to such as are your Majesty's mortal 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 designes and advance the work of the Sectaries at Westminster and Derby-house for ruining your Majesty 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 distress'd condition of your Majesty and your Kingdoms, have made us bold to lay out these our free, loving, and loyal thoughts at your Majesty's feet, expecting your Majesty 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. Cassills. R. Baillie.

Hereunto we received from his Majestie this last Answer.

I am much unsatisfied 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 intire intentions for the good of that Church and King-
dom, and unseasonably stirring useleffe 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 likewise more fully express myself concerning the new matter contained in these
Papers, and shall particularize, what I now complain of in them. In the mean time, I
expect and require from all my subjects of Scotland, such obedience as is due to me their
King, by the laws of God, of Nature, and of that Kingdom.

C. R.

To this we thought fit to make no Return in writ.

We did indeed expect, by the assistance of the Prince of Orange, whose constant
friendship we felt all the time of our abode there, and by the industry of some Noblemen
of our Nation, to whom, for their affectionate service to us in our negotiation, we counted
ourselves not a little obliged: by the Lord’s blessing we lay on their labours, we expect-
ed towards the time of our return a better and more satisfactory Answer; but his Ma-
jestie, 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 kiss’d his
hands, and took our leave in discomfort and grief, yet not without some hope, certainly
with most earnest desires, that the promised Express may bring to us much more matter
of satisfaction and joy, then for the time we have any warrant to speak of.
We have but one thing further to give an account of: The Commiſſion did write with us to the Reverend Divines Doctor Rivet and Dr. Spanheim: Dr. Spanheim received his letter, but before he did anſwer, the Lord, to our grief and the very great regrate of all the Churches abroad, did end the pilgrimage of that truely eminent, and now much deside-rat divine. Doctor Rivet's abode was not at the Hague as we expected, but in Breda: we thought it a pitty, in his extream old age, to put him to the pains of so long a journey as from Breda to the Hague; but we had his best affections and prayers going along with us in all our desires, as he signified to us in his private letters, and as, we suppose, he doth exprefs in this to the Assembly, which here we prefent.


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

The Generall Assembly, having taken in feriorous consideration the Report of the Travells and Proceedings of the Commiſſioners sent to his Majesty, 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 Truſt committed to them; and therefore, do unanimously Approve of their carriage, and return them hearty thanks for their great pains and travells in that Employment.

A. Ker.

LXXXIV.

LETTERS FROM GEORGE WYNRAIME 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 deputies 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.

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in September 1650, and was there so severely wounded, as to occasion his death within eight days after that disastrous event. (Halkett’s Hist. Works, vol. iv. p. 98. Brunton and Haig’s Senators of the College of Justice, p. 341.)

No. I.

Rotterdam, ultimo Octob. 1649.

RIGHT REVEREND,

ALTHO I had not the happines to see yow at my parting, I know ye will neither forget the worke nor the unworthy instrument that is [in] imployment; and I beg it of yow. 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 submissione to the Kirk of Scotland,) they can not subcryve that, wnules they will proclame themselves perjured traitours; and wnules something be done in relatione to them, it will be impoffible to expeft ane accommodatione with the King. Sr, think wpone it. I can not conceall frome yow also, that the Prince of Orange fayes he is informed, in Scotland the young minifters 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, fiunes the company of Engadgers, and will doe nothing to strengthen their hands. He preaches heir, and if he will embrace it, can not want a call longe. I hear he speakes with a great deal of submissioune of, and prays earnestly for the Kirk of Scotland.

Sr, their is hopes that the King will acknowledge the Parl. and defyre a treaty; which, if he doe, I am persuased it will be your care to study foe much moderatone as ye ar able, with farty to Religioun and the Couenant: wnuless his Ma. get satisfactione in some things, they will suffer him to die in misery, and we will haue no settled peace. The Engadgers say it is hard that more is craued of them then all Jas. Grahame’s complices. God willing, ye fall hear more nixt week frome your affectionat feruand,

GEO. WYNHANE.

For the Right Reuerend Master ROBERT DOUGLAS,
Minifter at Edr.

No. 2.

RIGHT REVEREND,

If I fouled follow myne owne inclinationes I wold troble yow more at every ocafone then were sitting in regard of your imployement. I know ye ar not a loner of repetitions, therefore I must refer yow to my Lo. Chan’s and Regifter’s letters. The bearer will acquaint yow with all particulars passages. Sr, now is the tyme to pray that the Lord wold prevent the King with his tender merceis, for indeed he is broght very low; when he hes not bread both for himselfe and his feruands, and betuixt him and his
brother not ane Inglish shilling; and worse yet, if I durst wryte it. I am confident no ingenous spirtie will tak advantage of his neceffiteis; but for all this, (as I haue heard yow aduyse them to deal with [his] Father,) w'e him princely. France is neither able nor willing to helpe him: The Prince of Orange hes suffered not a little for his Father and himselfe, till he is forced to alienate the most considerable thing of his ancient patrimony: Scotland is neir exhausted; soe that his cafe is very deplorable, being in prifone where he is lying in penurie, forounded be his enemeis, not able to liue any where ells in the world, wyles he would come to Scotland, by giving them satisfactione to their juft demandis; yet his pernitious and deuillis Counfell will suffer him to starue before they will suffer him to take the League & Covenant. I am perfuaded no rationall man can thinke he will come yr length at firft; but if he could once be extricate from his wicked Counfell, their might be hope. If a treaty be effectuat, much will depend wpone the perfons; and I know yow, Sr, so well, as I am perfuaded it will be your study to pointe at thees who will not make the buffines desperate. But I perfuade myselfe it will be the widdome and piety of the Commissione to fend such as may gaine the King by the spirit of meiknes, and not such as say their is no helpe for him in God. But I fear I haue gone to farr, and that my affections haue made me stretch myselfe beyond my lyne. I fall only intreat the continuance of your prayers and good opinione, which are highly eftemed be

Your affectionat seruand,

Campveer, 9ber, 18-8, 1649.

Geo. Wynrame.

Sir, I fall entreat that thees may remember my loue and feruice to all friendis, and to Mr. Baillie, with whome, (as I hear,) the King is very angry for some passages in his booke, especially one concerning himselfe; and if I can doe yow any seruice in the parts where I goe to, I hope ye will Ufe freidome with me.

For the Right Reuereund Mr. Robert Douglas,
Minifter at Ed'.

No. 3.

Right Reverend,

I know ye ar particularly informed of all that hes past from other hands, yet I can not lett this bearer goe without a lyne. Ye will perceave be the papers sent yow what length the King is come in his concessiones; and his Majesty hes faithfully promised to perfyte them at their fight who reprent Church and State, in tyme and place convenient. All of ws ar fully perfuaded of his ingenuity and suete dispositione: he can not be perfuaded to difemble, tho no small indutrie haue bein ufit to perfuad him to it. And when ye confider his educatione, and what counsellers ar about him, both for his conscience and affaires, and what doctrine is taught to his face, that if he subfcriue the Covenant,
he is not only guyltie of his Father's murther, but can not eschew damnatione; especially be our countrieman Crichtoun, whom 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 promiseth, in his Master's name, all affiustance for a happy agriement; which ye will perceane more fully be the letter to the Parl.

Sr, I will not troble yow with neidles repetitiones, but refer yow to my other letters, which I know will be communique wnto yow. This much I dar positively affirme, that when the Lord fall bring the King to Scotland, (which he passionatly defyres,) it fall be no greiff of hearte wnto yow, that ye was instrumetall in this addresse; and I hope ye will then say that ye haue not been deceaued be

Your affectionat servuant,

Breda, Aprill 5/9 1650.

G. Wyname.

For the Right Reverend 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 between me and my subjects of Scotland, as well for God's glory as for the peace and happines of that Nation; and truly I am foe defurous 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 Ministers, to persuade them to reasonable moderation, and to that confidence in me, and kindness to me, as may produce the like affections in me towards them, and be the ground of a right understanding betweene us, for the lasting happines of that nation. I hope you shall never have cause to repent what you shall doe herein, and I assure you it shall be effectually acknowledged by

Your affectionate friend,

Jerfey, the 15-5 of Febru, 1649.

For Mr. Robert Dowglas, Moderator of the Generall Assembly.

LXXXVI.

NOTICES REGARDING THE METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS RECEIVED BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Metrical Version of the Psalms still in general use in Scotland was completed and received by the authority both of Church and State, in May 1650. It was the labour of many years, and from the numerous occasions on which Baillie alludes to its progress, it is evident he had taken a peculiar interest in furthering the work. It may therefore not be deemed out of place to present the reader with some further particulars respecting the origin and progress of this Version, and the more so, as our Ecclesiastical Historians afford little or no information on the subject.

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 Psalmes." It does not appear, however, that the entire Psalter was translated previous to the edition revised by John Hopkins, and first printed at London (according to Warton) in 1562, or more probably in 1563, under this title:

"The whole Boke of Psalmes, collected into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge
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them withall. Faithfully perused and allowed according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Inuincions, &c. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, be nethe Saint Martins. Cum gratia et priuilegio Regie Maiiestatis 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 fourt partes, (Tenor, Contra Tenor, Medius, and Bassus,) which may be song to al musical instruments, set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolysyng of other vayne and triflyng ballades." 4 vol. 4to. According to Hopkins's revised text, this version, received by publick authority, has since continued to be republished for the Church of England.

Had the original Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly been preserved, we might perhaps have obtained some more accurate information on this subject. But at whatever date this English version was adopted, we may infer, that the Assembly appointed some of their number to revise and prepare it for the press; as we find it stated, that in December 1561, "The Kirk lent Robert Lekprevick, printer, two hundredth pounds [Scottish money] to help to buy iron, 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 received by the Churche of Scotland. whereunto besydes that was in the former bokes [of 1561 and 1563], are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of Dauid in English meter. PRINTED AT EDINBURGH BY ROBERT LEKPREVIK, M.D.LXV." small 8vo. On comparing this, or subsequent editions reprinted in this country, with those in England, there will be found considerable variations, consisting chiefly in the substitution of different versions of forty-one Psalms, in the place of those in use by the English Church.

Of the Psalms in this version common to both collections, there are, by the following authors, 1st, 40 translated by THOMAS STERNEHOLD, Groom of the Robes to King Henry the Eighth and to Edward the Sixth, and who died in 1549; 2d, 37 by JOHN HOPKINS, a Minister in Suffolk, (the 45th Psalm, in the Edinburgh editions, being erroneously marked W. K.) 3d, 10 by WILLIAM KETHE, of whom some farther notice will be given; 4th, 11 by WILLIAM WHITSTYNGHAM, 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 Pulley, an English divine, who becomes Archdeacon of Colchester, and died in 1565. These Psalms amount to 109. Of the other 41 Psalms, peculiar to the copies published in Scotland, there are 15 by Kethe, 4 (67, 71, 115, 129,) by Whittyngham, and 1 (149) by Pulley, which appear to have been previously printed in the 1561 edition of “Fourscore and Seven Psalms”; and there were added, for the first time, 6 by Robert Pont, and 15 bearing the initials of “I. C.” as the translator.

Of these Translators, the initials “I. C.” are supposed to denote John Craig, who had been a monk of the order of St. Dominic at Bologna, but having embraced the Protestant faith, he escaped from Italy, and returning to his native country, after an absence of 24 years, he became minister of Holyrood-house, and of the King’s Household, and died 4th December 1600, aged 88. His Psalms are 24, 56, 75, 102, 105, 108, 110, 117, 118, 132, 136, 140, 141, 143, and 145.

William Kethe is described, by Strype and other writers, as a native of Scotland. He was an exile during the reign of Queen Mary, and one of the translators of the Geneva Bible. He wrote some popular religious ballads, the most noted of which was “A Ballad on the Whore of Babylon, called Tyt thy mare Tom boye.” He became minister at Child-Ockford, in Dorsetshire. In the dedication of a sermon to the Earl of Warwick, in 1571, he states, that he had been with his Lordship in New-haven [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 Scotish copies, are Psalms 27, 36, 47, 54, 58, 63, 70, 85, 88, 90, 91, 94, 101, 138, and 142.

Robert Pont was successively Commissioner for the diocese of Moray, Provost of Trinity College, and Minister of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh. He also filled for several years the place of a Senator of the College of Justice; but was deprived of his seat on the bench, in consequence of an act, prohibiting “all persons exercising functions of ministrie within the Kirk of God to bear or exercise any office of civil jurisdiction.” His Psalms are 57, 59, 76, 80, 81, and 83. In some copies 149 is marked R. P. by mistake for I. P. or Pulley. 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.
Original Letters and Papers.

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1650.

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 priuilegio Regie Maiestatis per septennium. An. 1563." 4to. The same year, (and again in 1565,) Day published the Psalms with the Music, in Parts: viz. "The whole Psalms in fourt partes, (Tenor, Contra Tenor, Medius, and Bassus,) which may be song to al musical instruments, set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolysyng of other vayne and triflyng ballades." 4 vol. 4to. According to Hopkins's revised text, this version, received by publick authority, has since continued to be republished for the Church of England.

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1 Be mercifull to me, o God, 
be mercifull to me: 
For why? my soule in all assaults 
shall ever trust in thee. 
And till these wicked stormes be past, 
which ryse on euerie syde: 
Vnder the shadowe of thy wings, 
my hope shall always byde.

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.

1 O Lord thou hast bene our refuge, 
and kept vs safe and sounde: 
From age to age, as witness can 
all we, which true it founde. 
2 Before the mountaines were forth brought, 
yer thou the earth didst frame: 
Thou wast our great eternal God, 
and stil shalt be the same. 
3 Thou dost vaine man strike downe to dust, 
though he be in his foure, 
Againe thou saist, Ye Adams sonnes, returne, to shewe your power. 
4 For what is it a thousand yeares 
to count them in thy sight: 
But as a day which last is past, 
or as a watche by night?


1 O Lord that art my God and King, 
Undoubtedly, I wil thee praise: 
I will extoll and blessings sing, 
Vnto thynse holy Name alwayes. 
2 From day to day I wil thee blesse, 
And laude thy Name worlde without end, 
3 For great is God, most worthy praise, 
Whose greatnes none may comprehend.

3 He will sende down from heauen above, 
to save me, and restore 
From the rebukes of wicked men, 
that fayne wolde me deoure. 
God will his mercie surely send, 
and constant trueth also: 
To comforte me, and to defend 
against my cruel foe.

5 Exalt thy selfe, o God, therefore 
aboue the heauens hight: 
And ouer all the earth declare 
thy glorie and thy might.

7 O Lord, how sore do we consume 
in this thy wrath so hote? 
We feare thy furie be so fierce, 
that death shall be our lote. 
12 Teache vs therefore to count our dayes, 
that we our hearts may bend 
To learnse thy wisedome and thy trueth: 
for that shulde be our end.

4 Race shal thy workes praise vnto race: 
And so declare thy power, o Lord. 
5 The glorious beautie of thy grace, 
And wondrous workes, wil I record. 
6 And all men shall the power (o God,) 
Of all thy feareful Actes declare: 
And I to publishe all abrode, 
Thy greatnes, at no tyme will spaire.
1650. ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS.

11 The glorie of thy Kingdome, they
Do shewe, and of thy power do tell.
12 That so mens sonnes his might knowe may,
And Kingdome great, that doth excell.

13 Thy Kingdome hath no end at all:
Thy Lordship ever doth remaine.
14 The Lord uphouldeth all that fall,
And doth the feble folke sustaine.
15 The eyes of all things, Lord, attend
And on thee waite, that here do live:
And thou in season due dost send
Sufficient foode them to relieve.

19 The Lord wil the desire fullfil,
Of such as do him feare and dread:
And he also their eye doth hear wil,
And saue them in the tyme of need.
20 He doth preserve them more and lesse,
That bear to him a loving heart.
But workers al of wickednes
Destroye wil he, and clean subuert.
21 My mouth therefore my speache shal frame
To speake the praises of the Lord;
All fleshe to blesse his holy Name,
For euermore, eke shal accord.

Some proposals for revising this Old Version of the Psalms, and at least one attempt to supersede it, were made, at different intervals, but without success; and it continued to be reprinted in a variety of forms, usually with musical notes, until, in Scotland, it was wholly superseded in the year 1650. There are several editions of this Old Version printed at Middleburgh and Dort, from 1594 to 1610 or later; and it was used by the Scottish congregations in Holland for some years after the present Version had been received in this country.

It may be noticed, that in the edition of the Psalms, "Printed at Edinburgh by 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 Psalmes," and this, it is said "has been a great stranger to our Kirk these many years."

11. KING JAMES'S VERSION, 1631.

King James the First, after his accession to the English Throne, endeavoured to assimilate the forms of worship in Scotland and England; and having entrusted "the most learned Divines of the Church," with revising the English translations of the Bible, which was happily completed in the year 1611, he himself undertook to perfect a new version of the Psalms in metre, for general use. "The revising of the Psalms (says Spottiswood) he made his own labour; and, at such hours as he might spare from the public cares, went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his 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 onely saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland, when God called him to sing Psalmes with the Angels."

The "faithful and learned Servant" here spoken of, was the Earl of Stirling, (then Sir William Alexander of Menstrie,) a poet of great distinction in his time, who has a much better title to be considered the true author of the version, than King James under whose name it was published. The attention of his son and successor, Charles the First, having been early drawn to the perfecting of this work, as connected with his proposed changes in the Church, he seems never to have lost sight of it, so long as there was any prospect of carrying through those measures to which he was unfortunately but too much attached. The following letter respecting it was addressed by him to the Archbifhop of St. Andrews:

"Whereas it pleafed our late dear Father of famous and eternall memorie, confidering how imperfect the Psalms in Meeter presentlie vfed ar, out of his zeal to the glorie of God, and for the good of all the Churches within his dominions, to translate them of new, Therfor, as We have gevin commandement to our truftie and weilbeloved Sr William Alexander knycht, to confider and review the meeter and poefie thairof, So our pleafour is, that zow and some of the moft learned Divynes in that our kingdome confer them with the orignall text, and with the moft exact translations, and thairafter certifie back zour opinions vnto ws concerning the fame, whether it be fitting that they be publifhed and fung in Churches, instead of the old translation, or not; To the intent that we may negleckt nothing fo much importing the memorie of our faid late Father; and far less if zow fhall find that it may tend to the advancement of the glorie of God; and fo recommending the samyne to your earneft care, We bid, &c. Windfore, 25th August 1626."

This Version was at length published, bearing on the engraved title—"THE PSALMES of KING DAVID, TRANSLATED by KING IAMES. Cum Privilegio Regice 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 Univerfity, M.DC.XXXI." 12mo, pp. 329. A patent of exclusive privilege for the space of thirty-one years print this version, had been granted to Sir William Alexander, on the 28th December 1627, in consideration "of the great paynes already taken, and to be taken, in collating and revising the same, and in seeing the first impression thairof to be carefullie and well done." When the copies of this edition had got into circulation, some zealous Presbyterian, probably David Calderwood the Historian, drew up at considerable length, "Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalmes." This paper is inserted in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 227—256, Edinb. 1827, 4to, with some further notices respecting the ver-
sion itself. But in this place it may be sufficient to mention, that Charles the First, in December 1634, "being fully convinced of the exactnesse" of the translation, enjoined the Privy Council of Scotland "that no other Psalmes of any edition whatsoever, be either printed hereafter within that our Kingdome, or imported thither, either bound by themself or otherways, from any forrayne parts." The Version was accordingly republished in 1636, and attached to the Service Book of 1637; but on collation it proves to have been so much altered, in consequence, as it would appear, of the objections urged against its reception in 1631, that many of the Psalms may be considered as entirely re-written, although still bearing the same title: "The 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 Councells guide:
Nor in the way of Sinners stands, nor Scorners sits beside.
2. But of the Lord he on the law doth ground his whole delight;
And on his law doth meditate devoutly day and night.

3. Hee shall be like a planted tree, The streames of waters neare;
Whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit, in season of the yeare.
4. His leafe it never wither shall as winters blasted prey;
And whatsoever he designes, shall prosper every way.

5. But wicked men are nothing so, for they as chaffe shall prove;
Which whirling windes doe drive away, and from the earth remoue.
6. And therefore they who wicked are, In judgement shall not stand:
Nor shall the sinners suffred be amongst the righteous band.

7. For well the Lord doth know what way the righteous follow all:
But of 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 in the sinners way, nor sits in scorners seats.
2. But in the Lords most holy law, be hath his whole delight, and in his law doth meditate devoutly day and night.

3. He shall be like a tree that grow'th the streames of waters neare, whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit in season of the yeare:
4. His leafe shall never withered be, as winters blasted prey, and whatsoever thing he doth, shall prosper every way.

5. They who are wickedly dispos'd, no such assurance finde:
but like unto contemned chaffe, are tossed with the winde.
6. And therefore they who wicked are, in judgement shall not stand, nor shall the sinners suffred be amongst the righteous band.

7. For well the Lord doth know what way the righteous follow all:
But of them that ungodly are, the way still perish shall.
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 Psalms of David in English Meeter, set forth by Francis Rous. Psal. 47, Ver. 7. ונבר והברלח. 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 Psalms 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 "Psalms of harder and lesse usuall Tunes corrected, and the Tunes not altered," along with "A Table of the Psalms."

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.

PSALM I.

(By Francis Rous. London, 1643.)

The man is blessed, that to walk
in wicked waies doth feare;
And stands not in the sinners path,
or sits in scorners chair.

2. But in the perfect Law of God
he greatly doth delight;
And on that Law doth meditate
with pleasure, day and night.
3. He shall be like a tree by streams of waters planted near,
Which in his season doth not fail
his pleasant fruit to bear.
Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall,
but flourish still and stand:
Even so all things shall prosper well
that this man takes to 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 streams
which run most pleasantly.

3. And when I feele my selfe neere lost,
than 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. Yes, 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 praiyer sent shall be;
Even to that God, who graciously
performeth all for me.

4. From heaven shall his power descend,
to save me from their spight
That would devour me, God shall send
his mercy, truth, and might.

PSALM XCIII.

The Lord doth reign, and cloth'd is he
with majesty and light;
His works do shew him cloth'd to be,
and girt about with might.

2. For this round world by his great strength
established hath he:
Yea, he so surely hath it set
that mov'd it cannot be.

3. Of old most firmly stablisht is
thy Throne of majestie;
And thou without beginning art
from all eternitie.

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

6. Thy testimonies are most sure,
   and surely lead to blisse:
   And holiness for ever, Lord,
   in thine house comely is.

IV.—Versions by Sir W. Mure and Mr. Zachary Boyd.

Before proceeding to notice the revised copy of Rous's version 1646, it may be mentioned, that Baillie, although a personal friend of Rous, expresses on more than one occasion the very favourable opinion he entertained of an unpublished version by Sir William Mure of Rowallane. On the other hand, some of his countrymen were inclined to give a preference to the translation by Zachary Boyd, one of the ministers of Glasgow. A couple of specimens of each may be here given. Those by Boyd are from "The Psalms 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 verily,
who walketh not aastray;
In Counsell of ungodlie men,
nor stands in sinners way:
2. Nor sitts in scorners seat: But sitts
on God's law his delight;
And stedfastlie his law doth mynd
and muse on, day and night.
3. Hee shall be like unto the Tree,
sett by the river syde;
In season due, which fruit brings foorth,
whose leaves ay blooming lyde;
4. His works shall prosper all. Not so
ungodlie men, for they

**PSALM I.**

**By Zachary Boyd.**

Blest is the man that walks not in
th'ungodlies counsel ill,
Nor stands in ways of sinners, nor
in scorners sits still.
2. But in the law of God the Lord,
is chiefly his delight;
And also he doth meditate
in his law day and night.
3. He shall be like a planted tree,
rivers of waters by;
That in his season brings forth
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 stormy wynds sweep suddenly 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 straie.

PSALM 23.
By Sir William Mure.
The Lord my shepheard is, of want I never shall complains,
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 apace
to passe, I'le fear none ill.
For thou art with me, Lord, thy rode and staffe me comfort still.
5. For me a table thow dost spread in presence of my foes;
With oyle thow dost anoint mine head, by thee by cup o'floures.

6. Mercie and goodnes all my dayes with me shall surellie stay,
And in thy house, to dwell alwayes
O Lord, my count I'le lay.

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 dooms shade I walk; I'le fear no ill,
For thou art with me, thy rod and thy staffe me comfort still.
5. Thou set'zt 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 1646, 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 Burgess presented the advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Ordinance of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning Visitations 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. Burgess 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. Sing ye praises with understanding.) London, printed by Miles Flesher, for the Company of Stationers, 1646." 12mo, pp. [viii.] and 255. A leaf facing the title contains the following extract, and serves to identify the work,—"Die Veneris, 4 [14th] Novemb. 1645.—It is this day ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Book of Psalms set forth by Mr. Rous, and perused by the Assembly of Divines, be forthwith printed: And that it be referred to Mr. Rous to take care for the printing thereof: and that none do presume to print it, but such as shall be authorized by him. H. Elsinge, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com."

In the Journals of the House of Commons, this resolution is introduced with this notice, "The House being informed, That some of the Assembly of Divines were at the door, they were called in: And Mr. Wilson acquainted the House, That, according
to a former Order of this House, they had perused the Psalms set out by Mr. Rouse; and, as they are now altered and amended, do conceive they may be useful to the Church. Resolved," &c. as above. [ib. p. 342.] This is likewise noticed in one of the newspapers of the day:—"Friday, Novemb. 14, 1645.—A message from the Assembly of Divines to both Houses of Parliament, acquainting them, that according to the order of Nov. 20, 1643, they had perused the Psalms translated into English out of the Original, by Mr. Rouse, conceiving them fit to be publickly made use of throughout the Kingdome: That they had likewise perused the Psalms translated by Mr. Bartue [Barton], who deserved much commendation for his great care and pains in them, but conceived the other most fit for publick use."—(The Kingdomes Intelligencer, No. 126.)

Oct. 7, 1645.—Upon the humble petition of Wm. Barton, Master of Arts, read this day in the House: It is ordered, &c. That two Books of David's Psalms, composed in English metre by the Petitioner, and presented to their Lordships, are hereby referred to the Assembly of Divines, to be read over, and judged by them; and the result of their judgments thereupon returned to this House, that such farther direction may be given touching the fame, as shall be meet.—(Lords Journals, vol. vii. p. 627.)

Nov. 14, 1645.—Message from the Assembly concerning Mr. Rouse's and Mr. Barton's Versions of the Psalms.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF LORDS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

The Assembly of Divines having received from this Honourable House an order, bearing date October 7 1645, to read over and judge of two Books of David's Psalms, composed in English metre, by Mr. William Barton, and thereupon to return their judgment to this Honourable House, do humbly certify, That they had long before received an order from the Honourable House of Commons, bearing date November 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 concurr'd with the fame 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 Lincoln, Comes Suffolk, Comes Midd. Dn. North, Dn. Willoughby, Dn. Bruce, Dn. Wharton, any three to meet. The answer returned was, That to the order for using the Book of Psalms translated by Mr. Rous, their Lordships will send an answer by messengers of their own.

(Lords Journals, vol. viii. p. 277.)

April 25, 1646.—A message was brought from the Assembly of Divines, by Mr. Walker, &c. as follows,—

To the Right Honourable the House of Lords Assembled in Parliament.

The Assembly of Divines received, April 9th, from this Honourable House, an
order bearing date March 26th 1646, to certify this Honourable House why the Translation of the Psalms made by Mr. Barton, may not be used and sung in Churches, by such as shall desire it, as well as any other Translation, do humbly return this answer; That whereas, on the 14th of November 1645, in obedience to an order of this Honourable House concerning the said Mr. Barton's Psalms, we have already commended to this Honourable House one Translation of the Psalms in Verse, made by Mr Rous, and perused and amended by the same learned Gentleman and the Committee of the Assembly, as conceiving it would be very useful for the Edification of the Church, in regard it is so exactly framed according to the Original Text; and whereas there are several other Translations of the Psalms already extant, we humbly conceive that, if liberty should be given to people to sing in Churches every one that Translation which they desire, by that means several Translations might come to be used, yea in one and the same congregation at the same time, which would be a great distraction and hinderance to edification.

Cornelius 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 Commission of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, by Mr. Robert Baillie, 21st January 1647.)

And because 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 Gen. Assembly in Scotland, may be lykwise authorized and established by Ordinance of Parliament.

(Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly, p. 150.)

(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, 2d February 1647.)

The new Psalme book, reprinted with the last amendements sent us from your Committee there, is not yet come from the preffe, but it is promised 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 Paraphrafe of the Psalms, shewing that they have sent them to their Commissioners at London, to be considered and made use of there by them that ar upon the same work. (ib. p. 157.)
(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, 9th February 1647.)

The new Psalme book cannot be ready till the next week. So commending your labours to the blessing of God, we reft,

Your affectionat Brethren to serve yow,

Worcester-Houfe, 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.

(ib. p. 165.)

(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 Paraphrafe of the Psalms 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 paines in the worke, affureth us. If yow be now satisfied with it as it is, wee shall desire to know so much. One Psalme-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 neceffitie of some change, there being so many just exceptions against the old and usuall Paraphrafe. And we humblie conceive there will be as little controversy that this which we now send yow, as it hath come through the hands of more examiners, so it will be found as neir the original as any Paraphrafe in meeter can readily be, and much neerer then other works of that kynd, which is a good compensation to mak up the want of that Poeticall liberty and sweet pleasant running, which some defiere. However, wee expeft to know your pleasure in this, and in any other thing contained in our former letters, which yourselves shall judge to need an anfwere; and so wee reft,

Your moft affectionat Brethren to serve yow,

Worcester-houfe, the 16th of Febr. 1647.

G. WYNRAE.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly, mett at Edสวยงาม.

The Commission of Assembly thinks it vere necesar that a number of the new Paraphrafe of the Psalms be writtin for; and appoynts the clerk to send them to Prefbyteries; and returne to the letter from the Commissioners at London, this following anfwer:

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 Kingdoms were a considerable part of Uniformity; but it can hardly be fullie agreed upon, if Presbyteries gave a previous consideration of it before the meeting of the Assembly; which may give them great satisfaction, and 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 appoynted 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; wherof we make little question if you send a competent number of copies in tym. . . .

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 inclosed. Tenor of the letters followes:

Reverend and Beloved Brethren,

Wee received yesterday your's of Feb' 23d, and shall take care to provyde (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. Wynrane.

Samuel Rutherford.

Geo. Gillespie.

Worcester-houfe, the 2d of Marche 1647.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Commissioners of the Gen: Assembly, mett at Edr.

Reverend and Loving Brethren,

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

Your loving Brethren to serve yow,

Worcester-house, the 9th of March 1647.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Comrs of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, mett at Edinburgh.

(Minutes, pp. 184-185.)

Edinb. 8th Julij 1647, Ante meridiem.

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

(1b. p. 234.)

Sefs. XXV.—Edinburgh, 28th Auguft 1647, Ante meridiem.

ACT FOR REVISING THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS BROUGHT FROM ENGLAND, WITH A RECOMMENDATION FOR TRANSLATING THE OTHER SCRIPTURAL SONGS IN MEETER.

The Generall Assembly having considered the report of the Committee concerning the Paraphrafe of the Pfalms sent from England, and finding that it is very neceffary that the said Paraphrafe be yet revived: Therefore doth appoint Master John Adamfon to examine the first fourty Pfalms, Master Thomas Craufurd the second fourty, Master John Row the third fourty, and Master John Nevey the laft thirty Psalms of that Paraphrafe; and in their examination they shall not only observe what they think needs to bee amended, but alfo to fet downe their own effay for correcting thereof; and for this purpofe recommends to them to make use of the travels of Rowallen, Master Zachary Boyd, or of any other on that subjeft; but especially of our own Paraphrafe, that what they finde better in any of these works may be chosen, and likewise they shall make use of the animadversions sent from Presbyteries, who for this caufe are hereby defired to haften their observationes unto them; and they are to make report of their labours herein to the Commission of the Assembly for Publike Affairs, againft their firft meeting in February next. And the Commission, after revising thereof, shall fend the fame to Provinciall Assemblies to bee transmitted to Presbyteries, that by their further consideration, the matter may be fully prepared to the next Assemble. And becaufe some Pfalms in that Paraphrafe sent from England are compos’d in verfes which do not agree with the common tunes, therefore it is alfo recommended that thefe Pfalms be likewise turned in other verfes which may agree to the common tunes; that is, having
the first line of eight syllabs, and the second line of six, that so both versions being together, use may 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 pains to translate the other Scripturall Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered until the next General Assembly.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

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

The other things communicated from thence unto this Church, namely, a Directory of Church Government, Catechisme, and new Paraphrase of the Psalmes in metre, are printed and published here, to be considered and examined against the next 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 DOUGLASS, Moderator.

Direct, To their Reverend and wellbeloved brethren,

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

(Minutes, p. 278.)

Edinb. 14 April 1648, Ante meridiem.

The Commission appoynts the Ministers of this town, or any three of them, to be a committee to examine the corrections of the Brethren appoynted to revife Roufe Psalms, and to conferr with those brethren therupon, and to report their opinions to this Commission. The firft dyet upon Mononday at 10 hours in this place.

(ib. p. 375.)

Edinb. 20 Aprilis 1648, Post meridiem.

The Commission appoynts Mrs John Adamson, Doctor Colvill, James Hamilton, John Smith, John Neve, and Patrick Gillaspie, James Gutterie, to revife Roufe's Psalms, and the amendements sent in from these that wer appoynted by the Assembly to revife them, and to report their opinions. Their meeting to be the morn at 7 hours in the Colledge.

(ib. p. 386.)

Edinb. 1 May 1648, Post meridiem — Sederunt.

Ministers.

Mr. Ro" Douglas, Mod. Mr. Zacharie Boyd. Libbertoun.
Mr. James Hamilton. Mr. George Leslie. Findawrie.
Mr. Evan Cameron. Mr. Ro" Blair. Sir James Stewart.
The Commission appoynts Mr. Ro\'t Dougla\'s, George Gilla\'pie, William Colvill, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, with Mr. John Adamson, to revife Roufe's Paraphrase of the Pfalms in meeter, the Animadversions thereupon, and to Report their opinions.

(Minutes, p. 433.)

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

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

The Generall Assemblie appoints Roufe[\'s] Paraphrase of the Pfalms, with the corrections thereof, now given in by the persons appointed by the last Assembly for that purpose, to be sent to Prefbyteries that they may carefully revife and examine the same, and thereafter send them with their corrections to the Commission of this Assembly to be appointed for publick affairs, who are to have a care to cause 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 fame Paraphrase 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 same 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 Rows Paraphrase of the Pfalms, 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 sent to Prefbyteries, that according to the Act of Assembly, they may revife and examine the same, and thereafter return the Animadversions and corrections thereof to this Commission; otherwife the said next Assembly is to goe on and take this Paraphrase to their consideration without delay.

(Minutes, p. 115.)

(Extract from a Letter directed to Prefbyteries.)

*Right Reverend,*

*Yee shall receive* copies of the new Paraphrase of the Pfalms, at a merk the peece, which yow will be pleased to peruse carefully, and that yow would amend any
fault you 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 essay correcting the same.

Your loving Brethren,

The Commissioners of the General Assembly.

Edi'. 30th January 1649. (Minutes, p. 147.)

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 Adamfone, to be considered against the next Assembly.

(ib. p. 226.)


Reference to the Commission for Public Affairs for re-examining the Paraphrase of the Psalms, and Emitting the same for Publicke use.

The Generall Assembly having taken some view of the new Paraphrase of the Psalms in Meeter, with the corrections and animadversions thereupon, sent from several persons and Presbyteries, and finding that they cannot overtake the review and examination of the whole in this Assembly; therefore, now after so much time, and so great paines about the correcting and examining thereof, from time to time, some yeares bygone, that the worke may come now to some conclusion, they do ordain the Brethren appointed for perusing the same during the meeting of this Assembly, viz. Masters James Hamilton, 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 Commisison 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 establishe the Paraphrase, and to publish and emit the same for publick use.

A. KEIR.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

Edinb. 7. August 1649.—The Commission recommends to the Brethren appointed by the Generall Assembly for correcting the Psalms, to haften their corrections; and so soone as they have done, that the Moderator con vene the Commission, or a quorum of these that are nearest, to consider their travells, and prepare the matter against the Quarterly meeting.

(Same date.)—The Commission of Assembly considering the power they have from the late Assembly to give a competent and honest acknowledgment and reward to the young man that has been employed in wrytting of the several copies of the Paraphrase of the Psalms, corrected from time to time, Doe therefore appoint the Brethren appointed to
revise that Paraphrase, who can best know his paines, to consider what shall be given unto him; and to report their opinions therein to the next Quarterly meeting.

(Minutes, p. 234.)

Edinb. 20 Novemb. 1649, Post meridiem.—Sederunt.

Ministers.  
Mr. RDi- Douglas, Mod.  
Mr. GAVein Young.  
Mr. George Hutcheson.  
Mr. JoN. Moncreiff.  
Mr. WM. Oliphant.  
Mr. George Bennet.  
Mr. JoN. Livingston.  
Mr. John Scott.  
Mr. John Douglas.  
Mr. JoN. Dalzell.  
Mr. David Layng.  
Mr. Mungo Law.  
Mr. WM. Row.  
Mr. RD- Home.

Elders.  
Mr. SamH. Rutherfurd.  
Mr. Thomas Lundie.  
Mr. James Hamilton.  
Mr. James Gutterie.  
Mr. Hew Mackaell.  
Mr. George Leslie.  
Mr. Pa- Gillaspie.  
Mr. John Hamilton.  
Mr. Ephraim Melvill.  
Mr. Arthur Forbes.  
Mr. JoN. Neive.  
Mr. James Ros’one.  
Mr. Jo- Currie.  
Mr. Thomas Donaldson.

This seffion spent only in the reading and examining the Paraphrase of the Psalms.

The next meeting the morne at 8 hours.

(Minutes, p. 244.)

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

(ib. p. 245.)

Edinb. 22 Novemb. 1649.—A number of the Psalms this session surveyed.

(ib. p. 246.)

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

(ib. p. 247.)

Edinb. 23 Novemb. 1649.—The rest of this Session spent in reading of the Psalms.

(ib. p. 248.)

Eodem die, post meridiem.—Sederunt.

Ministers.  
Mr. RDi- Douglas, Mod.  
Mr. George Hutchesone.  
Mr. James Gutterie.  
Mr. RD- Row.  
Mr. Pa- Gillaspie.  
Mr. John Murray.

Elders.  
Mr. John Livingston.  
Mr. James Hamilton.  
Mr. George Leslie.  
Mr. JoN. Neave.  
Mr. WM. Row.  
Mr. George Benet.
MR. H. MACKAEL.  MR. JON. DOUGLAS.
MR. DAVID LAYNG.  MR. THOMAS LUNDIE.
MR. MUNGO LAW.

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 saide 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 Vniformity in this parte of the Worship of God, doe seriously recommend to Presbyteries to cause make publick intimation of this Act, and take speciall care that the same be tymemoously put to execution, and duly 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 extorted by Printers or Stationers in the prices, doe hereby give power to the Moderator and Minifters 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 transcripted 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 Commifs. of the General Assembly, together with their Act and the Act of the late Assembly, approving the said
Paraphrase, and appointing the same to be sung through this Kirk. Therefore, the Committee doth also approve the said Paraphrase, and interpose their authority for the publishing and practising thereof; hereby ordaining the same, and no other to be made use of throughout this Kingdom, according to the tenor 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
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 flouds, Lord, raise, flouds raise their
voice;
flouds raise their waves on by.
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 becometh well.

To God, who doth all things for me
perform most perfectly.
3. From heav'n he shall send down, and me
from his reproach defend
That would devour me: God his truth
and mercy forth shall send.

PSALM XCIII.
(From the Edition, 1650.)
The Lord doth reign, and cloth'd is He
with majesty most bright.
His works do shew him clothed to be
and gird about with might.
The world is alsoablished,
that it cannot depart.
2. Thy throne is fixt of old, and thou
from everlasting art.
3. The flouds, O Lord, have liftet up,
they lifted up their voices,
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 becometh 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 foul 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," 12mo, and from another edition, "London, printed by G. M. 1645," 12mo, with "the approbation of more than forty eminent Divines." The later editions contain "Amendments, and addition of many fresh Metres." In the copies subsequent to 1654, the Author (who takes credit to himself for having, "compiled the whole Book, as near as may be, in the same order of words with the original, and for the most part in as perfect Prose as Verse,") has introduced this sentence into the middle of his preface to the Reader: "The Scots of late (he says) have put forth a Psalm-Book, most what compofed out of mine and Mr. Roufe 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. Doxelittle.
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 finish'd 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 Februraj 1648.—The Commission desires Mr. John Adamson to revise Mr. David Leitch's papers of Poecie, and give his opinion to the Commission thereof.

(Minutes of the Commission, p. 306.)

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

Right Reverend and Welbeloved Brethren,

These are to show yow, that our brother Mr. David Leich, being employed in Paraphrasing the Songs of the Old and New Testament, hes been in this town some tyme, and for als much as he yet is appointed to continue in that employment, our earnest defyre is, that yow endeavour your selves joyntly, for his further encouragament in that work, provyding that it be no hinderance to him in his preffent charge. So recomendig yow and your labours to the blissful of God, Wee reft,

Your louing Brethren, etc.

Edinb. 5 Apryll 1648.
Direct to their Reverend Brethren of the Presbytery of Ellon. (ib. p. 362.)

Edinb. 1st Januarij 1650, Ante meridiem.

The Commission 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 usefull their travells have been in the correcting of the Old Paraphrase of the Psalmes, and in compiling the New, Doe therefore returne them heartie thanks for these their labours, and that the Moderator shew this to Mr. Jo. Adamfone, Mr. Robert Lowrie, and wrytte to Mr. Zacharie Boyd to this purpose.

(Minutes, p. 260.)

Edinb. 22d Feb'y 1650.

The Commission understanding that Mr. Ro. Lowrie has taken some paines in put-
It may be added, that in the Minutes of the Commission, no further notice is taken either of these Scripturall Songs by Leitch, or Lowrie; which do not appear ever to have been printed. Of the persons commendmed for " their travells and pains," in this pious work, a few particulars may be mentioned: 1. MR. JOHN ADAMSON held the office of Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1623, till his death in November 1653, and was the author of various works. 2. MR. ZACHARY BOYD, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, has obtained a much greater degree of notoriety. To a work (in verse) called "The Garden of Zion," printed at Glasgow 1644, he annexed, and afterwards republished, with his Psalms, in a revised form, "The Songs of the Old and New Testament." He died at Glasgow in the beginning of 1654, but his fond expectations, if not positive injunctions, for having his works published after his death were wholly disregarded. 3. MR. DAVID LEITCH, (in Latin Leocæns) 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 Town;" and the whole assembled multitude marching up the High Street, with their heads uncovered, and with loud voices joined in singing the old version of the 124th Psalm,—

Now Israel may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord had not our cause maintained, &c.

In the edition of the Psalms, printed at Edinburgh, by the heirs of Andrew Hart, 1635, 8vo, the Editor, (only known by his initials, "E. M."
but who appears to have been a devoted enthusiast,) has given the tunes in four Parts, from a careful examination of the best copies; while he acknowledges "the whole composition of the Parts to belong to the primest Musicians that ever this Kingdom had, as Dean John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan, and others, famous for their skill in this kind." (See Introduction to Johnson's Scots Musical Museum, edit. 1839, vol. i. pp. xxvi–xxxiv.) Some of these airs are foreign, either German or French, others are English, while several of them, such as 'Dundee,' 'New London,' 'Martyrs,' and 'St. David's,' are still to be heard in our Churches, and these fine old simple airs will always be admired for their "grace 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 Wedr. 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 albeaut they be very unsatisfied with publick proceedings, yet I fand them more defyrous of conjunction then I expected. I wits the rather a dyet be appointed for the
delayed conference, and the mean tyme tendernes to be used toward them & other disent- 
ing brethren. As for the Act of Clasfes, ye know my mind, that though I was not 
satisfied with sundrie things in it, yet I think it very unexpedient it be cancelled in 
anie part at this tyme. Ye know well how all the answers given to ther Querries have 
bein abufed, to the farde renting both of Kirk & ESTATE, whereof they would be grave-
lie remembred and admoneished at this tyme. Yea, farde, I have often heard, and 
from a good hand this daye, that they whom the Act moft concernis, ar moft silent about 
it, and they that defyres it leaft, & 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 answer, and 
traduce you therefter. As alfo, it is better to keep this Act over the heads of them 
that now are admitted to employment, to mak them better bairnes when favours ar 
granted to them by degrees. Consider alfo how, in yealding, we pass from our late 
anwer to the first Querie, wherein we defyred that power sou'd not be put in ther hand: 
to recall that so quicklie, I think it both an and shame, till they deferve it better. And 
yet farde, we'rt not this the waye to unite us with our Brethren the lefs hopefull and 
farder out of sight, when needlesslie we goe farde from them. And albeat, evin this 
consideration is not to be slighted, as I know you will not, yet that which we ought 
mainlie to look to is the Lord's interest; the Act being made to keep judicatories and 
places of trust clear, (the rigour, ye know, and selfynes vended therin, I nevir lyked ;) 
it would be well advyseth what to putt in the roome therof. They that have been ill 
affectd doe too much lift up ther creft every wher, which we have need to look to in 
tyme, if it be not alreadie almsot out of tyme. My opinion and earnest request is, that 
this matter be left intear to the Gen[eral] As[sembly] for so ye and others that lye 
under the burden of busines will be best exonered. Grace be with you.

Your loving Brother,

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

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

No. 2.

S' AR. [St. Andrews,] 16th March 1651.

REVREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I still continew craffie [insfirm], and am not like to recover health or strenth. I like 
not the present repealing of the Act of Clasfes; it was ill made, and now it were as ill re-
scinded, for thereby would be strenthened mightily the opposition that is made to Pub-
liek Resolutions. We have rather need to see how to curb the too great inclination there-
away. I hear, that if Mr. James Guthrie and his colleague be fairly defyred by the 
Commiffion, and a place assign'd to him for the interim, that he may be induced to 
hearken to that defyre. I earnestlie wish that course be followed, because so firft 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 Livingstone’s business be slighted; I complained to the King when he was here, and wished 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,
Minifter of the Gospell of Chryft, Thesee.

No. 3.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

In this troublesome tyme ye are put to great travell, and hath but small incuragements, when all things are so far out of frame. The setting of discipline in the airmie is a thing very necessarie, and Oh that the Lord may be pleased to blefs 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 Chryft, with endeavours of that kynd. The first daye I came out to the Presbiterie, which was Wednesday last, I was surpryzed with the reading of ane Exhortation and Warning, indirectlie applying the characters of Malignants to dissenters, and requyring Presbiteries to cenfure them. I had heard such a thing muttered, but did not beleive it, albeat letters from Glasgow compleaned 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 counfell and courage reft upon yow.

Your loving Brother,

27th Apr. 1651.

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and Beloved Brother, Mr. ROBERT DOWGLAS,
Minifter of the Gospell of Chryft.

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 storme of Divine displeasure. The folie of the Protesters, I think it very presumptuous; yet I think it not wildeome to goe to the height of deserved cenfures, considering the extremeties of the tyme, and former deserving of the persons. Forget not Mr. Ja. Durrham: it was against my opinion he was lous’d from his charge. Mr. Baylie told me they had a mynd to call him to it again. Though they should be slack in it, haile hand to it I pray yow, it will help somewhat to mitigat the alienated mynds of good people. Mr. Ja. Fergusen is a wyfe and grave man: I wits he were joynd in attendance upon the King. This same scribbling trestes my bodie. Counfell from heavin shyne in upon your heart.

Your loving Brother,

[Between the 20th and 31st 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 scaircelie gott a word one of another, when we were beaten asunder. I ever feared, our Brethren would usurpe, and would raither put others to sufferings than to suffer themselves. They invited me to come to their meeting at Edinburgh, by ane letter dated from Glasgow; but beside the inabilitie of my bodie, I had fundrie reasons why I went not to them. I wrote to some of their number, that they should content themselves with conference, and not usurpe power to which they had no calling from God or man. Notwithstanding they have begune their usurping wayes, and fits, as haveing Commiffion from the Assemblie 1650, whilk is expyred. And though they set peaceablie, they [there] are parties sent out to apprehend ministers in this shire, so that our synodical meeting was hindered. The prefbyteries here are mending the matter, as they best may; and this day our Prefbyterie hes emitted the inclosed Act, and transmitted it to their neighbours, having also appointed ane Fast, the Lord’s day come eight dayes, for the sines and sufferings of the land. God help us, we are compassed with innumerable evills. Lord help our captive Brethren, whose burthen is made heavier then [throw ?] the proceedings of our usurping Brethren. Grace be with you and your toased familie.

Your, &c.

20th October 1651.

M. R. BLAIR.

For Mr. DAVID DICKSON.
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 stayed 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 immediatly to that charge, untill the Assembly dispose of me and it, as shall be thought best. I doubt not quhen men are to be named, but yee will be carfull to see them such as that taske requires, which I ingenously 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 discouragement which accompanie it. I can say litle of the publike, being allmoít affraid of everie event I can think of; yet, if God wold bleffe som overturs I heard from Mr. Blair, of waveing all bypass debates at this tyme, by entrecing on a new ground, I thinke it the only way of healing; quheras, if things shall conclud by hotenes, after debat, it doth not cure ye evill, but will readily bring on actis and cenfurs 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 see not hou he can justly be charged in that, having undertaken no promis, and stayed so longe a tyme, mor than I thinke wold have beene defired, if a tyme had beene fet. Befid, the longest that was expeactt 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 see in these things further then I; and how farr men may outrune resolutions, for perfueing ther own principles and ends, hes beine obsevered by yow long befor this. Though I grant ther be fundrie things in some men, quherin yee may be offended, yet I doe expeect yee wil rather privaty cheke them for it, then anie way publickly to seim alienated in your affection from them, quherof I my selfe have no feare. The Lord direcci yow in this first tyme, quhen the eyes of all are on yow, som with feare, and others with expeccations, quho, I hope, shall be prevented or dispointed, which is and shall be the prayer of your looving Brother,

July 14, 1651.

M. J. DURHAME.
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 Provinciall Synod of Glasgcow October 8th, doth very injurioufly reflect upon the late Generall Assembly, and was carryed on mainlie by men censured by that Assembly, and others preingadged in a Proteftation againft it censurable by the Acts of our Kirk: For thefe and other Reasons to be given in, in time and place convenient, We under subscriburs, in our oune names and in the name of foe many as shall adheare, doe Difent and Proteft againft that paper, and all other proceedings of that Synod contrarie to the late Generall Assembly; appealling therefra to the next lawfull Generall Assembly; and defiring this our Proteftation and appeale to be infert in the Synod books.

J. Bonar.
M. H. Blair.
Mr. John Burne.
M. R. Wallace.
M. Allan Fergusone.
M. J. Stewart.
William Blair.
[A blank in the MS.]
Mr. Robert Aird.
D. McAlpine.
M. R. Spruille.
Mr. Hugh Eccles.
Mr. Ja. Inglis.
Wm. Rodger.
M. R. Maxwell.

Mr. R. Baillie.
Mr. Zach. Boyd.
Mr. R. Inglis.
Mr. Jo. Bell.
Mr. Jo. Vetch.
Mr. Wm. Russell.
Mr. Wm. Crookes.
Mr. Wm. Castellaw.
Mr. Ja. Taillour.
Mr. Jo. Hume.
Mr. Thom. Kirkaldie.
Mr. Wm. Morton.
Mr. Geo. Young.
Mr. Gab. Cunyngham.
Mr. Ard. Dennestone.
Mr. R. Watson elder.
Mr. Jo. Sterling.
Mr. J. Adamson.
Mr. Ro. Watson younger.
Ja. Buchanane.
Mr. Math. Ramsay.
Mr. Ja. Fergusone.
M. Jo. Cochran.
Mr. Pat. Colvill.

REASONS OF DISSERT.

1. First. That we were content to goe alongft with them, for Union's fake, 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 Instrucions.

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

4. They not only voted Dissatisfaction with Publick papers, but did imply, that while [untill] they were satisfied, they would no wayses joyne for opposing the enemie; as appears by comparing the first and third Instructions.

5. They did admit Ruleing Elders to voice, who had no commissiion 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 by divers 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 divers 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 own them all; but when it was required that the Causes of the Fast should be read, the most 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 necessarily require the Warnings to be read, and the Causes of the Fast, as said is, yet they did delay all till probably their reading will be useless.

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.
1652. ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS. 563

Sept. 1, 1651.—"The Presbyterie met occasionallie for advyseing q's is incumbent to be done by y[m] in relation to certaine Brethren, latelie taken prisoners at Elie[1], as Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. Mungo Law, Mr. Johne Smith, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Pattullo, Mr. Johne Ratray, Minifters, and Mr. Andro Ker, Clerk to the Generall Assemblie; did appoint a letter to be writen to Lieutenant-General Montke for y['] reliefe, and a letter to the Brethren for comforting and encouraging y['] under y['] suffering; and Mr. Alex[2]. 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 constitution of the ensuing Assembly. To which effect it will be necessary that some few meet together on the Monunday 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 arme themselves accordingly.

If the Commission of Assembly have not already taken course for preaching and opening the Assembly, the time being so short, it will be necessarie that the present Moderator of the Commission speake to Mr. Robert Blair, and (after he is well-affected) to write to Mr. David Dickson to shew them it is a duetie lying upon one of them as last Moderator to open the Assembly; and that both of them prepare to preach, the one before, the other after noone, according to the custome, in respect of the absence of the Moderator of the late Assembly 1651, and the 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 minifters of the towne where the Assembly meets, may be written unto to preach with Mr. David Dickson.

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 deaigne), it is not our opinion that he can be admitted as a member, much leffe to moderate untill he have passed from and renounced under his hand-writing the Declinator, which neither he can give, nor the Assembly receive, before they be constittute; and so one other must moderate and open the Assembly: much lefs is it questioned that he should be debarred, if he acknowledge this Assembly under any Protestation or declaration, That the acknowledging of this is not to be understood as any acknowledgement of the preceeding Assembly, or such like.

That the Assembly may be constittute be vertue of the Indiction of the preceeding, Let the Act of Indiction be first read before receiveing 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 specious pre-
tence of peace and union,) for asserting the authority of this Assembly, either directly or indirectly disowning the proceeding.

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 Prefbytries, or Minister, would or could owne that Assembly or their Acts, if the authority of it were so slighted by this Generall Assembly, no obedience to their Acts could be urged, nor disobedience censured.

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

3. If this Assembly either put or leave the authoritie of that under question, the Declyners should have just reason to disacknowledge their censures, and notwithstanding thereof, to exerce their ministrie untill it be taken from them by ane unquestioned authoritie: And this were in the Assembly a fearfull prostituteing of the Ordinance of the Ministrie and Church censures to contemp, and to leave the precious Ordinances of Christ to be esteemed valide or invalide, lawful or unlawfull, according to the pleasure and humor of men, and their vertue and value to be changeable with times and perasons.

4. It's a salvo to all such as doe, or can be moved to disclame the late Assembly, that a strong pairtie, of such may be admitted, under pretence of peace and union, but indeed to trouble the public peace and order of the Kirk; who, being admitted, will plead (and poissible can with some appearance of reason, from the same argument of peace and union,) that other Acts, alsowell as the Act of Indictment, these especiell of censures may for a time not be owned; and so as they have a salvo to disowne the authoritie, the Declyners shall obtaine a libertie to exerce ministeriall duties with a non obstante of the Acts of that Assembly.

5. As such a Declaration will work in favour of the decliners of, so in prejudice of the adhearsers unto the authoritie of that Assembly, as putting or leaving the authoritie of it in question; yea it seemes 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 admit 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 leffe 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 Commissioners can affirme or declare that their meeting is not in relation to the Indiction of the former Assembly, without manifest and unfaithfull contradicting of their Commissions, which doe expresslie relate to that Indiction, and bears that as the narrative and caufe. And so such declarations being of necessitie to be registred, and the Commissions also to be keept in retentis, their unfaithfullnes shall inevitably be kept in record to all posteritie.

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

None depos'd or suspend'd can in any tearmes be admitted to this Assembly, nor can these who subscryued 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 judiciously delated and made good: and if it be informed and instructed, they are then to be removed alsewwell as declyners.

After the Commissions are given in, the nixt is to chiose the Moderator; for ordering whereof, the Act made thereunto is to be read. And we pray the Lord to direct the Assembly upon one of abilities for the imployment, unquestionable integritie for the cause of God, and of knowledge and foundnes in the present debates and differences.

For want of the Regifteres, the Assembly must be content at this time with the printed Acts, and extractes of such Acts, as usuallie 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 prezent think of. But it will be necessarie, after the constitution, that the Assembly formallie warrand any they please to supply the Clerk's place in this Assembly, and subscrybe the Acts of it in his absence.

In our humble opinion it will be fitting, That the Assembly use all possible haste to a
conclusion, ingadgeing theminselfes in alfe little businesse either of publict or private con-
cernment as can be. But thefe 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, Ministrie, and other ordinances of Christ, and against Separation; with a recommendation to Presbytries and Synods to take effectuall course, for opposeing these evills, especiallie where any Separatifs already appear.

2. The Commiffion for publict affaires would be renewed; 1. Of a recommendation, for further cenfure of any depofed or fuspended ministers by the late Aflembly at Dun-
dee, or by any others whatsoever judicatorie of this Kirk, or commiffions iflueing from them that have exercised any part of the ministerial function since the sentences given against them. 2. Of a particular power to consider the several conditions of all cenfus-
ed ministers, according to their abilities for the minifterie, repentance for their offences, and good behaviour since their cenfures, to put them in a capacitie of readmiffion to the minifterie, 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 Aflembly.

4. It feemes necessarie alfo that there be a recommendation to Presbytries and Synods to take notice of ministers that have imploied any depofed or fuspended to preach, or exerce any part of the ministeriall calling.

We conceave, in our humble opinion, it better that the Aflembly indict the nixt to some day in the nixt year, than that this be continued and prorogated.

If the Aflembly shall meet with any Declinator, they know what they ought to doe; yea, if they meet with greater opposition, we confidently hope that conscience of dutie, and former presidents, will animate them to shew faithfullnes, courage, and resolution against it; and shall constantlie 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 conceave, of your businesse, from sense of duty, without the leaft presumtion of prescribing or limiteing any man's better judgment.

XCI.

JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON TO MR. JAMES GUTHRIE,
29TH MARCH 1654.

[From the Original in the Editor's possession. The initials 'M. S. R.,' 'M. R. D.,'
'L. B.,' 'S. J. Ch.,' 'M. J. G.,' · M. P. G.,' stand respectively for Mr. Samuel
1654. ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS.

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 homing. I shall soon goe through the booke, and press diligence upon others who are too sloe. For news, Lieut. Gen. Monk, wee heare, is now, or will be this week, on his journey to command in Scotland, and withal is reported to have said, that he could live with any but the Remonstrators and Protectors in Scotland; and that he has commission to burn and destroy wherever the Highlanders are refetted. 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 like the old High Commission. I have not yet seen it, but on[e] of the diurnals sayes, the Council of State is about the settling a governor of the Church as before of the State. M. R. D. preached last Saboth bitterly against vs as making humiliations and communions in the country only for a name 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 pray for their restitution. Midleton, I heare, has an absolute commission, not only in military and civil affairs, but also in ecclesiastical, with express power to depose and put out ministers. I think it an observable circumstance of time by Providence trying the 20th of Merch to be the day of the Englishes appointing their Fast, and of our beginning our notes of our Testimonye, and the 24th of Merch to be the daye of their Fast, and of our finishing our Testimonye letter, and meeting; which I wish they would talk for a good aunswear of their Fast. I heare their ordinance about trying of ministers expressly declares their tryal and approbation to be no sacred or solemn setting a man apart to the ministerye, but the ground and warrant of the magistrates giving to such the stipend, and so to shuffle and shut out ordination, &c. It pleased the Lord to assist M. S. R. on Sunday all day to lecture on the 50th Isay, and preach on the 4, 5, 6, v. Their was such a throng in the Grayfrees in the forenoon, and in the Tron Kirk in the afternoon, and such a thinness in the rest of the Kirks as we have not readily 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 vp our selves. Yee would not forgett to send in the papers to S. J. Ch. and also y'r draught of the Testimonye to the synods. We have sent an expresse to Mr. Jh. Levison with the letter and tuo subservyed Testimonyes. I heard that Col. Lilburne sayd to on[e], that he was the occasion of sending for threes three ministers, by a letter of his to the General, as a waye to satisfye the godly in Scotland; and
if he had knouen befor what he hard nou, he shold haive defyred lettres to haive been written alfo to M. S. R. and M. J. G. Som hes maied a report goe throu the countrey as if wee had quetylly agreed with the Inglishes, and that wee wer raving a Whigimyre road vnder Argyle; who, in the meantyme, I heare, hes written baifely flattering and ingaging lettres to the Protecor. Alex. Jaffray is lying seake, and so is Mr. Jhon Meinzeis bedfaft and not aible to goe vp. I haive written you al the neues I know. I fend to you heirwith a copye of the firt paper which was written, to mark the cheifeft paffages of scripture, to be the matter of meditation and an advisandum befir any incorporation or ingagement, that you may fend it to Mr. Jam. Simpson to pervfe; at the leaft the laft pairt of it from the mide of the 8th fheet to the end, which is anent arguments from the Covenants and Ingagements, wherwith he may compare the nue gouer in its four articles, and fett doun shortly the direct antitheyes between the tuo. Lykas I fend you the firt fix Anfuerers that war written in 1652 to the objeccion about Daniel ch. vlt., about our former principles, that you may fend it to him, becaus the vther paper which he hes relates theirto; and defyre him to fend me back both thes papers, and the former that he got with him, and his short draught and his long draught both of his reafons againft taiking places. I cannot aunfuer that any of thir copyes ar right; for I haive borroued them from Mr. R. Trayle, and hes promised to re-deliver them. Anent vther things I wil faye no mor at this ocasion, but that I haive found the Lord's temple-trystes and condefcentions as fenfible fince our pairting as ever of befor; bliffed, bliffed be his nayme. A speaking Chrif 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,

M. P. G. is not yet come heir.

A. Jhonston.

29th Merch 1654.

To my loving Brother Mr. James Guthrie, Minifter of God's Word at Stirling.

XCI.

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 Publicf judicators of the Kirk, to live peaceably and in-
offensively under the present government, by shewing what testification they have given heirof: 1. By their quiet behaviour hithertill since they were brought under it; 2. By what was declared by some of them, understanding well the mind of the rest, to my Lord President in February last; and 3. By what many others of them, from the several Presbytries, or at this present tyme voluntary declaring in petitions to the Council of Scotland:

2. To clear and make manifest the groundlefs arrogancy of our Brethren, in assuming to themselves the name of the Godly Partie of the minifterie; together with the injustice and falshood of their aspersing of the generalitie of the rest of the minifterie as insufficient, or scandalous, or both. And for this purpose to shew:—1. That the greatest part of the ministers who before our late differences were justly esteemed and looked upon as the most eminent, honest, and godly ministers in this Kirk, and were most instrumentall in the work of God, doe adhere unto the Publick Judicatures unto this day. 2. That (which is undeniable and notour,) a great part, if not the farre greatest part, of our Dissenting Brethren, have been admitted to the minifterie within these very few years, 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 publi{t, and suggett to these in power such aspersions against the generalitie of the minifterie; yet, when in their respective Presbytries, at the visitation of Kirks, and in their respective Synods, at the tryall of the several Presbytries, they are required, upon their consciences, to declare their knowledge and judgement concerning the life and abilities of every one of their Brethren, little or nothing hath been represented by them of any challenge concerning the conversation or qualification of any particular minister in their judicatures; yea, although upon occasion of such general all aspersions spread and published by them, they have often been in judicatures and publick meetings earnestly attested to condone{send upon particular persons and challenges, and solemnne promises have been made to them that judicatures should forthwith goe faithfully and impartially about the tryall 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 minifterie; so, through the Lord's goodnfits, many able and gracious young men have been, in our bounds, placed into their rooms, and we can warrantably affirm it, that within these last three or four yeares, there have been more able and pious men admitted to the minifterie in the several parts of the land, than was at any tyme in so short a space, or much more, since our late Reformation. 5. We can also warrantably affirm, that as never more frequent nor more accurat visitations of particular Kirks, for inspection and tryall of the conversation, doctrine, diligence, and faithfulnes of ministers in their charges, have been than of late within these three or four yeares last bypassed; so that we have thereby found not only good evidence of the godly conversation, and of the sound and edifying doctrine of ministers generallie; but
also more painfulness in their labours, and more success thereupon, throw the Lord’s blessing; than hath been before. 6. Although we will not deny, but it is very probable that in sundrie parts there may be found some men in the ministrie unsuitable in conversation to their holy calling and insufficient, (and we wish from our hearts that our Brethren who asperfe us, had not these late years admitted so many insufficient men, as is notour they have done,) yet we may truely say it, that our Brethren’s wayes and acts of this time bypass, by which they have taught men to vilifie the authoritie of Judicatures, and to contemne the exercise of Discipline, hath been a great obstruction and hinderance to tryall, finding out, and cenfuring of such. And we give assurance that the Judicatures of the Kirk, they not being hindered to go about the work, nor being exposed to have their authoritie in the exercise of ecclesiastic 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 proofs of their fidelity and zeal in this work, by removing from the ministrie some who were of their own judgement as to the matters of Publick differences. 7. In a word, we can say in truth, the Lord bearing us witnesses, that this asperion of insufficiencie, scandalousnesse, and corruption cast by our Brethren upon the generalitie of the ministrie of our judgement throughout the land, is most uncharitall, 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 effectual course be taken for the suppressing of Poperie, so much increas’d 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 safety of the State.

2. That the ecclesiastic government be permitted and allowed to runn in its right channel, and to goe on in its exercice, as it is established in this nation, according to the word of God, by Acts of Generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament.

3. Yet if on suggestion from this, or from themselves above, any motion be made towards the calling of a Generall Assemblie, you would most seriously represent the inexpediencie thereof for the time, and indifference of this Kirk for it in regard of the present differences and distempers; which would readily be encreased and heightened to the great prejudice of religion if there were a meeting in a Generall Assemblie, before there be time to compose and settle matters and men’s spirits in inferior judicatories.

4. That there be no intrusion allowed of persons into the ministrie in congregations, without the lawfull and orderlie consent and election of the congregations, or without orderlie tryall and ordination by presbyteries; but that the whole calling of persons to the office of the ministrie be permitted and allowed to be acted and carried on according to the established order of this Church, and particularly that Act of the Generall Assembly 1649, intituled the Direction for Election of Ministers.
5. That the Ordinance concerning the settleing of maintainance upon ministers in Scotland, emitted in the year 1654, be made void and taken away, in regard it doth overturne the establisched order and government of this Kirk, especiallie as to the plantation and calling of ministers; as hath been evidenced in the considerations upon the said Ordinance which were given by us to the Lord Generall.

6. That persons producing certificats from their respevtive Prefbyteries, bearing testimonie of their calling and admission unto the ministrie, in congregations within the respevtive bounds of the prebytries certifying conforme to the order abovementioned, and of their blameles and godly conversation, and of their abilitie and fitnes to preach the goodell, have, by the Civill power, allowed to them the stipend and whole benefits belonging to the respevtive charges whereunto they are called and admitted. And that the stipend of no congregation be settleth upon any person intruded upon a people to be their minister, contrare to the aforesaid lawfull and establisched order of calling and admitting ministers.

7. That the Ecclefiaftick discipline be permitted to be exercis'd by the Judicatures of the Kirk according to the order therein establisht; and the Ecclefiaftick cenffures that shall be enacted and pronounced against any members of this kirk, ministers, or others, for scandales and offences, be not impeded nor ftoped, nor any persons so cenfured dis-obeying, contemning, or oppofing the discipline of this Kirk, be countenanced or encouraged in their disobedience, contempt, or opposition.

And whereas some may be buffett to fuggett, and upon fuch fuggettion it may haplie be objected that the Judicatures of the Kirk being fuch for the moft part as stand for the authoritie and constitution of the two late Generall Assemblies, doe exercife oppreffion over thefe that diffent from them; and that were they permitted to exercife their full power and authoritie, they would cruft the other part, by cafting out many godly ministers, holding out manie godly expecants, and cenfurin all others difsenting from them. This may be made evidently appear to be nothing else but a forged, unjuft, 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 difsenting Brethren in November laft; especiallie as they are expreffed in our Reprefentation 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 unjuft afpersions cast upon us by them, in preaching, write, and print; yet never to this day cenfured or challenged any of their judgement upon the account of our differences, or for any of their injurious afpersions cast upon us, nor ever oppofed we the entrie of any of their judgement into the ministrie; but was ever willing to admitt him upon an orderlie call, if they would only have declared their resolutions to live peaceably with us, and to abfaine from holding up debates and contenfions about the matters of our Publicl differences, (which thing we were allways reallie willing to declare and performe for our part,) leaveing to them the full freedome of their judgement in thefe matters.
8. That no companie of Ministers or others be esteemed or acknowledged to be a presbytrie or other kirk judicature, who have not been owned as such a Judicature; and that if any few ministers, or others who are not authorised in manner aforesaid, take upon them the authoritie and jurisdiciion of a kirk judicature, and doe exercise any acts of government, in calling or deposing of ministers, or inflicting any other cenfures, that they be not countenanced, nor any of their actings ouened as deeds of a lawfull Judicature.

9. Because our adverairies may be buffie 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 thofe in power, and to the godly Presbyterian Ministers there. As alfo the points on which they stuck and refuifed to unite with us, which were these two: 1. That we granted not unto them Committees of equall numbers of both judgments for purgeing. 2. That we required subordination and subjedion of inferior judicatures to their respective superior judicatures, according to the nature and order of Presbyterian Government in this Kirk, and the conftant uncontroverted practice thereof before the time of our unhappie differences. The unreasonableenes and inconsitency with Presbyterian Government, and the established order in this Church, of requiring the former and rejecting 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 shewn, that we cannot poffiblie condeſcend any further then we have done alreadie for obtaining Union with them in our above-mentioned Overtures in November laft, as they are expreffed in our Representation in the faid moneth of November, unlefs we would condenme ourſelves, and renounce our judgment in the matters of difference betwixt them and us, which we could not doe without wronging our own confciences, quitting truth, provoking God, and rendering our Church and Religion hatefull to all Civill powers, nations, and Churches about us. And if it be moved that an Union be made between them and some of us whom they are pleased to favour with the estimation of honestie and godliness, laying by others, it would be declared that we are most willing that all such persons in the miniftrie as can be challenged for scandale or infufficiencie 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 faid repfive Judicatures; but that we neither can in confcience, 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,) fhall be condemned as insufficient, scandalous, and corrupt, without hearing, without any tryell or proceede, and not only a more woefull rent made in this Church, but alfo the very conftitution and frame of this Nationall Church overturned and rafed, and all cast 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 judgements, of approved godliness and zeal for the work of reformation; whereof the one half to be agreed upon by these who are for the Publick Resolutions, and the other half by the Remonstrators, for planting and 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 judgements, to be chosen and agreed as aforesaid, authorised by the Synods, without whose previous advice and consent the respective Synods may not ranverfe any thing done by the aforesaid Visitations; and such Visitations and Committees to continue untill the present differences be healed, or the Lord shall in providence minister some better way for the settling of peace amongst them.

LETTER, LORD BROGHILL TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

[From the Orig. Wod. MSS. Fol. Vol. XXVI. No. 8.]

Worthy Sir.

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, whereby otherwise I may be deprived of that time I intend to spend amongst you. Pray favor me with sendinge to Sterlin for Mr. Symp-son, to be with me at Edinbrough, on Tuisday morninge, without sayle, before the Councill does fit, for som reasons shalbe communicated to you when you com out.

Sir,

Your very af* fend, and humble fervant, 10 of Augt [16]56. BROOHILL.

For my worthy frend Mr. Rob* Douglas, Minister of the Gospell at Edinbrough: In his abfence, for Mr James Wood, or Mr. James Sharpe, Ministers of the Gospell, 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 Glasgow, according to its foundation, and the ordinarie pracliffe used in that House, is obledged to be chief Professor of Theologie therein, to have each week publick lessons of Theologie and Philosophie, as thefe who formerly were Principalls did carefully act the fame to the great advantage of the Students of Theology and Philosophie, and credit of the Univerfity, and that notwithstanding that the burden of the manageing of the public affairs thereof, and the ordering of what related to the building of the edifice lay upon them as now it doth upon Mr. Patrick Gillespie; but fo it is, that the 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 Lessons, for the space of five yeares, will be comprehended in two sheet 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 custome of the Houfe, ought to preceed to all publick acts and disputes: To wit, when the Theologues give out Thefes before they be licentiat to preach, or those who by publick programmes were invited to dispute for a Regent's place, when any vaiked, the Principall alwayes was Prefes in these disputes: But fo it is, that to this day Mr. Patrick hath not at all prepeeded in any of these disputes, but left them still to be gone about by ane other. And for the private disputes of the Theologues amongst themselves, which used to be weekly, he hath very seldom been present at thefe; but ordinarily leaves thefe to be ordained by the other Profefors, notwithstanding that by agreement betwixt him and them, he be obliged to wait upon them courie about: And therefore he is no wayes sufficient for the faid charge.

3. Thirdly, The Principal, by his place, is an ordinary examiner of the Students of Philofophy, both at thoee times when they are to be promoved and called in yearly, and likewife at the folemne examinations that they undergoe when they pafe 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 Principall in the faid Colledge, to this day hath not examined, at these folemne times, the Students of Philofophy, neither hath at any other tyme tried how they are taught by their masters, and how they profite in their studies: And therefore, it being palpably knowne that he is unfitt for going about any of these dueties to any purpose, he is altogether insufficient for the faid charge.

4. Fourthly, Albeit the teaching of the Oriental tongues, by the Visitation of the Colledge, was put upon another Profeflor, and the Principall was eafed of that burthen, yet it is moft neceffarie that he who is Principall, and fo by his place the Prime Profeflor of Theologie, should haveskill in thefe languages, and should clear and expound to Students the hard places of Scripture: But fo it is, that Mr. Patrick is fo farre from that, that it is known how little insight he hath in the Latine; and this he evidenced at his firft speech in Latine, that he had at a public meeting of the Colledge, at the Laureation of a Claffe of Philofophy, when he began his prayer as an imprecation, ufeing these words.—"Auspiciis nostris Domine Deus adesse dedigneris;" that is,—"Deinzie not Lord to be prezent at this our meeting;" And when in the clofe of that action he was defired, by one of that meeting, to pray and fend away the newlie Lawreet schollers with a blessing, after a little paufe, when it was expected that he would pray, he rofe up, and without prayer difmissed them, faying "Ite, "Goe away;" Yea, it is his ordinarie cuftome, (which used not to be done by any Principall before,) to pray in English when he meets with the Theologues at their private disputes, or with the Students of Philofophy in the Common-hall: And therefore, his deficiency and weaknes being known, he is altogether insufficient for the 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 readieft of the rents of the said College, yet he not being satisfied therewith,
hath taken of the revenues of that Houfe to his owne ufe the summes following, at least
he hath obtained right thereunto by the Moderators of that Houfe: As first, when he
was called up by his Highnes the Lord Protector, some three yeares agoe, he obtained
of his Highnes a gift to that Colledge of the Superiorities of the Bishoprick of Galloway,
together with two hundredth merks sterling money for maintenance of some Burfars of
Theology; and notwithstanding, his Highnes did allow him sufficient maintenance for
his journey, and that according to his own account, given up by himfelf of his difburfe-
ments, in obtaining of the forfaid gifts to the said Colledge, there was payed to him by
the Colledge ane hundredth pund sterling or thereby; yet the said Mr. Patrick took of
the Colledge rent, at his return, three thoufand merks Scots money as a reward for his
pains.

2. Secondly, At the laft time when Mr. Patrick went to London he was commiffionat
by the Remonftrating partie, with others, to negotiat these things which by them were
committed to him, and thofe who were joyned to him in that commiffion, and by that
partie large summes were collected and given to him and others joyned with him, for
defraying their expenses in that journey; and further his Highnes the Lord Protector
did liberallie allow to the said Mr. Patrick a larger fumme of money, nor might have been
fufficient for his maintenance during that space. The said Mr. Patrick having a
particular Commiffion from the Colledge, (which he took from them after he was en-
gaged to the Remonftrating partie to goe up for them,) to do what he could for obtaining
fome 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 dureing his long
abode at London, (befide all that he gott liberallie from his Highnes, and lykewayes
from the Remonftrating partie, who were thofe that sent him up in that journey,) he hath
taken of the Colledge 20 ft. sterling money for ilk day, from his going from Scotland
to his returne back againe, which being the space of eleven moneths, will extend to
three hundred pound sterling, and above.

3. Thirdlie, As if the famen had not been enough, he hath obtained a warrand (fome
eight or ten dayes after he had gotten warrand for the precedent fomme) under the hands
of the Masters of the Colledge, for 300 pound sterling further; which bears that the said
300 pounds shall be payed out of the first and readieft that the Colledge fhall obtaine by
the late gift of the tithes of these benefices, chaplainries, and others, within the Bishop-
rick of Glafgow, which his Highnes has past in favours of and for the behoof of the said
Colledge: And besides both these fommes, which extend to 600 pound sterling, the
Colledge, upon his account, given up to them of deburfeaments 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 Principal, yet he hath taken a gift, and hath a right passed to him by the Moderators thereof that what he can finde out for augmenting the old rentall of the Colledge, speciallie in the Bishoprick of Galloway, the equall half thereof shall be appropriat to himself yearly, during all the daies of his lifetime, and that by and attour his large salary which yearly is provided and payed to him.

5. **Fifthlie**, All this is the more to be taken notice of; **First**, Because it is well known that other gracious, learned, and most able men, who have been Principals in that Colledge these many yeares bygane, and faithfullie went about the discharge of their duetie therein, diverse of them did obtain, by their diligence and care, from the late King, his Father, and others who were Governours in this nation, a great deal more nor yet hes been in that kinde by Mr. Patrick; as Mr. Patrick Sharp obtained the Perfonage of Govane, Principal Boyd the Perfonages of Renfrew and Kilbryde, and Dr. Strang the Bishoprick 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 painses, by way of gratuity or otherways. **Secondlie**, Because it was well known that unless the Principal of the Colledge be willing, and consent, no right can be granted of anie part of the rents of that Houfe to any perfon; which makes it clear that what is granted to Mr. Patrick of this kinde, hath made its rife from himself, or if it was first moved by others, that he hath readilie accepted what was offered. **Thirdlie**, Because it is certaine that the whole rents of the Colledge is to be employed in pious and publick uses, for the behoof and maintenance of poor Students, of the Fabrick, and Bibliotech, and that the Principal and Mafters are only administrators of the rents of the Houfe, who can not be answerable to God nor man, if they shall appropriat any part thereof to themselves, except what is allowed to them for their salary; and this they must make appear in their yearly accounts, which are to be made yearly, whereof the Provest and Baillies of Glafgow are appointed to be Auditors.

No. XCVI.

**LETTER, MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE, TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.**

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXVI, No. 22.]

RIGHTEVEREEREND, | London, July 2d 1657.

I am heartily forrie that our breach should beare such characters of judgement, as ar mor then legible in the misgiving of all endeavours which have been applied for healing,
and doe put a discouragement vpon all men who wihte our Vnione henceforth to endeavour it. I need not represtent to yow things which haue been experimented by us on all hands, how much the work of the Gospell, and the ordinances of Christ, suffer through our diviiones; but I desire to put yow in mind how much wee are at a losse, by our differences, vpon this account, that the ministers of Scotland being so much on in judgement, and agreed in so many things as that they ar mor on[e] then any such number of ministers in any of the Reformed churches, yet cannot walk together 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 vnsober spirits, and of extremelie rigid principles toward all others who differ from us in the leaft things. I am therfor humbly bold with yow, (to whom I acknowledge I owe verie much, and for whom I haue an estoeme becomming my obligations), to beseech yow yet to take into your serious consideration these things which were required by yow from us at the last Conference for Vnion, and were not agreed unto vpon on[e] part; and to see what abatement may be of your demands, and what farther condescension for peace-fake, as I am also willing in like manner to think of these things demanded on on[e] part, and fo farr as I can, with a good conscience, to fretch myself, and to beseech others, to all possible and lawfull condescension. And however I have been repreftent to yow, in my vndertaking this journey, or management of my trust heer, (as I haue mor then probable ground to think I haue been misrepreftent), yet I am confident to make it appear that an honest peace hath been designd in the first place by me and these who fent me hither, and that inculpata tutela hath but a second consideratione with us. If you judge any thing heer worthie your thoughts, (wherin I professe I haue no designe beside the preferuation of our Churche Government by our own concord, for which I could be exiled if that could procure it), vpon your intendment of the motione, in any probable way of agreement for caereng on the work of Reformation, yow shall command my cordial service, and poor endeavours for that end. 

Your louing Brother to serue yow,

P. Gillespie.

For the Reverend Mr. David Dickfone, Professeor of Theologie in the Colledge of Ed", and Mr. Robert Douglas, Minifter 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 one 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 Sir

Craill, August 2, 7 aclock in the morning, 1658.

The boxe yow sent, with all the papers yow mention, came to my hand yefternight, the 1 of this currant. I am so overcharged with busines at present, being to preach to-morrow, and on Wedensday the exercise befor the Prebytrie 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 furer way to gett them prefented to his Highnes then by our friend there, else Mr. Lockart, or the Prowot of Edinburgh might have offered them, if they had been in time sent to them. I am hopefull that our freind will be returned to London befor that our letters can come thither, and I think I may perfwade him to ufe means that these petitions shal be delivered to the Protektor, that if he find not the opportunity to prefent 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 inclofit for your perufall, that when yow have feen it, and confidered of it, yow may send it to Edinburgh to my Brother. I know the subfcryver of the letter, Alexr 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 eafy, I wilhe it were speedily done: and therfor I have sent away the bearer to yow, that yow may have time to fend your resolution theranent to Edinburgh again Fridayes night the 6 infant, 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 poft they may be transmitted to London. Since yow judge it fitt that books be delivered to the Stationer, I think it will be conducing to the more effeclual managing of your Town's busines, that an effay be made upon him by the Printer at the time of the delivery of my pacquet to him. I could wilh that the charge of these books might be awoydit; but I am ffull of opinion it is the moft promising way yow can fall upon for the effeclual prosecuting of your busines. I shall wreat to our freind, upon supposition that the Printer is in readines to deliver these books, and shall fend the petitions with
your other papers to him. I shall write 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 you of the necessity of keeping the matter of the books and the Stationer with all clostens, 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 add no more; but commending you, with the Lord's work in your hand, to mercy and grace, that I am,

Your very loving Brother,

Ja: Sharp.

Present my respects to M. Baily, as also to Mr. Bell, and excuse I have not sent a particular returne to his. My Wife hath you kindly remembred.

No. 2.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Vpon the receipt of yours. and the scift 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,) delivered Alex'. Blair's to your Brother. As for the books mentioned therein, your Brother thought fitt that David Thomfoun should have them, and [Mr. Scharp being aff'town, at his returne, Mr. Bell spak to him again, and appointed to meet with him the morrow afore I went of the Towne; bot that morning he went to see my L'A Suintoun, so I missed him because I behooved that day to wait upon Deborou, and I left the monie w't W'm. Mitchell, merchant to be delivered to him quho hath sent me the letter;] and since a letter being so much is cum to this place, directed to John Bell; wha, before he cam bak fra Edinburgh, your Brother shew me the box with the letters qhililk cam from you to go to London, and gav assurance for the port, &c. quhatsoever it shoul be. How fuin these letters, with the books, qhililk 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 thairaret, for it was not thocht fitt that anie of our wyse seeret freinds heir should mak inquirie for thes things, leaff uithirs thairupn micht have drawne inferences. The Lord Keiper and Swintoun have been 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, qhililk reddilie that place quhairin he was could not afford him. He cam to this town vpon the Wednesday quhair nathing was left undone that could evidence their respects to his Lordship; Swintoun
also was saluted, and courteiously intreated. The Lord Keiper at his going fra this spak the Proveft, with Baillie Walkinshaw, and fum few vitalls anent that debait quhilk had long bein betuixt them and Mr. Gilleſpie, and told, that Mr. Gilleſpie was willing to submit all to him; quhairvnto they replied, that if the particular quhairin the difference hes bein, wer a mater of thair fortoun, or sik as wer in thair power, they wald willingly lay it doun at his feit, to be disposed vpon at his Lordship's pleafour. Bot in regard that it was the liberties of thair Burgh, quhilk to thair power they wer obliged by oath to mentein, and that the whol Royall Burghs had looked vpon that buffines as a mater concerning them all, and vpon that confideration had petitioned his Highnes, the Lord Proteftour for the burgh of Glafgow; upon thir and other weightie reaſons they wer forced to beg his Lordſhip's favour, and intreat that he wald not tak it ill that in that they could not agree to anie submission. And with all they shew his Lordſhip that if he or the Counſell of Stait in all the narrow and acurat search that had bein taken, fand anie perfoun of thes quha wer in office, or on the Toun-Councell, that desvered to be removed fra truſt, or for a tym to be laid afyd, they profeffed that moit willinglie they shoul geiv obedience thairvnto. Quhen the Lord Keiper fand them thus resolved, without anie fignification ather of diffatiffacion or of fatisfaction with thair anſuer, his Lordſhip prefed them no farther, onlie it was thocht that he fhew Mr. Gilleſpie that the interpoſition quhilk he offered to mak wald not prove effectuall for what Mr. Gilleſpie defyréd. Quhat courſe heirafter will be followed by Mr. Gilleſpie in profecution of that report, (whilk zit is not fent vp to Lundoun) wee can not tell, or how the Lord Deſburrow will carie in the buffines, wee heir ken not; onlie, it is apprehendit that one of thrie may now be effayed, ather to get the report with all speid fent up and backed with Swintouns moyen, that upon its being prefented to the Proteſtour, ordour may be givin to remove the preſent Magiftrats, and put in P. G. his pairtie; or it may be that the tym of the election being neir at hand, vpon the firſt TWyſday of October, they will deall for a new letter fra the Proteſtour to stope a new election, as they did the laſt zeir: or that the whol mater be fent back to the Counſell of Scotland that they may determine in that buffines heir, and till that be don, a letter be procured shortlie fra the Counſell of Stait in Scotland, direcť to the preſent Magiftrats to fay anie new election till his Highnes, upon the report fent up to him, declair his pleaſour quhat he will have don in that mater for the cloſing of it. As oft befoir, the Toun, in thair straits, fo now alfo they have fent this exprefe, and by my letter to zow, acquants zow with thair buffines how it stands, intreating that ze wald be pleaſed to writy anew to zour freind above; and try at the Prenter's quhat is becum of the books that wer to be put in the Stationer's hand, and how he was fatisfyed 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 so far as
may be, against anie courfe that can be taken vnderhand or vtherways by P. G. and his freinds thair to the Toun's prejudice, and becaus C[ol.] Watham will best found Defborrow's mynd anent his satisfactioun or dis satisfactioun with the Toun's anfwer geivin to his Lordship heir, they intreat that zee wald writ to him thairanent, in fo wyfe and cannie a way as zee think will be most convenient, and with all deall with the Colonell, that if anie motion be mad[e] be Swintoun, or anie vther to the Councell of Stait heir, that he wald fie to it, and hinder it fo far as may be, at leaft till the Toun be called to pleed for themself. Your secreit freinds heir have sum thoughts of fending upe a verie active and honest young man to wait for sum tymne on thair affairs thair. They will direct him to Mr. John Lockhart, quha is now at Court, (if at all he be fent,) but thair purpofe is that he may, by letters weiklie, let them ken if anie thing be in agitation relating to them, and that he may understand thes mainlie by the Stationer; no that ather the Toun, or he that shall be fent thair, may ken quha zour freind is that acts for them abov, at zour intreatie; but the information may be conveyed to him be the mediation of the Printer or sum vther handfum way yee will prefferyve. Bot in this they intend to follow zour advyfe, in fending one vpe or not to wait thair as agent for them, to re-member thair freinds of their buffines, as said is. The Toun has hithtertills holden aff anie nomination of a perfoun for filling Mr. Durham's place, and by fair general dealing with our commoun feffion hes kepied them fra thair parempour way. Bot in end, quhen maters cums to a parempour, they then intend to follow the advyfe they have gottin fra thair freinds thair Eaft; and withall they have thought of indeavouring, (if they fend vp anie perfoun to attend thair affairs,) to obtain a letter fra the Proteftour to the Councell of Stait in Scotland, for ordaining that the Toun of Glafgow may be warrantt to mak choife of a minifter for thair vacant place, and that none, againft the con-fent of the Magistrats and Councell and the bodie of the Toun, be thurf vpon them. If ze think this feaftable, zee will geiv zour beft advyfe how it shal be obtained, and quhat courfe shal be followed for that effect. And lykways they conceav it may be effayed to obtain fra the Proteftour a favorable letter for the Toun of Glafgow direct to the Councell of Stait heir, vpon the Burrows thair petition preffented to his Highnes for the toun of Glafgow. Your singular respefts to the publick interest and to the good of this place, imboldens me to be thus troublefum, as to intreat for zour patience in reading, and wifdom and wontaed reddines to do, in the above-mentioned particulars, fo far as zee conceav may be for thair good, and with all by zour letter with this heier, to let me ken quhat zee think fitteft to be don in thair fending of one vp, and in that whilk relaites to a Minifter, and to the Burrows thair petition: For the teftificioun of the Toun's respefts of thankfulness, to zour self for all the expenfe and pains zee have bein put to in thair affairs, I shal for the tym fay nothing. Bot if they can be vufeful to the publick interest, or any thing can be don[e] by them to teftifie thair respefts thairto, let me know, and I dar fay in thair 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 faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Durham, late Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow.—London, printed for the Company of Stationers, Anno Dom. 1658," folio.

The particulars of Durham's life—by birth a private gentleman,—his serving in the army,—his call and devotedness in the work of the ministry—his death in July 1658 at the early age of 36—are well known, or may be found in numerous biographies; and his various writings, always highly esteemed, are still deservedly popular in this country.]

Reader,—Being desired to speak my knowledge of this subsequent 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 welcome 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 the Brethren's design of shortness doth 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 closed his Exercise, were made to me so clear, that I judged his Exposition might well be acquiesced into without much more debate.

That wit were more than ordinary weak, which durst promise from the pen of any man a clear and certain Exposition of all the Revelation before day of performance of these very deep and mysterious Prophecies. It was not for nought, that most judicious Calvin and acute Beze, with many other profound Divines, would never be moved to attempt any explication of that Book: Yet I hope I may make bold to affirm, without hazard of any heavie cenfure, that there is here laid such a bridge over that very deep river, that whoever goeth over it, shall have caufe to bless God for the Author's labour.
The Epistle speaketh to the man: I shall adde but this one word, That from the day I was employed by the Prebbyterie to preach and pray and to impose, with others, hands upon him for the Ministry at Glafgow, I did live to the very last with him in great and uninterrupttud love, and in an high estimation of his egregious induemements, which made him to me precious among the most excellent Divines I have been acquainted with in the whole Ile. O if it were the good pleasure of the Master of the Vineyard to plant many such noble vines in this land! I hope many more of his labours shall follow this firt, 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 Glas- gow, from which the following is an extract:—]

The Reverend (now triumphing and glorified) Author was so famous and des-ervedly 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 University wherein I was at the same time a student) before he had finished his course of Philofophie, and without any purpose to follow his book, at leaft 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 dissatisfaction 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 thereafter settled here at Glafgow, where it hath not wanted a feal in the confciences and hearts of his hearers. And also because of his eminent piety, fidelityneffe, 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 ableft, fickereft, and moft accomplished minifters therein, to attend the King's family, in which station, though the times were moft difficult, as abounding with tentations and snares, with jealoufies, heart-burnings, emulations, and animofities; and flowing with high tides of many various and not a few contrary humours, he did so wisely and faithfully behave and acquit himself, that there was a conviction thereof, left upon the confciences of all who observed him, and so as he had peace through Jeſus Christ as to that miniftration.

In the whole feries [of these Lectures]—thou will discover—great lighth in the Scriptures, and very deep reach in the profoundeſt and moft 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. Fol. XXVI. No. 50. The words printed in Italics are deleted in the MS.]

Sir,

I received your letter of the first of March which was very welcome to mee, and must acknowledge myself much bound to you and the rest of your Brethren for your prayers and councell, and I hope through grace I shall not be found wanting to God and my country in the pursuance of those ends for which I undertooke this quarrell. I have bin very much fatified with severall discourses that I had with yow, not long before my leaving Scotland, wherein yow have expressed your care of the Church of God, and your indifference as to Civil Government. And truly, Sir, I hope that all wife and good Christians will not thinke its their interest to runne into blood for any single or particular Civill forme of Government whatsoever. As for Prebytery, what I declare to the world, which was both my conscience and reason, fo I assure yow I adjudge it the best expedient to heal the bleeding divisons of these poore Nations, foe it be moderate and tender, otherwise it will but irage our diseafe 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 ingaged for those large expreffions 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 defired 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 these good ends, good men will not quarrell with vs if wee doe not proceed in every particular according to their judgements, but
will acquiece in the Providence of God, and in the Resolutions of those in authority. I know you have bin a great instrument of good in that Church, and therefore doe desire you to vfe your interest for the preservation of the peace, and the quieting mens spirits, which is indeed both the duty and the glory of a Christian, and the especiall work of the Ministrie of the Gospell. I hope you will not misinterpret these expressions as if I had the leaft jealousye of my deare freinds in Scotland, but judge they proceed from my tendernes and care, for the prevention of future troubles and divisions. I have noe further but to begg the continuance of your prayers. I am,

Your very loving freind and servant,

S. James's 14th Mar. 1659 [1660.]
Mr. Robert Douglass.

For the Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas at Edinburgh.  These.

C.

THE EARL OF MIDDLETON TO THE LORD CLERK-REGISTER.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. 8vo. XI. No. 7.—The Act to which this letter refers was unquestionably one "of the greatest consequence imaginable," being the Act Rescissory, passed on the following day, the 28th of March, by which all Parliamentary proceedings subsequent to the year 1639, were at once annulled.]

Edinburgh, March 27, 1661.

My Lord,

The Act that is now before you is of the greatest consequence imaginable, and is like to meet with many difficulties if not speedily gone about. Petitions are preparing, and if the thing were done, it would dash all these buffling 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 prefented 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

**Accresse**—increase, accession.
**Adoe**—exertion.
**Adoes**—concerns.
**Afraye**—to terrify.
**Aflought, inflocht**—fluttered, in a flurry.
**Agreement**—agreement.
**Airth**—direction.
**Allanerlie, allenarly**—only.
**Allutterly**—altogether.
**Alssoone**—as soon.
**Always**—however, nevertheless.
**Amirs**—embers.
**Ancessouris**—ancestors.
**And**—if.
**Anent**—concerning.
**Assession**—the act of assessors.
**Athort, abroad, far and wide**.
**Athort**—athwart, through, across.
**At once**—by and by.
**Attoned**—at one, brought to concord.
**Aught**—ought.
**Aughtand-owing**.
**Avocke**—call away, prevent.
**Ayre** (i. 133)—first whisper.

B

**Babies**—infants.
**Back, backs**—a body of followers or supporters.
**Backing**—supporters, followers, partizans.
**Bains**—baths.
**Baird**—beard.
**Bairns**—children.
**Band**—oath, written obligation.
**Bardish**—impertinent.
**Baseness**—humble terms.
**Beward** (i. 75)—term terms.
**Baxters**—bakers.
**Beddall**—sexton.
**Been**—be-en—being.

**Bensail**—bent-sail, bias, propensity.
**Beseek**—beseech.
**Bicker, bikkering**—contention, strife.
**Bicocks**—a term of reproach.
**Blaw**—to flatter, to coax.
**Blenk, blink**—to look with a favourable eye.
**Blenk, blink**—slight perusal, a glance.
**Blephum**—mere pretence.
**Blew bore**—fair appearance, an opening in the clouds.
**Block**—to plan, to devise.
**Blocking**—framing, rough hewing.
**Blustered**—blotted, disfigured in writing.
**Blythe**—glad.
**Boast, boasted**—threats, to threaten.
**Bocardo**—spectre, bugbear.
**Bonny**—elegant, fine, beautiful.
**Boord-head**—head of the table.
**Boording**—boarding.
**Brae**—declivity.
**Braid and wide** (i. 16)—far and near.
**Brangled**—to confound, to throw into disorder.
**Breast a brae**—to climb, to surmount a difficulty.
**Brether**—brethren, brothers.
**Broaching**—hatching, opening up.
**Bruckle**—brittle.
**Bud, budds**—a bribe, bribes.
**Buits**—matches for firelocks.
**Burn-ill**—suffered severely.
**By**—besides.
**Bygane**—in time past.
**Bygones**—denoting what is past.

C

**Caged**—imprisoned.
**Call, ca’**—to drive.
**Canny, cannie**—sly, prudent, cautious.
**Cannyness**—prudence, caution, skill.
**Carder**—player at cards.
**Cass**—to annul.
GLOSSARY.

Catches—sketches, ships
Caudle-ships—coolness, want of ardour.
Caulms, chalms—moulds.
Causey—street.
Cave—lot, to cast cavel.
Ceeding—ceding, yielding.
Cessing—taxing, assessing.
Chainzied—chained.
Chock, choack—critical moment, or state.
Clagg—clog.
Clanculary—secret.
Clap—instantaneously, in a moment.
Clatters—idle reports.
Coft—bought, purchased.
Coinzie-house—mint-house.
Coldrife—lukewarm.
Compear—appear.
Compearance—presenting one's self.
Compesce—to restrain.
Compesced—defeated, restrained.
Conditions—stipulates.
Convase—to combine.
Cotters—cottagers.
Coule—cap, night-cap.
Coupers—horse-jockies, horse-dealers.
Craw—crow.
Creaking—credit decreasing.
Craig—throat.
Creevishes—crayfish.
Crise—crisis.
Crooke—iron chain by which the vessel is suspended above the fire.
Crowner—colonel, commander of troops raised in one county.
Crub—urb.
Cuffes—blows.
Cummer—gossip.
Cunninglie—skilfully.
Cusing—cousin.
Currants, currents—diurnals, journals.
Curious—anxious, fond.
Cuttedly—hastily, sharply.

D

Dainties—a rare thing.
Dear, deir—to hurt, injure, grieve.
Deaved—deafened.
Deboische (i. 341)—to corrupt, debauch.
Debosching (ii. 72)—corrupting.
Deboirded (i. 148)—deboirdeit (ii. 384)—swerved, gone beyond bounds.
Decairt (i. 303)—discard.
Decerned—adjudged, gave judgment.
Decreet—sentence.
Dement—to deprive of reason.
Demented—distracted, unsettled in mind.
Devoire—devour, swallow.
Dilled down—died away.
Dilligat (i. 307)—accurate, refined.
Dimit—to resign.
Dinmitted—gave in his resignation.
Ding—beat, drive.
Dinn, dine—noise.
Disjune—breakfast, to swallow up at once.
Dittay—indictment, accusation.
Divott—turf.
Doctor—teacher.
Doen—doing.
Dool—grief, mourning.
Doolfull—doleful.
Dorlach (i. 212)—dagger, or short sword.
Double—to transcribe, to take a duplicate of.
Down-sitting—session of a court.
Dow—to be capable of.
Drifting, drizzling—small rain.
Drumly—muddy, troubled, applied to the state of public matters.
Dronging—oppressing, twisting one about.
Dyte—to dictate to an amanuensis.
Dyted, dicted—dictated, indyted.
Dyncour—bankrupt.
Dyncourie—state of bankruptcy.

E

Efferat—to make wild, to madden.
Eik, eiks—an addition, additions, to add.
Eishu (i. 250)—eschew.
Eldership—kirk-session, or vestry of a particular congregation.
Else—already, even now.
Emme (i. 241)—aim.
Engynes (i. 97)—abilities.
Entresse, enteresse—interest.
Erch, to (ii. 76)—to scare, to shrink from.
Evited—shunned.
Exeemed—exempted.
Expone—to explain, expound.
Eyed, not yet much, (i. 113)—not yet much examined or looked at.
Eylist—eye-list, a flaw, an eye-sore.
GLOSSARY.

F

Faill—failure.
Fairly (ii. 161)—gently, in a civil manner.
Falset—falsehood.
Fanged—laid hold of.
Farther—further.
Fasch, fasched—to trouble, troubled.
Fascherie—trouble of mind as well as body.
Faschious—troublesome.
Faught—fight, battle.
Feck—number, quantity, effect.
Feckless—helpless, useless.
Feed—feud.
Pell—considerable.
Ferd—force, fervour.
Pem—quit-rents.
Field-coming—coming abroad.
Flim-flams—triffles, whims.
Ftitt—remove.
Flocht, flouct, flought—flame, combustion.
Flyting—scolding.
Foot (i. 191)—system of executive.
Foragainst—opposite to.
Foranent, foranence—in front of.
Forbears—predecessors, ancestors.
Frae—since.
Franche—frank, forward.
Fray, frayes—terror, alarms.
Fray—to be afraid.
Frequent numbers—great concourse.
Frequently—numerously.
Fussies (i. 197)—fosses.
Fyle—to stain, to defile, to bring in a verdict of guilty.

G

Galliard, gallziard—brisk, lively.
Gatt—got.
Gloom, glooming—frown, gloming.
Gloorning—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.
Gut—gout.
Guysat—fashions, ceremonies.
Gyed not—turned not to one side, aje.
Gyred—jeered.

H

Hable—able.
Haill—whole.
Hair, against the—against the grain.
Half quick—half-alive.
Halse—throat.
Hask (ii. 63)—coarse, or ungracious.
Hauched, hauished—eagerly caught, snatched at as a dog.
Headiness—rashness.
Heard—to be heard, scolding or wrangling.
Hemly—familiar, homely.
Henwile—a lure, stratagem.
Here yesterday—day before yesterday.
Hiest—highest.
Hinck—reserve.
Hinderend—latter end.
Hinging—hanging, in suspense.
Hings—hangs.
Hipped—passed over, omitted.
Hoast, host—a cough, a hem, hesitation.
Horn, put to the—outlawed, denounced a rebel.
Horning—denouncing one a rebel.
Hose-nett—a snare.
Hovbeit—although.
Hoves—difficulties, the background.
Hunder—a hundred.

I

Ignaries—ill-informed persons.
Ilk—each.
Illighten—enlighten.
Impeachit—accused.
Impesched—prevented, impeded.
Ingeminat—to repeat, reiterate.
Inkling—distant hint.
Inlaik—deficiency, to run short.
Intresse—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
Ladderit—scaled with ladders.
Laigh—low.
Lambes, Lamness—the term of Lammas.
Lashness—laxness.
Latters—hinderers.
Law—hill.
Lay to—charge one with.
Leaguer—encampment.
Leek—leaky.
Leet, leit—list.
Leit, upon the, leitit in nomination to be elected to an office.
Legers—resident commissioners.
Lent-fire—slow fire.
Let be—much less.
Libel—indictment.
Loft—gallery.
Lope (i. 6)—passed to their friends.
Lopen (ii. 217)—past time of leap.
Lourd—to stoop for concealment, to steal a march.
Lourden, lurdane—a lazy, worthless fellow.
Lunts (ii. 422)—matches.

M
Maisser, messer—macer.
Make (to)—to muster, to assemble.
Malison—evil wish, curse.
Mr.—Master of Arts.
Mastress—Mrs., wife.
Meins, make meins—use means.
Mell, millit—to meddle, meddled.
Mends—reparation.
Mids, midses—means.
Minded—resolved.
Mint—to attempt, to aim at.
Mischant—miscievious.
Mishappens—misfortunes, unfortunates.
Misken—to misknow, overlook.
Miskent—to seem to be ignorant of.
Mister—want, need.
Moe—more (in number.)
More matters—greater matters.
Morrow—the next day, the day after.
Moyen—influence.

Muntoure—piece of mechanism, a watch.
Mynde, myndit—to mine, undermined.

N
Neaves—fists.
Niggie-naggies—trifles.
Nill he, will he—whether he will or not.
Nipshot—drawback? or to give the slip?
Nocht—nought, not.
Nomothetick—legislation.
Non-fiance—want of confidence.
Nor—than.
Notars—notaries, attorneys.
Notour—publicly known.
Novations—innovations.
Nuiks—corners.

O
Oblish—oblige.
Opposit—opponents.
Outermost—utmost.

P
Paiked, pyked—drubbed.
Palme—the hand, or index of a watch.
Pansed—pense, thought.
Partie—opponent.
Pasche—Easter.
Patrocinie—patronage.
Peats—turf.
Peck of troubles—many, a deal of troubles.
Pendicle—appendage, a pendant.
Perquire—by heart, distinctly.
Phrase—pretence.
Pickeand—piquant.
Picks—pikes.
Pley—plea, quarrell.
Pock—bag.
Port—carriage.
Posed (i. 72)—questioned.
Posed (i. 169)—imposed.
Pouch—pocket.
Predomining—predominating.
Preveen—to neglect.
Previve—to anticipate, prevent.
Profession—professorship.
Propone—to propound.
Prospect—a perspective glass.
Pudder, pulder—powder.
Pudlit—besmeared.
Pure—poor.
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Pyked—drubbed, thrashed.
Pyking—picking.

Quatt—quitted.
Racked—raked.
Raid—rode.
Ramage—wild, reckless.
Ramadge hawk—a wild untamed hawk.
Ratt—a file of soldiers.
Readily—possibly, probably.
Recreio—recruit.
Reek—smoke.
Refers, refer—res matters referred.
Rejagges—compunction, self-reproaches?
Rejected—remitted back.
Remeid—remedy.
Repes (ii. 369)—presses I
Reponed—replaced.
Restrinyed—restrained, limited.
Retreat—retract.
Riddliand—taken in the act.
Rowmes—vacant places.
Rowne, round (in the ear)—to whisper.
Rowe, roose, ruff—to clinch, settled beyond the chance of alteration.
Ryves—teareth.

S
Salebrosities—rugged or ticklish grounds.
Sark—shirt.
Sawin—sown.
Scabrous—rugged, troublesome.
Scalilied—to dismiss, to break up.
Scairced, (iii. 417)—scarce, scarcity.
Scant—scarce, scarcity.
School—shout.
Scirp—to carp.
Scenes—fortifications.
Scrabe—scurvy.
Scumner at—to loathe.
Scutching—drubbing.
Sea-bank—sea-coast.
Secourse—support, succour, help.
Seller—cellar.
Send—sent.
Sess, sessing—cess, assessing.
Setter of tacks—letter of leases.
Sharde—sherds.
Show—the past time of show.
Shoare—to threaten.
Shored, shorit—threatened.
Skewe (shrew)—threatened.
Skryeing—confession.
Sib—nearly related.
Sickerlie—surely, smartly.
Sectlike—such-like, in the same manner.
Sinele—seldom, few.
Skith—damage, hurt, harm.
Skugg—shelter.
Slipped—slipped.
Small in learned—an indifferent scholar, with a small share of learning.
Smood—smothered.
Sned—to lop, to prune.
Snell—smart.
Shifties (iii. 412.)—insignificant persons.
Sojore, sojours—soldiers.
Solist, solisted—to solicit, solicited.
Soone or synesooner or later.
Sopit—to lull asleep.
Sopour—slumber.
Souple—supple, active.
Sowpe—sweep.
Sopit—swept.
Spaite, speat—inundation.
Speared, speired—asked, inquired.
Spied—observed.
Spleen—heat, irritation, umbrage.
Spunk—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.
Strang—strange, strong, bitter.
Stray, straes—straw, straws.
Sturr—stir.
Sua—so.
Subdolous—cunning, subtle.
Sunry—sundry.
Sute—request, supplication.
Sutit—solicited.
Syncretisme—promiscuous union.

T
Tacks—leases.
GLOSSARY.

Taill—tale.
Takin—taking, being taken.
Tapouns (i. 298)—long fibres at the roots.
Targe—shield.
Tasses—drinking cups.
Teddred (i. 355)—tethered, stranded.
Tender—sickly.
Teuchest—toughest.
The morn—to-morrow.
Thereanent—concerning it.
There-east—in the east, eastward.
There-forth, there-out—opposed to therein.
Thir—these.
Thought—though.
Thraw—to twist, to wrest.
Thraward—backward, reluctant, cross.
Through—to carry through, to perfect.
Throught—throughed, carried through.
Thrumbling (i. 123)—pressing into.
Thick and sua—so and so.
Tig, tag (ii. 113)—to trifle with, or tease one another.
Tinkled upon—to ring chimes about.
Tint—lost.
Tirlies—trellis or lattice.
To—till.
Tocher—dowry.
Tod's birds—fox's brood, evil brood.
Tolbooth, tolbuith—prison, jail.
To-morrow—the day after, the next day.
Toone—empty.
Tone—tone.
Tope (ii. 88)—to check, to resist, to defeat.
Trailed—weakened by fatigue.
Trash—refuse, lumber.
Travell—labour, pains.
Trewes-men—Highlanders, men wearing trews, or long pantaloons.
Trinketting—clandestine correspondence with an opposite party.
Tryst—appointment, to meet with.
Tuilsie, tulyie—contention, affray.
Twitch, twitch—touch.
Two part—two-thirds.
Tyne, tine—to lose.

U
Uncanny—mischievous, dangerous.
Undermyndit—undermined.
Unfriends—enemies.
Unkent—unknown.
Unlaws—escheat.
Unpaunded—unpledged.

V
Vaesse (ii. 420)—to evade.
Vaiks—to be vacant.
Vaiking—becoming (or already) vacant.
Voice, voyce—to vote.
Volee—volley.

W
Wailed—selected.
Wait—blame.
Wanrest—one who causes inquietude.
War, warr—worse.
Warred, waured—out-stripped.
Water-brae—river-bank.
Weir—wear.
While—till.
While, whyles—sometimes, at times.
Whilk—which.
Whinger—hanger.
Win—to get in, to reach.
Wrack—wreck.
Writt, wryte—writing.
Wyte—blame.

Y
Yocking—engaging.
Yocked—begun, engaged.
Yondmost—uttermost.
Yowling—howling.

Z
Zuill—Christmas.

Twenty-shilling or one pound Scotish money is 20 pence Sterling. One merk is 13½d. Sterling.
To reduce Scotish money to pounds Sterling, divide the pounds by 12, the merks by 18.
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