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THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

REV. ROBERT WODROW,

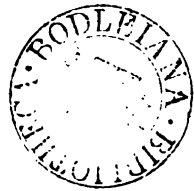
MINISTER OF EASTWOOD, AND AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE
SUFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY
OF ADVOCATES, EDINBURGH,

BY THE

REV. THOMAS M'CRIE.

VOLUME FIRST.



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P R E F A C E.

ROBERT WODROW, the Historian of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, whose Correspondence is now printed for the first time from the original MSS., was the second son of Mr James Wodrow, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, who died September 25, 1707. Robert was born at Glasgow in the year 1679. His mother's name was Margaret Hair, daughter of William Hair, a small proprietor in the parish of Kilbarchan; she was a woman of considerable strength of mind, and of eminent piety. Robert entered the University of Glasgow in 1691, and after finishing the usual course of academical education, devoted himself to the study of theology under his father. While thus employed, he was chosen Librarian to the College, an office which he held for four years. Even at this early period of life, he entered with ardour on these ecclesiastical researches, which, in the course of his life, he prosecuted to such an extent; and, among other pursuits, devoted considerable attention to natural history, a branch of study then scarcely known in Scotland. On concluding his theological career, Mr Wodrow resided, for some time, in the family of a distant relation, Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a man dis-

tinguished for talent and piety. In March 1703, he was licensed to preach the Gospel; and in the summer following, the parish of Eastwood, where Lord Pollock resided, having become vacant by the death of Mr Matthew Crawford, the author of a manuscript History of the Church of Scotland, Mr Wodrow was elected by the heritors and elders, with consent of the congregation, to supply the charge; and he was ordained minister of that parish on the 28th of October 1703.

In this small and retired parish our author prosecuted, with untiring perseverance, those researches which issued in the publication of his celebrated "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland;" a work which he commenced in 1714, and which appeared in two large volumes, at separate times, in 1721 and 1722. After a life spent in numerous and useful labours for the good of the Church, which at last undermined his health, and may be said to have shortened his days, this worthy man expired on the 21st of March 1734, in the 55th year of his age.

Mr Wodrow was married, in the end of 1708, to Margaret Warner, grand-daughter of the venerable William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, and author of the "Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ;" and daughter of Patrick Warner of Ardeer, Ayrshire, and minister of Irvine. Mrs Wodrow was the widow of Mr Ebenezer Veitch, youngest son of the celebrated Mr William Veitch of Dumfries, and was a lady remarkable at once for personal accomplishments and for exalted devotion. She had sixteen children to Mr Wodrow, nine of whom, with their mother, survived their

worthy father. Three of his sons were ministers in the Church of Scotland, and one of them succeeded his father in the parish of Eastwood. The mortal remains of our historian lie interred in the Churchyard of Eastwood, where no stone as yet appears to mark his resting-place.

Such is a brief outline of Wodrow's personal life. It was, at one time, proposed to introduce the following correspondence, by giving a more detailed account of the life and writings of one whose labours have contributed so largely to the stores of our Ecclesiastical history, and particularly of his valuable manuscripts which have been preserved. This plan, which was formed in the hope of obtaining access to manuscripts still in the possession of private individuals, must, for the present, be abandoned; and the following remarks will be confined to the documents from which the present volume has been compiled.

Mr Wodrow, it appears, was in the habit of regularly transcribing all his own letters in books prepared for the purpose, and of binding up the letters of his correspondents in separate volumes. These interesting relics were, with many others, some years ago, rescued from obscurity, and very probably from oblivion, through the praiseworthy exertions of Dr Burns of Paisley; and having been purchased from those in whose possession they were found by the Faculty of Advocates, they were safely deposited in their invaluable Library in this city. The letters of Wodrow himself fill three small but thick octavo volumes, very closely written. They commence at the year 1709, and are continued to the close of 1731,

comprising copies of nearly six hundred letters. The first volume, containing his earlier letters, was not discovered by Dr Burns along with the rest, and notwithstanding every effort to recover it, still remains unfortunately amissing. Anxious, however, as we are, to obtain possession of this juvenile portion of the correspondence, the want is the less to be regretted, when it is considered that the volumes which have been preserved commence at the time when he entered on public life, and bring down the correspondence to within a few years of his death ; thus embracing the most active and interesting period of his history.

The Council of the Wodrow Society, in fixing on the works most suitable for publication, were naturally solicitous to preserve these remains of an author, from whom the Society derives its name ; and through the liberality of the Curators of the Advocates' Library, the freest access was allowed to the Manuscripts in their possession, and liberty given to publish whatever part of them might be thought proper. The original design was simply to publish the Letters of Wodrow himself, contained in the three volumes now described. It was soon found, however, that these, if published alone, would lose much of their interest, and would, in many instances, even prove unintelligible. At the same time, to have printed the whole of the Letters of Wodrow's friends, as he has preserved them, even had they been all worthy of publication, would have swelled the work to a most unreasonable size.¹ A selection from these Letters was considered the most advisable

¹ They are arranged by himself in chronological order, in twenty-two volumes, 4to, which contain upwards of 3880 letters, between the years 1694 and 1733.

plan ; and, accordingly, in the present Volume, while all Wodrow's own Letters have been given, without mutilation or abridgment,¹ those of his correspondents have been introduced only occasionally, when the importance of the subject, or the clear comprehension of its meaning, seemed to require it. Where it was not thought necessary to insert the entire Letter of a correspondent, those parts of it which throw light on the Letters of Wodrow have been introduced in foot-notes.

Another editorial task, more arduous, but which appeared equally indispensable, was that of giving Notices of Wodrow's Correspondents, and of the principal characters incidentally referred to. These have been drawn up with as much brevity as possible, and will be found, in some cases, prefixed to the Letters, and, in others, subjoined at the foot of the page. The passing events of Wodrow's day, some of which were fast receding into oblivion, are also occasionally illustrated in foot-notes ; and as there are no notes in the original MSS., it was not considered necessary to distinguish them by any other mark from the text. In these Notices and Illustrations, the Editor has endeavoured, as far as was possible in consistency with historical truth, to steer clear of party leanings and present disputes.

In transcribing these Letters for the press, no farther liberties have been taken with the original, than to alter slightly Wodrow's style of spelling, which differs so inconsiderably from the modern, that to have retained its peculiarities would only, it is humbly

¹ This is to be understood, with the exception stated at p. 358.

conceived, have disfigured the page and annoyed the reader, without gratifying the taste for the antique, which may render it highly proper to print the works of our earlier authors *verbatim et literatim*. Wodrow paid very little attention in what he wrote, either to correctness or uniformity of spelling; and, in this respect, he was behind even the style of the age in which he lived. Of this he was himself so conscious, that it was his practice to submit his manuscript, before going to press, to the revision of his friends; and hence, in his History, which was printed under his own eye, the orthography is uniformly correct. In one of his Letters to the Rev. John Anderson of Dumbarton, he confesses, "My hand is ill; my style and syllabication have given you a great deal of trouble." To have printed, therefore, such words as *deuty* for *duty*, *wordle* for *world*, *lenth* for *length*, *gott* for *got*, *wer* for *were*, *variousse* for *various*, appeared as unnecessary as it would have been to have copied his contractions, with which the manuscript abounds, but which he himself would never have allowed to appear in print. At the same time, no change has been made on the writer's phraseology; the greatest care has been taken to preserve his exact words, and even the forms of his sentences; and his Scotticisms and idiomatic phrases have been retained unaltered.

When it is remembered that Wodrow wrote in the days of Addison, the homely, and sometimes slovenly character of his style, displaying a total inattention to the graces of composition, and a sad absence of literary taste, may perhaps excite surprise. But though the reign of Queen Anne has been termed the Augustan age of literature in England, owing to the co-existence of a few

celebrated writers, it is astonishing how little regard was paid during the greater part of that period, either in the higher or middle classes of society, to the cultivation of learning. It has been justly remarked, that "we should recollect that two-thirds of the reign of Anne were entirely occupied by politics; that the struggles of faction, the inveterate contentions of the Whigs and Tories, banished for many years, even among the learned, almost all attention to useful and elegant pursuits; and that the commencement of taste, and the diffusion of knowledge, may be dated from the well-timed efforts of Steele and Addison, efforts which illuminated but the latter days of Anne, and were independent of any encouragement from the throne."¹ If these drawbacks on the progress of literature were felt in England, they operated to a still greater extent, and for a longer period, in regard to Scotland. The repugnance so generally felt to the incorporating Union with England manifested itself in a jealousy of every improvement imported from the sister country. It is amusing to observe, that though Wodrow orders a volume of "Bickerstaffe's Tatlers" from London, he not only pertinaciously adheres to his own style, unmoved by the wit and eloquence of Steele, but solemnly prefers the good old Scotch to the new-fangled idiom of the south.

To those, however, who are willing to overlook the absence of literary embellishment, the following Correspondence will afford not only entertainment, but much solid instruction, and ample scope for serious reflection. It derives much importance from the

¹ Drake's Essays, vol. i. p. 32.

character of Wodrow himself. Although eminently *a man of peace*, and liable, from his extreme dread of contention and disunion, to yield, as he did on some occasions, a practical submission to measures which he deplored, and to principles which he denounced, there can be but one opinion among all unprejudiced men as to his sound sense, sterling worth, and thorough honesty. His patriotism and public spirit appeared in the active share which he took in all the public questions of the day, particularly in those of the Union, and of the Abjuration Oath, by his firm opposition to which he exposed himself to no small danger. Into all the controversies which agitated the Church during his lifetime, he entered with more or less interest; and not an event could transpire in the political world, at home or abroad, bearing, in the remotest degree, on the interests of religion, without attracting the eye and employing the pen of this vigilant sentinel of the Church. The insatiable curiosity which led him to inquire into the minutest incidents of the day, was equalled only by the indefatigable industry with which he recorded them. Nothing within his reach escaped him; and every thing, once acquired, was preserved. The Correspondence of such a person must prove invaluable to the inquirer into the history and habits of past ages.

But it is presumed that the following Correspondence will be found to possess intrinsic merits of no small importance. At a time when every thing relating to the past history of the Church of Scotland is so eagerly sought after, these Letters, in which her heart is, as it were, laid open, and her secret history unfolded,

must prove peculiarly interesting. What improvement may or ought to be made of the facts here brought to light, it is not for the Editor to say;—certain it is, that the analogies between the past and the present are too obvious to escape the most careless reader.

It may be proper, however, to state, that by far the most interesting portion of the Correspondence is yet to come. As it advances, events thicken, and new correspondents, both at home and in other countries, moving in higher or more active spheres, send their contributions to Wodrow, to enrich his collections. Besides those introduced in this volume, and whose names appear in the contents, we find among his correspondents in Scotland, the Earl of Buchan, Lord Grange, Lord Ross, Lord Pollock, Sir James Stewart, Baillie of Jerviswood, Colonel Blackader, Mr James Anderson, a celebrated antiquary, Principals Chalmers and Stirling, Professor Hamilton, Thomas Smith, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Messrs W. Macknight, John Warden, John Brown of Abercorn, George Gillespie of Strathmiglo, James Traill of Montrose, Archibald Napier of Kilmadock, J. Govan of Campsie, Matthew Wood of Edinburgh, Matthew Simpson of Pencaitland, William Gusthart of Crailing, Patrick Coupar of Pittenweem, John Paisley of Lochwinnoch, the Rev. Messrs Thomas Hog, and Robert Black of Rotterdam; Dr Fraser, Dr Calamy, Dr Evans, Dr Abraham Taylor, of London; in Ireland, Mr Masterton, Mr Samuel Smith, Mr William Livingston, Mr Iredale, Mr Gilbert Kennedy; and in America, besides Dr Cotton Mather, the friend and patron of Benjamin Franklin, his correspondents are—Mr Benjamin Colman, President of Har-

vard College, Boston; Mr Wigglesworth, Professor of Divinity there; Rabbi Jehuda Monis; together with the ministers of the Scots churches in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. The intelligence communicated by the last mentioned correspondents embraces chiefly the state of literature, religion, and manners, in the States; disputes regarding political and theological questions; the relations of the States to the mother country; and the history of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches in the New World. "The letters of Mr Wodrow to these individuals, and their replies, form together," says Dr Burns, who has given close attention to these documents, "a mass of correspondence that is extremely interesting." As we advance, therefore, care shall be taken to give a larger space to the letters of Wodrow's friends, and less to mere editorial elucidations, which will become less necessary, after the rather copious supply of them furnished in this volume.

It only remains for the Editor to return his acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have kindly furnished him with information. The Second Volume of this Correspondence is now in the press; and the Editor will feel greatly obliged to those who will have the goodness to communicate to him any information they may possess respecting Wodrow's friends and correspondents.

T. M'C.

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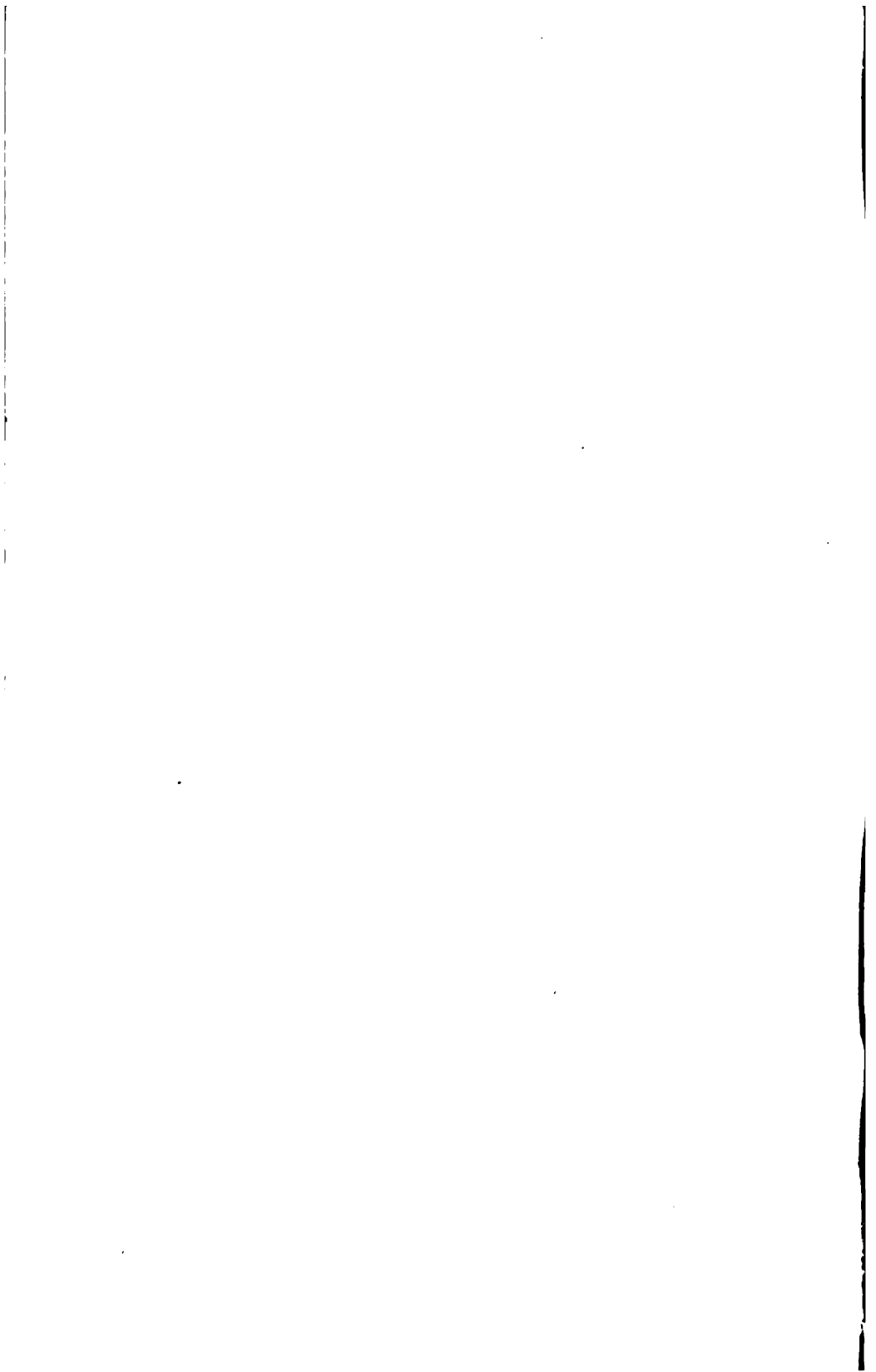
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THE
WODROW CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER I.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 1.

[The seven following letters, addressed to Mrs Wodrow, are taken from the Wodrow MSS. vol. v., in which they appear under the title of "My Letters from the Assembly." It appears that Wodrow had made a promise to write to his wife *every post*, during his absence at the Assembly. This practice he observed for several years, and as these letters afford some curious facts, which may afterwards become materials for history, it has been thought proper, though they are not contained in the volumes from which the following correspondence is published, to insert them under their several years.—EDITOR.]

MY HEART,—Because I want time very much, I will just give you the news, and send you them west to your father, by the post, as they come by you. This day Mr Carstairs preached before the Commissioner, at the opening of the Assembly, upon Psalm cxxii. last verse. His doctrine was in the general that every good person should be of a public spirit, and be concerned about the good of the house of God as well as civil interests. He proved it from Scripture instances of Moses, and the instance of the woman, 1 Sam. iv. two last verses, David, and several others. He gave the rea-

sons of it, and the methods we were to evidence our public spirit, in no unlawful thing, but in every thing suitable to our stations, in prayer, in the keeping up communion of saints, in keeping up the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and in walking wisely towards those that are without, where he recommended charity and ingenuity [ingenuousness] in dealing with those of the Episcopal communion who did not think it fit to join with us, and avoiding harshness and bitterness of spirit towards them; and told us, that morosity and disingenuity will no way recommend us in dealing with them. Which expressions some looked upon as what contained a tacit reflection upon ourselves. He had certainly a very neat and well-worded discourse.¹ Mr Jo. Curry, minister of Haddington, is chosen moderator. The nearest to him in votes was Mr Tho. Wilky, in the Cannongate, who had certainly carried it if he had not made a great bustle about his inability of body. Mr Cameron, in Kircudbright, was next in votes, and Mr Geo. Barclay, who was not present, one Mr Armstrong, Mr Linning, and Mr Rodgers, were on the leets. The Queen's Letter was read; it runs in the common

¹ Of the well-known William Carstairs, or Carstares, here mentioned, it is hardly necessary to give any passing memorial in this place. He was the son of Mr John Carstares, an eminent, highly endowed, and honoured minister of the Scottish Church, and in early life distinguished himself no less by his proficiency in his studies, than by sharing in the sufferings of the Presbyterians during the reign of persecution. In 1684 he was subjected to torture and imprisonment for his supposed share in the Ryehouse Plot. He afterwards became the confidential adviser of King William, who held him in the highest esteem, and said of him, shortly before his death, "As for Mr Carstares, I have known him long, I know him thoroughly, and I know him to be a truly honest man." After the death of William, Mr Carstares was made Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city, continuing at the same time chaplain to her Majesty Queen Anne. He acquitted himself in all these stations, as well as in the Church Courts, with surprising ability. In reference to his ministerial labours, a writer of that time says, "He had an admirable gift both of prayer and preaching, choosed always to insist on the most weighty and important subjects of religion, and delivered his sermons so gravely and distinctly, with such an acceptable pathos and well-placed accent, and all the other advantages of a natural and easy eloquence, as never failed to fix the attention of his hearers, and greatly promote their edification."—(*Preface to Sermons*, by William Dunlop, Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh, 1722.) He died December 28, 1715.—*M' Cormick's Life of Carstares*, p. 28.

form, and almost in the same words with the last, that she is much pleased with the peaceable and harmonious procedure of the former Assemblies, and recommends men of learning and piety to be placed in vacancies, and the growth of popery to be stopped, and recommends the Earl of Glasgow as a person very tender of and acceptable to the Church of Scotland, and assures us of her protection, and maintaining our government as by law established. The Commissioner's speech was just in the same strain, with an apology for himself in common form. A committee is appointed for answering the Queen's Letter, and other committees that are ordinary appointed, and the morrow at nine appointed for prayer. I have no public news. Pray take care of yourself. I am in perfect health. And give my service to all friends, and am, in haste, your own

R. W.

Edinburgh, April 14, 1709.

LETTER II.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 2.

MY DEAR,—I come to give you what passed since my last. On Friday the Assembly met. The meeting was spent in prayer. The moderator, Principals Stirling and Carstares, Mr Mathew Selcridge, Mr Tho. Wilkie, Mr Tho. Linning, and Mr Andrew Cameron, prayed; and afterwards the preachers before the Commissioner were named, Mr Armstrong and Mr Donald M'Kay. The afternoon was spent in committees. I had your father's letter by yesterday's post. And this will acquaint him that I went straight to Nichol Spense, who showed me my father's letter to him, and promised to lay it before the Advocate. I am sorry I am entirely a stranger to that affair, yet I shall labour, if it come before the Assembly, to

wait on my Lord Commissioner, and speak to the members of what he writes to me of. I heartily wish I had known the affair before I came in, for it is a little intricate, and I shall scarce get it entirely in my head. I see not Achinharvey at the Assembly at all, and do not hear he has yet moved about this affair. Any farther service I can do let your father acquaint me by post. I have been from nine of the clock in the morning till after ten upon committees and sub-committees, and with the Assembly, and so I cannot write separately about this; but I know you will send all these accounts to your father by post, and I do indeed principally design them for him.¹

On Saturday the Assembly met, and the whole time was spent in reading the Answer to the Queen's Letter; all was agreed to but one clause about the Queen's appearing, in case of a peace, for the French Protestants. The draught brought in bore the Protestants abroad in the general without specifying any; it was insisted upon, and needlessly debated on, that the French Protestants and others should be named, and the insisters continued till it was determined by a vote, add the clause, or approve without addition, and it carried approve without addition by three only. I am sorry, and wish it be no ill omen, that we differed in a matter of so small weight. The rest of the time was taken up in appointing persons for revising Synod books, and the commission book. The Queen's Letter was transcribed, collated, and subscribed. I mind no news. It's said a regiment of the guards is going to Portugal from this place; that Sir Francis Grant has got the vacant gown in the Session. My service to all friends. I am your own
R. W.

April 16, 1709.

¹ Mrs Wodrow was the daughter of Mr Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine, who will be afterwards noticed.

LETTER III.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 3.

MY DEAR,—You see I keep precisely to my promise to write every post ; though I hear not from you so exactly. Upon Sunday last, Mr Donald M'Kay preached before the Commissioner—lectured Eph. i. 15, to the end ; and preached upon v. 22, Who is the head over, &c. Mr Armstrong, who was appointed, fell ill, and Mr James Guthrie preached in the afternoon, Job xxviii. 28, The fear of the Lord that is wisdom, &c. Upon Monday the Assembly voted an overture, and turned it to an act against bowing or conversing together in time of worship, singing of psalms and prayer. They allowed a petition of a Highland student to be a burser ; they ordered L.280 sterling to be payed out of the Queen's gratuity for defraying the charges of those that went up last year to London. They were long about an act for censuring Commissioners to the Assembly in their absence. Mr Calamy is come down from London to see the Assembly. He is one of the Non-conformist ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion. I have been working to get on that mortification of the Lady Kenmure to the overtures, and spoke to Auchinharvey and Mr Chambers, and I expect it will be got in in a day or two. This I have writt on Monday, that I may have a part of my work to-morrow, when I believe I shall have little enough time. On Tuesday the Assembly met, and we had the business of Mr John Wilkie's transportation from Uphall to the Cannongate. After long papers the transportation was refused by a vote ; there were but four transports in the Assembly. Mr M'Crakan's petition for a voluntary collection for Lismagervy, and Mr Jo. James Cæsar's petition for a collection to build a Calvinist German meeting-house at London, were granted. An act of Assembly was made against total absents from the Assembly, that they shall be censured, and their sentence recorded by the presby-

tery, and by the synod for the second fault, and suspended for the third fault. An act recommending the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge was passed, and ordered to be read in all congregations. This is all I mind. The mortification of the Countess of Kenmure is this night to be considered by a committee at the Advocate's Chamber, and to be reported to the Assembly. There was a reference to the Assembly from the Synod of Dumfries, anent all ministers and elders their subscribing the Directory and Covenants, that is remitted to a sub-committee in Mr Law's Chamber. My service to all with you. I am your own R. W.

Edinburgh, April 19, 1709.

LETTER IV.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 4.

MY HEART,—I have nothing from you this night; but a line from your father, in answer to which, I have only this to say, that I have scarce had time to read it. It was near ten of the clock at night before the Assembly rose, and I had it. I find in the general it's a very plain representation of the matter of Kenmure's mortification. In answer to which, I am sorry it came not sooner, but the hazard is not great. For Mr Chalmers and I have been as active as might be, and, indeed, Mr Chalmers has been very active. And after a little struggle, the Committee of Overtures this morning hath gone into a representation of that affair to the Queen, that she may empower persons (to be nominated to the Commissioner, but not yet named) to transact that matter with all concerned in very ample terms, and to report and be accountable to the Commission of the General Assembly. The Advocate's draught of it did not bear a power to compound matters with parties, but we got it in the committee's draught; and I have no doubt but it will

be pased in the Assembly. Yesterday (Wednesday) the Assembly named preachers before the Commissioner, Mr Falside and Mr Gray of Glasgow, with an overture, that after this the Presbytery of Edinburgh be appointed to supply all the kirks of Edinburgh, as well as other Presbyteries, whose ministers are members of the Assembly, except those that are to preach before the Commissioner. After this, a long process about two competing calls of heritors to the parish of Touy, in the Presbytery of Alford, was considered. The process was extremely tedious, and the papers took a long time, four or five hours. In a word, the act of the Synod of Aberdeen, ordering the Presbytery of Alford to settle one Mr More, by virtue of a *jus devolutum*, was approven. This day, in the Committee of Overtures, a fast was agreed on, and a memorial to be presented to the Queen for a court, wherewith we may correspond as to fasts and thanksgivings, was agreed upon, of which I shall give you a better account in my next. The Assembly met this afternoon, where the affair of Crawford-John came in; after near six hours spent in papers and debates, at length it was voted, approve the censure of the Synod of Glasgow upon the Presbytery of Larnark or not; it carried not, by two votes. And a committee was appointed to bring parties to an accommodation as to the settlement of the person, Mr Lang, at Crawford-John, to report tomorrow, but it will be fruitless. I can add no more now, but my kindest respects to all friends. I am your own R. W.

Edinburgh, April 21, 1709.

LETTER V.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 5.

MY DEAR,—I promised in my last to give you a little account of the fast. Upon Wednesday, in the committee for instructions,

which was a committee of the whole house, the fast was proposed, and every body agreed that it should be appointed; but it was said, that there would be some delay before the civil sanction could be got to it, and therefore it was proposed the day should be left to Synods or Presbyteries. This was much debated, and it was pressed, as most expedient for the present circumstances of the country, that the Assembly should name the day, and exert their power in appointing fasts and thanksgivings. It was answered, that the leaving it to Presbyteries was the greatest exercise of intrinsic power. This brought to consider the matter what to do in time coming as to fasts and thanksgivings; it was found an instruction to the generality of Presbyteries, that the Queen be applied for a court to correspond with the church anent them and grievances. This was generally wished by all, but the Queen's strait was represented, that it was against her mind that our council was removed; it was agreed some should go to the Commissioner, and take his mind thereanent; they represented, that it seemed the mind of several members that the Assembly should address her Majesty anent it. The Commissioner told that he would serve the Assembly, and present the address, but he conceived it would be better to do it by way of memorial to him, which would do the business with less noise, and he knew (he said) it would be effectual; for he had spoken to the Treasurer about it, who was convinced of the necessity thereof. And it would have this evident advantage, that if the Queen should be necessitate to refuse or delay after an open representation by the Assembly, it would be more to the disadvantage of the church than if the memorial should be dropped, in which case there was room for the next Assembly to make an open representation; which he hoped there would be no need of, because he expected the thing would be granted on the memorial. This the committee seemed to go into, and appointed a committee to meet with the Advocate to draw the memorial. Either the Session, Exchequer, or Justiciary, are to be proposed for the court with which the church is to correspond about grievances and fasts. On Friday the Assembly met, and a sub-committee ap-

pointed for considering the E. of Selcridge's business overtured, that Mr Lang's relation should be declared to Crawford-John, and likewise upon a call be declared transportable; this pleased no side. Then the Assembly went into the reference of our Synod, and, after a long debate, whether we were parties, without determining it, stated the vote, subsist Mr L.'s relation or not, it carried subsist. Our Synod were all silent when called in the rolls, so were many others; it carried subsist by all that voted, except two, upon which David Crawford offered a protestation, but the Assembly would not so much as receive the protestation, nor read it, it being the Supreme Court, and use being to be made of it against Mr Lang in his pursuing for the stipend. Then an appeal from a Presbytery of the North came in, and the matter was accommodated by some sent out to the parties. Several Synod books were taken in, and members appointed to name the commission. On Saturday the Assembly met at ten, and did little or nothing, but went through the remarks on the Synod books that were brought in. The business of one Mr William Law, a deposed Episcopal minister, was brought in, and committed to a committee to contract the papers, with consent of parties. The papers are upwards of twenty sheet of paper, and the substance of them, with consent of parties, is to be brought in. I don't like the method, though I be named on the committee, and it's like to take up much of our time for a day or two. I mind no other thing material. The business of Kenmure's mortification is not yet come in to the Assembly, the sub-committee not having named the trustees; but will not be neglected. Mr Chalmers is very diligent about it. My service and dearest respects to all friends. I am your own

R. W.

Edinburgh, April 23.

LETTER VI.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 6.

Edinburgh, April 29, 1709.

MY HEART,—Yesterday (Friday 28) the Assembly met in the forenoon, where there were several new commissions read. One was sustained from Orkney, though his commission was fallen by, because his instructions bear he was chosen. Some few were passed as informal, for want of subscribing the Confession of Faith, and such were ordered to do it before that committee against the next meeting. The Queen's Answer was brought in and read, and it passed very unanimously. Mr W. challenged profanity, as not being good English, this word being in the Queen's Letter. It was said if her Majesty spoke Scottish to us, we might well speak Scots to her. Upon this it was moved by Mr G. Gillespie, that since the Queen's style to us was our rule, we should keep it, in the qualifications of the ministry too. The Queen's Letter had it a diligent, pious, and learned ministry; the Answer had it a sober, pious, and learned—so diligent was put in for sober. Mr Prenderleith moved that their voting this answer should not preclude the Assembly farther addressing if they found cause, which was gone into. After the Letter and Answer were read, it was unanimously voted. Then a committee for revising the commission book was appointed; Mr Ja. Brown, Mr Alex. Kennedy, Mr Prenderleith, Mr Logan, and many others, to the number of twenty-one ministers and elders. It is talked that the commission will be taxed for not appointing causes of the fast when the proclamation came out. I am informed that the Commissioner tells some of the members that he used all means to have had the last year's memorial anent fasts answered, but the Treasurer and Secretary in England are peremptory, that no Court can be established in Scotland nor in England to whom the Queen's power to give the civil sanction can be delegated, this

delegation being contrary to the constitution of the English Government. But if the Assembly will now appoint a fast, and put in the ordinary reasons, and refer to former causes of fasts, he will give the civil sanction to it; and for the time to come, when the Commission sees ground to appoint a fast, if they keep in the common style, and send up their reasons and act to the Scots Secretary, the Queen is willing still to give the civil sanction when we require it. And it's hoped this overture may satisfy the most part that are high upon this matter of fasts. A few days will try this. The Assembly spent the rest of this diet in appointing revisers to the synod books. Mr Curry's transportation from Haddington to Edinburgh is referred to Monday. A long process anent a minister to Kincardine is remitted to a committee, to contract with the consent of parties. A committee was appointed, and met in the afternoon, for receiving instructions from presbyteries, and as is ordinary, several of them are pretty singular. I am clerk to this committee for classing instructions, and it will take us a long time to put them in their order and classes. This day the Assembly sat short while and did little, most of their business yet being before committees. The settlement of Legerwood referred to a committee. There was a case from the Presbytery of Biggar, whether marrying a person that had committed fornication with the man's grand-uncle was incest. It was resolved it was after some debate. I mind no other thing considerable. Mr Mathew Simson was married about a month since to the Laird of Meggins, Drummond's sister, or some such style. My service to all friends. I am, in haste, your own

R. W.

LETTER VII.

My Letters from the Assembly, No. 7.

MY DEAR,—I wrote to you at great length on Saturday, and I write this as the last I am to write from this place till I see you. We are to rise to-morrow, and I wish the horse come in this night. I am yet uncertain, but it may be Thursday before I may come off, and it's like not ride through in one day, but assure yourself I will be home as soon as possibly I can. Our Assembly met on Monday at ten, where the remarks upon the commission book came in, and the book was attested with two remarks, one about a curate in the north, whom they had ordered to stay in some parish till he got a call; another about a call to Collessie, where they had not sisted the Synod as parties, though they had determined in it. And an overture about a parish in Achterardour, which the Assembly ordered to be settled at sight of the Synod. This, with a synod book or two, was our forenoon's work. In the afternoon the mortification of Kenmure came in, and it's recommended to the Commissioner, who has promised to apply to the Queen, and lay before her the Assembly's representation in very ample terms. The Trustees are, the Earl of Glasgow, Advocate, my Lord Pollock, Sir Francis Grant, Messrs Carstairs, Stirling, and Chambers. The draught of an act for a fast (ordinary causes) was read, remitting the day to the several presbyteries. This was like to breed some heat on Saturday in the Committee for Overtures, the generality being for naming the day in open Assembly for calming the country. This, it seems, the Commissioner did not so much incline to, because he had formerly, upon concert, upon Wednesday, acquainted the Queen that the fast was appointed, and the day remitted to presbyteries. It ended in a memorial from

the Assembly to the Commissioner, to be laid before the Queen, for a Court in time to come wherewith we may correspond anent fasts, and thanksgivings, and grievances; and the Commissioner promised to lay it before the Queen, and said he did not doubt but the Queen would make the Church easy in that matter. Another representation to the Queen anent the Justices of the Peace doing nothing to the prejudice of the deacon's office, was read, and the Commissioner promised to lay it before the Queen. He acquainted us that he had a return to our letter from the Queen, with new assurances. There was a letter from Queensberry, Secretary, to the Assembly, to the same purpose. Then Mr Law loosed from Crimond in Aberdeen, his appeal was taken in, and it took a long time, and was remitted to a committee. The public news is the Parliament is up in England, and the treason bill passed with amendment. I hear they have determined that appeals and protests from the session shall sist execution, which will much weaken the session. The Duke of Marlborough is come over to London, and the peace is as good as agreed to as it's said; and yet some are under apprehensions about an invasion in May. This day at eleven we met, and the names of the commission, and their instructions, were read and approven. The commission must not meddle with sentences of synods. Mr William Law's sentence of suspension was taken off. An act against Bourignianism was approven. The parish of Sanquhar came in with an appeal, which was laid aside, when we saw that Queensberry had agreed to the erection of Kirkonnell, and allowed 1000 merks to Sanquhar, and 800 merks. This afternoon we had nothing but synod books. Ours was approven without a vote. Mr Skinner, a cousin of ours, is remitted to the Commission. He is pretended to be an intruding curate in Brechin. We are to rise to-morrow about one or two. I think I will not come off till Thursday morning. I doubt if we come through on Thursday night; but if I can I will endeavour to be through, but entertain no jealousies. I had yours of the 25th just now, for which I thank you. I am perfectly well, and glad to hear you are any way toler-

able in health, and bless God for it. I have time to add no more for the post, but my service to all friends. I am your own

ROB^r. WODROW.

April 26.

P.S.—I long for Thursday, and am weary to be home, though I am perfectly well. The horses are not come at 10 at night.

LETTER VIII.

REMARKS ON THE ACT 1690, RELATING TO THE CALLING OF MINISTERS.

*To the Very Rev. Mr Patrick Simson, Minister of the Gospel at
Renfrew.*

[Mr Patrick Simson was born at New-Abbey, in the Presbytery of Dumfries, October 2, 1628. He was ordained minister of Renfrew, November 11, 1653; and he died there, October 24, 1715. Besides being remarkable for piety, he was possessed of good natural parts, had a deep insight into the Scriptures, was well acquainted with the government of the Church, and had a peculiar talent for exercising it. He was brought up with his cousin-german, the celebrated Mr George Gillespie. Several of his ancestors were ornaments of the Church. His great-grandfather, Mr Andrew Simson, was one of the first ministers of the Reformed Church of Scotland, and at the beginning of the Reformation was minister of Dunbar. Before that period he was a schoolmaster at Perth, and a zealous Papist, till one day that one of the scholars brought to the school the poems of David Lindsay; Mr Simson indignantly snatched the book out of the boy's hand; but having taken it home for perusal, it proved the means of his conversion to Protestantism. His grandfather, Patrick Simson, was a learned and pious minister in Stirling, and distinguished himself by his contendings against the introduction of Prelacy, particularly at the time of the Aberdeen Assembly, 1604. He

died in 1618. Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, frequently notices Mr Patrick Simson of Renfrew. "Being this day, January 20, 1713, with old Mr Simson," says he, "he tells me his work now is to go through the Scripture exercises of dying saints, and endeavour to bring up himself to them. He finds eternity to be very hard to be solidly taken up. He is earnest in seeking after the solid impressions of the foundation truths. He, in conversing upon the oath, (he had sworn the Abjuration Oath,) said, he was an old dying man, and if he had not seen the refusing it, when clearly called to it by the magistrate, to be sinful in him, he would not have meddled with any public oaths at all," (*Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 143.) And, when recording his death, he says, "He is the last of the antediluvian Presbyterian ministers in this Church, save Mr Thomas Warner (the brother of Wodrow's father-in-law) at Balmaclelan. I have now had long acquaintance of him, and never knew one more pleasant and profitable in conversation, and of a sweeter temper than he was. He had one of the clearest judgments, and yet the most exact and tenacious memories that I ever knew. He was the most digested and most distinct master of the Scripture that I ever met with."—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 33.—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I will not, because I cannot, express how much I am obliged to you for yours of the 28th, with the enclosed paper about the calling of a minister. The day being much over, I do not incline to keep the bearer till I more maturely consider it; but, upon an overly glance, I am very much satisfied with it, and I hope it may be useful to others; and Mr Paisley and I shall use it at the synod, in concert, and as you direct. I am very much surprised to find heritors, that should be acquainted with law, advance things I am persuaded are illegal, and yet be more sorry to find ministers to go in with their lure, that is contrary both to law and Gospel, acts of Parliament, and Assembly. The act of Parliament, because it seems you have it not by you, I have transcribed. Will. and Mary, p. 1, sess. 2, cap. 23. "To the effect the calling and entering of ministers, in all time coming, may be orderly and regularly performed, their Majesties, with consent foresaid, do statute and declare, That, in case of the vacancy of any particular church, and for supplying the same with a minister, the heritors of the said parish, being Protestants, and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole con-

gregation, to be either approven or disapproven by them, and, if they disapprove, that the disapprovers give in their reasons to the effect the affair may be cognosed upon by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded."

What ground there is to make the heritors and elders the legal callers from this, (and I can find no other act anent it,) as the ordinary phrase now runs, and far less to set up a set of non-residenting heritors in opposition to the eldership, I cannot see. The act plainly makes them the proposers, and the people the approvers, and the presbytery the judges; and I cannot see but the eldership, as representatives of the people, are the proper callers, even in terms of law, jointly with the presbytery, judging their reasons for or against the person naught or valid. The sense of the Church of Scotland,—Ass. 49, sess. 40,—is plain, that the session and people are the callers, as you-well observe. If you have any other thing that occurs after you have considered the act of Parliament foresaid, pray let me have it this week, for I am afraid Inshanan [Inshinnan] be a leading case to the Presbytery of Paisley. My wife and I give our humble service to you and yours. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours in the greatest sincerity of affection,

R. W.

Eastwood, March 29, 1709.

LETTER IX.

PRIVATE QUARREL BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITIES OF EDINBURGH
AND GLASGOW.

Mr Robert Stewart, Professor of Philosophy, Edinburgh, to Wodrow.

[Mr Stewart was the son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, and nephew of Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate of Scotland. He afterwards succeeded to the title and estate of his father.—*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 32. Ed.]

SIR,—The occasion of my giving you this trouble is the unaccountable treatment our Society has met with from the College of Glasgow, in determining sovereignly that we are no University; and in admitting Mr Calamy *ad eundem*, with the degree he got from Dr Middletoun in Aberdeen, without taking the least notice of his having received the same degree from the University of Edinburgh, which has for its head Mr William Carstairs, to whom the University of Glasgow was obliged to show more civility. Principal Stirling writes he is able to justify all they have done, which I am sure he cannot do; for we have all the privileges of an University granted us by King James on the 14th of April 1582, and ratified by an act of Parliament 1621. It is true the town of Edinburgh, who contributed largely to the erecting of the University, are patrons of it; but you know that does not hinder the principal and other professors from conferring any degrees that are given in other Universities. We think it very strange that they should have given the degree of doctor *utriusque juris* to Cumin, without acquainting Mr Carstairs with it; the reason why he got not that degree here was, not that we wanted powers to give it, but that he had not the confidence to ask it, where his not deserving such a character is too well known; and we have also resolved to take no notice of his doctorship, not that

we doubt of the power of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, but that we think him unworthy of such an honour, who, while Professor of Divinity here, sought the degree of D. U. I.¹ in other Universities, at a time when they treated our College so unjustly, not to say worse. I would gladly know what grounds they went on. I am much vexed that worthy Principal Stirling is concerned in it, for Mr Carstairs is so troubled at the affront, that I am afraid it occasion a misunderstanding between them. You have heard before this time that the Advocate is put off without knowing any thing of it, before he has a pension of seven hundred pounds. He is relieved of a great trouble, but is a little offended at the manner of his removal. I fear his successor, Sir David Dalrymple, will not be so friendly to the Kirk. My wife gives her service to you and yours, and I hope you will be pleased to accept of the same from, Sir, your affectionate comrade and humble servant,
ROBERT STEWART.²

Edinburgh, June 2, 1709.

LETTER X.

ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING.

For Mr Robert Stewart, Professor of Philosophy in the College of Edinburgh.

DEAR C[OMRADE,]—I had yours of the 2d, and have taken occasion to talk with some of the University of Glasgow upon the head of their late degrees. I reasoned with them only very overly, and, for my own information, without signifying any thing of your masters' resentment of their way of management. I was

¹ *Doctor utriusque juris*, or Doctor of Laws.

² From Letters to Wodrow, vol. v. No. 28, MS. in Advocates' Library.

told they were unacquaint with your powers, and they might be great enough for any thing they knew positively, but nobody doubted of the power of the University of Aberdeen, and some did doubt of your power. Particularly, I was twitted with the late Advocate's authority, who should have said that you were only a *Schola Illustris*, and when I urged the grant, ratified 1621, I was told they knew nothing of it, and could not enter into discussing of your rights, but satisfied themselves with ratifying what the undoubted University of Aberdeen had done. There were some inainuations of lesser moment made, that you had not the badges of a University, a Chancellor, Rector, Seal, &c. : I don't mind if you wanted a Mace and Macer too. That the Council of Edinburgh choiced your commissioner to the Assembly, and not the masters. I shall trouble you with none of my defences in your behalf. I shall be heartily sorry if any dryness fall in between worthy Principal C[arstairs] and S[tirling] on this head, and if I could do any thing to prevent it I would most willingly. I have good information that Principal S[tirling] was not active in your new doctor of laws *novodamus*; yea, I do not think was much for it, but, being violently pressed, was carried down the stream with the plurality. He would have been a doctor by the northern act, where it is like he is less known than at Edinburgh, whether they had ratified it or not; and I believe this is the best account can be given of their proceedings as to him. I was much vexed when I heard of the Advocate's¹ losing his place. I hoped he should have died in that post. I am persuaded this change is a great loss

¹ Sir James Stewart, the son of Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh. His extraordinary abilities in law had attracted notice during the period of persecution under the reign of Charles II.; but his attachment to the Presbyterian interest and the cause of liberty exposed him to the jealousy and opposition of the Government. He took an active part in the defence of the Earl of Argyle, who, in 1681, was tried for his explication of the test, on account of which he was diligently searched for, and obliged to seek refuge in Holland. After the Revolution he was promoted to be Lord Advocate of Scotland, an office which he had now filled for about twenty years during a critical period of our country's history.—See *Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 293—iii. p. 342—iv. p. 232. See also *Carstairs' State Papers*, p. 96.

to this Church, and I fear we shall feel it sensibly. I have nobody now at Edinburgh, since your brother-in-law's settlement, that I can depend on for news. It would be an act of charity to write now and then to one that is almost a stranger to the world. You know Eastwood can afford no returns, and therefore I can scarce presume to ask it. But I will plead old, and I hope never-ending, friendship. Let me know if you are begun your course of experimental philosophy, and the encouragement you get in it. Let me have a full account of the business of the building of the Chapel at Holyroodhouse for the English service.¹ I wish some with you would take a more particular notice in print of the curates' narrative of their treatment. The answer we have here to it, under Defoe's name, is lame in several things.—I am, &c.

June 17, 1709.

LETTER XI.

RELATING TO THE MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

For Mr Patrick Warner, Minister of the Gospel for present at Irvine.

[Patrick Warner was the father-in-law of Wodrow. He was licensed to preach the Gospel some time after the engagement at Pentland. Being recommended by the Presbyterian ministers in and about Edinburgh to the Presbyterian ministers of London, he was or-

¹ "The report of repairing the Abbey church for the English service happened to be in our Edinburgh Gazette the first week of Sir David Dalrymple's advocacy; and, lest the Presbyterians should get a wrong impression of him in the beginning, he wrote to Queensberry about it, who spoke to the Treasurer, and he acquainted the Queen with it, and her Majesty declared she had never given any ground for such a report, and she desired that the fullest way might be used to expose the falsity and absurdity of such a suggestion."—From a letter of Mr Robert Stewart to Wodrow, dated July 2, 1709.

dained at London, 1669, for the purpose of his going out to the settlements of the East India Company. He continued for about three years minister at Fort St George, upon the coast of Coromandel, where he was treated with kindness and respect. But, anxious to visit again his native country, he returned about 1677, and preached as he found opportunity, sometimes in the fields, and sometimes with the indulged ministers. After the defeat at Bothwell Bridge, he again retired to London, and continued there and in Holland until 1681, when he returned home, and was married to Mary, one of the daughters of Mr William Guthrie. Towards the end of February, while residing with his mother-in-law at Edinburgh, the house was beset at midnight by a party of guards, and broken up. He was taken out of bed, conveyed to the Abbey, and committed to the guards of the Duke of York, who was residing there. His enemies, however, much as they were inclined, could not find matter of indictment against him; and, after being imprisoned for some time, he was set at liberty. He then removed to the north of England, but, through the malice of his enemies, he was again apprehended, and carried prisoner to the jail of Newcastle, from which he was liberated upon swearing the Oath of Allegiance. A few days after he went over to Rotterdam, whither his wife and family followed him. He continued chiefly in Holland, until, upon the indulgence granted to the Presbyterians in July 1687, he received a call from the magistrates and inhabitants of the town and parish of Irvine to become their pastor; in consequence of which he returned to Scotland, and continued minister of Irvine for many years after the Revolution.—*Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 393–402, and vol. iv. p. 345–436.—He died April 19, 1724. In recording his death, Wodrow says, “ He died in a most easy and pleasant way. All through his trouble he was spiritual, easy, and edifying. He longed for his change, and welcomed it, and left his blessing upon us all, and laid it upon his posterity and relations that none should be found amissing at Christ’s right hand. This is a great loss, though he was come to great age; we want his prayers, his advice, his example, his sympathy, which was very great; and yet, certainly, he is at an inexpressible gain, and was full of days.”—*Analecta*, vol. v. p. 25. Ed.]

DEAR FATHER,—I would have sent you a copy of your father-in-law’s Saving Interest, with Mr Trail’s preface to it; but I did not know if you would desire it of your own. There are some things in it that I am not so much satisfied with, and I heartily

wish you may write to Mr Trail about it by post. When you read it you will take up what is needful to be altered in it ; however, I will give you my thoughts of what occurred to me in looking it over. *1st*, I think he was in the wrong to publish anything relating to Mr Guthry, without taking some way to acquaint his relations, who could have given him light in this affair. *2dly*, I think his account of him, taken complexly, is but very mean and low ; and, for my part, I wish he had rather published nothing than so lean and slender an account, especially since he says he hath materials for it, and might have got materials from Mr G.'s relations. *3dly*, I very much doubt if he was the first that mentions personal covenanting. I was a little surprised to find him saying, It's to this person we owe the first mention of personal covenanting with God. I turned over to some of the practical writers before Mr Guthry, and find Preston mentioning it very plainly ; so does Pemble, and Dyke on the Deceitfulness of the Heart ; and Bull on the Covenant, in express words, distinguishes covenants into personal, family, and national, [printed an. 1645.] Our own Rutherford, upon the Covenant, handles this subject, which was printed 1655, which, if I mistake not, was before the first edition of the Saving Interest. I mistake it if Mr Dickson does not, before that time, handle the subject, and many others, had I time to consultation. The only apology I can find for this is Mr Trail's next expression, that Mr Guthry wrote first of it, to wit, at any great length ; and indeed I wonder to find such very lame hints at this sweet subject among practical writers before his time. It's none of the smallest credits, in my opinion, to the West of Scotland, that the first direct, plain, and distinct handling of the covenant of redemption, and personal covenanting in public, were by Mr Dickson and Mr Guthry. *4thly*, I wish we had his particular vouchers for his conversion by terrors ; and the parish of Fenwick might have been mentioned. I am glad to find Mr Trail expecting that somebody should make Mr Guthry better known, to which he might give some help, from the letters of his to his father, he says, being in his hands. I wish, likewise, he would

communicate with you these singular things concerning Mr Guthry which he did not think fit to publish. I believe you may have some acquaintance of Mr Trail, and though you have none, my mother's relation to Mr Guthry is sufficient ground for you to write to him, and I doubt not but he will very frankly communicate his thoughts to you, and any thing that he knows about him.¹ I will add no more, but that I am your affectionate and obedient son,

R. W.

June 30, 1709.

LETTER XII.

ON SINS OF IGNORANCE.

Mr James Hog's Letter for Mr John Gib, Minister at Cleish.

[James Hog was descended of religious parents, who were sufferers during the prelatie persecution for their attachment to the Presbyterian cause; and who, though not wealthy, with the assistance of friends, educated him with a view to the holy office of the ministry. Before finishing his philosophical course of education he went over to Holland, and enjoyed the advantages of attending a celebrated University in that country. At the close of the persecution he returned to his native land, and having been licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, he was settled

¹ In the year 1720 a very interesting Memoir of the Life and Character of William Guthrie, by the Rev. William Dunlop, Professor of Divinity and Church History in the University of Edinburgh, was published and prefixed to his well-known and excellent work, "The Christian's Great Interest;" to which was added, an account of his treatment during the persecution, from Wodrow's History. Mr Dunlop was furnished with the materials from which his memoir was composed by Wodrow, who soon after this began to collect materials for a biographical account of Guthrie, whom he held in high veneration. To this he refers in letters to several of his correspondents. Neither Trail's Preface nor Dunlop's Memoir is printed with the more recent editions of "The Christian's Great Interest."

at Dalsersf, in the Presbytery of Hamilton. He had not continued in that parish above two years, when the Estates of Parliament enacted that all ministers should swear the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Assurance to King William and Queen Mary. This oath, though it was taken by nearly all the ministers of the Church of Scotland, Mr Hog refused, from conscientious scruples, to swear; in consequence of which he was frowned upon by his brethren, and subjected to much ungenerous aspersion. His presbytery raised a process against him, and remitted his case to the Assembly, where, however, the whole affair was quashed; the proceedings of the presbytery being generally disapproved of. Having been appointed on a mission to the North, and declared transportable in case of a regular call by the Assembly of 1695, he went to Morayshire, and received a unanimous invitation to become the minister of a parish in that quarter. But in consequence of dangerous and protracted indisposition, he demitted his charge of Dalsersf, and accepted of no other for several years. At length, having recovered his health, he was settled at Carnock in August 23, 1699, where he was a diligent, faithful, and successful minister for upwards of thirty years. His powerful and solemn manner of preaching, together with his profound acquaintance with the mysteries of the Gospel, drew multitudes to wait on his ministrations; and on sacramental occasions, when he was assisted by the most enlightened and holy ministers of his day, with whom he lived in habits of intimate friendship, Carnock was a place of resort to many Christians from the surrounding parishes, who experienced these to be times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. He deeply lamented the corruptions which he saw entering the Church, and the dangers which threatened her by the sinful terms of the incorporating Union between England and Scotland, the imposition of the Abjuration Oath, and the restoration of lay patronage in the reign of Queen Anne. He also distinguished himself by his zeal for purity of doctrine in the case of Professor Simson, who taught Arminian and other dangerous errors, and more particularly in defending those important parts of divine truth commonly called the Marrow Doctrine. After the General Assembly in 1717 had condemned the Auchterarder proposition, that "it is unsound to teach that men must forsake sin in order to come to Christ;" various evangelical ministers agreed to republish "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," which was originally published at London in 1646, both as an antidote against this act of the Assembly, and against that legal preaching, the refined Arminianism of Baxter, which was then very prevalent among the ministers of the Church of Scotland;

and they desired Mr Hog to write a recommendatory preface. Accordingly, the first part of this work was published for the first time in Scotland in 1718, with Mr Hog's Preface. Having obtained a large circulation, and produced considerable excitement, in 1720 it was brought under the consideration of the Assembly, who condemned it, as replete with Antinomian errors. Mr Hog, and eleven others, remonstrated against this act, and in May 1721 gave in a representation to the Assembly, in which, with all respect, they stated what appeared to them stumbling in the act, and craved that it might be repealed. Their representation, without being read, was referred to the Commission; and in 1722 the Assembly, before whom they appeared for redress, appointed their moderator to rebuke and admonish them for alleged injurious reflections contained in their representations. Whilst these things were going on, Mr Hog employed himself in publishing various tracts of his own composition, as well as the writings of several judicious divines, in vindication of those truths which had been injured and were endangered. After this he continued to labour for a number of years in his Master's work. His health appears to have failed in 1729, and he died at Edinburgh in 1736, amidst the prayers and lamentations of his Christian friends. Boston calls him "a man of great learning, and singular piety and tenderness," (*Memoirs*, p. 360.) In his character a high degree of moral courage, in adhering to what his conscience told him was the right and the true, appears blended with true Christian humility and great gentleness of spirit, of which his behaviour towards his presbytery, who subjected him to much trouble and harsh treatment, from his opposition to the Oath of Allegiance, and at the Assembly, when the validity of his commission as a member was questioned, because he had not taken the Oath, as well as the manner in which he conducted himself in the Marrow Controversy, affords fine illustrations. Nor was he less eminent for the union of a public spirit with personal godliness. His letters breathe the fervour of his devotion. But this, so far from quenching, seemed only to invigorate his zeal for the general interests of religion. Trained up in the principles of the Second Reformation, so powerful in former days in producing and fostering Christian patriotism, it was his ardent desire and endeavour to revive and extend these principles; hence the deep regret with which he contemplated the defective character of the Revolution settlement of the Church, the Erastian encroachments made on her liberties, the admission of the curates without any evidence or even profession of repentance, and the want of a distinct recognition of the covenanted Reformation. Besides his pamphlets on the Mar-

row Controversy, Mr Hog published various works, a list of which will be found in Brown's Gospel Truth Illustrated, p. 49.

Mr Hog left behind him in MS. a large memorial to his friends, which comes down to the period of his settlement at Carnock. The historical part of this relic, containing much interesting information as to the ecclesiastical proceedings of his time, has been published by Professor Bruce of Whitburn. The remaining part, chiefly consisting of records of his religious experience, and discussions on points of doctrine, is in my possession. His writings are somewhat repulsive to readers of the present age, in consequence of a harsh and involved mode of expression, which may partly be ascribed to a long residence in Holland in his youth. "I shall be loath," he says, in answer to Wodrow's animadversions on his Notes concerning the Spirit's Operations, "to vindicate my style or manner of expression, being truly rude both in speech and knowledge, and having had the loss of near to twelve years entire disuse of my own language, while a sojourner in a foreign country."—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 100. Ed.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Though indisposed, yet I shall endeavour to give my thoughts about the purposes contained in your friend's letter. [Robert Wodrow's of the date —] I am sorry that the few particulars I represented about our unknown sins striking against the declarative glory of God, did not attain the end of satisfying the querist. I could wish to understand the strength of the difficulty; for I see no inconvenience in acknowledging that injuries may be offered unto that which the Lord hath declared concerning his glory, by sins of ignorance, wherein the person knoweth not that he attacketh the divine honour. Our Lord forewarned his disciples, that they who slew them would think they did God good service. I judge it's not to be doubted, that the slaying the Apostles was a sin committed against the declarative glory of God, or against that which he had declared concerning himself and his glory; and yet we are forewarned that the guilty would be so far from a sense of guilt in the matter as to be persuaded of the directly contrary; for great is the power of spiritual fascination! I take notice that our Rev. B[rother] desiderateth in the writings of renowned divines, a stating clearly the nature of the Lord's declarative glory,

which he well observeth to be necessary towards the resolution of his doubt. I cannot take upon me to supply that defect; yet I shall ingeniously represent some farther considerations upon the whole, in a few positions, and shall be glad if by these I may more closely reach the design of his inquiry.

1mo, I understand simply by the declarative glory of God, that which the God of glory hath declared concerning himself and his glory, whether in his word, by his works, or his impressions made upon the conscience in a more common, or special, saving, and distinguishing manner.

2do, So much of this glory is made evident even by the glimmerings of nature as may suffice to convince that fear, love, honour, and every other expression of religious deference, are due unto him, as required by the declarations of his glory, and much more all these are challenged by special and revealed light, seeing a great deal more of this glory is manifested by the more ordinary discoveries of revealed truth, and a common information of the conscience. But all this is darkness, when compared with the lustre of that evidence which special illumination affordeth.

3tio, Seeing fear and love, according to the Scripture account, do fully comprehend the whole of our duty, (as could be easily instructed, were it necessary,) it evidently follows, that every sin (whatsoever the matter be) is contrary to that fear and love, as the more internal and immediate expressions of our knowing, acknowledging, and believing, that which the Lord hath declared concerning himself and his glory. Hereupon I subjoin,

4to, That in every sin there is somewhat contrary to that which we know and profess concerning the Lord's declarative glory, because we all own so much as challengeth the highest fear and reverence, and in every sin we go cross unto, and infringe that deference and regard. And I humbly judge it might be sufficiently demonstrated from plain Scriptural grounds, that our sins of ignorance proceed from the secret and unobserved springs, either of a total want of the fear of God, through the veil continuing upon the heart, or a proportioned defect of this after a gracious and saving

the year 1726." The reader will find a few incidental notices of his case in Kirkpatrick's "Presbyterian Loyalty," pp. 473, 476, 531, *et seq.* In a letter to Wodrow, dated Stranraer, August 11, 1710, Mr M'Crackan states that he was forced to leave Ireland for having refused to take the Oath, that he stayed till the warrants were out for apprehending and imprisoning him, and that he came away sooner than he thought of, "for things were pushed on."—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 3. Ed.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 22d of June only about a month ago. I have been so throng, since the receiving of yours, with neighbouring communions and my own in this place, which was last Lord's day, that till now I never had a spare hour to return you my thanks for yours, and begin our correspondence on my part. I have no account to give you of affairs here, but what you will have from better hands. But to let you see my willingness if I had matter, I have given you the trouble of this. The communions are what I spoke of just now, and so I shall begin with these. I cannot but remark, and desire you with me to praise God for his goodness to us in this place at our solemnity. I think the condescending God has been kinder to us than ever. But it's generally remarked, that there has been a great indrink of communicants in many places in this country-side this summer. The causes are, no doubt, remarkable decays of love and exercise among the people, for I must say I never saw his servants more owned in their public work. The broken divided spirit among the people, what from our field-preachers, on the one hand, and a groundless casting at ministers as not free enough, as they foolishly term it, against our late change of constitution, and the Abjuration Oath, on the other, are part of the causes of this evil. I wish the Lord may not make us put a due estimate on our mercies, by our want of them. The English service is setting up very busily in the north, at Inverness, Elgin, Aberdeen, Montrose, and many other places, to the great grief of many of our brethren there, and the weakening, or rather ruining, of our discipline. The Commission of our General Assembly met in the beginning of this month. They had addresses subscribed by some thousands of hands from Edinburgh, and the

places about, against this innovation. They produced the act I send you inclosed, and some letters were written to court about this affair. There is a printed debate begun between Defoe and Lesly, as they say, upon that head. I mind little more considerable the Commission did, except the publishing the Queen's patent for the Society for Christian Knowledge, which I shall send per next, if you want it. They have afresh recommended your collection to Presbyteries. I shall use my best endeavours to promote it where my influence can reach, though I believe any thing we can do in the country will amount to little. Our university creation of doctors is making a great deal of noise in England among the High-fliers, as if the Church there were in hazard terribly from it. Mr William Hamilton is elected Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh. This is all that at present occurs to me. I long very much to hear from you, with a full account of the actings of your last Synod, and any thing the Parliament has done as to Church matters, and of the procedure of your convocation, and an account of Mr Biggar's affair above, and any other thing you judge proper to communicate. You see what a troublesome correspondent you have got. The frequenter your accounts by post or otherwise be, the more acceptable they will be. I thank you for Mr M'Bride's paper you sent me. I had it sometime since, but I hope any other pamphlets that are agoing you will communicate with me, and any that I meet with here shall be sent you. If you direct for me at Mrs Wodrow's, in the Trades' Land, Glasgow, by the post, it will come safely to me. Or if you direct for my father-in-law, Mr Warner, at Irvine, or Mr William Reid's, at Saltcoats, or Mr Andrew Cummine's, at the Largs, or Mr Andrew Turner's, at Greenock, when you write by ship, yours will come safe to me. I give my kindest respects to Mr Martine, our fellow traveller; to Mr M'Bride, and all acquaintance among your reverend brethren. I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, August 24, 1709.

LETTER XIV.

ON MINERALOGICAL PURSUITS.

For Mr Edward Lhuyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Closet at Oxford.

[“ Edward Lhuyd was a native of South Wales, and the son of Mr Charles Lhuyd of Lhanvorde. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, where he was created Master of Arts in July 1701. He was bred under Dr Plot, whom he succeeded as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and had the use of all Vaughan’s collection. With incessant labour and great exactness, he employed a considerable part of his life in searching into the Welsh antiquities, and perused or collected a great deal of ancient and valuable matter from their manuscripts—transcribed all the old charters of the monasteries that he could meet with—travelled several times over Wales, Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and Armorica, (Bretagne,) countries inhabited by the same people—compared their antiquities—and made observations on the whole. He died in July 1709, before he had digested them into the form of a treatise, as he had intended, on the ancient inhabitants of this island. The untimely death of this excellent antiquary prevented the completion of many admirable designs.”—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. part I. p. 268.—It thus appears that the following letter was written a month after he to whom it was addressed had been laid in the silent grave. Mr Lhuyd was the author of several works. That alluded to in the following letter is entitled “ *Archæologia Britannica: Giving some Account of the Languages, Histories, and Customs of Great Britain and Ireland.*” Oxford, 1707. Folio. It is probable that it was when travelling in Scotland, in prosecution of his antiquarian researches, that Lhuyd became acquainted with Wodrow, who, attracted by his good parts, and by a similarity of taste for natural history and antiquities, showed him much attention. The friendship and correspondence of Wodrow he ever after highly valued, and they were in the habit of exchanging specimens of the curiosities they met with in their mineralogical pursuits.—ED.]

DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 22d of May last, some two or three weeks ago, by whom I know not, which was most accept-

able. Any civility I was capable to show you when at Glasgow was but a just debt owing to your learning and character, and equally below your deserving and your notice. I am glad to hear you continue in the same post, were it not that I heartily wish you a better and higher, and if any of my friends and acquaintance ramble so far as Oxford, I will just use the same freedom with my friend I would allow him to use with me here.

My lot is by Providence cast in the parish of Eastwood, and my house within a quarter of a mile from the Aldhouse Bourn, where you and I were a lithoscoping. My pastoral charge does not allow me that time I once had to follow out these subterranean studies, but my inclination is just the same as when I saw you, or rather greater; and I take it to be one of the best of diversions from more serious work, and in itself a great duty to view and admire my Maker in his works as well as his word. I have got together some store of our fossils hereabout, from our marl, our limestone, &c., and heartily wish I had the knowing Mr Lhuyd here to pick out what he wants, and to help me to class a great many species I know not what to make of; but this I cannot be so happy as to expect. If you'd please to lay down a way for me to transmit them to you, you shall have the pyramidical stones you desire, and somewhat of every kind that I have doubles of. I am just as fond of that kind of studies as ever, if I had time, and the happiness of your direction in them; and so I'll presume to ask any thing of this kind of curiosities you can spare for my collection, where I have got together some five or six hundred species of one thing and [or] other relative to natural history. If they be directed to Edinburgh to Sir Robert Sibbald, our kind friend, or to any body at Glasgow, Baillie Dicky's shop, or Mrs Wodrow's, in the Trades' Land, they will come safe to me. My brother, whom you remember so kindly, was removed by death April 8, 1706. I have of late, before I received yours, writ to the Synod of Argyle, and sent them a list of the subscribers for your *Archæologia*, and offered them copies when they wrote to me for them; and you'll not doubt, I hope, but I will lay out myself to my power for getting copies off.

Let me know when the second volume may be expected, and all the account you judge fit from the learned world, by post, with all your news. If you write by post, and direct for me, "Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood, to the care of the Postmaster of Glasgow," it will reach me thrice a week. I heartily wish you all success and encouragement in your generous endeavours to promote natural history; and, with my kindest thanks for your last, I crave liberty to subscribe myself, Dear Sir, your ever obliged and humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, August 26, 1709.

LETTER XV.

CRITICISMS ON THE COUNTRYMAN'S LETTER.

*To the Rev. Mr John Anderson, Minister of the Gospel at
Dumbarton.*

[Mr Anderson was settled first at Dumbarton, and was afterwards translated to Glasgow. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and a determined enemy of Prelacy. Attempts having been made, in 1709, by the Episcopal clergy to introduce the English Liturgy into their public worship in Scotland, this step awakened great jealousy among the Presbyterians, who considered it a part of the policy of the enemies of Presbytery to subvert both the civil constitution and the ecclesiastical establishment. Mr Anderson, about 1710, published "A Dialogue between a Curate and a Countryman," and, in 1711, "The Second Dialogue between the Curate and the Countryman, concerning the English Service." In these dialogues he makes the curate, for the most part, "speak in the very words of the *first-rate* divines of the Church of England," and the countryman to expose, with much acuteness, and a considerable degree of satire, the Popish and superstitious character of the Service Book. He next published "The Countryman's Letter to the Curate, wherein, besides an historical

view of the English Liturgy, the assertions of Sage, the author of 'The Fundamental Character of Presbytery,' concerning its universal usage in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, &c., are examined and proved to be false." This letter was answered by Robert Calder, a prelatie minister, to which Anderson replied in a pamphlet, entitled "Curate Calder Whipt," in which he carries the bitterness of irony and invective beyond all bounds. He was reproached by the curate with being "a dominy," which, perhaps, suggested the title of the pamphlet, and to which he thus alludes,—“Didst thou think thou bantered him by calling him *domine*, thou pitiful wretch? It was a real banter on thyself. He has, indeed, acted the *domine* over thee, in lashing thee, so far as argument could do it, sufficient to have made any thing smart, but such a dull insensible ass as thyself, who hast thy skull stuf with guts instead of brains!" Mr Anderson soon after published a sermon, preached at Ayr, upon the opening of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 1st of April 1712, and printed at the desire of the Synod. But the work by which he is best known, and in which his learning and wit appear to the best advantage, is his "Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians," in answer to Rhind's Apology for leaving the Presbyterian Communion. It was first published in 1714, and may be said to have never been answered. About the beginning of the year 1717, the people of Glasgow began to take steps for translating Mr Anderson to that city. The magistrates, and both the particular and general session, were favourable to this design; but the ministers of Glasgow were opposed to it. The call came before the Synod of Glasgow in the end of November, or beginning of October 1707, who concurred with the call by a majority of eighteen, upon which the ministers, and four or five of the presbytery, appealed to the General Assembly, (*Wodrow's History*, last edition, vol. i. p. xxii.) However, notwithstanding the resistance made, his translation to Glasgow took place in 1720. His stipend, he tells us, was lower in the Ramshorn Church of Glasgow than at Dumbarton, and the charge doubly heavy; but the opposition of the ministers of the city and others to his translation, though it was "on other than personal grounds," appears to have irritated his mind, and strengthened his determination to thwart the designs of those whom he supposed stood in his path,—an effect which opposition not unfrequently produces. After his settlement in Glasgow, he published six letters upon the "Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions," a subject which made a considerable noise at that time. In these letters he does not appear to great advantage. They were answered in bet-

ter temper, and with much ability, by Principal Dunlop of Edinburgh. His earthly career after this was short. He died February 19, 1721, and was succeeded in his charge by the famous John M'Laurin. He was grandfather to Professor Anderson, the founder of the Andersonian Institution in Glasgow.

Mr Anderson does not seem to have risen to popularity as a preacher. His tombstone, in the High Church-yard of Glasgow, gives him a high character. Wodrow, in recording his death, thus speaks of him:—"He was certainly a kind, frank, comradly man, when not grated. His piece against Rhind, and his Dialogues and Defences, (bating some papers against Caddel [Calder] a little unsuitable to his gravity, though it may be, as he said to me, when I challenged the Billingsgate style, 'this was the only way to silence Caddel,') would have raised his character very high in this Church, and very deservedly. And had he continued where he was, his character had certainly been entire, but his coming to Glasgow was certainly a great loss to him; and his papers about the Overtures were written in fret and passion, and not like himself. His great abilities seemed very much to be lessened, if not blasted, after his coming to Glasgow, and his gifts failed him, even his very memory."—*Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 72, 73.—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had the favour of the perusal of the papers,¹ which have passed between Chappeltown and you, from Mr Anderson; for which I reckon myself much indebted to him, but more to you. Were I not writing to yourself, I could tell with what satisfaction I have read them, and how much I am instructed and pleased by them. Had I any remarks of weight to make, I would with all frankness communicate them, as what, I am persuaded, you would take as the best testimony I could give of friendship; but really nothing of moment occurred to me. Only to let you see what freedom I would have used, if I had had any matter to work upon, I did not like the manner of your expressing yourself, paper 1, p. 5, near the middle, "*before my office interested me in any party.*" I don't think our office does or should engage us in any party, in the ordinary sense of the phrase. But I presently

¹ The papers here referred to were probably the substance of what was published by Mr Anderson in 1712, under the title of "The Countryman's Letter to the Curate;" at least, the part of them here referred to is contained in that letter.

considered you might be speaking in the terms of your adversary. And, p. 7, § 21, in your reasoning from the primitive catechumens, which is indeed very strong and suitable to your purpose, I desiderate a proof, that before baptism they were obliged to give moral evidence of the grace of God in their hearts. That they behaved to be blameless and sober in their life, and nothing in them contradicting their solemn profession in the eyes of men, as well as some tolerable length in their knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, I think is very plain; but, in my small reading, I have not remarked that either there was any direct trial made, or evidence required of their having grace, or any reasoning from their blamelessness and knowledge to their having grace in their hearts. But the compass of my observation is so narrow, that this may easily have escaped me. I questioned with myself, likewise, why you made so much use of Calvin's authority with your Occasional Conformist, with whom I fancy it will have no great weight. I cannot but return you my thanks for your vindication of the passage of Buchanan, that, I must say, when I first noticed it many years ago, did vex me a little.¹ And your improving of the testimony of Sir

¹ The passage, in Buchanan's History of Scotland, alluded to, is in the 19th Book, where, speaking of the deliverance the Scots obtained in 1560 from France, through the assistance of England, he uses these words:—"Scoti ante aliquot annos *Anglorum* auxiliis, e servitute *Gallica* liberati, religionis cultui et ritibus cum *Anglis* communibus subscripserunt." From this the curate maintained, that the Scots subscribed the English worship and ceremonies, that is, the English Liturgy and Discipline. Mr Anderson, in his letter, shows, by various arguments, that this was not the case, and could not be the meaning of Buchanan: 1st, He declares it to be incredible, that, if such had been really the fact, *Buchanan* should be the only historian who mentions this, and that it should be entirely omitted by Spotswood, Burnet, and others, who had an interest in recording it. 2dly, He farther observes, that, while Charles the First, in his Large Declaration, states as grounds on which he hoped that the Liturgy he sent down to Scotland in 1637 would be well received, the attendance of many of the best quality of the Scotch on the English Liturgy in London,—that it had been frequented in his Chapel of Holyroodhouse, and in the Cathedral of St Andrews,—and that the Scots Liturgy, then sent down, was substantially the same with the English;—while he used these arguments, he made no mention of the Scots having ever subscribed the English, which would have been a stronger ground of hope than any which he stated, and it could not be supposed this omission was owing to want of information. 3dly, He quotes the articles of the treaty, concluded at Leith, July 8, 1560, in which it is declared, "That the commissioners or deputies would not

James Balfour, and the letter to the English bishops, to strengthen the just sense you put upon it, were what I had occasion to do to some foreigners and persons among ourselves; but your arguments, from the style and the Articles of Perth, were entirely new to me, and most satisfying. I like the account you give of the sense of the Reformed Churches about baptism. Your shortness makes it a little dark, and there is one branch of it, though I know you have some of the ablest of our writers for you in it, yet I could never so clearly take up, p. 14, § 28, and that is the infusion of the habits or *semina* of faith before baptism in some elect infants, and then the Spirit's after quickening of the *semina* formerly planted, and drawing forth the habit to an act, at which time actual regeneration is wrought. I know not what warrant we have to distinguish between the giving of the *semina* of grace and the giving of grace itself, nor why we should fix the time of regeneration to the actuating of the *semina*, and not the giving of them. I do confess the subject is so dark-like and mysterious, that I am unwilling to challenge any form of sound words that are used upon it; but I am unwilling to adopt any terms that I do not fully understand, far less any that may include any thing against the instantaneous na-

touch the articles concerning religion, presented for part of the nobility and people of Scotland, but referred them to their Majesties." He also quotes from Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Annals, *ad annum* 1560, who says, "In all these articles, they did not meddle with religion for diverse respects." 4thly, He refers to the following clause in the Articles of Perth, which enjoin *kneeling* at the Lord's Supper:—"Notwithstanding that our Church hath used, *since the Reformation of Religion*, to celebrate it to the people *sitting*;" and asks how sitting could consist with the rubrick of the English Liturgy. From all these considerations, he concludes that it is impossible Buchanan's meaning could be that the Scots subscribed the English Liturgy at the period of which he speaks; and that the meaning is, that the Scots did then, *by act of Parliament, establish the reformed religion among themselves, as the English had done the year before*, so that the *subscribing* refers merely to the *decreta*, which Buchanan tells, in 1560, were made by the Parliament, *de religione sincera promovenda*; and which their deliverance from the French put them in a capacity to make. He further shows that this sense agrees with Buchanan's style in other places, who usually expresses an *act* or *deed* of Parliament by the verb *subscribo*; and religion in the general, whether Popish or Reformed, as his subject leads him, by the word *cultus*, *ritus*, *ceremonia*, and the like, without reference to a liturgy of any kind.—*The Countryman's Letter to the Curate*, p. 81—93.

ture of the new creation. I only add, lastly, that I can scarce go in with the compliment you give to your antagonist, p. 37, last line, that you will make no man worse than he owns himself to be. I am not for fixing all the consequences I think I see flowing from a man's hypothesis at random, and running him down immediately as guilty; but neither would I make his owning them my only rule. Some people in the world will never own any thing that counters their own humour and interest, and will grant me premises and refuse the conclusion. You see how much I am satisfied with your papers, when I have nothing but these trifles to remark, wherein you and I are one at bottom. I heartily wish you may employ some more time to set this matter of the history of our Reformation anent the form of prayers and worship in a little more full light. You have gone very far in a negative proof, which, I am sensible of in thir circumstances, is on the matter a positive proof, yet I wish the subject more narrowly considered. I have my own jealousies that there was no order at all fixed among the Reformers till the 1560 or 1561, and I do not at all wonder it should be undetermined in that confused state of affairs. Sir James Balfour's expression you adduce seems to favour this sense, as yet the Scots were not resolved whether to receive the Reformation of England or that of Geneva. And, perhaps, Knox might set up for that [of] Geneva, and Willock, who came from England, if I mistake not, by the Marian persecution, might move for the form used in England; but we see, as soon as the great Assembly came to weigh this matter, they very soon came to a determination. But this is but mere conjecture, and a thought at random; and whatever they might do before the Church was come to any consistency, it's plain, to a demonstration, they set up upon a foot[ing] directly contrary to the Liturgy of England, as soon as they came to consider matters, and understand one another. But I hope you will be in case, with a very little pains, to set this matter in its full light; and if I can afford you any assistance from any MS. Histories of these times I have by me, I shall be at all pains about it. I add no more, but that I am, Dear Sir, yours in all affection,

ROBERT WODROW.

Eastwood, Sept. 5, 1709.

LETTER XVI.

THE COMMISSION BLAMED FOR HOMOLOGATING THE UNION.

To Mr Thomas Linning, Minister at Lesmahagow.

[Mr Thomas Linning was formerly connected with the Society people, or Cameronians, but, at the first General Assembly which met after the Revolution, in October 1690, he, along with his friends, Mr Alexander Shields, the author of *The Hind Let Loose*, and Mr William Boyd, presented two papers;—the first being intended for “the exoneration of their consciences,” and bearing their “testimony against the corruption and defection in this Church;” and the second, containing their submission to the judicatories of the Church. The Committee of Assembly “judged the reading of the larger [the first] of the said two papers, in full Assembly, to be inconvenient, in regard, that though there be several good things in it, yet the same doth also contain several peremptory and gross mistakes, unseasonable and impracticable proposals, and uncharitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contentious than to oppose divisions;” but recommended the Assembly to receive the subscribers on the ground of their profession of entire submission to the judicatories of the Church. The Assembly passed an act according to this report. They “did conclude, by one single vote, that the foresaid longer paper should not be read;” and Messrs Linning, Shields, and Boyd, certainly not much either to their own credit or that of the Assembly, were admitted simply on the ground of their paper of submission.—*Acts of Assembly*, 1690. It is but fair, however, to mention, that Mr Linning denied that there was any condemnation of their paper of grievances by the Assembly. He says, “The blame why that affair is so printed in the Acts of the Assembly is to be laid upon the revisers of the minutes, who printed more than was in the extract given out under the Clerk’s hand of that Assembly, a considerable time before the Acts of that Assembly were printed, which authentic paper I have to this day ready to produce, if need be.”—*Epistle to the Reader*, prefixed by Mr Linning to Shields’ “Church Communion enquired into, or a Treatise against Separation.”—Printed 1706.—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I long much to hear from you, and would have written to you before this time, but, till this last fortnight, I have been so throng about my parochial work, that I had little time. I am very much surprised with the last act of the Commission against innovation, August 1709, and wonder to find it conceived in the terms I find it. I do not so much wonder that our engagement against the ceremonies and the hierarchy in our national Covenant, extended to include the unlawfulness of Perth Articles by the Assembly, 1638, is not insisted upon, because I did not expect much of this nature at this juncture. But I cannot understand what led the reverend Commission to insist so much upon the Union Act of Parliament. Indeed, it might have been named and used as *argumentum ad hominem*; though, even in that case, there seems no need to mention the Union, but only the number of the act and the year of the Parliament. For my part, I have no strait to narrate matter of fact. But such is the temper of the people at this juncture, that they cannot hear that act spoken of by ministers, even by way of narration, but they stumble at it, as if we were approving that alteration. I wish very great tenderness, even as to the weakness of the people, may be studied in all draughts of papers that are to be read to vulgar auditories. But I must say, I am stumbled with that expression in the third paragraph of that act—“Our Confession of Faith, founded on the Word of God, and established by law, and unalterably secured to us by the fore-said Union.” This is some more than a narration of the words of the act of Parliament, and to me it seems to import, that in the sense of the Commission, the representative of this Church, our doctrine, &c., are unalterably secured to us by the Union, which I cannot think is a truth; and unless there be some other thing in it than I can yet see, is an express homologation of that groundless opinion of so many, that our constitution is unalterably secured to us by the late Union, and a receding from the honest testimony this Church hath given against that alteration.¹ And I want not

¹ Wodrow here expresses the almost universal opinion which then prevailed in Scotland on the subject of the Union. As a writer of that day observes, “The Ja-

my own fears, that in time and place convenient, this may be improved, both by brethren and others, to import this Church's assent to our security by this change, unless the next Assembly put a *nota* upon this branch of the act of the Commission Book. I wish my fears be groundless, but I am afraid when I see the least buckle loosed that may import a church consent to what has been so grammaminous to the spirits of so many. I hear you were at the Commission when this act was conceived in these terms; and I expect, as soon as you can, to hear from you an account of the way how this crept into that act, for I am jealous the hand of Joab is in it, and of your own sense of this clause. I may be under a mistake about it, but it's not wilful, and I shall be glad to be helped out of it by you who was a witness to the reasonings about it. If you could send me down, or bring down to the Synod with you, the rude draught of Mr James Renwick's Life, it would be most acceptable to me. But I expect a line from you between [this] and then. My humble respects to your wife and daughter.—I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. WODROW.

Eastwood, Sept. 6, 1709.

cobites and the Presbyterian, the persecuting Prelatic Non-Juror and the Cameronian, the Papist and the Reformed Protestant, parled together, joined interest, and concerted measures together" against the Union. In the Articles of Union there is engrossed, in very clear and strong terms, an act securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian Church government, as by law established in Scotland at the Revolution; but this security was judged insufficient by some of the best friends of that Church. Lord Belhaven protested, "That this act is no valid security to the Church of Scotland, as it is now established by law, in case of an Incorporating Union, and that the Church of Scotland can have no real solid security by any manner of union by which the claim of right is unhinged, our Parliament incorporated, and our distinct sovereignty and independency abolished." In this protest he was joined by the principal Jacobite leaders, who were determined Episcopalians! It was clearly seen that the object of the Jacobites was to promote their own political projects, by deepening the repugnance of the Presbyterians against the Union, which was calculated to strengthen the House of Hanover. When the Jacobite party obtained the ascendancy a few years afterwards, the Church of Scotland bitterly experienced the insufficiency of the security given in the Articles of Union. Numerous were the pamphlets which appeared *pro* and *con* on this topic at the time. In one of these, entitled "Lawful Prejudices against an Incorporating Union with England," the writer

LETTER XVII.

TRANSMITTING PAPERS FROM MR HOG OF CARNOCK, AND
REQUESTING HIS OPINION OF THE TIMES.

From Mr John Gib to Wodrow.

[Of the Rev. John Gib, who appears to have stood very high in the estimation of his brethren and of the Church, little information can be obtained. "To primitive integrity and simplicity of character," says Dr Fraser, "he added unwearied diligence in pastoral duty. At one time, it is said, he travelled during a storm to the extremity of his parish, to comfort a godly man in his dying moments. The cottage being solitary, and owing to the inclemency of the weather, no other person venturing that evening to visit the family, he watched with them all night, performing with alacrity every kind office in his power; and when he returned home next day, made the remark, 'That it was no small honour to sit up a winter's night with an heir of glory,' or, in his own homely, but expressive language, 'with a piece of heaven's plenishin'.'"—*Life of E. Erskine*, pp. 208–9.—In the year 1737 he preached a sermon at the opening of the Synod of Fife, from Psalm xlvi. 12–14, in which he bore an explicit testimony against errors opposed to the doctrines of grace, against the violent intrusion of ministers by the law of patronage, and against the treacherous violation of our National Covenant. "Not knowing if ever he might again have so fit an opportunity, he endeavoured, in this small compass, to declare his mind upon several points of great moment, with no less concern than if they had been his last words, and showing on his death-bed to his relations some inclination to have it published, leaving it as his dying testimony to the Church of Scotland."—*Preface to the Reader*, prefixed to the Sermon, which was published in 1743. It well deserves to be reprinted. He died about the year 1742, in the 74th year of his age, and 43d of his ministry, "during which time he was a zealous, faithful, and laborious servant of Jesus Christ." He must, therefore, have been born about the year 1668, and ordained in 1699.—Ed.]

points out the dangers which impended over the Scottish Church from the settlement, most of which either have already been, or seem in the fair way of being, fully realized.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I do acknowledge my fault in not writing sooner to you. However, your letter, I know not by what or by whose neglect, came not to my hand till at about three months after its date, after the arrival of which I writt to the Reverend Mr Hog, and likewise communed with him, and communicated your letter to him; but he told me that he could make no essay at present upon the queries therein contained, in regard of his indisposition. Yet the last week I received a line from him anent the first querie, which I have sent you enclosed, that you may peruse it, by which you will see that there is ground to expect his thoughts anent the rest, so soon as his health will allow. I judge it proper that you write to himself, for I find he is desirous to be acquaint with you, and willing to correspond with you. I have also sent herewith Mr Hog's paper anent the Separatists, which he told me was not his own, but a double he had borrowed, yet was at the pains to correct it with his own hand before he gave it to me. I had neither time nor conveniency to transcribe it, and therefore you'll be pleased to return it with the enclosed letter after perusal, as also his answer to my queries upon the 12th of John, which I likewise herewith send you. I thought ere now to have got the true account of some remarkable passages of Providence I was speaking with you of; but when I went to that minister's house for that end he was not at home, and I heard from him since that they are not as yet all collected. But whenever I receive them, I shall carefully transmit them to you. I doubt not but you have got the notes upon Illumination, otherwise I should have sent them to you. You have in with Mr Hog's paper anent the Separatists their letter to him, which was the occasion of his paper.

Dear Billy,¹ you would much oblige me, if your convenience will allow you, to write your mind at some length anent this dark time, wherein the Lord seems in a great measure to have withdrawn from his servants, people, and ordinances; what success the Gospel has with you, and in your bounds; and what are the sentiments of mi-

¹ This familiar epithet, by which it was common for intimate friends at that time to address one another, may, in the present instance, be meant for "brother."

nisters or others that fear the Lord of public affairs; for truly I find many fears and discouragements amongst the most part here, and no small offence, that the Assembly did not fix the day for the late fast, and that the civil sanction was wanting. I remember your desire to know what the singularities are, wherein A. H.¹ differs from his brethren. Truly, I can say little on that head at this time, having conversed with few of his brethren anent him, but I have conversed with himself. I find him more full and positive in asserting the absoluteness of the Covenant than others are, and a fundamental right that all have to redemption through Christ, which, when explained, amounts to no more, for what I know, than the warrant all have to believe upon the general call. That worthy person is in good terms with his brethren, and though there be different ways of expressing things amongst them, yet I know of no alienation of

¹ Mr Alexander Hamilton, Minister of Airth, is the person here meant. His learning, piety, and attachment to evangelical doctrine, were unquestionable. The Christian simplicity and meekness, combined with fidelity, which he manifested in the year 1720, when he underwent an inquisitorial examination by the Assembly's Committee for purity of doctrine, conduced greatly to his credit, and served to disarm his accusers. After they had sat for the space of eight days, and made him appear ten or eleven times before them, they expressed their satisfaction with his answers to their queries, "and agreed to make a favourable report thereof, and of his conduct in that affair, to the Commission; and resolved on all occasions they will improve it with the greatest affection and brotherly kindness towards him." In an account of their proceedings, drawn up by himself, he says, "I confess, when they were putting some queries to me, which insinuated great suspicion of gross error, and others that I thought grated much upon special Gospel truths, *my heart grew so great, that I could scarce utter a word without a flood of tears.* for which I craved their pardon, and told them it was my infirmity, which I could not help, and some of themselves were so affected that they *teared* also." Account of Controversy respecting The Marrow of Modern Divinity, by Dr M'Crle, (*Christian Instructor*, vol. xxx. pp. 393-4.) The principal points on which he differed with some of his brethren, related to the freeness and universality of the Gospel offer. Mr Hamilton maintained that the blessings of salvation were offered to all men, unconditionally and freely, "without money and without price;" his opponents held that faith and holiness were the conditions on which they were offered. There is in my possession a MS. correspondence between Mr Hamilton and Principal Haddow of St Andrews, of a very friendly description, relating to the Catechism published by the former, which is alluded to in the text. Mr Hamilton died, much lamented, in Stirling, on Sabbath, 29th January 1738.

affection. Thus, desiring to hear from you, and to know if you have yet altered your state of life—I mean, if you have yet gotten a helper, or rather a kindly house-comrade, in which, I assure you, I wish you happy; and praying the Lord's work may prosper in your hands,—I am, my dear Billy, yours sincerely,

JOHN GIB.

LETTER XVIII.

WODROW'S ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AND STATE
OF RELIGION.

For the Rev. Mr John Gib, Minister of the Gospel at Cleish.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have had very little time since my last to you, by the way of Stirling, to answer yours of the 13th of June, what through the throng of communions, and my own in the latter end of August. I am extremely sensible of your kindness in communicating with me Mr Hogg's remarks, and his letter, with his answers to your queries upon the 12th of John, all which I return you with this, and heartily wish they may come safe to your hand. I am very much satisfied with his remarks upon the Dissenters' Letter, and would very gladly see his letter to them which occasioned theirs to him. I am the more fond of papers of this kind, because I have a considerable party of them in this congregation to deal with, as I think I told you when here; and, indeed, I find the Rev. Mr H. has touched, and very solidly answered, most part of the false reasonings they make use of. There is only one head that it is like I may write to himself of, that I want to have a little more fully handled. I own to them

that we groan under many things that we cannot get helped, but in our stations desire to witness against; and as they insist they cannot join in communion lest they let down their testimony against corruption, I offered to take in their testimony; but it has never been given me, and I find they have no mind to do it. However, I would willingly have Mr Hogg's mind in what case a testimony against corruptions in a constitute church is needful from private persons, and how far Ministers may take in and record this, *ad levamen conscientiae scrupulosæ*, in their session books. His answers to your queries are most solid and satisfying. His letter to you I shall write my mind about it to himself.

Dear Billy, you desire my mind about the time, success of the Gospel, &c. I may justly be shy to write any thing anent thir dark times, when my own conscience may justly challenge me for want of that solid concerning exercise I should have about them; and I am so far from standing in God's counsel, and living and lying near to him, in whose light I might see light; yet, that I may not seem to decline a correspondence of this nature, and [to] give you occasion to signify your thoughts about things for my up-stirring and instruction, I will very freely unbosom myself to you. I am persuaded we are entering to some very dark cloud, if mercy and sovereignty step not in, though I must lament my want of any proportioned exercise thereto. After the late happy Revolution there was somewhat of a liking to the Gospel, and some success attending it, though I am sure they that saw the glory of the first temple, had reason to make their weeping more than balance all the joy that they had indeed just ground for. Our inward delivery bears little proportion to our outward; and when I, who am but of yesterday, came to remark matters many years after it, I noticed a growing deadness and darkness in proportion to it,—an evening darkness that has gradually increased to this day. After King William's death, hereabout there was somewhat of a concern upon the spirits of people from the fears of sad alterations; and if ever I was witness to somewhat of the old spirit of concern and wrestling, it was in the time of the Parliament 1703,

when the Toleration was like to be obtruded upon us; and the Lord at that time did remarkably answer the suits of his people. When this cloud was over, there was a sensible up-sitting hereabout, and nothing like the former concern in the 1706 and 1707 for conduct in that business of the Union to our Parliament. Instead of that, woful breaches and heats among those that before were as one man; and such differences not only in judgment but in affection, upon the head of the Union, as are not like to be healed. It's from the time in and about that change of our constitution that I date a sad and heavy change among the remnant in thir bounds; and by it there seems to be laid a ground of controversy between God and this land, that must be pled. That place,—Jer. xiii. 21, —“What wilt thou say when he shall punish thee? (for thou hast taught them to be captains and as chief over thee;) shall not sorrow take thee as a woman in travail?” and Eccles. x. 8, 9, were what seemed to me to point at our sin and punishment. I shall still desire to leave room for sovereignty to act; but I am very much of the mind that our corruptions, and so our desolation for a season, are like to be threaded in gradually upon us: “Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments clean.” Such was the deadness, that crept in upon the back of this national defection, that the last year's designed invasion¹ made very little impression upon

¹ This was the invasion of Scotland by a French fleet under the command of the Chevalier de St George. As the Union between England and Scotland, which took place in 1707, met with the opposition of the great mass of the Scottish people, and as from this and other concurring causes they felt general hatred and resentment towards England, and a new interest in the Stuart Family, the Jacobite party encouraged the Pretender, then an exile in France, to embrace the present favourable opportunity of recovering the throne of his ancestors. By the assistance of the French Court he was supplied with a fleet of five sail of the line, twenty-two frigates, and two transports, with 5000 troops. The Pope contributed liberally to the undertaking, appointed public prayers for its success to be offered up in the English, Irish, and Scottish churches, and granted indulgences to all who would join in offering them up. This attempt of the Pretender was signally unsuccessful. It was resolved to steer the French fleet for the harbour of Burntisland, and, when it arrived behind the Isle of Man, anchor was cast there; but no sooner did the British fleet make its appearance than the French were thrown into consternation, cut their cables, and hastily put to sea. They were pursued by the British fleet, which took

us hereabout, which was truly surprising to me, till I considered that, in a lethargy, awakening things, when they do not prevail, help on the sleep. The abjuration oath, that was (in its being pressed upon us) a fruit of that invasion, hath helped on our ill case, and, I fear, will extremely weaken our hands in time to come, and stale a great many that we might otherwise have depended upon as friendly parties to us in our gradually increasing trial. I sometimes fear we be sifted with Erastianism, from the head of the English Church. At other times I am more afraid of Popery, because we have not received the truth in love. At other times I am more apprehensive of the pestilence; and I think it will be very just, and our sin be written by Providence on our judgment, and that that holy and kind Providence, which we would not trust to nor depend on for the outwards of this poor nation in trade, &c. but would go down to Egypt, may plague us in and by this very thing that our hearts are so much set upon. I have sometimes, with some sort of wonder, considered that variety of strokes we have been trysted with since I remember; famine in its smaller measures, sickness, dearth, disappointment in national designs, the removal of our Parliament, and the liberties and sovereignty once we had, and the barrenness after all, and the little sanctifying or awakening power that has come along with these begun pleadings of God's controversy with us; and have sometimes thought that we have been trysted with most of God's arrows but that of the pestilence. And if this be our next trial, it will be a judgment written with a pen of iron on our sin of fondness upon trade. If this same trade bring us that cargo from the Sound, whence we have had it before, I am sure it will be a just rebuke to that worldly spirit that reigns so much in many, and may reach our greater persons that have not been so much touched either with losses or scarcity. I pray God may avert this besom of destruction!

one of their line ships; and before they reached Dunkirk, the place from which they set sail, they were tossed on a stormy sea for about a month, and nearly the whole of their troops perished through disease produced by the crowded state of the vessels. —See *Struthers' History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 7-45.

The success of the Gospel in our bounds is what you next desire an account of. I shall give you what at present offers to me, both with respect to the ordinary dispensation of the Gospel and Communion times. As to the ordinary work of the Gospel, I believe and hope many of my brethren have much more to say as to the success of the Gospel than I can have, especially those who had the golden tide that was in these bounds for a year or two after the Revolution, when there was some hunger and edge upon people's spirits. My labours are fallen among a blameless, moral people; and sometimes I am willing to hope there may be a change upon some, though not so observable upon the profane. At other times I fear this be but a suggestion of self, because I would have it thus; so you must not judge of the state of thir bounds by my accounts, which mostly run upon my own remarks, and God forbid but my brethren hereabout had no more success. And, therefore, I shall give you the following remarks as to the state of religion and the Gospel, as they have fallen under my observation, both as to the generality, and as to God's own remnant among us, without any order.

When I came first to this place, six years since, bating a month, I remarked somewhat like success, though I can scarce give it that name. Some persons that before had been utterly unconcerned, began to be full of fears and questions, and [there was] a great application to family and secret duty, and some seeming seriousness in public; and, I cannot but say, a correspondent tender walk and kindly exercise in some few. Alas! a child might count them. And yet to this time our people are generally outwardly obedient, and subject to word and discipline, except it be some few worldly worms, and profane wretches, and our Dissenters,¹ which are upon the growing hand since our late Union.

¹ A considerable number of individuals, who were warmly attached to the principles of the Second Reformation, declined joining with the Church of Scotland at the Revolution, regarding the settlement then made for her by the Government, as so unsatisfactory as to warrant separation from her communion. These were called, at this time, the Old Dissenters. They professed the principles of those called, during the persecution, Cameronians and the Society people,—the followers of

But, generally, I have remarked any seeming concern they had, when the Gospel first came, wearing off; the Gospel and my labours (sinful and weak) among them are like to turn customary; and, like things they are daily used with, they are not affecting. Examination, though presently well frequented, yet the ignorant are like to be ignorant still; family visitation, twice a year, is become of less weight with them, and I must say, though no doubt it's my fault and sin, less sweet to me, having little now to say to them. Besides, I cannot but lament another evil I observe too frequent among us in thir bounds, and that is, an undervaluing of the ministry among persons of note and distinction, (though, for my own part, I am very happily circumstantiate this way, in this place, and therefore take the more liberty to speak of this.) Many of the nobility and gentry pay not that deference to the office that once in a day was given, though I believe there is as little of this in the West as in any part of this kingdom, yet in several places it is upon the growing hand. As this kind undervalue, so there are some who have a warm side to religion who overvalue instruments and particular persons, which wants not its own hazard with respect to the sensible part of strangers to

Richard Cameron, Donald Cargill, and James Renwick, who broke off from the rest of the suffering Presbyterians, on account of the Indulgence in 1679, and openly declared war against the tyrant on the throne. On the death of Renwick, they had for some time only one preacher, Mr Shields, and no ordained ministers, until Mr Thomas Linning and Mr William Boyd, who had been ordained abroad, returned and dispensed ordinances among them. But these three individuals having joined the National Church in 1690, the Cameronians were left as sheep without a shepherd till 1706, when they were joined by the Rev. Mr M'Millan, a minister of the Established Church, who had been deposed by the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright, for no other reason, as it would appear, than for refusing to retract a paper of grievances which he had presented to the presbytery. Besides condemning the Revolution Settlement, in which they were joined by many in the Church, this body of Christians were distinguished by denying the lawfulness of the Civil Government, and refusing subjection to the existing civil rulers, even after the Revolution, on the ground that they wanted those qualifications which were required by the Word of God and our Covenants. They existed chiefly in the west and south of Scotland. Their representatives, in the present day, go under the denomination of "The Reformed Presbyterian Church."

religion, and opens their mouths against the godly; but its greatest evil (next to its sinfulness) is to themselves that do so. This looking to [and] flocking after particular ministers is much abated among us within this while, though there is too much of it remains. There is a third evil that is yet more general among the vulgar, and of the worst consequence as to the success of the Gospel, and that is a spirit of jealousy with respect to ministers. Do or say what we will, the worst construction is put upon it, and some uncharitable sense or other is fixed upon our silence, words, or actings. The date of this I have mostly remarked to be since the late alteration in our constitution by the Union, and from Mr M'Millan's preaching, with his helper,¹ in these bounds, and the incessant aspersions cast upon the present ministry by them in public, and their followers, both in their converse and trafficking up and down the country, and their pamphlets and papers, in write and print, which they spread every where.

These things, with our sins and our slackening both in diligence and dependence, and many other procuring causes, keep me from being any way surprised at the remarkable stand conversion-work is at in this day; which is so great, that were I not a stranger very much to the rest of this Church, I would be ready to say there is no sorrow like ours in thir bounds. And yet there are some few of the old antediluvian Christians among us, though but very few left, that are like a shock of ripe corn, very much edified and ripened from Sabbath to Sabbath for glory by the Gospel, and though they weep when they think on the old temple, yet are very full and frank in their testimony to God's being in and with his servants at this day. But there is a sort of people who were brought up under Episcopacy, and were neglected in their youth, so grossly ignorant and unconcerned, that they are really surprising to me; after twenty years' outward at-

¹ Mr M'Neil, a preacher in the National Church, who, having been deprived of his licence for opposing some parts of her public managements, deserted the party of Mr Hepburn, to which he had been supposed to be attached, and went over to the views of Mr M'Millan.—(*Struthers' Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 61.)

tendance upon ordinances, they are as far from the kingdom of God as if no pains had been taken on them. With respect to these I am truly heartless, and very near hopeless; and I reckon them as dead weights both on ministers and others that have come up since. And I am beginning to fear that severals that were young, and yet at the Revolution capable of understanding the Gospel, since it came last among us, and have had some little convictions and awakenings some years since, and have found ways to bear them down, may be reckoned among the same number. These two are the bulk of our congregations, and the closest of dealing in secret in public, calls and Gospel offers are like to have no weight at all with them; and conversions of such are for signs and for wonders in thir bounds. It is only some few among the younger sort that are coming up that are like to be moved to any kind of concern, and I cannot but remark it up and down, that some of the plentiful seed that is now sown, is like to take root in some of this fallow-ground that has not yet been manured. And yet sometimes I would have it heavy on my spirit, when I observe several sad things among the younger sort of Christians. They have been born under this bright light of the Gospel, and pains taken on their education, and they want not some measure of head-knowledge, but their light eats out their exercise, and they rest, I fear, too much on their knowledge, and turn light, airy, and frothy, and wofully evaporate in questions and debates too high for them, and turn giddy and unstable, turned about with every wind of doctrine. And such of them as are more closely exercised, I have remarked them run to another extreme, that I take to be exceedingly dangerous, though I desire to observe it with all tenderness to them. They are frequently shaken, what with one temptation, what with another, and they take not the safest (as I at least understand it to be) way to examine themselves by solid Scripture marks, nor go this way to the law and to the testimony; neither do they draw any comfort from their tender and close walk with God, when under darkness; but, in the room of these, limit their inquiry to their former experiences, and till they come up the length of these again

they will not be satisfied, and try themselves mostly with respect to the places of Scripture that have been *borne in* upon them, and will receive no satisfaction nor comfort till these or some new Scriptures be borne in upon them, to the raising of their affections. I think I told you my fears before of this way of religion, and I shall only now add that, if I mistake it not, it very much mars the usefulness of the Gospel to them; for unless the minister either preach upon, or happen to cite some of those in-borne Scriptures to them, or some Scripture he happens to insist upon, be set home on their minds with a sensible gale, like to what they formerly felt, they will not let it light they get any profit by a sermon. But I must leave this sort, whose case is so confused many times with their way of managing self-trial, that I have really been but indistinct in giving an account of it.

Let me remark further, that though with these persons, upon these accounts and many more, the Gospel wants its wished-for success, yet it is not without good effects with a considerable number of those that are brought in. As I hinted before, I would very willingly hope that it's secretly, though in a hidden way, (for God's glorious ends, which may be very many,) doing some good even to strangers; but I humbly think that the great part of the usefulness of the Gospel at this day is to such as are already converted; and, indeed, several of such are growing both in knowledge, and solidity, and experience, and gradually sealing and fitting up for the standing through and bearing up a testimony for religion in the years of famine that we seem to have before us. Indeed, even among such, I remark a great deal of damp, sinking, and distress, many complaints, and some exercise under them; and I am sorry I have it to tell you that this is at present very generally the case of the remnant among us, under which we very much need the sympathy of all that have moyened at the throne with you. And, indeed, considering the many sad things they have to buckle with in their own case, and the growing evidences of the Lord's displeasure with us, I do not much wonder at the heartlessness of those that know the times; only, I cannot but

wish that it had more of exercise and holding up of the hands, and less sinking joined with it. It's to this heavy damp upon the spirits of the remnant hereabout, that, in part, I must attribute a sad decay I observe in social duties, wherein the Christians in the West of Scotland did once so much shine, and upon which the success of the Gospel, in a way of mean, does so much depend. There is a remarkable upsitting among us in mutual freedom one with another, both in communicating experiences, and in observing and reproving failings and faults; and, which is ordinarily a sad concomitant of this, there is a great decay in our Christian fellowships for prayer and conference. And, if I have experience of anything of this kind, I can set to my seal to the usefulness of meetings of this kind; and if ever I knew anything of liberty in public, it hath been after joint wrestling.

Thus, with all freedom, you have my confused thoughts with respect to the state of religion and the Gospel hereabout, as it hath occurred to my narrow observation. ' I may justly fear I have, by this time, outweari'd you; but I do sometimes think we, that have opportunities to make remarks upon the state of religion and success of the Gospel, are very much wanting to ourselves, and short of our duty in our stations, when we do not communicate one with another our observations of this kind. I am very sensible that I have offer'd you very little but what you know better than I, except as it relates to thir bounds; and all I pretend to is, in obedience to your desire, to lay it before you, that I may have an account how matters are with you. And I am persuaded if our conferences, one with another when we meet, were more upon these things, and our correspondence closer, that are set upon the tower as watchmen, we might have a clearer view of matters in this dark time, and might both be helped into the knowledge of God's controversy, and our work among our people, and our hands more strengthened in our duty. This shall be all the apology I will make for my giving you what occurs to my observation as to communion times hereabout, those fair-days of the Gospel. When I reflect upon the communion of the Shotts, the communion

of Holywood, and others I could name ; when I remember these things, I dare not say my soul is poured out within me ; but I can say, I would fain be more affected than I am with the sad difference between our times and those before us, yea, under the darkest times of Episcopacy, as the communion of the Shotts you know was.

I give you these few things that have come under the bounds of my observation. *1st*, That, as in the ordinary dispensation of ordinances there is a sad change among us, so there is no part of the Gospel wherein there is a more sensible change to the worse in several things, than this of the Lord's Supper. The blame certainly is in us and the people. And yet I cannot but, *2dly*, remark, that I never saw ministers more helped where I heard than at this summer of communions. I never heard closer dealings, lower marks, lower offers of grace, than I have heard this last summer, and whatever be in it, the people are neither straitened in God nor in his servants. I am really ready to turn melancholy, sometimes, when I compare the remarkable closeness and freedom of some that I hear, and the seeming unconcernedness of the hearers, and of myself in particular. *3dly*, There is not only a great decay in the diligence and fervency in hearing, but, which to me is very terrible, a sensible letting down of hands in the duty of secret and joint prayer at communions. I hinted at this upon the former head, and I shall only remark to you, that some years ago the voice of prayer used to be heard in the dwellings of the righteous, and, blessed be God, it's not altogether away in some places. It was customary for the friends of Christ, that kept correspondence together, to set their tryst first with God, and then with one another at communions, and as many of Christian fellowship as could, generally the bulk of the meeting, endeavoured to be altogether, at particular occasions of this nature, and to be together for prayer, with any of the congregation, where the Supper is, joining with them that could. And I cannot tell you how many such wrestlings of the wale and best of our Christians used to be at some particular occasions ; there, indeed, there were singular mea-

tures of wrestling in prayer. What through the breaches I spoke of before, and heartlessness, and other things, this is very much like to wear out; though some do yet what in them lies to keep it up. They used to stay still in the place a little after the solemnity was over, and join in thanksgiving and farther wrestling; and this is very much fallen from; there is, indeed, somewhat of it before these occasions, but our concern after them is very much let fall. From these meetings, as means, the great success of the Gospel at the Shotts, Holywood, and Irvine, in Mr D. Dickson's time, and the famous Stewartown sickness, were dated. And so, *4thly*, it's no great wonder that at our communions now there is very little conversion-work. Though I have it to remark to the credit of this ordinance, in a time when it's very much spoken against, that the first awakenings and upstirrings of most part that use freedom with me in these matters, are dated from the Gospel in and about communions. This is, indeed, much at an ebb these several years; and the greatest advantage I find attending these solemn times is comfort, quickening, and establishment unto the people of God, who have been before brought in; and severals have it to remark, that the Gospel is more lively and upstirring for sometime after, in the place where a communion hath been. I notice, *5thly*, that we have much abated in these bounds as to the multitudes that used to flock to communions in most places, which hath its own advantages as to the outward order in going about this solemn work; and the abuses and profanation of the Lord's day by strangers is here much at an end. And were it not that I find great upsitting in the remnant themselves, in their haunting these solemnities, joined with it, I would reckon this one branch of our reformation. But it's matter, *6thly*, of a sorrowful remark, that gradually, and in proportion to the upsitting in other things, for these several years, there has been a decay in the number of our communicants, in many places up and down the country, which I take to be a very ill sign among us. The occasions of this, which in several places has been very much regretted this last summer, I will not much enter upon. I find some imputing it to the ill temper of our people, that can-

not bear any endeavours that have been used to reform abuses at communions from multitudes, &c. Our Synod has made regulations anent the number of assistants each minister is to have; and recommended that as few as may be should be employed, and that, on the Sabbath, we do not employ our next neighbours, lest their people wander and create confusion; and that neighbouring congregations have the sacrament together on the same day; and places where it can be had endeavour to have it in the winter-time. Such is the temper of the generality at this juncture, that they can bear no alterations without stumbling, be they never so much calculated to the advantage of the common interest of religion. And I hear some complaints, from some places, that ministers do not allow the people (that they may prevent flockings and the profanation of the Sabbath by non-communicants) sermon without on the Sabbath, or at least do not begin without (as certainly was in custom in our former Presbyterian times) till the tables are a-serving. And it's matter of murmuring likewise, that some ministers have but one sermon upon Saturday and one upon Monday. But these things are but in some very few places, and therefore cannot be the cause of the general in-drink that is remarked in the number of our communicants; and, therefore, I am rather ready to attribute this to the remarkable decay that is among the remnant themselves, and the lamentable divisions among us, and the suspicious jealousies that are industriously spread of ministers. Yea, several are come the length as to state ground of their withdrawing from the table to be, our admitting such to the table that have taken the abjuration oath. I might add a great many other occasions of this slackness in communicating, that is with many, but I pass them of design, lest my letter degenerate to a treatise. *7thly*, Even in those that do come to the table, we have an evil which I hope is peculiar to thir bounds, a woful backwardness in a great many of the commonalty to come to the table, that protracts our work, and mars its beauty very much. They wait for a sensible frame to approach in, and, in waiting, generally lose any thing they have, and grow worse, and

their darkness, fears, and doubts, grow upon their hand, and are either kept away altogether at the last table, or come under a great deal of confusion. I must, *8thly*, tell you my fears with respect to a great many that want the root of the matter at these occasions. They, through the solemnity of the work, have a fit and flash of seriousness bred, and, depending upon this without any solid Christian exercise, they venture forward unworthily, and, I am afraid, we have a great deal of blood-guiltiness upon this score, or take this for conversion, and hug themselves in it, and go on with a lie in their right hand, till God find them out. And, *lastly*, to end your trouble upon this head, I tremble sometimes to think upon the judicial strokes that I apprehend (I wish I were mistaken) are going very throng upon an unconcerned generality at our communions. The very sight of Christ evidently set forth crucified before them, without any care upon them to be suitably exercised in their being witnesses to such an awful solemnity, together with the low offers of Christ, and the clear calls and suitable directions the servants of Christ are directed to at such times when stood out against, I am afraid bring on a scruff of hardness, that they are not so much as touched with the ordinary dispensation of the Gospel; and because they will not be purged when God would purge them, they are not like to be purged till they die, and the wrath of God come upon them to the uttermost. I pray God may avert my fears; but from the thoughts of this I am generally very melancholy upon the back of communions, though I am satisfied they are times of power to some, and I would not despise our day of small things. Thus you have what occurs to me upon the head you desire my thoughts on; and I hope you will use the same freedom with me as to the state of religion in your bounds, from which I hope for better accounts than I can give you.

There is only one article of your letter behind, anent the offence taken at our late Assembly, their not naming the [day] for the fast, and its wanting the civil sanction. I do not doubt but you may be better informed by your brethren anent the grounds of this than I can pretend to. I was not at the last meeting of the committee

upon that affair, being at another committee, and so did not hear their reasonings; but, as far [as] I remember, the things that in after-conference with the brethren were most satisfactory to me were these:—The Commissioner pretended that he could not have time to have an express back from Court anent the day, unless the Assembly should sit some days longer than either he or we were very willing it should. And I heard it said, by whose influence I know not, that he had, the day before that business came to be agitated, writt up to Court that our fast was to be remitted to synods and presbyteries for this time; and it was thought a very hard lock to bring him on, who had still been so easy to us, to make him send up an express about the day, especially since the naming of one day for all the kingdom would have been a delaying the fast in most places till the season (the seed time, upon which, you know, it was main[ly] founded) was much over; and it was said and thought by some that it was as full an exercise of our intrinsic power, and less depending upon the magistrate, for synods and presbyteries to do it, as for the Assembly. Besides, I remember those that were sent to the Commissioner, represented from him to the committee, that before he came down he had spoken with the Treasurer, Sommers, and some others of the leading men at Court, anent the umbrage that was taken at the Queen's appointing fasts and thanksgivings, without a concert had with this Church; and they seemed sensible of the hazard it might bring of ill-humour among the people, and promised to use their influence with the Queen that this Church should be eased of this grievance. And it was thought unfit to be too peremptour at that time in naming the day, lest it might prevent methods that might be taken above for preventing this in time to come. Upon these, and some other things that have escaped me, the committee fell in to a memorial anent the after appointing of fasts and thanksgivings, which the Commissioner promised to present to the Queen, and use his interest to get throughed, and said, in open Assembly, he doubted not but the Queen would make us every way easy in that matter. This memorial being read in the Assembly, and a deed of this

Church, seemed to me to be equivalent to, and as proper a method for, a testimony against any thing gravaminous in this matter, as if the Assembly had named the day. The want of the civil sanction had no ill consequences in thir bounds, and I found most of the brethren in the North of the mind that it would be as well kept with them, (there the hazard seemed greatest,) by the authority of the Assembly, as if it had had the civil sanction. And, really, for my own part, I would not be much straitened at the Queen's appointing fasts and thanksgivings upon just grounds, providing the Church judicatories likewise now and then exercised their power likewise, and provided we be not gradually threaded in to greater encroachments on the Church's rights this way.

It's time, and more than time, to put an end to your trouble by this long scroll. I am very much satisfied with your account of the w[orthy] Mr A. H.,¹ and am glad to hear there is no alienation of affection on this score. I wish, at your leisure, you would communicate a hint of the different ways he has of expressing his thoughts on these heads from others. I long very much for your collections anent the Remarkable Providences you give ground to hope for, and expect a long line from you as soon as you can.² I need not desire you to deliver the enclosed to the Rev. Mr Hogg.—I am yours, in the greatest sincerity,

R. W.

Eastwood, September 14, 1709.

¹ Alexander Hamilton. See before, p. 45.

² Wodrow was an assiduous collector of "Remarkable Providences," many of which, as they occurred within his own observation, or were communicated by private friends, he has engrossed in that curious collection of truths and trifles, called his *Analecta*. MS. Adv. Libr.

LETTER XIX.

SOLICITING ADVICE ON VARIOUS POINTS.

To the Rev. Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It is now a considerable time since I was very desirous of the advantage of your acquaintance, sympathy, and correspondence. To tell you how this came about, perhaps, may not be so agreeable to your modesty, and low thoughts of yourself, and your public performances. And, therefore, I shall only say that I have found very much satisfaction in the several papers and books you have favoured the public with; and Providence, last year but one, offered me the opportunity of a visit from my old and college acquaintance, Mr John Gib, who increased my desire of the benefit of your friendship. I had a great deal of satisfaction to find in your paper anent illumination, the head I had been talking with him about, anent the injecting of Scriptures, so fully handled; and was further instructed by yours to him some time of October last, and very much pleased with yours to him about June last, anent unknown sins striking against the declarative glory of God, both which he was pleased to communicate with me. The occasion, perhaps, of my difficulty upon this head was my too narrow notion of God's declarative glory. I had no doubts about secret sins, unknown to myself or the world their being against God's law, which I know binds me, being promulgate sufficiently, whether I have the knowledge of it or not. But the idea that I had taken up of God's declarative glory, in contradistinction to his essential, was that glory of his sovereignty as a law-giver that was taken up by his creatures, and so involved somewhat of knowledge in its nature; and I conceived his essential glory to be in his infinite perfections, whether taken up by us or not. This laid the foundation of my difficulty, and this made me mainly desire to have the nature of God's declarative glory laid open. I presumed, by him, to give you the trouble of several other queries

that occurred then to me, (*vide* former Letter to Mr Gib, vol. [i.] p. 176.¹) This trouble from a stranger certainly needs an apology, which I am very ill at making; I shall only say, that it's in order to know sin and duty, and be further fitted for the work of my station; and the savoury report I have had of your communicative temper, that prevailed with me to make my application to you by my dear brother, Mr Gib, and now by myself. I am grieved to learn from yours to him, that you are so valetudinary, and heartily wish your health may be restored and preserved, that you may be further useful in your Master's work. I had almost forgot to return you my hearty thanks for your remarks on the Dissenter's Letter, the reading of which, I hope, through the blessing of God, may be useful to me. I have a considerable number of them in this congregation, and their (I had almost said wilful) mistakes of ministers, in this dark time, are like to bar the door of their recovery to join in ordinances; and the continual trafficking they make up and down this country is like to draw some more to their way.²

¹ The Letter alluded to is in vol. i. of Wodrow's Letters, which is awaiting.

² Wodrow, in his letters, makes frequent allusions to the old Dissenters or Cameronians, for whose peculiar principles he evidently had no sympathy, and towards whom he had, perhaps, some little sprinkling of prejudice, which would doubtless be increased by meeting with some of them who, as Mr Hog says, "were ignorant, and of a pharisaical set, highly conceited of themselves, and despising others." (*Memoirs of Hog of Carnock*, p. 99;) and by the extravagancies into which some of the party went, the result to a considerable extent of the circumstances in which they were placed, having no church courts, and no regular dispensation of divine ordinances for a long period. (See *Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 203.) Nor does even good Thomas Boston appear to have entertained any partiality for them. After his settlement in Ettrick, he complains that there was a considerable number of them in that place, who had all along been a dead weight on his ministry; that many deserted his ministrations, and acceded to that body; and that he was often treated by such with disrespect. When speaking of a dissension in his congregation, and the breaking off of many of his hearers in 1708, in consequence of his observing a fast on the 14th of January, appointed by the civil magistrate, he says, "Instead of the converse I some time a day had with exercised Christians about their own spiritual case, I was engaged in disputes about the public, and about separation, and how to defend the lawfulness and duty of hearing me preach the Gospel; and for the most part to no effect. So that many a time it was a terror to me to go out among them; and coming to particular places, I often looked very blunt, finding myself beset with contemners of me

You have touched almost every head of their false reasonings. Only there is one pretence they make I would very gladly be cleared about, by you that have considered all the points of debate with them, very maturely. In reasoning with them, I could not but grant, that several things were wrong among us, which we desire to be mended as well as they, and willingly, in a regular way, and in the road of church communion will witness against; but these are not of that kind as to vindicate a secession; and in other points wherein they and I could not agree, I offered to take in their testimony, which they once seemed to relish, but never have done it. Now, the question wherein I would have your mind is, how far, and in what things, it's necessary and duty for private persons to bear a public testimony against corruptions in a constitute church, that are matter of mourning to the godly in it as well as them; and how far ministers may take it in and record it *ad levamen conscientiæ*. There is another head I would willingly have your mind upon, that is like to be matter of trial to us in thir bounds, and that is, private communicating. Except some few of the writers against Perth Articles, I can find very little against it in print; and I would willingly have what arguments satisfy you anent its unlawfulness. I have several scruples anent the act of the last commission against innovations, particularly that clause in the third paragraph, "Our Confession of Faith, founded on the word of God, and established by law, and unalterably secured to us by the foresaid Union;" how far this may go to homologate our security, by that alteration of our constitution, I know not; but till I get further light, I am so far from thinking either our doctrine, or any thing of the kind to be secured, that I have very different thoughts of it. I hope you will pardon me in taking the freedom to propound these things to you; it's entirely to get light from your greater experience and closer thoughts. Any thing and my ministry; who often kept not within the bounds of common civility." So deep an impression did this opposition make on the sensitive mind of Boston, that when he was called to the parish of Closeburn in 1716, he showed the greatest aversion to be translated, ingenuously admitting that the real ground of his reluctance was the prevalence of the Old Dissenters' principles in that place.—*Boston's Memoirs*, pp. 228 and 341.

you have leisure to favour me with anent these, or the former heads, will be most acceptable. If I can serve you in any thing in this country, I hope you will use all freedom with me. If you incline to dispose any of your books or papers to sale in this country, I will use my best endeavours to help them off. Begging your excuse for the trouble of this, and the favour of a line from you now and then, when your health and weightier work allow you, and a deep concern in me and the Lord's work in this place, I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your very much obliged, and most sincere well-wisher and servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Sept. 20, 1709.

LETTER XX.

To the Rev. Mr James Guthry, Minister of the Gospel at Irongray.

DEAR COUSIN,—I have long waited for your promised beginning of our correspondence, which I am very fond of. I have of a long time thought we were wanting to ourselves and the common interest, that there is so little of this among us. I can promise you little from this barren place for news, but any thing that is a-going, you shall have. Upon the eighth current, your cousin, my brother-in-law, was married to the Laird of Grange's sister, of which it's like you have had an account from my mother. Glenlee is at Glasgow just now, and in terms with Sir Thomas Cathcart's only daughter. I am heartily satisfied you have got Traquire so comfortably settled with my old comrade, Mr Boy. If I had known Mr J. Simson had been in your bounds to receive his successor, I had given you this by him, but now it must take its fate to come to you I know not how, but I hope by yours you will direct me in time to come. We are alarmed here by an account of a squabble between some of Mr M'Millan's followers and some of the officers of justice in that country, wherein they talk some lives were lost; pray let me have an ac-

count of this matter *ab ovo*.¹ I have heard nothing either of your neighbour Mr Hepburn,² nor Mr M'Millan, since I saw you, and I

¹ In his answer to this letter, Mr Guthry gives a circumstantial account of the affair referred to, which does not appear to have been creditable to either of the parties engaged. No lives, however, were lost. The squabble arose from the attempt of the heritors of the parish of Balmagie, where Mr M'Millan was minister, to obtain possession of the parish church for the new incumbent after Mr M'Millan's deposition. The following is a specimen of the opposition made by the people to the stewart-depute: "When he came to the Water of Dee, within a mile of the church of Balmagie, there met him about a dozen of women, and one of them, being an old wife, had a long rung in her hand, which she lifted up, thinking with it to beat the stewart's horse, but was so feeble that she had almost fallen under the horse's feet; yet upon this he cried out, Violence! and the rest of the women being hereby encouraged, asked him where he was going, &c. And after he was gone, there was a man in his company, who, on his way home, was set upon by some women, and soundly beaten, yet so as his life was in no danger."—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 92.

² Mr John Hepburn was one of those good men, of whom there was a considerable number in the Church of Scotland, after the Revolution, who, though they did not see it their duty to make a formal separation from her, disapproved of her constitution as legally settled at that period. The measures, with respect to church affairs, which were afterwards pursued, both by Church and State, added to their grievances. They complained that the General Assembly refused judicially to vindicate the faithful contendings of the Presbyterians during the period of persecution, to approve of the Reformation attained to between 1638 and 1649, to acknowledge the continued obligation of our national covenants, and to use means for their renovation; that not only to please, but, at the command of the Court, many of the curates, who had been deeply involved in the late persecution, were admitted into her pulpits without any due evidence afforded of their repentance; and that the State had made Erastian encroachments on the liberties of the Church, by repeatedly calling and dissolving her Assemblies, by appointing days for fasting and thanksgiving, and by imposing various oaths upon ministers as a necessary qualification for their office. Mr John Hepburn, who had been licensed privately in London during the persecution, and who was settled at Urr, after the Revolution, belonged to this class. In October 1793, he gave in a paper of public grievances to the Synod of Dumfries; and he was afterwards prosecuted both before the Synod and General Assembly, for his freedom in condemning the backslidings of the Church, and preaching and baptizing beyond the bounds of his parish. For these irregularities, as they were called, in January 1696, the sentence of suspension from the office of the ministry was, in his absence, inflicted upon him by the General Assembly—a sentence which he considered null and void, as having been pronounced on insufficient grounds, and, therefore, he continued, notwithstanding, in the exercise of his ministry. He was afterwards libelled before the Privy Council, imprisoned, and banished for three years from his people, who, during all that time, felt for him warm affection and tender sympathy. The sentence of suspension was removed in 1699, and he continued undisturbed in his ministry till the accession of Queen Anne to the throne in 1703, when his refusal to

would fain have accounts of them that may be depended upon, having severals of that way in this place. You'll please, likewise, to let me know how the clause of the Commission's late act against innovations, "That our Confession of Faith, &c. is unalterably secured to us by the aforesaid Union," goes down in your Whiggish country. For my part, I did not expect such a testimony to the Union from the Commission at this time a-day. I would willingly know what is become of your clamant case, and the proposal for ministers and entrants to subscribe the Directory, &c., with all the singularities your country affords. You see I have cut out work to you for a good long letter, which the sooner it comes the more acceptable it will be. We are under melancholy enough apprehensions of hazard from ships from Dantzic and the Sound, both upon our west seas and from the east. The pestilence is raging terribly in these places, and come to them from Poland, where the just God has been pursuing a quarrel for that prince's shameful apostacy from our holy religion; and it may likewise be punishing that place as a seminary of the pestilential Socinian errors; and if it come over to us, as it did the last time we were visited by it from these parts, the sin of our too great fondness upon trade, to the neglecting of our more valuable interests, I humbly think will be written upon our judgment. Our public news, I believe, you will have better and sooner in the prints, and from Edinburgh, than I can give you them. I give my kindest respects to all acquaintance with you. My wife hath you very kindly remembered. I am, Dear Cousin, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Sept. 21, 1709.

take the Oath of Allegiance subjected him to new troubles. He was summoned before the Commission in April 1705, and deposed from the office of the holy ministry: this sentence he disregarded, as he formerly did the sentence of suspension, and continued to preach and bear testimony against the defections of the Church. The sentence of deposition was taken off by the Commission in June 1707; and Mr Hepburn still persevered in condemning the public evils which he deplored, and which the progress of time was only increasing and aggravating.—(*M^r Crie's Memoirs of Veitch*, p. 212, 213; *Struthers' History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 76–90.) He died at Urr, in the spring of 1723.—*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 114.

P. S.—My mother-in-law has allowed me the perusal of two of your uncle's (Mr James Guthrie's) MS., The Waters of Sihor, and his Letters with Mr Brown. I am wonderfully taken with them; and as I had a very high idea of him before, so now my thoughts are much enlarged of him. He has been a person of the greatest reach in natural parts and good reasoning, and the greatest honesty and straightness in principles, that I believe hath been almost ever in this Church. Pray let me know if you have any other of his remains, whether letters or treatises. They ought to be preserved most carefully, which I know you do. This morning, a little before eight, my wife was safely brought to-bed of a daughter.

Sept. 26, 1709.

LETTER XXI.

NEWS.

For Mr Alexander M^cCrackan, Minister of the Gospel at Lisburn.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 8th of September, by a post, which was very acceptable. I give you my hearty thanks for the two papers enclosed. I think the Lord Wharton's speech is a check upon the act, in as far as it relates to you, and am very glad he hath thus expressed himself. I doubt not but you have heard of one Mr Greenshields, that came over from Ireland to this country in April last, and was invited by the English Managers of the Excise Customhouse-officers, and such cattle, to Edinburgh, to set up the English service; and accordingly set it up in a house just at the Cross.¹ This, among other things, produced

¹ *James Greenshields and the English Liturgy.*—"A poor curate," says Defoe, "of L. 15 a-year in Ireland, but born in Scotland, comes over to Edinburgh to mend his commons; and having taken the oaths, he falls in with this party, (the Jacobites, who were attempting to introduce the Liturgy,) who finding him a person of prosti-

the act I sent you in May last. Upon this intrusion several letters were writ to Court; and the Queen has of late writ down to her Advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, her mind anent this affair. I had the honour to be with his L[ordship] last week, and he did me the favour to read the Queen's letter, in as far as it related to that affair. The Queen tells him, she had the intrusion of Mr Greenshields laid before her, and commands the Advocate to call him, and discharge him to use that service at Edinburgh, and to signify to him and all others concerned, that she will allow no encroachments to be made upon the Established Church, and will maintain them in all their privileges. These were the words of her Majesty's letter, as near as I can mind. This letter has a little damped that party, and they are quiet a little till a new occasion offer of disturbing us. Our Synod met here in the beginning of this month, and had little before them but private business. We have been under very great fears of the pestilence from our ships that came from the Sound, of which there are a great many upon our coasts,

tuted morals, a large stock in the face, and ready, if well paid, to do their work, they promise him fourscore pounds a-year."—(*Hist. of Union, Pref.* p. 19.) Greenshields having refused to desist from using the Liturgy, though repeatedly warned, his meeting-house was shut up, and himself incarcerated, by order of the Magistrates of Edinburgh. "Nor would the Magistrates have committed him," says Defoe, "had he not insolently triumphed in his contempt of their authority, appeared openly at the Cross to let them see that contempt, and, by all the methods possible to him, insulted them in the affair of their sentence."—(*Ibid.* p. 23.) Urged on by the Jacobite faction, he brought his case before the Court of Session, who confirmed the sentence of the Magistrates. Ultimately he carried it by appeal before the House of Lords, by whom the sentence was reversed, March 1, 1710. Making all allowances for Defoe's political antipathies, on account of which he became peculiarly obnoxious to the Jacobites, there can be no doubt he is right in asserting, that the object of that faction, in encouraging Greenshields, was to pave the way for the toleration afterwards extended to the Episcopalians in Scotland; and that the design of that toleration was, not to afford relief to the consciences of Episcopalians, for few of that communion in Scotland cared about the Liturgy, and many disliked it so much, that they were with difficulty brought to submit to it; but solely to annoy the Presbyterians, and prepare for the restoration of the exiled family. "We conceive that by these illegal and unwarrantable intrusions and innovations, they design no less than the ruin of both Church and State."—*Address of Inhabitants of Edinburgh to Commission of the General Assembly, 1710.*

with their quarantine. I mind very little remarkable to give you from this country further. Our harvest is good, blessed be the Lord, and generally well got in, and our markets falling apace. Pray let me have Mr Boy's Sermon upon Ordination by Presbyters, and the papers that are writ on both sides, as also the paper upon marriages you were formerly expecting. I am much indebted to you for your account of your convocation; if there be any further particulars, or any thing in print about it, I hope you [will] send them per next. I want not my own fears the act empowering Justices to impose the Abjuration Oath may prove troublesome to some. And I take the liberty to transcribe a roundell upon oaths that is in my hands, the application I shall pass till another time:—

Our fathers took oaths as they used to take wives,
For better for worse to last them their lives;
But we now take oaths as we take w——s for ease,
And a w—— and a rogue may part when they please.

I shall communicate any thing you send me with your friends here. I give my humblest duty to Mr M^cBride, and all acquaintance with you. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,
R. W.

Eastwood, Oct. 20, 1709.

P. S.—I communicate yours with Mr James Stirling, who read yours to me, wherein am heartily sorry to hear of novelties like to be brought in by Mr James Kilpatrick and Mr Gowan;—their altering our ordinary practice on fast-days, and haranguing instead of preaching upon a portion of scripture, and spending the rest of time in prayer. I am sensible that we are upon the other extreme in some places here. Our sermons are too prolix on our fast-days, and too little time is spent in prayer; but I am persuaded that opening up scripture is a very proper work on a fast-day, from the scripture pattern; though it should not be so lengthened out as to

exclude a considerable time being spent in prayer, which I take to be a very material part of fast-day's work. We have had some mints at bringing in the use of the Lord's prayer some years since in this country, much of the same nature with these attempts you write of, but they were not noticed, and gradually they dropt. For my own part, the thing I most challenge in such things is the ill-timing of such changes, when we are under such hazard upon all hands. Our observers of the English Church rejoice at such attempts, and our people are not of a temper to bear any changes to the better almost, much less to any act that seems to favour a receding from our former principles. The Lord grant us the wisdom of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove, and that wisdom wherein we should walk toward them that are without. I heard (but whether true or not I know not) that Mr Kilpatrick uses to kneel in time of public prayer in the Church, except when praying himself. Pray let me know if these innovations be on the growing hand, and spreading among others, or continued in by these brethren. I add no more, but my kindest respects to your wife and Mr Martine. I am yours most affectionately,

R. W.

LETTER XXII.

To Mr John Dundas of Philipstown, Advocate and Clerk to the Church.

[MR JOHN DUNDAS was chosen Clerk to the Church of Scotland in 1703, (see unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1703,) and continued in that office for twenty-eight years. He also acted as the Procurator of the Church. He died May 1731. When recording this event, Wodrow says, "I have enjoyed his friendship, and much intimacy with him, now these twenty-six years. He was a pious man, and still on the side of truth; he was not so good a reader of papers, but a very good former of them; he was a most diligent and indefatigable person in

the affairs of the Church." And after adverting to the society set up for prayer and correspondence for religious purposes about 1698, by eight or ten individuals, of which Mr Dundas was an active and useful member, (and which laid the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and Reformation of the Highlands and Islands,) he continues—"He was continually taken up in doing things of public use as to ecclesiastical affairs; he formed the Abridgment of the Acts of Assembly, a work of great labour, and very useful; he published Directions for Settling Schools and Manses; he, as Procurator for the Church, had the great weight of ministers' processes for their stipends before the Lords, of plantation of churches, and valuation of teinds; he wrote a little tract about the laws as to the poor, and restraining of beggars; he formed several valuable memorials about the power and encroachments of patrons, in the case of East Calder—memorials about sists and citations of presbyteries and synods before the Lords of Session in ecclesiastical matters. He has brought the Registers of the Assembly to an excellent bearing. I cannot but here remark how active and encouraging he was to me in my work of the History of our Sufferings. In short, there was nothing of public nature in the Church but he was foot and hand in it, as we used to say."—*Analecta*, vol. vi. p. 280.—
ED.]

DEAR SIR,—I send you inclosed the subscriptions of our Presbytery of Paisley, for the advancing of the noble design of propagating Christian knowledge. I am sorry that they are so long in coming up; there were some of our number whose affairs kept them from us for several presbytery days, and we were unwilling to send in our subscriptions till they were completed. The quota is but inconsiderable, five-and-twenty pounds sterling. But the circumstances of some obliged them to it, and we impose upon none. Our Presbytery received a letter from Mr Carstairs anent the collection in the Cannongate. It is not for want of inclination to contribute what we can to such charitable uses that we have made no return; but the truth is, the strait of this part of the country is so great, through the dearth of the victual, that our collections are very far from maintaining our poor, and people will give nothing to thir collections, and are in such a pett with collections for bridges,

tolbooths, &c., that when any collection is intimated, they are sure to give less that day than their ordinary. It's very hard for us to get anything for Messrs M'Crackan or Cæsar.¹ As for your Society for Propagation of Knowledge,² we are dealing among our people

¹ Of Mr M'Crackan we have already given a brief notice, p. 29. In the list of unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1709, there is the following entry respecting Mr Cæsar :—“ Act and recommendation for a voluntary contribution in favour of Mr John James Cæsar, minister of the Reformed German Church in London, and his congregation, towards their building of a Church there, and providing a maintenance for their minister.” This is not the only instance in which the Assembly, in its better days, evinced brotherly sympathy with the foreign Churches of the Reformation.

² *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.*—Gillies gives the following account of the origin of this Society :—“ As to the Society in Scotland about the year 1663, when there was a cloud over that Church, there were many fellowships (as they were then called) in Edinburgh. These were blessed means of edification and comfort, and keeping up a lively frame both in city and country. But through the severe persecution in the year 1677, or about that time, these fellowships gave up, and were no more heard of. After the Revolution, several societies set up in the same way, particularly one in 1699, in which there were several honourable gentlemen of weight and distinction. In this capacity they exerted themselves to curb the growing immoralities of the age, and that with success. And laying to heart the deplorable condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, through ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, they engaged together in a voluntary subscription for a sum of money, to be employed in erecting charity schools. This done, and there appearing some prospect of success, these gentlemen were encouraged to apply to members of Parliament, and others in power, that the state of the Highlands, &c. might be considered, and methods proposed for the reformation thereof, if such were authorised by act of Parliament; a memorial of these things was published and sent up and down. The General Assembly, in the year 1704, were applied to, who recommended a collection for this purpose. Other pious and charitable persons were spoke to to contribute, and, in 1707, the Assembly appointed a Select Committee to meet with the worthy gentlemen on their project. They had many meetings, and at last printed a paper, entitled *Proposals concerning Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and Foreign Parts of the World.* The design thus published, several contributed liberally thereto. Many of the nobility took it by the hand, a royal proclamation was emitted recommending it, and, in 1709, royal letters patent were obtained, establishing a Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which first convened at Edinburgh, Thursday, the 3d of November 1709.”—*Gillies' Historical Collections relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel*, vol. i. p. 456. This Society is now in a very flourishing condition, having an income of about L.3000, which is expended on missionaries, schools, and catechists, in the Highlands and in America.

and gentry, but to little purpose; and you need expect but very little, I suspect, from most of our congregations. The public spirit and zeal for any good designs is much away from the generality here. I wish and hope it may be otherwise in other places of this nation. I am very glad to hear that you are chosen Secretary unto the Society; and if in anything I can be serviceable to you, I am persuaded you will not doubt of my readiness. Since I saw you, I have fallen upon, through Mr Wylie of Hamilton's kind assistance, two folio MSS. of our acts of Assembly. The one contains the acts of the Assembly 1638, of which I have seen several copies. The other is miserably abused, but contains the acts of the Assembly 1642-3-4-5, and 6, but wants several leaves. It has the roll of the members before every Assembly, and in one place is corrected, and a reference made to another place, and subscribed A. Kerr, which made me suppose at first view it might be an original; but the hands are so different in it, and some other things keep me from thinking so. I have not yet had time to peruse it, but I hope to be then better in case to account for it. Let me know if you have or have not seen any copies in MS. for these years. I should be glad to know if Mr Semple has procured the two MSS. of the old acts that he fell on at London, with all your discoveries since I saw you. There are some things in the Earl of Cromarty's MS. acts that I would willingly have transcribed for me, as I was acquainting you at our last meeting; I fear I shall scarce be in case, now when I am not by the copy, with that distinctness I would, to show what I would have copied; the Earl's account, and historical preface to it, as containing some hints very considerable, though likewise some mistakes, at full length. And you know there are four of five mank sheets bound up at the end of the acts, which I take to be a part of a larger record than we have yet seen. If I remember, they relate to the year 1593, or thereabout. When I collated them with my copy, I found I had already the following articles:—Names of the Vacancies; Acta Sess. 7, Aprile 27; Articles of the King; Answers of the Kirk; and the long act of Parliament. All these I have, and desire none of them transcribed; but I would

gladly have the Earl's foresaid account, and any other things in the foresaid mank sheets bound in at the end of acts copied for me ; and if you please let it be in 4to, that it may suit some other papers relative to these times I have to bind up, with a pretty large margin. Whatever expense you are at for the writer I shall order you at demand. I am ashamed to put you upon so much trouble ; but if you want any thing I can cause copy for you here, I shall willingly undertake it. I give my kindest respects to your lady and Mr Spence. I shall be very glad of your news by post, and of the account of your proceedings in your Society for Propagating Knowledge from time to time. Begging pardon for this trouble, I am, dear Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Nov. 23, 1709.

Upon the 16th current our Presbytery transported Mr Robert Millar from Port-Glasgow to Paisley.

LETTER XXIII.

For Mr James Guthrie, Minister at Irongray.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 24th of the last month ; I know not by whom, but it was most welcome, and the more that it is a forerunner of more. I can promise you nothing worth your while from this country, but anything that is agoing you shall [have] to fill up the page, and to let you see that our longed-for correspondence shall not fail on my side. Glenlee will be married to that gentlewoman I wrote of before this reach you. All his friends are very much satisfied with the family and his

choice ; they are very blameless, and the gentlewoman has a large character for temper and virtue. I thank you for your distinct account of Mr M'Millan.¹ I hear some of his party have been at his (*quondam*) Presbytery with an unsubscribed paper for his re-admission, without any conditions; but the issue I know not. I confess the Commission has laid an odd foundation for admitting persons without acknowledgments, in the case of your neighbour Mr Hepburn, but I hope the presbytery will not follow their steps. Mr M'Millan has been evangelising in our bounds, about two or three weeks ago, but I hear of no great feats he has done; his meeting was but thin, and that I hear he resents, and tells his meeting that it seems the people of God have not got advertisement, and complains of the deadness and upsitting of the generation, as we do, but upon sadder grounds than their not frequenting his meetings. I am under no apprehensions of the Commission doing any [thing] with Mr Hepburn,² and scarce think they shall free you of so kind a neighbour in haste. We hear of a project here to transport him to Fyfe. It seems he takes Mr A[llan] L[ogan],³ Mr J[ames] H[ogg], and Mr G[eorge] M[air],⁴ for honest men [and] neigh-

¹ See before, p. 66.

² See before, p. 66.

³ *Mr Allan Logan*.—He was settled first at Torryburn, and afterwards at Culross, and was esteemed "an able, holy, and zealous minister."—(*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 139.) He took a very active part against the Marrow. *Account of Controversy respecting Marrow of Modern Divinity*.—Christ. Instructor, vol. xxx. p. 691.

⁴ *Mr George Mair* was, we believe, first settled at Airth, and afterwards translated to Culross, where the Rev. James Fraser of Brae was his colleague till September 1698. Circumstances occurred which induced him, in 1714, to accept of a call to Tulliallan, where he laboured till his death, which took place a few years after. Boston frequently mentions Mr Mair in terms of cordial esteem.—(*Memoirs*, pp. 45, 57, 104, 105.) His deep piety, and the spirituality of his conversation, no less than his ardent attachment to the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, made a strong impression on that good man's heart at the commencement of his own career as a preacher. It was in Mr Mair's house that he first saw the example of a family fast, which led him afterwards to introduce this branch of domestic piety into his own habitation. Boston's opinion of his public usefulness is thus expressed :—"I reckon that worthy man one of the happy instruments of the breaking forth of a more clear discovery of the doctrine of the Gospel, in this Church, in these latter days

bours in the south, and is willing to keep presbyteries, &c., with them, and I doubt if my friend will enter a protest against his voyage to Fife, in case a call come to him from some vacancy there. We are not free from the fears of a pestilence; but if the winter prove frosty, I am apprehensive our hazard may be as great, if not greater, in the outcome of the year than now. The Lord prepare for whatever may be his will. You have no doubt heard of the missionaries the Episcopal clergy sent lately to Court with an address for a toleration, (as is said,) and the Duke of Queensberry's refusal to present it to the Queen, and their returning. I hear they design to present it to the House of Commons. We had here a rumour of an address that was a framing among some of our nobility and gentry in the West to the Parliament, for restoring of patronages, but, for any thing I know of, it's like to meet with cold entertainment among the most part, and I hear is let fall. I have very lamentable accounts, by letters from some of our brethren in Angus, of the sad state of things there. The meeting-houses are increasing, and they bury their dead with the Liturgy, and the clergy in their habits, and the nobility and gentry are very fond of these new fashions; and though application be made to the Court, yet no redress is like to be got. I am persuaded (if God's Providence prevent it not) the Court, in the issue, will come to feel the effects of this Jacobite and French faction, that set up for these innovations from no strait of conscience, but merely to embroil the country, and alienate people's affections from the present

thereof." Dr Fraser tells us, that he was held in profound veneration by Ebenezer Erskine.—(*Life of E. Erskine*, p. 161.) Ralph Erskine regarded him with similar sentiments, as appears from the following lines of an elegy he composed on him:—

" He was a burning and a shining light,
 In doctrine ardent, and in practice bright.
 Sweet in his converse, sober in his talk,
 Meek in his worship, modest in his walk;
 In him lamb-meekness, lion-boldness shone,
 Bold in his Master's cause, meek in his own."

Fraser's Life of R. Erskine, p. 121.

establishment, if they don't notice it in time. We are under new fears of an invasion from France, of which, no doubt, you have better accounts from Edinburgh than I can give you. If the Lord, in his judgment, suffer this to take effect, I am sure the Court will see their mistake in their slackness against Papists, intruders, and innovations. I am not, indeed, yet under such apprehensions, as I find some are, of an invasion, unless France be about to lose the Pretender handsomely before a peace, and only be to lend their ships and men; for the money, they say, is contributed in Italy, and other places, for restoring Popery in Britain. Pray, let me hear frequently from you, with all your news from your country. Let me know how yesterday's thanksgiving has been observed, and what new scruples have been raised on this head, and if all our brethren have kept it. I hope, likewise, for some accounts of what remains you have, or know are to the fore, of your great uncle, Mr Guthrie. My wife gives her kindest respects to you. I am, dear Brother, your most affectionate brother and cousin,

R. W.

November 23, 1709.

LETTER XXIV.

EFFORTS OF THE GENTRY TO INTRODUCE THE ENGLISH LITURGY
IN THE NORTH.

*From the Rev. Hugh Maxwell, Minister at Tealing, near Dundee,
to Wodrow.*¹

Edinburgh, Nov. 7, 1709.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I thought to have written to you before this time, but have been hindered. However, I am mindful of our concert at last meeting, and am glad to keep up a correspondence with you, to let you know how matters go with us in Angus, as to the public interest of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Church. I told you before that matters with us had a melancholy aspect, and I see no cause as yet to change my mind. Matters seem to grow worse and worse. The English service continues with us, and that Liturgy is in great vogue and esteem with many amongst us, especially our gentry, who seem to be disposed to receive any thing that's against the Established Church, her doctrine, worship, and government; and that's against that truth that is according to godliness. Our great folks observe now the English funeral rites in burying their dead relations. Lately, the Lord Glamis, son to the Earl of Strathmore, had these rites punctually observed and performed by, I may say, all the prelatie clergy in Angus, who being invited to his funeral, (but not a Presbyterian minister,) did attend in their canonical gowns, and the greatest part of our gentry admired and commended that way. Though we complain of these things to magistrates, who by office should take course with these innovations, we are not heard, and we expect no service to this Church from this new Lord Advocate. He has scored out of the Porteous roll

¹ From Wod. MSS. vol. ii. No. 93.

all intruders, preachers in meeting-houses, and others, so that he can get nothing done against them ; they are strengthened and encouraged by him and others to commit these disorders, &c., and our hearts are discouraged, and our hands are weakened. The prelatie party is much encouraged by him, and they turn very insolent. I cannot but let you know a late instance. One Mr Skinner,¹ once episcopal minister in Brechin, (a relation to your wife and to mine, descended from worthy Mr Guthry,) being deposed by the Presbytery of Brechin for insufficiency, heterodoxy, profanation of the Lord's Supper, by admitting scandalous persons thereto, &c., he did appeal from them to our synod in October last, and the synod, after a very long and serious consideration of his very prolix process, did see cause to approve and confirm the presbytery's sentence of deposition ; and when this was intimated to him, he did give in a signed appeal from our synod to the Queen's Majesty and the House of Peers, to sit at Westminster, promising to give in the reasons of his appeal to the clerks of Parliament in due time ; and, in express terms, he declined all the judicatories of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The which appeal was rejected by the synod ; therefore, he took instruments in the hands of a public notary, brought in for the use. This gentleman had declined the presbytery before as his judges. The Sabbath after the synod had so determined, he did not preach in Brechin ; but the second Sabbath he mounted the pulpit in an insolent manner, had a great backing of country gentlemen, and other disaffected persons who assisted him, and the minister who was sent to preach was hindered, and pursued by school-boys

¹ *Mr Skinner*.—It does not appear that this gentleman was any relation to Mr Skinner of Longside, the celebrated author of the Ecclesiastical History, who was born in Aberdeenshire, of Presbyterian parents.—See *Life of Skinner*, by his son, prefixed to his Theological Works. Mr Skinner is represented in the text as a descendant of William Guthrie of Fenwick, though it would appear that he was only his grand-nephew. Wodrow, in his answer to this letter, says, "his grand-uncles and progenitors had more of gentlemen than to stoop to be a tool to others." And in the *Life of William Guthrie*, we find it stated, that "he died in the house of his *brother-in-law*, Mr Lewis Skinner, minister at Brechin, the 10th of October 1665." It is highly probable that this Lewis Skinner was the grandfather of the person mentioned in the text.

and others, with stones, from the church. It's feared he had been encouraged to all these disorderly measures by the government. We were surprised with the unprecedented appeal. But I hope we need not fear the event of it. As we have many discouragements from without us, so we want not too many from within. Iniquity abounds among us, the love of many waxeth cold, great deadness, security seizes this generation. The gospel seems to have little success. That wonted zeal, love to God and to his ordinances, fruitfulness in grace, liveliness, &c., are not to be found. Though God, in his infinite sovereignty and wisdom, and long-suffering patience, bears long with us, flushes us with victories abroad over our enemies, preserves us from the plague, gives us peace and plenty in all our borders, which thus feed our security, yet it is to be feared judgments, sudden judgments, are not far off. It's only left to us to ply the throne of grace with fervent prayers for a spirit of grace, mourning, and of reformation to all ranks, that we may return unto the Lord, recover our first love, come under solemn engagements to reformation. The case of our corner calls for sympathy and help from yours, where the gospel is gaining more ground, and many souls are converted to, and confirmed in Christ. As to my particular concerns, I have cause to lament my ministry has not all that desired success I wish for. My wife and family are in good health. My wife hath her love remembered to your wife, her cousin. I desire to hear from you concerning your public concerns and your private. You may direct your letters for me to be sent to the postmaster in Dundee, to the care of Bailie Maxwell. You may send it with any carrier for Pollock, to Mr Alexander Maxwell, in my lord's family at Edinburgh, who will take care to send it to me. If you come to the Assembly, pray come over to Angus. These wishing you and your family all happiness, and you much success in the work of our Lord, I am your real and much obliged friend and brother,

H. MAXWELL.

LETTER XXV.

ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING.

*To the Rev. Mr Hugh Maxwell, Minister of the Gospel at Tilen,
[Tealing,] near Dundee, to the care of Bailay Maxwell in Dundee.*

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 7th current last week only, otherwise I had answered it sooner. It was more acceptable than I can express, though it contains very affecting accounts of matters with you. I am grieved that no redress is like to be got to your grievances, and am persuaded the court will come to feel the bad effects of their conniving [at] this Jacobite and French faction that is so busy among you, if timeous care be not taken about it. Your English burials are but a further step in prosecution of the service, and these gentlemen will not be consistent with themselves if they stop at any thing down of English bishops, and that, in its native tendency in this hand, both in the [16]37 and 1687 hath been still the next pegg to popery, and very natively take us to Rome, where I have no scruple to say a great many would be content to be rid of the present constitution, unless it be they incline to winter in France by the way, because the journey is long. I am heartily sorry for our friend Mr Skinner. He was with me at the last Assembly, where I perused his papers. I don't take him to be the head of a party himself, nor the projector of this wide step to the House of Lords; he is certainly put upon it by others, and I almost wish his appeal may be tabled there, because at this juncture I hope it would be thrown over the bar with contempt. I am really concerned for the man, his grand-uncles and progenitors had more of gentlemen (abstracting from their religion) than to stoop to be a tool to others.

Dear Billy, were I master of any sympathy and moen [influence]

at a higher Court, I dare say the interests of the Gospel in the North, and yourself in particular, should not want a share in it. And I can assure you, there is a remnant in thir bounds that have a share of both, that bear burden with you; and I am persuaded you have a room in the sympathy of our fellow-feeling High Priest, the Head and King of this covenanted Church and land, and I cannot but hope that he will strengthen you, and support under all your pressures, and in the Mount of the Lord you shall see. The Lord give you the faces of lions, and make you brazen walls, against all opposition and encroachments, and make your faces strong against their faces that oppose the truth as it is in Jesus, and give you the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. You know better than I that there is wisdom to be exercised towards them that are without. I remember a remark that Mr Skinner had to me at Edinburgh, that I did notice a little for caution, though I am [far] from believing that it is altogether true. He observed that the Episcopal party made a very ill step in sending from the North to the West a number of themselves, in the late times, that were of the hottest temper, and by this, and their weakness in literature and parts, disgusted and disoblged both our nobility, gentry, and people, in this country. And he was pleased to say, he feared the Presbyterians were taking the same steps, and had sent several to the North from the West that were too much of that set. I told him I knew none such, and was under no such impressions, for many of our prettiest men, Mr Forbis, Langlands, Ramsay, &c., were sent thither. I have only named this, as what shows the language of the party. I hope that the Lord will enable you all to carry boldly, evenly, and steadily, without going either to right or left hand.

I have very little remarkable from this country. We are, indeed, free from the open insults, and intrusions, and innovations you are trysted with. But we have our own burdens to bear, and need sympathy. Besides all the lamentable inward discouragements, abounding sin, and security, and stupidity, want of success, and the other things you hint at, we have a lax gentry and nobility

in many places, who want but an opportunity to rid themselves of us, and show abundance of disrespect to the ministry, though (the Lord be thanked) we have others as remarkable for their staunchness to our interest. We are daily threatened with attempts to restore patronages; and our heritors, unless they get all their will in planting parishes, talk very loud to this tune. And really the liberties both of people, elderships, and presbyteries are, like to be gradually wrested out of our hands, and if we stand not our ground, we may in time come to get in a very corrupt ministry at this rate; besides the attempts I told you that are made in giving the sacrament privately, and almost *in articulo mortis*, and the baptizing with the cross, after the English fashion. And then, upon the other hand, we want not our own difficulties from our right hand observers, whom I believe you are not much troubled with. So I term those that dissent from us, as not strict enough, and that are followers of Mr M'Millan, and some that are a screw higher than he. If I would allow any thing to any of the extremes, I think these deserve an allowance most. But, I am persuaded, we are in the just middle, betwixt Malignants and Separatists; and that their practices among us are such as do very much weaken the hands of Christ's servants, and the giddy temper of the people is such, that it's very hard to guard them against hazard from this hand.

Dear Billy, let us bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. We are called to be watchmen in very troublous times, but it's our comfort we are both upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the foot of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. The trial from separation, indeed, is the latter of the two, and I can remark little of it before that fatal breach between the Protesters and Resolutioners. Your trial, from Malignants and a Jacobite party treading the steps of the old Papists, is what was the word of Christ's patience to Scotland since our first dawning of the Reformation; and, I hope, though the spirit of the former Elijahs does not rest in its double portion upon our Elishas, yet our Master will not let his standard fall in our hands, but perfect his praise, even out of the mouths of babes and

sucklings. I promise myself the satisfaction of hearing frequently from you. It's refreshing to me to know how it's faring with the interests of the Gospel in all the corners of the land, and we need to be stirred up to mutual strengthening of [one] another's hands. Let me have particular accounts how things are going with you in Angus by post. Direct (as long as the family is at Edinburgh) for my Lord Pollock's lodgings there, or to the care of the postmaster of Glasgow, and it will come safe to me thrice a-week. You shall not want any accounts I can give you from this place. Let me know if you want that Hebrew Bible we were talking about, for your brother-in-law, to whom I give my kindest respects, though unacquaint. I believe it will be twenty shillings at least, if he incline to it, but the owner I have scarce seen since parting. My wife and all our relations here give their dearest respects to yours. I am very sensible of your kindness to me and this people when at Eastwood. I am, Dear Brother, your affectionate cousin and servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Nov. 23, 1709.

P. S.—Dear Brother, I have forgot to tell you that I am upon a rude draught of memoirs of the life of that great light of thir bounds, Mr William Guthrie, our relation, and therefore I must entreat your assistance to get me all the information you can of him in Angus. Any accounts you can fall on relative to his death, which was in Brechin; any thing relative to the antiquity of the family of Pitforth, of which he was the eldest son, and disponded the estate to his second brother David; his father's and mother's name, and her extract; the exact time of his birth; if he was educated at St Andrew's College, where I find him a student, and licensed; what property his brother David hath left, and if the estate be yet in their hands, and in good condition. His brother, Mr Alexander, was minister at Strickthrain. Let me know if you can learn what year he died; any things that are remarkable about his qualifications, success, death, &c.;—if he has left any posterity, with an ac-

count of them. You will get an account of his ordination, and death, and success, &c. from his successor, Mr Glassford, and other acquaintances in that country. Let me know the parish and place of Mr William Guthrie's birth. And I know you will be in case to give me a full account of Mr Rait, your wife's grandfather, I suppose. I am persuaded, you will grudge no pains to give me what account you can of our relations in Angus. I expect to hear from you as soon as may be; and am, again, yours most affectionately,
R. W.

LETTER XXVI.

To Mr Thomas Linning, Minister at Lesmahagow.

[Of Mr Thomas Linning we formerly took some notice, (see p. 40.) He was the intimate friend of Alexander Shields, and published several of his pieces after his death. Mr Shields was missioned by the General Assembly to the short-lived and unfortunate Scots colony at Darien, called New Caledonia, where he acted with praise-worthy zeal, but sunk under the hardships endured by the colonists, and soon after died at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, on the 14th of June 1700. —*M' Crie's Supplement to Mem. of Veitch*, p. 248; *Borland's Narrative*, p. 78. Besides Shields' Life of Renwick, referred to in this letter, which is well known, Mr Linning edited, in 1706, "A Treatise against Separation from the National Church of Scotland, which was left in Manuscripts by the Reverend and worthy Mr Alexander Shields, Minister of the Gospel at St Andrews, when he was sent by the Church of Scotland unto Caledonia." The object of this treatise is to reconcile the principles stated in the *Informatory Vindication*, which was drawn up by Shields, with his joining in communion with the Church of Scotland as settled after the Revolution. In his Preface, Mr Linning observes, "Mr Shields, in the year 1687, when he came to Utrecht, in discourse with me, among other things, positively owned that none of those things, which were in controversy betwixt us and some other Presbyterian ministers, could be owned as sufficient grounds of separation, if the Lord should send deliverance to his Church, and give us access to present our grievances to Church Ju-

dicatories, with personal safety, which we could never have until the late happy Revolution." Linning asserts that this was also the judgment of Donald Cargill, and even of Richard Cameron and James Renwick. The Life of Mr Renwick, by Shields, was not published till 1724, when it was edited "at Edinburgh, by John M'Main, M.A., Schoolmaster at Liberton's Wynd-foot there." M'Main appears to have been a Cameronian of the staunchest order, and gave so much offence to the Presbyterian clergy, that an attempt was made to shut up his school. He afterwards published a curious account of this prosecution. In his "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to Renwick's Life, (which is reprinted in the *Biographia Presbyteriana*,) he inveighs, in severe terms, against Wodrow's History, and insinuates that our author had wilfully kept back the Life of Renwick from the public, had "in part sullied and *embezzled* the manuscript," and wished to bury it. It is probable that M'Main was permitted to obtain a copy from the manuscripts in the possession of Wodrow, though he does not explain how he came to obtain it.—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I send you with this Mr Shields' papers relative to Mr Renwick's life, which I look upon as very valuable. It was with great difficulty I got them read. There is wanting the paper Mr Renwick gave to some friends when in prison, and a part of Mr Shields' vindication of the grounds of Mr Renwick's sufferings, as to the head of disowning the Duke of York's authority. I wish you may look through what loose papers of his you have, and it's like you may fall upon them. There must be considerable allowances made for the time in which it was writ, when the heavy oppression of the times had left a bitterness upon people's spirits, that led them to extremities; and to this I attribute several expressions and reflections that now sound a little harsh to the like of me that was not personally acquaint with these barbarities. But really they contain a great many valuable particulars of matter of fact, and some very remarkable providences, which I can depend upon from Mr Shields' authority; and give a very good specimen of Mr Shields' abilities in strong reasoning, and quickness in argument, which makes me the more desirous to see these papers of his that give an account of his carriage and debates before the council. And I'll expect them as soon as you can con-

veniently send them to your cousin's at Glasgow. There is an expression of Mr Renwick, I know not if you remarked it or not, which really surprised me, as being, I shall not say prophetic, but gave me some ground, I thought, to reflect upon our unhappy and sinful union that is since come about. It is in the short account of his last words upon the scaffold. The words are these:—“ Make sure your interest in Christ, for there is a storm coming that shall try your foundation; Scotland must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come.” I do not doubt but Mr Renwick's meaning might be, that a great many of that wicked persecuting time behoved to be so far swept off the stage as to make Scotland, as it were, a new people and nation. But I think likewise that martyrs at their death, and even ordinary believers that die under the administration of an abundant entrance, do not themselves know the full extent of their own impressions, or the expressions they make use of under them; and many times after providences make the best commentary upon them. I desire your thoughts of this (to me) remarkable expression. If I remember right, the MS. wants Mr Renwick's answer to Mr Hutcheson's paper in Carrick. If any of these come to your hand, I hope you will send them with Mr Shields' debate before the council, and any other papers you have about these times. I thought, before this time, to have sent you some sheets of those papers of my father you inclined to see. But I began my visiting and examination upon the back of harvest, and that and some other things I am at present engaged in have kept me from doing anything further in them since I saw you. But as soon as can fall about them I shall send you them. Meanwhile, let me have all your news. My wife and I give our kindest respect to yours and daughter.—I am, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, December 16, 1709.

LETTER XXVII.

REQUESTING ADVICE.

*For the Rev. Mr James Hog, Minister of the Gospel at Carnock.*¹

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 3d of December last only yesternight. I was in some pain about my last in September to Mr Gibb with yours inclosed, because your remarks upon the Dissenter's Letter were with it, but I am now much satisfied to hear they are come to hand. I desire to remark the hand of Providence that very occasionally led me to this happiness of corresponding with you. I was very much refreshed with your thoughts upon my first query, and am much satisfied with your remarks upon the second, and the more that they correspond so much with the little experience of some straits that I have about choosing texts. This part of my work has sometimes bred me as much distress as some other parts that I expected greater difficulties in; and I see every man must bear his own burden, and many times in that wherein he least expects it. Yet I must say, that, after the greatest straits as to this, I have found the most freedom both in study and delivery. Only I am ready sometimes, from the difficulties I find in the choice, and no doubt from a slavish fearfulness of them beforehand, to insist too long upon a text, when with some strait I have won to fix upon it. I desire, with shame, to confess this as one woeful fruit of my unbelief, after repeated instances of the Lord's condescension to me. The Lord's setting home a text upon my own heart, in my search and meditation, has sometimes been the thing that determined my choice of it, and I thank you for the two scriptures you gave me for my confirmation in this; that passage, 1 Peter i. 10, 11, indeed, I never considered before you suggested it to me. Upon the whole of your observes, I desire to be

¹ See before, p. 23.

further confirmed in the solid impressions of a peculiar conduct of the Spirit of Christ, even in this dead time, with his servants that desire to depend on him, both for subject and matter for their sermons. I have this night written to Mr Vallange for one of your tracts upon the Spirit's teaching, and if it take hereabouts I'll send for more of them, and endeavour to dispose of them to the best advantage. We have not been much troubled with the delusions of the followers of the Cevennoise, [Cevennes,]¹ but we have several of their elder brethren the Quakers, and I have no doubt your piece will come very seasonably to prevent their hurt. And really I have, of sometime, been under the fears that ignorance of the real nature of the teachings of the blessed Spirit is like to run severals among us, that mean well, to the borders of enthusiasm, and lays them sadly open unto the errors of severals that pretend to be under the Spirit's workings. As soon as I have received your piece, you shall have my thoughts on it very frankly.

I have nothing worth your while to signify to you from this country. By some letters from Ireland, I find our brethren there need much sympathy. There is a young sett of ministers there

¹ *Cevennes*.—These were a set of fanatics, usually called the French prophets, who came over to this country about the year 1706. They were called the Cevennes from that part of France where they first arose, and appeared in the greatest numbers. Driven to madness by the fury of persecution, and deprived of the counsel of their pastors, who had been expelled from their native land by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, these poor people fell into the most enthusiastic excesses, conceiving themselves inspired by the Holy Spirit, and sent to awaken the people to be prepared for the day of the Lord's appearance. Their discourses were of the most extravagant and incoherent character; and during the moments of their fancied inspiration, they gave way to the most hideous bodily contortions, which generally terminated in their dropping down in a swoon or trance, on awaking from which they delivered themselves sometimes in interrupted snatches of exhortation, and at other times with great facility and fervour.—(*A Cry from the Dead, or Testimonials of the Miraculous Things lately come to pass in the Cevennes, verified upon oath, and by other proofs.* Translated from the original, with a Preface by John Lacy, Esq. London, 1707.) “The French Protestant ministers in London,” says Mr Lorimer, “used all their influence to expose their delusions and repress them. Dr Calamy preached a series of sermons on the subject, and Government, in one case, interfered. Still they succeeded in making some progress, and appeared in various parts of the country, in Scotland, as well as England, for some subsequent years. The persecutor may justly be held responsible for these evils.”—*History of Protestant Church of France*, by Rev. John G. Lorimer, p. 384.

that are much more inclinable than once was thought, to fall into every thing that may recommend them to the church, and are turning very uneasy to the honest old men that have seen the glory of the old temple. Some of these are setting up the use of the Lord's prayer at the end of their public prayers, recommending mightily premeditate prayers, and kneeling in the time of public prayer. And the late act of the Irish Parliament, anent the Oath of Abjuration, is like to prove uneasy to some ministers.

Your kindness in answering my second query makes me earnestly beg you will go on, as your other weighty work and your health will permit, to answer the rest. I will not express how much I am satisfied, and I hope bettered, by what I have received, lest you should jealousy me of flattery. But I know you have nothing but what you have received, and I hope the Lord will assist you further to be useful to me; and I would fain hope you will not want some present sweetness in your consideration of these things for the benefit of, Reverend and Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, January 4, 1710.

I hope, as you allow me a share in what light the Lord gives you, you'll not forget me and this people, and the interests of the Gospel in this country, when the Lord admits you to come even to his seat. I give my humble respects to all the reverend brethren of my acquaintance, particularly Mr Mair and Mr Gib. If you favour me with a line now and then by the post, and direct it to the care of the postmaster of Glasgow, it will come safe to me thrice a week. If you be out of the post road, the carriers from Courus [Culross] will bring any thing you favour me with weekly.

LETTER XXVIII.

REQUESTING ADVICE ON MINISTERIAL WORK.

For the Rev. Mr Patrick Warner, Minister of the Gospel for the present at Irvine.

DEAR FATHER,—I am altogether uncertain how long I may have the benefit of your advice and counsel, and your thoughts upon some things that I want help and light in. And, really, I have had some challenges that I have not improved the relation you are under to me more this way. I wanted not checks for my misimprovement of the opportunities I had of my worthy father, his help in things that were dark and intricate to me, when he was removed. Some of it I had by letters, and more by converse, being so near him. I am at such distance from you in providence that I can mostly expect it by letters; and, therefore, I hope you'll allow me to begin a closer correspondence than hitherto (by my own fault) I have had. I would fain hope it will be a diversion to you now and then to communicate your thoughts to me upon some things that your experience, and digested reading, and other things I am unwilling to mention, lest you suspect me of flattery, put you in case to be very useful to me in. I suggested lately my earnest desire that you would think of putting your sermons in some order for the public, and I humbly propose that you would leave us likewise your thoughts upon some practical cases, and the more necessary points, either in divinity or controversy. I want not my fears your modesty makes you averse from proposals of this nature; but although your excess in this should hinder you from doing any thing for public use, yet it needs not hinder you from leaving somewhat that may be of great use for us who are your near relations. I know you'll pardon my freedom when I tell you, what

you know much better than I, that though you're loosed from your heavy charge, yet you may not bind up your talent in a napkin ; and, I am persuaded, the constraining power of love to your Lord will incline you to do all you can for the promoting the interests of true religion. And I would fain hope that, as long as the Lord continues any measure of health with you, and you have freedom from necessary avocations, you will find yourself called to think upon somewhat that may, through the blessing of God, be useful to others. I am very sensible this from me to you needs an apology, but I hope you'll excuse it, as coming from an earnest desire to have you instrumental for my own and others' advantage. I hope the Lord will direct you in the choice of such subjects as will both be edifying to others, and sweet and refreshing to yourself.

As to the subject of our correspondence, in the general, I would earnestly crave such directions and advices for the better discharge of the ministerial work I am engaged in. You have had long and sweet experience of that work, and you have no doubt remarked both the hindrances and helps to it, and you have had occasion to remark my failures in some parts of that great work, and to observe what mistakes and errors I am readiest to run into, and I humbly beg you'll both communicate general and particular advices and directions, and corrections, as you see cause, and guard me against the extremities that temptation, and frailty, or the times, may readiest lead me to ; and, especially, my own deceitful heart.

As to more particular heads, if you'll allow me, I shall communicate them as they occur to me from time to time. At present, I would very gladly have your thoughts upon that dark place we were talking of,—Rom. iii. 3-8 ; and I hope it will not be ill spent time for you to set down your thoughts on it at some length. I would be very glad, likewise, to have your thoughts at some length upon the difference between convictions for sin, and performances of duty, which proceed from light and education, and those that proceed from inward life. I am likewise desirous to know what

things used to satisfy you as to God's mind in choosing a text, and when more than one occurred, what method you took for determining your duty, even when under the present circumstance, that they both seem agreeable enough to the ear of the people you were to preach to. I would likewise have your directions how a person should carry under prevailing scepticism, and violent temptations to doubt of every thing almost.

I don't desire nor expect your mind upon all these at once. Any one of them, or more, as your leisure and health allow you, will suffice at a time. And the more of your thoughts, and at the greater length you'll please to communicate them, they will be the more acceptable. I confidently expect not only your help for increasing my knowledge, but a special room in your sympathy and prayers for P[eggy,] and the child and me. I give my kindest respects to my mother, sister, and brother.—I am, your most affectionate and obliged servant and son,

R. W.

January 5, 1710.

LETTER XXIX.

SERIOUS ADVICES.—ENQUIRIES ABOUT WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

*For Mr Patrick Miller, Surgeon, for the present at London.*¹

DEAR COUSIN,—It would be ill manners to begin my first to you with a challenge for breach of promise in your not favouring

¹ The young surgeon to whom the following kind letter was addressed was a grandson of William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, being the son of Matthew Miller of Glenlee and Barskimming, surgeon in Kilmarnock, who was married to Mr Guthrie's daughter, Agnes, and from whom, by this lady, is descended, in direct line, Sir William Miller, the present venerable and excellent Lord Glenlee, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.—(*Robertson's Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii. p. 283 *Memoirs of W. Guthrie*, p. xiii.)

me with a line from you before this time. But you'll allow me to say it's a breach of my expectation, though it shall never be of our friendship. I desired to be very much concerned when I heard of your misfortunes in Holland, and the ague you have had in London; and I desire first to bless God, and next to congratulate you on your recovery. You know, better than I can tell you, that remarkable deliverances call not only for observation, but singular improvement; and your living in a strange land, and at a distance from your friends, will make God's providences to you the sweeter, and his hand in them the plainer to you. He is, I hope, your God, and you will praise him, your father's God, and you will build him a habitation.

Your employment leads you to remark providences not only relative to yourself, but to others also; and you have peculiar opportunity to observe the display of the divine attributes in the make and structure of man, and the usefulness and subserviency of the creatures for the benefit of man, under the distempers, diseases, and sad accidents sin brings upon the human kind, and I don't doubt but you will improve such remarks in order to setting your soul in a solid belief of the all-ruling Providence of God, and to a close dependence upon him in your employment, and a constant trusting to him in all your concerns. I am sorry that ever there should have been any ground for the old remark,—*Ubi tres medici, duo athei*.¹ I am persuaded none have greater advantages to establish themselves in a solid belief of the every way reasonable articles of our holy religion from the book of the creatures, than those of your calling, though, in this sceptical and degenerate time, too many have but ill improven their advantages. Certainly the beloved physician Luke, in old times, and your own worthy father, and many others in our days, made a quite other use of their remarking of the works of God, and I doubt not but you will set them before you as imitable patterns. I am not insensible that your employment wants not its own temptations to lead you insensibly in to put means in the room of providence, and from the ordinary con-

¹ Where there are three physicians, there are two atheists.

nection you have occasion to remark between causes and effects, and applications and cures, to lean too much to second causes; but a little observation of the difference of effects of the same practice upon different persons, and consideration of the great alteration that a very small circumstance will make, will soon lead in to an owning of providence in the whole of your practice. And you'll allow me farther to suggest, that, though the observation of the hand of God in the works of nature be very useful and sweet, yet alone it's not saving; and, therefore, I hope you will be daily running up to the search after the knowledge that is in the face of his anointed. To know God and his Son Christ is life eternal, and mightily sweetens all other things. I had once, and if I had time, for it would yet have a great fondness after natural history, and really I found such an inclination after it that I was once mightily inclinable to the study of physic, but providence has led me to a harder and more hazardous employment; and had I the experiences my station might afford me, did I improve it right, I might say much of the sweetness of the study of Christ and him crucified; and I am persuaded that one half hour's uptakings of the mystery of Christ have greater sweetness than the closest researches into nature for many years. I hope you can set to your seal to this, and I dare promise the more you aim at this, and the closer you live up to it, you'll find the sweeter experiences of it; and daily you'll find the cures upon the bodies of others exemplified in the gradual cure of your own heart plagues and soul distempers, and grace communicated from the study of Christ to help you to cut off your right hand when it offends, and pluck out your eye in spirituals. That you may have such constant supplies from this art as may help you to make a Christian improvement of your calling, and make you useful not only to the outward but the inward man of many, when you return home a comfort to your relations, and an heir to your forefathers' business, employment, blessings, prayers, and grace, shall still be my earnest desire and wish.

I am very desirous to hear how you are every way, and a line from you by post will be most acceptable to me. Let me have all

your news, and an account if worthy Dr Hamilton has published any thing save *The Private Christian's Witness*, and *The Inward Testimony of the Spirit*. And, when I am upon books, there is one thing I cannot omit. No doubt, you have seen the London edition of your grandfather, Mr Guthrie's *Saving Interest*, with a preface by Mr Robert Trail, printed two or three years ago. All of us that have the honour to be relations to that great man are certainly much indebted to the Rev. Mr Trail for the short account he gives there of his life, though I doubt not if he had consulted with your grandfather's relations he might have had more materials. You'll see he insinuates there, that, if any were about to make Mr Guthrie better known, he could give them help from his letters to his (Mr Trail's) father, in his hands. I think your relation to Mr Guthrie will be warrant enough for you to go and wait upon the Rev. Mr Trail, if alive, and return him your own and all of our thanks for his account of him; and inquire into the contents of those letters of his he hath by him, and desire he would communicate with you some of those singular things with respect to your grandfather which he did not think fit to publish. I am persuaded Mr Trail will make you very welcome, and I hope your own modesty will not hinder you from giving him a visit. You will easily get somebody to introduce you to him. I have indeed some thoughts of drawing up some collections about your grandfather's life, and would most willingly be at the expense of causing transcribe any thing that Mr Trail will be pleased to communicate relative to him, and will be most willing to write, or desire your uncle to write, to Mr Trail upon this head, but it will be time enough to do that when you let me hear the issue of your converse with him; and the sooner I hear of this it will be the more acceptable. I beg pardon for this long scribble. The more frequently you write, it will the more oblige your affectionate cousin, and humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Jan. 5, 1710.

LETTER XXX.

OF CRAWFURD'S MS. HISTORY.¹*For Mr John Dundas, Clerk to the Church.*

DEAR SIR,—Yours about the beginning of last month was very acceptable to me, and I had not been so long in expressing this, if I had had anything worth your while to give you by post. I have the occasion of one of my Lord P[ollock's] servants coming east, and would not neglect the occasion to give you my kindest respects. We had a letter from your Society, and our presbytery ordered each member to have their quota they subscribed for in readiness against our next presbytery day, which is to-morrow, when I doubt not but you will have some accounts from them. We had likewise another letter, subscribed by my Lord Advocate, anent the collection of the Canongate, to which they have no other return to make but what they desired me to signify to you in my last. I have got no progress made in the MS. Acts of the Assembly 1638, &c., for this time of the year is what I must take to visit and examine this people, before their labour begin. I am sorry Mr Semple has not been able to procure the printed Acts of Assembly at London, and I heartily wish care may be taken to get duplicates of them. But I am really surprised to hear some accounts of that person, which I am loath to credit, and yet can scarce get by the belief of them, having them from the mouth of the person to whom he should have said so much. The story is, in short, this. Mr Mathew Crawford, son to my worthy predecessor in this place, being lately at Edinburgh, in order to the publishing of his father's MS. History, of which, I doubt not, by this time you have seen the printed proposals, Mr Semple, it seems, used his interest with him to hinder him from printing his father's work; and

¹ This valuable MS., which has never yet been published, is now in the possession of the Church of Scotland.

among other reasons, it seems, he gave this as one,—that he heard Mr Crawford endeavoured to prove and maintain, that this Church was reformed by presbyters, which Mr Semple said he was convinced was a mistake, and assured the publisher that he himself would attack his father upon that head, and publicly refute him. I am very unwilling to make any reflections upon this till I hear from you if Mr Semple vented himself thus to anybody else that you know of. If these be really his sentiments, I heartily wish he may lay aside the mask, and discover what new English light he has got against our constitution. For my own part, I am very little apprehensive of anything he can advance this way; but I am really a little uneasy till I hear some accounts from you on this head.

I am so much a stranger to devices and seals, that I can give you no help as to the Society's seal.¹ I think the emblem, Rev. vi. 2, is too bold, and I like none of those things that so nearly relate to the Mediator. I would much rather prefer the rising sun. There are two fancies come in my head when writing this, that would answer my gust, as well as any of the former, as less bold. Either a wilderness full of wolves and other wild beasts, and some lambs on the other side entering into it, with a glory above them, and Luke x. 2, as the motto; and upon the other side of the field there might be a dragon, and several fiends falling down from heaven as lightning, and above, Luke x. 18, and Rev. xii. 9. Or, if this be thought to have too near a relation to the ministry, there might be upon a

¹ Mr Dundas, in his letter to Wodrow, states, that the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge were about to prepare an address of thanks to the Queen for her patent, and that they were at a loss for a proper seal and device for the Society. Several devices had been proposed. Some, for example, had suggested the emblem of Christ as the rider on the white horse, with a bow in his hand, in the Apocalypse, chap. vi. 2; others, a rising sun, with the motto, *Dissipantur umbrae*. But, as nothing had been concluded, he would gladly have Wodrow's thoughts on the subject, as it was desirable to have a proper seal and device.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 94.) Wodrow's answer affords an amusing proof of his "ignorance in the study of designs," which he so candidly confesses. The device which the Society adopted, and which still continues on their seal, is an open Bible, with the words, "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," inscribed on the two leaves, and surmounted by the motto, *Post Tenebras Lux*.

field high rocks and mountains, and waters flowing down them, and beside them towers and strongholds falling, and above, in a firmament, I would have a moon upon the one side, and upon the other seven suns, with the motto, *Is. xxx. 25, 26.* You will easily see my ignorance in the study of designs in these rude proposals; but if they may afford any matter of thought to you that know these matters, I have my end. Pray let me know by post what the Society has farther done, and what the proposals are that will be now making for the carrying on of that design. I would likewise be glad of your account of what was done at the Commission, particularly of the debates that are talked of here anent a fast. Our members keep so ill that we can have little account. This, with your news, and any commands you'll please to lay on me, will be most acceptable to, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. WODROW.

January 29, 1710.

My humble service to your lady and Mr Spense.

LETTER XXXI.

PROPOSED CORRECTIONS ON CRAWFORD'S MS. HISTORY.

For Mr Mathew Crawford, Library Keeper to the University of Glasgow.

SIR,—I have run through the 2d vol. of your father's History as soon as I could; my overly remarks I send you, which are not very considerable; but if they may be of any use to put you in mind of any thing needful to the better publishing of your father's History, I have my design.

In the general, I wish the year of God may be added at the head of every page, which you know will be of considerable use. I wish

likewise there be margins added, containing the titles of the new subjects in each page. More particularly,

- P. 303. "Information to all" in print, and so might be either left out or abridged.
305. Line 2d, in the occasion, not grammar.
308. Indigitated, not usual.
313. Deprecating the king's anger.
322. Too many *hads* after other.
335. Personal presence, better absence.
374. Graham's demission in the printed acts.
416. Reflection on Burnet's Memoirs to be considered.
- 14-37. And elsewhere. Thir papers are so long that it would [should] be considered, whether it would not make the History run easier, if they were put at the end in an Appendix, and references made to them, especially being mostly anent civil matters, and so a little extraneous to the thread of the Church History.
51. Table, better heads or titles.
63. Reflection upon the Earl of Haddington would be [ought to be] considered, and cast in a softer mould.
86. 3dly without a 2dly.
95. The letter from the churches in Switzerland would be insert, if it could be had.
106. *Infinitely* well pleased, extremely, rather.
111. Act against impiety in print, it might be left out.
114. First paragraph needlessly repeated in the next.
133. Title *Narration of the History* would be considered.
- 250, &c. Two letters in the printed act might be left out.
380. It would be considered if *dissimulation* in the character of the Duke of Hamilton were fit to be softened, and the story of Carsfarn would be well attested.
417. The remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow and Associated Shires would be insert if it can be had.
- 417, 18. The King's question, and the Commission's resolution, would be fully and distinctly insert, since upon it all

our following woeful debates depended; as also a fuller account of the Assembly 1650.

- P. 423. In the account of Shotts' communion, Mr Livistoun seems to be supposed a minister in Ireland before, and come out of it; but I suppose he had not been in Ireland, and I am sure he was then only a preacher. A fuller account of that communion might be set down in the former volume, *ad An.* 1630, to which you will get help in Mr Livistoun's Life. As also the Stewarstown sickness would be insert if it be not in the first vol. A further account would be added in this section anent Ireland, of the debates between Mr Blair and the Bishop of Down and Raphoe, to which you may get some help.

Before the 5th book there would be added some account from the 1652 to the 1660, at least of the endeavours to reunite the Protesters and Resolutioners, and other things in that time that seem a considerable gap in the history.

BOOK V.

- P. 1. It may be considered if the assertion of King Charles dying as Papist would not do as well a little softened.
3. Cromwell called, &c. it would be considered.
- Id.* No law current in Scotland, it would be more largely expressed that the English had all courts, &c. in their hands.
26. The Synod of Fife's warning. I wish it be well attested. It contains pretty odd expressions of loyalty, altering much from the Presbyterian phrases.
45. Consider if there was not a third speech of Mr Guthrie before his death.
81. Account of Pentland, by Naphthali, to be considered.
99. A. B. [Archbishop] of Glasgow's remonstrance against the Indulgence, and King's Supremacy, would be had if possible.
113. Egilsham in the Presbytery of Paisley.

- P. 136. Commission for raising the Highland host would be insert, and you may have it.
142. You may have a fuller account of Sharp's death.
143. You may have the Rutherglen declaration.
144. Welsh's declaration would be insert if it can be had.
146. Mr John King taken at Bothwell Muir. How could this be, when, p. 144, he was taken by my Lord Rosse, unless he escaped, which would be narrated.
146. The copy of the paper drawn up at Paisley anent the hazard of religion from Popery would be carefully inquired after at Mr Simson, or Mr Jo. Law, and would be insert, because the Prelatists object that the Presbyterians in England or Scotland did nothing against the Duke of York or Popery.
147. The council's letter anent the Duke of York would be insert.
- And the best materials gotten for filling up the blank from [16]82 to 1688.
- You may consider my father's animadversions, insert p. 310.

These are what occurred to me in a glisking over this volume. If you be not at present making use of the first volume, I shall run through what of it I have not read, but don't straiten yourself as to it; for you see any animadversions I can make are very insignificant. I am yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, Feb. 8, 1710.

LETTER XXXII.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For Mr Patrick Warner.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—I had yours of the 27 of January. It's a very imitable copy of your great modesty, that I shall endeavour to follow. I was very ingenuous in any expectations I expressed of advantage by my last proposal, and I dare say expressed far less than I thought, and am no way disappointed in the essay I receive this night. I have been taken up these days bygone in revising a volume of my predecessor's MS. History, of which I send you the proposals in print; and I doubt not but you will communicate them to any you have access to. I hope all will contribute their encouragement to so good a work; and as I have now read most of it, if my sentiments were to be relied upon, as they are not, I could say very much in its behalf; but I forbear. So that I can only return you my humble and hearty thanks for your thoughts upon that dark place, which are very satisfying to me, in the hasty looking them over this night. As soon as I can get them more solidly and stayedly considered, you shall have any thing occurs to me, with all humble freedom. I shall communicate them to none but upon the terms you wrote of; and though I think this deserves to be made public, yet I shall never communicate this, or any other thing in our correspondence, without your express consent.

This desirable beginning makes me remark the hand of providence, in leading me to desire a correspondence of this nature, which, the more I think on, the more I hope, through the blessing of God, shall be of use to me. And, therefore, I earnestly crave that you may please to go on, as far as health and necessary avoca-

tions allow, in favouring me with your thoughts on the other things I hinted at in my last.

In my ordinary this day I was reading the Prophecies of Malachy, where I had occasion to consider a little, and set down some cursory meditations on the covenant of Levi, which I wonder nobody has handled at length, at least that I have seen. My wife tells she heard you preach upon it before the Synod, or some public meeting. Your notes with my mother (if so be you did preach on it) would be most acceptable.

I can make no return for all this trouble I give you; but my earnest wish is, the Lord may continue you to be useful to his glory, and all of us, and, in any subject you shall please to think on, at my desire, make the meditation of himself and his truths sweet to you.

P[eggy] gives you the trouble of a line I suppose this night. And we doubt not of your concern at the throne to get every alteration we meet with to work together for ours and the child's good. I heartily lament Kilmarnock's loss of my old comrade Mr Finlason. I wish we, that are of the younger sort, may be in a constant readiness for our account, for the best of us are weeding out. I am, Dear Sir, your most affectionate, and obliged son and servant,
R. W.

Eastwood, Feb. 8, 1710.

LETTER XXXIII.

HOG'S NOTES ON THE SPIRIT'S OPERATIONS.

For the Rev. Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had your last, of the 22d of December last, only upon the 6th instant, and I had immediately answered it as I did your former, (which I hope is come to your hand long

since,) if I had not been told the carrier was not to be at Glasgow for eight or ten days.

Before I enter upon your last, I know you will allow me to make good my former promise to you, as to your Notes upon the Spirit's Operations. I wrote to Mr Valange for one of them, and have read it through with a great deal of satisfaction. I tried how it might vent hereabouts, but I find the most part I speak to have the former edition of it, and are not willing to buy another. I have no remarks of any consequence to give upon it; only to let you see the humble freedom I resolve to use with you only for my own information, I shall communicate what occurred to me. I wish the printer had been more exact in his part, but that must be helped by the attention of the reader, and I cannot but wish that all the citations of Scripture, in chapter and verse, had the words still annexed to them; for it diverts the mind in reading from the thread of thought to search a place of Scripture, and many careless readers are not at the pains to consult the places, and very frequently mistakes are printed, one figure for another.

Your second position, p. 16, is very satisfying of the Lord's design of training up the Ante-Mosaical Church by the external teachings of the patriarchs. I would only have added the 19th verse to your proof, from Gen. xviii. 17, 18, which you know is home to this purpose, and I suppose has been only omitted by the negligence of the printer.

Again, p. 64, in your explication of Isaiah lix. 21, I remark that you make this covenant chiefly to signify the system of Gospel promises, which are the matter of Christ's purchase, &c.; whereas I rather incline to understand this passage of the covenant of redemption. I have no reasons for this beyond what the great Mr Gillespy has advanced, (Covenant of Redemption, p. 2 and 3,) which, till I hear them answered, I cannot restrict it chiefly to the system of promises, &c. I find, p. 67, you take this in as to the matter, with other sentiments of interpreters, which you incline to unite rather than separate, which I very willingly assent to, only to me this seems to be the chief design of this sweet portion of Scripture.

I only add another remark which occurred to me, Part 2d, p. 45. Among the sad remainders of a legal principle and way in believers, you name, in the second place, the tempted person's turning inward, that, by his tossings in a way of reasoning, he may unfold the deceits, &c.; whereas, in a way of believing, the soul, &c. hath its recourse wholly to God in Christ. Where I am only afraid that readers, if they do not closely reflect upon your cautions, be ready to think you exclude all reasonings under temptation as remainders of a law spirit, which I am satisfied you do not, but only these with a bare eye to self-strength, and without a just dependence upon the influences of the Spirit, which I see is the scope of this head; but I would have had it more fully expressed, because, if I be not mistaken, I have found the advantage of reasoning under temptation, according to Psalm xlii. 5—11.

These were all the observes occurred to me, which are truly not worth your notice, but only as evidences of what frankness I would use, if I had any thing of weight to remark.

I come now to return you my hearty thanks for yours of the 22d, with the enclosed part of your memorial, relative to disappointments in prayer. I am very much pleased with the scheme you lay down, and the brief hint you give of the pinch and choak in this matter, and the temptations upon this subject. As to your generous offer of drawing out the rest of it, it's what I am very desirous of, and shall labour to improve to the best advantage, among any exercised persons I have access to; and, chiefly, I hope it may be useful to myself; but I am ashamed to put you [to] the pains of causing double it over. If I know any way to retaliate this pains, I would very willingly fall in with it. And the sooner it come with your thoughts on the remaining queries, I will be the more in your debt and the Lord's.

If my answer to any of yours be late a coming, it is the fault of the carriers, who I find never bring yours till a month or more after the date. If you can propose any place where they may be left at Courus, or any where else, that they may come quickly to you, I shall follow your direction. If mine be directed for Mrs

Luk's, next land to the Sugarie, in the Gallowgate, Glasgow, they will reach me still within a day of the delivery.

I doubt not but De Foe's History of the Union has by this time reached you. I heartily wish some fit hand would take him in task for his misrepresentation of this Church in that affair, and his base and disingenuous treating of the Presbyterians' and the Commission's procedure, and his ignorant and loose reasoning about our covenants.

I give my humble respects to all brethren of my acquaintance with you, and heartily wish the Lord may allow you much of his own presence and blessing in, and strength for, and success in your stational and generation work.—I am, Reverend and Dear Sir,
yours most cordially,
R. W.

P. S.—Upon the reading over of this, I earnestly desire to know if you have found the doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption handled and expressly asserted by divines, before Mr D. Dickson's time. I find some ministers very positive that he was the first that publicly asserted and explained that sweet article, which I can scarce believe.
R. W.

Feb. 16, 1710.

LETTER XXXIV.

SCRIPTURE CRITICISMS.

For Mr Patrick Warner, Minister of the Gospel, for present at Irwine.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—It's not from want of a sense of your kindness in sending me the essay for clearing Rom. iii. 3-8, that I have been so long in returning my particular acknowledg-

ments for it. But really I had not so much time since my mother came west as to look it over again, what from being abroad, and the work I had at the solemnity at Glasgow.

Now, when I have got so much time as to look over it again, I am more and more satisfied with it. Any remarks I make upon it shall only be for my own further instruction from you in this dark place of the Scripture. Your pleasant criticism upon *τα λογια* in the nominative case, I would very heartily go into if I had not two difficultys. *1st*, As to the Apostle's reasoning here against the Judaizing teachers, their error on justification, I do not see how it would hang so closely if we read this, the oracles of God were believed by them. For this seems to make too great a difference between Jews and Gentiles, if the Jews not only had the oracles, but really believed them too; especial if you understand it of real faith, as this construction of the word is taken, 1 Tim. iii. 6; 2 Thess. i. 10. And in this sense I do not so well see how it would be consistent with the Apostle's position, ver. 9, that both Jews and Gentiles are under sin. *2dly*, I very much doubt, at least in this sense of believing, if it can be attributed to the bulk of the people of the Jews, of whom the Apostle seems to be speaking here, Is. liii. 1, and John xii. 38.

I acknowledge, with you, on ver. 3, that the faith of God, as *genitivus subjecti*, seems to run harsh in the ordinary acceptation of the word, and certainly it might have been rendered "the faithfulness of God;" unless by the faith of God we understand the righteousness of faith manifested in the Old Testament, in the discoveries of the Messias to come, termed the faith of God objectively, as contrived, published, and exhibited, and accepted by God, and performed by Christ, who is God, and apprehended by faith, the gift of God, Rom. i. 17, and Rom. iii. 23. It's the righteousness of God which is by the *faith of Jesus Christ*, Philip. iii. 9. And, by their not believing, they made this faith of God of none effect as to them, or useless.

Verse 4. Your remark on *μη γινωσκο* is very well grounded, and, indeed, I wonder our translators so far homologated the abuse of

the great and fearful name in the ordinary proverb, as to make use of it here.

Verse 5. Your reading *“* interrogatively is what tends much to clear the Apostle’s reasoning ; and the 7th verse may run in the same strain. I am fully satisfied that the words we translate, Is God unrighteous that taketh vengeance? are Paul’s words, in answer to the implied objection in the first clause, Doth our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God? But why we should translate them interrogatively I am at a loss to know, since *μη* is ordinarily but a simple positive denial, without any question, as we have it, and I cannot see but they may run very agreeable to the Greek ; by way of assertion, God is not unrighteous in taking vengeance. And after his *μη γινωσκο*, he,

Verse 6, comes plainly to prove this assertion of God’s righteousness, as you observe, from the truth they would not deny, that he is the Judge of the world.

Verse 7. I entirely agree with you, save that I think it’s a new argument against the thing asserted in the implied objection, verse 5, Doth then our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God? rather than an illustration of the assertion brought against it in the end of that verse, which, being so plain a denial, I think needs little further illustration. As I hinted before, perhaps the *“* might be read here interrogatively, as verse 5, Doth then the truth of God more abound through my unrighteousness or unbelief? &c. ; and the *εἰ εἶ, quid igitur, quid amplius, quid preterea*, as I find the dictionaries render it, might run, (instead of why yet am I, &c.) what then? and what follows be a concession—I am also judged a sinner, I am certainly so ; and therefore the truth of God can never abound or be glorified by my being a sinner, or since I still remain a sinner. *What, then,* would follow? Certainly it would follow that I had glorified God ; but that is false, for I still continue a sinner.

The 8th verse, I agree very heartily with your account of it. In short, upon the whole, especially upon your advance upon the beginning of the 5th verse, in reading *“* interrogatively, my diffi-

culty in this part of the chapter is much removed, which, in the general lay here, that the Apostle started an objection, verse 5, and did not give a direct answer to it. Whereas, now, though the objection be materially imported indeed, and included, yet I incline to think that he is rather laying down in a way of peremptory denial, and, as a lawgiver, in an authoritative way, that our unrighteousness does not commend the righteousness of God, and cannot do it, than in a way of reasoning with adversaries, and yet gives his proofs of his negative assertion so plain and apposite, as they materially answer the adversaries' objections.

I send' you, along with this, a letter by Mr Thomas Linning, minister of Walstoun, to Mr M'Millan, and the preface of it by Mr Webster; as also the remarks on Mr M'Neilly and M'Millan's protestation,¹ with an answer by some of that party. It's an answer our Dissenters here glory very much in; and I think, indeed, it's better penned than any of the papers I have seen of that party. I earnestly intreat you may read it over, and as you go through, set down your remarks upon the answer. It contains the strength of what that party have to say for themselves; and, seeing I have a considerable number of them to deal with in this place, I very much need all the help you can give me. Your experience and observation in dealing with this party since the Revolution, and your acquaintance with the debates in the late times, makes me very desirous you set down your observes on this pamphlet, and his false reasonings there; and I hope you will have some satisfaction in exposing the hardy reproaches he casts on us, and I am persuaded

¹ This was a paper entitled "Protestation, Declinature, and Appeal," &c., which Mr M'Millan and Mr M'Neil gave in to the Commission of the General Assembly, 2d of September 1708, in which, after declaring their principles, and pointing out the various defections of the Established Church, they declined her judicatories, so long as the defections of which they complain are not acknowledged and removed, as unfaithful judges in such matters; protest that the acts, ratifications, sentences, censures, &c., of her judicatories are null and void, and not to be interpreted as binding on them; and appeal to the first free, faithful, and rightly constituted Assembly in this Church, to whose decision and sentence in the things libelled against them they willingly refer themselves. This paper is inserted at length in *Struthers' History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 70—75.

I will reap considerable advantage by your communicating your remarks. I give my kindest respects to my mother, and brother and sister, if with you. P[eggy] is like to be a little tender, and needs your sympathy. The child is at present pretty weel, except a little cough she has got. I am yours, most affectionately,

R. WODROW.

March 1, 1710.

LETTER XXXV.

REMARKS ON CRAWFORD'S MS. HISTORY.

For Mr Mathew Crawford, Library Keeper at Glasgow.

SIR,—I return you the first volume of your father's History. I have corrected some literal escapes on the margin, without any alteration, but a line below the word, that you may judge of them yourself. I have very little further to remark. I wish as few of the papers that are at length printed in Calderwood be reprinted as may be. A short abstract of them, for the carrying on of the thread of the history, with a reference to the page in Calderwood, will suffice.

You may consider whether it will not be proper to give the account of the Nonconformists in England, that is here and there interspersed, altogether in an appendix at the end, with some of the larger of the papers in this first volume.

P. 362. I find some minutes of occurrences 1614 and 1615 set down before the 1613.

P. 364. The time when Mr Law and Spotswood played at the foot-ball, and the parishes they were in, would be set down.

P. 365, or thereabout, would be insert the first graduation of Doc-

tors in Divinity in this Church, from Calderwood, p. 656; and any other hints you can find anent it.

P. 367, art. 6. Howat's Form of Common Prayer, if you judge an abstract of the titles of it fit to be inserted, you know where to have it.

P. 385. These digressions about the Synod of Dort, and the affairs of Bohemia, might be insert at the foot of the page, as interrupting our history a little. And so might the account of the English affairs, and the account of the Lords of the Articles, p. 22, following.

P. 82. If you can procure the Latin copy of this letter from a foreigner, it might be insert.

In this year, 1637, there is no account of Mr George Gillespie's E[nglish] P[opish] ceremonies, and the act of council for burning that book, which you may have.

I wish you may look through Sir James Balfour's Memoirs, and see if there be any thing in them necessary to be added. If you'll please to send them out, I shall run through them, and point at any things I observe in them that may be useful for the more completing of your father's History. I am, your most humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, March 3, 1710.

LETTER XXXVI.

ACCOUNT OF MS. RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

For the Rev. Mr Robert Wylie, Minister of the Gospel at Hamilton.

[Mr Robert Wylie was the son of the Rev. Thomas Wylie, a man of respectable talents and learning, who had a share in the sufferings of the prelatie persecution. Robert appears to have inherited the good old Presbyterian spirit, as well as the talents and piety, of his father. In his youth, during the persecution, he showed an ardent devotion

to the cause of religion and freedom. On the 29th of March 1678, being then Lord Semple's governor, he was summoned to appear before the Lords of the Committee of Council, for acting in this capacity without a licence from the Bishop of the diocese; but, being unwilling to own the Bishop's power, he absconded. In 1679 he lay for a short time in prison; but falling sick, the Council liberated him on bond, under a penalty of 2000 merks. The rising of Bothwell taking place soon after, the attention of the Government was directed to the discovery and persecution of more obnoxious individuals. He, however, continued to make common cause with the oppressed, whose numerous and long continued wrongs had now driven them to take up arms in self-defence. When information reached Edinburgh that the Covenanters, encouraged by their success at Drumclog, continued in arms, and were joined by considerable numbers from different parts of the country, many of their most enlightened and zealous friends in that city, apprehensive that Sir Robert Hamilton, and those who held his views, might injure the cause by extreme measures, frequently met for deliberation, and sent their friendly advice to their brethren in the West, who were falling into disunion about a declaration of the grounds upon which they took up arms—one party contending that it should bear a pointed testimony against the Indulgence, and another that it should contain nothing which would exclude Presbyterians from uniting as one man against their oppressors. In these meetings Mr Wylie felt a deep interest, and took an active part. At one of them a declaration of the reasons for taking up arms was agreed upon as what would meet the views of the great body of the Presbyterians, and transmitted to the west country army, who, however, rejected it as too moderate. From this Declaration, the first draught of which was drawn up by Mr Wylie and Mr Dunlop, afterwards Principal of the College of Glasgow, it appears that while Mr Wylie approved of the rising of the Covenanters, he was opposed to those extreme measures which fomented divisions among them, and issued in their defeat at Bothwell-bridge. In giving an account of this paper, which is inserted in his History, Wodrow says, "The Reverend Mr Robert Wylie, minister of the gospel at Hamilton since the Revolution, lately entered into the joy of his Lord, was pleased to give me the original copy, which continued in his hands, being clerk to the meeting from which it came. The shining piety, fine taste, excellent sense, and singular accomplishments of this truly great and good man, in every branch of valuable knowledge and learning, forbid me to enter upon his character, as what I am not able to give; and he is so well and so long known in this Church, that it were need-

less for me to offer at it. I only take this opportunity to own publicly the encouragements and helps I had from him while alive, and from his papers, by the obliging favour of his relict, since his death, in compiling this History. Within a few weeks of his death, when not able to write himself, February 1715, he sent me this account of this paper which I here give."—(*Wodrow's Church History*, vol. ii. 419, 475 ; and iii. 10, 96.)—Ed.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am very much in your debt for your loan of the two vols. of the MS. Acts of our Assembly, which you so happily recovered from the tobacconist's hands. I thought to have given you an account of them before now, but till this night I have never got through them, and I judged it proper to delay my remarks till I had run over them all.

The thin volume is a complete account of the Assembly 1638 ; and at the end there is a copy of Mr Henderson's sermon, and the form of his excommunicating the bishops, which, if my memory fail me not, I have seen in print. This is certainly no original, as I hope the other plainly is, but a copy. I have seen three or four copies of the proceedings of this Assembly, and all the speeches of the members, with not a few of the E[arl] of Argyle's, who was not a member, as no doubt you know, but came with the M[arquis] of Hamilton, and was named by him to be one of the privy conference, which the Assembly would not go into, as what they thought was a prelimiting of them, but was through some pains gained by the Covenanters, and desired to stay still for advice, as a privy counsellor after the Commissioner's leaving them. This copy of yours contains all the speeches at great length. I heard a tradition that some persons that were exact in the short-hand, by the connivance of some of the leading members, got up to the vices¹ of the High Church, and wrote all that was spoke at this Assembly, and I fancy these collections are the fruit of their pains. Mr Crawford in his History has insert this collection almost *verbatim*.

The other volume contains the Assemblies 1642–1646. It is miserably torn ; and the most considerable blanks, after I have, with

¹ *Vice*, the wheel or spindle of a winding staircase.—*Bailey*.

all the care I could, put the scattered parts in order, are Ass. 1643, from p. 40-55; and the Ass. 1646 is perfectly abused; from Sess. 2 to 7 is amissing, and some leaves Sess. 10; and from Sess. 11 to the close, viz. 18th Sess., is lost. I reckon this loss the greater, in that I think I have ground to think that this very volume is the original copy; and perhaps the only one of the Church's register for these years. That I may communicate what occurred to me in looking it over fully, that you may make a full judgment of it, I shall set down the matter on both sides. And first represent what I met with that raised some scruples to me if this were a copy or original, and then what I found that determine me to think it is the register of those years. Upon the one hand, I find no account of the calling of the rolls, prayers, their reading minutes. Further, I find none of these Assemblies subscribed either by the moderator or clerk. And in the Ass. 1643, the draught of the League and Covenant I find closed with *sic subscribitur*, A. Ker, in the hand of the rest of the register. Likewise, in some few places, I find blanks, only of places, as minister at * * * and of dates to endure to the * * * day of * * *. These were what I observed, that did any thing shake my opinion of this volume being an original record. I believe answers might be framed to each of them, and they did not alter my thoughts of this volume being the Church's record, which ran upon these grounds. I find the rolls at full length before each Assembly, with blanks for the absents. There are sometimes such minute things recorded, as nobody would be at the pains to transcribe in a copy, and indeed rather look like minutes than a record. The adding, for instance, a member to a committee, and the altering another from one committee to another. The printed acts and this MS., in what of it is printed, jump to a word even in some seemingly needless circumstances and in blanks. And the unprinted acts at the end of the printed acts agree in their order with this MS., only they want several things that are here. They seem, as it were, to be just a copy of the margins of this MS. These are but cumulative evidences; the things I lay most stress on are: 1st, I find in several places cor-

rections and additions by another hand upon the margin, and subscribed A. Ker, *ad longum*; and that five or six times. *2dly*, The write and the margins are most exact, and where there is any escape it's corrected and subscribed by the clerk on the margin. *3dly*, An. 1642, I find the National Covenant, and the Bond, *ad longum*, ordered to be insert in the registers of the Church, with the copy of the noblemen, the members of the Convention of Estates, that subscribed it, with the Ass. 1639, their explication; and, accordingly, it follows in this copy with all their names. And so in this same Assembly there is a letter comes from the King, with the gift of the L.500 for the public charges of the Church, and with it a copy of the signature for this, and the King in his letter craves that his signature may be insert in the Church's registers *ad futuram rei memoriam*; and, accordingly, it follows here. And, which comes in upon this argument, the League and Covenant is insert here in its first draught, as it came from the committee of this Ass. 1643, with a *nota* on the margin, that there were some alterations afterwards made in this draught, which were agreed to by the Commission, and printed and ratified by the Assembly 1645, in the register of which it's again insert *ad longum*. In the Assembly 1644, the Assembly, for want of time, refers the answering of the letters of the divines in England and Holland to the Commission for public affairs, and ordains the clerk to insert the answers, when drawn up, in the registers of this Assembly. And, accordingly, they follow in this MS. Ass. 1645, the Directory for government is insert at large in this MS.; and yet the printed acts of this year say it's not insert in them, because in print already; which plainly shows this MS. to be no private copy, for nobody would be at the pains to transcribe those things that were in every body's hand in print. And upon this copy of the Directory there are some marginal notes of articles to be considered by the Commission. *Lastly*, In the Assembly 1643, Sess. 8, I find the Presbytery of Auchterarder are stayed before the Assembly for their not reading the Commission's warning, and all but two or three are suspended or deposed, and the names of their commissioners to

this Assembly ordered to be razed out of the rolls. And, accordingly, in the rolls before this Assembly, the commissioners from that Presbytery are crossed out, and a marginal note, in the hand that subscribes A. Ker, is added, "appointed to be delated by the Assembly."

These things weigh with me to conclude, that this very copy is the original register of these Assemblies; and I lay them before you, who is a more competent judge than I can pretend to be of these things. I once designed to have set down some singularities I observed in the discipline and actings of these Assemblies, but I am persuaded I have already outwearied you with this scribble.

If I had had any sure hand I would have returned you these MSS. with this, but I shall defer this till we meet (if the Lord will) at the insuing Synod. It were worth the while to cause take asunder the loose volume, and bind it up carefully, with clean paper in the wants, [blanks;] for it's a pity such a valuable remain should be thus all in tatters. I shall be very glad to have your judgment of thir things, by the post to Glasgow, with all your news. Meanwhile, I give my humble respects to Mrs Wylie; and am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant,

R. W.

March 6, 1710.

LETTER XXXVII.

ECCLESIASTICAL NEWS.

For Mr James Guthrie, Minister, Irongray.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours by post of the 8th of January last. I would not have been so long in returning an answer if you had not given me some hopes of receiving another, after

your Synod *pro re nata*, which I was still expecting, but it's not yet come to hand. And, indeed, this would not have hindered me either, if I had had any thing to acquaint you with from thir bounds worth your while.

I desire to be deeply grieved for the matter of your last.¹ That heinous wickedness of Mr Laurie is what is astonishing to me; but offences must come. The Lord help us that stand to take heed lest we fall. It's some satisfaction to me, to consider that this is the only instance that I have heard of since the Revolution. Alas! that there should be one instance of this horrid kind. Pray let me know what measures your Synod hath taken with him. I cannot see how you can win by the testimony against this abominable villany, by summar excommunication. I pity his uncle, Mr V—. I fear this bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

Let me know what is become of Mr Mair's business,² and your new society, which I am really surprised to hear of. The Lord forgive them, they know not what they are doing. We have a pamphlet here, a Modest Answer to Mr Linning, junior's, Letter to Mr M'Millan, and Mr Webster's preface, which I fancy may come perhaps from some of that club. No doubt, it's spread with care in your bounds; hereabouts it's wonderfully magnified as unanswerable, &c. I confess, to me it seems to be done with a little more life than many of the papers I have seen come from that party; and carries a vast measure of impudence and confidence in asserting things that have been answered many times. Let me know its reputed author, and if any body with you be answering it. We may answer and duply, but really people hereabouts are so impressed with a disgust at ministers, that they will believe nothing that is said, be it as plain as the sun shineth.

I mind nothing singular from this country. The town of Kilmarnock and that presbytery have sustained a great loss by Mr

¹ He refers to a process against Mr Laurie, minister of Closeburn, for adultery, drunkenness, &c.—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 98.

² This refers to a call given to Mr Mair by the parish of Closeburn, which was contested in the Church Courts.—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 98.

Finlason's death. A call was drawn up from Glasgow to Mr Wright, his colleague, but this sad providence has effectually stopped it.

There is a new heat like to break out in the Presbytery of Hamilton. Our last synod, upon Mr Arch. Foyer's acknowledgments and profession of sorrow, for some papers he had written that reflected on some ministers, tare the papers, and passed Mr F. with a synodical rebuke. When he came again to sit in the presbytery, Mr Wylie gave in a charge against him as a liar, habitually a drunkard and slanderer, and offered to make it good, and refused to sit in a judicatory with him. There has been much pains, they say, taken upon Mr Wylie to bring him to keep the presbytery, which he left after he had given the charge; but since that time he cannot be prevailed upon to sit with them. The business will be in at the synod, as you shall then have an account of its issue.

I give my kindest respects to all the brethren of my acquaintance with you. My wife hath you most kindly remembered. All our friends in the west are in their ordinary health. I am, Dear Cousin, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

March 7, 1710,

LETTER XXXVIII.

SIR JAMES BALFOUR'S ANNALS.

For Mr Mathew Crawford.

SIR,—I have gone through Sir James Balfour's Annals,¹ both volumes. I did not find so much in him as I expected, to give light to the church history of these times. Some things he would be no-

¹ These Annals have been preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, and were published in 1824, in four volumes 8vo, by Mr James Haig, one of their librarians.

ticed in, as wrong in matter of fact, but there being only two copies of him, I think you will not much incline to correct him publicly. I fancy you will incline to read him over yourself, and so you will be in better case to know what suits for your purpose than I can pretend to direct you. Besides the pages that I have marked in the enclosed as relative to ecclesiastic affairs, (*vide* my extract out of Balfour's Annals,) I shall only note,

That you will find the foundation of the monasteries and religious houses very exact. And his Lives of the Bishops of St Andrews will be of considerable use to you, if you give any large account of these in the history. Only what he says, p. 23 of Adamson, with his jest upon our reformers, would be refuted, as it may be easily, by Adamson's own confession; and is done on the matter by your father.

The Annals are very manck [defective] as to many material passages of those times, which I wonder have escaped him. He seems, till about the 1620, to favour Episcopacy, in any account he gives; but after that he is very severe upon the bishops. He promises a third volume, which I wish were to be had.

Any other thing I can be useful in to you in promoting the publishing of your father's History, shall be very willingly engaged in, by your humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, March 16, 1710.

LETTER XXXIX.¹

VINDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, IN ANSWER TO A
CAMERONIAN PAMPHLET.²

Patrick Warner to Wodrow.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have been much diverted since I received yours of the 1st instant, and scarce had time to read that letter to Mr M'Millan, with the answer to it, with any serious deliberation. I had thought to have marked some things in the answer on paper, but have not got it done. All I can do is to recollect my own memory as well as I can, as to what occurred in the reading, and, in general, I observe with you, that it is better penned than papers of that party use to be, and the author appears both judicious and learned; so learned, that I conceive, *Si Pergama dextra defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent*; yet I conceive those he hath to do with will be able to stand their ground, having the better cause; and to them I leave it, being unwilling to put my sickle into another's harvest, especially the other being far more able for it than I can or dare pretend to. I only cursorily observe, 1. That in general they cast iniquity upon the Church of Scotland very uncharitably, wrest all her actings, that they may load her with reproachful crimes. 2. The greatest charge (for to give all in detail would be a work too heavy for me) appears [to be] that the Church of Scotland does not press the renewing of the Covenants, National and Solemn League. But there are several things as to this that they take no notice of, which, if noticed, might, in a great measure, allay their clamour. (1.) That the National Covenant is, indeed, a confession of our faith, very praiseworthy in its time, but I conceive, for variety and perspicuity, not to be compared

¹ See p. 119.

² From Letters to Wodrow, vol. ii. No. 102.

with the Westminster Confession, which we own and press. (2.) That the Westminster Confession is ratified in King William's Parliament, and the other was approved by the last Parliament of King Charles the Second, where I think the Duke of York presided, and included in the bosom of the Test as a point thereof; which honour I believe that Parliament would not have given to the Westminster Confession. (3.) As to the Solemn League, they would do well to consider, more seriously, what that answer does overly take notice of, p. 13, near the beginning, viz. that the Ass. appoints its being subscribed by all the true professors of the Reformed religion, only after its reception and approbation in the kingdom of England. But they should have considered further, that the Ass., for aught I can find, by their act, do not appoint even that it be subscribed, only they recommend to the honourable Convention of Estates, that, being examined and approved by them, it may be sent to England, to be received and approved there, that after that it may be, with all religious solemnity, sworn, &c. (4.) They would consider whether it be practicable to get England to consent to renew that Covenant, and if it be, whether they themselves will undertake to gain their consent. (5.) Whether we can renew it without their consent, and whether, in that case, it would be a league and covenant. (6.) Whether that league and covenant obligeth us by open force to constrain them to extirpate prelacy, when they are not willing and do not consent to it. (7.) Whether it be in our power to do it. And, (8.) Whether it were lawful for us to do it if it were in our power; and whether ever our blessed Lord gave any such commandment to his followers by the power of the sword to reform nations, as it is said Mahomet gave to his followers, and Romish antichrist has too much practised.

Another heavy charge against the Church of Scotland, on which these people ground their schism and separation, is, that the breaches of these covenants, and other such sins of public defection, are not, or have not been, publicly acknowledged. But this is very uncharitable, for, 1690, there was a very full acknowledgment and

enumeration of those sins, and of defection in the causes of the fast emitted by that Assembly. And it was then agreed that, seeing these same were so epidemical, to bring every individual person guilty before a session or congregation would hardly be convenient unto edification; therefore ministers should, before that fast, visit their congregations, and ask the several members thereof what sense they had of these sins, as they had been guilty of one step or another, and whether they would not allow the minister, in their name, as well as in the name of others, to make public acknowledgment thereof; which many did with much seeming seriousness, promising to join cordially with the minister therein. Yea, if any refused this, they were suspended from sealing ordinances till they publicly and personally confessed their own guilt and accession to such sins. This I am sure was done in our bounds, and I believe it was so generally, and, if I mistake not, by general concert and advice at that Assembly. Which being then so (I know a gentleman, of some notoriety at that time, refusing to consent that the sinfulness of the Test should be acknowledged in his name, was afterwards obliged himself to make a public acknowledgment thereof) [so] universally done, both pious and grave men thought it was not needful nor convenient, in all our subsequent fasts, to make the same particular enumeration of those public sins and steps of defection, but thought it sufficient to refer to these. And, to the best of my remembrance, the first national fast appointed by the Assembly after that was 1699, and there they only in general mention the grievous and heinously aggravated sins abounding and continuing in the land; but recommend it to all ministers to be very explicit and particular in the acknowledgment of the national and epidemic crying sins, which is as much as if they had again repeated all the acknowledgments made 1690. Again, 1700, they expressly mention the fearful backslidings and persecutions of the late times, mentioned in former causes of humiliation, continued unfaithfulness to God, notwithstanding of our solemn covenants and engagements, with a very particular enumeration of such scandalous sins as were consistent with the knowledge of the Assembly.

Again, in the causes of humiliation, 1701, [the Assembly] thought [not] needful to repeat all the particulars of the causes of humiliation specified in the former fasts, yet they have a comprehensive general of wickedness and abominations amongst people of all ranks and degrees, and particularly notice how these are aggravated from their being against so many solemn repeated vows and engagements unto, and covenants with our God, and these had been openly violated and broken by persons of all ranks, and treated with public contempt, indignities, and affronts; and for a more full and particular enumeration, refer to the causes of fasts, 1690, 1700. From 1701 to 1704 no public fast is appointed by the Assembly. But, 1704, as also 1705, for reasons moving them, I think they appoint that the several Presbyteries appoint days for fasting in their respective bounds. Again, 1706, they recommend to all ministers, with prudence and zeal, to reprove and warn of, and in prayer confess and acknowledge the national and epidemical crying sins, both of the former and present times, particularly enumerated in the causes of former public fasts, especially in the years 1690, 1700, 1701. But here, in the Answer, a great outcry is made, that this year it was denied, by a solemn vote, that breach of covenant should be put into the causes of a national fast—a most invidious charge. For breach of covenant is really among the causes of that fast, seeing the act expressly requires ministers both to warn of and confess the national sins enumerated in causes of fast 1690, 1700, and 1701, in all which breach of covenant is very particularly acknowledged. And being so, the only debate of the Assembly was, whether the draught, brought in by those who were appointed for that matter, should not be altered to satisfy one or two more zealous brethren who would needs have breach of covenant therein, as in the former, expressly mentioned; which the greater part of the Assembly thought not needful, seeing it was very evident that it was really and in effect in it already. And now, if that be a sufficient ground of separation from the Church of Scotland, I could appeal to all the Protestant Churches in Europe, yea, to the writer of that paper himself, if his candour be answerable to his learning.

Another charge against ministers, wherefore they are to be separated from, is because our civil rulers have only asserted as the ground of their re-establishing Presbytery, that it was more agreeable to the people's inclinations, &c.; *ergo*, ministers must be disowned. But have any ministers ever asserted that this is the only ground; have they not, do they not plead its divine right? Yea, if I mistake not, even the Parliament, in one of the acts, have asserted its being agreeable to and founded upon the Word of God. But I am weary of these things, and therefore will not go further, nor meddle with that which seems to be also a great prejudice against ministers, their subjecting to the Government and our present Queen, who is of the communion of the Church of England. But, would ever our worthy Reformers, of whom they so much boast, have refused subjection to King James the Sixth and his son King Charles, because of that communion? Would they not have been well satisfied, if they had but suffered the Church of Scotland to enjoy her privileges? But I must now forbear, and remember I am not writing an answer to that paper, nor do I design it. However, I am content you send me a double of it, and of the letter to which it is a reply.

As for the other paper I sent you, I have not had time nor room to write my observes on your remarks. Some small touches I may possibly give afterwards; but, in the meantime, I am well satisfied that we appear to agree as to the main, and any difference there is is but small. One thing, upon second thoughts, I desire you may correct with your pen in my paper which doth not runne smoothly, viz., near the beginning, immediately after figure 2d, add the *τα λογια του θεου*, the oracles of God, mentioned v. 2, are, I conceive, &c., and scrape out what goes before.

I had forgot to signify, that though the author of the Modest Reply greatly quarrels [with] our Church constitution, yet, from what appears through his discourse, there is too much ground to apprehend that the great eye-sore is the civil constitution, and *hinc illæ lacrymæ!* I know not who is the author, but he appears both to be a learned person, and also one well seen in and acquainted

with the affairs of our Church, and I wish his pen had been better employed.

It is very probable I will need that money you write of, at least will have occasion to lay it out against Whitsunday; but of this I may give you a more particular account shortly. I remember P., and commend you all to the Lord.—Yours, as you know.

March 21, 1710.

LETTER XL.

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING.

For Mr Patrick Warner.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—I have yours of the 21st this night late, when I come from the presbytery, with the Letter and Modest Remarks. I am extremely obliged to you for your remarks upon that paper; and I heartily acknowledge you have offered several considerations and remarks that I have not met with anywhere, nor heard of, that have given me a great deal of satisfaction; particularly your answer to his charge against us for the want of public acknowledgment of the sins of the late times. I was still satisfied that at this time, at least since I came to the ministry, and a considerable time before, it was not proper to press public acknowledgments of such old sins; but I must own I was a little straitened what to say to our Dissenters, when they urged that it was neglected after the Revolution, and had nothing to offer but the causes of the fast 1690. But what you tell me of the concert among ministers to go through their parishes and deal with the guilty, and their success that way, and obliging some of those who could not be wrought on in private to make public acknowledgments, does very much ease me of the difficulty I had myself about this. I did in-

deed urge the unsuitableness and unseasonableness of a general public acknowledgment, the defection being so epidemical; but I had my own scruples about the Church's not using more pains with people in a more private way, and I heartily thank you for what you have given me to relieve me from this. And from this you will allow me to remark, that it concerns you and the rest of the old ministers that knew the circumstances of things in the late times, and the particular actings, and the reasons of them, in that difficult juncture at and after the Revolution, to leave behind them, for the instruction of those that are but of yesterday, answers to all the remarkable cavils of adversaries, either on the right or left hand, against the procedure of those times.

I shall only add to what you answer to this author's charge of our Government being settled by the Parliament on the inclinations of the people:—1st, That I think this was what, according to the author's principles, is only competent for a purely civil judicatory to do, to declare what is, or what is not, the inclinations of those whom they represent, and the civil interest of the land. I do think he would scarce allow the Parliament a power to judge what is and what is not agreeable to the word of God: This I fancy would be with him a step of Erastianism, and an undue assuming of a purely ecclesiastical power to explain the Scriptures doctrinally, or at least declaratively, as to Church Government. 2dly, I must further remark, that they settle the Government upon the foot of the act of Parliament 1592, where the King and Estates expressly ratify and recognise *all the privileges that God hath given to the spiritual office-bearers of the Kirk*, and Sessions, Presbyteries, and Assemblies, as part of this.

I send you a copy of the Modest Reply. I have not a double of the Letter, but I think any thing material in it is insert in the Reply. But, if you incline, I shall endeavour to procure you a copy of the Letter too, if I can. I wish, indeed, you may run through at your leisure the rest of his charges against the Church of Scotland, and set down any hints of matter of fact, and answers to them, that occur.

I shall correct that place in the Essay on Rom. iii. that you desire.

I find you agree in your observe with many, both here and at Edinburgh, that the author of the Modest Letter strikes very much at the civil constitution; and I shall acquaint you, that those that know things best at Edinburgh think it's write by a Jacobite; though I must say, I yet doubt of this, upon some accounts I shall afterwards hint at if need be.

I will be very glad to have that money in your hands at Whitsunday; and shall have it in readiness if you need it, and if you have use for it before then, you may call for it, for it's lying dead at Glasgow.

Let me know if your health will allow you to be at the synod, and if you desire I'll send west my horse for you on the Saturday before, because he is easy. My kind respects to my m[other,] s[ister,] and b[rother.] I wish he may send west the discharge for J. M.'s money, because my lord is come west. I am, R. W.

March 22.

P. S.—Let me know if there be any thing like grumbling at this new fast in your bounds. Our presbytery have drawn up causes to be read with the Queen's proclamation. This day I have no strait in keeping this or the former fasts. But I shall signify to you for your thoughts on them, and help out of them, what is difficulting to me upon this head. 1st, I heartily allow the civil magistrate's power to indite fasts and thanksgivings in the Christian Church, upon extraordinary occasions, and in cases when the causes of fasting are not, or cannot be known, or, at least, not so fully by the constitute church judicatory; but I am sorry that a continued tract is made of the magistrate's appointing from year to year in a settled church, and in cases wherein there seems little but what is *omnibus novi*.¹ And I am affrayed this way the Church's power of appointing them

¹ Everybody's news, or known to all.

be piece-meal slipped out of our hands, and we gradually threaded in to a habit of the magistrate's appointing them without corresponding with the Church. I would willingly know what you judge present duty, to be done especially at the Assembly for preventing the hazard. It's difficulting to me indeed. *2dly*, As I believe you know that the advice of the council, wherein bishops are, is still inserted in our proclamations, what helps me most in this is, what some that pretend to know the constitution of the British council say, that it's only a consultative meeting, and hath no decisive or judicative capacity. But I am much straitened in any thing that may import a homologation of prelacy, even in England. There is a fancy come in my head this day upon this head, which I propose to you for your remarks. The Queen, in a suitableness to her headship over the Church of E[ngland,] does indyte fasts and thank-givings there, and yet recommends it to the bishops to compose prayers suitable to the occasion. I hope, according to the coronation-oath, and act of security for the Church of Scotland, she claims no headship over us, and I wish she might be advised and prevailed with to recommend it to the Commission of the Assembly or Presbytery of Edinburgh to condescend upon causes, when she sees ground to name a day. Your thoughts on these things I earnestly desire as soon as you can.

LETTER XLI.

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL FASTS.

To Mr Patrick Warner at Irvine.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—I had yours of the 28th on the 29th at night, and though the matter related to the work of this day, and

was very satisfactory, yet I did not incline to write to you that night ; and really I have very little to say upon yours, but to thank you for it. I think your observation is just, that all or most Protestant divines allow the magistrate power to appoint fasts on extraordinary occasions, and ours are generally of that sort, yea, all public national fasts seem to include, in their very institution, somewhat extraordinary. For my part, I find none that deny this, save Mr Rutherford and Mr Ja. Guthrie, &c. in their testimony, which our Dissenters make a great noise about. All that occurs to me in answer is, that their assertion runs mostly with respect to the fasts appointed by Cromwell, whom I doubt if they owned as a magistrate, but as an usurper. But I would gladly have your sentiments upon this part of their testimony, which no doubt you have by you ; for I have, indeed, a great value for these great men. Your observes on my confused proposal in my last, anent the Queen's recommending the drawing the causes of the fast to the Commission or Presbytery of Edinburgh, are just ;¹ and unless upon a letter from the Queen, the Presbytery of Edinburgh were empowered to call a Commission *pro re nata*, in such emergencies, or acquaint the moderator to do so, I cannot answer them. And even to this I prefer your proposal, that the Queen might recommend it to judicatories to add to her causes according to the case of their bounds. But I fear it [will] scarce be got done.

Your next proposal for a distinct council for the affairs of the Church, was what we laboured for with all the earnestness we could, in the time of the concluding the articles of the Union, but to no purpose.

I am so far half an apostate with you as to agree that even though our proclamations for fasts came to us by a vote of the B[ritish] coun-

¹ Mr Warner's objection to this proposal of Wodrow was, that the Commission could hardly be supposed to be sitting at all times when her Majesty might see cause to indict a fast ; and that he knew not how such a power could be lodged in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, or how all would agree to it that they should have a kind of superiority over all the other judicatories of the Church.—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 103.

cil, where bishops are, that the refusal of a plain duty is no just way to testify against bishops.¹ But, indeed, till I be better informed, I think I could not, as a minister, keep these days in our present circumstances without a public declaration, that I did not observe them as coming from bishops, but as what was a plain duty, and what I allowed her Majesty power to appoint. But I would think it my duty to testify against bishops, their power and joining in any appointment that relates to the Church of Scotland. Your simile of receiving a beneficial place from the Queen by the advice of bishops, to me does not seem to come up to the case before us; it's not their advice, because that is a personal fault in her Majesty to ask advice in matters from them that have nothing to do with us, upon thir principles I am now speaking of, and that does not affect her Majesty's just right to appoint fasts, no more than her maintaining the hierarchy in England does; but it's their judicative capacity that those of thir principles stick at, and the subjecting to a materially just sentence of an unlawful judicatory, without a testimony against what seems to me to import a homologation of that unlawful court; and so if you should accept a place from her Majesty, not by the bare advice of bishops or immoral men, but upon condition of acknowledging the lawfulness of the one's sitting in civil courts, and meddling with the Church of Scotland, or that the other are pious and virtuous persons, in my judgment you would make a near approach to the half apostacy you speak of. Though, if the author of the Reply be what some think he is, I doubt if he

¹ Warner freely owns, though he supposes some would reckon him "half an apostate for this," that as a minister he would not scruple in keeping fasts by the Queen's proclamation, with advice of her council, of which bishops were members, nor would he look upon this as a homologation, (i. e. implied acknowledgment,) either of the civil or ecclesiastical power of bishops; since he had other ways of testifying his dislike of their power than by his refusing to concur in a lawful and necessary duty. This view he endeavours to defend by the supposition, that if he should receive from her Majesty a patent for a beneficial post, and her Majesty declared she did this by the advice of two or three bishops, or with the advice of other men, it may be more wicked than some of the bishops, in that case he thought that his accepting the patent would not imply that he owned these men were good and worthy to be of her privy council.—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 103.

would even stick at this, or at any thing that might capacitate him to bring in a French Pretender.

I shall have the money ready for you against the term. I am sorry you are not to be at the synod. I have some thoughts of taking a tripp into the Assembly to see how all bowls roll. And if you go to Edinburgh about that time acquaint me, that I may wait on you. I give my kindest respects to my mother. P[eggy] will write to her this night, and gives her humble duty to you. I am,
your affectionate son and servant, R. W.

Apr. 3, 1710.

LETTER XLII.

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL FASTS.

For Mr Patrick Warner.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—I had yours of the 6th instant, for which I again return you my thanks. You very justly observe, that we may very soon agree upon the difference that is in expression betwixt us. I never designed to fix it on you as your sentiment, that a beneficial post might be accepted upon condition of acknowledging the lawfulness of bishops sitting in civil courts. I know your principles better than to imagine this once; and this Church, and other parts of the world too, may know your sufferings for your principles, and I am sorry to find you once supposing that I may have entertained jealousies of you, or that you are in the least depressed in my thoughts, or need to be set right there. You may assure yourself there is no such thing; and if the expression I used when writing *raptim*, which was only a turn upon the former expression of yours, (that some would, upon the hearing of your freedom with me, reckon you half apostate,) import any thing of this, I do here re-

voke it. Your reasonings and the light you offer upon this head have been very useful to me, and if I should entertain ill thoughts of you for your kind freedom with me, I were both ungrate and unjust.

To return then to the matter in general, as to the present difficulty anent fasts and thanksgivings, which does breed such a ferment among many people in all the corners of this church, and (I pray God) do not breed heats in our next Assembly, I think it stands thus:—We allow the magistrate power to endyte fasts and thanksgivings, and his or her power is not privative of the Church's power. She has not, by any overt act, denied the Church's power in this matter, yea, by the presence of her Commissioner at the last Assembly, who appointed a fast, hath tacitly owned our power. I want not fears that our power, in our present circumstances, may dwindle away, when not exercised, and our not exercising it may be made afterwards ane argument of our want of power, as it's already unjustly interpreted by several of our misled people. And yet our power cannot be desirably and comfortably exerted without the civil sanction, and the magistrate's concurrence. Witness the magistrates of Elgin last fast day that the Assembly appointed—their contemptuous appointment of that very day agreed on by that Synod for their visiting the town's marches, and summoning all the inhabitants of the town to attend them in that work, and fining absents, who choosed rather to wait upon the public worship. To seek, then, that the Queen may, in time to come, appoint no fasts by her own power, which we acknowledge to be just, is what I may easily suppose she will not grant, and it's like many will say we should not seek. But to me it appears necessary, (till better informed,) that the church, to prevent the former inconveniences at this juncture, should do somewhat with all suitable prudence, and yet vigour, that may secure and vindicate her own power to appoint thir solemnities. The great thing to me that seems to mar the just exercise of our power is the want of a judicatory to apply to, under such a distance from the Queen, and after the dissolution of our Scots Council, for the civil sanc-

tion, without which our exercise of our power would be, I dare not say precarious, but liable to many difficulties in several corners of this church. If we had a court to apply to, I think we were wanting to ourselves in not appointing them, now and then, with all prudence. And, therefore, I would gladly have your mind whether it be advisable that the next Assembly, upon supposition [that] no satisfying answer be given to the last memorial, should address the Queen for this. I wish that somewhat like this, with a just insinuation of the Queen's power, and the church's power too, were done, for the satisfying of the people. I find, indeed, some argue against the magistrate's power in this matter, at least as to the specifying of causes, which they say is doctrinal, and part of the pastoral work, and these suggest that the sequestration of any part of our time, for public religious exercises, is some more than a bare calling us to duty, and an act of spiritual jurisdiction; and that Jehoshaphat's instance is only in the case of a suddain emergent and invasion, or the like, and not an ordinary rule, both because of this extraordinary call, and the peculiarities of the Jewish constitution. Were I of thir sentiments, I could not see how I could keep these fasts, and I should think I have gone on too far. However, I shall be glad to hear your thoughts upon thir objections started by some, at all the length you can, because, really I find very little written upon this subject, that I may be in better case to hear reasoning anent it at the Assembly. I am, Rev. and Dear Father, your most affectionate son and servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, April 12, 1710.

LETTER XLIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

April 27, 1710.

MY DEAR,—Yesterday our Assembly was opened with a sermon by Mr John Curry,² on Song iii. 6, 7, “Behold the bed which is King Solomon’s; there are about it sixty valiant men, &c., by reason of fear in the night.” The Assembly, as is ordinary, began with reading the commissions, and the calling the rolls. The Assembly is very full this year. The Earl of Glasgow’s Commission was read in the common style, and then the Queen’s Letter, wherein there is nothing singular. She begins with telling she has chosen the Earl of Glasgow as one she and we can entirely trust; and that the unity and harmony of former Assemblies, with which she is entirely satisfied, makes her expect we will go on in the same steps, in planting vacancies, and bearing down Popery and Atheism; and concludes with new assurances of her countenance and protection in all our liberties and privileges, as established by law. The Earl of Glasgow had his speech as a commentary upon this, to the same purpose, wherein he told the Assembly he was commanded by the Queen expressly to assure the Assembly, that she would fully protect the Church of Scotland in the full enjoyment of the whole of their privileges, unalterably and for ever. The Moderator answered him in a pretty long speech, blessing God for the countenance of authority, and declaring the sense the Assembly had of

¹ From the Wodrow MSS. vol. v. Nos. 34—39. Continued from p. 14.

² Mr John Curry of Haddington, a different person from Mr John Curry of Kinglassie, who was the author of *Jus Populi Divinum*, and who wrote against the Secession.

the Queen's goodness, in sending him as her Commissioner, and assuring him the Assembly were met in the same principles and temper that the former Assemblies, with which her Majesty was so much satisfied, were of. I forgot to tell you, that before the producing of the Commissioner's commission, the Moderator was chosen. The old Moderator named Mr William Mitchell, minister at Edinburgh, Mr James Brown, and the Assembly added Mr Samuel Nairn and Mr Thomas Blackwell.¹ The votes split as much as ever I saw. Mr Mitchell had 49; votes for Mr James Brown, 45; Mr Blackwell, 44; and Mr Nairn about as many. The south and west were for Mr Brown, the north for Mr Blackwell and Mr Nairn, the east for Mr Mitchell. This day, at ten, the Assembly met for prayer, and, as is usual, the Moderator began, and Mr Samuel Nairn, Mr Thomas Linning, Mr Carstairs, Mr P. Warner, and Mr Blackwell, prayed. I cannot but say there was somewhat of the spirit of prayer among them. In the afternoon, the committee appointed for the answer to the Queen's Letter brought in Mr Carstairs' draught to the Committee of Overtures. There was some debate about some things that some would have added, which were remitted to a committee, who are to receive commissions from Presbyteries, and think on a separate address to the Queen, and the matter of it. There is nothing in the answer but what is ordinary, but an article in the prayer, at the close, wherein the Churches of France and Silesia are mentioned,

¹ Thomas Blackwell, D.D., is the most eminent of the ministers here mentioned. He was first settled as minister at Paisley; afterwards, in 1700, as one of the ministers of Aberdeen; was subsequently made Professor of Divinity, and in 1717, Principal of Marischal College there, which offices he held till his death, in 1728. He was the author of "*Schema Sacra*," a learned and ingenious work on divinity, which appeared in 1710; also of "*Ratio Sacra*, or the Reasonableness of Revealed Religion;" and in 1712, of "*Methodus Evangelica*, or the Right Method of Preaching." His son, Dr Thomas Blackwell, the author of *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, and other works, was a learned man, but an avowed Socinian. (*Chalmers' Biogr. Dict.*, art. *Blackwell*.) Besides Thomas, who was Professor of Greek, and also Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, he had a son of the name of Alexander, of whose unfortunate career a curious account is given in *Chalmers' Lives of Illustrious Scotsmen*, art. *Blackwell*.

and a declaration of the Assembly's abhorrence of principles advanced evasive of the reformed religion, and her Majesty's title to the Crown, and the Revolution. This is cast in by Mr Carstairs, in opposition to the Tories in England. I wish this clause breed no heat to-morrow in the Assembly. This draught was passed unanimously in the overtures. The rabbles in England are continuing, and in one place they have burnt King William in effigy. I hear a secret rumour of an invasion upon Ireland and the north of Scotland. It's not yet come above board, and yet I fear there is too much ground for it. The Duke of Shrewsbury is made Master of the Household, and it's feared, he being on the Tory side, a great enemy to Summers, Newcastle, &c., that this but be a preface to greater changes to the worse. My service to my Lord [Pollock,] Mrs Lillias, &c. I am your own

R. W.

LETTER XLIV.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

MY DEAR,—It was so late upon Saturday when I wrote, that I had not time to tell you, that in the sub-committee the address to the Queen was again moved, and several points of matter were hinted at from the Presbyteries' instructions that were classed. The extraordinary growth of Popery in the north, and in the isles, large countries never reformed, the intruders and English service people working to the hands of the Papists, and they to them again. The matter of fasts of which before. To those were added two particulars. Some of our ruling elders their habitually haunting the English service when at London, and some of them communicate with the Church of England. And the Oath of Abjuration was likewise hinted at, as what was a great grievance. These, I fancy, were not proposed as articles of addressing, at least the first, but

as complaints. They were not much reasoned on, but laid aside till the business of Popery should be gone through, which is extremely clamant, more than ever in the north. This day, in the Committee of Overtures, another particular was proposed as matter of addressing, viz. the repeating of oaths unnecessarily, to the debauching of people's consciences, and profaning of God's name. One person, for instance, that hath five or six places of trust, must, perhaps, in one day, take an oath five or six times over, whereas, once taking of it, and an instrument thereupon, might suffice. This day, (Monday,) in the afternoon, the Assembly met at three, and the business of the call of Cramond was tabled, and the Earl of Rutherglen had a speech on it beyond all form. It was remitted to a committee, that, if possible, parties might take up the matter. Then Mr J. Curry's transportation came in, from Haddington to Edinburgh, where there were long reasonings on all hands, and a paper of Mr Curry's grievances at Haddington read. The Presbytery of Edinburgh was found parties, because they had concurred with the call, as well as declared it orderly proceeded in. Prayer was made before the reasonings began, because it was said there was need of light in reasoning, and it might be said, that members were much determined after reasoning. The Assembly, almost unanimously, continued Mr Curry at Haddington, and that mostly upon the honest party there, their offer to get him a colleague, and help his grievances as much as might be. There was no more done this day. Yesterday, Mr Cunningham, the teacher of law, died of a fever, and so much lamented, as being very useful in his profession. The noise of the invasion continues, and the officers are ordered to Inverlochy. It's certain there is a great stir among the clans in the Highlands,—that Oglby of Aboyn and Murray have been among them,—that they have bought arms and horses. It's said that my Lord Drummond is gone over in pretence to Aix-la-Chappell, but really to France, with an invitation. It's certain that the Government have information of it, and ordered some to be secured, but they escaped. It's generally thought the King of France would be quit of the Chevalier, and

his Council are divided among themselves. Middtown, whom he mostly depends upon, is for his coming over without any French assistance ; but it's said he is to have the Irish troops, at least officers, with him ; and it's thought he is either to touch at Ireland himself, or to land some officers there, and come hither himself. People speak of this design according to their several views, and those that pretend to be politicians look on it as a desperate attempt. But if there be a correspondence in England, as no doubt there is, it may breed much confusion to us, if the Lord in mercy prevent it not.

There are private letters in town this morning, bearing that there is a cessation of arms before Douay, and the French have delivered up Namure and Dixmud, to be kept by the Confederates, if the preliminaries be not agreed upon by the end of this month. This is so great a turn on a sudden, that it must be further confirmed before it be credited. The Duke of Shrewsberry's coming in at this juncture is looked upon as a great handle to the Tories, and makes the Jacobites very uppish. And Dyer hath one instance of his temper ; last week the University of Oxford sent up a loyal, that is, a non-resistance and passive obedience address ; the Bishop of Oxford promoted another address in the shire, and it was sent up. The Duke of Shrewsberry refused to introduce the presenter, and Sommers, the president, his great rival, introduced him. This turn at Court is looked upon as very favourable to the rabblers in England, and Jacobites here, and will have no good consequences if an invasion be attempted. This afternoon the Assembly met, and they had a long process of transportation of Mr James Grierson from Weems to Edinburgh ; and because he was willing in some measure to be out of that place, he was transported. The Assembly did little more that I mind. The sub-committee agreed this night to a fast, and named Messrs Stirling, Linning, Logan, Ramsay, and the president, to draw the causes. My service to all the family of Pollock. I am your own

R. W.

May 2, 1710.

LETTER XLV.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 4, 1710.

MY HEART,—Though I wrote yesternight late, yet, having half an hour of leisure, I begin again this (Wednesday) morning. I told you that a fast was agreed on generally in the large sub-committee, and five appointed to draw the causes. I come now to hint at their reasonings upon that head. The two first heads of the classed instructions were, that a fast should be appointed, and some method fallen on for a correspondence anent it for the civil sanction. All that spoke owned the Queen's power to appoint fasts, and to ask the prayers of the Church, and call to duty upon clear causes. All asserted the Church's right to appoint fasts by herself, and yet the unseasonableness of it at this juncture. All agreed there were very clamant causes of fasting, yet some doubted if this Assembly should appoint a fast; the reasons given were two:—1. That we had one so very lately, and it might be looked on by our enemies and observers, as a fasting rather to maintain our own right of appointing fasts, than out of a principle, and to mourn. And it was asked by Mr Crs., [Carstairs,] if, upon the supposition that not the Queen, but the Commission, had appointed our last fast, brethren would have inclined so much for a fast by the Assembly. To this it was answered by Mr L., that there were many new reasons since the last fast not then before them; as the extraordinary growth of Popery, the heats and animosities among people, and many other things; and that the former fast was precisely upon the war. It was proposed, 2dly, That the appointing a fast now might tend to the confirming of people in their thoughts that the last fast should not have been appointed by the Queen, and thought the Assembly's resentment of the Queen's sole indicting a fast, and so heighten jealousies, &c. To this it was replied, that there were new causes

as above, that it were very proper either in the causes, or in an address to the Queen, to assert her right jointly with the Church's. As to the civil sanction, it was represented, that, in our present circumstances, there could be no delegate power in Scotland for giving the sanction, that the Queen could not appoint it, that none but the Parliament of Britain, that had taken away the council, could delegate this power to any other judicatory; and it would scarce be thought expedient to apply to the Parliament for this;—that the only method was to apply to the Queen, who, in the ordinary course, was willing by the advice of her council to grant the sanction;—that there was no hazard in this, because we only apply to the Queen, and though there be members in council we do not approve of, yet they have no power, but it is entirely in the Queen's person;—that there could not be a council but when the Queen is in person; and so there could be no council or judicatory in Scotland, with a Scots council's power, unless the Queen were here in person. This, it seems, is one of the good fruits of our united state, that was foreseen before the Union, but none of our professed friends would make us easy about, although sought by the Commission. And so we must now sink under it as our unalterable burden, and send up our causes to the Secretary, and he present them to the Queen, and she in the ordinary road issue her proclamation. This is the sum of the reasonings upon this head. The testimony of the ministers of Fife against the magistrate's constant appointing of fasts was cited; and it was answered, this was, then, in Cromwell's time privitive of the Church's right, which is not so now, and the Queen allows us in our power, and we are in the actual exercise of it. This forenoon the Committee of Bills and Overtures (by advice) were upon Mr Mair's transportation from Curus [Culross] to Closeburn, where there was much said to Mr Mair's commendation and fitness for that place. And it was sub-committed. In the afternoon, the Assembly met, and began with Mr William Mair's transportation from Oyoil [Oyn] to Kincardine; the Synod had transported him; the Presbytery, it seems, are backward to admit him. However, the Assembly hath ratified the Synod's sentence, after

long papers, and three or four hours debate. Then Kirkaldy business came in anent a call to Mr Dall, from the second minister's place to the first. Rothes set up for his case, Levin opposed it, and Levin carried it. It hath been a most vexatious process. I mind little else singular. Some overtures anent probationers not entering on trials till six years study were passed, and for disjoining the Presbytery of Dumbarton, and some from the Presbytery of Paisley to the Synod of Argyle are remitted to the Synod of Glasgow's consideration, and report to be made next Assembly.

This morning (Thursday) the Committee for instructions met, where all the business of a public national nature is; and the Committee appointed to draw the causes of the fast produced two papers. The causes of a fast, in common and general words, was much in the ordinary style, as far as I remember. It was moved, that two expressions should be added, one anent the covenants, and the other anent unlawful oaths, former or latter. There were only two or three in this numerous Committee for this; the reason I shall tell just now. It was moved by Mr Prenderl[eith,] that the Scripture expressions should be added,—“Not steadfast in his covenant,” and “Because of swearing, the land mourneth.” It was answered, these were in the causes of the fast referred to 1690. There were some other things offered, as the scarcity and dearth, drought, and the restlessness of a Jacobite party among ourselves; which I suppose would have been put in without any debate, if the most part of the Committee were not against any alterations of the draught brought in, lest other alterations that will not so easily be agreed to be pressed. The day is not yet named, but is to be named, and this draught to be sent up to the Queen for the civil sanction, and that makes many the more averse to any expressions that may mar the giving of the civil sanction. There was produced another paper, the draught of an act of Assembly, to be read with those causes and printed, but not sent up to the Queen, the tenor of which is to this purpose:—Whereas the Assembly hath appointed a fast, the Assembly appoints the religious observation thereof, and recommends it to all ministers to be particular and plain in the enu-

merating all the causes of God's anger, and the sins of the land, more particularly enumerated in the causes of the fast 1690, 1700, and 1701, which the Assembly refers to as particularly as if named here. And further, whereas there hath been a very ill observance of fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the Church and by the magistrate, the Assembly recommends it to all the ministers in this Church to see to the punctual observation of them in time coming. It was moved, that in this act there might be added a recommendation to Presbyteries to draw causes when proclamations came for fasts in time coming. This was not gone into, but is to be an instruction to the Commission. This act is not to be sent to the Queen, and is drawn to satisfy ministers and others that incline to have a more particular enumeration of causes, than it's like would be very grateful above, and perhaps might stop the civil sanction. How far this will be satisfying either to the Queen (when this act is not sent to her) or to others, time only will discover. But this is the midse [method] that is fallen upon at present to prevent rents, and keep a good correspondence with the State.

There was a difficulty proposed to this sub-committee, wherein their judgment was desired; namely, that our Confession of Faith is plain as to the magistrate's power to call synods, and appoint the time of their meeting. Our Assembly 1647, in the act approving the Confession of Faith, seem to make an exception here, and restrict this only to a church not constitute; and by parity of reason it seems to follow, that the magistrate hath only power to appoint fasts in a non-constitute church, there being the same reason for both. It was answered, that this act of Assembly 1647 is relative both to persons and time in a non-constitute church; but in a constitute church they still allow the magistrate a power to call Synods and Assemblies, as to the time, though the persons are to be named by the judicatories respectively, as is plain by the following part of that act of Assembly; and, therefore, it does not exclude the magistrate's naming the time of fasting, still leaving the doctrinal part to the ministers in a constitute church. In short, it was said that the Church's appointing fasts, and the time of them, was an undeniable act of their

spiritual jurisdiction, and the civil magistrate's appointing of fasts was an act only of his civil power about holy and sacred things, and no act of spiritual jurisdiction; and that both had their proper spheres in which they acted about fasts. These two draughts are transmitted pretty unanimously to the committee of overtures; and all members of Assembly are desired to be present to propose their difficulties, that so there may be no debate in open Assembly, and the hazard of that was fully laid out, and the danger told if so be any additions to the causes should be proposed in the Assembly and refused by a vote, as it happened in the Assembly 1706, when the clause of the Covenants was proposed to be added in the Assembly, and by a vote it was carried not, and it was said by the dissenters that the Assembly had voted out the Covenants. Thus far they are come as to fasts. The business of planting the parish of Cramond with Mr Lithgow is this afternoon in before the Assembly; they have been four hours already in reading papers, and are not near an end. I have no news. The last reports about the pacification and the forwardness of the peace are not confirmed. I hear nothing now anent the invasion; neither do I expect it so suddenly as you do in yours, which I just now receive. I shall haste home as soon as I can. I hope you will write every post. Turn not melancholy, for I don't think there is any cause for it. God overrules all. Agnes Luke continues well. I shall mind the calligoe, [calico?] The Assembly are so little under the impressions of an invasion that it's not named in the fast. My service to all friends. If there be any other thing in yours I shall answer it by next. I am your own

R. W.

MY D. P. [DEAR PEGGY,]—I am perfectly well, and am longing to hear the like of you and M. I am sorry to hear your mother is not well, and so deaf. Pray let us hear how she is; I would have writt to her, but have not so much time. I have desired Mr Caldwell to write to her, and I wish you would still write a hint of my letters to her, for it's not possible I can write. Your father is very well, and inclines to go to Melrose. I find I am unwilling he should be alone, and unwilling to be any longer from home than next week.

I fancy it will be Wednesday at soonest, if not Friday, before the Assembly rise next week. And so you must beg Mr Robison, if I come not home, if he can, to supply that day Sabbath come eight days. And let me know your thoughts if I should offer to wait on your father to the south. I am unwilling to do it, for I long to be home very much. It will be time enough on Saturday to write for the horse.

LETTER XLVI.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

MY HEART,—Upon Thursday night I wrote to you, and that night, after six hours' reading papers, and a great deal of reasoning, was [reserved]¹ till Friday, the litigious affair of the planting of Cramond. Upon Friday at — the committee for overtures met, and upon the matter the whole Assembly, for there were no other committees allowed to meet at that time, that all that pleased might be present. The two papers anent the fast were brought in; the first was agreed to after a long debate upon the addition which I told Mr Logan offered before, in the sub-committee, *By our solemn national engagements*; this was not yielded to. Upon the other hand upon this paper, at the close of this paper there was a long debate [anent] the naming of the day by the Assembly; it was acknowledged by all that the Church had power to name the day, otherwise their power to appoint a fast had been just precarious if the magistrate kept the day still uncertain, or never named it; but the question was, whether it were expedient at this juncture to leave the nomination of the day to the Queen. It was generally said, that the appointing

¹ Some parts of the MS. of this letter are illegible, and the words inclosed in parenthesis are merely guessed at as the original. The whole bears evident marks of haste.

of the fast, without naming the day, would no way answer the edification of people, and the Queen was acknowledged, in applying to her for the sanction. So after some reasoning this was yielded, with an appointment upon some of the committee to talk with the Commissioner anent the day, and that letters be writt to the Secretaries acquainting them with the necessity of the fast, and of naming the day. The second paper, or the act, is what was mostly debated on, and, indeed, it was the mind of the generality that nothing that might be any way straitening to the Queen should be put in the former paper. Here the debate was again resumed about the magistrate's power to appoint fasts, which is plainly asserted in the [act] jointly with the Church's power. I could not but remark a great calmness of reasoning from nine o'clock till near three; and a great inclination to peace, and a declared abhorrence of breaches. All the members of the Assembly, and all ministers that had any thing to speak, were allowed to argue, and Mr Webster, Mr Hogg, Mr John Williamson, Mr James Cuthbert, Mr John M'Laren, spoke and reasoned at some length, though not members. The president mostly managed the debate upon the other side with a great deal of calmness and —ding.¹ The act of Assembly 1647 was again considered, and the former answers were given. The magistrate's power was asserted fully by the most part to be objectively spiritual, though formally civil, and [left] ministers at their liberty, as to the doctrine; and it was agreed that if Presbyteries found it convenient, they should meet, when the proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings came out. This head was [passed.] The other branch was the subject of full reasoning, and long [dispute,] whether *guilt and epidemic sins, aggravated by our solemn covenants and engagements with God*, should be added, or the general reference to the acts of Assembly 1690, &c. should be rested in. [There] were insinuations by both sides, though very soft of dissenting, [and mar]king the dissents in the Assembly, if the Covenants should be put in. The president urged that nothing should be inserted as a cause of a fast, [but what] might

¹ Not legible in the MS.

be generally agreed to by all the subjects, as matter of mourning. Upon this the binding force of the Covenants was very amply asserted. When this reasoning would not do, it was said that materially [they were] referred to in the acts cited. To this it was answered, that they were only calculate to those times, and rather temporary causes of a fast ; but this act now making was to be a standing act, and it was needful there should be a present asserting of our Covenants, and that this reference to acts seemed but a juggling, and not a free declaration of the aggravations of our sin, owned by all the ministry. After long reasoning, it was agreed that the words of the Assembly 1700 should be expressly insert in this act, without any reference. And the debated clause was made to run pretty near in these terms : And ministers are appointed, with all prudence and —¹ to confess the general and epidemical guilt, dreadfully aggravated by our breach of our most solemn covenants and engagements with God. This was agreed to, and both draughts transmitted to the Assembly by a most unanimous vote. I never saw a more universal cheerfulness since the commission's second address, than was after that. In the afternoon the Assembly sat, where the affair of Crumond took them from four to ten at night. At length the Assembly put it to the vote, and pretty unanimously carried it, that that matter of a call should be begun anew, and all that was done be laid aside. The two calls to Legerwood were laid aside by both parties. This night I went out to Libertown, and staid all night, and saw Mr S. Semple's MSS. which are very curious.

This morning, Saturday, at eight, the Assembly met, and the causes of the fast, with the nomination of the day, second Thursday of July, were voted most unanimously, and with the greatest harmony and cheerfulness ; and the Commissioner promised to transmit the causes, and to procure the civil sanction. Then the commission-book was unanimously approved. And Mr Plenderleith had a speech about their not appointing a fast when desired. There was a process of scandal from the Synod of Galloway discussed, and some bills for charity, and an affair of laying aside Mr Cowper,

¹ Not legible in the MS.

minister at Traquare, for insufficiency, which was remitted to a committee. My service to all friends. I am yours, &c.

R. W.

May 6, 1710.

Let Johnny, if he bring the black horse, bring a wallet with him, and light at William Ker's, in the head of the Grassmarket, on the side next to the Castle, and call for me at Mr Stewart's, the Regent's, just at Bristoe Port, or in the Parliament Close, the first door as he goes down the Mealmarket steps, at Mrs Watson's, or at the Assembly House.

LETTER XLVII.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

MY DEAR,—I expect the horses in this night, and hope to see you on Thursday or Friday at farthest. The Assembly have done so many small things yesterday that I cannot [remember] them; and, besides, I was down at Leith in the afternoon seeing Mr Young and his wife; but your father and I missed them; the children are all well. Young Torrence is killed before Doway. There is some moving yet about an address to the Queen, and the Oath of Abjuration to be altered, and other things I fancy may go the Commission. I shall haste as soon home as I can.

The Assembly have declared Mr Lang at Crawford-John transportable, and again recognised his right to the stipend. The Synod of Angus has settled a minister at Meigle, and afterward there was an appeal made, which the Assembly hath casten, and continued the person. Yesterday the Presbytery-book of Lanrock [Lanark] was remitted to a committee, and the minister that had been settled at Dunnoter settled *jure devoluto*, continued.

I am come out of the Assembly, and have got yours by post, which is most acceptable. I am sorry to hear you long so much and weary, under the prospect of another week. I think to get home as I wrote to you against Friday, if the Lord will. I am perfectly well, as I wrote in my last, and you may depend on it that I would have acquainted you if it had been otherwise. Since my last I have had a little cough, which I would not have named, except to let you see that I omit nothing. I fancy it was by standing so long in the Assembly-House, which is laid with stone. But I am quit of it again. I have not been in a tavern dining since I came to town, and I cannot sometimes get the invitations I meet with from some answered, so you may see me much fatter when I come home. I am grieved to hear of Mary's ill rest, I wish it do not much break yours; but it becomes us to be submissive; she has been an easy child till of late. I shall speak to B. Warrander, if possible; but he is [now] out of town. As to the picture, I shall satisfy you when I come home; you must not judge of my respect to you by this; if [it is] not done, I can sincerely say it's not for want of inclination to satisfy you. I were most ingrate if I did it not to the [best] of my power. If possible, keep Mr Gate, and stand not on —.¹ Yours is so far from wearying me that it's highly satisfying. I am not for your speaking to any other to preach on Sabbath. If I must go to Melrose, and come not home on Friday, [I shall] write to you on Thursday.

We had Mr Blackwell preaching on Sabbath last. His text was in these words,—“For which of these good works do you stone me?” In the afternoon we had an excellent sermon from Mr Samuel Johnston at Dundee, Neh. iv. 10,—“The burden bearers are decayed.” I was extremely taken with it.

I have got Mr Guthrie's family pretty largely in a line from Mr H. Maxwell, who gives his service and his wishes to you. I have no news, but that one of our regiments is almost cut off before Doway, as the prints bear.

The Assembly hath this night, indeed, a great many little trifling

¹ Not legible.

affairs, that of necessity must come before the Supreme Judicatory to be ended, and nothing else should suffer them to be heard. The bursaries are appointed to be appropriated for the educating Highlanders for four years. The business of Popery is remitted to the Commission mostly; and Glasgow hath got the privilege of the Commission's determining in their favours, without appeal from them, as the north hath, which bears very hard upon us, in case, as no doubt [will] be, Mr John Pasley be called to the new kirk. I am glad to hear of Mr Love's being named by the heritors of Cath[cart.] Mary's caligoe [calico?] is bought. The Assembly is to rise on Thursday forenoon, as I hear. I am your own
R. W.

Edinburgh, May 9, 1710.

LETTER XLVIII.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 11, 1710.

MY HEART,—That I may not break off till the close of this Assembly, that is now happily so near a close, I shall only tell you that since my last there was an act passed for uniformity of doctrine, and this day, in the committee for Overtures and Instructions, the matter of the Oath of Abjuration hath been adjusted. You heard before that matters for an address to the Queen had been all along spoken of, and referred to the close. The points the Queen was to be addressed upon were the growth of Popery in the North, and some pr[udent] way was to be taken to move that an independent company might be sent to scour that country of priests,—the Queen's appearing for the French Protestants in the event of a peace, and her taking some more effectual way to stop intrusions, and the Episcopal clergy from licensing young men, and perpe-

tuating the schism, and the Oath of Abjuration. I believe most part would have gone into the four first materials of the address, but the last was the nice point, and with an eye to it, especially, the most of the leading members were for instructing the Commission to send up one or two persons, qualified for that work, to London, to use their interest more privately anent these things, especially the last. There was some hazard of some their dissenting in open Assembly upon this head. At length all were brought to agree that commissioners should be sent to London, but the debate ran, whether the Assembly should instruct them particularly anent the Oath of Abjuration, or leave their instructions to the Commission. It was pleaded that the Assembly should declare their mind on this head, that it was a case of confession; upon the other hand, it was said, that the Commissioner, by his instructions, could not allow of the Assembly acting in an open way without dissolving them. It was agreed by all there were some things in the oath that needed to be altered, and the Commission should instruct those sent up to do it. The inexpediency of doing this in open Assembly was laid open. It was urged, that in former cases—the matter of dissolving the Assembly, the matter of fasts—private means had been most effectual for attaining the end; that a public instruction on that head would take air, weaken our friends about the court, and strengthen enemies; that it would be hard to agree upon alterations; that when it should be altered, and yet perhaps not please all, it would certainly be imposed on us, and could not be refused when our alterations were made. At length it was gone into by Mr A. L., A. H., P. P., and E. E.,¹ that, for this time, private methods should be taken, and in the next Assembly more open methods, if these succeeded not. So all ended well; and I hope this afternoon the Assembly will² * * * * *

¹ These initials I suppose to stand for Mr Allan Logan of Culross, Mr Alexander Hamilton of Airth, (formerly noticed, pp. 45, 76,) Mr Patrick Plenderleath of Saline, (of whom some notices may be found in Dr Fraser's *Life of Ralph Erskine*, p. 126–130,) and Mr Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling.

² Here the MS. abruptly ends.

LETTER XLIX.

IMPOSITION OF THE ABJURATION OATH IN IRELAND.¹

A. M. [*Alexander M'Crackan*] for *Mr Thomas Linning, Minister at Lesmahagow.*

Belfast, June 28, 1710.

REVEREND SIR,—Our Synod met the 21st instant. One Mr Taylor was chosen Moderator. We had only one transportation

¹ *Abjuration Oath.*—To enable the reader to understand this, and some of the following letters, which relate to this oath, we here insert a copy of it :—“ I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne is lawful and rightful Queen of this realm, and of all other her Majesty's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do Believe, in my conscience, the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the life of the late King James, and since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland, by the name of James the Eighth, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Anne, and her will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies, and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against her person, crown, and dignity. And I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to her Majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to support, maintain, and defend the succession of the crown against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands settled by an Act, entitled, *An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown to her present Majesty, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants;* and as the same by another Act, entitled, *An Act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject,* is, and stands settled and entailed, after the decease of her Majesty, and for default of issue of her Majesty, to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. And all these

sought by Derry, to have Mr Bruce from Killeheugh, but it did not carry. The design of having our Synod by delegation is not yet fully accomplished; but the consideration is laid aside till the next Synod, which is appointed to be the 3d Tuesday of June 1711. We are about drawing up a scheme of government for ourselves in this country, but it is not yet perfected—some are against it, and offer some reasons, but it probably will go on, for there are many of our young men for it.

As to some innovations that are creeping in among us, we have said nothing of them at this time, notwithstanding the practice continues, and hath done so for some time, before and since our former Synod. There are some pamphlets come out, showing that the oath (of abjuration) is a part of conformity to the Church of England, and that it obliges the takers to maintain the present establishment of England, both in Church and in State, as they are established by law. This is like to be very ill taken by those of us who have taken the oath, because it may be of ill consequence, for it's believed that if the people of our persuasion thought that the oath obliged to maintain the church as established, they would not take it, and probably would not universally be so well pleased with them that have taken it. The late Act of your Assembly gives occasion for some nearer speculation about the oath than formerly. It was proposed in the committee of overtures, that particular search should be made to find out if any of this church be concerned in the pamphlets. I am suspected, and spoken to with some warmth of expressions, which I love not to repeat. I owned I had seen the papers, and as to the oath I was of the mind of the Church of Scotland, and offered a free conference, either before our interloquiture, which consists only of ministers, or before the whole Synod. And I was willing to

things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common-sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and promise heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.

confer—*1mo*, Upon what hath been the mutual carriage of jurants and non-jurants since the oath was taken; *2do*, What are our present case and circumstances; *3tio*, What should be our future practice with respect to ourselves and others, to whom we stand related; but after some deliberation, I find they have not thought fit to insist for the present, but to let it drop with this, that care be taken to suppress the thing from spreading. My difficulty in this is how to carry if the oath come to be pressed upon our people. For though I consented to that resolution, (after the oath was taken,) that neither jurants nor non-jurants should reflect one upon another, and this I agreed to, because I did believe that those of our brethren who had sworn had light for what they did, and that the oath was not then appointed to be given to any but such as were then specified; but now when it is or may be tendered to every man above sixteen years of age, and that at the pleasure of two justices of the peace; now seeing, according to what light I have, the oath is an obligation upon the taker to support the Church as well as the State of England, and what may prove not only prejudicial but destructive to us; now the difficulty is, whether I ought now (for the peace and quietness of those that have taken the oath) to be silent myself, and to concur to suppress all or anything that may give light or warning to those who have not yet engaged. There are some other things of this kind with which I shall not now trouble you, only entreat your thoughts on this particular, which will very much oblige, Dear Sir, yours in all affection and service,

ALEX. M'CRACKAN.

LETTER L.

EPISCOPAL CHALLENGES.

A. M. [Alexander M^cCracken] for Mr James Webster, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. SIR,—Our Synod met on the 21st. At this time we have fallen into committees as with you in the Assembly. There are some pamphlets come out containing some reasons against the taking of the oath, and showing, by way of conference, that a Jurant is as highly a Conformist as a Tester to the Church of England. This is very displeasing to them who have taken the oath in this country, and some have said that if the author be any of this Church, they know no censure sufficient for him. They are in search to find out who it is. I am suspected. I offered a conference, and owned that I am of the mind of the Church of Scotland upon this head; how far that may go I know not; some seem very hot, others more calm.

As to some innovations that are creeping in among us, of which I shall be more particular if you desire, we have said nothing of them at this time, as also of the Synod's being by delegation. There are few things worth your trouble, only there is a brother from Dublin who held ordination of elders by imposition of hands, and acted accordingly, as also that the office of elders and deacons are the same. This occasioned some open discourse, and ended in this, that our principles as to that are already known, to which we adhere, and if any differ from us in that we cannot help it. We have thoughts of employing some that have the Irish tongue to preach in some places to the natives of this kingdom; for there are some of them that say, if they be deprived of their own clergy, they will rather come and hear us than go to the church that persecutes them, as they call it. We are like to be attacked by some of our

neighbours of the Established Church, in some particulars, as this following was directed to Mr Jo. M'Bride of Belfast :—

REV. SIR,—I desire you to produce some place of Scripture where there is a command to presbyters, without a superior, to ordain a presbyter, or to exercise ecclesiastic jurisdiction over a presbyter, or an example of either. I pray God that we may all sincerely endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,
JOHN CAMPBELL.

Antrim, Nov. 15, 1709.

This following is directed to me :—

SIR,—I desire you to produce from Scripture some plain proof, 1. That the Holy Spirit of God is to assist our invention in prayer, and furnish us, every time we pray, with a new set of words. 2. That there is any special gift of extemporary prayer promised to or required in the ministers of the gospel, in order to the due execution of their office. 3. That the extemporary prayer of the minister is to be the prayer of the congregation. 4. That God hath made any special promise to extemporary prayer. 5. That the abilitys requisite to the exercise of the duty of prayer are to be employed in inventing a new prayer every time we pray in public. 6. I desire you likewise to produce any one single instance, of any person praying, in the extemporary manner now practised by you as scriptural. Your answer in writing is expected by,
SIR, your humble servant,
GEO. WILKINS.

Those that signed are two clergymen in the diocese of Down. I left the papers you saw in the hands of Mr R. W., who, I suppose, hath or will send you them. I must leave it now to you, for if it be but suspected that I have seen or known of them, it will do no good to me, and may hurt the design. As for the reasons, you see they are calculated for this kingdom principally, and so are by me to be kept in silence.—I am, Sir, yours to serve you in our Lord,
ALEX. M'CRACKAN.

THE REASONS OF THE NON-JURORS IN IRELAND.¹

SIR,—To yours of June last, wherein you desire the reasons of Non-jurants why they took not the oaths, and by which they lie under, as you say, the heavy aspersions of Jacobites, Jesuits, Priests, &c.

I have spoken with some of them, and find there are several things in their case, and particularly one that restrains them from giving their reasons, which is, that they are under a mutual engagement not to do it, so that nothing but extremity can extort it. Yet for your own private satisfaction, you may receive what they say, as,

1. That whatever men are pleased to say of them, they are truly the same they always professed to be, viz. Presbyterians, and now hold, by profession and practice, the same principles, both as to doctrine and discipline, their forefathers held.

2. That complying with every oath that was contrived in their time hath not been the practice of Presbyterians in this kingdom. For they refused that oath, called the Black Oath in Wentworth's time, under King Charles the First. They refused that oath against the House of King and Lords, and the race of Stewarts, in Cromwell's time. *3tio*, That of Supremacy in King Charles the Second's time, and rather suffered the hardships they were put unto.

3. They say none of the oaths that have hitherto been taken did bind men that took them, and pressed them upon others, further than they saw convenient. So that oaths have been snares to some, but have not obliged many of the takers, nor preserved the givers.

4. Conscience obligeth men to duty without an oath; where that is not, men break their oaths for conscience sake.

5. They are at no time willing to swear, when they are under

¹ The following appears to be one of the papers referred to in the close of the preceding letter, and was probably drawn up by Mr M'Crackan.

no legal capacity to perform, or the event uncertain, and their abilities under legal restraint.

6. Overruling Providence thwarting men's designs, who, when themselves under oaths, have been guilty of much perjury.

7. They are not willing to swear to that they know not, if ever it shall be. But particularly as to the Oath of Abjuration, they say,

(1.) That they are well satisfied with the Queen and her management of the Government, and do sincerely wish and pray for her continuance long on the throne.

(2.) Nor do either wish or plead for a Popish successor, be he of what line or family soever, and are well pleased with the laws excluding all such from the throne.

(3.) Nor are they against a Protestant succession of the House of Hanover, hoping such will allow of and protect the Reformed religion. Yet they are not willing to swear,

1mo, Because what they are to swear to is in some part of uncertain event, for though we know now who is Queen, yet we are not certain who shall succeed, God, in holy providence, not as yet having made that known to us, and it is fit for us to follow and not run before his determination.

2do, They must not only swear the oath, but must also swear they do it heartily and willingly, whereas they are not willing, nor can do it heartily.

3tio, As they take it for granted that the interpretation or explanation of oaths is in the imposers, so the true intent and meaning of the oath, and the design of the givers, is to oblige the party swearing for time to come to maintain the Kings and Queens of England, as they are established, with respect to the laws of both kingdoms, when they are put in execution, and withall according to the two acts of Parliament specified in the body of the oath. Now, this being taken for granted, they cannot swear, because there are standing laws in this kingdom, empowering the King and Queen and their subordinates, both in Church and State, to suppress and persecute them if they conform not to the Established Church. This is a matter of fact, and several are now excom-

municate for non-conformity in that of marriages, and nothing wanting but a *capias* to lay them in gaol until they conform, and how soon they may be fallen upon for other points of non-conformity is not known.

4. If, upon non-conformity, they be put from preaching in their meeting-houses, and so are necessitated to go to the fields in the night, which hath been the practice of many in this country, and elsewhere; and if the Government shall call these meetings conspiracies and rendezvous of rebellion, then this oath obliges to inform against themselves, and all others of the like practice; nor will it save to say they think such meetings are not what the Government is pleased to call them.

5. The standing laws incapacitate the Kings and Queens to employ them to perform what they swear; for, upon supposition of invasion or insurrection, the King and Queen cannot employ a dissenter in civil or military office, to defend or support them, unless they renounce their religion, and conform to the Church of England.

6. They are, by the same laws, disabled to keep their oath, unless they incur all the fines and penalties in the laws standing against them.

7. If they fall under persecution for following their known principles, and the laws require their yielding themselves prisoners, and they endeavour to keep themselves out of the snare, they may be accused for having sworn to do that which they now decline.

8. The case of Ireland differs much from that of England, for here they have no legal security for their public worship, but the contrary; and, therefore, they cannot tie themselves by oath to undergo extirpation, lest this be passive obedience by oath. Nor are they willing to persecute others; for, suppose a party were coming to suppress a meeting-house, or conventicle, they are by oath obliged to support and assist them by information or otherwise, since the meeting is unlawful.

9. As the loyalty of Presbyterians in Ireland hath been manifest in their patient suffering for some ages, though they take not every

oath, so, if they must suffer, they choose so to do [rather] without than under an oath, which may give occasion of upbraiding them.

10. Papists are, by the Articles of Limerick, secured in some things, but they in nothing, for their goods are liable to fines, their worship to disturbance at pleasure, their souls to excommunication, and bodies to imprisonment, and the taking of the oath secures them from no penal laws, nor entitles them to any privileges, spiritual or temporal.

11. These acts mentioned in the oath, to which they are to swear, do provide and oblige that the King shall be conform to the Church of England. 2. That they are not to dispense with the laws against Dissenters. Then, if the King shall be put upon by the Church to put these laws in execution, he must either do it, or be in hazard of dispensing. And they know not but a Protestant King may be challenged for dispensing, as well as a Popish.

12. Because they are now to swear to the acts that comprehend the Church of England, as well as the State, by which they understand those that maintain the Church, with their canons, rites, and ceremonies. And both the High-fliers and the Low Church are for them. And which of them shall be the prevailing party, the oath obligeth for them, for they then are the Church of England; and it's already manifest by the High-fliers' carriage in several particulars, and in the reflections on the Queen for her carriage toward her subjects, what may be expected of them when they mount the saddle.

13. The sober party refusing to take off the penal laws, and their bringing in farther laws against Dissenters, as that of the sacramental test, which strikes at their very being and privileges as peaceable subjects, lets it appear that though they pretend not to put laws in execution, yet they are for further additions to them, that so they may, when it's convenient, fall upon the party designed. And when the High-fliers come to the helm, they may say they only execute what our friends the Low Church intended for us, and to the maintaining of which they are sworn, for they are still the Church of England. And their oath obliges to maintain the civil,

in carrying on the designs of the Ecclesiastic against Dissenters. And there are now who make it manifest, that they only want a King or Queen to put their known principles in practice; and how far a persecuting party prevailed with a Protestant King, in Charles the First's time, is not yet wholly out of mind.

14. They are not willing to swear to persons not in being, and it is customary that Kings and Queens take the coronation oath before the subject swear to them.

15. It's presumed the Church of England would not take the oath, unless they were secured in their Church privileges, as well as their civil; nor did the prelatie party in Scotland take the oath of allegiance to the King and Queen, when Presbytery was established, though there be no such penal laws against them there, as there is against us here. Nor are they the worse liked in this country for their refusing of it there.

16. It seems that neither loss nor fortune, nor any service performed by Dissenters, can render them capable to procure any favour for them, untill they renounce their religion, and fully conform to the Church of England, and this they resolve not to do.

17. They are not willing to swear, until the penal laws are taken off, and some legal security given, by which they may be some way safe from the violence of those who may at pleasure put standing laws in execution, as occasion shall serve.

18. They cannot swear, because the oath obliges them to maintain the Church and State as they are now established by law.

19. Because it obliges them to swear about the title of persons, which they do not so clearly understand as to pass into an oath about it.

LETTER LI.

For Mr James Webster, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.

[Mr James Webster, in his younger years, during the persecution, was repeatedly imprisoned on account of his Presbyterian principles.—(*Wodrow's History*, vol. ii. p. 483.) He was settled first in an indulged meeting at Craigmillar, near Edinburgh; after the Revolution, at Whitekirk, East Lothian; and he was for twenty years minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. He took the leading part in the prosecution of Mr Simson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, for Socinian and Arminian errors, before the judicatories of the Church in 1714, 1715, 1716. His decision of character, in following the dictates of duty, being combined with an ardent temperament, urged him on to condemn, without ceremony, whatever he disapproved, either in principle or practice. “Mr Webster has preached against the Abjuration Oath these two last Sabbaths, and exhorted, in his sermons, not only ministers, but those of the College of Justice, to consider well before they take the oath. For his own part, he said, he would rather go with his wife and family to the utmost part of the earth, and have but one meal a day, than take it. The Jacobites are so well pleased with this, that they never drink King James' health but they drink Mr W——r's health after it.”—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 121.) On the 12th of July 1712, Dr Pitcairn instituted a process before the Court of Session against Mr Webster, for accusing him at a public dinner, given by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, of being a professed Deist. Mr Fairbairn, a bookseller, who was present, had, at an auction, set up, “The Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, by Philostratus,” which brought a high price. At the same auction, a Bible was put up, for which there were no bidders. Upon one of the company, at dinner, regretting the depraved taste of the times, Dr Pitcairn observed, “It is no wonder it stuck in their hands, for *verbum Dei manet in æternum*.” Webster was not the man to allow this to pass without rebuke, and Dr Pitcairn was sufficiently disposed to retaliate. The process was carried on with great zeal on both sides; but the Court recommended it to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, to endeavour to settle the parties amicably, which was at last effected.

—(*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pp. 133, 134.) Mr Webster enjoyed, in a high degree, the affection, respect, and confidence of the people among whom he laboured. Under his last illness he was very comfortable in the prospect of eternity, and said, "I have sweet peace of those appearances for which I have often been accounted a fool." Boston, speaking of his death, says, "On May 17, 1720, it pleased the Lord to call to himself Mr James Webster, a man eminent in maintaining the purity of the doctrine of the Gospel, a non-jurant to the last breath; and during or about the last time he was in the judicatory, where the matter of the Marrow [of Modern Divinity] was considered, expressing his concern that they should beware of condemning it."—(*Memoirs*.) In 1704 Mr Webster published a small spirited Treatise on the Government of the Church, and in 1705 he published a volume of Communion Sermons. A posthumous volume of Select Sermons, chiefly on Rom. vi. 23, was published in 1723. These were not prepared by himself for the press, but taken down in the church during delivery, and labour under the common disadvantages of posthumous publications. Mr Webster was the father of the celebrated Dr Alexander Webster, first minister of Culross, and afterwards translated to the Tolbooth Church, the well-known founder of the Widows' Scheme.—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The enclosed from Mr M'Crackan came to my hand in July last. I heard then you were at Moffat, and had no occasion to send it thither. My communion in this place fell in August. As soon after this as I could find a sure hand, I have forwarded it. Mr M'Crackan left some papers with me he was talking to you about. The hand is ill, and I have not yet had time to transcribe them, otherwise they had come along with this. I doubt not but you know that he is now in the south about Kirkcudbright, being obliged to leave his charge on the account of the oath. I expect him here, or at least design an interview with him, before he leave this country; and I incline to do nothing with his papers till I hear from him or see him.

Meanwhile, it would be most satisfying to me to have the happiness of your correspondence by post. I can promise you no returns from this barren place worth your while; but your writing will be the more generous. If you would dash down the accounts

you gave me of my wife's grandfather, Mr William Guthrie, with any other accounts you can recollect of that great man, it would be singularly obliging. If you write to me by post, it will come safe three times a-week. My service, &c. I am yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Sept. 4, 1710.

Pray let me have your news, in this reeling time.

LETTER LII.

INQUIRIES ABOUT HOGG OF KILTEARN.

For the Rev. Mr James Hogg, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am in your debt for your two last, of the 10th of June and 15th of July, with the inclosed papers. I shall not take up your time with the reasons of my return, being so late. It was not from want of a sense of your obliging kindness in communicating these valuable sheets with me. But really I have been so throng with communions in the neighbourhood, and my own work among this people before the sacrament, that I was obliged to drop for a time my correspondence; but I hope now to be more exact in my returns. I am grieved to hear that your state of health is growing worse, and am in pain to have your next. I saluted, in your name, Mr James Stirling, who is a close sympathiser with you and all the friends of our Lord under distress. Were I master of any moen [influence] at the throne, I would desire to improve it on your account.

I have read over your papers with very much satisfaction. I dare not express what I would, lest I offend your modesty. But I

bless the Lord that directed you to that subject long before I had the happiness to correspond with you. There is such a strain of the exalting of sovereign grace, and the humbling of our proud imaginations runs through them, that is very calming and quieting to me; and I hope shall be of use to some damped lovers of our Lord hereabout. Your remark in the close of the second section upon returns of prayer in something equivalent, is perfectly new to me, and I think well-founded. The exact accomplishment of what is really promised must be stuck to, otherwise dreadful inconveniences will be run into. But it remains a difficulty with me, on which I beg your thoughts, whether the Holy Spirit may not assist in putting up petitions, which, as to the letter of them, are not to be answered, but the all-knowing God will give things more adapted unto the needs of the soul, and that as an answer to these petitions; and whether any thing like this may be founded upon Psalm cxxviii. 3; 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. You have so fairly and fully stated the objection in the close of the third sheet, that I long for the remaining answers and sheets.

We were conversing anent that great, and, I had almost said, apostolical servant of Christ, Mr Thomas Hog.¹ You had particular occasion to know him, and to hear and observe the remarkables about him, and condescending steps of providence to him, and by him toward others. I crave leave to say, it's a debt you owe to him and the after generation, to recollect what you can concerning him, and set it down in writing. I frequently think that it's a pity, and part of our sin, that we have not more of God's remarkable steps of providence to and by his eminent servants in this Church recorded. They are generally so modest and reserved themselves, that they leave little of this kind behind them. I humbly think it's our work to gather up all the well attested accounts we can meet with. I have heard Mr Hog's Diary was preserved, and yet to the fore. Pray let me know if you have seen it. Any

¹ *Mr Thomas Hog*, minister at Kiltarn, who will be noticed afterwards.

thing with relation to him that occurs to you would be a most desirable branch of our correspondence.

I mind little remarkable from this country. I desire you may bless God for his goodness to his servants and unworthy me at our late sacrament in this place. In the beginning of this summer of communions I remarked a mighty indrink of communicants, but the accounts of our changes above, and the dark aspect of affairs, has raised some concern among the remnant, though, alas! it's very little to what our care calls for, and as this came on, I remarked some more edge upon several, and greater numbers at the table of the Lord. For other flockings, I am not much taken with them. I doubt not but long since you have heard of the new troubles of our brethren, Messrs M'Bride, M'Crackan, and Riddel in Ireland, upon the account of the Oath of Abjuration, and the actings of the General Synod then in Ireland. If you want any account of this, let me know, and I shall communicate any thing I have with you. Pray let me hear as to your health as soon as you can. This, with my respects to all our brethren of my acquaintance, is all at present from, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours in the strictest ties,

R. W.

Sept. 4, 1710.

LETTER LIII.

To the Rev. Mr James Guthrie, Minister at Irongray.

DEAR COUSIN,—I dare not challenge you for breach of promise that you would write to me after your Synod was over; but I will charge you for forgetfulness, and as a punishment I send this, not worth the postage.

I mind nothing in this country worth your while. This Presbytery is a new harassed with the transportation of Mr Paisley from Lochwinnoch to Glasgow, after we have been peeled with

eight transportations formerly. This affair is referred by us to the Synod, whereby we think to save our votes, but how far this politic will go I know not.

I want mightily an account of your southern affairs. They talk you are to be free of Mr Mair, and he is to be called to Affleck in the Presbytery of Ayr. That Presbytery, within these two months or thereabout, has lost some of the prettiest men in it, without disparagement to the rest. Mr Alexander Orr of late, Mr John Laury, and Mr Patrick Crawford, and sometime before Mr James Gilchrist. I could give you some of Mr M'Millan's notes when in this country :—That our last fast was the worst fast that ever we had,—that now the Ministers and the Queen were supping soup about, and good friends. But I expect a better account of this gentleman and his colleague from you, with all your other affairs in dependence; and your sentiments upon this dark cloud that hangs upon this island. I doubt not but you may have seen Mr M'Crackan, who will inform you better of the affairs of Ireland than I can do. Peggy gives you her kindest respects. All our friends in the west are well for anything I hear. Pray let me hear from you by post, and lay your commands upon, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

September 4, 1710.

LETTER LIV.

BOURIGNIANISM, ETC.

To the Rev. Mr James Webster, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 20th by Friday post, which was most acceptable to me for the news you favour me with, and more especially for your kind promise of corresponding with me,

who can make no returns worth your while. You are at the chief watch tower, and have access to know things at this juncture we in the country have need to be informed of. And it's what I have observed with some grief, that while our adversaries are very close in their measures one with another, we are almost strangers one to another. Your hand is what I very well understand, and I confess it's presumption in me to offer a correspondence with one of your known sense; but I still find persons of best parts are readiest to overlook my infirmities and escapes when not of design.

I am glad the good town [Leith] have got a grant for a dock, and wish it may be well looked after for the general good of this nation.

I thank you for your account of the prophets.¹ I have heard it remarked, and should be glad to have it confirmed from you, that none are yet perverted by them but professed Jacobites, and such as before were corrupted with Bourignianism.² And the frank joining in of several Jacobites with them hath brought a fancy in

¹ Mr Webster, in his letter to Wodrow, had stated that several individuals were prophesying on the streets of Edinburgh, for which the Magistrates had imprisoned them. They published their prophecies, under the title of *The Warning of the Eternal Spirit to Edinburgh*, and one of them positively predicted that judgment would, within forty days, fall on the city. They were generally called the French Prophets.

² *Bourignianism*.—The doctrines of Antonietta Bourignon, a celebrated enthusiast, who was born at Lisle, in Flanders, in the beginning of the year 1616. She pretended to hold familiar converse with the Deity, and to be favoured with extraordinary revelations, in one of which she saw Adam in the form he had before his fall, when he possessed within himself the principles of both sexes. She set up as a reformer of the world, was extremely zealous in making proselytes, and declared that when any embraced her opinions, she experienced all the pangs of child-birth. In the dress of a hermit, she travelled through France, Holland, England, and Scotland, in all of which countries numbers embraced her opinions. But her disciples were most numerous in Scotland, and gained such ground, that the General Assembly found it necessary to put down her blasphemous delusions. Dr George Gardner, a minister of Aberdeen, was deposed in 1701 for having embraced and taught them, but having so continued to vent them with success, the Assembly, in 1710, passed an act for their suppression, and recommended Professors of Divinity "to make a collection of them, and to write a full confutation of the same."—*Acts of Assembly*, 1700, 1701, 1709, 1710. *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. iv. art. *Bourignon*. Several of the Episcopalians, particularly in Aberdeenshire, adopted the strange notions of this female fanatic.—*Wodrow's Analecta*.

my head, that they know somewhat more than you about Edinburgh do of the Pretender's designs, otherwise, perhaps, they would not limit their judgments upon the good town to the term of forty days. It is certain their brethren the Quakers are in close correspondence with the Jesuits, and I never doubted but their fathers, the Cevennois' impostures, had their original from the Jesuits. Whatever be in this, I wish you, or some other that can do it, would expose them in a sheet or two, (the shorter the better,) in print, which might be easily dispersed through the country, and might prevent the spreading of this poison. Dear Mr Hogg has done somewhat of this, but it's printed in with his Essay on Illumination, and scarce known in thir bounds.

I have not heard from Mr M'Crakan since my last, but I hope either to see him at our Synod, or hear from him next week; and if I do not, I'll send you in his papers, which I have now transcribed. Let me know if I shall send them by post, or wait for a private hand. There will not be two sheets of them in my hand.

I don't know when I shall have the happiness to meet with you to get your accounts of Mr Guthrie. If at any spare hour you'll write down what hints of him you have heard, it will be very satisfying, and I'll receive them by post. I have, since I saw you, had some particulars of his life from some old ministers, and from these and what papers he has left, which are few, I am drawing up some rude sketches of his life.

I mind nothing from this country worth your while. Our Synod is to meet next week, and is to have your call to Mr Scott, another call from Glasgow to Mr Paisley, and the new erection of a Presbytery at Greenock, to be annexed to the Synod of Argyle, before them. Of all these I would give you account after the Synod is over, but I know you will have it from better hands, some of your own number.

On Wednesday we have the account of the Parliament's dissolution. The Lord seems to permit things to be in a strange ballance; when victory and success is granted abroad, there seems to be turns at home (by some) designed to gratify France, to balance them.

Pray let me have your thoughts on affairs at this present juncture at length. Without flattery, you may assure yourself I will value your sentiments very much. And let me entreat a further account of the prophets, and all our news from Court, and how the pulse of our exertions in the north, and those in England, are like to beat. I pray your Master may accompany your labours. I now know your hand, and I hope after this you will know mine, though I don't subscribe myself what you'll still believe me to be, Reverend and Dear Sir, your very much obliged and affectionate servant,

R. W.

Sept. 20, 1710.

LETTER LV.

ANTIQUARIAN CURIOSITIES.

For the Honoured Sir Robert Sibbald, Doctor in Medicinæ.¹

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I send you along with this what things you desired, by Mr Alexander Maxwell, chaplain to my Lord

¹ Sir Robert Sibbald, who acquired considerable eminence in his day for his medical skill, and particularly for his knowledge of natural history and antiquities, was descended of the ancient family of the Sibbalds of Balgonie in Fife. He received a regular academical education at the University of Edinburgh, where he afterwards commenced practice as a physician, and devoted himself with ardour and success to the study of botany. He procured the honour of knighthood from Charles II., and, having been appointed his Majesty's geographer and physician for the kingdom of Scotland, he was ordered to publish the Natural History of the country, with a statistical and geographical description of it. This work occasioned him much labour and expense; but the only part of it which he published was the "History of Fife." The collections he made for it are preserved. In 1684 he published his "*Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodomus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*," in which he displays much learning, and on which he bestowed the labour of many years. This work was attacked with unsparing severity by the celebrated Dr Pitcairn, who seems to have entertained a personal grudge at Sibbald, in a review entitled "*Dissertatio de Legibus Historiæ Naturalis*." Sibbald published several other works, which show his dili-

ter there may be more a seeking as to their lot than you, but *Deus providebit*. All the matter is to be found faithful, and in the road of duty.

I shall send in the papers to Mr W[ebster,] though I heartily wish you had seen them as they stand before they came to his hand, for I have added and pared, and cast several of your distinct heads together. However, we shall go no farther with them till you see them then betwixt ourselves two. I am persuaded we need some such short abridgement here as much if not more than elsewhere. The generality of people have never considered these points, and because every thing has run now for upwards of twenty years in a strain of custom and education, the most part look no further. And very lately Mr Jamison has communicated with me a design of this nature, which he has in his head, to print a short abstract of our reasons against episcopacy, for the use of the common people. His design is only upon prelacy, and, for any thing I can understand, he does not descend to the ceremonies; besides, his scheme will take up twelve or twenty sheets, and so there is no inconsistency between this project and his. I find the reason you speak of against hearing the curates in your abstract. I keep your papers by me, and send only my transcript to Mr Webster. After I had ended your heads, I fancied that a section upon confirmation by the bishop, another upon bowing at the name of Jesus, another upon the sacramental test, would need to be added; but I have done nothing on these heads, and some others that came to my mind, till I acquainted you, to see if you judge it proper to add any thing on them, and send me materials; they must be very concisely handled, for I would not have it exceed three sheet in print. I have added nothing anent ruling elders, because I do not see how it falls in with the design of the rest, which is not so much to vindicate our principles, as to show why we cannot conform with the Church of England. The reasons of nonjurancy I sent forward to Mr Webster several months since with your letter, but the conference anent the sacramental test I have communicated to none, except that I read it in my chamber to some friends, because I fancied you designed it only for myself. I

value it extremely, but I think it would be a little altered before it be published. I would be for annexing the argumentative part of it very briefly, (as I hinted just now,) to the abridgment in a short section. And I wish you may think on somewhat very short of this nature, and send it me by post. And the more because I fancy, if Providence prevent not, the test may be imposed upon all the electors by this Parliament. Pray let me hear frequently from you by post, with all your accounts from Ireland and elsewhere. The Dialogue between the Highflyer and Low Churchman I have, but it relates to the State and not to the Church, and is written by a Tory, with an eye to the past elections. I would send it you by post, but it's not worth the postage. If you can direct me to some way to send you things by a carrier or private hand, do it; but let all our letters be by post. I have no news but what will be stale before they reach you. I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, Nov. 24, 1710.

LETTER LVII.

For Mr James Webster, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Since parting I have had a line from Mr M'Crakan, whom I expected at this place, but now I find he will not get this length some time yet. He desires me to send in to you the Abridgment of the Reasons, &c. I inclined much that he should have seen it himself, after several alterations and additions that I have made in transcribing it, that my mistakes and additions might not be blended with what is his. But since he desires me to send it as it is, I do it, as knowing you will easily see upon whom to fix any thing that is harsh in the style, or loose in the reasoning, and you will carefully correct it and help it, and put to a short preface. I have writt to him that he may make some short additions upon the

new heads of bowing at the name of Jesus, confirmation, and the sacramental test; which I think, with some other heads you may hint at, would be necessary to be added. Be pleased to return it again to me with your additions [and] alterations, as soon as you can, for I don't think it's proper it be published till he see it.

I expect all your news by the post, with your thoughts on this abstract, and all your remarkables.

Pray let me have your thoughts of affairs at this juncture. And as soon as you hear what way this Parliament is like to fall into, allow me to say you should cast your thoughts to that channel that may answer the times. I suspect a toleration and the sacramental test will be very proper heads for you to draw up somewhat on, that may be for public use if need be.

This comes by Mr Alexander Maxwell, my Lord Pollock's chaplain, and when you have perused the enclosed, send them down to my Lord Pollock's lodgings, and they will come safe to me once a week; but see that you write by post as soon as you can. I remember you told me you had a double set of one voll. of Bickerstaffe's Tatlers. If you'll venture it upon a future exchange when you come west sometime or other, with some of my doubles, or at a price when we meet next, and give it to Mr Maxwell, the bearer of this, it will come safe to, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours, in the greatest sincerity,

R. W.

Nov. 24, 1710.

LETTER LVIII.

NEWS.—MEMOIRS OF JAMES GUTHRIE OF STIRLING.

For Mr James Guthrie, Minister at Irongray.

DEAR COUSIN,—I had yours by post about the end of October, and my inclination is so strong to keep up a correspondence with you,

that I had not delayed your answer so long if I had not expected to meet with you at the Commission, last week save one. Since that failed, this comes to give you thanks for the accounts you send me of your affairs. As to Mr Stewart at Cumbertrees, it seems that place is particularly unhappy as to their ministers; and that man's fall is the more lamentable, that I hear he was of good parts and seeming piety. You have no doubt heard of Mr Geo. Jamison's dreadful fall at St Martin's. He is deposed, I hear. The Lord prevent the dreadful effects of this spirit of wickedness that is broke loose among those of our office. I am afraid that it tend much to the heightening of our modern Deism and Atheism among our gentry. As to Mr Mair, it seems the Commission has not much weighed your Synod's sentence, but, as I hear, ordered a call to be drawn up. Pray let me know what is now come of that affair.¹ And if nothing worth your while fall out before your Synod, let me hear an account of what you do when you meet in January. I would know what entertainment that young man that is settled at Balmagie gets there, and if Mr M'Millan keeps manse and church.² He has been in this country lately, but I heard nothing singular anent him.

By this time, no doubt, you will have heard that the Commission almost unanimously continued Mr Paisley with us at Lochwinnock. Our own Synod had continued him before the Commission sat, otherwise, I fear, we had run a risk.

It is some time since I desired to know if you had any of the remains of our eminent and shining light of this Church, Mr James Guthrie. I humbly think it lies on you, as a piece of debt to his memory, and to the publick, to gather what you can recover with respect to his life and actings. It's a pity so little care is taken to

¹ The Synod of Dumfries had refused to transport Mr Mair.

² Mr Mackie, the patron's chaplain, was legally inducted to the parish of Balmaghie, in the place of Mr M'Millan; but the new incumbent met with anything but a good reception in that parish. He was under the necessity of officiating in a barn, and hiring a house for himself. The mass of the people adhered to Mr M'Millan, and kept him in possession of the church and manse for many years, till he himself voluntarily gave up the contest.—*Struthers' History of Scot.* vol. i. pp. 57—59.

keep up the remembrance of these great men that have gone before us.

This to me seems the more necessary, that, as you observe, the cloud is dark and growing, and seeming very near us, and occasions of doing any thing of this nature may be quickly out of our hands. I have his speeches, all the three he had, and some letters of his, and papers anent the remonstrance in write and print, which I shall most willingly communicate with you.

Let me know if the late thanksgiving (Nov. 7) has been kept weel with you, now when the Assembly hath interposed in that matter. Mr M'Millan timed his visit here just the week before; but I find not that he has gained much ground. That morning there was a terrible thunder, which broke within a quarter of a mile of this house, but, blessed be God, did no hurt to any persons, but threw down a horse, but within a little he recovered. I hear, likewise, that that same morning Mr Dugald Bannantyne, one of the ministers of Arran, had house and all burnt down about four in the morning. He and his family were fast asleep, till the house in a flame awakened them very surprisngly, and they were all obliged to leap out in their shirts, almost at the windows. All their lives were saved, but no more, and I can yet hear no occasion that can be given of that suddain burning.

Pray let me have your thoughts of the present gloomy aspect of affairs, and what appears to be present duty. I wish the Commission had recommended presbyterial fasting and prayer at this juncture; and that, when a national fast, perhaps, would not be so weel liked, we had more congregational fasts.

My wife hath you kindly remembered. Upon the 18th of October she was safely brought to bed of a son. I give my kindest respects to all brethren of my acquaintance with you; and am, Dear Cousin, yours in the strictest tyes,

R. W.

Nov. 24, 1710.

LETTER LIX.

ON THE OFFICE AND QUALIFICATIONS OF RULING ELDERS.

For Mr W. W., at Kerelaw.¹

DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of this day, by the boy that comes with your horse. I am at some loss to give you my thoughts upon the heads you propose, upon many accounts. The truth is, I never ripely digested any thing upon this head, and any thoughts I had on it, when I was obliged to say somewhat about it, you saw. Since that time I have never almost considered it; and, besides, in my opinion, I suspect I differ a little from the commonly received doctrine upon some of the heads you lay down; and, therefore, any thing I write, I write it to you alone. I wish you had been larger in proposing your strait upon these heads, that so I might, as much as I could, have reached it. But whatever offers to me you shall have with all freedom; and wherein I mistake, as very readily I may in writing *raptim*, without consulting writers upon this head, I hope you will as freely correct me.

The first head you propose is the charge of souls that ruling elders are said to have. To give you my thoughts on this, I must a little run up to what I take to be the occasion of this institution in the Church. First, I must lay it down as the foundation of all, that ruling elders are indeed instituted by Christ, the Apostle of the New Testament Church, as officers of his Church and House, whereof he is the head. I need not prove this. I freely own to you, that the arguments drawn from the Old Testament have not that weight with me with respect to this or any other of the New Tes-

¹ This long, but judicious and interesting letter, was evidently addressed to some private gentleman, and friend of Wodrow, who had applied to him for advice in the prospect of being called to the office of the eldership.

tament officers that I find they have with some others; and the place most insisted on, 1 Tim. v. 7, is so vexed by criticisms on both hands, that reading on it long since rather shoke than settled me as to this office. The place that mainly settled me was Acts xv. 23; upon which you know my sentiments. And, besides, the first and pure antiquity seems to be very plain for some share in rule to the representatives of the people; and the nature and privileges of believers under the New Testament goes pretty far to convince me of the reasonableness of this office. The main difficulty to me anent this office is the argument from the dichotomy that Paul in his Epistles insists so much upon, "bishops and deacons." But considering that in the Churches, when first planted, there were several things that might occasion the Apostle's not specifying the distinct office of elders, and that, perhaps, their office in some places was supplied for some time, especially in cities, with those that had their eye to the ministry, whom we now call probationers, and, above all, that their office of ruling is much the same with that branch of the pastoral office which is so fully described in the office of the scriptural bishop, I do not think this non-specification is to be laid in balance with the plain Scripture account in other places.

Secondly, I am not so far independent as to think that Christ hath lodged any part of the government of the Church in the hands of the body of the people. The Scripture does plainly enough run counter unto this, and I am as much afraid of popular supremacy and anarchy as of prelacy in the Church. Anything like this, in the writings of the Church before Constantine, is in itself no rule for us, and certainly allowances must be made, and these very large, for those times of persecution, where things behoved to be done as they could be done. Yet I think it very reasonable, and according to Christ's institution, that the *sacra plebs*, as the ancients termed them, the body of Christians, should have some in judicatories to represent them, and to give their sentiments of things wherein they are called to act and give their mind; as, for instance, in the choice of a minister, in the excluding a rotten mem-

ber from the Church, giving testimonials as to a person's conversation, &c. ; and yet I do not at all think that the persons that act in the people's name do derive their power of ruling from the people, but from the institution of Christ.

Thirdly, The rule of the Church, though elders have a share in it, is principally committed to pastors. The keys of the kingdom are given to them. They are such as rule over the people and speak the word, Heb. xiii. 7, and watch for souls as they that must give an account, ver. 17 ; none of which places to me have any relation to the ruling elder, and, therefore, they can act in absence, or under the want of elders, though I cannot see how elders can act without pastors.

Fourthly, This last place leads me to consider the peculiar charge or watch over souls that I think is proper to the preaching elder, and is joined with their ruling, and made use of as an argument for the people's submission to them. They watch as those that must give an account. Now, upon this head I beg you may lay no stress upon what I say, but what the reasoning plainly leads to and the matter, for I have never seen any that handle either the ministers' or the elders' charge of souls, and my thoughts on this head are very unripe. By the charge of souls, I mean that particular power Christ hath given to his servants to act in an authoritative way with souls, (in offering Christ for instance, and declaring the whole counsel of God, remitting of sins, "as my Father sent me, so I send you,") that relates to the whole Church as they are called ; and further, it takes in a commitment of a particular number of souls for whom they are to watch, and whom they are to oversee, and in whose stead they pledge and pawn their own souls for their faithfulness in oversight of them, and discharge of their duty to them, and their blood is to be required at their hand if they warn them not. This Paul terms a watching for them as such as must give an account ; and the perishing of a soul in their flock, through their indifferency and neglect, is chargeable upon them. Now, if you understand this by the charge of souls, I do think it's peculiar to the bishop and pastor, because, *1st*, It's joined with warning, or, as

Paul expresses it, Heb. xiii. 7, speaking the word of God, or preaching. And, *2dly*, to allow this to elders, in my opinion, were to almost confound the two offices; at least it were to allow them the weightiest part of the pastoral function, without allowing them the means for the discharging it. *3dly*, I find that ruling and acting in Church judicatory is what mainly, if not only, is ascribed to the elders in the Scripture.

But lest you think me lax in this point, and make the elder's work too easy, *1st*, I grant that, in point of rule and government, they must act so as they must be best accountable to him from whom they have their commission; and, *2dly*, that the great scope of their rule and government is the advancing the edification and soul-good of the people they are among. *3dly*, I think there are many particular brotherly and Christian duties that lye upon every particular Christian, such as joint prayer with others in distress, cautioning them against sins they see them liable to, reproving sin when committed, doing all they can to prevent it in time to come, and when they do not amend, representing it to others that can take course with it; and many other duties I might name. And with respect to these, every particular person may be said, in a large sense, to have a charge of his brother. Now, as to all these, I own there is a higher obligation lying upon elders than upon private persons. And their acting in the name of the people in judicatories, but especially Christ's instituting them as persons to oversee the manners of the people, does empower them to discharge these duties with greater boldness and success; and if this be called the charge of souls, I own they have it. As every Christian, upon the pain of damnation, is to discharge relative duties, and as the minister's soul is pledged for faithfulness in the discharge of his office, so I reckon the elder's soul is pledged for faithfulness in the discharge of those duties that his office gives him greater advantages for than others, as well as for his faithfulness in ruling. And, therefore, *4thly*, I cannot but wish that the generality of elders were more exact both in visiting families and inquiring as to their lives and manners; and in visiting the sick, and speaking

to them, and praying with them; and exerting the whole of Christian and brotherly duties in a proportion to the access they have by their station. Thus, with all freedom, you have my present thoughts anent the elder's charge of souls. But still I think, that, in a way of strict speaking, that lyes mainly upon the ministers; which was the fourth general position I laid down.

Fifthly, Let me observe, that in order to the ministerial oversight of souls, ministers must have as particular a knowledge of and acquaintance with the tempers and manners of the people as may be, and this, I own, should be personal as far as possible, but after all their pains and endeavours, they can but have a small acquaintance without other's help; especially as to their manners and carriage in the neighbourhood. This work I take the elders to be very much appointed for, and the necessity of this help appears to me to be so great, that sometimes I have fancied that, 1 Cor. xii. 28, "helps and governments" may be perhaps understood of one and the same office and officers; and really this account of the carriage of people and their manners, which we have from ruling elders in our judicatories, is what is the determining thing many a time as to the inflicting of and relaxing from scandals. So that to me the charge of the elder seems to refer, at least *in prima instantia*, to the manners of the people, of which they are to take a particular oversight, and to report to the minister, both for his carriage to them as to their soul's state, and for his and their ruling and governing them. And their rule to me seems principally to relate to this, and they are properly assistants to the minister in his ruling. This is what at present occurs to my thoughts as to your first head.

Your second head is anent the inward call to this office. I want Guthrie¹ by me, and so I cannot now consider what he lays down upon this head; and, therefore, I must just give you what occurs, without any relation to what that great man or any other says upon this head. Only, I'll be sorry to differ from him, and suspect what I say the more. I need not premise, especially to you, that

¹ Treatise on Ruling Elders and Deacons, by James Guthrie, minister of Stirling.

by this inward call nothing extraordinary is meant. That there may be even now some extraordinary impulses to some particular office I do not doubt, but I know this is not what you are expecting. But the ordinary inward call to a duty or office is some sign, or evidence, or notice, in the ordinary way of duty, whereby we come to understand God's mind and will with respect to this particular duty or office; or whereby we come to know that it's our duty to engage in it. Now, having laid down this in the general, I think it will be pretty easy to take up wherein the inward call lies. Not readily in one thing, but in a complication of things within us and without us, joyn'tly with the Church's call, which I think does complete this inward call, or manifestation of God's mind with respect to a particular thing.

First, then, There must be a competent measure of the knowledge of the work, and the duties of the office anent which the question is, if we be called to it. For certainly God will never call to that which we are entirely strangers to, and this is likewise necessary to a reasonable inclination to that office, of which afterwards. And since it's the practice that brings about the full knowledge of an office, to end debates that may come in as to the proportion of knowledge necessary, I think this branch stands in the knowledge of some parts of the work, and a willingness to learn further the particular pieces of duty, and to practise them when invested with the office.

Secondly, There is further in this complex idea of an inward call, a serious application to God with respect to what is sin or duty, as to our meddling with that thing or office in question: Where there should be a realizing of God as the principal party we have to deal with, an entire resignation to his mind and will in that matter, and a hearty willingness to be determined by him in it, and a fervent application, especially in prayer, for light and direction in the affair, and an eying of him by faith, in the use of all other means for knowing ourselves and the office, such as reading, meditation, reasoning, &c.

Thirdly, In the general there should be a prevailing principle of

love to Christ and souls, that to me seems an essential foundation of an inward call to any office in the House of God. Though it may be, indeed, where there is neither an outward nor inward call, yet I think there can be no call that can breed peace to a man himself without this. This, you know, the Scripture expresses by "drawing with the cords of love, and the bands of a man," and the constraining force of love. And, further,

Fourthly, There is somewhat (I am straitened how to express it, without a mistake) of a sense of some measures of the qualifications requisite to such a duty or office, somewhat of a talent whereby we may trade, through the help of grace, in such a station. For the Lord calls none but those whom in some measure he fits for the office, and none must appear before the Lord altogether empty. In this there is a great deal of sobriety and modesty goes along with any uptakings of this nature, when of God. And they are so far from being elevating, that they fill the man with much self-abasement; and though he sees some things that may give him some far-off views of usefulness in that station, yet there is such a balance of wants and blanks, that this uptaking has no farther influence on him, than to keep from despair, and make him submit to the determination of Providence, and the outward call of the Church, which is the ultimate judge of a person's qualifications. And where there is much exercise with respect to God's mind in this case, the person can scarce come the length to say he has any positive qualifications for the office, unless it be such as are common to men, but there is a humbling sense of the want of them, and an inclination to the use of means to get them; and these two are in themselves very great qualifications for any office in the Church.

And, further, fifthly, There is (though not always sensible) an inclination of spirit, even under the humbling sense of our own insufficiency to serve God in such a station, if he fit us and call to it; or at least a resignation of soul to God that he may capacitate us to serve him, if he shall call to such a work. This inward inclination is what many make the inward call to lye mainly in; but this

alone is dangerous. Where it is, it should be noticed, and not quenched, but it may be where there is no call, and there may be a call where there is no sensible impulse. However, where it is with other things, it may help to clear a person's way. Only the motions, principles, and ends of the inclination, would be narrowly examined, that self come not in.

And that, sixthly, brings me to add, That there is a singleness and straightness in eying and designing the advancement of God's glory, Christ's kingdom, and the good of souls, in such a station; and honest resolutions to prosecute these great ends, if ever we shall be put in it.

And, joined with these, seventhly, There are several things from the circumstances of Providence, of particular agreements of humours, tempers, and many other circumstances, that come in sometimes to clear a person's call to an office, and his close pondering of them comes in its own room to clear up this call.

Lastly, The outward call and the mind of the Church must come in, otherwise none of these, nor all of them, will on solid grounds make up a complete warrantable call to an office. And, indeed, in my judgment, a man never has a full view of his call to an office, till, with these I have hinted at, the orderly call of those ordained by Christ to concern themselves in the office come, and they have given their mind. And these inward things are to be laid together with this Church call, by which I mean the judicatory's election, and the people's consent at the returning of the edict; and when a man, after laying all before God together, in the road of prayer and resignation, finds a contentment in his soul to undertake the work in Christ's strength, and with an eye to his glory, notwithstanding of difficulties, and joins with this a deep sense of unworthiness, this I take to be the complete inward call. Thus, you have a very rude and indigested farrago upon this head, that was once my own strait; and, therefore, calls for the more sympathy, if I had any. If I had been so distinct as to have writ down my thoughts at that time, when it was fresh in my lot, I might have been in case to have given you more satisfaction; but such as I have I give.

As to your third head, your desire to hear somewhat in answer to the difficulties that arise from the want of qualifications of an elder, I can say very little to the purpose on this head, unless I should enter upon the particular qualifications that are missed, which you do not condescend on, and I would fain hope, what is said upon the former branch may, in some measure, come in here; and, therefore, I shall only observe, *1st*, That there are various qualifications, and various measures of each qualification. The highest measures, no doubt, are to be wished for and endeavoured. We are to seek those things that are most excellent; but every one cannot "attain to the first three," and yet to be a door-keeper in the house of God is better than to dwell in tents of sin. Humility in attainment, faithfulness and diligence in resolution, and honesty and service to Christ in the aim, are, I think, the essential qualifications that none should want. And, further,

I may, *2dly*, distinguish between outward qualifications of gifts, and inward qualifications of grace. All I shall say is, the outward, I am persuaded, you have for that work; I think you need not much doubt of them. As to the inward, I know it will not satisfy you, and should not, though I and all the world should say you have it, without some testimony from a higher art, [quarter.] But this you will allow me to say, that you may have it, and not know of it, and have many fears and damps anent it; and if the assurance of grace were needful, either to entering upon or discharge of an office, it would cast many of us that are in them. *3dly*, Allow me to add, that you are not your own judge, as to the qualifications for this office; and that must be left to the judgment of those that elect and choose you in part. And your own sentiments, how mean soever of yourself, are not your rule; only it's plain, *4thly*, The sense of the want of qualifications is none of the worst of preparations to enter to an office of the Church, especially when, and it's all I shall add, *5thly*, When, from a rooted inclination to serve Christ, this sense of insufficiency puts a person to a humbling sense of sin that has brought it on, and a close application to God, in prayer, for qualifications, and a diligent use of the

means to get them. In this case, I do not think the sense of the want of many qualifications should not hinder a person from entering on an office when called.

I have been so long upon these heads, that it needs an apology; and I fancy, before you are come this length, you will see your mistake in pitching on me to solve your difficulties about them; and I wish, indeed, you had applied to some other, that would have given you more satisfaction in less bounds. However, if any thing in this long scroll be useful, it's satisfaction enough to your affectionate B[rother,]

R. W.

Nov. 29, 1710.

LETTER LX.

MEMOIRS OF THOMAS HOG OF KILTEARN.—THE ABJURATION OATH
IN IRELAND, ETC.

To Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 4th of October at the Commission at Edinburgh, where I would have been glad to have seen you. I bless the Lord that hath supported you under, and, I hope, now delivered you from, the trying ague. You have received proofs of your Master's kindness, and, I hope, received confirmations of his love in affliction, and I pray you may have now strength for his service.

I wish the great Mr T. H. [Thomas Hog's¹] friend may bring his

¹ *Thomas Hog of Kiltearn* was one of the most remarkable men of the day in which he lived. He was born in the beginning of the year 1628, of honest Highland parents, somewhat above the ordinary rank, who lived in Tain, Ross-shire. He received a liberal education, and was ordained in the parish of Kiltearn, about 1654 or 1655. From this charge he was ejected in the year 1662, when so many other faith-

collections anent him to some bearing, that may be of use to such as have not had the happiness to know them. I am much of the mind, that when the times alter, and we come to want the advantages of outward liberty, and correspondence and conference upon the goodness of God and the glory of his grace, in and by his faithful servants that have gone before us, we may have challenges that we did not move to keep up the remembrance of it, and tell it to posterity, at least in write.

I am persuaded, Dear Sir, you have had peculiar occasions to hear and know diverse remarkable passages, and you'll allow me to

ful ministers were driven from their flocks. After being repeatedly thrown into prison, he retired to Holland, but returned at the Revolution; and having been restored to his former parish, died there, January 4, 1692. The accounts transmitted to us of the piety, and prophetic spirit of this worthy man, are not less extraordinary than they are well attested, and decidedly of a different character from those of Peden, and others of the same class. He could never go the length of those among the Covenanters who disowned the civil Government. "That Charles II. and James VII. were our Kings," he said, "were facts, sadly felt, and what nobody could reasonably deny." So high was the opinion which King William had formed of him, that he made him one of his domestic chaplains. Nothing could equal or overcome his composure and cheerfulness in the midst of his troubles. When thrown into the Bass, he lost his health, and though both his physician and the lay Lords of the Council interceded for his liberation, it was carried by the prelates, on the motion of Sharp, that he should be immured in the lowest vault of that abominable prison. Here, to the astonishment of all, he soon recovered; and, afterwards, when Sharp was mentioned in his hearing with disapprobation, he would say, "Commend him to me for a good physician." It was he who "gave charge on his death-bed to dig his grave in the threshold of his church, that his people might regard him as a sentinel placed at the door," and on whose tombstone was written the striking and well-known inscription,—THIS · STONE · SHALL · BEAR · WITNESS · AGAINST · THE · PARISHIONERS · OF · KILTEARN · IF · THEY · BRING · ANE · UNGODLY · MINISTER · IN · HERE.

Thomas Hog appears among the *Scots Worthies*, in the original edition of Howie's Work, but is omitted in that by Mr M'Gavin. *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Thomas Hog* were published by Andrew Stevenson, writer, the author of the History of the Church of Scotland, in 1756. He professes to have derived his materials from several sources, and among others, from Mr William Stewart, who succeeded Mr Hog as minister of Kiltearn, and Mr James Hog of Carnock. These Memoirs are scanty, ill arranged, and unsatisfactory; and every one must regret that, instead of attempting to give the substance of these documents, he did not preserve them in their original state, for the benefit of posterity.

say, that though you want several circumstances that would be needful to a perfect representation,¹ yet it would be a public service to set them down as far as you know. I am, indeed, against publishing any thing of this nature, without the best evidence and fullest accounts can be had, since we live in a sceptical, atheistical, carping, and scoffing age. But, in my opinion, the way to attain to well adjusted accounts of remarkable providences, is to begin the account, lame as it is, in write, and to communicate them, with all prudence and caution, among brethren and Christian friends. I would fain hope they may grow to greater maturity, and, therefore, I hope you'll pardon me, if I desire you to begin and dash down what you can recover from your memory and your friends. I have been much refreshed by the hints of Mr Livingston this way, at the end of his Life; and in conference with old ministers, I have got several circumstances that have escaped him, and I do not doubt but you may add much more, and many considerable instances since his time. If you but begin the collection, I hope you will find matter grow on your hand; and if you favour me with communicating what offers, it will be a new obligation on me, and, I hope, a considerable addition to any small notes of things I have; in which, all I have in view is, but to preserve any hints of the stately steps of the Lord, if they may afterwards be useful to any whose heart the Lord shall touch, and whom he shall spirit for an accurate account of his wonderful providences to this valley of vision.

Since you desire an account of the trouble that some of our brethren in Ireland have met with in Ireland upon the account of the Oath of Abjuration, I shall give you what I know anent it, though

¹ James Hog, in his letter to Wodrow, had said that he had in his possession a few of the Diaries of Mr Thomas Hog, but that an intimate friend of that great man required them back, with a design, as he supposed, of collecting some of the more remarkable passages. He had heard no more of the matter; and though he had been informed of some remarkable things in the life of that good minister, yet he wanted what was necessary to produce "a perfect representation," and did not think that much could be made of the Diaries in drawing up a life of him — *Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ii. No. 109.

it's but a very lame account I am able to give. I had once thoughts to have writ to one of them now in this country for a distinct account of their trouble on that account, which might have been much more satisfying to you; and if you desire me I shall yet do it. But lest it should be long in coming, I have scraped together what I could from my frail memory.

It was about the 1704 or 5 when that oath was violently pressed in Ireland, and Mr John M'Bride and Mr Alexander M'Crakan were obliged to leave their charges for refusing of it. These two, with two others whom I have forgotten, were all the Presbyterian ministers that refused it. Their reasons I could communicate to you, but I suppose you may have them more easily from the Rev. Mr Webster, to whom I transmitted a copy of them some months ago. Besides their scruples at the oath, which are necessarily the same with ours here, they maintained they had no just call by the act of Parliament to take that oath, yea, were not included in the act, they not being under a legal toleration as in England, but barely connived at, and so not specified in the act, nor could they at all be considered in the law, because it's upon their hazard they venture to preach, none of the penal laws against them being rescinded. It may, indeed, be a surprise to think that the whole of the Presbyterian ministers, except three or four, went in wholesale to that oath, and made the trial the sharper to our brethren that stood out; and all the account I can learn of this is, that at first the ministers of Dublin, who are much upon the foot[ing] and of the principles of the English Dissenters, made no scruple of the oath, and used their influence with those that lay next them, and urged the reflection it would be upon them that had already taken it, and the English Dissenters, if it should be refused, and thus gradually it went on. And in the north of Ireland, their Presbyteries particularly, and general Synod, never met to consider this matter of consequence, and every one followed his own light and inclinations without any conference upon the head. And if my information fail me not, there is a general laxness of principles among too many of the new intrants to the ministry, even in the north of Ireland, and a mighty inclination to a

conformity in every thing to the English Dissenters, and ministers of Dublin. This is all the *rationale* I can offer upon this strange step of the ministry there.

Upon the four brethren's refusal there were *capias's* issued out against them, and Mr M'Bride and Mr M'Crakan were obliged to come over here about the 1705, and stayed some months till the heat was a little over, and then returned. At the next general Synod, if I mistake not, there was a kind of amnesty agreed upon between the jurors and non-jurors, that for peace sake they should refrain from speaking or preaching one against another upon that head; and so matters continued pretty quiet except at Belfast, where Mr M'Bride was obliged again to leave his people, and come over, you know, to Glasgow, and stayed there some time. In the 1708 the test act and oath began to be pressed with more violence upon the justices of the peace, upon which there was a general turning out of all the Dissenters that were in these offices. And last year, to complete their design, there was a clause added in an act against popery, (the ordinary blind for persecution of Protestant Dissenters,) empowering any two justices of the peace to call any person above sixteen years to take this oath, and if they refused, to imprison them, and put them to the general sessions. This put our brethren under new fears, yet nothing was done last winter or this spring, till things began to work together for a new storm to them.

The ferment in England, brought to a head by that unhappy tool Sacheverell,¹ anent the danger of their Church from Dissenters, got over the water to Ireland, where I am told most of their clergy are Highflyers, and love to be called Sacheverellites. This, upon the one hand, and I shall not say that upon the other, what I am now to relate to you, had any occasion of this new persecution, because I am unwilling to land it at the door of any that call themselves their

¹ Dr Henry Sacheverel, rector of St Saviour's in Southwark, who acquired great notoriety in his day for his intemperate zeal in defending High Church principles, and his rabid hatred of Dissenters. He was the organ of that party in England who had adopted the principles of Archbishop Laud, and who were driving the same mad career.—(*Smollett's History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 164–172; *Somerville's History of Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 337.)

brethren and friends ; but so it was that, in June last, a little before the general Synod met, there were some pamphlets came out, particularly one conference, showing that a Jurant is as highly a conformist as he who hath taken the sacramental test. This mightily grated some of the warmer persons that had taken the oath, and they said openly in the Synod, that if the author were a member of their Church, they knew no censure sufficient for him. Mr M'Bride was challenged by the Synod, who declared he knew nothing of that pamphlet ; Mr M'Crakan next was challenged, and owned that he had seen the paper before it was published ; but did not own himself the writer of it, and offered a conference upon that head, either in the open Synod, or in their conference, (which is like our committee of overtures,) upon this head ; and as to the oath, he owned he was of the principles of the Church of Scotland. However, the matter was dropt, and not further pushed. But this and some other matters dropt till the next Synod, June 1711. Within some short time new writs came out against Mr M'Bride, Mr M'Crakan, and Mr Riddel. The other two absconded a little, but it seems the main of their fury is directed against Mr M'Crakan. He very narrowly escaped, and is come over in September or August last ; and by this time his family I believe is come over in Galloway to him. There be no longer safety in these parts for them.

By this time, I fancy, I have wearied you with this long account of what you desired. I am sorry it's not more exact ; I wish the poor Church may learn, when warned at the expense of our neighbours.

I thank you most heartily for the enclosed sheet, which I have read with a great deal of satisfaction. It's these sheets, that indeed come close home to my query, that gave you the trouble of transcribing them. And, indeed, I must say, they contain more to the clearing of the Lord's teaching by his Spirit and Word than I ever read or heard. The very instance you give is what comes perfectly up to that which gave occasion to my question, even in the very place of Scripture. Only the difference is, that it was the case of a considerable number of exercised persons upon the removal of a very eminent minister, (Mr D. B.) and with this considerable alteration,

that the same time when there were severals laid so much stress on the incoming of this and some other places of the word in favours of the minister's recovery, there were a few as peremptory, from other places of Scripture they had borne in on them, as to the minister's death. Your positions as to this matter, and directions, are what are most establishing to me. Only I have yet some difficulties remaining to propose unto you upon this intricate head ; which I shall not enter upon, having too much encroached upon your patience. I dare not refuse the lending back of your valuable gift to me upon this important head. I would willingly, indeed, have communicate the whole, especially these last two sheets, to some friends here that I know have been under great distress upon this subject, before I had returned them ; but since they have been so useful to me, through the Lord's blessing, I dare not delay the return of them at your desire, not knowing but friends with you may be under some present distress, whereas those to whom I would communicate them here have got some way over it ; but need the confirmation I hope the Lord may bless this essay with to them. Only I hope they will transcribe them as soon as they conveniently can, and return them to you. And when I have them again, (if the Lord continue health and peace,) you shall have any remarks on them, and my remaining difficulty on this head. Meanwhile, I earnestly beg you'll go on to the remaining queries.

That the Lord may abundantly bless you and your labours, is the earnest desire of, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours in the strictest ties,

R. W.

Nov. 30, 1710.

LETTER LXI.

THE OCCASIONAL BILL, AND THE SCOTS EPISCOPALIANS.

To the Honoured Sir Robert Pollock of that Ilk, Member of Parliament for North Britain.

(Left at Oldman's Coffeehouse, near Charing-Cross.)

HONOURED SIR,—I presume to give you the trouble of this amidst the throng of your important business. This needs an apology. But you know my itch after accounts of your proceedings, and the true state of things at this nice juncture.

We have some talk of the renewing of the Occasional Bill, by your House, and if some of our accounts hold, it may pass without any great struggle.

I am told that our episcopal clergy, since Bishop Paterson's death, are not so fond as once they were of a toleration, especially if clogged with the oaths, and have writt up to their friends their present sense of things. Whether this be a blind to make it go down the better, or to make less opposition to it, I do not pretend to determine. I doubt not, if you wanted accounts of the state of things here, you have them from better hands than mine. Only I cannot so well see how the Occasional Bill, and the straitning of the toleration in England, and the granting one here, hang so well together; unless it be, that some may happen to fancy, upon how just grounds I assert not, that the Dissenters in England are upon a Revolution bottom, and the Dissenters here upon a French bottom.

I am very fond to have any papers that come out upon the Conformity Bill, or our Scots business, especially Mr Greenshields' affair, and that of the Toleration. Your servant, Robert P., promised to pick them up in the streets for me, (and whatever he lays out I shall carefully refund him,) and I know you will frank a cover to

them, when not too bulky. If they happen to be larger than is proper for the post, let him keep them till our meeting.

I would likewise willingly have Ridpath's Observations, which I fancy Robert will get in the streets. They are printed by Abel Roper, and to be had at Andrew Bell's shop, at the Bible and Cross Keys, in Cornhill. But I am truly ashamed to give you so much trouble as this will put you to.

I saw your lady on Monday last. She and your family are in health. No doubt, you have an account of the Countess of Dundonald's death of the small-pox upon the 30th the last month. Bishop Ross¹ was brought west to her under the notion of Dr Pitcairn, and he, with Mr Ful. and Mr D.,² designed to have given her the sacrament, but she fell insensible. You know her charitable temper so well, that I need not say what a loss her death will be to many at Paisley. But I am persuaded I lose time to you in offering any accounts from this country, where you have so many good friends and correspondents. If there were any thing wherein I could serve you, I am persuaded you will frankly employ,
Dear Sir, your obliged humble servant,
R. W.

Eastwood, Dec. 7, 1710.

¹ Dr Alexander Rose, who was Bishop of Edinburgh at the time of the Revolution, and lived several years after it.

² Mr Fullerton and Mr Duncan seem to be the persons here intended, both of whom were made bishops after the Revolution.

LETTER LXII.

REMARKS UPON ARCHER'S SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE OF
CONVOCAATION.

For Mr J. C. [John Cross,¹] Merchant in Gl[asgow.]

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 17th, for which I thank you. And since you desire my thoughts of Edmond Archer's Sermon, before the Lower House of Convocation, January 30, on Zech. vii. 4, 5, I shall give you them with all freedom.

I acknowledge I have a particular liking to frankness and freedom upon all hands. And when a man opens himself and discovers his true principles, be they never so bad, I like him for his ingenuity; and when he is on the wrong side, I love to have a black devil and a raging one, rather than a white and hypocritical and fawning one.

After reading over the sermon you send me, I could not but remark the temper of the present Lower House of Convocation in their order to publish it. Mr Archer has the thanks of the House for his very good sermon, and yet they minch matters, and seem afrayed he should publish it, and order that he be desired to publish it if he please. This is a good back door, in case the Government see fit to take him in task for his scandalous reflections upon the Dissenters as not ministers, and yet indulged by law; and his uncharitable and ignorant flirts at the Church of Scotland for not keeping the 30th day of January. The odium of all must light

¹ Of this person, with whom Wodrow had frequent communications, nothing more can be learnt than that he seems to have been a great politician, and having some correspondence with London, he was enabled to send Wodrow the news of the day, and any new publications which were exciting notice.

upon the author, for the convocation only desire him to publish it if he please, which is a good safe way of doing business.

As to the sermon itself, I acknowledge, allowing the author's principles, it's one of the most methodical and close to his text in his sense that I have met with of a long time. Dr Freind's sermon before the Commons, you sent me last, is nothing comparable to this. He, and the generality of them, read their text, and harangue upon the subject of the day, but take no care to consider their text, and they perfectly put me in mind of that tart censure of Cowley,

“ He reads his text, and takes his leave of it.”

But Mr Archer labours, indeed, to show the agreeableness of his text to the subject, and if the text be refractory, and will not come up, it only says he wanted judgment in choosing it, but not an inclination to make it speak suitable to the occasion of the day.

I very much doubt if his text will prove what he inclines it should; and though it proved that the Jews appoint anniversary fasts, yet this will not satisfy one that under the New Testament they are to be appointed. They might have many things in this peculiar unto the Old Testament that are not binding unto us. But I suspect, upon closer reflection, we will find that Mr Archer is out as to the occasion and appointment of the fasts in his text. The occasion is at least uncertainly guessed at, for though the Scripture says, “ In the fifth month the city was taken,” yet it does not say that this fast was appointed for this occasion; and so of the seventh month, though Gedaliah was then slain, yet there were other fasts in that month appointed by Moses, and if a person inclined to contradict our author, he might assert it might have a relation to these.

But as to the appointment and approbation he thinks God gave to these fasts, I suspect Mr Archer is entirely out. His second doctrine, p. 7, is, that the public magistrate hath sufficient power and authority to appoint a fixed and certain day for fasting and humiliation, and to oblige his subjects to keep it. I do not enter upon the debate anent the magistrate's power to appoint fasts. My

practice shows it's my principle that the Christian magistrate hath a power to call ministers and other subjects to what was before their duty, and to indict public fasts upon extraordinary occasions, and to call for the publick prayers of the Church. But his assertion, in his third observation, anent their power to make them anniversary and perpetual, is another question, that, perhaps, I may hint at before I end this letter. Yet though this be a truth, I can scarce persuade myself it is the truth of this place. Where had the Jews any magistrate to appoint a fast on Gedaliah's death? Our author, p. 14, owns that the civil power, now by conquest, was in Nebuchadnezar's hands, and that Gedaliah was the Lord's anointed, appointed by God's vicegerent. He was now killed, and unless Mr Archer have his recourse to the dregs of the people, and the original power in their hands to choose another, I fancy he will have difficulty to prove they had a new magistrate to appoint their fasts. This, I suppose, he will scarce go into. And, indeed, I should rather incline, had I as high thoughts of the supereminent power of prelates, as successors to the Jewish priests and Christian apostles, as our author hath, to think these fasts were appointed by the remainder of the priests, among the remnant of the Jews. But their high-priest was killed, and it seems Mr Archer is so fond of primates, that he won't allow any thing to the priests that remain.

I must further differ from the author as to the approbation of these fasts. P. 6, he brings in God as approving them. Yet the text to me seems to look otherwise. He hath no positive proof, except we allow his confident assertion to be a proof, and therefore let us look a little to the context. In the fourth year of Darius, when the Lord's house was rebuilt, and the priests and the prophets were there to give the Lord's mind on difficulties proposed, two persons come with a case of conscience, whether it was lawful to keep those two anniversary fasts that were now grown customary since the captivity. If so be there had been a general uninterrupted complying with that custom of keeping these fasts, I cannot conceive what should have been the occasion of the proposal of this difficulty. But it was tabled, not, I think, by a few (p. 17) wild

insignificant enthusiasts, but by some that may be were afraid of receiving for doctrine the commandments of men, and had some sense of that, Deut. xii. 32, "Whatsoever I command you, observe and do it; thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." And the Lord's answer is in Mr Archer's text, which to me seems a very awkward approbation of these fasts. "Did ye at all fast unto me, even unto me?" One would, at first view, think that this imported that there was nothing in these fasts that was acceptable to the Lord, no, not the very appointment of them. V. 6, They were their own appointers, and self-pleasers in the appointment. And, v. 7, they should have attended unto the voice of the former prophets, both in their precepts for repentance and reformation, and their solemn declarations against meddling in religious matters, without the Lord's appointment. And thus they seem, v. 9, to be directed to quit these customary fasts, and betake themselves to the duties of reformation. And ch. viii. 19, 20, seems to me to be a strong presumption against the author's strained sense of this appointment and approbation of these fasts. The Lord, in providence, was to bring about such things on these very days and months the Jews had, without warrant, set apart for fasting, that they should be turned into joy and gladness; which, by the way, is a moving argument with me against all anniversary days either by Church or State, and perpetual in our author's phrase, unless they had the foresight of what, in Providence, could fall out. Providence (upon which both the ministers' and magistrate's power to appoint fasts and thanksgivings runs) may order things so after some years, that they may be a plain call to keep a day of thanksgiving, upon that very time that has before been set apart (too boldly) for an anniversary and perpetual day of fasting. Thus, with whatever confidence this author asserts the magistrate's appointment and God's approbation of these fasts, I think he has neither Scripture nor reason on his side, and hath said more than he proves, when he makes his text the foundation of a divine warrant for keeping January 30.

It would be too much trouble to you to go through with me all

the bold assertions, and uncharitable and untrue positions he advances, suitably, it seems, as he apprehended, to the temper of the Lower House, his present auditory. Therefore, I shall but hint at a very few of the more rampant attacks he gives the Dissenters and us in Scotland.

P. 8, He brings in Archbishop Laud upon a level with the King, and, if all were true he says with respect to him, that religion was overturned, and, (*absit blasphemia,*) p. 15, with the Archbishop's death, "the sacrifice and the oblation ceased," an expression that at once unchurches all the reformed churches; and, I am persuaded, will terribly open the mouths of Deists and Atheists against Christianity, it being an impious and sacrilegious comparing of Laud's death to that of our blessed Saviour, Dan. ix. 27. If this were true, I confess to me there seems so much greater reason for his auditory, the Lower House of Convocation, to move for a new anniversary fast, to be kept Jan. 4, for Laud's martyrdom, as religion is to be preferred to civil government.

P. 12, His reasoning anent Gedaliah does advance the doctrine of passive obedience to a higher peg than I have yet seen it strained to. He owns Nebuchadnezzar to be a barbarous tyrant, and an inhuman conqueror, yet, by his conquest, he had authority abundance to make Gedaliah, p. 14, the Lord's anointed, and was himself the Jews' indisputable Sovereign. Let us now quit our fruitless debates anent the hereditary right to our Crown; may be our author's friend, the Pretender, may find some difficulty to prove his hereditary title by the laws of England; but here is a good salvo,—Let us have a French army conquering us, and coming in with him, and then, though their master be a barbarous tyrant, and an inhuman conqueror, he shall be our indisputable Sovereign, and may set up one out of the lowest of the people, and make him the Lord's anointed.

P. 16, His remark of the Parliament's act, August 23, 1645, abolishing the Common Prayer, and punishing the use of it, with L.5 for the first, L.10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third time of using it in the public, or in families; and its agree-

ment with the Bartholomew act 1662, ejecting some thousands of ministers for not reading that which then could not be come to their hands, I suspect will only shew the spite of his party in pitching upon that same day, though it was too soon in any colour of law, with a childish fondness of doing it on the very same day, and prove no great honour to the Church of England in the eyes of indifferent persons. The cruelty and injustice of the last Bartholomew act hath been at large discovered, and it might be easily shown to be much harder than the Parliament's act.

P. 19, His charitable application of John iv. 22, "Salvation is of the Jews," to the deluded creatures the Dissenters, and Scots and Foreign Churches, that are not under prelacy, is much of a piece with his acquaintance Mr Dodwell, his enthusiastical, episcopal, baptismal regeneration, and immortalising power; and his sending all the reformed at one dash to hell, as guilty of the unpardonable sin. So that I do not wonder to find him, p. 24, saying, Without Episcopal government, there could be no regular ordination of ministers, and, consequently, no authoritative administration of sacraments; and, p. 28, The services of intruders (without Episcopal ordination) are so many irregular nullities. This not only unchurches, and turns to heathens, many better Christians than I suspect Mr Archer is, but, for any thing I know, may nullify his own or his father's baptism, and I fancy neither of them were rebaptized.

P. 21, He not only says, of all men King Charles came nearest Christ in his sufferings, but that he himself thought so in some measure, when he thanked Bishop Juxon for selecting the sufferings of Christ to be read to him before his death; a reflection I wonder how he thought was consistent with the King's modesty.

It's like, by this time, you are more than wearied with my thoughts on this rampant sermon. I thought, at first reading, that, p. 17, he had been squinting at the Church of Scotland, through the sides of the Dissenters, for not keeping this fast day. But, upon second thoughts, I do not think he has any further aim at us than as we are Presbyterians, and own the obligation of the Covenant. For I find he speaks only of such as, by the law of the land, •

are appointed to keep that anniversary, which as yet we are not. I cannot but remark his daring boldness in saying, that the old spirit, that is, Satan, keeps the Dissenters in a slavish bondage, under the stubborn obligation of the odious League and Covenant. To attribute that to the influence of Satan, which was so much owned from heaven, comes nearer the sin against the Holy Ghost, as described by Christ, Mark iii. 29, 30, than the despising of the clear light for prelacy does according to Mr Dodwell. I shall only add, that this author hath so little ground for what he says, that King Charles plainly declares, in a letter that yet can be produced, that the Covenanters were the fastest friends he and the royal family had.

I had some thoughts to have added the grounds why the Church of Scotland, at this day, though they do own the wickedness of the King's death, yet do not keep an anniversary fast for it. But I am persuaded I have by this time perfectly outwearied you. And neither in this, nor what goes before, do you need any instruction from me. It's only in obedience to your desire you have had so long a diversion from, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Feb. 19, 1711.

LETTER LXIII.

PARLIAMENTARY SUGGESTIONS.

To Sir Robert Pollock of that Ilk, at London.

HONOURED SIR,—I gave you the trouble of a line in the beginning of December last, which I fancy has not come your length, else I promise to myself to have heard from you, and received somewhat of what is going, by post, according to concert, before this.

It is a satisfaction to me to hear from your lady, and that prin-

cipally you are in health. By this time, I think, Mr Greenshields' affair will have been before the Lords, and it's like you will know the breath of your House will be known anent an impeachment. Any thing anent these, or that you judge meet, would be very acceptable to me.

Our news here you have from better hands. We have a report which is credited, that the old Lady Blair, I may term her so, since the estate is dispooned to Mr Scot's son, is with child, which, if it prove a son and live, Blair, it's like, may be sensible of his haste in such a disposition.

The main thing makes me write at this time is, to know if we may expect you in Scotland against the 10th of May, when our Assembly, it's said, will sit. That so, if your friend and mine go not as our R. E. [ruling elder] from our Presbytery, as I suspect he will not, I may know how to regulate myself in our Presbytery, which is to be the 21st of this month. Pray let me know if our Commissioner be yet pitched upon. We are not for changes, if our superiors think good.

There are two things I wish your House would take before them, which, it's like, your observation may have agreed in, as well as mine; the one is the regulating unnecessary expenses at burials, which, perhaps, may be well enough effectuate at the Quarter-Sessions of the Justices of Peace, and too low for the cognizance of your Honourable House. The other, in my opinion, is of more consequence, and that is some law, discharging all such as are not tried and approven by physicians to practise midwifery. In my opinion, there are many abuses in this matter of that importance to mankind, that deserve the consideration of the representatives of the country.

I love not to take up your time, which I know you have business abundance for, when at London; and shall only add, that I am, Dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

R. W.

March 5, 1711.

I hear it from good hands, that, in the time of our Union Parliament, Kersland got his hands upon two letters of Melfort to Mr M'Millan, and that they are to be had in the Secretary Office. Mr Montgommery, (Mr Francis' son,) who informed my Lord Pollock, can give you a full account of this. If a copy of them could be procured, they might be of some use to me, and some others here.

LETTER LXIV.

HISTORY OF THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS, AND OF
THE RABBLING OF THE CURATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

To Mr J. C. [John Cross.]¹

DEAR SIR,—The talk you prescribe me is what I reckon very seasonable at this juncture, and what, within a little time, I hope to be in better case for than I am at present, if some collections, that are at present making, were put in my hands.

But in this matter, of an exact collection of the sufferings of the Presbyterians, especially in the five western shires, that were to be made a hunting-field in the late reign, we are too late by twenty years. Yet, I am persuaded, there may, and I hope will be, as much gathered² as may put the prelatists to blush, when they speak of their persecution, since the happy Revolution, and discover to the world that the barbarities in Scotland, from the 1660—88, have no parallel, except those exercised in France by a friend of these persons that make such a pother anent the Presbyterian persecution;³ and if I be not much mistaken, there will be many singu-

¹ See before, p. 197.

² *Marg.* Recovered.

³ *Presbyterian Persecution of Episcopalians.*—As it is probable that very few of our readers ever heard of this persecution, we take the liberty of giving a brief account of it, chiefly drawn from the Episcopal writings of the time. From these

larities found in the prelatie persecution that exceed even that of France.

it appears that it took place immediately on the back of the Revolution, and that the scene was laid chiefly in the West. The first commotion that appeared was among the Hill-men, or Cameronians, as they were called, who "forced their way into ministers' houses, where they, with tongue and hands, committed all outrages imaginable against the ministers, their wives, and children; where, having eat and drank plentifully, at parting they used to carry the minister out of his house to the churchyard, and there"—(murder him! nay, tremble not, gentle reader!)"—"expose him to the people as a condemned malefactor, gave him strict charge never to preach any more in that place, but to remove himself and his family out of it immediately; and for the conclusion of all this tragedy"—(what? cut off his nose and ears, or give him a sound beating at the least? no)—"they caused his gown to be torn over his head in a hundred pieces!" (*The Case of the Present Afflicted Episcopal Clergy in Scotland*, p. 6. London, 1690.) *Ex uno disce omnes*. This affords a fair specimen of the persecution referred to, varied, in some instances, by the martyrs being able to show "many marks and bruises on their bodies." Among these a Mr William Bullo, minister at Stobo, seems to have run the greatest risk of martyrdom. "A number of the rabble, with drawn swords in their hands, offered to stobb him, and charged him to stand, and he putting the spurs to his horse rode for it. At length the said Mr Bullo's horse gave over riding, and so they apprehended him, and told him, they would instantly shoot him, and commanded him to his knees; and he desiring for a little time to pray, they told him he had lived too long; he answered, that was to quarrel with God, and he wished them to consider what they were saying and doing, 'for,' said he, 'you are in passion.' 'You d—rogue,' said they, 'do you take on you to admonish us? We'll shoot you presently through the head.' 'Then,' said he, 'since you will do it, God have mercy on my soul, and God forgive you; and now,' said he, 'I have done.' Then"—(*horribile dictu!* The victims of Dalzell, Lagg, and Claverhouse, will surely now be avenged!)"—"they laid many stroaks on him, with the broad side of their drawn swords, and told him they would forbear his execution that night, it being then late!"—(Collection of Papers relating to the Practice of the Rabble, p. 56.) It is hardly necessary to observe, that this outcry about persecution came solely from the clergy, who had been put out of their livings, owing to their opposition to the Government—that these were the very worst of the curates who had had the most active hand in the late persecution—and that "the rabbling" was confined to a very small section of the Presbyterians, chiefly the followers of Renwick; and, considering the provocation they had received, the wonder is that they did not take more ample vengeance on their oppressors. The Episcopal pamphlets referred to, written with all the bitterness of disappointed faction, were calmly answered at the time in a First and Second "Vindication of the Church of Scotland," supposed to have been written by Principal Rule.—(Letter to a Friend, giving an account of all the Treatises that have been published, with relation to the present Persecution against the Church of Scotland, (The Prelatists,) London, 1692, p. 15.) The above Letter of Wodrow's gives a very complete and candid exposure of the falsities propagated by these incensed curates.

It is but a very few general remarks I can now give you, with respect to the *wholesome severities* the true sons of prelacy exercised. 1. It would be observed, that many of the persons that felt the first fury of the prelates, were such as had been royalists under Cromwell's usurpation, and suffered for adhering staunchly to the King's interest and monarchy. Mr James Guthrie was remarkable for this, and many others I could name, and it can yet be made appear, that the first concert for bringing home the King was laid in Scotland, and a commissioner, who himself suffered considerable hardships, sent up, by persons who afterwards had a large share of severity from the Government, to propose to Monk the King's restoration. 2. The detail of the sufferings of particular persons of all ranks would make a very large martyrology, and swell this letter into a volume, and, therefore, I shall only refer you to the acts of Parliament and Council in print, which contain penalties extremely disproportioned to the alleged pretended crimes they are annexed unto; and punishments unheard of in any other kingdom I know of. A collection of these, in my opinion, would be the ground-work of any account that is to be given of the persecution of this interval; and it may be had. Masters are made liable for their servants, husbands for their wives, landlords and heritors for their tenants. Preaching in the fields is death, and hearing sermons there the same. And, to be sure, 3dly, There was no failure in the execution, except at some seasons when the bishops, or rather the leading persons among them, fell under some cloud at Court; but when these had the roast a ruling, there was no mercy for any came in their clutches. The profane and loose commonalty were informers, and paid well for their pains, the scandalous inferiour clergy carried the matter to the bishops, and these to the council, who hounded out the soldiers, who had nothing else to do, and harassed the country. 4thly, The peculiar inhuman tortures and cruelties, used to extort confessions, are what are notourly known, and are a scandal to our country, and were particularly remonstrated against in the Claim of Right. And these yet remain, 5thly, in the records of the Justiciary, and other cri-

minal courts, such processes as will leave an indelible stain upon the persons concerned in them. Children are adduced as witnesses in matters of life and death, hearsays depended on, private confessions, extrajudicial, and sometimes even upon an oath of secrecy, brought in as evidences, witnesses suborned; persons condemned for crimes when by two witnesses they had been proven *alibi*; and many other such steps, as discovered a resolved course of cruelty, over the belly of all law, reason, and humanity.

When the late happy Revolution came about, it is plain, that all the resentment that was shown against the proceedings of the late times, was only a public declaration of some of the more notour branches of them as grievances in the Claim of Right, and a repealing of the sanguinary laws, and that very softly and modestly too. There was no prosecution of the informers against peaceable people, the advisers of the Government to make such laws, or the executors of them, many of whom went even beyond the letter (I shall not say the spirit and design) of their own laws. But all were protected that would submit to the Government. The late King William, of glorious memory, was so far from persecution, that he expressly makes a reserve as to this when he takes the coronation oath. And I know none of the ministry he took in that showed any thing of a persecuting spirit. Whatever irregularities and indiscretions were used by particular persons towards some of the episcopal clergy, it would be noted that this was before the settlement of the present Government, and cannot be charged upon that Government any more than Cromwell's actings upon King Charles' Government; and, moreover, there was no such cruelties exercised, as the copy set before the common people by the clergy contained. The moral and moderate clergy were very civilly used; and if the profane, the firebrands and instigators of all the barbarities so fresh in the people's memories, met with some wholesome severities, it is not much to be wondered at; and, considering the confusion of the time, and hand that persons that never joined with Presbyterians might have, it may be matter of admiration, that the provoked people ran not a far greater

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length. The foolish plea of persecution, in the pamphlets of *Monro*,¹ *Canaries*,² and other pens of the party about them, is fully answered by *Dr Rule*, and several others, in print, and *Defoe*. *Mr Redpath*, who was also concerned in those debates, can give your friend much assistance in his design, and I dare say will be most willing.³

¹ *Dr Alexander Monro* was Principal of Edinburgh University before the Revolution; but, in 1690, he was deprived of that office. Numerous charges were laid against him, the chief of which were, his having renounced the Protestant religion when abroad, his disaffection to the Government, and refusing to sign the Confession of Faith. He was a violent controversialist.—(See his *Presbyterian Inquisition*, London, 1691.)

² *Dr James Canaries* was formerly minister of *Selkirk*, and one of the most distinguished writers against the Presbyterians. In 1686, he gave great offence to the Chancellor, by preaching against Popery in the High Church of Edinburgh. (*Skinner's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 502.)—This sermon he published, with a letter in vindication of himself. *Dr Canaries* states in this letter, that in early life he went abroad, and was converted to Popery "by the sophistry of some Jesuits;" but, about three years after, he was "brought back to that pure and reasonable religion from which he had so foolishly apostatized." It does not appear that he was ever in orders in the Romish Church.—(*Monro's Apology for the Clergy of Scotland*, p. 105.)—After his return to Protestantism, he published a treatise on the Popish controversy. He wrote bitterly against the Presbyterians. The title of one of his pieces is, "A Scourge for the Presbyterian's Back."

³ *Mr George Ridpath* suffered imprisonment and banishment, when a young man at the College of Edinburgh, in 1681, for the share he had, with his fellow-students, in the youthful frolic of burning the Pope's effigy. He retired to London, where, being in poor circumstances, though respectably connected, he supported himself by private teaching, and by other literary occupations. His opponents styled him,—"*Mr George Ridpath*, newsmonger, near *St Martin's-in-the-Fields*.—(See *Spirit of Calumny and Slander*, in a *Letter to a Malicious Libeller*, supposed to be the production of *Dr Monro*, London, 1693.) This appellation *Ridpath* did not disclaim. "Nor is *Mr Ridpath* ashamed to own, that it's part of his business to write news, and give as true an account of occurrences as he can; for which he knows your party bears him a grudge, because he hath often obviated the malicious reflections and seditious news of your newsmonger-general against the present Government."—(*The Scots Episcopal Innocence, or the Juggling of that Party*, &c. By *Will. Laick*. p. 67. London, 1694.)—*Will. Laick* was the *nom de guerre* assumed by *Ridpath* in several of his productions. He was the author of the *Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence*, and the *Continuation of the Answer*, printed in 1693. Whatever may be thought of the spirit of these two productions, or the delicacy of their disclosures, it is certain that abundant provocation was given by the obscene and scurrilous pamphlet to which they were answers. His opponents, stung to the quick on finding their own weapons so successfully turned against them, poured out their wrath on their castigatour in the most unmeasured abuse. *Mr Ridpath* seems to have been

Before I come to hint at a particular account or two, I shall a little consider what I hear is advanced by Mr Greenshields' friends, and those that no doubt would have in a legal toleration to the English Liturgy among us in Scotland : That the severities of the Presbyterians did exasperate the prelates at King William's and Queen Mary's Government, and I hear now they make all pretences to the greatest of loyalty.¹ 1. It would [should] be remarked, that many severities that they met with were in the interval of time between the secession and abdication of King James, and the settlement of the government upon King William and Queen Mary. 2dly, Any severity they met with afterwards was drawn upon them by their own affection to the abdicated King and a French interest, by which they expected to get him back, and upon which many of them yet found their hopes as to his pretended son. And the severities they met with from the government are so small, that I heartily wish they were condescended upon; and there shall be a parallel in readiness from the former government to counter them with. 3dly, What principles their loyalty to the Queen can run upon, which would not have led them to own her sister and King William, is what remains a mystery in Scotland. 4thly, Their loyalty to the Queen must be all in their breasts, *in petto*, for none of it is expressed in their prayers, which still run in the general for our lawful superiors and the royal family. And those that do pray for her materially are only some few that, when their hopes from France begun to decay, from the yearly successes of the confederates abroad, and the disappointment of several of their traitorous projects at home, have changed hands, and especially since the

a man of some talent, and had acquired a good English style, which, together with his knowledge of the history of the Persecution, enabled him to render efficient assistance to Wodrow in his History. He published some able tracts on the Union.

¹ Wodrow seems to refer here particularly to a pamphlet published at London in 1711, entitled, "The Case of Mr Greenshields, fully Stated and Discussed, in a Letter from a Commoner of North Britain to an English Peer." The author of this tract attempts to vindicate the Scottish Episcopalians from the charge of disloyalty and rebellion, by ascribing their political disaffection to the treatment they met with from the Presbyterians.

Union, have truckled in with a party of the Bishops in England, and do now pretend a mighty zeal for the English forms and ceremonies, which not only their predecessors, under prelacy in Scotland, but likewise many of themselves, openly declared their dissatisfaction with. And this is the real foundation of their present loyalty, and, by a changing their principles, they resolve to gratify their new patrons.

I shall now, according to your desire, give you some more particular account of particular cruelties the Episcopal party exercised towards the Presbyterians, when the power was in their hands. I hope shortly some larger account of this may be published; and I can almost only point at the papers already in print, which contain several considerable instances of this nature, but not the tythe, nay, not the millesima of what might be adduced. Naphali, and the paper entitled Samson's Riddle, give considerable swatches of the prelatie spirit towards the Presbyterians. The Grievances and Sufferings of the Cameronians hath a very lamentable account of the cruelties of the late times. The Scottish Inquisition, printed 1689, gives many general hints, which can be all amplified by particular instances. But that I may not refer you altogether to others, I shall instance two or three passages I have attested accounts of just now in my hands, where[*of*] I send you the exact double.

The first is a letter from a person of worth, sense, and credit, in Galloway, in the beginning of the year 1666. I shall only give you the sums and persons in bulk, for shortness; the particular parishes and families would take too much room. In the spring 1666, from the stewartry of Galloway, the soldiers under Sir James Turner exacted from ninety-one families, many of them poor, 47,860 lb. Scots; from forty-one persons in the sheriffdom of Niddale, 29,260 lb.; and all this beyond the expense of cess and quarter for fines, and other losses, which, in a modest computation, will come to as much. *Ex ungue leonem.*

In the year 1686, there was exacted from about twenty persons, farmers and tenants, all of them very mean, by the Baron Bailie,

for their being present at meetings for prayer, and refusing conformity to their Episcopal incumbent, the sum of 930.04.00, and that without any process in law, but the Bailie sent for them, and ordered, *brevi manu*, that against such a day they pay him such a sum.

James Gray of Chryston, in the same parish, for ten years' time endured very illegal and heavy harassings, to the utter ruin of his family, and any small estate he had, and all for refusing to join in conformity; but accounts of this nature would be endless.

Therefore, I conclude with a copy of an account of the inhuman and barbarous murder, in cold blood, at Polmady, within a mile of Glasgow, which I give you from the subscribed account by the two persons that were called to be present. It's in their own words, and what they are ready to depone, if called. It is as follows, (*vide account.*¹) This is all I can give you upon so short a warning. I am yours, &c.

R. W.

March 13, 1711.

¹ The scene referred to, which took place in 1685, at Polmadie Mill, will be found in Wodrow's History, vol. iv. p. 250, book iii. ch. 9. It is a shocking account. Three poor men are dragged from their looms in their working clothes; one of them, for not obeying the first order, is struck in the face with a horse-whip till the blood gushed out, so as to prevent him speaking. And solely "because they would not pray for God's Vicegerent," James VII., the whole three, within an hour after their apprehension, are shot, one after the other, by the orders of one Major Balfour. After perpetrating this murder, "they drew off some of their clothes, saying they might do good to a soldier; but when they perceived their dogs licking the slain men's blood, they cast them on the corpse again, and ordered us to go our way, and tell what we had seen."

LETTER LXV.

MY LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1711.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

Edinburgh, May 10, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—This day we had an excellent sermon by Mr Mitchell, upon Zech. vi. 13, upon the regal power of Christ in his Church. It were a pity but it were printed, but the sermons that are most proper for the press do not readily come there. After the commissions of the different Presbyteries were read, and the rolls made up, there were put in the leet for the Moderator, Mr W. Carstairs, Mr Andrew Roger, Mr Thomas Blackwell, Mr George Turnbull. Mr Carstairs carried it almost unanimously; I think there were not ten votes squandered from him. The Commissioner² published his commission in common form; the Queen's letter was read. It's just in the common style, with assurances of her maintaining us in our rights according to law, and commending the former harmony and unanimity, and recommending the planting of Churches and bearing down of Popery.

The Commissioner began with an apology, and hoped the Assembly would pardon him in using papers, for he speaks what he said in the Queen's name; and so took out his papers, and read a pretty long speech. It was much of the ordinary style, full of the assurances of the Queen's firmness in the preservation of the government of this Church, and of apologies for himself, and a recommendation to show a willingness to take in such to our communion as were differing from us, and yet peaceable and learned, which usually is in the Queen's letter.

¹ From Wodrow MSS. vol. vi. Nos. 3—10, continued from p. 152.

² The Marquis of Annandale.

The Moderator answered in a long speech, which was certainly premeditated; to resume it were to wrong it, it was so well worded. After the usual compliments to the Queen and the Commissioner, he fell very roundly to descant upon the surmises that were industriously spread from South Britain, of a design to restore Patronages, which had no other effect but to convince all good Presbyterians of the Queen's firmness to this Church, and her wise management, and took the liberty to assure the Commissioner that the Presbyterians, though misrepresented by their enemies, as a mean, inconsiderable, and divided company, yet were her best subjects; he added, he never wished to live to see a trial who were the Queen's most loyal subjects, but did not doubt, if a change came, the world would soon see a difference between those that acted from a firm and solid principle, founded upon conscience, and those that, upon a turn, and to serve some particular ends, professed loyalty and respect; and much more to this purpose. He did take notice of a great cry raised among our neighbours anent the persecution towards the Episcopal clergy, and said he had so much to recriminate, (*quis tulerit Gracchos,*) that he feared might lead him beyond the due bounds of charity and temper he inclined to follow; but he was persuaded it was the most unaccountable cry ever was made. I remember, upon the Patronages, he said, that this Church could frankly rely on the assurances of the Queen, her intrinsic virtues and goodness, the standing laws, and the justice of a British Parliament, that none of their legally settled privileges would be broken in upon. But I wrong him, I fear, by giving you scraps of what he said. He was near a quarter of an hour. I scarce think that the freedom he used would either come so handsomely from, or been so well taken off, the hand of any member of the House as him.

¹ The reader may compare what is stated above with the account given of the opinions of Carstairs in his Life by Principal M'Cormick, and particularly p. 48; where, with the most unjustifiable freedom, he represents him as pleading the cause of Patronage, which, in fact, he used all his influence to get abolished, and against the restoration of which, in 1712, he solemnly protested.

Mr Osburn, the professor at Aberdeen, is dead about ten days since, and his loss is the greater, that one Dr Burnet, who was professor and Episcopal minister at Aberdeen, and was turned out for not qualifying, has since qualified, and the trades, they say, resolve to put him in next Lord's day, by a mob, into a church. The magistrates are against him, and there has been an express sent to my Lord Justice-Clerk, who is there this week; and if he do not interpose, it seemed there may be much disorder in that place. I hear little other news. Mr Blackwell is to succeed Mr Osburn, if Burnet can be got rid of. They expect a battle in slanders, and are begun to cannonade [each] other. I send a pamphlet, "Counsel to the Assembly," by Defoe. Send it to Mr Corse, and to my Lord. I am yours, &c.

LETTER LXVI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

Edinburgh, May 12, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday the Assembly met for prayer at nine of the clock. The Moderator began, Mr W. Hamilton, professor, Mr Andrew Rogers, Mr Mullikine, Mr Webster, Mr William Moncrief of Largo, and Mr Jo. Anderson of St Andrews, succeeded. The preachers before the Commissioner are, in the forenoon, Mr Robert Paton in Dumf[ries], and Mr George Turnbull in the afternoon. The Committee of Overtures met, and the draught of the Queen's letter was read, first at full length, and then paragraph by paragraph. It's much in the common style, except in two or three things. When that part of the letter relating to profanity comes

to be answered, they lament that, notwithstanding the good laws we have, it very much abounds, and that through want of care in those her Majesty employs, in order to the executing the laws, the expression is a little softer than I can now word it. When they come to the article anent the planting of vacant Churches, they tell the Queen that they are labouring to do it, but meet with very inhuman treatment in some places from those that are disaffected to the present establishment. The occasion of this is a great many lamentable representations from the North, and particularly one from Ross, Mr John Morison, minister of Gerloch, who, in April last, was transported to that place, (a parish of thirty miles in length,) and, when going to preach in ———, was met on the confines by a company of armed men belonging to Sir John M'Kenzie of Cowl, who forcibly carried Mr Morison off, and put him in a cottage with cattle, and kept him there with a guard two days, without meat or drink, or bed, or any thing, and the third day allowed him a little meat, but kept him still prisoner in that same place, without bed or any accommodation. And when the fifth day came, he was carried to Cowl's house, who owned to him that no Presbyterian should be placed in any place where he had influence or interest, unless the Queen's forces did it by the strong hand. He was told that they looked on Presbytery as dying, and would keep all the parishes they could vacant for their own ministers. This and profanity, and a hint anent patronages, are designed for the materials of a representation by the Assembly to the Queen. A third speciality in the answer is in the prayers at the close of the letter; they expressly name the Protestant succession, settled in the House of Hanover. And, upon this, my Lord Rosse moved, that the General Assembly might recommend it to all ministers, as they found occasion, to pray for the Princess Sophia, and that illustrious house. The present advocate, Mr Stirling, and Mr Mitchell, were sent out, and drew an overture anent it, which is to be put to the Assembly this day. They had likewise before them some overtures anent passing some of the larger overtures into acts, and remitting the rest of them to be published by some private hand.

Mr Orrock, who made such a bustle in Annandale last Assembly, is dead about ten days since.

This day the Assembly read the answer to the Queen's Letter, and voted it unanimously, and the Commissioner had a speech showing how much he was satisfied with their harmony, and that it was their strength, and would effectually break the designs of their enemies. To which the Moderator returned, in a pretty long speech, the sense the Assembly had of his kindness, and fell very brisk upon the dreadful barbarities in the north to the ministers in Ross. Then the Assembly voted the overture anent the family of Hanover, above spoken of, unanimously, after the Moderator had told them that it was not a form of prayer, but only designed to be a testimony against enemies to the constitution, and used only when they saw cause, and to stand on our records. Then the representation anent the rabbling and barbarous treatment of two ministers in Ross; after which the Commissioner made a speech, and said he could not have believed it, unless he had heard, that such inhumanities could have been used to men, let be ministers, in Scotland, and he was persuaded so to represent it to the Queen, as never the like should be heard again. It was remitted to a particular committee, and committees appointed for the Commission book and Synod books. I am yours,

R. W.

Pardon escapes; I want time to read it over.

LETTER LXVII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

Edinburgh, May 14, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—I design to miss no occasion that offers, though I have heard nothing from you since Thursday night; and so

having this bearer, John Pollock, coming west, I have writt. There was little in Sabbath's news. They say the Duke of Leeds is made President of the Council, who is a Tory, and a man beyond eighty years; but this is thought but to serve a turn till another be agreed upon. And Mrs Masham's son is made Cofferer, instead of my Lord Godolphin's son, the Lord Royalstown. There are some ships come in from Holland, who say they heard of an engagement in Flanders when they left Holland, but the particulars are kept secret, which makes the Jacobites pretend they have letters that there has been an engagement, and Marlborough is beat. Time must clear this. There are many want not their fears, because neither Platines nor Prussians are come up, and they say the allies are 30,000 short of Villars.

I have an account from Mr Blackwell of the rabble at Old Deer in March last, at the settling of Mr Gordon, son to Provost Gordon in Aberdeen. When a justice of peace was making patent doors in a strait pass, where the Presbytery, and about forty from Aberdeen, were waiting to get in, the people threw down great big stones upon them from the [roofs], and out of the houses, which did oblige the Aberdeen's-men to fire two guns, which dissipated the rabble, wounded some of them, but not dangerously. Unless there had been a seasonable interposition, there would have been bloody work, but the Presbytery retired. The business is like to be accommodate and taken up.¹

Mr Burnet was not Professor at Aberdeen, but only a minister put in by the late [Duke of] Perth. He was deprived and discharged the exercise of his ministry by the Parliament 1695, and banished from Aberdeen, ay and until he should take the Oaths of

¹ Wodrow gives a circumstantial account of this rabble in his *Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 187. It was got up by the Jacobites:—"The gentlemen are very much against a Presbyterian settlement; however, the presbytery went on, and fixed a day for his ordination." Then follows the account of the riot, concluding with—"The rabble rise and insult all the people in the place that were for Mr Gordon, and goe into the house, where some entertainment was prepared for the presbytery and company by Mr Gordon's friends, and bring out all the meat, and ale, and wine; and drink, as is said, the Pretender's health in the streets."

Allegiance and Assurance, and was the chief protester against the committee in the north, 1694. He took the oaths upon the Queen's accession; and his friends understand *until*, in the Act of Parliament, to refer unto his deposition and exercise of his ministry, as well as banishment. Upon which, several of the trades upon Mr Osburn's death, who came after him to his church and charge, petitioned the magistrates that he might be reponed to his charge, which they refused last week, and threatened to possess him last Lord's day of his church by force. The Commissioner has writt to the Magistrates and Justice-Clerk, (now there at the Circuit,) and the Advocate has likewise written to the same effect. And the late Advocate has sent up a consultation, declaring that *until* refers to his banishment, and the general exercise of his ministry, but that he was for ever deprived and discharged the exercise in that place. This was sent off by a council post on Friday last, if possible to prevent a rabble. He is an empty man, and a tool of his party. Mr Robert Barclay at Inverness has got a call to London, to L.200 a-year, and it's thought he may comply.

There is an odd rabble in the south, from the other side of the House, to come before the Assembly. Mr M'Gie is settled in Balmagic, and when at a burial there, it's said Mr M'Millan himself fell upon him, and struck at him, and his wife, and many women, fell on Mr M'Gie, and cried, Kill the dog; and with difficulty he escaped out of their hands. This forenoon the committee of overtures met, and had an act before them as to baptism. There was much reasoning anent admitting scandalous parents to present their own children, after once appearing; and the generality seemed to be against admitting of sponsors. It was remitted by Assembly to the several Presbyteries to bring in their sense of it. The afternoon the committee of instructions sat, and the classes of them was considered, where there are several things that, I fear, will breed work to the Assembly. The business of patronages, of fasts being appointed, and the redressing the English service, and the appointing of some persons to wait at London in time of Parliament, and look to the Church's interest. These things will cost

reasoning; and it may be some of them, with the horrid barbarities in the north, may be the matter of an address to the Queen.

At five the Assembly sat, where, after the minutes were read, Mr Thomas Paterson moved, that the Assembly might desire his Grace the Commissioner to allow that his speech at the opening of the Assembly might be printed, and ordered the Moderator's pertinent return to him to be printed with it. The Commissioner rose and said, that he did not know how far that had been customary formerly, and he did not like to have any thing of this nature bound over upon such as might follow after him, but as for any thing of his, the Assembly might dispose of it as they saw good. The matter was no more insisted on. What comes of it, I know not. After this, Mr Elder's business came in, and two pointed representations from the Presbytery of Wigtown and Synod of Galloway were read, and the Assembly entered on reading the process. They were not half through after eight at night, when I left them. I am your own

R. W.

Mr Mutter, who got a call to the parish of Cramond, upon his second trials, is remitted to his studies by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and has given up the call. This afternoon, in the sub-committee for instructions, there was a warm debate about the kirk-treasurer of Edinburgh; the ministers of Edinburgh declared it a grievance, but told they were with the magistrates upon methods to redress it. Mr Webster opened frankly upon it, and set it out in the blackest colours, as the bringing the price of a whore to the house of God, and laid out the unaccountable practices of those men that have no check upon them; they keep whores in pension to discover persons, and, without process, fine people of all ranks, and sometimes get 3000 merks from one person, and in their accounts give up but 300. It was said these were faults of persons, not the office, and the provost said, that the town gave out more money than they received, and if they were paid the balance they should drop it. It was sub-committed, where it is thought by some it will

be strangled. It is the blackest thing ever I heard. You have heard I suppose Mr M'Laren is transported almost unanimously last week to Edinburgh. He did not insist against it, and none of his parish appeared. I fear his life in this place be not so comfortable as I would wish him. But people say it's his own doing. It's near one in the morning, and time and paper fails.

¶ Dearest P[eggy,]—I continue very well. I see I will not get off this week. Let the horse be ready to come off on Tuesday come eight days, or Monday, so as to be here on Tuesday night. If I can get off sooner I shall write by post to-morrow and Thursday, or Saturday. Pray be as careful of yourself as I am, and send all your orders by post. Mr Stewart's little Tom I suspect is taking the pox. I am your own

ROB. WODROW.

LETTER LXVIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 15, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—I wrote at so much length yesternight that I have the less now to say. Yesternight, after I left the Assembly, which sat till near eleven at night, after reading Mr Elder's papers, there was some reasoning. Mr Hamilton, the professor, Mr Mitchell, Mr David Pitcairn, reasoned for him, and Mr Maitland. As many run against him. It came to a vote, to admit him to his oath of purification or not, and it carried, by a vast majority, Not admit. This morning the committee for instructions met, where there were reasonings for and against the naming of a fast; but the committee being thin they came to no issue. In the forenoon the overtures were upon directions for licensing probationers, and ordaining ministers, but came to no issue. At three the Assembly met, and Mr Elder's

business came on ; and he said, that now it was rendered impossible for him to clear himself of that scandal, and craved that the Assembly might allow his protestation to be recorded, which was hastily gone into ; and a committee appointed to consider what further censure was to be inflicted. Then the business of the annexation of some of our members, &c., to Argyle came in ; the papers were read ; the brethren of Argyle craved leave to see our representation, and to have some time allowed to answer it ; and said their work was so great, that if they got not some assistance one way or other, they behoved to lay down their charge at the Assembly's feet. The parties were removed ; the souch¹ of the Assembly seemed against them, and this annexation was looked on as impracticable ; and the Lord Ormistoun said, he fancied the brethren did not consider what they sought, and some of them thought they had abundance already to overlook their management of the bishops' rents. The Assembly agreed, that till next Assembly, they should try a correspondence, and appointed two more from our Synod to meet with them in August, and left the nomination to the brethren of Glasgow. Then the representation from Balmagie by the minister Mr M'Gie came in ; it shows that he was rabbled at a burial, as I wrote ; that Mr M'Millan struck at him, and his wife and other women fell upon him with stones, that he hardly escaped ; that when the heritors met anent the getting his possession of the church and glebe to him, Mr M'Millan summoned his adherents, and gathered for two days about the place where they were to meet. The Presbytery crave the Assembly may get Mr M'Gie legally settled. It's remitted to the committee for the rabbles of the north. The public news have little. We have many accounts that Marr is to be secretary in Queensberry's room. My service to all friends. I am your own

R. W.

¹ The *souch*, i. e. breath, or general feeling.

LETTER LXIX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 16.

MY DEAR,—This day the Assembly appointed Mr Blackwell and Mr Logan of Alloway to preach next Sabbath. Mr Wright was appointed yesterday, but this day was excused by reason of his valetudinarieness, which is but *a propos*.

The business of Mr Elder is not come in yet, but for any thing I hear, the sub-committee is of opinion that no more be done than is, and matters be let stand as they are. There is a great noise about it in town, and I am told that Pitcairn and the Faculty have drawn up a paper, which is in the press, with a declaration that a child may be brought forth in the fourth month, and six and twenty days. There is a famed story advanced by the Duchess of Buccleuch, of a lady of her acquaintance in England, who was very virtuous, who was brought to bed of a child in the beginning of the fifth month; her husband left her for some years; her carriage was so pious and convincing, that, by consent of her and his friends, he took her home again, and that day five months she was brought to bed of another perfect child, though weakly. I find instances given of many living children in the beginning of the sixth month yet alive; some in the tenth, and some in the twelfth month.

This day there was a business from Dundee and Forfar anent the transportation of a minister, who, for two years, has had no body to hear him, because an intruder, Mr Achterlony,¹ who has an estate in the parish, hinders the people to hear him, and preaches to them. It's thought he has procured this call to him from a neighbouring

¹ Mr John Auchterlonie, or Ouchterlonie, was, at this time, Episcopal minister at Aberlemno, from which place he was removed in 1726 to Dundee, and in the same year he was made a Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal communion.

parish to be rid of him from the kirk and manse ; none of the heritors agree in this call ; they have no elders in the parish ; the present advocate is concerned in the parish he is sought to. The main stop is, this call of some few of the people is not (though moderated) declared by the Presbytery to be legal: The Synod, indeed, have advised the Presbytery concerned to concur in it, and they have sent a commissioner to prosecute it ; but they have not declared it legal, because of several informalities in it. It seems to be feared, that if he were transported on this popular call, the heritors refuse to pay him the stipend. It seems to be feared, likewise, that the parish he comes from be rendered for ever inaccessible by the intruder, Mr Auchterlony. The Advocate presses his transportation very much, and says the Presbytery's admission will, with this call, found a legal right to the stipend ; many seem to be of the mind that he needs a Presbyterial call upon the *jus devolutum*, to give him a right to the stipend. It's remitted to a committee to confer upon it.

Then the business of Auchtergavall, wherein one Mr Stewart is called, who is cousin-german to my Lord Nairn's lady. The Presbytery of Dunkeld were for the call, except two, who protested, by the last year's act. The Synod of Stirling were made judges, who examined Mr Stewart, and found him qualified for the ministry, and one that might be useful in some Highland congregation, but not fit for that post ; and even this carried but scrimply in the Synod. The Duke of Athol, by his friend, concerned himself much in it, and has promised to settle him in a Highland congregation very shortly, if he may be gratified in this. The Assembly, by their vote, settled him at that parish. When the papers began to be read, they had very harsh reflections. The Synod's answers termed my Lord Nairn disaffected to the present constitution. The parish's answers termed the Synod jugglers in the affair ; upon which it was moved, that the committee of bills were to be blamed for transmitting those papers. It was answered that they could not (nor parties either) alter principal papers that came before them. Upon which the Assembly stopped the reading of papers, and delivered them

back to the parties, and ordered them either to come in at another diet with them amended, or lay them aside, and reason by word of mouth, without personal reflections; which was gone into, and the affair very much shortened that way, and yet set in its fair light.

May 17.

This day, in the forenoon, the committee for instructions met, and, indeed, it was a committee of the whole House. The first thing that came before them was the business of patronages. It was urged, on the one hand, that nothing had been done in either Houses of Parliament anent it, and the Assembly asserting the sinfulness of them, or their aversion to them by an act, or their representing this matter in an address to the Queen, would but be a handle to our enemies to act upon, and do no service at all; that the Presbytery of Edinburgh and Synod of Glasgow had applied in the proper season, and discovered to the Queen the sentiments of many. On the other hand, it was urged that some national deed of this Church was proper, that it was pretended patronages were no infraction upon Presbyterian principles, because Presbytery did stand when they were in being, and yet the Church had not given their sense in this affair that did so nearly affect our constitution; that it might be done without giving a handle to enemies, by way of thanks to the Queen for her care of us, and by declaring our confidence in the legal security we had by our laws. This matter was referred to be given as an instruction to the Commission to look to it.

The business of a legal toleration to Episcopacy was not insisted on. The business of a fast cost a long debate; and there was some warmth between my Lord Ormiston and Mr Webster. It was urged for a fast that the Church ought to exercise her own power. It was said, that was not doubted, and exercised last year. It was urged that every Assembly appointed a fast. This was denied. It was urged that this appointment would help to keep fasts better appointed by the magistrate. It was urged that the not keeping these did flow from our debates about them. It was urged that there were causes now for appointing a fast, and particularly the

continuance of former causes, and the barbarities in the north. It was urged that the continuance of former causes would be ground of a fast every month, and the business of the north was not proven. Against a fast it was urged, that we had two within these three months, that it would be said that the appointment of a fast was only to exercise our powers, that it would create strife, that there were no special causes, and fasting was an extraordinary duty, and needed evident causes that were not matter of debate, that would be felt, and then every body should run to it. I think this will end in a recommendation to the Commission. There was a sub-committee anent censuring non-observing ministers of fasts. They agreed to let bygones be bygones ; that afterwards they should be called to an account by the Presbytery, and if they cannot be prevailed with there to keep, referred to the Commission.

I hear the committee anent Mr Elder have agreed that no further censure be gone into, but the suspension continued, and the parish supplied, till next Assembly ; when Providence may perhaps clear the way. They would have dissolved the relation, but it's said it cannot, or, at least, was never done without a minister's consent. And the presumptions will not infer a deposition.

The business of the rabble at Old Deer is taken up. My Lord Justice-Clerk has brought the heritors of that parish to an accommodation, to receive Mr Gordon peaceably next Sabbath, to pay the expenses of the process, to oblige the principal rabblers to stand before the congregation, and give security for the rest's good behaviour. This day the Assembly met, and fell upon the Commission book, which was approven, except as to Mr Elder's business, which lies out in the attestation. There was some debate anent the affair of Legerwood, and their citing the Presbytery without instructions, but it was dropped. After that they fell upon Aberlemno, and unanimously transported that minister from that parish where Auchterlony is, and the Advocate (whose factor he is) promised that he should not preach there. Mr Robert Barclay's petition for an act of transportability from Inverness is at present (nine of the clock) before them ; he complains of great grievances ; but the view seems

to be in case to embrace the call of London. This afternoon, in the Committee of Overtures, the overtures anent ordination of ministers, and elders, and probationers, were agreed upon as a directory, not as standing acts. And since there are complaints come in from the English officers, that they cannot get their children baptized privately, nor without owning our Confession of Faith and Catechism, which they know not, and that representations anent this are come from Court; there is a general overture, recommended to a committee of five or six, to be brought in, recommending all proper gaining methods to be used to persons of another education and communion, in admitting to baptism and church privileges, as said, otherwise they will bring their own ministers down. Harley, they say, is by this time treasurer, Buckingham president, Benson in Harly's room. They talk the fears of an invasion are over; and that patronages will certainly be brought in next Parliament.

My Dearest Peggy, I am longing to hear from you. I fancy the Assembly may rise upon Tuesday or Wednesday next. So let my horse come in to me some time on Tuesday. He may either come off on Monday, and stay a night by the way, or on Tuesday morning and come through, as Johnny pleases, but I think the first best. My service to all friends. Send me all your commands, by the post on Friday, for I think to have little time after Tuesday to stay, unless unforeseen debates fall in, which I wish may not. Pray take a care of yourself, and let me know how the little ones are. Mr Stewart's little Tom has a fever, and the child is fat, and is feared. He is this night rather better than worse. I hope on Tuesday the Assembly may rise; and you need not doubt but I shall haste home. I have yours this night, which is very acceptable. I wish you may not wait my conveniency to send Mary to Thorntown, but, if it be proper, send her there, the sooner the better. I hope you have your mother's advice for it. Send me word with Johnny what placks to buy for M[ary]. Sir Robert Pollock is come to town this night from London. I am, in haste, your own

R. W.

Please pardon escapes; I want time to read this over.

LETTER LXX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

Edinburgh, May 18, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—This morning I saw a letter from Mr Harley, dated the 10th of this month. He writes with much piety, and has much of strain of the Scripture; it's much to this purpose, he tells the person he writes to, that though he be recovered of his wound,¹ yet he is not strong enough against this rainy weather, else he would have written at greater length. But he hopes that God, who had delivered him, would yet deliver him; he is pleased to say that he does very much owe this to the prayers of the person he writes to, and other good men, and he wishes that he, who has delivered his soul from death, may keep his feet from falling, that he may walk before him in the land, &c.; and wishes he may be enabled to do his duty to God, his Queen, and country, and that he may be caused to know the way wherein he should walk. He adds, that he may assure himself the Queen, and those that have the honour to advise her, will be so far from breaking the Union, or taking away any of the settlement of this Church, that she will not so much as give ear to a motion this way. And as to the surmises of the restoring of patronages, he was allowed by the Queen to let him and his friends know, that although two warm men had made some noise about it, yet she would never attend to any motions made that way; that the grant to the colleges should be particularly renewed, as soon as the act anent the post-office was passed. This is very near the words of the letter.

¹ This refers to the attempt made upon Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, by one Guiscard, who, on being examined before the Council, stabbed Harley in the breast with a pen-knife, on the 8th of March 1711.

The committee for instructions did meet at nine. They had the business of the English service before them, and found they could, in an ecclesiastical way, do no more than the Assembly had done. The business of Popery came on, and the Advocate proposed several things anent it; the great fault was found in the inferior officers, sheriffs, and justices of peace, who refused to give assistance, and looked over the priests after they were banished, and yet returned. For these the Advocate moved they should be instrumented, if they refused justice, and the instrument sent up to him, and he would raise a libel against them. He promised likewise to form a libel anent the robbery in the affair of Gerloch, as soon as witnesses were sent up. This afternoon there was little before the Committee of Overtures, but a relation of what had been in the Committee of Instructions; when the Assembly was read, the names of the committee for appointing the Commission were read and agreed to; Mr Wallace and Mr Menzies appointed to correspond with Argyle Synod; and then Mr Elder's business came in. The committee appointed to consider what further was to be done, brought in this overture, that, considering that Mr Elder had married a woman who had been under scandal, contrary to the advice of the Presbytery; that he had offered to go to Ireland with his wife before the birth, which he did not offer afterwards; that a child being brought forth four months and twenty-six days after marriage, he had owned himself the father of the child; and asserted, that even after his oath of purgation he would still assert himself the father of the child; that when his wife emitted an ultroneous oath as to her innocency, before the congregation, where the sentence of suspension was intimated, Mr Elder homologated her, and said he was ready, when called, to give his oath to the same purpose, the Assembly should put it to the vote, whether, Loose his relation to his parish, or Depose him. There was long and much reasoning upon this head. Many spoke against Mr Elder. Mr Ja. Maitlan, in the Synod of Aberdeen, took on him to repel all the grounds of a new censure, and upon his marrying a woman that had been under scandal, he said this was a ground

of pity, and might be made use of as an argument of Mr Elder's goodness. There he was interrupted by many, and it was moved he should be censured, as giving occasion to persons to reproach, and making us the song of drunkards. He was first heard out in what he had to say against the proposed overture, then he was removed and ordered to be rebuked, and the more that he had been rebuked before by a former Assembly for advancing things that were unwarrantable, and his rebuke inserted in the records. Then there was a long debate anent the state of a vote; many were for delaying this affair till another Assembly, and continuing the sentence of suspension, and dealing with him and his wife to give a true father. Others were for the state of the vote as above; and so, after Mr Elder was called in and protested his innocence, the first vote was, Proceed or Delay, and it carried Proceed, by thirty-one votes. Then Mr W. Mitchell desired the Assembly to consider what would be the consequence of Mr Elder's relation its being loosed; he would be minister of the Church, and yet excommunicated on the matter. He is for favour to him, and this I fancy helped on the vote, which was, Loose his relation, or Depose. It carried Depose, by eight votes. Many did not vote, and many *proceeds* were for loosing his relation. When the sentence was intimated, he said that he prayed God might forgive this Assembly for passing such a sentence on an innocent man, who had confessed nothing, and had nothing proven against him, and he wished that some remarkable judgment might not come upon the Assembly for this sentence. Thus he blustered till his last [conclusion,] which was very unsatisfying. Just in time of the Assembly's stating the vote, a printed paper came in to the throne, Dr Dixon's letter to Principal Stirling, which comes along with this to you. Mr Barclay of Inverness was refused an act of transportability, and his grievances referred to the Commission. This did not please Cumingtown, and he alleged this act bound his grievances on him, and craved that this might be dropt out of the minutes, which was not granted.

May 19.—This day, at nine, the Assembly sat, and Mr George

Mair's business came in, the call of Closeburn, and the reasons of the Synod of Dumfries against Mr Mair's coming there, were read, and after long reasoning, and some account that Mr Mair himself was called to give of some pieces of his carriage, it was put to the vote, Approve of the sentence of the Synod, in laying aside the call, or Not, and it carried Not by a vast plurality. It being near two of the clock, it was moved Adjourn or Proceed, and it carried Adjourn. I saw a letter this day from the Duke of Athol, who says that Parliament will not rise till the first of June at soonest.

LETTER LXXI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—On Saturday night, after I had writt, the committee for overtures met, and it was reported from their sub-committee, that were appointed to consider what censure to put upon ministers who observe not fasts appointed by the magistrates, that they had conversed with the brethren (two of them being here) who did not keep, and though they had not entirely removed their scruples, yet they hoped they had gained some ground; and, therefore, though at first it was overtured that bygones should be bygones, but that the next failure the Presbytery should sist them before them, and if not prevailed with, they were to be cited before the Commission, and they were to proceed as they found cause, yet they were for lenity, and dropping all till next Assembly. The brethren, some of them had their scruples from themselves, some of them from their brethren, and some from the matter of the fast, praying for perpetual prosperity. It was alleged that the ministers' scruples occasioned people's scruples; and, as to the last, that it was only in their defence of the civil rights, and against

France. The brethren allege that they are not dealt tenderly with by the Synod of Dumfries, and that when a conference was synodically proposed, they did not go in to it, but would only do it in write, and they would have those that kept it give their scriptural reasons, and they would answer. The reason they allege was, that they were misrepresented, their words perverted, and that some of the Synod had delated them to the civil magistrate for not keeping fasts, anent which their conscience scrupled. It was proposed, for remedying this, that it be recommended to Presbyteries, if they can meet to draw up causes. Upon the whole, the matter was dropped.

Then the representation anent the rabble at Balmagie came in. As to the rabble, it was remitted again to the committee that had the rabbles for the north. Mr Webster pressed violently, and some others, that the Assembly should consider what was proper to be done further with Mr M'Millan, in an ecclesiastic way, and excommunication was pressed very much. It was said that he was declared by the Assembly to be not of our communion, and so his disorders were not to be lodged at the Church's door. And that unless the civil magistrate did his part, no more could be done. That it would be hard to get him cited, for a list of witnesses behoved to be given him, and he cited to compear before the Commission, before the witnesses' oaths could be taken as to his disorders since his deposition; and that when persons were sent before, they were rabbled, and when they had taken instruments, they obliged them to tear the instrument. Upon the other hand, it was alleged, that this Church could not be answerable for suffering such contumacy to go unpunished; that they could not prosecute others for contumacy when they let him alone; that there might be just ground to question the validity of the baptism he administrate since he was deposed *ab officio*; that no church but this ever had tolerate such an open scandal. It was urged that a Presbytery's taking notice of him was not competent, because his offence was national, and he was to be proceeded further with to censure, either by the Assembly or Commission. It was moved,

that because it was hard to get witnesses in to Edinburgh, it might be remitted to the Presbytery where he was, to go on to excommunication, or to take the proofs, and send them in to the Commission. It was alleged, that oaths taken before one judicatory were not probatory before another, (in civil law,) unless that judicatory passed sentence, or else had a commission or deputation from that other higher judicatory. At length it came to this overture, that all Presbyteries should send in the informations to the Commission; that they should give commission to the Presbytery where he was to cite him before them; and if he appeared not, to take the depositions, and send them in to the Commission. But all this, as it did before, so now, I suspect, will come to nothing.

Then, at seven o'clock at night, the committee for drawing up instructions for the Commission met. The instructions, I think, will be as before, general. In the entry, the Moderator represented his mind very fully anent the Commission, and alleged that it was extremely useful, yet it needed to be restricted. That it was evident the Commission had this year (in Mr Elder's case and Mr Mair's) altered their own sentences, and done things that certainly did contradict one another, at their different meetings; that if a Moderator were willing, he might signify to some members to come up, and so get the Commission to vote what he pleased; that members of the Commission (*vires et mediis*) had procured, upon particular matters, a particular set of members that came up for their purpose; and that in weighty affairs it was hard, that under the general of the Church's good, public concerns of the Church should be carried by a majority of twenty-one. It was observed, that from the Revolution till King William's death, the quorum was three ministers; that then it was increased to thirteen, then to twenty-one. It was now agreed to be thirty-one. It was proposed that this quorum should only relate to matters of general concern, in which they were not particularly instructed. But the quorum is extended to all cases. It was overtured, likewise, that in all the matters of consequence, when the Assembly had heard

parties, and reasoned on the affair, they should not determine it till their next diet, because the heat of reasoning might run persons into some haste in their vote. This was generally agreed to, but said to be proper for the overtures. Upon the Sabbath Mr Blackwell preached. He lectured on the 13th Psalm, where, upon David's case, he brought in a hint on the Protestant succession, and made this psalm to be penned on the opposition made to David's succession to the throne. His sermon was from Mat. v. 17, where he had a short compend of his printed book, and endeavoured to show that revelation was not contrary to reason. Some alleged it was not at all from his text. In the afternoon, Mr Jo. Logan of Alloway preached on Mat. i. 21.

This day, at ten, the Assembly met. The affair of Closeburn came in again. The parties came in, the Synod of Dumfries, and one for the parish, and another for the D. of Queensberry. The Synod did, at great length, insist against the legality of that call, as being protested against, though not at its moderation, and several other things; and the D. of Queensberry's advocate insisted that the callers had not taken the Oaths. This was not insisted on; only it was answered, this was not required at the time, else it had been done. After the parties were put out, it was reasoned with great warmth. The Advocate urged, that the not taking the Oaths when required made the call illegal, and he could not enjoy the stipend if this was protested against. Mr Webster turned warm upon this. It was urged, upon the other hand, that the Assembly had found by their vote the Synod not to be approved in laying aside the call, and so it was determined. To this it was said, that the Assembly's vote did run upon the Synod's laying aside the matter upon exceptions against Mr Mair, which were repelled. At length it came to a vote, Determine now, or Sub-commit, and it carried Commit, and it came to the committee of overtures. Then the queries at licensing, ordination, and admission, were passed; and the act anent *jure devoluto* calls, qualifying them, was remitted as an overture to the next Assembly. In the afternoon, the committee of overtures met, and there was as much chican

[chicane] as ever I saw. The legality of Mr Mair's call was debated, because the Commission had ordered the moderating it, which was alleged to be beyond their instructions, and to be an encroachment on the radical power of Presbyteries. They had a power to transport, but not to moderate a call. It was alleged the Assembly had already approved the Commission book. It was alleged to this, that the Commission was only approved upon the faith of the visitors, and that the form of the approbation did not impart an approbation of every step. It was alleged to this, that the thing was done, and could not be overturned. The Assembly might censure the Commission for their wrong proceedings, but what they had done would not be made a nullity, since it had taken place. It was urged that the overdrawing of a call, contrary to a protestation, in Crawfordjohn, had been the occasion of the attempt upon patronages. After long reasoning, it was voted, Determine this affair, or Not, and it carried Not. Then it was voted, Remit this affair back to the Presbytery of Penpont, or To them with a committee, and it carried With a committee. Then they fell to debate upon the instructions to that committee, and agreed that all parties should be heard; and when they fell upon other instructions, the Assembly's hour came on. When the Assembly met, they read the Commission's names and their instructions, which passed unanimously, in the ordinary form, with the alterations named on Saturday. Mr M'Millan's affair was remitted to them, and the planting of Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Then Closeburn affair came in, and there was a great debate whether the committee should give in their report, because not completed. At length it was agreed that they should sit again to-morrow, and finish. Then there were many matters referred to the Commission, and the Synod books came on, and many were gone through.

The peace with the Hungarians is concluded. The talk of an invasion is renewed. There has been great cannonading for the whole 19th inst. N. S. heard at Brussels. Mr Scott is not to be Lord of the Session, as was talked, but he has got instructions to be Envoy to Poland, and is to have L.3000 expenses, and Sir

William Calderwood is to be Lord of the Session. There is some little talk that the late Advocate is to be put in his place again. Queensberry will certainly go out. The author of the North Tatler is one Robert Hepburn, a youth, that last year came out of college. When called [upon] by Mr W. C. he did not own it; and when he said, at parting, I hope you do not take it ill that I have used this freedom with you, Mr Hepburn returned, If I suspected that you had really the thoughts, I would take such freedom ill; I would look on myself as a very ill man.

R. W.

LETTER LXXII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1711.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 8.

Edinburgh, May 22, 1711.

MY DEAREST,—This forenoon the committee of overtures met, and they had Mr Mair's business before them; the instructions that were to be given to the committee that was to go to join with the Presbytery of Penpont. Many instructions were offered to break the design. At last it was agreed the Duke of Queensberry should be writt to, all parties concerned heard against the call, and that they should determine agreeably to the rules of this Church. In the afternoon the Assembly met, and very long time was spent in debating this matter of Mr Mair's going to Closeburn. It was urged that Mr Mair might clear himself as to the doctrine anent the conditionality of the covenant; it was alleged that he had never been accused, and a clause was offered that the committee should particularly consider the act anent corruption in doctrine. The Synod of Dumfries read a paper declaring their sense of the hazard of Mr

Mair's coming to those bounds. At length the vote was stated, Lay aside the call, or Approve the committee's overture, and it carried Approve, by two and thirty. Then the committee was appointed, nine, to act in conjunction with the Presbytery of Penpont. No quorum was named; whoever came up were a quorum, being to act in conjunction with the Presbytery; a radical judicatory, and they behoved not to make a quorum in that case. The committee is Mr Hunter of Ayr, Mr Andrew Rogers, Mr James Webster, Mr Haddo of St Andrews, Mr Horsburgh, Mr Walker, and three others. Mr Jo. Gray of Dollar. No ruling elders. Thus this affair, that has cost three days, is ended.

Mr Elder, yesterday, gave in a petition that it might be referred to the Commission to take off his sentence of deposition, if they found cause; and begging pardon for his expression when the sentence of the Assembly was intimated to him. There is much talk anent the refusing him his oath of purgation. I find the late Advocate very positive that his oath could not be taken. He alleges an oath of purgation is a part of the process, that is entirely in a judicatory's hands, and does not lie at the claim of the party. He alleges that an oath of purgation ought not to be taken when there are any considerable presumptions of a party's guilt, for this is to lead to the temptation of perjury, and raises a scandal worse than it takes away. He says, the only case when an oath of purgation is to be taken, is when a person is very little suspected by those that know him best, and then it's only persons at distance, that know not circumstances, have some groundless jealousies; and it is for the clearing of himself as to these that the oath is to be taken; but if there be deep jealousies of him, or any considerable presumptions, it should not be taken. He alleges that that Scripture, "An oath is an end of controversy," has no relation to scandal, but *meum* and *tuum*, and is no Scripture ground for an oath; that the case of the matter of jealousy is the only instance that comes up to the case of our ordinary oaths of purgation, and the Lord only instituted that, with a miracle annexed to it, to discover the falsity and truth of the oath, and unless there were such a miracle now to be expected it cannot prove;

that the only instance he knows is Paul's saying, "Before God I lie not," and the like places, which do not suppose any scandal or presumptions of guilt in the Apostle Paul, but only for [removing] of mistakes in some that did not know the Apostle; but those that knew him best had no jealousies. He says he was utterly against the allowing oaths of purgation, and reasoned against it when the form of process was agreed upon; that in his draught of the form of process (which was first printed) they were not in it. He alleges further, in this case of Mr Elder, that though he be justly deposed, yet he is not under scandal, and may be admitted to sealing ordinances, upon the offering his oath, though refused. It's the presumptions that do render him incapable for the ministry, but they do not lay him under scandal. This last I do not understand.

This day the Assembly voted the acts anent admission of probationers, and questions to ministers and intrants were voted and passed. It was urged that the binding up of Presbyteries from licensing till the judgment of the Synod was known and had with respect to the young men, did infringe the radical power of Presbyteries. But it was thought necessary to keep that in at this juncture. It was asked, If this formula did exclude all other questions at intrants? It was answered, It did. But there might be questions anent errors, &c., proposed in private trials. Mr Anderson of St Andrews alleged there were several questions ordinarily proposed, (I suspect it was as to prelacy and the covenants,) that were not there, and it was not proper to insist much on them, but he thought it hard to bind up persons to these only. It was answered, that all these were included in the general, if they believed the Scripture and Confession of Faith, and that a uniformity of queries was proper; and any that condescended upon particulars, if they were included in the generals, they were to do it *sub periculo*. Several overtures were transmitted to Presbyteries, and some things remitted to the Commission, and the Synod books were ended. The Queen's return to the Assembly's letter being come, they will rise to-morrow in the forenoon.

LETTER LXXIII.

REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES.

For Mr John Gib, Minister at Cleish.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 1st of October only this night, and must send away this to Mr Harper to-morrow morning. This is all my excuse for answering your large and most acceptable account of things with so short a line. Yet though I should say but little, I could not but let you know how satisfying yours is to me. I cannot but challenge you for your compliments, at the beginning and end, as to my last to you, and must require you, by the laws of friendship, to leave them off. I have no time, and not much strength, to make any return to your account of the state of religion in your bounds; the coincidency of our evils makes me suspect our stroke will be general and universal. As soon as I can have any occasion to you, you shall have my thoughts, such as they are, upon the whole. And I entreat you may cause any of your acquaintance that come to Glasgow, with whom I expect you will not fail to write, cause Mr Harper send out yours to me by express, in case he get not an occasion presently, and I'll pay. Pray miss no opportunity; if you knew how refreshing yours are to me, I am sure you would miss no occasion.

I cannot but in a special manner thank you for your accounts of remarkable providences. You need not fear my mentioning names of persons of note; if I ever come to put my collections of providences, which I am but gathering, and will take a time to gather, and put in order in a method, I shall take care of any thing that may be offensive; I want nothing but the time and year in which they fell out, especially anent Love and Shaw; the other two are

remarkable, but we have many instances of late, and elder [earlier;] the Laird of Malsty, and his cousin Stonebires, and, last month, the Laird of Bishopton, all died violently, after drunken cabals. However, fail not to let me have as many other instances as occur. And let me have the time of Mr Campbell's death; and if you have signified to Mr James Walker your communicating his accounts with me, pray return my humble thanks to him, and obtest him, as he loves the memory of that precious, and I think prophetic, saint, to retrieve as much as can be relating to him.

I once saw Mr A. H. Catechism, but had but half an hour of it. A copy will be most acceptable. I could not procure a copy of dear Mr Hog's Essay upon Illumination, and Script[ure] Injections, and against the Prophets; if there be any copy of them in your hands, pray let me have one.

Give my dearest respects to Mr Hog, and tell him I received his of the 24th of August only in the beginning of October, and that by post, inclosed in my ordinary packet of news-prints. I would have answered it by this bearer, but I want time and strength to write much; only please to acquaint him, if my opinion were worth his knowing, that I very much relish his proposal, and wish it were universal; it's very ordinary, and I think still, except once, was still done with us in this Presbytery, in the case of fasts and thanksgivings appointed by authority. Tell him I long much to hear from him, and to have the excellent papers I sent him last returned, for I read them but once, and *decies repetita*, &c.

I am glad your Synod appointed a fast. I have been under some fears of that awful arrow for some time. I have some remarkable anent my last communion to communicate with you per next, which I must now delay; for, upon the back of it, August 20, it pleased the Lord to lay his hand upon me, &c. I long to hear from you again. Pray let not the shortness of this make yours shorter than that I receive, for it's not choice but necessity shortens me. And lay out yourself vigorously to get further accounts of remarkable providences. I heartily wish you much success in your Lord's

work, and give my respects to all brethren of my acquaintance, and your family; and am, in all sincerity, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

October 12, 1711.

LETTER LXXIV.

TRACT ON NATIONAL FASTS.

For Mr Patrick Warner.

REV. AND DEAR FATHER,—I send you enclosed (anent the power of appointing national fasts and thanksgivings) some thoughts of a minister, upon a head that, for any thing I know, hath been very little written on by divines. It hath been the lot of the Church of Scotland to have several difficulties tossed among ministers, (alas! some of them, too, too openly and bitterly,) that have scarce been controverted in other Churches. There is no doubt but the least branch of truth is to be stuck to, but it's not still to be made matter of debate and public controversy. I am afraid there is a foundation laid by the warm debates, and the public managing them from the press and pulpit, (or tent,) in the late times, for much of the separation from us. You will see by perusing this sheet, the author only intends it for his own private satisfaction, in a point wherein he can get little help from books; and he desires it to be communicate to none but ministers, his intimates, who will use freedom in their remarks upon it, and communicate them with him. He hath set down, as far as he knew, the arguments for all the different resolutions of this question, and desires to be helped in what hath escaped him, either in the arguments or answers. If his own present and determined opinion hath swayed him too much, he desires to be rectified. I thought to have sent you this several

months ago, but the throng of communions, and the Lord's laying his hand upon me in my late sickness, hindered. I expect your thoughts upon it with full freedom, and at as great length as you can. And I am persuaded your pains to rectify what you find wrong here, and to add what offers upon this subject, will be of great use to me. I have not wanted my own difficulties upon this head, though I have communicate them to none but you, and formerly received satisfaction in several points from your letters. I am, &c.

R. W.

October 24, 1711.

LETTER LXXV.

REMEDIES SUGGESTED FOR COUNTERACTING THE PROGRESS OF
EPISCOPACY, TOLERATION, PATRONAGE, ETC.

For Mr Hugh Maxwell, Minister of the Gospel at Tealing.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 28th of September, by Mr Ker, whom I am heartily sorry I did not see; if I had been as near him at Dundee as he was me, I would not have failed to have visited him. I would have returned an answer by him, but he was gone the day after I received yours, when I sent to look after him.

This comes, then, by Mr Maxwell, when my Lord comes in to Edinburgh, heartily to thank you for your account of the circumstances of your country; you need much sympathy, and I am sure you have some from a praying remnant in this country. I am much grieved for the sad circumstances of Dundee, and the heavy task of the honest ministers there. I have the happiness of a little of the Rev. Mr Johnston's acquaintance, and give my kindest respects to him.

The story you acquaint me with as to a curate at Aberdeen, I shall be glad to hear more of, but I can scarce think but in some circumstances your author must needs be misinformed, otherwise the party would have made more noise, and he, by this time, would have set up; which I think we would have heard of. I fancy it must relate to the affair of Mr Burnet there, which I hope shall be prevented; however, I am very sensible there is a formed design to invade our rights, and I am very much of your mind, that the Church's slackness in this, and many other points, may be matter of heavy reflections, when opportunities of redress are lost. If I had had yours before our last Synod, I cannot say what would have been done; but some appearance in that affair should have been moved, but that is now over, and all that now can be done is to send up members to the Commission, whom I pray the Lord may direct in this important affair. I hope our members will attend, and the motion certainly must be from the bounds where this evil does rage; and I would fain hope, that in this matter, wherein the worship of God is so nearly concerned, all will join together in some proper, prudent methods. Were I a member, I would endeavour to see you or some of your brethren there.

I am a very unfit person to advise what steps should be taken under this mighty prevalency of the English service among you. And, indeed, I am much at a stand, what to fix upon as present duty; we are so far involved and hangalled [hankled], and our old unanimity, prudence, and zeal, are so much abated, that I am at a loss what to wish were done. I humbly think there are some more private endeavours lying upon all of us, and especially those that are under the trial by these innovations, and some efforts of a more joint and public nature. Since I am fallen upon this head, I shall lay before you some raw thoughts, as they come in my head, only to be an occasion of suggesting more ripe and digested ones to you, who know circumstances and the state of affairs much better than I can at a distance; and to let you see how willingly I would contribute my mite, if I had any thing worth suggesting.

As to the more private endeavour against this corruption and

growing evil, beside joint prayer and supplications, with fasting, among ministers, and societies in congregations for prayer and conference, where they can be set up, I think, 1. Ministers are, by these threatened innovations, called to ply closely the preaching of Christ, and him crucified, to their people, and much private dealing with their souls anent salvation work, and a pressing heart-exercising religion. I desire to use all charity to the promoters of that superstitious worship as to their state, but I am bold to think, that if they were more taken up with the spirituals of religion, they would soon calm in their zeal for their dead and lifeless forms. And could we get Christ formed in our people, and them arted [directed] to heart-work, I would not be so much afraid of their being leavened with these corruptions.

2dly, I wish we, that are called to be watchmen at this juncture, were more acquainted with the nature of the Gospel dispensation, and the spirituality of it, and studied the controversy betwixt us and our neighbours in England more, that we might be riper in conference, and close and solid in our reasonings as occasion offers. I want not my own fears, that many of us be lame on this point, which seems to be the present truth in which we ought to be established. And, next to our own hearts and fundamentals, and the state of our flock, I think we ought to be knowing in thir matters, that we may be able to convince gainsayers.

3dly, Although I do not think the main of preaching, even at this time, should be employed about these corruptions, yet when our text and matter lead us, without any force, to meddle with them, I think there should be a prudent, plain, and popular discussing of them in sermons, which are, certainly, like their foundation, the Scripture, for correction, reproof, instruction, and confirmation, as well as for conversion.

And, *4thly*, I have more largely and fusely handled these debates anent worship and government in my catechising my people; then both upon the Scriptures and offices of Christ, and the Second and Fourth Commands, I have endeavoured to clear our Presbyterian principles and their foundations, and refell the contrary corrup-

tions, as plainly and popularly, by way of question and answer, as I could. And I have, indeed, found some profit more this way in knowledge and establishment, than by more studied discourses in sermons. And I humbly think if more pains were taken that way, as, in my opinion, it's the most proper work to do it in, so the method of doing it sticks better with the people.

5thly, As Providence gives occasion, I think ministers ought not to decline (provided they be ripe for it) a calm and sober reasoning with apostates and seducers of their people to this corrupt worship. I am persuaded truth will be able to bear up under all that can be said against it, and our good cause, with straight principles and designs, and a competency of knowledge, with a call, may bear through persons that are deeply sensible of their own weakness, and it may be given in that hour what and how to speak. And though I see little fruit in public disputations, which I find pretty much used in our former Presbyterian times, both with Papiests, prelatists, and sectaries, yet calm reasoning, especially before gentlemen and persons of sense, ought not to be declined, though there be little hope of convincing gainsayers, yet in many other respects, when well managed, this may be of very great use. I wish we were all ready for it. And I hope you will pardon my freedom, when I communicate to you what I have sometimes entertained the fancy of, as what might be practicable, and perhaps put some of us in better case for solid and pointed occasional reasoning. If at our Presbyteries, when we want young men before us, we were, *per vices*, appointed to prepare discourses upon the controversies anent government, discipline, and worship, and other present truths, and sustain disputes on them, among ourselves; thus, "as iron," &c., we might sharpen one another, and improve our time at Presbyteries to as good an account as many times we do. But of this by and by.

6thly, Since it's noblemen, gentlemen, and people of a better rank, who are most inclined to these innovations, and influence the commonalty, and we are just the reverse now almost of what we were 1636, when the Book of Canons and Common-Prayer were

last brought in among us, I cannot but wish ministers may study the greatest discretion, and all gaining ways consistent with a safe conscience towards them. If once we win them to a good opinion of us, they will the easier be gained to ponder, with less prejudice, our arguments. I wish too much retiredness, and too little converse, and an alleged severity in conversation, give not some of them too much occasion to think the worse of our way, because of us. I know there is the greatest difficulty to keep the golden midst here, and fawning and flattery is what I abhor. But, indeed, I wish the Lord would endue us all with the art of being all things to all men, and help to a strict solid frankness in conversation, and a pleasant taking way of reasoning with them. It's not every one who is apt to teach who has this quality; and I think we ought to seek it from God in the use of means, in order to gain souls and men at such a juncture as this is. The Lord grant the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. A little more acquaintance with men and books, the Bell Letter, [belles lettres,] natural history, and gentlmanary learning, might be very useful, if prudently used, to carry on the ends of religion, even in conversation. You will, I hope, excuse these excursions, I know not how, I am fallen into. I think we might, with as pleasant an air, reason from the novelty of these forms in this Church, and their own neglect of them, when they had the management in the hands of their party. From their tendency to enslave us more and more to our neighbours in England, I have half jested with some upon the old pretensions of the See of York upon this national church, as disagreeable to Scots blood, and, half jest half earnest, where I did not observe them affected to the royal family, as they speak, fallen in upon the politics, and reasoned from the influence of these innovations upon the strengthening the Jacobite interest, and disaffection to the state. And though I was never for our Union, yet I think we may reason upon the security and national establishment made or said to be granted us thereby. These, and the like, may be a preface to the more conscience-reaching arguments from the Word of God, and nature of gospel worship.

Lastly, I wish we would learn from the methods our adversaries take, and be taught from the wisdom of this world. They compass sea and land to gain proselytes; and prayer-books and pamphlets are, with great care and some expense, spread among people, and, to the poorer sort, gratis. I heartily wish we took more pains to direct our people to good books, and the more understanding of them to the best writers upon these controversies of the day. I wish Gillespy, and Ames' Suit against Ceremonies, and Smectymnuus,¹ were more read; and that some persons that can do it well, would draw up some short abstract of the state of our controversy, and the solid arguments from Scripture and reason, with the answers to the more obvious objections there are in favour of the English way, and that in a very plain and familiar dress. And it were good that not above two sheets were printed at once, otherwise, the generality will neither buy it nor read it. If once a quarter of year, or month, a sheet or two were published by some good hand, upon the most material of the controverted points, and ministers and elders took pains to spread them, I think this might be of great use. Last year, when, at an occasional meeting of ministers, we heard of the attempts made in thir bounds to instil into people a favourable opinion of the English service, it was the joint desire of those present that some might do somewhat for the common use of country people. And, accordingly, in the spring, we had the Conference between the Countryman and Curate anent the English Service printed, which spread much in thir bounds, and hath done service; if the author, in his second conference, and the letter since published, had been as succinct and short as in the first dialogue, they had been much more generally useful. I doubt not but you have them from Edinburgh, otherwise, had I an occasion, I would send you them.

¹ The works here referred to are George Gillespie's "Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies," published in 1637; Dr Ames' Suit against Ceremonies; and *Smectymnuus*, a learned work in defence of Presbytery, published during the Westminster Assembly, the odd title of which is composed of the initials of the five worthy divines who wrote it, viz. :—Messrs Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. — *Manton's Preface to Smectymnuus Redivivus*. London, 1660.

If either somewhat of this were done now, or some older papers reprinted, and a little adapted unto our circumstances, I hope it might do service. And, indeed, the thoughts of this makes me earnestly desire we had in every university two professors of divinity, one to teach, and take the special care of the youth, and the other to join in these, and likewise to write and print what may be useful to people upon debateable heads. Our work, that are ministers, is so great, our avocations so many, and many of our sufficiency so small, who are ministers, that little of this sort can be expected from us, and we have but few gentlemen to take up the cudgels with adversaries, though it was once otherwise.

By this time I have wearied you [with] what occurred to me as to our duty more privately, to prevent these growing corruptions. As to joint and more public efforts, I am, indeed, at a loss what to think should be done. I hope the Lord will direct the Rev. Commission. How far it were proper for Presbyteries to be at some pains their alone, or in conjunction with Synods, to draw warnings against the English ceremonies, and intimate and record them, I know not. This was not unusual in former Presbyterian times; but how far this may now be edifying, those that are acquaint with the circumstances of the bounds where these innovations are can best judge. But I think till a General Assembly, the Commission's the most proper Court to do somewhat nationally; but what they can do, indeed, I am much in the dark. There seems but three ways they can take, recommendation, warning, or testimony, and representation to the Government. For recommendation to Presbyteries and ministers, if it were needful, that some of the former parts of our more private duty were recommended, with other things they, in their wisdom, shall judge proper; I doubt not but they will give all the assistance and direction in their power to Presbyteries and particular ministers. For a warning and testimony against this corruption, I think it has been done fully two years ago, and the act printed, read from our pulpits, and approved by the Assembly, and what further can be done this way. There remains only then a representation to the Government. I do not know how far it may

be found advisable to make any applications to the British Parliament by the Church. I suspect considerable difficulty will be found in that. So that it remains, as you hint, to be made to the Queen. I am satisfied events and success are not to be our rule, but they may, and should be considered in this case. If it were to be made as a testimony and *sublevamen conscientiae* the strait were the less, whatever should follow; but I reckon that has been done already. It must then be given for redress. And there are two or three things that occur as difficulties, which hinder me from coming to any issue with myself, as to what is duty. 1. The fears I have that whatever the Queen's inclinations may be to make us easy, that it will be difficult, as matters now stand, to get any further laws made for a hedge about worship or government. We all know what a set of people are at present in the council, how little any Scotsmen have either skill or will to appear for the purity of worship, and there is none in council but what have occasionally, or rather constantly, when in England, conformed to that worship. 2dly, As to the execution of the laws we think we have already, I am the more straitened what to expect here. I, indeed, differ from severals as to our legal security in this matter; and I can learn very little that in law will exclude that corrupt worship being set up, under the pretence of conscience, providing it be not in churches. I wish our security by law were much stronger than I apprehend it to be; and I think our legal establishment should be pushed as far as it will go, with all boldness. But I well remember that, in the Union commission, that sat in time of Parliaments that concluded it, we applied again and again for a solid security against a toleration, patronages, and the English service; but in vain. Our friends in the house were enraged with us, because we could not get our light brought up to believe their act for security was fully sufficient, and not a clause in it would they alter; and our enemies would do nothing, you may be sure. And after all we have I suspect the Parliament, and Queen, and Council, will still sustain themselves judges, how far the continuance of the Presbyterian Church government is

consistent with the English worship in meeting-houses. And as to the executions of any laws we have, I cannot see how it can be expected, till we have better men amongst us to do it, and a perfect new cast be made of the inferior officers, I mean justices of the peace and sheriffs. I heartily wish I may be out in these fears. *3dly*, If we should represent, and nothing be done, you know the consequences better than I; the party would take it as good as a standing law for them, and turn more uppish, if they can be so, than they are. *4thly*, I know not how far such a representation might be the occasion of addresses from many places of a different nature, which, perhaps, might have as many advocates for them above as our representation, and come as good speed. I would not desire to see a counting of noses upon this head at this time of day; and so end this. I know not, *lastly*, how far any such representation might be made use of in England as a handle, by a party in the Parliament, or in England for representations to the Parliament for the occasional bill, and the rescinding of the toleration act, or for bringing in a legal toleration upon us in Scotland, I know not. It's these things, indeed, put me very much in the dark what to think with respect to any direct representation. And, indeed, I have very great difficulties upon the other hand. I cannot see it to be our duty or interest altogether to be still, and see the interests of Christ overrun, and we do nothing. But what and how to make any appearance, so as not to wrong them, is my strait.

Thus you have what occurred to me upon the lamentable account I have from you. I hope you will give me your thoughts upon this subject, and with the same frankness I have done. My lord, and Mr Maxwell and his lady, have you kindly remembered. I should be glad to see Mr Kinloch in this country; I doubt not of his qualifications. If he would come and see his friends in the West, I should willingly wait on him. My wife has your spouse and all friends kindly remembered. Pray fail not to pick up any [thing] further you fall upon anent Mr William Guthrie; and any remarkable providences in your country, whether with relation

to judgments, preservations, answers to prayer, &c. Let me have an account of them, and all your news, as frequently as you can. I am, Dear Cousin, yours, most affectionately,

R. W.

October 26, 1711.

LETTER LXXVI.

To Mr John Simson, S.T.P.¹

REV. DEAR SIR,—I return you Whiston's Account of the Convocation. I cannot but remark in it an affected ingenuity, mixed with miserable perversions. Any thing argumentative in it has been answered a thousand times. I wish the convocation had dealt more roundly in the matter, or let him alone altogether. I fear their hagling upon punctilios expose the Protestant interest, of which they pretend to be bulwarks, terribly abroad; and no doubt the Papists will not fail to improve their proceedings against the author mightily. And the hands of Deists, Atheists, and Unitarians in England will be strengthened. If you can spare any more papers relating to him, they will be very acceptable to yours, most affectionately,

R. W.

Nov. 16, 1711.

¹ Mr Simson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, who was processed before the judicatories of the Church in 1714, 1715, and 1716, by the Rev. James Webster of Edinburgh, for teaching certain Arminian heresies and loose sentiments regarding natural religion. He was dismissed at that time without censure; and was thus emboldened to propagate doctrines of a still more dangerous character, derogatory to the supreme Deity of the Saviour, for which he was merely suspended.

LETTER LXXVII.

PUBLIC MATTERS.

For J. C. [John Cross.]

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your pamphlet. What I like best in it is, he states the debate anent the peace, where indeed I think it will issue, upon the receiving or not of the Pretender and Popery, and considers Spain, in any branch of the House of Bourbon, as enabling France to settle the Pretender among us.

I am obliged to the D. G. for the letter, and I am persuaded any umbrage he might take will appear to be ill-grounded, when he and I meet. Disingenuity is none of my allowed faults; I am sometimes more in hazard from too much plainness and openness. J. S.'s letter (*Vide* Letter, Dec. 24, L. Dec. 15, 1711) hath put me upon some free thoughts what is advisable for him and our friends to do at this juncture. This I take to be the improvement we should make of the great advantage of his distinct account of matters in his letters. I find myself entirely at a loss what to think upon. I am satisfied the Oath of Abjuration, as it's now conceived, would entirely ruin us; we will certainly divide upon it. But if it were possible to get the English acts of Parliament, (which I am sure we have nothing to do with, except as to the matter of the succession,) and the declaring on conscience, &c., and other clauses rectified and taken out, (but, indeed, at such a Parliament, and after the generality of our nobility, who profess to be Presbyterians, have swallowed this oath *in terminis*, this can scarce be expected,) and as to the Toleration, if it were in the terms of the law of England, and only an exemption from the penal laws against them, I suspect our Episcopalls would not seek it; and, indeed, we have no penal laws against them. I fear, indeed, the consequences (somewhile after this) of such a barrier, as this bill will be, to the

Church of England, if nothing be done jointly for our Church ; I fear it may be afterwards a handle to enemies to make use of, (as what casts that equal balance said to be, by the Union, between the two Churches,) but what should be done I own I am at a loss what to think. The D. G. and you, in my opinion, should communicate these accounts to the ministers, and they should meet together, and after conference and looking to God for light, try if any overture can be found that can be helpful at such a juncture, when so much is at the stake. This freedom, I take, needs a great apology from me, especially in these circumstances. But it, as far as I know myself, flows only from my concern for Mr S. and the public. If any advice can be given, the Commissioner, and such a Commissioner from Glasgow, should not want it. I assure you it flows not from any desire in me to intermeddle with your affairs. But *hæc inter nos*. I am yours, &c.

Dec. 24, 1711.

LETTER LXXVIII.

THE INCONVENIENCIES OF THE ABJURATION OATH.

*To a Friend.*¹

[At this stage of the correspondence, Wodrow inserts a treatise of his own, entitled, "Free and Plain Thoughts and Remarks upon the Oath of Abjuration now imposed upon the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland. In a Letter to a Friend, 1712." This treatise, which occupies thirty-nine pages of his closely written manuscript, having been already published, (though, as will afterwards appear, without his knowledge or consent,) under the title of "The Oath of Abjuration considered, in a Letter to a Friend, March 20," and referring to a con-

¹ The name of this friend is studiously concealed ; and it is a curious proof of the danger in which the opponents of the Abjuration Oath were placed, that neither Wodrow nor his friends put their names to their letters on this subject.

troversy which has now lost all its interest, it has been thought unnecessary to reprint it in the present collection. For similar reasons, the letter immediately following the treatise, being a continuation of the same subject, in the form of remarks on a paper, entitled "The Oath of Abjuration set in its due light, in a Letter to a Friend," dated April 12, 1712, has also been omitted. The following letters, which refer to the same topic, were considered worthy of insertion, from their containing some hints which may throw light on the history of the period.—ED.]

April 19, 1712.

DEAR SIR,—Although I still want the satisfaction of yours, in answer to mine of the 20th of March, and the help I expected from it to have gone through the two points I proposed, yet I shall now venture upon them, hoping that this third will draw at length somewhat from you, upon a head it seems you are shy to write upon.

I promised to consider the inconveniencies of Presbyterian ministers, their not going into the Oath, when such a peremptory act enjoining it is over their heads, and give what offers to me in answer to them. When I come to consider these things, and my own ignorance of the state of affairs, and want of converse in the country, I begin to wish I had not proposed them; but since I have, I shall, with far more shortness than at first I designed, run over what offers to me. I find, 1st, Our brethren in England, Presbyterians and Independents, men of great learning, prudence, and piety, their making no difficulty anent this Oath much urged against the scruplers here. I need scarce acquaint you of the different state they and we are under; they under a toleration, we under a national establishment. Besides, I find that very great men in England, and good men, have not scrupled at the Oath of Supremacy, and some Dissenters have written for it before it was abrogated. I shall not say but the ministers there have very different views of the literal meaning of the words of the Oath of Abjuration, from what many of our ministers have; and to be very plain with you, I find myself the less straitened with this inconveniency, that I much doubt if there be many real Presbyterians or ministers now that are heartily

upon the foot of Scots Presbytery; their principles are very large, and, therefore, their practice hath little in it difficulting to me.

2dly, The practice of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland is what, I confess, I would rather follow in many things, if practices were all to be patterns. But even there it may be if the Oath had been more considered, there would have been more Non-jurors; and it has been asserted to me by some that should know that affair, that in the meeting they had upon the Oath, the Nons were within ten of the clear. Their circumstances, indeed, differ much from us, and they are under a mere connivance, and I am sorry I have it to say, that many are very much inclinable to new schemes, and the methods of the English Dissenters, and very much off the bottom of their mother Church of Scotland, which, in my opinion, is not their own interest. However, as to both, they have no security against oaths contrary to their principles, as we are said to have, and till I hear the reasons upon which they went into the Oath, I cannot follow them; and I reckon our ministers refusing it will be no reflection upon them.

3dly, I find it said, that the best and most judicious of our own nobility and gentry went into the Oath 1708; and ministers refusing it now will throw dirt upon them. I considered this at some length in both my former to you. And there are so many things different in the circumstances of ministers, from that of others, that, in my opinion, a different practice may be very well accounted for, without any dirt cast upon them.

4thly, It is urged, that ministers refusing this Oath will effectually rivet the toleration, and be a cover for some to overlook their protection without taking the oaths. This is an event I can little reason upon. I very much doubt if many of the Episcopal clergy will refuse the oaths under the temptation of a meeting-house; and sin and evil must not be done that good may come of it. The ministers owe this Oath, indeed, to their friends the Whigs in England, and I shall only say they have neither had due information of the state of Presbyterian ministers, if they thought all would go into that

Oath, nor of the temper of the protected, if they imagined it would be a bar to them.

5thly, The ill aspect that ministers refusing will have abroad, at the court of Hanover, is what is much insisted upon. But I very much doubt if that court is so ignorant of the true state of this Church as is represented by some. I am persuaded they have no set of men so generally and cordially in their interest as the scruplers are in Scotland. I shall except the ministers that are clear for the Oath, but I have wrong views if the scruplers may not pretend to as much zeal for the Hanover succession as they. I see no way to remove this inconveniency, but a plain representation of the true grounds of their standing out, which I hope may fully satisfy all concerned.

6thly, I find it further said, that ministers' refusal will extremely weaken the hands of our friends in England, and be an occasion of a handle to the Tories there to accomplish their designs against this Church. All I incline to say to this is, "he that walketh uprightly, walketh surely." I do not see the Whigs of England have acted so friendly a part to the Dissenters in their late choak of the occasional bill, as might have been expected. And, for my own part, I expect no friendship from them, except where interest obliges them, and I hope the scruplers will all be so heartily in the interest of the Hanover succession at a push, that they will see it their interest to join them. For the Tories, nothing will hinder them from ruining us if they can; and the only question will be, whether this handle given is most agreeable with every one's peace when he comes to suffer from them, which would lead me to the merits of the cause.

7thly, The great inconveniency of all is the dreadful penalty annexed; to which I shall not offer to answer, by speculations and hopes of a forbearance, here, from the mildness of the execution and incidents that may fall in. In my opinion, it is safest for refusers to lay their account with the worst that may come, and not to bolster themselves up with expectations that may deceive them. I know

no real answer to this, but it's better to suffer than sin; and the hundred fold in this life, and in the end life everlasting, with the solid faith of its being given in that hour what to speak and do, even both to believe and suffer; and, in the mean time, a prudent foreseeing the evil, and taking all cautious and legal measures to secure any thing they have the best way they can without sin.

8thly, The state of the ministers in the North will much fall in with the former head. I confess, their souls are among fierce lions, and their temptation is very great, and their circumstances deserve much sympathy. But still God must be obeyed rather than men. And, by any thing I yet hear, they will be generally clear, and I shall not condemn them.

This, *9thly*, leads me to another evident inconvenience, which I incline to say most unto, though I know not well what to offer; and that is the evident breach that it will make among ministers and people. This is an unavoidable consequence of different practice among ministers. I am very jealous, that when they come to differ in practice, affection will not long be kept up, at least it hath not been so under former differences, and I cannot say there appears any extraordinary temper for unity and harmony among the generality. I wish the Assembly and other judicatories may be directed to somewhat, if possible, to prevent this. I am sure all good men on both sides, that act from conscience, will do all they can for this. For my own part, if I know myself, I know nothing will run me more in hazard of sinful compliances, in a difficult time, than my regard to peace.

I know I need neither apologise for myself to you, nor offer any thing of my confused thoughts upon a remedy for this to you, and would not do it, were it not to put you upon communicating your thoughts on this point, that I wish may take up the thoughts of many of your experience and healing temper. I am very unwilling to suppose a difference among the Presbyterian ministers upon this unhappy subject; but I must do it, for I think, without the spirit of prophecy, I foresee it. And by what appears to me as yet, on the south side of Tay, if my information fail not, the num-

bers will not be far from an equality. I do not at all rejoice in this, except in so far as the balance in numbers I hope may help to balance ministers' tempers; if, upon the one side or other, there should be a vast majority, I apprehend the numerousest side might run to extremities. I have been considering the overture proposed by some of all lying aside from taking the oath, but I very much doubt if the Assembly will go into this; and I cannot say that where conscience and numbers pretty considerable are on both sides, there can be any midse struck; if there be any, I wish it may be fallen upon. All I see remaining is upon the melancholy supposition of different practices, all methods may be taken to lessen the differences that are lawful, both as to ministers and among the people.

As to ministers, I shall give you *raptim* what offers. *1st*, I wish no side load the other with the breach, either among themselves, or the occasioning it among people. Though I be, according to my present views, against the oath, yet I cannot lodge the blame of the difficulties that may ensue upon those who, out of conscience, comply with it. And though I were for it, I could not lodge the blame upon those that are against it. God is angry with us; we have not valued our happy time these twenty-four years, and our sins and folly make our case as it is this day. And the mutual forbearance among ministers is the best way to break the snare and handle enemies will take of their differences in practice. *2dly*, I am at present for no protestations, dissents, or reasons for taking or not taking, being entered in our records, in Presbyteries or Synods. I see not the use of them; upon the first difference in practice, I do not see that ministers are called to give a testimony. When they are challenged for the one side or other, then reasons may be given, and, in case of suffering, a testimony, but till then I see no fruit of this, but to draw forth answers by the differing side, and widen the breach. *3dly*, I could wish, after the time of taking is elapsed, and persons know the jurors and nons, there be a mutual employing of one another in ministerial work, to preach in one another's churches upon week days, to help at communions and the

like; that the world may see communion can be kept up under different measures of light and various practices. *4thly*, I could wish that ministers, and particularly those of the different sides, may meet together at stated times for prayer. This is the great lea-shore all must put into in this storm. I know not how far it might sweeten the spirits of many; when persons are much in joining at this work, there will be much account of them under all their differences. *5thly*, In [case] of prosecution or persecution, either by tongue or otherwise, I think there should be a close and hearty joining of interests and endeavours for support.

I was not a little taken with an instructive emblem made use of lately by the Sultan, which I read lately; when the Emperor was engaged with France on the one hand, and like to fall out with the King of Sweden on the other, and had the Hungarians on the third side, his Bassas [Bashaws] pressed him to make war. To-morrow, the Sultan, when they came to get their answer, brought out some wolf dogs, who had no meat for some time, and caused throw some bones among them, upon which they fell into a squabble among themselves; when at this he ordered them to bring in a wolf, and presently the dogs left their fighting and meat, and fell all jointly upon the wolf. He left them to draw his answer from what they saw. I am sure, both conscience, that is alleged upon both sides, and interest should persuade to this. I think whatever were my thoughts, I would incline to support a person I reckoned were suffering for conscience sake. Clear ministers at first are not so liable to prosecution, but I think it were good they appeared with the other side, joined in their just representations, and defences, &c. It may be, persons that take not the oath in some places may not be so liable to the scourge of tongues as those that take it, and they should vindicate them, and say all that may be in their defence, and bear down reproaches and calumnies. This might go a great way.

6thly, After the first of August is over, and the parties stated, I would wish there were no more writing upon the head of the oath. I have told you before my aversion from this subject, its being

ventilate in print ; but now since it's begun, I see there will be no end for a while ; but after the day is elapsed, I fear men's spirits be embittered : it's hard writing when a party is stated without some warmth. And whatever now may be said, on either side, in defence of writing and printing for information to persons like me that need it, yet after the day is elapsed, this pretence comes to an end. *7thly*, According to my present light, I am against all preaching upon the oath, either for it or against it, both now before, and after the day is elapsed. I see no advantage by it, unless it be when ministers come to be attacked upon the one side or the other, and have no more prospect, nor any further opportunities in view, nor any other way left to give their testimony and vindicate themselves ; in my opinion, this should be the *ultimum remedium*. And, in the mean time, *Lastly*, I wish there may be a vigorous and zealous going hand in hand, in opposing the corruptions coming in among [us] by the toleration and patronages, and a hearty concurrence against the common enemy. These things I wish for under the view of the unhappy difference, in point of practice, which to me seems at the door among ministers.

As to the people, I am truly at a loss what to offer. I have no great prospect of that harmony I wish for among ministers, but far less among people. There are seeds of our old divisions yet rooted among many, and these much cultivated and sustained by our unhappy practices and divisions since the Revolution. I cannot say but some have taught the people to bear rule over them, and, indeed, there is so little regard borne by many to the ministerial character, and a general suspicion and jealousy of ministers, that I fear, though the generality of ministers should heartily unite to prevent a breach, their influence will be far less than might be reasonably expected in this juncture. However, I wish the ministers, on both sides, may do what can be done to prevent a breach. It's but little, indeed, occurs to me, yet I hope if there were due care taken to instruct the most sensible of the people in the true principles of Church communion, if the lamentable effects of division were pathetically laid out to them, and a parallel drawn, which

might be easily done, between the former rents of this Church and that at this day feared; if their own freedom from the supposed guilt of ministers, either in taking or not taking this oath, were insisted upon, and they as much as may be led off their debateable points, and directed to the deeper and more important parts of heart exercising religion; all this, with fervent prayer and close acting of faith upon the Redeemer for a spirit of discerning faith, love, and a sound mind, might, through the blessing of God, prevent much of this inconvenience I have been so long upon; and, indeed, I see little more can be done.

I remember no other inconveniences urged, but, *Lastly*, that ministers not taking the oath will vacate their churches, and lay open their people to be planted with others by patrons. I shall only return to this, that, in my opinion, ministers should continue preaching, and the other parts of their ministerial work, till by force put from their work. And if for conscience sake they suffer, they may, with the greater confidence, commit their people to him from whom they received them; *Deus providebit*, "in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." Thus I have, as shortly as I could, run through the inconveniences of ministers, their not taking this oath when thus imposed upon them.

The last thing I promised in my first to you, was to inquire into what may be proper for the venerable Assembly to do at this juncture. This I shall much wave, since I cannot expect your thoughts before the Assembly meet, and that has been my main motive in writing what is above. The time now draws near, and I hope many will come there with the mind of their Master, and proper overtures at so singular a juncture. *1st*, I wish there could be a national fast agreed upon, and the causes plainly and prudently specified. I own I have but small hopes of their agreement upon this head. But I have been under apprehensions, these years by-gone, that we shall be threaded out of our power of appointing fasts, and I fear, if once parties be stated by different practices upon the oath, though our judicatories be continued, they shall never agree in causes afterwards. *2dly*, I wish a declaration may

be given by the Assembly, in very plain terms, of the matter of the oath, wherein they can agree, that the world may see what ministers stand at. I do not think that it's a proper season either to propale the reasons why some scruple, and the grounds upon which others take it; the time for that will be, in my opinion, when the first of August is over; but I wish the Assembly may come as great a length in owning all the points of the matter of the oath wherein they have no difficulty as they can. *3dly*, Upon this declaration I see no hazard even to those that are determined for the oath to join with their brethren, in applying to the Queen and Legislature for a freedom from the oath, as what will breed great heats and different practices, and many other reasons they will find upon inquiry. *4thly*, I hope all might agree in a full and plain testimony against the toleration and patronages which are, I hope, generally agreed to be sinful impositions upon this Church. The last is not yet passed into a law, and the more freedom may be taken in the representation, and I do not see but there may be a safe enough representation made even against the former, without incurring the just censure of the law. And, in the meantime, *5thly*, I suppose a plain and faithful warning to people of all ranks of the hazard and sinfulness of the inventions of men in God's worship, and liturgies and ceremonies, might be emitted and read from pulpits, in as convincing, and yet soft terms, as the wisdom of the Assembly shall fall upon. I see no less can be done as matters now stand, and I humbly think this is a safer way than to leave it to every particular person to preach against them, and this may be a directory both to ministers and people, in their reasons and discourses upon these controverted heads. *6thly*, I have had some wandering thoughts, but I acknowledge they are not ripened, of a paper assertory of our principles against Popery and Prelacy, which might be subscribed, with an engagement to stand by them, by all ministers, preachers, and elders, and all that would voluntarily join in it in congregations; if this be called a renewing of our covenants, I cannot help it. I find the Church of Scotland has still done so in times like ours, but I own it would take much time

and many meetings to form it aright. These things, with a timely appointing of a Commission, and remitting to them things that, in our present circumstances, perhaps, cannot so well be done in open Assembly, are what occur to me as work proper to be done at this, perhaps, the last Assembly we may have. *In magnis voluisse sat est.* You will pardon all this freedom. Yours most affectionately.

LETTER LXXIX.

WODROW'S DEFENCE OF HIS REMARKS ON THE ABJURATION OATH.¹

To a Friend.

October 2, 1712.

DEAR SIR,—It was no little surprise, upon the 20th of the last month, to find enclosed for me, mine to you, in print, of the 20th of March, instead of any return from you to the difficulties in it, and under the title of “The Oath of Abjuration Considered, in a Letter to a Friend, March 20.” I must either blame you, or somebody you have communicated it to, for this odd step; for I never communicated it to any but yourself, and I can with all ingenuity declare, that I had not the least suspicion, when sent to you, that the world should be troubled with it. It was a rude draught of what then straitened me as to the Oath, before ever I heard it reasoned upon either in Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly. Many things, perhaps, of greater moment have been since advanced, and some answers given to some things in it, though I own the main of my difficulties still remain unanswered, for all I have heard in reasoning, or seen published upon this head. But your publishing such an indigested heap of things, in my opinion, very

¹ This and the following letter, though not in the order of time, are placed here, as they are in the manuscript volume by Wodrow, immediately after the foregoing, as they relate to the same subject.

much prejudices the interest, if I mistake not your sentiments, you design to advance by the publication of it. And if it had been published at all, as certainly it's very improper ever to have seen the light, it had been much more seasonable before the Assembly, or at it, than now, after half a year of its date. Since without my consent or knowledge it's abroad, there is no helping of it now, but in time to come to be more cautious what and to whom I write. My concern, I hope I may say, is not for myself, for I hope I am entirely unknown, but for the cause of the scruplers, which, I fear, be wronged, by so indigested a paper, especially when, as I hear it's fathered upon a truly great man of the unclear side, and may be thought and boasted over as the utmost produce of the brethren that scruple, whereas, in truth, it is the thoughts of one of the meanest of them, and that before ever he heard the matter canvassed. And were he now to write upon it, he reckons himself in some better case to advance what might be far more convincing, at least is so to himself; but you have learned him other things, or somebody from you; and as it is the first, so, it's probable, it will be the last time any thing of this shall trouble the public. Three, indeed, of his predecessors in this obscure corner, Mr M. C. [Matthew Crawford,] Mr H. S. [Hugh Smith,] and Mr T—— J——, have commenced authors; but as he reckons himself very unworthy to succeed them or any, so, in a particular manner, every way unfit to appear as an author in this nice time, and nicer subject.

Two or three days after the receipt of the Considerations, I got the Dialogue betwixt a Minister of the Church of Scotland and two of his Elders, which I found in Mrs A.'s shop, and printed by her, though not signified, and openly sold, though I find papers upon the other side are refused by her. I have only yet had time to read the first part of that paper, and am sufficiently wearied with it, because I have heard all I found in it again and again in papers before, and Assembly, Synod, and Presbytery conferences. I turned over to the close of it, where, unexpectedly, I met with a leaf upon the Considerations. This, to be sure, drew my eye

thither. I shall say nothing upon the first part. To me it seems a collection of answers given at the General Assembly conference to some scruples, without the returns given to them, which, for my part, I wish the author had been at pains likewise to consider; for I love to have all that can be said on both sides. I shall only give you a few observes upon what he says upon the Considerations, which shall be so general, and useless, as I am in no apprehension of your letting them go any farther than yourself. The author of the Dialogue seems satisfied, p. 111, that the Considerations are free of irritating reflections. Indeed, there was no occasion for them in writing to you, and I see no advantage they bring to an argument; but I wonder to find such a smooth judgment given by the author, considering what is said upon the Union, and some other heads in that paper.

The Dialogist criticises upon the title of the Considerations, which is entirely owing to you, for I never had one thought about a title to a missive to a friend; however, great men find out mysteries in every thing, and discover designs in things that were every way undesigned and casual. He blames the author for waving all the proceedings of the Assembly, which he takes to be unfair; but if he had reflected upon the date of the letter, he might, without great vexing himself, found an answer to this. And you may assure him, in the author's name, that the letter was begun on the 20th of March, and finished before a week went over; and the author of it pretends not to write about things before they are in being.

This writer next blames the author of the Considerations for a sin of omission, in not speaking of his own inclinations to the House of Hanover. Ignorance, and want of reflection, you see, will run great men into blunder, as well as others. Is every letter to a friend a place for propaling a man's sentiments upon the Hanover succession? And, besides, there are several passages of the Considerations wherein the author's affection is plainly enough insinuate. He prayed for him before ever the Act of Assembly was made, and since, and even after the Liturgy imposed by the to-

leration, prays for that illustrious house, it may be as plainly as the author of this Dialogue. I wish he had pitched upon some of those many insinuations of no great affection for that family. The instance he produces is more than the author minds to be in his letter, and doubts if any thing in the printed Considerations will infer his mistake. The House of Prussia, as every body knows, have their title to the crown, by their descending from Princess Sophia ; but that need neither hinder his affection to them, nor hinder him to call them two distinct families, for certainly they are so every way.

I have consulted p. 39 of the printed Considerations, and cannot observe the Lutheran principles at all misrepresented. The writer, if he say any thing, must prove that the Church of England (for that is the thing asserted) comes nearer the Tory principles there specified than the Church of Scotland ; and that firmly stands sure, and I believe cannot be denied by him. And if the author of the Considerations had gone much further, and termed the Lutherans not only erroneous, but of a persecuting and truly antichristian spirit and principle, or, at least, practice, he had said nothing but what he could well vouch. His reasoning from the instance of the great Luther and the Augsburg Confession is nothing to the purpose, nor his confounding the reasoning of the author with that of the Jacobites ; for he runs upon a supposition that the Lutherans keep by their founder, (temper and spirit fierce enough,) and their confession. Every body knows, both they and the Highflyers in England are quite off the foundation of their own Church, in her articles, and canon book, and the known sentiments of their compilers their first reformers ; and the Lutherans are generally all Arminians, and violent persecutors of their brethren, the Calvinists in Germany. The thoughts of this make that author pray for the reforming of the successor from the errors of his education ; and though he never made the parallel between the doctrine of consubstantiation and transubstantiation, yet he sees no great need of softening that gross error, and wishes heartily the successor may see the evil of it before ever he sway the sceptre over him, and yet goes heartily

in to him as by far preferable to a Papist, or one educate in Popery.

The Dialogist's remark on the author of the Considerations' ingenuous acknowledgment that some of his difficulties might appear minute, to great men like him, is no way candid; and he would know that these six lines in English or Latin, either upon any subject, that are liable to so many scruples from a brain less fertile than the Dialogist, would not be chosen by the author of the Considerations as the matter of a solemn oath. And he could produce him six lines, and six times six as matter of his oath, which he should not have scruples to advance upon, unless he be a worse Christian, not to say a minister, than I take him to be.

Those scruples that are imaginary from future events, &c. I can say nothing to unless he had specified them.

He adds, that others of them are obviated, p. 33, 34, which, when I turned to, I find nothing but one of them answered upon the matter with the threadbare Jacobite evasion of *de jure* and *de facto*, or our present sentiments, which, in my opinion, is liable to abundance of reflection when searched to the bottom.

His next passage, I think, is an even-down misrepresentation, not to say a known perversion of the author of the Considerations. What more false than to say the two large quotations are called by him the declared sense of the Commission against the Oath? It was never in the thoughts of the author that the Commission or Assembly either had declared their sense against the Oath. And all he does is impartially to set down the very words of the Commission with relation to the *as*, and the pressing this Oath, in the terms it then stood, upon Scotsmen. And the consequence he draws is, that the matter is not now entire. It is strange to think what a length a party, and the affectation of being an author, leads some good men to; however, I wish more consideration had been used before he had printed so palpable an untruth, and it had been more for his own reputation. For what he advances of the unfitness of the Church making declarations of this nature, I will not enter into the lists with him, though he would beware of laying down this

as an unfit thing in all cases. The Church of Scotland have done it more than once, and the circumstances may be such as they may yet find reason to do it. And it may be, if the late Assembly had done more in declaring frankly the opinion of that judicatory upon the oath, and remitted it to Presbyteries to have sent in their sentiments about it to the Commission, in the issue it might have tended as much to the peace of the Church as the method they have taken. Yet I am far from thinking this would have concluded men's consciences. However, I adore God's goodness in directing them so well as he did through their numerous difficulties. I am reserving further quarrels till meeting. Yours most affectionately.

LETTER LXXX.

UPON THE DECLARATION AND EXPLICATION OF THE OATH.

To a Friend.

October 13, 1712.

DEAR SIR,—The time of taking, or not taking, the Oath of Abjuration now is come so near, that the arguments *pro* and *con.* are much waved as sufficiently tossed, and it may be too much. I suppose by this time the generality are at a point anent it, at least I am.

I find now, after all the trial of skill and strength of reasoning in the defence of the Oath, the last proposal of those that are clear is, that it be taken with an explication, and the juror's sense of it given in before swearing to the administrators. I had, in July last, a scheme of such an explication from a very worthy gentleman sent me, upon which I gave such reflections as seemed to satisfy him of the unfitness of such a project, (*vide* Letter, July 28.) Since that time, I hear there hath been a draught of such an explication concerted at Edinburgh, and approven by a very masterly hand, and

sent west ; and I have seen two other draughts, said to be laid before, and one of them pretty generally satisfying to, the Rev. Presbytery of Glasgow. I had but a very transient view of them in the midst of company, and so can give you few or no remarks upon the matter of them. It seemed to me to fall in much with the tenor of the Assembly's Act, and the declarative part of our Synod's address to the Queen last week.

All I now propose to myself is, to lay before you what offers to my first, and indeed unripe, thoughts anent an explication, testimony, or call it what you will, to be given before the taking of this Oath, that I may have your corrections upon them ; and I assure you, if you can remove thir obvious difficulties that offer themselves upon it, I shall entertain a more favourable opinion of this commentary than I now have. Without any order, and just as things occur, *1st*, You'll please to observe, that any proposed explication does suppose the matter and frame of the Oath to be dubious, and to need this explication, that there are things in it capable of an ill sense, and in that sense may be offensive and stumbling. This supposition, which is very native, and I suppose does very much stick in the mind of many of the scruplers, (if what afterwards is to be advanced, that the explication does not alter the Oath, hold,) will very much strengthen the hands of those that do not take the Oath, and heighten the clamour of people that are disgusted at the Oath, and perhaps know not distinctly wherefore. And difficulties, that have no other solution but from those that are parties in the case, will be said to be inconsistent with that plainness, truth, and righteousness, in which we ought to swear. Again, this explication supposes, *2dly*, A power in private persons to explain public deeds, such as the Oath is, which, in my opinion, is scarce tenable, and a principle that would evert the very design of all public oaths. An oath is a security I give to another, or to the public ; and if I give it not in the sense it's required of me, but with an explication of my own, it's no security, unless my sense and the imposers' do agree, which I cannot know, except from them. The common maxim is well-founded,—*Cujus est condere, ejus*

est explicare. The explication offered by Argyle of the test was part of his indictment. For the explication offered by the ministers 1662, upon the Oath of Supremacy, it was neither un-animously gone into by themselves, nor universally approved at that time, by the ministry or the godly; and yet there was a considerable difference between that and this. I know not how far the power of our Privy Council reached, but it was certainly great; they had the execution, and assumed, whether *de jure* or not, I know not, the explication of the law; and, I suppose, there was not at that time (though I am not peremptory in this) any more than the King's Letter and an act of Council imposing the Oath of Supremacy, so that an explication offered to them, and accepted by them, was an explication properly allowed by the imposers. But this is ultroneous, and offered only by private persons; for the explication being bottomed, as I think, in one of the draughts, it is, upon the Union Act, securing against oaths inconsistent with our principles, much might be said. That the act imposing this oath is posterior to that act, and the Parliament of Great Britain will sustain themselves judges, whether any of their impositions are contrary to our principles; it's the thoughts of many, several of them are, and this oath among the rest. And if this act be to be stuck by, it seems more safe and candid to stop upon this act, till the imposers reconcile the oath and our principles, than rashly to advance our own private sense of this oath, declaring it agreeable to our principles, and run into the oath before a legal declaration; and thus, with our own hand, to pull down that security we are said to have by that act. 3dly, I further remark, that the justices who administer the oath, they have no power, for what I know, to give or take explications of this oath from the imposers. The oath, as it stands, yea, with a plain refusal of amendments, supposed to be in our favour, and the rejection of a draught of an oath far more smooth, is committed to them to impose upon us, but without any authority to allow of our sense put upon it. And, suppose they should venture upon the receiving of our declaration, since this is a *non habente potestatem*, certainly what they do, and

we both, is null in law. If it be said, then, I have done no more in my oath but sworn in agreeableness to my given declaration, I cannot say so far; for the oath, in its plain and literal meaning, is emitted, at the command of the imposers, and may, in law, be reputed, notwithstanding any private sense given, to be in the sense of law. And what is emitted cannot be recalled nor explained in any sense different from that of the imposers, till they consent. I think it then very hard to attest God in a matter that yet remains dubious, after all the explication I can give of it. *4thly*, This explication, given in by the jurors, seems contrary to the sense of the General Assembly expressed in their act, after all the weighing and pondering the difficulties and answers. An explication of the oath was never so much as offered at by them, and, indeed, it was not competent for them, and yet had been more habile than any offered by persons in a private capacity; but they expressly own that the difficulties in the oath can only be cleared by the legislature. How, then, shall a private deed, beforehand given by the persons swearing, remove difficulties? But, *5thly*, Which is yet more, an explication to me seems to run contrary to the direct and plain words in the oath—"All these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to *these express words by me spoken*, and according to the plain and common sense," &c., without any secret reservation, or open, I think, either. How this can be consistent with a sense put upon the oath by us, I cannot indeed see. If it be alleged that the declaration and sense given is still supposed to be agreeable to the plain sense of the words, I answer, if it be so, it is altogether needlessly given, and, in my opinion, the oath were better taken by such as think so, without any declaration by them; for their declaration will never superinduce their sense upon the oath, if the plain express words bear it not, and if they do bear it, it's altogether needless to offer any explication. This brings me, *6thly*, to add, that our explication cannot affect the oath. Say what we will, the oath remains in the plain and common sense. This seems pretty plain from what is said before. A private sense can no more affect justly a

public deed, unless accepted by the imposers, than a secret reservation can. And I can see no more ground to rest satisfied with an offered sense, not accepted by the imposers, than with a mental reservation. *7thly*, Supposing the explication accepted and valid, as it cannot be yet supposed, it does not nor can answer several of the straitening difficulties anent the oath; at least I have seen no draught yet that so much as seems to answer them. That which I hinted at before, which stated our allegiance, as we were bound to give it before the 1707, went the farthest this way of any. But then such an explication would be worse taken, perhaps, than the refusing the oath itself. The common schemes of explication do mostly level at the *as* and reference to the English acts, which is not so straitening to some as some other things: the supposed infractions of the rule of Government; the Articles of the Union, especially if they be irritant in their nature; allegiance bearing in its bosom a direct subjection to the present laws in force as to the ministerial office, and so the swearers being obliged to receive a presentation, to maintain in his station the tolerated and protected meetings; with many other things I could be more plain on, which, in my judgment, can never be taken off by an explication.

I could add many other considerations that darken me extremely against all explications whatsoever offered by parties taking the oath. The oath either needs an explication or not. If it needs it not, why is it given? if it need it, it must be given by the Legislature. I see few oaths but what might be taken with an explication, if this superinduced a sense upon the oath. Senses were offered of the test, and senses which, in a large sense, might be brought in upon the words of it. I fear, in this day of laxness as to oaths, the offering senses of them, and taking them in our own sense, be very stumbling, and instead of mending the matter make it worse. I once heard King William's offering the sense of the Coronation Oath urged. The history of it I am not so fully acquainted with as to give a judgment on it. Only, if the imposers of the oath had power to receive his sense, and did so, I think it was good and valid, and without this it did not affect his oath, but he was bound

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in terminis with the words omitted. And I know pretty extensive principles were taught that great, and I hope good man, by some divines, anent oaths, in another case which I will not mention, out of regard to the memory of [that] glorious prince to whom, under God, we owe so much. So that, on the whole, were I clear as to the matter, frame, and manner of imposing the oath according to my present light, I would take it without any previous sense; if not clear, I would not take it till I had a sense wherein I could take it, and that agreeable to the words framed by the imposers. And I think some brethren that are so very clear as they profess themselves to be for it, need no declaration. Only I wish others that have scruples be not gulled over to what they cannot help, by taking the oath, in a sense superinduced by themselves upon the oath without any authority. For certainly their own sense, not accepted by any competent hand, can never be a solid answer to any scruples. In this case, I think, it were proper to swear the words in which they give the sense of the oath, but not the oath itself, as long as there is any hesitation as to the sense of it.

This is what offers to me with respect to these proposed explanations. If I had had them in mine eye when writing, it may be they might have furnished me with some more arguments against them. But I can only now consider the proposal in the general. And, with all freedom, I leave these reflections to your thoughts, and expect a return to, yours most affectionately.

LETTER LXXXI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1712.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

April 30, 1712.

MY DEAR,—The Commissioner² came hither yesterday. The Commission met, and, wanting a quorum, did nothing but appointed three or four of their number to wait upon his Grace. He told them it was under some uneasiness that he accepted of this post, (for which he hath L.1500 sterling;) that he stood out long, till he saw the Assembly could not sit without an adjournment, which he found would be grievous to this Church; that at length he condescended to see his instructions, and when he found them favourable, and in nothing he could observe grievous upon ministers, he was the more willing to accept of the trust he was now in; that he hoped, at least for some time, nothing further would be done with respect to this Church. He said further, he was never for the dissolving of our civil constitution, and he was much against any thing that might dissolve our Church constitution. Upon some discourse upon our fast, he told them a copy of it was put in his hands in write, the day after he saw his instructions at London, and inquired what other Synods had done. This is all I remember passed.

This post brings little material from abroad. We hear of a trick that was designed to be put upon us in the duties upon vellum and papers, which I want time to relate at length. It issued in a meeting of our Scots commoners among themselves, when they sent a deputation to the T——r, [Treasurer,] and another to the Secretary, acquainting them they designed to declare such a disproportioned

¹ From Letters by Wodrow, vol. vi. Nos. 110—116.² The Duke of Athole.

duty was a breach of the 10th article of the Union, and if agreed to, they resolved to leave the House; upon which many of the resolves were re-committed. This matter is yet in dependence. By this day's votes you may find that the Commons have tacked the bill to examine all grants since the — 88 to the money bill, upon these duties, and a lottery upon them, which makes the Court exceedingly uneasy, since the Lords have resolved against all tacked money bills. We hear nothing further anent the patronage bill. It lies before the Commons, and they seem to stick upon the Lords' amendment, (Presbyterians only to be presented.) What will be the issue is not known. The accounts of the Pretender are yet very uncertain. I have been with some of the best intelligence here, and they are pretty positive he is in a dying condition. Some letters from London bear that his friends at London, who were extremely damped with the accounts of his death, begin to revive again, so that what to say I know not. The Synod of Aberdeen have not resolved, as was said, for the oath.

May 1, 1712.

Acquaint my Lord, to whom I give my humble duty, I received his commission this day, and delivered it timeously. It's abundantly regular. The Commissioner, when my Lord Rosse acquainted him with the contents of his, said, he was sorry my Lord was so long a-coming.

This day the Assembly was opened by a sermon upon Prov. xxiii. 23, "Buy the truth, and sell it not." There was little in the sermon upon the present posture of things. After the rolls were made up, as usual, the leet for the Moderator was—Mr W. Hamilton, professor, and Mr Wishart, Mr M'Kay, Mr Haddo, Mr Lining, Mr Cameron. None had any votes almost but Mr Wishart¹

¹ Mr William Wisheart, senior, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, one of the ministers of that city, and author of that elaborate and excellent work, "*Theologia, or Discourses of God.*" He was the father of Mr William Wisheart, junior, who succeeded him as Principal in the same University, and of Dr George Wisheart, one of the ministers of the Tron Church, of whom a notice will be found in Morren's *Annals of the Assembly*, vol. i. p. 316.

and Mr Hamilton.¹ The Professor carried it by six or seven votes. He was concerned in this place. The Queen's Commission was read in common form, and then the Letter, which I dare not presume to report upon once hearing, but give you what hints I remarked, as far as my memory serves. The Queen, after notice taken how much she is pleased with the conduct of former Assemblies, tells us, she doubts not we will be much satisfied with her choice of the Duke of Athol. She adds, that since several things of late have fallen out, which may appear grievous (or some such word) to this Church, she takes this solemn occasion to assure us, that although a liberty be granted to such as differ from us in things not essential, yet she will continue to give her protection and countenance to the Presbyterian government, as now established by law, and protect us from all insults, and most willingly redress all grievances. After recommending the setting a pious learned ministry in vacancies, she takes notice of the Commission's late address to her, (that anent the Abjuration,) where she is very much pleased to find such evidences of loyalty to her, and affection and concern for the Protestant succession by law established; and she hopes for very good things from us. I do not mind that, as is ordinary, moderation to those of the Episcopal communion, nor supplying of vacancies, is spoke of in the Queen's Letter. The Commissioner had a short speech, wherein he repeated upon the matter what is in the Queen's Letter, and gave us many assurances with respect to himself. The Moderator made a return in a long speech: That we, meeting here in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, were deeply sensible of the benefit of her Majesty's protection. He said much about the Duke of Athol's personal fitness for the post he is in, his zeal against profanity in

¹ Mr, afterwards Dr, William Hamilton, succeeded Mr George Meldrum as Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, in 1709. Before that time he was minister of Cramond. He was a man of distinguished abilities and acquirements. In 1715 he succeeded Carstairs as the leader of the Assembly, and was raised to the dignity of the Moderatorship five different times. He was made Principal of the University in 1732, but enjoyed that preferment a very short time, having died in the subsequent year.

the bounds where he hath influence, his life and conversation so becoming the character he bears. He added, that although several things were fallen out lately, that could not [but] be affecting and grieving to this Church, whatever this Assembly might fall in with, as their duty to God and their own conscience, they would labour to do it in a manner consistent with their unshaken loyalty to the Queen. That they were glad of her Majesty's satisfaction with the just expressions the Commission had given of their loyalty to the Queen, and concern in the Protestant succession. This is what I remember of this day's work. After committees were appointed, as usual, we adjourned till to-morrow, at nine of the clock, for prayer. A committee is appointed for revising the commission-book. I do not know whether the sense of the Assembly anent the Toleration, &c., will be expressed in the answer to the Queen's Letter, or in a separate address. The Lord direct us. By a letter Mr Carstairs showed me that day, I find it is yet uncertain what will become of patronages. My Lord Argyle got in the addition of *Presbyterian* to the bill for patronages, and when it was urged that *qualified* imported so much, the Duke answered boldly, that after the steps taken since the Union with respect to the Church of Scotland, they behoved to have all things clearly expressed, and nothing could be depended upon that was implied. It's said, another general clause is added by the Lords; that Sir David Dalrymple proposed in the Commons, but was overruled, that calls, and the manner of calling, should continue as before, notwithstanding any thing in this act, which it's thought will scarce go down with the Commons.

Pray acquaint my Lord and Mr Maxwell that, to our great surprise, little Thomas Stewart was removed by death this day about eleven of the clock. At first, before the small-pox struck out, he appeared to be in a very hopeful case, but when they appeared they were a very ill kind, the confluent pock, and yesternight a great many purple spots struck out, and the pox struck in, and this morning, about —, he began to be very ill and restless, and nothing eased him. [Blis]tering plasters and a vomit were given,

and the bezoar,¹ but in vain. The child wrestled on till eleven of the clock, and when I [called] the Lord took him to himself. Mr Stewart and his wife need [much] sympathy under this heavy loss.

I mind no other thing. I am very well. Let me hear from you, and how you and the children are. My service to all with you. I receive yours just now, which I am much satisfied with. I shall exactly obey your desires. Little Thomas Stewart is to be buried to-morrow at eight of the clock. Mr Stewart is in considerable distress and business, otherwise he would have wrote to Mr Maxwell; but he will accept of this account from me. I am.

LETTER LXXXII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 2, 1712.

MY DEAR,—This day, at nine, we met for prayer. The Commissioner was, indeed, indisposed, and was not able to come to us, and sent his excuse, yet came in about eleven of the clock. The Moderator, Mr Thomas Linning, Mr James Brown, Mr Daglish in Lithgow, Mr Andrew Cameron, Mr John Curry, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr John Hamilton, [were employed.] I cannot say but there was very much of a spirit of prayer upon some. Mr D. M'Kay and Mr John Hamiltoun, Strathevan, are appointed to preach next Sabbath. At four the overtures met, where there were heavy complaints made of patrons in the North, their, upon ministers' death, shutting Churches against the Presbytery, and ministers that come to declare vacant. This is like to be the beginning of sorrow in that bounds. Then the draught of the answer

¹ *Bezoar*, the name of certain concretions found in the stomachs of animals, to which many fanciful virtues were formerly ascribed.—*Ure*.

to the Queen's Letter came in, where there were long reasonings, but very calm. It was declared it was the mind of that committee that an address should be made by this Assembly against the Toleration, &c., which made the more yielding in this answer to the Letter. There is much said in compliment to the Duke of Athole, and more was moved to be added, but dropped, as what, though he, as was said, deserved, yet was not so proper to say, lest it should oblige the Assembly to say the like to after Commissioners, and the committee went into a motion to thank him for his firmness to this Church and appearances for it. The next clause is anent immorality, which is very full upon the following clause, wherein the Queen points at the toleration and patronages. The answer expresseth the Assembly's mind to this purpose:—"The things lately fallen out with respect to this Church are what cannot but be grievous and afflicting to them, yet they own the benefit of her Majesty's protection, which she firmly resolves to give, and they refer to the representations and petitions against the toleration and patronages, given in by the Commission against these grievances, which they hope, in due time, may come to be redressed;" which expression, (I forget the direct words,) in my opinion, is a greater flying in the face of the acts of Parliament than our Synod's act for the fast. They go on to thank the Queen for her acceptance of the other addresses of the Commission, (anent the Abjuration,) as an evidence of their loyalty and affection to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. Here a pretty warm debate issued anent *established by law*, and pretty bold things, which I will not repeat, were said. At length the House of Hanover was expressed without "established by law," and the Protestant succession said to be our greatest security for religion and liberty. There was another objection started upon the clause anent immorality, how we could acknowledge her Majesty's endeavours to suppress it and our laws, when now the concurrence of the civil magistrate was subtracted from us by the Toleration Act. This, and other things, were left to the address to be made afterwards. It is said the Commissioner will allow a very free and

plain address and representation of our grievances, providing we run it not to the utmost height. This, with the ordinary prayers at the close, is all my memory will serve me to tell you. The representations of the Commission were read against the toleration, abjuration, and patronages. The first and last were generally satisfying; the second was more scrupled at by several, and it was declared that nothing in this letter should preclude members from considering it afterwards. There seems to be a great desire of amicable measures; the Lord direct to them with faithfulness. It's talked that Dr Pitcairn has been written to and advised with anent the Pretender's health, whether true or not I know not. At the reading the Commission's address against the Toleration, Mr Carstairs gave an account, that it was a little late in coming up to London, that when they received it they laid it before the Queen, who answered, that affair was before the Parliament. And the Secretary told them that the Peers were upon it that day; and showed much desire it might be laid before them. Upon which they immediately went and drew the address and presented it, which was received and read. But the bill was just sending down to the Commons, and so nothing done at that time.

May 3, 1712.

This day the Assembly met, and, after the reading of some new commissions, the draught of the answer to the Queen's Letter was read. It was like to have passed without the least debate, till P. Stirling moved that the words "established in the House of Hanover" should be taken out of the narratory part of the clause where it was, as not being in the Queen's Letter there resumed, and put in some few lines lower in the Assembly's assertion, which was like to raise some heats, but it was fallen from. And then the Assembly voted Approve unanimously. Mr Logan declared before the Assembly, that he hoped that the Assembly's expressing themselves anent the succession *established* by law, would not be constructed an approbation of the Union; and that was his sense of the clause, at which the Commissioner smiled. Then some particular business

came in from the bills, which were all sub-committed. That of the riot last Sabbath at the kirk of Arbuthnot, by the patron's (the Lord Arbuthnot) keeping the door fast; and that of appointing a catechist for two large parishes in Brae Marr, they will come in afterwards. A large committee for instructions of Presbyteries is appointed; and the Synod books had committees appointed for revising of them. The answer to the Queen's Letter was transmitted and subscribed *coram*. In the afternoon the Committee of Instructions met, and we had all the Presbyteries instructions read and sub-committed to Principal Haddo, Mr Alexander Logan, and me, which takes me up so this night that I must close. They are very many and pretty high indeed. The Lord direct the Assembly how to manage them. The Patronage Bill is passed the Commons, with the amendment. Louiza's death is notified to the Queen by the King of France, and it's wondered if the Court will go in mourning. The letters from Amsterdam say the Pretender is dead. The Commons are adjourned till Monday next, some say because the peace is not ready, some say a Whig plot is to be laid before the Parliament.

LETTER LXXXIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 5, 1712.

DEAREST P.,—Yesterday Mr M'Kay preached in the forenoon before the Commissioner, upon Jer. xl. 39, "I will give you one heart and one way." He insisted [upon] and recommended unity at some length; and inferred that a liberty of conscience was not nor could be a blessing to any people or person, and insisted a little upon the sinfulness of a toleration. He lectured from 125th

Psalm. Mr Jo. Hamilton preached afternoon, upon—"Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness," &c., and handled a little the seeking and pursuing the interests of Christ and the Church. This day, in the forenoon, the overtures were upon the transmitted overtures from the last Assembly; and transmitted some of them, and dropped that anent the cautioning [?] the *jure devoluto* calls in the North, as now unreasonable, since the incoming of patronages. In the afternoon the Assembly met. There is very little business before us; of the ordinary sort, there was nothing this day before the Committee of Bills. The fears with respect to the public have put all our lesser matters, it seems, out of mind for a while. The Assembly just waits for the classing of the instructions, which will afford work; I wish the Lord direct us in it. There were never so many instructions before us from Presbyteries. The general heads are a testimony against the toleration and patronages,—an application to the Government anent, and a declaration of the Assembly's mind anent the oath,—the appointing of a fast,—the giving a general warning against the corruptions come and coming in upon us. Most Presbyteries are unclear anent the oath, and some are directly against it as it stands now. There are some papers for and against the oath going about in write, but nothing in print but the Advocate's piece. This day the Assembly met; there was some reasoning anent the transmitted overture anent baptism and foundlings. It was generally agreed to, and marked a first reading. The overture anent communions was read and sub-committed, that some additions might be made to it. Then the Commission-book was approven, but the three representations anent toleration, abjuration, and patronages, with the actings of the commissioners at London, were referred to a further consideration; it's designed they be read openly in the Assembly, and approven. But that anent the abjuration is scrupled at by severals. The book as to the other things, upon the report of the committee revising it, was unanimously approven; and the Synods met after the Assembly, and chose their commissioners for naming the next Commission. It's said we shall be allowed a very free representation, if

the acts of Parliament be not directly attacked. Some incline rather to an act in the strongest terms approving, and resuming several of the most express clauses of the Commission's addresses anent toleration and patronages. And the Commissioner will allow us to approve these in as brisk terms as we please, because they were given before the law was made. This is all I mind of this day. Our letters from London on this night bear, that the consolidating act, by which, as I wrote before, the supplies of money are tacked to the bill for examining accounts since the —88, is committed, and so in the matter passed the Commons. It's said the Whigs went into this consolidating bill. The Lords will never pass this bill, it being against a resolution of theirs, and what would make the Commons indeed Lords. It's thought if this bill carry not, the T——r [Treasurer] will be at a perfect nonentity, [nonplus,] if not ruined.

May 6, 1712.

This day, in the forenoon, the Committee of Overtures, or rather Instructions, met, and the class of all the instructions was read and agreed to as just; and there was a long debate whether they should be sub-committed, or sent in to the overtures. It was agreed the four general heads, the abjuration, toleration, patronages, and Youl vacance, should be conferred upon, and the abjuration first. This conference is to be in the Assembly-House, none but members and ministers present, to-morrow at three o'clock. There was likewise an overture for the enlarging the proportion of ministers for Edinburgh to six, and one elder more, because beyond thirty. But that is not yet transmitted. Some of the public accounts were read and approven. In the afternoon, the Assembly did meet, where the transmitted overture anent baptism was read, and, after long reasoning, was by a vote passed into an act. By it ministers are to speak to parents before they be admitted to baptism, and some other clauses, anent which there was no debate. But the approving sponser, though they are very much restricted, and the admitting parents, when they give evidences of repentance, to hold

up their children, without specifying their absolution, was much debated. However, it passed by a considerable plurality. The accounts of the agents of the Church were approved without a vote; and the Committee of Bills appointed to meet this night, as likewise the Committee for naming another Commission. What business is to be before us, except what relates to public affairs, I know not; but it's very slow, and we are almost idle, till these affairs come in. There are as many ministers in that are not members as members almost. It's talked here that the Jacobites have writ up what Mr Logan said on Saturday to London, and call it treason, viz., that when the Assembly voted *the succession as established by law*, he hoped they did not approve the Union. Sir Robert Pollock is come down from London. The reports continue of the Pretender's illness, and that he cannot live long. His friends give out he is fully recovered; that he has turned off his Jesuit confessor; that he is going to Deuxponts, that belongs to the King of Sweden; that there, or in Switzerland, he is to be a good sound Protestant, and marry the King of Sweden's sister. It's said the peace is at a stand, and that Strafford hath writt over, that the King of France is boasting that, in a few days, we shall hear of a battle in Flanders, or the siege of Valenciennes. Some are pleased to say, that this affair of the consolidating or tacking the bill for the lottery, and examination of grants, in which the Whigs have stuck close by the Court, and which the Lords will never pass, is a trick of the T——r, to be a pretence for a hasty clapping up of a peace, for want of money. It's hard to say what are great men's designs. Kilmarnock will be turned out of the Commons. The story I wrote, anent the threatening of our commoners to leave the House, upon the matter of the duty on paper, is all true. I mind no other thing this night to write. I am very well, and shall write to-morrow with my Lord's horses; but I have sent this by post, because you lay your orders on me so to do every post. Pardon escapes, for I am in haste.

LETTER LXXXIV.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 7, 1712.

MY DEAREST,—In case I forget, there were three months of the Political State of Britain I did not send west with the coachman. This day, in the forenoon, the Assembly met. We had the affair of the Church's printer before us. Jo. Muncurr is seeking this, and Mrs Anderson; the heirs of Mr Mosman are content to keep it or part with it, providing the Acts of Assembly they have on their hands be taken from them. This is sub-committed. There was an affair of Bruntisland's planting came in; the Bills' deliverance was to transfer it to the Commission. One of the parties reclaimed, and begged to be heard before the Assembly upon this precise point, whether it should be referred to the Commission or not. Upon which resulted a long debate upon the point of form, whether the parties should be heard before the Assembly, and who were parties. The Committee of Bills seemed to be one party on this precise point. After much reasoning upon this, the reclaiming party was allowed to present a new petition to the Bills, to be heard on their deliverance. In the afternoon there was a conference upon the oath, from three to near nine. It were fruitless to offer to give any account of this. I shall only tell you it was confined to a very narrow point, whether the conditions specified in the acts affected the oath or not; there was much said, and I believe as well as could be, upon both sides, so that there was no room to enter upon any further scruples. There was very much calmness in reasoning, and extremely long speeches, to clear the oath from any reference to the conditions in the acts. To many that spoke, and many more

that did not, this matter seemed ambiguous, and to need an explanation by the imposers. A great many that were not members were allowed to speak, and there are here, I think, almost double ministers not members as members. I do not see much ground gained upon either side by this conference; what to-morrow's conference will produce I know not. I forgot to tell you this forenoon was mostly taken up with a petition from the Society for Christian Knowledge, which was gone into, and the desire granted, that ministers use yet some further endeavours to help forward the good design.

May 8.

This day the Assembly met at ten, and had very little before them. The business of Burntisland came in again upon a new petition, and after a long reasoning about the reputation of a young man whom Mr Webster, it seems, has aspersed, the affair was referred to the Commission. Then a reference came from the Synod of Perth, and the parish of St Martins, where the Viscount of Stormont is concerned; and Mr Carstairs told that that Presbytery was represented at London as having said that they were against the person Stormont named, because the Viscount appeared for him; and he said this was one great argument used for the restoring of patronages. This he told that the Presbytery might have occasion to vindicate themselves openly; which they did by denying of it, and the Assembly appointed so much to be signified at London. Then this affair, because long, was remitted to a sub-committee to bring in an abstract and overture against it. This is all I remember this forenoon. In the afternoon, there was a conference from four to near nine, upon other parts of the oath, and a committee appointed to think on methods of unity as to the oath. I have no more time, it being past eleven at night. I am in perfect health, and received yours, and the enclosed from Thorntown, but I do not know yet what I do with it. My service to all with you.

LETTER LXXXV.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 9, 1712.

MY DEAR,—This forenoon the Assembly had but very little before them except the business of the Commission. In the committee this morning it was much debated whether the Commission should be instructed with relation to the toleration and patronages. There was ground reserved for an after remit, if needful, so it was dropt. There was a long tug when the diets of the Commission should be. It was moved by many that September should be the second. At length, by a vote, it was carried the third Wednesday of July. It's expected that all our Synods will meet between and then; and so near the first of August, a Commission may be very useful. I wondered to see some oppose this. After this, and the roll of the members, who are very many, the instructions were read. There are several things new in them, particularly that they shall last till another Commission be named. All was voted unanimously.

Then there came in a petition for the T. [town] of Glasgow, craving that the Commission might have liberty to decide finally in transportations to them. The deliverance of the bills was, that the Assembly should not grant the petition, which, indeed, surprised the whole Assembly, and there was a general outcry against it. Mr Francis Montgomery said somewhat anent the hazard of granting this to one burgh, and not to all. Sir James Campbell of Ackinlasse said somewhat likewise against; and the Committee of Bills pretended that Synods' sentences should not be subjected to the Commission. My Lord P. [Pollock] spoke and signified his mind,

that he jealoused the petition might have a retrospection to my affair, (because the pt. [provost ?] would not signify to him, whether he would pursue or desist from his appeal;) but if it looked not backwards, and if the present appeal were fallen from, he thought the desire of the petition might be granted, at least he would not oppose it. Upon which the pt. declared he fell from the appeal, whereupon I took instruments that it was fallen from, and craved extracts. So this business is ended. I mind no further this forenoon. In the afternoon the committee anent St Martins met, and referred it to the Commission.

In the afternoon the committee anent the Oath of Abjuration, which consists of the principal speakers, *pro* and *con.*, met with the Advocate; they are numerous, and I cannot resume them. They have scarce entered upon the affair. It was generally agreed that harmony as to the oath could not be expected in point of practice. The matter of all their refusing was supposed impracticable. They only agreed that the greatest forbearance and charity was duty, upon the supposition of different practices, and that an address, containing an expression of our loyalty to the Queen, respect for the succession, and abhorrence of the Pretender, and declaring that we are all willing to swear these, or to this purpose, be presented, by way of address to the Queen; and a sub-committee appointed to consider on a form of it. They are to meet again to-morrow, at three in the afternoon, upon this subject. I wanted time yesternight to give you any account of yesterday's conference. And now, when I have more time, I find I can scarce recollect the scruples advanced. The debate was not managed with that temper that it was the first diet, namely through Mr W——r [Webster] his warmth. Many spoke, and almost the most part, who were not members of the Assembly. The heads were, the oaths involving an Oath of Allegiance to the successor, even when sovereign, and so importing a relation to the Coronation Oath; the needless repetition of the Oath of Allegiance, almost twice over in the Abjuration; the business of treason and treacherous conspiracies, and discovering them; and the import of the Queen's dignity. The meeting was wearied before these

were over; and the overture of a committee was fallen into for keeping up harmony if possible. In my opinion, indeed, many of the seemingly strongest difficulties were not tabled; and it may be at this time of day it had not been so fit to insist much upon them in public. I pray the Lord may direct what way to fall upon.

There are letters in town this last post from London and Holland, bearing the Pretender's death. The Jacobites still pretend they are stories; and say he is recovered of that illness he fell into after his small-pox, upon the hearing of Louiza's death. It's writt from London, but its certainty I know not, that the express that was sent over to inquire anent his death is returned, and hath dropt out with his death. It's likewise said, that, in case of his death, our back friends above have the frame of a new Oath of Abjuration ready to put upon us as to the Duke of Savoy's sons. But all this is but guesses. Young Houstoun has had a duel with Charters, and wounded him. The story of the Whigs' association, in case of any measures to take off the attainder from the Pretender, or the weakening of the succession, is said to be groundless.

This night, in the committee of overtures, there came from the bills a petition of the societies for prayer in many places, very modest against the oath, and for ministers' unanimity, which the committee referred to the committee upon that affair. Another of a much higher strain was presented by Mr Hepburn, owning the Queen's authority and the Protestant succession, but full of reflections on the Assembly anent the fasts, &c., proposing the renewing the Covenants, and craving a conference. Its title is, "Petition of Mr Jo. Hepburn, and the Societies in the West and South adhering to him." This and many expressions in it were challenged. The moderator of the bills had rebuked him for his divisive courses, which he seemed not to storm much at. The overtures gave it as their mind, that the bills should signify to him that there were several things in his petition that were under the Assembly's consideration, and other things in it that were very disagreeable to them, and that they could not go into. And as to a conference

with him and his followers, (like that of Sanquhair, 1705,) they did not decline it, but could not grant it upon the foot of that petition, but upon another petition, better framed, he might have access to be heard. The transmitted overture anent the frequency of communions was amended, and Synods appointed to inquire into Presbyteries' diligence in this, and record it, and the Assembly to call for an account; which I believe will pass in the Assembly as an act.

May 10.

This day the Assembly met, and spent much time in a senseless discourse anent an article of the form of process, anent Ministers their trial for scandals, by one Mr James Maitland. The matter is this: One Mr Will. Hunter for these two summers was at the wells of Peterhead, about thirty miles distance from his own Presbytery. While there, he never kept ordinances for six or eight weeks together, and was observed to haunt much with intruders, and such like. When he came home, on his road to his parish, he left sermon where he was all night, and rode some miles, and heard an intruder. The Presbytery where these things were done wrote to Mr Hunter's Presbytery a civil letter, acquainting them of the meeting, and desiring Mr Hunter to be with them. They being, at least the plurality, favourable to Mr Hunter, wrote back a very angry letter to the Presbytery. The Synod of Aberdeen unanimously, except three dissenters, appointed Mr Hunter to be cited by his own Presbytery, and to appear before the other. These three brethren dissented and appealed to the Assembly, that they might explain the form of process, and appoint a minister, when processed, to be tried, not where the scandal is, but before his own Presbytery. We had a senseless discourse to support this senseless petition. The Assembly rejected it, and rebuked Mr Maitland. The business of St Martine was delayed by the Assembly to the first diet of the Commission. The Synod-book of Perth was produced, and the visitors appointed brought in somewhat anent Mr Davidson's being ordained indefinitely; but this was waved. This

day the Commissioner hath a flying post. By it we hear the affair of the tacked bill is rejected by the Commons, 300 to 80. The Court and Whigs have joined, and carried it against the Octobrians.¹ The French plenipos refuse to give in any thing in write. The Pretender continues sick and weakly. It's now said we shall rise upon Wednesday next, but what the Commissioner's instructions by this packet are I do not know as yet, but I hear nothing harsh in them yet. Since the express came this morning, it's wondered the Assembly had no account given of it this day by the Commissioner. We only hear the Queen has very graciously received our answer, and gives us new assurances, &c. The committee anent the oath met this afternoon, but have come to nothing yet. Their sub-committee, the Advocate, Mr Weyly, and Mr Mitchell, brought in the draught of an act, narrating what the Commission had done anent it, and how the Queen had received it, and declaring the generals all agree in—loyalty to the Queen, and affection to the succession, and abhorrence of the Pretender; and that it's only in these terms those that take it do so, and others that take it not agree on the said declaration, but reckon some things in the oath as it stands disagreeable to their principles; and then the draught goes on to recommend affection and mutual forbearance, notwithstanding of difference of practice. But Mr A. L. [Allan Logan,] and many others, opposed the approbation of the Commission's address, and would not allow that to be in this act. They have come to nothing this night. What the issue will be I know not.

My Heart, I know not yet when the Assembly will rise; it's expected about the middle of the next week. I am named upon the Commission, and will be obliged to stay two or three days after the Assembly is up. I will haste home as soon as may be; however, let Mr R. R. be acquainted that I am not probably to be home. I shall order my horses in as soon as I can fix a day. And, by your next, send me all your orders about any thing to be done, before I

¹ A political party, called the October Club.

leave this place. I have no letters from you this post, which I wonder of; but I hope, if you had not been well, you would have writt.

LETTER LXXXVI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 12, 1712.

MY DEAR,—Yesterday Mr Ja. Stewart preached in the forenoon before the Commissioner. He is a young man whom he desired to preach, and the committee granted his desire. He lectured on Ps. cxxii., and preached upon Jer. iii. 1, upon backsliders returning. There was nothing singular in it. In the afternoon, Mr James Thomson of Elgin preached an excellent, pointed sermon upon Jehosaphat's words, "Only deal courageously, and the Lord shall be with thee for good." He pressed a courageous standing by the Reformation rights of the Church of Scotland. He noticed that, since the Lord by his promise had assured his ministers he would be with them on the road of duty, it was unaccountable and unreasonable for magistrates to refuse their concurrence to them in that which is good. He observed, that when the golden snuffers of the sanctuary were taken away, the lamps and lights could not but burn dim. He compared our Reformation to a pouring off of liquor, and said our excellent reformers had carefully poured off all the pure and clear liquor, and left the dregs in the hand of the whore of Babylon. He added, that our Reformation was a natural right, and it still had been found, and still would, that the friends to the purity of Scotland's Reformation were friends of the nation, and those that were enemies to our Reformation would be found enemies to the nation. In pressing ministers to courage, he very

handsomely enlarged upon Samuel's case, when the civil government was altered, 1 Sam. xii. ; and held forth the Lord's supporting him by telling him they had not rejected Samuel, but the Lord : And closed all with reading 2 Chron. xv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7.

This day the overtures met at eight in the evening, when the affair of the fast was a little debated ; it was pretty much debated upon, but the fast that hath been in our Synod, Galloway, and Dumfries, hath taken off the edge that is upon several ; and further, it was doubted if the causes of a fast would be agreed upon harmoniously, and such as those who were for a fast inclined to have inserted ; and so it was delayed till the rest of the business of the Assembly was over, which they reckoned would clear up things with relation to a fast. At ten o'clock the Assembly met, and we had little that I mind but the approbation of Synod-books. I remember little anent them but what is common form, except that of Merse, where the Assembly refused to approve of an act discharging the making any new elders in vacancies, during their vacancy ; and another, casting an heritor voting in a call because he had not been infeofted. In the afternoon, the sub-committee anent the oath came to meet. I told you that on Saturday they had come to an issue anent the draught of the act anent the Abjuration : there were very great heats and warmness among them. This afternoon they came to some better temper, and, it seems, agreed upon the draught of an act. The overtures met, to which their report came at six at night ; and there was a very long debate. The Commission's acts anent patronages and toleration were transmitted without any great debate ; then the report anent the Oath of Abjuration came in. Before it was entered upon, there was a previous question put, Whether there should be any further application, than an approbation of this Assembly of the Commission's address ? This was much opposed by a great many : however, this was overruled, and it being an instruction from many Presbyteries that a testimony should be given with respect to the toleration and patronages, and complaints made of what was grievous in the oath, it was yielded to. Then it was violently pressed that the Commission's act or address anent

the oath should be approved before any further consideration ; it was overruled, and a committee appointed to form a draught of a representation by way of testimony ; and the sub-committee's act anent the oath was read, and all reasoning anent it delayed till to-morrow. The act, in short, begins with a very emphatical approbation of the Commission's address anent the oath, as faithful and seasonable ; then it goes on to take notice of the Queen's approbation of it in her Letter to the Assembly ; then to lay down, almost in the very words of the oath, the Assembly's loyalty and affection to the succession, and abhorrence of the Pretender, and to declare that those that have clearness to take the oath, take it only in reference to those three generalls, which they all heartily agree on ; but others among them, who do fully agree on these three, yet conceive some things in the oath are or may be constructed to contain somewhat disagreeable to their principles, which those that take it do equally with them abhor, and then they go on to exhort all to harmony and forbearance, whatever be their different practices. This length matters are come to-day.

May 13, 1712.

This morning at eight the committee of overtures met, and there the draught of the sub-committee of the Assembly's act for harmony anent the oath was read, and upon the first clause of it, the approbation of the Commission's address anent the oath, there was a debate from eight to eleven. There was much reasoning upon both sides ; the members of the Commission, as I understood them, were of different sentiments anent the sense of the last clause of that address ; and the members of the sub-committee were of different minds anent the sense of the draught of the Assembly's act anent it. The main point debated was, how far, or if at all, the Commission had given the sense in which that oath was to be taken ; and how far the Assembly's act was this Church's approbation of that sense by them fixed upon it, as some thought contrary to the sense of the words, and what was only in the power of the Legislature to give. It was contended by the members of the

Commission, that it was only a sense offered to the Government, and upon that it was urged that this was to involve the scruplers either in taking the oath, or going contrary to the sense of the Church. Upon the other hand, it was, with great fervency, represented how ill it would look if the Commission were not approved, and that it would, indeed, for ever mar all after Commissions, and it would be a reflection upon the Queen's favourable acceptance of that address, and upon those that have taken it [the oath] in England, Ireland, and here in that sense. At length it was moved to delay the approbation of the address of the Commission till our representation to the Queen should come in, and then consider all together. And so the matter was delayed till the afternoon that the subcommittee meet again, and all the draughts be rendered together. At eleven the Assembly met. The vote was stated Approve the Commission's procedure anent toleration and patronages; and the two addresses were read, and are to be inserted in the act, and both voted unanimously. Before the vote it was moved, that the members of the Commission, where these addresses were passed, should not vote, but it was waved; and the vote was counted too solemn that all voted in it. Then Mrs Anderson was appointed printer to the Church, in room of Mr Mosman's children. Her petition was for her successors as well as herself, but that was casten. She has given L.20 to Margaret Mosman, and she is to have the benefit of selling the old Acts of Assembly for seven years. Mr Grant's affair in the north in Ross, who was so dreadfully beat and wounded in summer last, [came on,] and he was declared transportable. Then the affair of Mr A. Campbell, whom the Earl of Bredalbine pursues most spitefully, because he hath gained a stipend from him in the Weems, was referred to the Commission. There was likewise an act anent Commissions passed, in the terms of the printed overture almost, with an additional clause anent the particular care Synods are to take anent the frequency of communions. The Commissioner yesterday, upon the coming in of the Synod of Ross their book, and the account of the great insults made upon them, renewed his account of the Queen's readiness to protect this Church

from insults; and this day acquainted the Assembly that he had received the return of his express, and the Queen commanded him to acquaint us that she was much satisfied with our letter, and thanked us for the expressions of our loyalty, &c.

In the afternoon, the sub-committee met in the Advocate's, upon the act anent the oath, and agreed, as I hear, upon it, and an address anent the oath. They sate till six, when the Assembly were to meet, and so had no time to make their report to the overtures; but I hear they are generally satisfied with the address. There is another designed anent the toleration and patronages; but they cannot yet agree upon the words of it, so as not to irritate, and yet give a sufficient testimony. It's a pity this is left to the last day, when we have so little time.

At six the Assembly met, and had several little things before them anent bursars and other things, which they remitted to the Commission, and went through all the public business before our two committees; so we have no more to do to-morrow but our act anent the oath and the addresses. I pray the Lord carry us honestly and harmoniously through them, and bring us to a happy issue. I want time to read this over. We have no further accounts of the Pretender. I saw a letter from London last post, which bears the peace is to be laid before the Parliament this week; that the States have gone into the barrier proposed.

My Dearest, I am perfectly in health. Our Assembly, I think, may rise upon Wednesday. The Commission will sit a day or two after it, if not three days. I am a member; and I see the horses cannot be in till Friday in the afternoon, or in the morning, for I have condescended to stay till then. You may order Johnny to come in (if this reach you upon Wednesday night) with the horses upon Thursday. If it reach you not till Thursday, he may come off part of the road, and stay by the way all night, and come in on Friday morning. It will be Friday afternoon, at soonest, before I can come off, and it is uncertain if I get off then. I will do my best to be home this week; but do not peremptorily expect me, for I cannot be positive if I get home. Let a horse he sent in for

Mr Robison on Saturday. Let Johnny bring the wallet, and Mr Gut. [Guthrie's] Life. I had no letters last post from you; but I hope if you or the children had been ill, you would have done as you ordered me. I had yours of the 12th, which was very satisfying to me just now. I shall do what I can in all the affairs you speak of. Let Johnny bring in both the horses with him. I know nothing but he will come home with me. My brother expects to get a retour here, and to come with us. I shall not stay an hour longer than I can get off; and if I come not off this week, I shall write by next post; and whether I come or not I shall write. The Lord be with you, and give us a comfortable meeting.

LETTER LXXXVII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1712.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

MY DEAR,—Unless I had promised in my last to have writt by this post I should not have done it, because truly I want time. This comes only to let you know that I am perfectly well. The Assembly rose this day in the greatest harmony and union. I must refer yesterday's proceedings, and this day's, to another letter, or to meeting. Only our enemies are extremely disappointed, and our own fears; and whatever the Lord do anent this Church, I am sure we have much ground of praise, and new arguments for wrestling, for the remarkable appearance of providence for this Assembly. The Lord help us to be thankful. The horses are not come in this night; but I reckon they will be in to-morrow. The Commission meets to-morrow at ten of the clock, and I doubt much if I get away this week. Do not expect me; but, if I can, I will endeavour to be home. The Lord's appearance at this juncture is so remarkable, that if there be any need of my staying at the Commission,

I dare not refuse. The Lord be with you and ours. This I write in the midst of company; and am your own

R. W.

May 15, 1712.

The Assembly is adjourned to the last Thursday of April 1713.

Yesterday, Wednesday, the 14th, at eight, the Committee of Overtures met; and the whole Assembly, as a Committee of the whole House; there was laid before them a draught of the act and address anent the Abjuration Oath; there was much and long debate about it. At length it was transmitted to the Assembly, which met at ten; where, if I mind, the act and the address were read to the House. And, after very little debate in public, it was put to the vote, Approve or Not, and carried Approve. There were seven *Nots*: Mr A. L., L. C. Erskine, Mr Maitlain in the North, rebuked lately, Mr Darline, Mr Spaldy, and two others. There were a great many silent and *Go ons*; I doubt not near a third part of the ministers. The occasion of this demur was not so much the act itself, as the assertion in the beginning of it of the truth, seasonableness, and faithfulness, of the Commission's representation anent the oath. This did not relish so well with many of the scruplers anent the oath, and they debated the matter at great length in the committee, that the Commission had put a sense upon the oath which they doubted if consistent with the plain sense of the oath, and if it was competent for the Commission to give a sense of the oath at all. And, therefore, there is a clause added in parenthesis in the act to obviate this, (till the sense be declared by the Legislature.) This made many silent that would have been *Nots*. And others objected that the Commission had fixed the scruple upon the reference to the English acts, and they had other scruples of as great weight as that. Those upon the scruplers' side were much debated in the committee in the morning, as what might infer a satisfaction to take the oath in that sense imposed by the Commission; and, upon the other hand, the hazard of not approving the Commission in this address, after it had been presented and so graciously

received, was urged. However, there was no debate in the Assembly. But the vote went on, as above, in the draught of the address anent the oath; the Queen was desired to interpose *with the Parliament*. This was thought meet to be left out, and left in general, as safest, and including other ways that might be found necessary, and including the Parliament likewise. This act and address has cost several days in private before it could be got through so harmoniously. And as it now stands, I suppose it will be generally acceptable, as all that could be done at this critical time without flying directly in the face of law, which is not thought safe for the Assembly to venture upon. After the vote the Commissioner made a speech, and told he was very sensible that any that had voted Not approve this act, did not so out of any disregard to the Queen or disloyalty, but because of some scruples anent other points, and he would take a care to lay the loyalty and firm affection of all the ministers and members of this Assembly before the Queen, which occasioned the Moderator's returning him thanks for this kind offer.

In the afternoon, at three, the committee of overtures met, and Mr Ja. Haddo proposed a written overture to be passed into an act, which he was pleased to lay before the committee as a warning against error and corruptions the Church was in hazard of. But I observed nothing of this in it, and it was an overture about union, concluded with a discharge of ministers preaching upon the oath, or writing anent it. This two-faced proposal was generally disagreeable, and a very warm debate ensued. And the committee ran into a greater heat than I have hitherto observed among us. It was ended without sub-committing it, by the Commissioner's coming in after six, the hour of the Assembly. The Assembly did very little this night, except the examining the state of the Highland bursars, the granting Mrs Anderson's petition to be the Church's printer, and the restricting the copies of the Assembly's registers from every Synod to the four Universities, and appointing a committee to go to the Presbytery of Lorn.

This day, May 15, at eight, the committee of overtures met, where

the overture given in by Mr Haddo was dropped. The address anent toleration and patronages, under the name of the late occurrences, was read, and it was much debated that they should be more particularly specified; but not gone into. And as it stands now transmitted, with an act for prayer among ministers, and their thankfulness for the good issue of this Assembly. At ten the Assembly met. After the reading the lists of probationers and students, the address was voted unanimously, though some were silent. And several appeals were declared fallen from. Then the Moderator had a long speech, wherein he observed the difficulties this Assembly had to go through, and the good hand of Providence in carrying them through; recommended unity and forbearance among ministers; apologised for his own unfitness; and then adjourned, in the ordinary style, to the last Thursday of April; and then turned to the Commissioner and thanked him, and blessed him and his family. And then the Commissioner had a speech, observing the harmony and loyalty of the Assembly; recommended unity and preaching people's duties to the Queen, and concluded in the ordinary form of dissolving this and inditing the next Assembly. The Moderator concluded by prayer, singing the 133d Psalm, and pronouncing the blessing.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

POSTURE OF CHURCH AFFAIRS.—TOLERATION AND PATRONAGE.

For Mr Alexander M^cCrackan, Minister of the Gospel at Lisburn.

March 27, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 6th of February, and another in November, if I remember right, and my not making a return hath neither been of oblivion nor design, I can assure you; but yours still came to me by private hands, and they

were still out of the way before I could hear of them, and by post I know not how [to] write, unless I had sent it about by England, which I had many thoughts of doing, for I was impatient to let you know how acceptable yours are to me, and to give you a sketch of affairs here since parting; and if my neighbour, Mr M'Dowal, had not been coming over, I know not how long I had continued in this uncertainty. Pray help me out of it by your next, and let me know how I shall write to you in a stated way.

Some weeks after I parted with you, in August last, I fell into a fever and flux, which confined me to my room till the beginning of October, in which interval, I think, I was favoured with a line from you, but was not able to answer it. When I was recovered, in the winter and since, I have been harassed and perplexed with a call to the south quarter of Glasgow, which is in dependence before our Synod next week, and, I suspect, will be carried to the Assembly in May.

These personal difficulties have been heightened with mighty changes in the posture of our Church affairs, of which, no doubt, you have accounts from better hands than mine, and the bearer will give you the history at large.

The last summer, the English service was set up almost through all the north of Scotland, and that party grow extremely insolent and outrageous. Our brethern there are in a very sad taking, and need your sympathy very much. All the noise and violence of the party was of design to force some opposition from Presbyteries, yet I hear of none but that of Perth and Aberdeen that raised processes against these innovations; and the first went on, and deposed one for contumacy, and bringing in a foreign liturgy. This was made the introduction to the bringing in the bill for protecting those of the Episcopal communion in Scotland, which you, no doubt, know is now passed, in the form which Mr M'Dowal will let you see, if you have not had it before.¹

¹ Several amendments were proposed by the House of Lords on the *Toleration Bill*, favourable to the Church of Scotland, such as that, instead of swearing in the Abjuration Oath to the succession *as* established by law, it should run, *which is*

The Commons passed it without the oaths upon the tolerated or us ; refused all amendments in favours of this Church. The Commission met in January, and sent up a very plain and free address to the Queen, which you, no doubt, have seen in the English prints, and an address to the Commons, and another to the Right Honourable the Peers in Parliament assembled, desiring they might be heard by their counsel.¹ The Queen assured the presenters of the continuance of her protection, and that she would consider their address. The Lords admitted the counsel for the Church, and made several amendments in favour of the Church, and clogged the bill with the oaths you see in it, to the protected and to us, and amended the little great word *as* into which. The Com-

established by law, and that the toleration should be limited to such as had received orders from a Protestant Bishop. With these alterations the Jacobites were highly dissatisfied. "When Carnwath and L. Lyon heard of the amendments, they cried and blasphemed. The Bishop of Edinburgh has sent a letter to the Bishop of London, Balmerino, and Carnwath, begging them, for God's sake, to stop the passing of the bill, for it would ruin *their interest* here."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. Nos. 71, 72, &c.) Much odium has fallen on the Presbyterian clergy for their hostility to this bill ; but, in point of fact, few of them were opposed to the exercise of forbearance and protection to the Episcopal worship, considered in itself. They opposed it, because Episcopal meetings were at that time seminaries for fostering disaffection to the Hanover family, and because the bill was only part of a scheme formed by an unpatriotic ministry to overthrow the Church of Scotland, and to restore Prelacy and the Pretender. This appears from Wodrow's Letters on the subject. See also Life of Carstairs, p. 79, 80. We need not wonder, therefore, that Presbyterians, in whose memories the horrors of the late persecution were still fresh, opposed this bill, and even considered it necessary that Episcopalians should then be subjected to some measure of restraint.

¹ In their address to the Peers and Commons, the only thing they desired was, that their counsel might be heard at the bar, as to their objections to the Toleration Bill. In their address to the Queen they "spoke very plain, and told her that the preamble of the bill, complaining of the persecution of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, was false and calumnious ; that the passing of the bill was contrary to many Acts of Parliament made in favour of the Church of Scotland, which are particularly enumerated in the address, and set down *ad longum* ; that it's contrary to the Union, &c." Messrs Carstairs, Blackwell, and Baillie, who were commissioned by the Church to use all prudent means for preventing the passing of the bill, "addressed the Commons, earnestly desiring that they would delay the Toleration Bill till the Church of Scotland were met, and should declare their mind about it ; but their address got not so much as a hearing, but was rejected with scorn."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 60.)

mons insisted upon the *as*, and sent it up. And it's said the Oct. Club signified to the T——r, that if it was not passed with the *as*, he needed expect no supplies. Accordingly, it is passed.

The Commission, in February, sent up a second address, which I have not a copy of; but hear they express their abhorrence of the Pretender, and affection for the Protestant succession, and represent their surprise at the passing of the bill, and an imposition of an oath upon them, wherein are some expressions disagreeable to their principles and establishment, and beg her Majesty may extricate them out of their difficulties, and may accept of this their loyal representation in place of perplexed oaths. But I cannot desire you to depend upon these expressions, because I have them only by report.

Thus matters stand with us. I suspect a great many ministers have light to go into the oath, and may make a considerable party for it in the Assembly, and am of opinion, a considerable number will not take it, upon all hazards, of which I own myself one, if I get not other satisfaction than I yet expect. And if our brethren who have light don't see fit, for the peace of the Church, to stand out with us in one body, I tremble to think of the consequences different measures will have at this juncture.

The exauctorate bishops wrote up to their friends to drop the toleration, most of them and their dependants being absolutely against the oaths. And now I hear they resolve to wait, and see what our practice will be. And I suppose, in the meantime, they will get down journeymen from England, who will take the oaths, and begin the schism in this Church.

Thus matters stand with us till the Assembly meet. The Duke of Athole is to be our Commissioner. And betwixt [this] and then (if it be not delayed, that the Assembly may not be too much grated) we will have another act rescinding the act abolishing patronages, and restoring patronages, and restoring patrons to their right of presentation.¹ The act for the Yuil vacance, in which we

¹ The bill for restoring patrons to their ancient rights of presentation of ministers to vacant churches passed both Houses of Parliament before the meeting of the

expect some clauses relating to us ministers, and some say, an order to keep the 30th day of January is upon the file, and will speedily pass the Lower House.

There is another act in design for resuming the bishops' rents, and disposing them, as I hear, for the support of the protected meetings.

Thus, you see there seems to be a formed design against Presbytery jointly, and very briskly carrying on in these three nations.¹

Assembly. It passed in the House of Commons by a large majority. In the House of Lords there were fifty-one for it and twenty-nine against it. "All the Scotch Peers were for it but Athole and the three Campbells, A. J. and L." [Archibald, John, and Lorn.]—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 103.) "Bishop Burnet, Lord Summers, Couper, Isla, Loudon, and the Lord Halifax, spake a great many bold things, but to no purpose; the Lord Treasurer and Court are for passing it."—(*Ibid.*, vol. vi. No. 104.) What increased the dissatisfaction entertained against this act by the people of Scotland, whose antipathy to patronage seems hereditary, was "an apprehension, that the renewal of it arose from a deep concerted scheme to undermine the present Establishment; for, as a great proportion of presentations belonged to the Crown, and the landed gentlemen of the Episcopalian persuasion, it was suspected that both would prefer candidates secretly favourable to their own sentiments, which, in progress of time, would render a majority of the incumbents ripe for the adoption of Episcopacy."—(*Somerville's History of Great Britain*, p. 472.) "It's pretended," says Wodrow, "that the grating of heritors by popular calls, and Presbyteries their topping with patrons, have been the occasion of this bill. But it's plain enough, that both it and the Toleration Bill have come from the October Club, with a design both to thwart the Church of Scotland, and to stir up confusions and disgusts at the Government, and pave the way for the Pretender. It's certainly a very unpolitick bill, for it disgusts many more than it has obliged; and these persons that have most patronages have been against it. Instance the Duke of Argyle, the Laird of Grant, and others. My Lord Dundonald was not at all active in this affair; and several others are non-jurors, and the patronage falls into the hand of the Queen. It is said, that when the Lords added *Presbyterian* to the Commons' draught, it was opposed by some, as being needless, since that was imported in qualified. The Duke of Argyle said, that with respect to the Church of Scotland, nothing now behoved to be left implied and imported, after the treatment the articles of the Union had met with of late."—(*Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 33.)

¹ It appears to have been in contemplation to adopt measures still more oppressive against the Church. "Some of her enemies, who were then in administration, had proposed that her annual Assemblies should be discontinued, as the source of all the opposition to the measures then pursued by the Court. Others were of opinion that they ought to be permitted to meet, but should be prorogued by her Majesty's authority, so soon as they were constituted. And to take away the only pretext for

The Lord fit us for what lot he is about to carve out for us. Certainly these measures bear very hard upon us, and I very much doubt if ever a national Church has been so treated as we are like to be, and altar set up against altar, and a church within a church, after so many deeds and acts so solemnly ratified. But the Lord lives.

I thank you for your convocation's representation, which is like men that are for casting out Presbytery in root and branch. I send you a letter by the author of the Dialogues I gave you when here in answer to Caddel, a curate in Edinburgh, his remarks on the first dialogue. You intimate you sent me the Peers' representation against you, but it never came to hand. However, I have seen it. I wish to have what your Synods or Committees have done in answer to both, and all that comes out in print, or communicable in write, by the bearer. And if once you'll lay down a way for my writing to you, you shall have no further ground to complain of,
Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

The Commission met yesterday, and I suppose will make a representation against patronages. But these representations on the neck of other put me in mind of those [which] shires, Presbyteries, and parishes, made against the incorporating union; the issue of which you know.

holding Assemblies for the future, or their sitting for any time, a bill was proposed, obliging Presbyteries, under certain penalties, to settle, upon a presentation, every man to whom the Church had given a licence to preach, without any further trial or form."—(*Life of Carstares*, p. 83.)

LETTER LXXXIX.

TREATS OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE CHURCH.—
 PETITION AGAINST PATRONAGE.

To Mr A. M. [*Alexander M'Crackan.*]

April 16, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I doubt not but you received mine of the 27th of March last. I have an occasion coming over to Craig-Fergus, who hath engaged carefully to send this to you, I send it to let you [know that] correspondence on my part fails only for want of opportunity.

The bearer of the former would give you an account of our Synod's procedure. I send you, in case he brought it not with him, a copy of our act of Synod anent our fast the 24th instant; and the rather, because it's like to make a great noise in this and the South, both among enemies and friends. Some in the Government are pleased to say, we may justly be proceeded against for its criminality; and others tell us this is the way to provoke the Queen to mar the Assembly, and take sharp methods with us; it's termed a flying in the face of an Act of Parliament, and many more hard words. We must learn to bear with hard speeches, for we are likely within little to meet with more than words. I will not trouble you much with what is said in its defence. We were most harmonious on a fast as necessary at this juncture, when the Assembly need more than ordinary conduct. And when we give in addresses on the neck of other, without any answer, we have no other art to go to but heaven, to pour out our souls. The fast at this juncture being judged so necessary, it was thought a juggling with God and man, not to specify the particular and present sins to which a door is opened so wide, and mourn over them. And we have done it in as smooth terms as we could.

I hear the Synod of Dumfries have appointed a fast on the same day, but I know not the nature of their act, not having seen it.

The Commission's address upon patronages I cannot send you, but it is free and full. However, it will, as we hear, pass the Higher House. The petition of our ministers at London is casten, as not formal, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,¹ though they admitted a petition in this same shape (viz. to the Peers in Parliament assembled) a few weeks since; and it was moved our ministers might be taken into custody for presenting it; but that was waved. You see where things are going. The Lord grant us light and courage.

We are yet at a nonentity [nonplus] as to our Assembly. We have no account of our Commissioner. The Duke of Athole refused that post, pretending to be unacquaint with forms. Some say that his good-son, my Lord Rosse, is to come in his place; others speak of old Cromarty, who is just now come down. Others talk of the

¹ Messrs William Carstairs, Thomas Blackwell, and Robert Baillie, had been sent to London by the Commission of the General Assembly, to watch over the interests of the Church, in consequence of the threatened encroachments on her rights. They presented to the House of Lords a representation concerning the bill for restoring patronages. It being considered inconsistent with Presbyterian principles to acknowledge the Bishops as Lords Spiritual, to avoid doing this, the petition was simply addressed to the Peers in Parliament assembled. The petition "was objected against by the Duke of Buckingham and another Lord, as not bearing to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and it was proposed Mr Carstairs, &c., should be taken into custody; but my Lord Loudon excused the matter, as if they knew not the forms, and it was dropt, upon withdrawing the petition."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 102.) The words, "*the Lords Spiritual*," were inserted in the petition, and it was again presented, and the Church was then allowed to be heard by counsel.—(*Ibid.* vol. vi. No. 104.) When Wodrow inquired respecting this at Mr Carstairs, he waved the subject, and told him, "that, whatever change was made in the title, it was not done in the name of the Church, and was the deed of particular persons." Wodrow adds, "However, it seems, it will be found hard after this to present any address to Parliament without the title, which, without doubt, our judicatories will not incline to give. It's said, that it's not the Bishops are displeas'd with our title, 'to the Peers in Parliament assembled,' but the nobility, who, though the Bishops be allowed to speak and sit in Parliament, yet they will not allow them the title of Peers."—(*Analecta*, vol. iii p. 46.) The petition referred to is inserted at the end of Carstairs' *State Papers*.

Earl of Glasgow ; and others think the Assembly will be adjourned, which will be a dispensing with our laws, whereby we are to sit once a-year, and breed much ill-blood at this juncture.

We have every post alarms of an invasion from Dunkirk, and it's said the Pretender is already there, for all the accounts we have of his having taken the small-pox.

It's like Providence may put a stop to some of the difficulties we are under from the Abjuration Oath, and bring them about another way. However, I send you with this a paper upon it, said to be done by the Advocate, Sir J[ames] S[tewart.] I assure you it does not remove my difficulties ; if it do yours, it may free you of some trouble. I beg you may write fully and frequently, and if it may be by post. And send me all your papers and pamphlets by any private hand that offers ; and pray much for yours, as you know.

LETTER XC.

EXPLICATION OF THE OATH OF ABJURATION.

*For the Laird of Pardavan.*¹

DEAR SIR,—I return you the enclosed explication of the Oath of Abjuration, and since you desire my thoughts of it, I shall give them with all freedom. I do not know how far it may be contrary to law for private persons, who have no allowance, to offer an explication of an oath imposed by authority. You know better than I whether it was not somewhat of this nature that was criminally insisted upon against the noble Earl of Argyle. And granting there were no law against this, *2dly*, I do not yet see how far a non-au-

¹ Walter Steuart of Pardovan, the author of the well-known "Collections and Observations concerning the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland," the first edition of which, dedicated to Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, Bart., one of the Senators of the College of Justice, appeared in 1709.

thoritative explanation, by a private person, does mend the matter, supposing things are wrong in the oath. I still thought it had been agreed among casuists, that *cujus est condere, ejus est explicare*. And the accepting of this explication by an administrator, or any inferior court, cannot, in my opinion, be satisfying, unless the Legislature either allow of an explanation, or empower their administrators to allow of it. In this case, I think it might be pretty safe. If matters were otherwise, I think the test might have been taken with an explication, which, as I hear, would have been allowed, but was never offered by the Non-jurants. And I propose it, *3dly*, to your consideration, whether an explanation of this nature may not be construed, *protestatio contraria facto*; the terms of the allegiance in the oath being either false, or to be understood of allegiance to the Queen, as Queen of a United Kingdom, and the successor is successor to the kingdom, with the burden of the Union, and yet in the explication there is a plain reservation as to this. I might likewise notice the clause in the oath itself, *in the plain and common meaning of the words, and the express words by me spoken*, which, how far they are consistent with this explanation, I cannot see. *4thly*, Though I go heartily into what I take to be the mind of the framers of this draught, that allegiance cannot well be sworn, except in the terms we were obliged to before the 1707; yet I doubt no court that understands what they do will accept of allegiance in these terms, and I think an explication of the oath so flatly against the Union would, perhaps, sound rougher in England than the refusal of the oath itself. And, therefore, I leave it to you, whether it be not a fairer and more ingenuous way to refuse an oath that needs such a declaration before it, by way of explanation, as unfit, and at least involved, and give in to the court a subscribed declaration of the matter of the oath as to the three branches we agree all in, in the plainest terms, when we refuse it, and take instruments upon that, and crave extracts. I doubt no personal and private explication will satisfy scruplers, unless given by authority, which I despair of, and for persons that are clear they need not give in an explication. The clause, *no title*, as meaning a foundation for the claiming a right from

Parliament, will not satisfy some who suppose there may be a title where there is no right, which is certainly parliamentary. And the *nearest in blood* added to the House of Hanover, in the explanation, seems to go a little off from the Revolution principles, and comes pretty near the hereditary right. Your thoughts of these things, if you think any of them worth your considering, will be acceptable to, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

July 28, 1712.

LETTER XCI.

STATE OF OPINION IN THE CHURCH ON THE ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr Alexander M'Crackan, at Mr William Brown's, Merchant in London.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours from London the 3d instant, which was very acceptable. I would have made a return to your last, but was told you were to be in this country in your way to court.¹ The difficulties you labour under in your application are native enough from your circumstances. I pray the Lord help you through them; Providence hath hitherto helped, and you must not despond. What is your case to-day may be the case of several of us here in a little time, if mercy prevent not.

I am surprised to hear your information that our Nons in this Church are come to fourteen. I fancy it must be the breaking of a jest upon them, or a pun upon our fourteen bishops. However, the prelatie and imposing part will rather be on the other side of the House than the unclear brethren. I can assure you there are three

¹ Mr M'Crackan went to London in September 1712, to represent the grievances which he and other Non-jurors in Ireland felt as to the Oath of Abjuration, and vindicate themselves from misrepresentations; but found little favour, in consequence of the fewness of their number, "there being but four of them."—(*M'Crackan to Wodrow.*)

times that number in this Synod. I cannot promise for myself if it be put to suffering, and I shall say little as to others; but as far as I can judge of our brethren, there is little change since the Assembly. I think the bulk of the Presbytery of Ayr will be Nons, and the whole of Irvine but four or five. Ours, I suppose, may be half and half. So may Dumbarton. Glasgow, except one or two, are clear. Hamilton and Lanark, except one or two at most, will stand out. This is the view I have at present of this Synod. For the rest about us I cannot give so particular an account. The Synod of Galloway, except it be some two or three in the stewartry, will refuse; I think they will be the most joint against the oath of any Synod among us. Dumfries lies more south, and consequently nearer the sun and light, yet there will be many against it, and that with more noise than their neighbours. I fear a lamentable rent in that country both among ministers and people. Merse and Teviotdale, I hear, are generally clear, except some few. Lothian will be like ourselves in this Synod, but generally clearer. Fife and Stirling are about half and half. For our northern brethren they need much sympathy, their souls are among fierce lions. Any accounts I have of them they are generally clear, though they have a considerable number of scruplers among them.

Thus you see there will be many more than fourteen bishops if refusing be reckoned so; though, in my opinion, the Nons are as far from Episcopacy as the other side. You have had, it seems, an account of our conference at our Synod in July. I begin almost to wish we had taken another method both at Assembly and Synod than public conferences. I cannot perceive their advantage. There seem few conversions upon the one side or other, and they have made a noise, and people seem to be fastened in their ill opinion of ministers, by the indistinct accounts that fly abroad of our debates. For neighbouring Synods they generally met and conferred as we did, and, for what I can learn, with the same issue.

The Commission met in the end of July, when we had the account of the delay of the oath, which shortened our debates anent it, since we are next week again to meet. There was a clause ad-

vanced in the English act first imposing the oath, to counter a written account of the catholic spirit of that Parliament, and to prove they designed the oath for a general security to Protestants, and not for any particular support of the hierarchical Church where you are. This clause of the act seems pretty plainly to say the oath was imposed [on] us for other [reasons] than so to secure the Church of England as by law established. The expression seemed to stun a little several of the clear brethren, though I own the same distinction that is applied to the oath comes in upon this act. But upon me it made little or no alteration, since I never could bring myself to question but the first framers of the oath had the securing of their darling hierarchy in view.

What the Commission will do or can do next week is more than I can presage. I should be forward enough for an application for a further delay of the oath, if I knew how it could be done. It will be looked on as part of the old dispensing power, if the Queen shall, without the Parliament, prolong the time, and the Parliament probably will not sit to do business till the first of November is elapsed, and then our breach will be begun, and a schism formed, which I scarce promise myself to see ended. And, though the Parliament should sit, and were willing, out of regard to our left hand brethren, to grant some respite, I do not see how we can have access to apply to them, unless we alter our address, which will scarce be gone into. It seems not disagreeable to the projects in hand to show favour to the Episcopal clergy, and none to us, unless their own carriage prevent it. And we are told, that of late they are generally getting light. And it may be now, when the Pretender sees fit to lay aside his titles, they may have a dispensation from him to go into the oath.

It is loudly talked the house of Hanover have ill impressions of this Church, because so many scruple at the oath. And I wish we could fall upon prudent measures to disabuse them of this mistake. I daresay they have no faster friends in Britain than many of the Nons in this country among the ministry.

Our Synod will meet in the beginning of October, and, whether they will be able to fall upon any thing farther than the Assembly

hath done for harmony among ministers, or any thing for keeping the people from renting, I know not. Of the Nons I suspect there will be different sentiments and practices. Some will stay by their charges, and preach on till they be attacked; others will abscond, and lie aside for a while. Some can keep communion with the clear brethren, others talk they cannot do it without a protestation. The Lord pity us, and send forth his light and truth. Pray write frequently by post to yours, as you know.

Sept. 16, 1712.

LETTER XCII.

FEARS OF EXPULSION FROM THE CHURCH.

For Mr Alexander M'Crackan, at London.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 26th of the last month, last post, and would lose no time to reach you, if it may be before you leave London. I rejoice you have the hopes of overcoming your difficulties, and misrepresentations that are made of you, and us too, it seems, at London. I can now tell you, that no address will be made by the unclear brethren here, at least till the time for taking the oath be elapsed. It was never so much as moved at Edinburgh, when a considerable number were together; and the reason is, what I hinted in my last, that we cannot address the Queen for a delay till the Parliament sit, it being a part of the dispensing power we would not willingly crave. And, indeed, in my own opinion, it were both fruitless and against our true interest to address for a delay. A delay supposes at least an inclination to come into it, and that we want some time to clear our scruples anent it, which, for my own part, I do not, and am, as far as I can in any thing of this nature, at a point. And for addressing for an

explication, according to my present views, it were but an addressing for a new snare to ourselves. If I went into any address anent it, I would give a declaration of our principles candidly and freely, as becomes ministers of the gospel, and that as to all the three points in the Assembly's act, and crave that this may be accepted in room of the oath, which, as it stands, we cannot take. But it's like we may have some breathing, after we are under the lash of the law, to think upon this. However, if this reach you in time, I wish you may get all the information you can how matters are like to go with us, and what are the designs of leading persons upon our non-jurancy. I can give you nothing by this but my own desires, and your prudent inquiry in this matter for the satisfaction of a friend, I hope can have no ill consequences. I earnestly desire as full accounts as you can give how matters have gone as to your own business, and what you can fish out as to us. I hope it may be of considerable use here. You may depend upon it, that the whole of the Episcopal clergy will go into the oath; this I am well informed of at Edinburgh, and I find it comes from a spur from the south, from the B[ishop] of L[ondon] and the AB. [Archbishop] of Y[ork,] and therefore I want a commentary upon what you write, that in this supposition you do not despair of our case. If they fall in at first view, I think it should fare the worse with us. I am glad you are under no fears as to mistakes abroad as to our refusing the oath; certainly the successor may depend as much upon the Nons here among the ministry as any set in Britain, without exception. I would fain hope it will be but few of them will leave their charges till obliged to it by force; but I fear some do.

I designed last week to have given you an account of the procedure of the Commission. But I have communicated it entirely to Mr M'B. [M'Bride,] and he told me he was to write last post, so I doubt not you have it from him. In short, we did nothing. Mutual forbearance was proposed and recommended in the terms of the Assembly's act; but, when the branches of it on both hands came to be defined, there was little agreement. The clear brethren would have the Nons supporting them, and neither writing nor

speaking on this head, and yet will not engage not to declare their churches vacant, or receive presentations, for mere Non-jurancy. So particulars were waved. The further application as to toleration and patronages is delayed till our meeting in December. Our Synod meets, however, to-morrow. I see very little that lies now in our power to do, and I think the nearer the time of the oath comes, the more spirits seem ruffled, and careless how matters go. I wish I may be mistaken, but I think many seem indifferent, as being resolved upon all hazards. I pray you, if possible, come this way home, where a night and more will be most acceptable to yours, most affectionately.

October 6, 1712.

LETTER XCIII.

ON THE OATH OF ABJURATION.

*To the Rev. Mr John Flint, Minister at Edinburgh.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—According to our concert, after the last Commission, the scruplers met at our Synod in Glasgow last week. Mr L. [Lindsay] and I laid before them the three heads conferred

¹ Mr Flint corresponds with Wodrow chiefly on the subject of the Abjuration Oath. He continued for a number of years a Non-juror. But in 1719, an act was passed, that, in the case of the ministers and preachers in churches and meeting-houses in Scotland, there should be left out in the oath all reference to the English act, which provided, that the Sovereign should always be of the communion of the Church of England;—when this change was made, Mr Flint, like the greater number of those who had formerly been Non-jurors, swore the oath.—(*Boston's Memoirs*, p. 358.) He was one of the friends of Boston, to whom he sent his Fourfold State to be revised; and, being reputed an excellent Hebrew scholar, Boston also sent to him for examination his Essay on the Accentuation of the Hebrew Bible.—(*Ib.* p. 426.) He does not appear to have been favourable to the views of the Marrow-men. Of Mr Flint we have the following notice by Wodrow:—“December 1729. About

upon amongst us at Edinburgh, continuing in our stations, not appearing upon, &c., and a correspondence. And all here seemed to relish our concert very well, and go into it. And in order to set our correspondence, so necessary at this juncture, agoing, I have presumed to begin with your having the trouble of this. I cannot give you any certain account yet of the Non-jurors in thir bounds; but by any *vidimus* we have, the large Presbytery of Ayr will be generally unclear, and Irvine likewise. Some say none of Irvine will go in unless it be two or three. Paisley will be clear except it be five or six. Glasgow are generally clear except two or three. Hamilton are generally unclear, so are Lanark. Dumbarton are about half and half. What alterations the new proposal, which they say is come from the East, of an explication of the oath, by way of declaration before taking it, will make, I know not. I find it takes with some, and our brethren that are clear, as I am informed, had a meeting, after the rising of our Synod on Friday night, pretty numerous, where this declaration was canvassed, but the issue I have not yet heard, having been, till this day, confined to my bed, almost, with the galloping fever. But it is a wonder to me the proposal of a private sense of a party upon a public oath should take with any.

The things done in our Synod no doubt you have heard of before this reach you. Mr Jo. Hamilton is transported to Glasgow,

this time Mr John Flint, the eldest minister now of Edinburgh, died; he was a worthy, affectionate, zealous man, of considerable learning. He was educate in Holland in the late suffering times before the Revolution, and, I think, had a share in the Dutch edition of Pool's Critics, and was a tolerable linguist, and pretty much about the famous Leusden's hand. Whether he was sent over, and maintained some time while abroad by the Society people, I cannot say, but I have seen several of his letters to them; and he seems once to have fallen in with the whims of altering the names of days and months. But he soon got rid of these. He was minister at Lasswade, and from thence, about twenty-six years or more since, taken in to Edinburgh. His book, in Latin, against Mr Simson, as to the process betwixt him and Mr Webster, shows his reading and knowledge of the Arminian controversy. He was a pious, warm-hearted, useful minister, very aged, and troubled with a palsy in his head some years before his death, and continued at his work till his death. He was useful among serious persons there, and near eighty when he died."—(*Analecta*, vol. vi. p. 117, 118.)

and Mr Scott is refused ; both processes are to be before the Commission. An address to the Queen was gone into, much in the frame of the Assembly's act and address, of which I know there are copies sent to Edinburgh, and so I trouble you not with it. We tell her that great difficulties appearing to many of us anent the oath, as it stands, imposed upon the ministers of this Established National Church, and yet heartily agreeing in all that may be thought a real security to her government and the P. [Protestant] succession, we implore her favourable thoughts of any of us that from scruples of conscience, and fear of contradicting our known principles, and her interposing, &c., as in the Assembly's address. We have sent up another brother, Mr W[illiam] L[indsay,] to correspond with your Synod ; and have agreed to meet as many of us as are Non-jurors, in every Presbytery, as soon as may be, if possible the week after your Synod, that we may have your resolves under our thoughts, and ripen any overtures we can fall on, in conjunction with yours, against the meeting agreed upon before the Commission in December. And for this end we purpose, if it can be had, to have one of every company of Nons in every Presbytery meeting together, that we may all compare notes, and have things as much concerted as may be against December. Thus you have as succinct an account of matters with us as I can give. I beg you may write as frequently and fully as you can, and that before the 1st of November ; and let me have a full account of your procedure at your Synod and your meeting of Nons, by post. What you direct to Mr R. W., M. at E., to the care of the postmaster of G., will come safe enough to my hands. The Lord himself direct you, who are upon the watch-tower, to measures that may tend to the glory of our Lord, the good of this poor Church, and the peace of your conscience and ours in the day of trial that seems very near us. I am yours, most affectionately.

October 13, 1712.

LETTER XCIV.

MINISTERIAL USEFULNESS.

For Mr Patrick Maxwell.

DEAR BILLY,—I have yours, dated — of October, which was very acceptable. If the Lord hath made use of me as the instrument of any good to your soul, I may be very low before him, and in my own eyes. I am sure the treasure is in an earthen vessel, and the excellency of the power alone of him. I have so much guilt, and so many pieces of seen mismanagement in every part of my administration of the Gospel, that I have many times wondered at the depth of Providence that ever put me into the ministry; and the longer I continue in it, I desire to see my unfitness for it [the more;] but if my weakness, yea wickedness, may seem to set off the glory of divine grace, in working with any thing I do, and that stooping condescension that appears both to me and you in it; I rejoice, yea, and will glory, in my infirmities. I own freely what you communicate to me lays me under the deepest obligations to act a close and diligent dependence upon that God, who, by the meanest and worst of instruments, can work his own work, and under ties to be in a special manner concerned in you. And I must farther acquaint you, that I observe a special Providence in your communicating what you signify to me at this juncture, when I am like to be in outward hazard if I continue in the exercise of my ministry, for not taking the qualification the civil government thinks fit to impose upon ministers. I would willingly keep myself from every thing that I think may involve me in sin, and the defection of the times, though I do not judge others that have more light than I have; and if I could be useful but to one soul, I would reckon my continuance in the ministry worth the venturing all difficulties upon.

I bless the Lord for any outget you have got from your depths. You need not doubt but I shall, to my utmost, improve my moen with my L[ord] P[ollock]¹ on your account. And to prevent mistakes, and I wish yours had come sooner to my hand, and I could have done it more effectually. I approve your staying at the profession this winter. If you incline to stay at Edinburgh, let me hear from you as soon as you come to it. And I'll very gladly correspond with you by post.

I advise you, if you have not done it already, to remark closely God's way with your soul, and record it in a diary for your own use.

There seems to be at present a very dark cloud over the Church, and we seem entering upon a dangerous state, but I cannot think the Lord will forsake Scotland altogether. Be much concerned about the public, and that the Lord may prevent the ill consequences of the diversity of practices that will be among ministers from their different measures of light. Keep matters clear between God and your own soul. And be particularly concerned with me and this place, and write frequently to yours, as you know, most affectionately.

October 23, 1712.

¹ Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Bart., Lord Justice-Clerk. This venerable character, of whom Wodrow makes such frequent mention under the name of Lord Pollock, suffered much from fines during the Persecution, was nominated Justice-Clerk after the Revolution, and died in 1732, in the 90th year of his age. Being a strict Presbyterian, he is no favourite with a certain class of writers. A contemporary says of his Lordship, "He is a very honest gentleman, of no extraordinary reach, zealous for the *Divine right of Presbytery*, which hurries him often to do hard things to men of less confined principles, thinking it *doing God good service*."—*Macky's Memoirs*, 226; *Histor. Account of Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 470; *Baronage of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 452. Patrick Maxwell may have been some relation to his Lordship.

LETTER XCV.

JURORS AND NON-JURORS.

For Mr R. Wylie.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I was sorry we left matters at such a practical uncertainty, when together at the Synod, as to a correspondence among unclear brethren. I am desired by our Nons in this Presbytery and some others, to write to a brother in every Presbytery, that, if possible, somewhat may be effectually set agoing this way, and I hope you'll pardon me in pitching upon you. I own it's too much in me to move in this; but rather than it should not be done, I have ventured upon it.

I sent a hint of the state of clear and unclear, as far as I could guess, to Edinburgh, and by a return find they are willing there to keep up a close correspondence. There will be five or six unclear there.

Our Presbytery met yesterday and this day for prayer and conference. We were in hopes once to have gone all one way; and the brethren that were clear were like to have come in to a delay, but the stiffness of one broke it. And now there are only five that will take the oath, and six flatly against it; and two invalids. We that are Nons met together, and resolved upon a close correspondence, one with another, by letters; upon a day to be set apart for prayer in our closets, because we are unwilling, at first, to meet separately from our brethren; and we are chapterly to meet at our next Presbytery, third W[ednesday] of November, and concert overtures and measures against the meeting in Edinburgh, in December next, before the next Commission; and if brethren from other Presbyteries agree with us to appoint one as a correspondent to meet with one from the Nons in each Presbytery, when and where it shall be concerted; and they have empowered me to meet them sooner if need

be. We are likewise, in the meantime, in our correspondence, to communicate overtures any of us can fall upon, that may be of general use at this juncture, and have agreed mutually to support one another with advice and charges, if need be.

This I thought proper to acquaint you with, and earnestly to entreat you'll communicate with me your thoughts upon the whole, and what offers to you as your overtures, and what is proper to be done at this juncture; your opinion is what I very much value. I shall be glad to know the state of the nons and jurants in your bounds. I am, yours most affectionately.

October 23, 1712.

LETTER XCVI.

RECEPTION OF THE OATH IN THE EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Mr Flint to Wodrow.

Edinburgh, Oct. 30, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—The melancholy day is now over.¹ Take the following account with respect to the members of Mid-Lothian. About three of the clock Messrs Carstairs, Wishart, Steadman, Mitchel, Mathenson, Grierson, Wood, Walker, Wilson, Robertson, Semple, M'Come, Allan, Taylor, Fordice, Smith, Sandelands, of the Presbytery of Edinburgh; Messrs Walker, M'George, Wilson, Burnet, Lindsay, Campbell, Hutchison, Mallet, of the Presbytery of Dalkeith; Mr Cumming, qualified at Haddington; Messrs Kenard, Lookup, of the Presbytery of Linlithgow; Mr Sandelands, of the Presbytery of Biggar; Mr Depung, the French minister; Mr Brodie, minister to Britton's Regiment, went in where the justices were sitting, (my Lord Arnistown being preses,)

¹ The 28th of October was the last day, according to the law, for taking the Oath of Abjuration.

and repeated the Declaration,¹ which all of them had subscribed ; after which Carnwath said, that no declaration or explanation was to be given of the oath, which was appointed by the British Parliament to be taken as it there stood, and protested accordingly ; to whom adhered five or six. Mr Carstairs said that they were to take the oath in its true literal sense, and they did not give any explanation of the same. But he protested, in his own name and in the name of his brethren, that he took what he had delivered to be the sense of the oath, and delivered a copy thereof, and took instruments² * * * * *

There was a marvellous crowd, some of whom reviled the ministers as they went in and came out. The justices continue sitting till Saturday. Messrs Webster, M'Clarín, Hart, Millar, Shaw, Brown, Fleming, M'Vicar, Guthry, Thorburn, and Flint, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh ; Messrs Trail, Selkrig, Valange, Cavers, Williamson, senior and junior, Dun, Patoun, in the Presbytery of Dalkeith ; Anderson, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, have not taken it. I cannot give account of the other five Presbyteries till we meet in Synod. I hear there are eleven in the Presbyteries of Jedburgh and Kelso who have taken it. I am concerned to hear how matters

¹ This Declaration is as follows :—“ We, ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, here present, are come hither to take the Oath of Abjuration required of us by authority. We are not to offer any explication of it to you ; the Commission of the General Assembly of this Church having declared, in our humble address to her Majesty, our sense and thoughts thereof agreeable to the express words of the said oath, and to the act securing the Protestant religion, and Presbyterian Church Government, which frees us of any oath, test, or subscription whatsoever, inconsistent with or contrary to the true Protestant religion, contained in our Confession of Faith, Presbyterian Church government, worship, and discipline of this Church ; which address was graciously accepted by her Majesty, and afterwards printed and published during the sitting of Parliament, and approved by the last General Assembly : And do declare, with all submission, that we would have carefully avoided the taking of the said oath, if we were not persuaded that the scruples moved by some about it, as if it were inconsistent with the known principles of the Church, are groundless, and that it cannot be extended to the Hierarchy or Ceremonies of the Church of England, or anything inconsistent with the doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of this Church established by law.”—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 148.)

² The MS. is here worn away.

go in your Synod. We are mightily dealt with here to forbear preaching for some Sabbaths, because the law will take place to the utmost.¹ But I hope we shall not yield till *vis physica* hinder us. Lord grant that the Son of Consolation may support poor non-jurant ministers. I am, Sir, yours in Christ,² [JO. FLINT.]

LETTER XCVII.

RECEPTION OF THE OATH IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND.

For Mr Jo. Flint.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours this night of the 30th by post, which was very acceptable, though I heartily wish there had never been such accounts to give of our differing practices.

I had, by this post, given you an account of our state in this Synod, but though I wrote last week to one in every Presbytery among us, I have not yet got such accounts as I can rely on. If I have any further accounts before the bearer, Mr L[indsay,] our correspondent, leave me, I shall give you them, or next week by post. In the Presbytery of Ayr five have taken the oath, Mr J. Hunter, Mr Maitland, Mr H. Osburn, Mr William Boyd, Mr Robert Millar. The rest, twenty-four in number, I need not set down their names, are all non-jurants. In Irvine, there is only one had taken it, Mr Chambers; another, Mr Rennie, sent his letter of excuse, because of his health; and Mr Naismith in Combric belongs to the shire of

¹ "By all parties nothing was expected but a rigid execution of a very severe law, laying non-compliers with it, besides other incapacities, under an exorbitant fine of L.500 sterling."—(*Boston's Memoirs*, p. 278.) The Government, however, found it impossible to enforce a measure so obnoxious to nearly the whole of the Scottish clergy, that one out of three positively refused to take the oath, at the risk of fine, imprisonment, and the loss of their charges, while most of those who submitted, only did so under the cover of a Declaration which completely frustrated the design of those who imposed the oath. Several of the Episcopalians, too, refused the oath. They deemed it expedient, therefore, not to enforce the law against the recusant ministers.

² From Letters to Wodrow, vol. vi. No. 142.

Bute, it's said he was clear, but we yet have not account what he has done; the rest are *nons*. The bearer will give you a better account of what happened at Ayr than I can, and any I have is from him. Ten of the justices met, and when the ministers came, it was a long time before they would allow them to read their declaration; and they had, it seems, neglected to bring a nottar with them, but took instruments in the hands of the clerk, which the justices refused to allow, and discharged the clerk to receive their money. They left their money and went off. After they were gone, they discharged him judicially to give extracts. However, I hear they have got an extract. I suspect this make a great noise. I hear the justices were not very inclinable to have met, till one of the clear brethren was at much pains, and rode through most of them, and prevailed.

In Paisley there are seven nons,—Messrs Fleming, senior and junior, Turner, WODROW, Fork, and Crawford, and Jo. Millar, who is valetudinary. Five jurants, Messrs Paisley, Ro. Millar, Johnston, Maxwell, and Menzies. Old Mr Simson sent his letter of excuse, but is clear. The justices here are all friendly, and made no hesitation anent the explication, yea, appointed two of their number to go to the two that were indisposed, Mr Simson and Mr Jo. Millar, this day, or any time betwixt and the next Quarter-Sessions, which is thought by some to be more than they are *in tuto* to do.

In Dumbarton, I hear the justices peremptorily refused all explication, and the ministers took it without it. I cannot give an account of the jurors, but the nons are Messrs Anderson, junior, Wallace, Reid, M'Farline, Smith, and Park, and some say Leckie. In Glasgow there are only two non-jurors, Mr Telfair and Mr Love; two sick, who went not; the rest went to Lanark and swore, together with your Cockburn, who is setting up a meeting-house at Glasgow, but is likely to lose many of his auditory, by his qualifying prayer for the succession, &c. In Hamilton, I hear of three only that have qualified, Mr Jo. Hamilton of Straven, Mr William Hamilton, and Mr Broady. Mr Muir is invalid, but they say clear; the rest are nons. In Lanark, it's talked, but I scarce believe it, that all have qualified but Mr Linning. Mr Scott, I

know, hath ; but I doubt of some others. I hear the justices in Lanark made no difficulty as to the explanation. I hear from Galloway, that that Synod entered into an unanimous resolve against the oath, and none are to take it. They have likewise addressed the Queen ; and this day is their Synodical fast. I have no account from Argyle. I am told there were none at Stirling but Mr John Anderson, senior, our received curate from Dumbarton Presbytery ; and that there were twenty-six qualified at Perth, and two of the Episcopal clergy. But you will have accounts from these places before this reach you.

I have been nowhere abroad this week, yesterday being our Synodical fast in this Presbytery, so I have given you the indistinct account of Lanark and Dumbarton. I long to hear from Dumfries, the Merse, and Fife, and our brethren in the north. The Lord himself direct us to walk wisely in a perfect way. I did not expect so many non-jurors in Edinburgh, a place of so much light.¹ The Lord support you under your attacks. We are all here unanimous in continuing to preach till stopped by violence. I fear the protests and the counter-protests, upon the explication, may be a handle of difficulties to our clear brethren ; and, after all, I cannot see what thir declarations signify. The nons in this Presbytery met, &c., (*vide* former letter.) I pray the Lord may send forth his light and truth among you at your Synod. Pray write by post what you that are non-jurants agree upon, that we may have it under consideration here till the meeting in December. It's said some of our clear brethren have been upon us from pulpit at Glasgow,² but I cannot give the words certainly. I wish the Lord grant us the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

Dear Brother, write at full length by post. It refreshes my bowels to hear frequently from you at this juncture, and depend

¹ The reflection here is ironical.

² Some of the "clear ministers," as they are termed,—that is, those who were clear for taking the oath, with the explication formerly referred to, had preached, in various places, violent sermons in favour of the oath, which gave great offence to many of their people.

on it, I shall not spare you in my answers. By a line from London of the 21st, last post, I find our brother, Mr M. [M·Crackan,] is in some good hopes to get a *noli prosequi* for him and the other two *nons* in Ireland; but this must be kept close till we see what come of it. I give my kindest respects to all brethren of my acquaintance, particularly Mr Wr. and Mr C. I am, yours most affectionately.

October 31, 1712.

Nov. 3.

P.S.—Since the writing of the former, I hear from the Synod of Argyle, that the Presbytery of Kintyre are all against the oath, except two. I hear from Dumbarton, that the jurants there are Mr Ro. Wallace, Jo. Dougall, Jo. Ritchy, James Livistoun, Neil Campbell, Mr Gharrie, Ja. Bane, and Da. Fleetfield, Mr Michael Robb, qualified there. Mr Jo. Anderson, junior, made a speech to the justices, wherein, it's said, he seemed to have a door open to himself afterwards to take it. In Glasgow, Mr John Govan was at Stirling, but did not qualify I hear; though none in that shire qualified, yet some ministers went in to Edinburgh to qualify. Their pretence is, that the justices at home will not accept of a declaration, and yet generally there they are supposed to be favourable. I hear, besides those named in Hamiltoun, Mr Curry and Mr Robert Muir did qualify at Glasgow on Saturday, and Mr Francis Boreland qualified at Lanerk. In Lanerk all have qualified except Mr Linning and Mr Hunter, who, it's expected, would qualify before Saturday. At Glasgow, on Saturday the Principal (I think the Professor was with him) went down to the justices, and took an instrument and protestation that he was ready to take the oath that day, if he should be found included in the act, and protested that his not taking it might not militate against him. At Lanerk, when Cockburn, who sets up the English Liturgy at Glasgow, after he had taken the oath, addressed himself to the Pr. [Provost] of Glasgow, and told him he now craved his protection in the city of Glasgow, which some say was promised. Whatever be in this, the party there have bought a house, and given 2000 merks for it and

five guineas; and last Sabbath, Cockburn began it there, and Sir Donald M'Donald did collect for the poor; and this day, I hear, he and Ja. Bell, and some others, were this day at prayers. Thus, that is begun in Glasgow which was scarce ever expected to be seen once in my day. I hear from Murray, the two ministers of Elgin have left their charge, and Mr David Crosse is dead at Old Aberdeen, and old Mr Kinnaird. I am, as before, &c.

LETTER XCVIII.

ANENT A PROTEST BEFORE SITTING WITH JURANTS IN CHURCH COURTS.

For Mr A. K.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I am informed of some designs among some recusant brethren in your Presbytery, to offer a protest at the next meeting of Presbytery, before you sit and vote in a judicatory, with our brethren jurants; and, when I had the occasion of being with you last at your house, I found you inclined somewhat this way. Though you be vastly more in case to give me advice in this *quisquous* time, than I am to offer any thing to you, yet I hope you'll pardon my taking upon me to offer my thoughts upon this supposed case, merely for my own information, if wrong, and from the impressions I have under my present views, that this practice will not be for our advantage that are non-jurors, nor for the more valuable interests of the Gospel, which we have all mostly at heart.

Let me, then, give you my confused thoughts as they occur to me upon this case. 1. I am of opinion that a protest, and that recorded in a register or any other way, is the last thing should be done, when ministers are under different sentiments and practices. It's the last, and, at best, a very hazardous remedy for the evil it's supposed to cure, and, in my thoughts, docs scarce answer the de-

sign it's offered for. In our differences before, between the Protesters and Resolutioners, I still blamed their protesting against the being of the judicatory, though made up of such members as they were not satisfied with. I think protests by members are much more safe against the actings of a judicatory, when they come in the person's opinion to be sinful. But a protest against the being of the judicature is such a thrust upon our constitution, that I am utterly against them, almost all in cases we can suppose among us.

2dly, You will please to consider where the protest against jurant brethren will land. It may be well supposed it will draw forth a counter-protest from them, and an appeal to higher judicatories; and this will, indeed, be a fire among us, which I do not see can be quenched; and will exceedingly involve Synods and Assembly, if we have one, in inextricable difficulties. And, by any small view I have of the mind of non-jurants in other places, there are none of them that incline at all to run to these heights. Things may come forth in Providence, which may tend to unite the ministry, for as far as we are now divided, and certainly this will be the greatest advantage we can have, if the Lord see fit to order for us a suffering lot. And, further,

3dly, I tremble to think upon the consequences of a protest in judicatories among the people. The rent among them is one of the dismalest prospects I have from our different practices; and this difference among ministers will inevitably heighten and widen this breach.¹ If we refuse to sit with them in judicatories without a

¹ A large proportion of the people regarded the Oath of Abjuration with great dislike, as inconsistent with the Presbyterian and covenanted principles of the Church of Scotland. They not only looked with suspicion on those ministers who had sworn it, and deserted their ministry, but were dissatisfied with those who, while they stood out against the oath, were disposed to exercise forbearance towards their brethren who had taken it. "I found some scrupling to take the sacrament, saying, How could they, when, against Lammas, the ministers would, may be, take the oath?"—"Great was the stumbling among the people through the south and west, on the account of the Abjuration Oath, taken in the preceding year by about two parts of three of the ministry in Scotland; and I gained but little in our parish by my refusing it, because I would not separate from, but still kept communion with the jurors, meeting with them in Presbyteries and Synods."—(*Boston's Memoirs*, p. 276, 289.)

protest, certainly people may and will refuse to hear them, and what peace we can have to have any hand in this I cannot see. If the matter were to be run so high, as where a judicatory were supernumerary, they had clearness to pass a sentence of deposition or suspension upon a clear brother, in that case I think, indeed, they might have an active hand in people's separating from ministers. But I hope neither you nor I, nor any of the nons, are come this length. You may further consider,

4thly, What the consequence of this will be in many places, where our clear brethren are supernumerary. It will be but consequential to their views of sin in you and me to protest against their sitting with us. And, besides, all that we have to say upon our side for a testimony against sin, and they will no doubt recriminate, they have outward considerations that cast the balance upon their side; we are now outlaws, and how far our being admitted to sit and vote with them, *in foro humano*, may nullify, for instance, the actings of Commission or Assembly, they may very much enlarge upon, though I don't yet find that any of them are inclinable to these extremities. But it cannot but be to me a melancholy view, to forecast the dreadful confusion, altar against altar, and judicatory against judicatory, that this will issue in.

5thly, Certainly this will be a very direct breach of the Assembly's act, and our Synod's act, for mutual forbearance among ministers; and till I see better grounds offered than I have yet heard for the repealing of these acts, I think they should be kept. These were the united sense both of jurors and non-jurors, under the very same view that now we are under actually. And were I inclined, as I am not, to protest, I would mightily suspect my own judgment, when it ran counter to that of so very many of both sides.

6thly, For my own part, I cannot yet see any solid ground for a protest against our brethren. Whereupon shall it be founded? They and we certainly own the same common principles. If any thing in our declared principles were receded from by them in profession, I think there would be some greater ground than there is of a difference, though I cannot say every difference, even in these,

could carry me to a protest. But the real difference, if we will exercise any charity at all to them, is, other apprehensions of the import of the words of the oath than we have; and they all own, that if they did take up the words in that signification we do, they, by their principles, which they still declare the same with ours, would refuse it as well as we; and to fix unallowed consequences upon an action or a person, when by no means we can convince them of the nativeness of the consequence, and they still deny it, and setting up upon a different bottom from them upon these consequences, I truly think very hard; and if they should do the same way with us, I cannot think but we would reckon it hard measure. I am of the same opinion I have been these five years upon the oath; and after all I have heard and read upon it, I do reckon it would be sinful in me to take it, and that it's highly inexpedient. But to judge my brethren, and peremptorily to determine that, under the views and apprehensions they have of the words and import of the oath, it's sinful in them, I dare not go this length. I firmly believe them men of conscience, and of the same principles with me, and many of them live and lie much nearer God than I do; and, indeed, under these views, without horror, I cannot think of a protest. If you think me lax and latitudinarian, I cannot help it. I open to you my thoughts of things as they stand in my eye, and the foundation of my practice in this case. If I err, it is certainly in the charitable side.

Lastly, Suppose you do protest, I cannot see well either what design it serves for, or how it will answer the design, I suppose, you have in view; for I will be very far from supposing you have the least inclination to any of the ill consequences I have formerly supposed may flow from a protest. I cannot say any thing distinctly upon the end you propose, or any brethren with you, by a protest, till I hear it, and see the tenor of the protest you would incline to. And, indeed, I think any thing of this nature should be communicated with your unclear brethren, that you may have their free thoughts upon it before it be done, it being a matter of common concern, and of vast importance.

I shall, in the mean time, under correction, suppose you design a testimony against the sin you think lies upon other brethren, by their taking the oath. To this I suggest, *1st*, That this has not been done, nor proposed to be done, with respect to the elders that have sitten with us in judicatories after their taking the oath, and it will look like a designed breach to make it against ministers. *2dly*, In my opinion, you and I have given a sufficient testimony against what we count sinful in the oath, by our refusing it, and coming under the hazard of sufferings by our recusancy. This is the best and the most effectual testimony we can give. If it be said, How shall posterity know that I have not taken the oath? Really, posterity will know many ways, that near the half of the ministry on the south of the Tay have refused it; and for your name or mine, it is a matter of small importance whether it be handed down to posterity or not. But if I inclined to this, I would not do it by way of protest against my brethren, but enter upon record that I had no clearness to go in to take the oath. But this will infallibly lead to give and record reasons, and these will draw forth recorded defences upon the other side, and answers, which, in my judgment, will be of little use to posterity, and, I am sure, will do hurt at present among us. In short, I cannot see how a protest does any way free you or me of guilt, if there were any, of joining in common work with our clearer brethren, unless we separate from them, which I would fain hope is not designed.

Thus, you have my thoughts upon this head. I am very willing to be set right wherein I am wrong, and shall be glad to have your opinion with all freedom. I have presumed to write this, as what I thought the peace of the Church, and the common interests, and our own advantage as non-jurors, led me to, in order to prevent the ill consequences of a breach, by a protest at this time. I am, with all respect, yours most affectionately.

Nov. 5, 1712.

LETTER XCIX.

ANTICIPATED PERSECUTION.

To Mr James Boece,¹ Minister at Campbeltoun, in Kintyre.

Nov. 3, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours, with the satisfying account of Gilmour, to which I made you a return, in a hurry at our Synod, which I fear is not come to hand. Yours of the 21st October I had November 1. The woful day is now over ;² but I fear not yet in its consequences. I give you the following account of the state of jurors and nons, as they have come to my knowledge. (*Vide* former letters.) I do not understand the explications and declarations offered by private persons on a public deed. I suspect they will make a noise elsewhere, and here heighten the gum that is upon the spirits of many, and confirm them in their sentiments, that at least the oath is but involved and dubious. By what I can yet guess, the jurors and nons on the south of Tay will be near equal, and if the most of your Synod be recusants, it will cast the balance of the side of the nons.

For any thing I hear of, all of us will continue preaching till force intervene.³ For my part, I have no peace to execute the Erastian

¹ "The orthography of this surname," says Dr Irving, "is extremely fluctuating ; it is to be found under the various modifications of Boece, Boeth, Boeis, Boys, Boyse, Boyes, Boyis, Boiss, and Boyce. The first of these, I strongly suspect, was never a name belonging to any living man in Scotland ; it was formed by the French from the name of the latest Roman classic, and on account appears to have been adopted by Bellenden in his translation of the history. The real Scottish name is a monosyllable ; and I adhere to the orthography of Boyce, as being most common in our own time."—(*Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. p. 1.) Of the above Mr James Boece I can learn nothing.

² See before, p. 321.

³ At a meeting of several non-juring ministers in Edinburgh, during the time of the

penalty of the act against myself. Neither do I know any power I have to lay down my charge till it be taken from me by a judicatory, or I be forced to fly from one city to another. I shall say nothing of your silence for some days, because I doubt this reach you not till you be just coming over to the Commission in December, when I earnestly entreat you may come by me, and allow me some time of you. I hope God has given you counsel, and will instruct your reins in the night season. I have yet much peace in recusancy, but unless great grace intervene, I will fail when I come to suffer. God help us to glorify him in the fires. What events may be is not fit for us to know, and I shall give you none of my guesses, but it will be a strange step to vacate the churches of, and persecute, two hundred ministers. The Lord help us to walk wisely in a perfect way. This seems to be the beginning of sorrows; but in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.

I am surprised to hear that family of A.¹ [Argyle] should threaten to be so severe upon the recusants. I would fain hope it's but a threatening to bring over to jurancy, which, in my opinion, is not the way to deal with the conscience; and the exorbitant fines tacked to the oath are one of my scruples, as what is directly provided against in the acts referred to in the oath, for the securing the liberties of the subject. I suspect that family will not find it their interest to be active to vacate all the churches of ministers in their bounds who are unclear.

The first attack I hear is to be made upon our brethren of Edinburgh, and they talk this week of some of their friends, their design to inform against them, and get the penalty decerned in their favours, and then dispose of it as they shall order.² But the pen-

Commission in August, it was resolved that they would continue preaching till they should be forced to desist.—(*Boston's Memoirs*, p. 278.)

¹ "Having this occasion, I presume again to salute you by this, and to inform you that we are to be in hard circumstances here as to the oath, particularly the writer, for the family that is superior here will, I believe, proceed to extremity against all refusers, and for aught I find, all our Presbytery will be so, except one or two."—(*Boece to Wodrow. Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 140.)

² The following "Advice to Recusant Ministers to evite the necessity of paying

alty being *toties quoties*, this will need an information every week against us, unless it be thought needless after L.500 is decerned against you or me, to trouble us for any more. But this, in my opinion, will be seen through, and some way provided against by our enemies, if matters run to an extremity. I see little or no security, but God and a good conscience, and upright walking. I am, yours most affectionately.

LETTER C.

REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE OF FEELING IN SCOTLAND REGARDING THE ABJURATION OATH.—LOYALTY OF PRESBYTERIAN NON-JURORS.

For Mr A. M^r[Crackan] at London.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had an account of yours of November 1st, by the last post, from our dear brother, at present in Glasgow; and though he be far better in case to advise you in this critical juncture, and give you the state of things, than I, yet I would not spare any pains to let you [know] how matters are with us, when I have the opportunity of a regular post to correspond with you; and I hope he will write jointly with this.

I am sorry your difficulties decrease not, and hope you never

the penalty to malicious Informers," was sent to Wodrow by Mr Flint, who received it from a brother, with an assurance that it was the advice of eminent lawyers, which several Fife ministers, who in a body consulted them, were resolved to follow:—"Because, by the act, the penalties incurred by recusant ministers are recoverable and made due to every informer, therefore, to prevent incurring the ill designs of informers, it is advisable, that after incurring the penalty of the act, there be a summons before the Lords of Session raised and execute at the instance of some friendly confident, *qua* informer, against the recusant minister, which summons may be libelled, given out, seen, and returned, and pursued, and made use of as need requires, if perhaps to prevent ill designing persons."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 138.)

expected to get through your business with[*out*] opposition and difficulty; but the more of the Divine goodness and power will appear, if he shall please, at length, to have respect to the prayer of the destitute; and whatever the event be, it may afford peace that means have not been neglected. Let us leave events to another and better hand.

I am sorry for Dr Hutton's illness, and glad to hear of the address from our brethren in Dumfries. By this time you will know that one of the same nature came up in the beginning of October from us. It was sent to my L. Y.: and letters were sent to the T—r, and the D. of H., with it, and copies of it sent; and it's a little surprising that we have had no return from any about it. I wish it have not lost its way about court, where it's hard enough to find the right way. I wonder, indeed, you should have heard nothing of it on the date of your last. I can now tell you that an address of the same nature, I suppose, *mutatis mutandis*, is come up from the Synod of Galloway, where all our brethren are nons; and, I suppose, another from the Synod of Perth and Stirling. I know one was sent from the Synod of Fife some months ago, but I do not hear it was presented; whether they have sent another now I cannot tell. Last week the Synod of Lothian sate, and an address was pressed by the nons there, and sub-committed, and stifled. The reasonings I am not fully apprised of, but I suppose the thing that would be most urged would be, that the day was elapsed, and however seasonable addresses might be before the day, yet now, after we are outlaws, &c., it would not do so well. So none is to be expected from that Synod. Whether there be any more I have not yet heard.

You may depend upon it that the whole brethren, clear and unclear, in all the Synods that have addressed, and I suppose through the whole Church, join in the matter of the address you write of, for forbearance to the nons, and in the three things in the Assembly's act for peace, allegiance to the Queen, affection to the Hanover succession, and abhorrence of the Pretender. And I make no question but there is not a firmer body of men in the three

kingdoms, in all these points, than the nons among us, and it will be found so in a choak. If we come to be persecuted for principles, and precisely upon conscience, as to other things we suppose, according to our views, may be pointed at in the oath, there is no help for that, but we will not suffer, it's hoped, as evil-doers, in any of those points wherein we are as sincere as any, though many, indeed, represent us as involved in a Jacobite plot, yet the contrary will appear. I need not use apologies to you, who are not a stranger to reproaches of this nature. We resolve to our utmost to promote the peace of the country, and to do what in us lies to strengthen the hands of our clear brethren, who, in several places of the country, will need our assistance, as well as we need their prayers and the Government's favour. I can assure you thir bounds are in no small ferment, and I may add the whole south and west of Scotland, upon the impressions they have, that there is somewhat in the oath contrary to the Presbyterian principles, (and the Jacobites do help it forward;) and they do look upon its imposition as a breach of the act of security for our Church, wherein we are freed from oaths, &c., contrary to Presbyterian government. This, with the grudge that is in people's hearts at former things, and the toleration and patronages, has put such an humour among people, that will take the joint endeavours of jurants and non-jurants to keep them in a Gospel spirit. And though I am no politician, yet I should think it a very ill step to vacate some more than two hundred Churches on the south of Tay, and that precisely upon a point of principle and conscience, when all loyalty to the Government and succession is owned, and the Pretender heartily abhorred. And if prosecutions go on, they will increase the difficulties of our clear brethren very much, which I wish, for their sake and the Gospel's sake, may be prevented. These things I suggest to yourself only, and I know you will make what use of them is most proper. But if people about Court, that have a regard to the Queen and the succession, and the peace of the country, were among us to know things as they are, I would be afraid of no harsh steps at this juncture.

What to propose to you I neither know, nor could I trust so much to my own views of things, as not to distrust any sentiment of my own, and I hear nothing proposed by others of far greater age and experience. I suppose an overlooking of the Nons, and meddling no more in the affair, would really be the best way at this juncture. If they be not harassed and hunted, as between the —62 and —87, I believe their peaceable behaviour, which all resolve upon, will be the best cure to the country. But if they be turned out, oppression you know what it doeth; and it's scarce supposable that two hundred will be all silent, especially when they have taken all possible ways, by addresses and acts among themselves, and every day in the pulpit, before many witnesses, to demonstrate their loyalty to the Government, &c.; and so do distinguish themselves entirely from the Episcopal Nons, who are indeed upon another lay; and not above six on the south side of Tay have qualified. But what straitens them does no way stick with us. For repealing the act it's more than can be hoped for, and I fancy will not be sought. If matters could be so ordered as the ensuing Session notice them not, I hope things will run very easy. A prorogation of the day will be, for what I know, no favour to the Nons, unless it be given with an eye to keep it current, and at length drop it. I think the most of the Nons are at a point, and the lengthening of the day will but keep up ferment and humour among people and ministers both. These are but my own views of things in an obscure corner, and cannot be depended on, but in as far as their reasons weigh.

That you may have as full a view as I can give, I shall add what accounts I have of the Jurants and Nons, (*vide* former Letters, and those to me this month.) Dear Brother, I need not desire you to make any improvement of this state, and what I write, for the advantage of the interest of the Gospel in this Church; the Lord himself direct. I wish you may write what you think proper to communicate, how things are like to turn, and what may be expected; and if any thing offer to you by way of advice. It would be most acceptable, if you could return by Scotland. Meanwhile,

I pray for wisdom to you to walk in a perfect way, and that God's good hand may be with you for good, and that you may have power, through the Angel, with God, and then all will go well among men. Believe me to be yours in many bonds.

Nov. 10, 1712.

P. S.—What influence this state of Scotland will have upon your affair I know not; certainly it will remove the objection of singularity, but whether our numbers may not cast the balance too far against you, I know not till you inform me.

LETTER CI.

JURANTS AND NON-JURANTS.—JACOBITES AND JESUITS.

*For Mr John Flint.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 6th instant, for which I return you thanks. I cannot understand why the clear brethren with you did not go in to an address in the terms of other neighbouring Synods; and should be glad to hear their reasons. I am impatient till Mr Lindsay come, that I may see your declaration, and counter-declaration. I am glad you parted in harmony and peace, for that, I think, should be our joint endeavour, for the sake of the Gospel, and one another. I should be glad to have the terms of your resolve anent it. The correspondence you have established, I hope, will be of use, if kept up; but I fear, after the brush is a little over, we lag in our concern one about another; at least I have formerly found it so among us in our Presbyterian correspondence. For my part, since you are pleased to pitch on me, I shall do my endeavour to keep it up, as far as I can have information,

¹ See before, p. 315.

and set it agoing in our Presbyteries among the nons. I'll be glad, as soon as you can, to have a fuller account of the north, and Fife, and Dumfries. In our Synod I have little addition to make to what I wrote to Mr Lindsay and you. In Hamiltoun, six have qualified; in Lanerk, seven; in Dumbarton, either nine or ten; in Glasgow, all have qualified save three, and Mr Tate, who was clear, and laid by by sickness. Ayr, and Irvine, and Paisley, are as I wrote; only old Mr Simson qualified in his chamber; though it's scarce to be supposed he can ever be in his pulpit again. I design, this week, to write to a brother in each Presbytery that the non-jurors meet, and think upon overtures against our meeting in December. And any thing that is sent me you shall have. By the time you write next, I hope you will have some *vidimus* how matters go above, and what impression the pluralities being non-jurors on the south of Tay makes at London.

We have a story here that the V. [Viscount] of Kilsyth hath got a gift of our forfaultries [forfeitures] in this Synod, but I don't yet believe it. By a letter from London last post, I find our brother at London wants not hopes of succeeding; what change to better or worse our numbers here may make, time must determine. He tells me that Dr Hutton was a-dying, (his date is Nov. 1;) and Dumfries' address had been sent to the doctor, and my informer was not without hopes it would be presented: but not a word of ours from this Synod, which, I fear, has lost its way. Let me have all your news, and your further accounts of our state. I will be glad to know whenever any of our brethren are attacked; and if any have taken the method of a friend's informing. There are several disorders in this country among sessions and clear brethren, but I have not such distinct accounts as to set them down, but I know in general it's so in five or six places, and I fear it be so in more. It's said, one unclear brother near me, Mr A. H.,¹ in Hamiltoun Presbytery, did tell his people last Sabbath of October, that he had somewhat to communicate to them on the fast

¹ Archibald Hamilton, minister of Cambuslang.

day, the 30th of October; and that day, after sermon, he read a paper from the pulpit containing the reasons why he could not take the oath. The only one I heard was, that it homologates the Union, which he had, with them, addressed against. This makes some noise here, and I wish had been forborne. It's to prevent such sallies¹ that I would fain have a close correspondence cultivate among us, that separate courses may not be fallen into. If he had sent his reasons to the justices, or the Government, when attacked, jointly with his brethren, it had been less; but to take them to his people, who were all satisfied he refused the oath, is what I cannot see through. Thus you have any thing that offers to me. Let me have a particular share in your sympathy and prayers, and write frequently to yours, in all affection.

Nov. 10.

There is a clause taken out of the clear brethren's declaration, the copy of which you send, which I saw in a copy of it, for the

¹ Mr Lindsay, in a letter to Wodrow, writes as follows on this subject: "Mr K——ey in S——n hath, in very express terms, excommunicate all from the table of the Lord who have taken the Abjuration Oath. Mr C——t at O——tre hath had a sermon on the subject, in which he hath, at great length, given the reasons why he could not take the oath, and the report is, that in that sermon he should have told his people they were to look on ministers who had taken the oath as guilty of three great sins: 1. They had renounced all obligation from the Solemn League and Covenant. 2. They had taken the crown off Christ's head, and set it upon the Queen's. 3. They were the sinful cause of a rent and division in the Church, that was like to be followed with dismal events. I doubt not but these notes possibly may be made worse in the repeating, but certainly there is something of it, and I give you the trouble of the account, that you may see what spirit is working among us; for I can assure you there are some instruments very busy and very ill employed amongst us." —(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 169.) Another of his correspondents thus writes: "There is nothing remarkable that I heard since I saw you: only, in some accounts which Mr Ja. St. had, there are two ministers in Dumfries Presbytery, viz. Mr John Reid and Mr James Gilchrist, who read the Oath of Abjuration from the pulpit, with some papers against it, and told that the taking the oath was burying the Reformation, and putting the grave-stone on the Solemn League, and that next they might embrace prelacy and the ceremonies. Such foolish expressions of men of so much sail without ballast will, I fear, be improv'd by the Jurants against the whole of that party." —(*Ib.* vol. vi. No. 172.)

vindication of the unclear brethren, and one put in the room of it, that sounds harsher. Pray let me know what came of Carnwath's protest, and if there be to be any more of it. I hear, Sabbath last save one, when Cockburn set up his meeting-house there, after qualifying, there were some boys in Glasgow made some abuse upon some of his people when going in; upon which they applied to the magistrates for protection, in terms of law. And yesterday, I hear they had three town-officers set to herd them, and prevent disturbance. Mr M'Millan yesterday was preaching about three miles east of Glasgow. I have heard no more about him yet. I hear the declaration of our clear brethren is printed, with some Jacobite reflections upon it. I fear they make their improvements upon our different practices, but I would willingly see it; if it be to be sold, please to send it, not closed up, but my name on it, with your letter to the post-office, and it will come safe to me every post. We are alarmed with accounts of many priests come over, and at Edinburgh, and their endeavours to inflame our differences.¹

¹ Wodrow refers to such accounts as the following, which is very curious:—
 “The Jacobites are as busy here as possible, and we are informed that there are no less than eighty priests in the city [Edinburgh] and the country about. You may depend upon the following story as truth:—At Peppermills, a village about a mile from town, there was a very grave gentleman went to the house of one Mr Gillespie, whose wife is a very godly sincere Christian, and very sensible. He discoursed to the family, and several neighbours there present, concerning religion, to the admiration of all. He seemed to be very devout and religious, and mighty concerned and weighed with the sad apostacy and defection the ministers of the poor Church of Scotland had now made, by taking that woeful and sinful oath, whereby they had openly renounced the Covenants and glorious work of Reformation, that came sweetening to us in the blood of many of our zealous and religious ancestors, and which were miraculously restored to us at our late happy Revolution, by that glorius pr. K. William, that eminent servant of Jesus Christ. But now the ministers of Scotland, a great many of them, have renounced those great and valuable privileges, and where will godly people get faithful ministers to hear? For my part, said he, I was as soon hear a Papist priest as those vile apostates. He went on at this rate for a long time; but Mrs Gillespie, a wise woman, cry'd, ‘Sirs, this man is a Jesuit, grip him!’ Whereupon they offered to lay hold on him, but he gat out at the door, and escaped. But Mr Gillespie ordered a servant of his to dogg him, and he went streight to Niddrie, a Popish house, and the servant being familiar with one of Niddrie's servants, called for him, and asked him who the gentleman was who came in a short while ago? He answered, that he was Father Gordon, a priest. This is a

Pray let me know what truth is in them. You see what a troublesome correspondent you have got.

LETTER CII.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE RECUSANTS.—QUESTION AS TO PRESENTATIONS.—OVERTURES ANENT THE CARRIAGE OF RECUSANTS.

To Mr Robert Wylie.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 14th, upon the 15th late. Yesterday and to-day I have been at the Merns,¹ and I see no way to retrieve the misfortune of the miscarriage of yours to me, or to have your return so soon as I incline to have, but by an express, which I send with this; and if it be late before he reach, so that you have not time to return your thoughts at large, I have ordered him to stay all night.

As I am a very unfit person to set this correspondence agoing, so it has so far misgiven in the entry, that I was almost turning heartless. Upon your recommendation at Glasgow, I ventured to write to Mr O. [Orr] in L[anerk] the substance of what I signified to you, because I had a carrier going to him; and I had the mortification to hear, in a day or two, that he had qualified. I wrote to you, and it seems yours has miscarried; and till Saturday night, that the second came, I was at a stand what to think had hindered. I wrote to Mr W. of K., [Wright of Kilmarnock,] and had no return till Thursday last. The letter, though timeously writt by

true story, and I can give you many others of the same nature. So that Papists and Jurants are laying all oars in the watter, to render people disaffected to ministers, and to the Protestant succession, and to foment divisions amongst us. I pray the Lord may prevent it."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 152.)

¹ Mearns, in the Presbytery of Paisley.

him, was mislaid, and not sent by me till a fortnight after its date. I had no return from Ayr for a long time, and, indeed, all this made me almost lay aside thoughts of writing any more.

Yours and Mr W.'s have made me renew the attempt, and I wish afterwards you send all yours to me, directed to the care of the postmaster of Glasgow, for the post, I find, is the surest messenger; and I have my prints thrice a week, which makes other letters come the safer to me. I am sorry for the want of your former, and you must repeat your thoughts as to the manner of our correspondence at length.

The meeting in December of the recusants is now so near that I despair of our brethren meeting in our first correspondent meeting before the Commission, though I proposed it to our brethren in Irvine, Ayr, and Dumbarton; and it remains now that we correspond more closely by letters, and meet the more frequently at Edinburgh, and the sooner after among ourselves.

I have dashed down a rude draught of overtures, just as they occurred to me, which I design to-morrow to lay before our recusant brethren at our Presbytery, only to give a beginning to our conversation, and to be cut and shaped as they please. I beg your corrections and amendments, and additions, at as great length as you please. The people are in such a flame hereabout, that I have gone pretty far as to our mutual forbearance in public. The main points are, a declaration wherein we may agree, and the warding off, if it may be, a new diet, which I know not if all be at a point about. I wish some better draught were brought to some bearing, and ripened for our meeting in December as much as may be, by sending copies to Ayr, Irvine, Paisley, and Dumbarton; and you will take a care to transmit it to Mr Lin. [Linning,] who, I hear, has but another recusant with him.

It seems much our interest to be joint in what we do at this time; and our different practices will do us much hurt. I find our clear brethren make a great noise of the reading of the reasons of non-jurancy from pulpit at Cambuslang;¹ and we have a clatter of

¹ See before, p. 339.

your having said from pulpit, that many ministers had made themselves idols of gold;¹ but there is such a spirit of lying abounding, that I lay little weight on what I hear.

There are some surmises, likewise, that our jurants, in some places, design to have the declaration, given before the justices, recorded in the Presbytery books. This, I fancy, if insisted upon, will oblige us to record, and where this will end I know not. I could wish we could generally centre upon reasons of our recusancy, before we recorded any thing this way. I remember at Edinburgh to have transiently seen a draught of declaration, about the time of the Assembly, that was fathered upon you, which I would gladly have a copy of; I expect your thought at length upon this head.

I saw two letters from Isla, anent our address, to the Principal,² which, I fancy, he may have communicate with you before this reach you. The first was full of warm expressions of dreadful things coming upon this Church, upon our recusancy, and gave account of the Treasurer's indisposition, so that nothing could be done. The next, of Nov. 1st, I think, gave account that he was that day to be with the Treasurer, and the Queen was to be acquainted with the address before presenting it, and some insinuations that he saw little room for favour, since the law execute itself, and a proposal of printing the address at London. This is all I know about it.

I would willingly send you all the accounts I have from Edinburgh, but am persuaded they will be stale. In short, (*vide* former letters.) The Synod of Lothian refused to address, and went in to the recording of what I send you a copy of, with this,³ for the

¹ See note, p. 356.

² The letters had been addressed, probably, to Principal Carstairs by the Earl of Hly, who was one of his correspondents.

³ This was a "Declaration of Loyalty by the Brethren of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, who had not freedom to take the Oath of Abjuration offered to the Synod, Nov. 6, 1712," to free themselves from the charge of Jacobitism with which their enemies very groundlessly charged them. In this declaration they declare their firm allegiance and steadfast loyalty to her Majesty Queen Anne, as their only lawful and rightful sovereign; refuse and disown allegiance or obedience to the Pretender;

recusants, and a short declaration of the Jurants, in the terms of the Commission's address. The Nons appointed some of their number to correspond with (the Nons) ten Synods about them; and it seems they named me to correspond with you for this Synod. You shall have, after this, what I have from Edinburgh by post, as it comes.

We are more troubled with presentations in this Presbytery than our neighbours are. And I would gladly have your thoughts how far a Presbytery may go in to plant upon a presentation, when there is joined with it a popular call to a person we have no exceptions against. We are told the intrant cannot have a title to the stipend now by the popular call and the Presbytery's act, unless presentations be superadded. And yet I am diffculted how far we may, by our receiving it, bind this sinful and senseless imposition upon us. To me, even the patron's civil title, as they call it, is as much Popish in its original as the cross in baptism; but it may be my blood is too young and hot; and I'd be glad to be extricate by your riper thoughts.¹

You see what a cumbersome correspondent you have got. I give my dutiful respects to Mrs W., and am yours, most affectionately.

Nov. 17, 1712.

avow their resolution to maintain, defend, and support the succession to the Crown in the Family of Hanover; and earnestly desire and firmly hope, that their not taking the oath should not be thought to proceed from any principles of disloyalty or disobedience to authority, but entirely from fear of counteracting their known principles. The Jurants also gave in a declaration "to vindicate themselves from the imputation of the Episcopal Hierarchy." The Synod agreed that both declarations should be recorded. They also passed an act, declaring strongly in favour of the House of Hanover, and against the Pretender.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. Nos. 150, 152, 153.)

¹ See p. 352.

Nov. 13, 1712.

*Overtures anent the Carriage, Duty, and Safety of the Recusant Brethren.*¹

That we approve ourselves to the consciences of onlookers and our brethren, by continuing at our work in our congregations, and doubling our diligence in all the parts of it among our people, as uncertain how long our opportunities may be continued.

That in our sermons we abstract entirely from the different practices among us, and even under provocations from others do not recriminate, nor do any thing that may heighten the flame already among the people, since the interests of religion and the Gospel, and its doing good among people, is the ground of our venturing to continue in our station, under the lash of the law.

That in judicatories we, as much as we can, keep from partying, or being led into any things our clear brethren are against, merely upon the account of our difference in practice. That we guard against all votes that may occasion dissents and protestations; but, in every thing, except we be attacked in relation [to] recusancy, carry as if there were no such thing among us.

That, in conversation with our people, or others about us, we take all pains to take off their prejudices against our brethren and the Gospel in their hand, and labour to support them, as far as may not reflect upon our own practice, in every part of the work of Christ in their hand, and take all care to do nothing to encourage their hearers to leave them and follow us.

That, since we incline not to any thing that, in the eyes of the world, may be reckoned a differing from our brethren, and so cannot meet together ordinarily for prayer, without mistake, we set apart a day betwixt every Presbytery, or part of it, to be spent in prayer in our closets. And that we keep up our Presbyterial meet-

¹ These overtures were drawn up by Wodrow, and are printed from his first draught, which is written on the back of an old letter.

ings for prayer more punctually ; and meet with our Sessions as frequently as may be for this duty, so necessary at this juncture.

That our correspondence be kept up among ourselves closely every week once if any thing occur, and that every meeting of N. J. [Non-jurants] in each Presbytery settle it among themselves as shall be most convenient, and pitch upon one to correspond with him that is named by the brethren at Edinburgh, to whom he is to communicate his account weekly by post ; and that that brother be empowered by express to gather the brethren in each Presbytery together, upon any singular emergent he is advertised of.

That if informations designed against any brother by malicious persons, in order to get the penalty to themselves, come to the knowledge of any, present notice be given to the brother himself, and to him that is appointed to correspond with the rest, that all may be advertised.

That no citations for recusancy be obeyed by any brother till the advice of all his brethren be taken, and that of lawyers at Edinburgh, if need be, and, in the meantime, all civil and gaining measures be used with persons concerned.

That if any brother be attacked, all support him both by particular sympathy and prayer, advice and charges, if need be.

That the meetings of the Commission be kept punctually by all the recusant members.

That if there be not two in a Presbytery of the recusant members, one be appointed to go to Edinburgh, at the meeting in December next, and be with our brethren there. And if there be no recusant members in a Presbytery members of the Commission, that one or two be sent in to that meeting.

That the Commission be pressed to address the Queen and the Parliament, if it be found proper, for favour to us, and that it be signified with all prudence, that it's not our desire to have a new day, and that we are at a point as to our practice.

That methods be taken in all caution, with friendly members of Parliament, that they favour us, and give just representations of our state, principles, and difficulties, at London, and a correspondence

settled with some at Edinburgh, and through the country, by the members of Parliament, that we may have timouse information.

That, if it be found needful, some be thought upon to agent our business at London, and that we contribute for any charges that this may stand.

That prudent measures may be taken by the meeting at Edinburgh, to acquaint the Court at Hanover, in the name of the recusants, of our affection and concern for the Protestant succession.

That a declaration of our principles, and the true state of our recusancy, be agreed upon, in terms wherein we may be harmonious, and that be made use of for our vindication, as shall be found proper.

That all methods be taken to prevent different practices among ourselves.

LETTER CIII.

SUMMONSES.—JEALOUSIES.—PRESENTATIONS.

To Mr R. W. [Robert Wylie.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 18th by Mr L.'s servant, whom I sent, my own having left me, and the successor, though named, not admitted.

It's for several years I have observed a considerable backwardness to a brotherly correspondence, in far less necessary circumstances than we are now in. And though at present every body owns they see the necessity, yet I find few incline to put to their hand. And till the Lord give us a better spirit, I see little hopes of success in any such design. For my part, I am sensible I have gone further than one of my age should have ventured; and want not, as I am informed, censures, but they do very little move me. In A. J. Pa., and I hope with you, the Nons do meet separately at Presbyteries,

and know of the correspondent named by our brethren in Edinburgh, and one of their number do write to him. But further than this, till the meeting of the Commission be over, though I proposed one to be sent from each meeting, to meet somewhere in the centre, I find no ground from them to expect. I am abundantly sensible letters will never answer the end so much as a personal rencounter; but when markets are so low, I had rather have this than nothing. I have nothing from the six Nons in Dumbarton; the three in Glasgow are willing enough to come into a concert. I have no occasion of the post till Tuesday to the west, and a return cannot be had, in my opinion, so as to settle a meeting before the Commission at this season of the year. I would have come up myself to Sandcroft, some day next week, but upon Monday and Tuesday my time is forestalled by a prior appointment. And about Thursday I think to be going to Edinburgh with my brother Jo., who will be a physician, and I incline to ground him in the mechanics and mathematics at Edinburgh, and shall stay there till the meeting of the Commission.

The report of the Advocate summoning Mr B[onner] and W[illiamson] I believe to be a mistake,¹ and the more that last post I had a letter from Mr W[illiamson,] who tells me there are no attacks made as yet. But summonses are come to several brethren, and what the issue will be he knows not. By the summonses he means informations to be given in, if need be, by friends, that (in case of malicious informers) are to be prosecuted, and the penalty adjudged to fall into the hands of the informer, the recusant's friend. And if no malicious information be given in, the summonses are no further to be insisted in. This, I fancy, hath given ground for the story you have heard. If the Advocate as such has done so, I have not heard it.

I know nothing of the matter of the paper at Cambuslang, and from the temper of our brother, I doubt not of its modesty. But I cannot but wish we were of a piece in all our public steps. I dare

¹ Mr Wylie had stated that the Advocate had summoned these two ministers before the Justiciary for non-jurancy.

not condemn unheard ; but I cannot see what can be proposed by (if true) an intimation the Sabbath before that somewhat of importance was to be communicated, and a propaling of reasons of recusancy to a people fond enough of our practice ; the giving reasons seems more proper before another auditory than that of the people sufficiently impressed with charity to recusants. It was obvious it would occasion not only misconstructions of him as currying favour, where there was not any great need, though in charity I believe there was no such design, and [making] reflections upon others that went not his length, which, for my own part, I am as little affected with. I am informed some of his hearers were much satisfied with his reasons ; but for his constructions of his clear brethren, and pressing not separating, they could not go in with him, nor reconcile them with his reasons, though I doubt not that they are reconcilable. The inconveniences of this procedure confirm me in the absolute necessity of frequent conference and joint measures among us at this juncture.

Your account of your own accidental parenthesis¹ is what does not touch me, as far as I know myself, and what I am glad to have so distinct an account of. I am sure it's a truth, in the general, and applicable to others than those it would be generally taken to point at. It's none of the least ill consequences of our different practices at this day, that what in itself may be said without any such design will be alleged by those that differ from us, to be designed for, and by some really, through their weakness, misimproven to heighten that ferment among people against the Gospel dispensed by our brethren.² I confess I was surprised with some accounts

¹ "As for my note, I was obliged, by the notice that some soon took of it, to call to mind distinctly the words, which were a mere accidental parenthesis on a different subject, wherein there was occasion to mention Moses' pleading for the people, Ex. xxxii. 32, *Oh ! this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. I fear the sin and defection of many at this day deserves little better character, for if men forsake God and his ways for fear of suffering the loss of their worldly means, what better is it than making them gods of gold ?* There was neither more nor less than these precise words. If any think themselves toucht, I wish they may repent and be forgiven, but I think none who are not conscious of guilt need be offended."—*Wylie to Wodrow.*

² The following extract from a letter of Mr Lindsay to Wodrow is quite character-

from Glasgow, from hearers of Mr C., and as much surprised to find that he peremptorily denies the note altogether. For one of my experience and youth, till I be *in casu confessionis*, I think the old proverb will be safest, Little said soon mended.

I am much persuaded the overtures I sent will need much ripening. When I communicate them with our brethren at P. yesterday, they liked them better than I did, except some one or two places. They cast to a clause to that of supporting our clear brethren, "in all ways so as not to reflect upon our own practice," and did apprehend the beginning of the draught to be abundantly upon the charitable lay; and, indeed, the hasty drawer of them is sometimes sensible it's his weak side. The Commission's addressing for favour they were generally against, alleging our addresses would do us no great service above, and it was scarce to be expected we could have an address gone into, in such terms as it were to be wished. I insisted upon nothing in them, and was only sorry we would not take time to frame a better draught.

I heartily wish I may have a draught from you of overtures, to be considered and agreed to at our meeting at Edinburgh. If it come by Monday's post or Wednesday's, it will reach me in this country; if afterwards, it must be directed for me to the care of

istic of the temper of many of the people at this period with respect to the Abjuration Oath, and the ministers who had sworn it: "In my last I promised an account how matters did go at the communion of Ayr. There was no great crowd there, the number of communicants were not so many as usual, by more than the half. Three parts of four of the table of the Lord was wholly empty the whole time of the action sermon. All helpers were jurants but myself; but not one word that had any concern with the oath, not so much as by insinuation. There was another non-jurant brother invited, which was like to raise no small flame in his parish, but in providence he fell sick, which ended the debate. Some of my people urged I should not go, and, when they found me resolved, they talked of detaining me by force; yea, some of their blind zeal came to that height, that, when they found I would go, they talked of stoneing me, which gives me a most melancholy prospect of our maintaining ministerial communion at these solemn ordinances; for, should non-jurant brethren invite no jurants to their communions, I tremble what would be the event of this, and, should they invite any jurants, in some congregations there would not one of the people take a token, nor an elder serve at table."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 174.)

Mr Weemys, at the post-office, Edinburgh. And likewise, the shape of a declaration.

I thank you for your thoughts on presentations,¹ and heartily wish for your larger and riper sentiments. The entrant's personal deed, especially *ex post facto*, I should not much quarrel. But, for Presbyteries receiving presentations with a very smooth waving of them, and, upon the back of them, ordering a popular call to be drawn, is a method I am not yet in love with, and, under my narrow views, seems not so agreeable to that plainness judicatories ought to use in the beginning of encroachments upon our Reformation and Revolution rights. I find our neighbours in Glasgow have done so, and, when the meeting for drawing the call came, there was a protestation given in by Kilsyth's factor² against a popular call as what infringed the patron's right; upon which the meeting broke up, and none would subscribe. This I send by Friday's post, and hope it may reach you on Saturday morning. I am yours, most sincerely.

Nov. 20, 1712.

¹ "There was a presentation sent by the E. of Selkirk to the Presbytery of Lanerk of Mr Davison to Crawford-John, though his Lordship was told, that neither would the Presbytery receive it, nor Mr Davison enter upon it. The Presbytery did reject it, and it was served upon them by an instrument. I suppose there may be no more of it, since it saves the *jus devolutum*; and truly that Presbytery have contributed to draw this upon themselves. I do not yet see great hurt in an intrant receiving a presentation as a legal right to the stipend *ex post facto*, that is, after he hath been tried and approven by the Presbytery upon a popular call, with some signification that he takes it only with respect to that right to the stipend. But, if patrons will not thus compromise the matter, I see not how a Presbytery can receive the presentation, or enter a probationer on trials upon it, till judgment be given by the Church. But I confess I have no ripe thoughts on this head, except that we forbear till well advised."—*Wylie to Wodrow*.

² A more particular account of this occurs afterwards.

LETTER CIV.

REMARKS ON A DRAUGHT OF REASONS OF RECUSANCY.—THOUGHTS
ON PRESENTATIONS.

For Mr R[obert] W[ylie.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 24th, by Monday's post, and of the 26th, by yesterday's, and you must still make allowance for their coming out to me, which hinders me from answering that same post.

The loss of D[uke] H[amilton]¹ in such a way cannot but be affecting to all concerned. I pray God may support the good old D[utchess,] and wish his son may be made an useful instrument for good to this poor nation and Church. The project of the blank summons has so many difficulties with it, that I do not suspect it will be much fallen in with. The list of ministers' vacancies I have, with patrons generally added to it, upon that burden's coming on us, and, if I win to Edinburgh, I shall get a perfect list of Jurors and Nons. It grieves me that some Presbyteries have gone further in the matter of presentations than I can follow them,² and I expect little advice from the Commission, since they have already balked the giving of it; many are more cautious than advise anent any thing against law. I have inquired anent your first letter to me, but can learn nothing anent it. Last week I sent in to Edinburgh a double of the overtures I sent you; and have had no return, nor any further accounts worth troubling you with.

¹ The Duke of Hamilton fell in a duel.

² "I think no Presbytery ought to receive a presentation, which were to comply with the encroachment; and thereupon to order a popular call, in consequence of that presentation, would be but like one of those juggles with which we are sadly branded in the matter of the oath. I wish there had not been too much occasion for the reproach of Jesuitism given by some pieces of former conduct of an older date."—*Wylie to Wodrow.*

The draught of the declaration came to my hand this day ; and I have put it into another hand, and design to-morrow to send it by post to Mr Flint, whom the brethren at Edinburgh appointed to correspond with me, that it may be communicate, without any notice from what art it comes. I firmly purposed to have gone east to-morrow, but on Tuesday night my little daughter fell ill of the measles, and has many things about her that look as if her distemper were hazardous ; my two other children are like to sicken, and my wife is indisposed, so I could not have satisfaction to leave my family this week. If by any means I can get off, I design to go in upon Monday, but, in case Providence stop me, I must be silent ; and have transmitted all I had communicated to me, or could think upon. I take the liberty to give you my own remarks upon the draught of the declaration, in pretty much confusion and hurry, from my family and other things. The first branch, though I did heartily go into it, and would be content it were a little further extended than “unnecessary differing, and concurrence to love, affection, and support,” yet I doubt some brethren will scarce go the length to subscribe these general expressions, since I hear talk of protestations before some join in judicatories, and very harsh papers from pulpit in Dumfries and other places.

In the second section, I observe the word *constitution* twice added to government ; and though I believe the design of this draught was very far from pointing at the Union by it, yet I doubt some of our brethren Jurors did take the oath with a view to secure our united constitution, and some of our recusant brethren may scruple at it. I would leave it out. The clause of disowning any claim made, or to be made, by the Popish Pretender, I think might be a little enlarged by leaving out *Popish*, or turning it *the Pretender, educate in Popery, and French maxims of Government*, that we may guard against the senseless notion of his turning Protestant. The hooked paragraph, I humbly think, is too long and ample, though satisfying abundantly ; and I think might be taken in from *Believing to In respect*. Though I am clear in all its branches, yet I think the detail is too particular to be subscribed, and runs so far

into hereditary right, as to own it as a principle to take in the next heir if he have the name of a Protestant. And I have some doubts about what is in the close of the second branch, as to the separate allegiance being prefixed to the oath, with an eye to Episcopal Dissenters. You know it may be said, it is added with respect to many ministers intrants since the last taking of the oaths; so I think it may be spared.

In the third section, the narrative to the first reason, from the ambiguity, I fear, be thought a little harsh upon our clear brethren; *Loose resolutions of doubts, presumed and disguised designs of the oath printed.* And the declarations of our brethren Jurants can scarce be adduced as one of our reasons of Non-jurancy, or our taking the oath to be ambiguous, since it's to be supposed many of us were at a point before we saw them. I fear this be thought too much *argumentum ad homines*. It may be further said, that in the address to the Union Parliament, it is not asserted that it is a doubtful and ambiguous oath, but only that every one, &c., and that the qualifications required in the successor are not suitable to our principles. Therefore, I would have this phrase a little altered. In the intention and design of the oath, the maintenance of the Church of England, I have in the double sent east added, "as by law established," which is in the act, and, in my opinion, goes far to determine the sense of the Legislature, as to the little particle *as* in the oath so much mist has been thrown upon. But I have made no other alterations in the double. The second reason begins with, It being acknowledged, &c. I suppose it might run as well, *We being persuaded*, or some such word. For in the reasonings with our brethren, and our ruling elders, I heard it denied that the oath binds to the successor as obliged to take the English C. Oath. And they told us we were only to bring him to London, and leave him at his English oaths; for then he was Sovereign, not successor. In the close of the same paragraph, And in us a treacherous, &c., I would smooth it a little, And in us, under these views, or being persuaded of these things, or the like.

And in our compliment to our brethren in the next article, instead of *Believing some*, it might run, We charitably hope many.

The engagement at the close never to engage, &c., I am very positive in myself, but if an expression to soften it a little, and yet to bind us, could be fallen on, I would be glad of it, as, *Being from the foregoing reasons convinced that in us it would be sin, though we dare not judge others*, or some such turn. You will, from most of these things, find that I am, perhaps, too far upon the soft side, but it's only that we may be the more harmonious, and the less thought to do any thing to disgust people at those that have qualified.

For my own part, as I believe every one has his own reasons of recusancy, I could go into several others than are here mentioned. Particularly, any allegiance we can give now does involve us (not only in the Union, for that it would not be proper to mention in any public declaration, but) in an active subjection to the laws anent patronages, and the receiving of presentations, and the supporting the Toleration as ministers. For I reckon allegiance obliges every subject to execute, or actively to submit to the laws relative to his office in a very particular way. But how far this were fit to be added I know not, or any hint at the heightening of the humours of the people in their present circumstances, which is no service to the civil Government, while it may be yet more unfit. The printing of the Declaration must likewise be ripely considered. This freedom I use in setting down my rude thoughts I should beg pardon for, but I am very ill at apologies, especially to them I value so much, and I know will bear with my weakness and mistakes. I have taken care that though I go not east on Monday, that my letters shall come to me though directed to Edinburgh, and if I go they will be forwarded; so you'll continue, as formerly I hinted, in your direction, when you write, and the oftener it be it will be the more satisfying to, though you see what returns you have from, yours in all sincerity.

Nov. 27, 1712.

LETTER CV.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

To Mr John Flint.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have had nothing from you nor Mr Williamson since the 14th. Within a post or two I wrote to him, to be communicate to you, and sent him a double of some overtures, (*vide* Overtures for the Carriage, Safety, and Duty, of Recusant Brethren,) which will need much ripening. I designed to-morrow to have come into Edinburgh to our meeting on Monday, but Providence is like to lay a hindrance in my way; my daughter, Mary, fell ill on Tuesday of the measles, &c. Meanwhile, it's satisfying to me you will not be at the loss, but I, if I be providentially hindered, pray the Lord to direct the Commission and our reverend brethren in their meetings. And if I be not with you on Tuesday, I hope you and Mr W. will not fail to write every post, with a full account of what is done and concerted, that I may transmit the substance to our brethren in these bounds.

Meanwhile, that I may not omit anything that lies in my power to give any help in your consultations, and that you want nothing that is communicate to me, in case I get not in, I send you here a copy of a draught of a declaration by the unclear brethren, if such a thing be agreed upon among you, which I wish you may ripely consider and communicate it to Mr W—r [Webster] and Mr L—ng, [Linning,] and any others you think fit, before it be brought in public. The draught follows, (*vide* letter, November 27.) You will easily see that it is not fit any copies of this should be given out to any till amended by the meeting of our brethren, nor any signification given whence it came, and if it do not relish, at least to be a foundation for a better draught, I hope you'll take care it be

not spread. I wish you would cause double it over in another and better hand before you communicate it to any.

I only now presume to add to the overtures I sent in last week, in case I get not in, my wish that an exact list of all the Jurors and Non-jurors in every Presbytery were drawn up at the Commission, which will be easily done by any that hath the ministers' names, and of the vacancies of every Presbytery. I likewise wish the brethren, in their meeting, may consider what expedient may be fallen on to answer, in a uniform way, judicious persons and elders that do stumble at our brethren that have qualified, for the common people their parleying will, I hope, soon be over; but let it be advised what method be taken with elders that refuse to join, yea to hear for the jurancy which they take to be a sin, that cannot now be testified against in a Church capacity, and therefore they think they have no other way left but withdrawing. It might be considered likewise what is proper to be done if children be brought out of a brother's parish that has qualified to any of us, with two elders attesting their piety, &c., without any line from our brethren. The Presbytery of G. last week discharged all their members to baptize a child in one of their parishes where is a Jurant brother, whose parent refuseth to baptize with his minister. This is all that occurs at present from your brother in some bonds.

November 27, 1712.

I wish likewise some method were fallen upon by our brethren, were it by a letter to an unclear brother in every Presbytery, to prevent our preaching against our clear brethren; these I humbly submit to you, to make what use of them you please. I only wish earnestly we could be brought to uniformity among ourselves.

[*N. B.*—Here follows in our MS. a long letter, addressed to Mr Flint, containing remarks on Mr Lauder's Vindication of the Oath of Abjuration. These remarks, which are continued in two subse-

quent letters, besides being uninteresting from their referring to a subject which is no longer matter of controversy, would be hardly intelligible unless the treatise, to which they constantly refer, were also before the reader, and are therefore omitted. The title of Mr Lauder's pamphlet, which was published anonymously in 1712, is, "A Vindication of the Ministers and Ruling Elders of the Church of Scotland who have taken the Abjuration; wherein it is made evident, that they are not thereby engaged in their stations to oblige the Successor, when he comes to the Crown, to join in Communion with the Church of England, as some Ignorant People are made to believe." To this objection Mr Lauder confines himself. In his Remarks, Mr Wodrow has certainly the advantage in point of close and conclusive reasoning, and shows, to use his own expression, that "his logics were not so far roused."—ED.]

LETTER CVI.

To the Rev. Mr James Hart,¹ Minister at Edinburgh.

December 31.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 27th, with the Address to the Church of N. B. [North Britain,] which is very

¹ "June 1729.—Mr James Hart, first minister at Ratho, then at Edinburgh, died in a day or two of him, (Principal Wisheart, author of the *Discourses on God*.) He was a worthy good man, and one whose sermons were much haunted. He was naturally a little warm and keen, but of considerable gravity and prudence with it. He printed some few Sermons."—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. vi. p. 71.) The celebrated Sir Richard Steele, on his visit to Scotland in 1717, had frequent conferences with the Presbyterian ministers, with the view, it appears, of inducing them to agree to "the restoration of the ancient Episcopacy of Scotland." "Among these," says Drake, "he was particularly struck with the singular and original character of a Mr Hart. He was a man of great humour and very facetious manners, and though particularly mild and good-tempered in all the relations of domestic life, his discourses from the pulpit were usually of the most terrific kind. He loved to preach what he termed *the terrors of the law*, and had been for some years in the habit of weekly con-

fine.¹ Matters in this country are pretty smooth, for any thing I hear. In the Presbytery of Irvine, when the common course of

signing his affrighted flock to all the horrors of eternal damnation; a practice which obtained him from Steele the appellation of *the Hangman of the Gospel*.”—(*Essays Biographical, Critical, and Historical*, by Nathan Drake, M. D., vol. i. p. 128.) Sir Richard, however, with all his wit, was no great judge of sermons. Some may prefer, on this subject, the testimony of a much humbler individual. “Then Mr James Hart preached on Isa. l. 10. He spoke to them that were in darkness to trust in the Lord, &c.” “But the word that was most refreshful to me was Mr James Hart on Cant. i. 4. :—‘The King hath brought me into his chamber; let us be glad;’ where he held forth that sweet fellowship Christ and believers have together; and what these chambers were he spoke sweetly to. O but this was a soul-refreshing sermon to me!”—(*Memoirs of Elizabeth West*, pp. 163, 209.)

¹ ADDRESS TO THE CHURCH OF NORTH BRITAIN.

“Of Reformation thou the brightest ray!
The genuine offspring of that glorious day,
Which to Europe light and freedom did restore:
Laymen were the priests’ property no more,
But learn’d to know the God they did adore.

“Sagacious Church, and heaven’s peculiar care!
Thou givest to every one their rightful share.
To kings thou leav’st as much prerogative
As they could fairly ask or thou couldst give.
The men who thy state principles did blame,
Have by their practice justified thy claim.

“Thy guides, nor slaves, nor sovereigns are made;
The holy calling is no gainful trade;
Nor is thy glebe so scandalously short,
To be the churchman’s grief, and atheists’ sport.
Preachers depend not on their hearers’ freak,
Nor to great men are meanly forc’d to sneak;
No brother does to brother vilely bow,
Equal in office and in honour too,
Equal as God and nature will allow.*

“Thy temples, service, ministers, and all,
Express their plain and grave original.
Who add to Christian worship make it less;
Perfect itself, it needs no artful dress.

* On the margin:—“There will be always an inequality in parts, learning, and other endowments.”

supply came about, Mr G. Ch. was sent to Stewartown, a vacancy, and had few hearers; the elders deserted all because of his jurancy, and none were to gather the collection. This came before the Presbytery last week. It was pushed that the elders should be called before the Presbytery, and receive a presbyterial rebuke. This was not thought by some to be so seasonable a remedy, and it issued in advice to the two elders present to wait on the office, and collect for the poor when it came about.

I was in Glasgow on the 25th, and heard a sermon by Mr B. against holydays, from Gal. iv. 10, 11. The protected meeting did not give the sacrament; it was once designed, but on some reasons forborne. It's not expected Mr Cockburn will have his meeting much increased if he get not in Mr Fullartoun¹ to assist him, under scogg [protection] of his qualifying. Mr Fullartoun is

Thy happy people may their pastors choose,
And the unworthy, as it's fit, refuse;—
So did the first and purest ages use.

“ Yet happier, they in government partake,
And gladly yield to laws they help to make.
This poise the balance even serves to keep,
Pride flows not high, nor malice sinks too deep.
Thy doctrine as thy discipline is pure,
Was right at first, and ever will endure!
And may thy friends firm as thy faith remain,
May thy mad foes attempt thy fall in vain,
May the Britannic wisdom fix thy right
Beyond thy fears, and ill men's restless spight!
May this (the faithful nation's sacred pledge)
About thy holy mountain draw an hedge,
Which if a beast shall touch or venture through,
Transfixt may fall a victim to their view!

“ And may the God that sits upon the hill,
As he was always, be thy guardian still,
Witness and guarantee thy cause to plead,
And vengeance dart on the aggressor's head.”

Letters to Wodrow, vol. vi. p. 184.

¹ Mr Fullarton was afterwards (in 1720) elected Bishop of Edinburgh by the Episcopal party.

the man of that party in most repute in this country; he has hitherto been averse from joining with Cockburn, but I hear, upon the solicitations of severals, he has writt to the Bishop for his advice how to carry, and whether to join with Cockburn. The most substantial of the old Episcopal way refuse to join C. because of the Liturgy, and others stumble at him for his qualifying, and those that are with him, particularly Sir D. M'Donald, begin to weary, because of the charges they are at.

Upon the 29th, there was a soldier buried in the High Churchyard with the English service. This is the first say-hand.¹ All the officers were there; and Mr C. put on his gown at the entry of the churchyard, and ventured not up the street with it; and prayers began, and all the company were discovered [uncovered] from their entry into the churchyard, where were many spectators, but no rabble nor opposition. It's a question here if the Toleration Act allows the protected to bury *a la mode d'Angleterre*. Let me have your thoughts on it.

Return my thanks to Mr F. for his last, with Mr Lauder's Vindication. I have glisked it over, and find very little solid argument in it, but confusion in many places, and declaration of things a child may know. Let me know if there be any answer appearing to it. I have seen some remarks on the first half of it, which, if worth the while, I might send you or Mr Flint, but am of opinion, neither his performance nor they are *tanti* to transcribe for you. Pray continue your correspondence with, yours most affectionately.

Dec. 31, 1712.

¹ Essay, or trial of the thing.

LETTER CVII.

UNION AMONG NON-JURANTS.

To Mr William Lindsay, Minister at Dundonald.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 5th of January yesterday, and I have very little to write. Since you expect a return next post, I have sent this rather than nothing.

I am much surprised to find many brethren in most places so much against drawing up a scheme of the most general reasons why we have not gone into the oath, since so great a meeting at Edinburgh seemed all so generally to see the necessity of the thing. It may be, many do not understand the proposal, with the views we then had. It was never designed, for what I know, to be published, till we were obliged to it by persecution, or attacks from the other side; and it was only designed as a mean to bring us as much to a harmony as might be under the different reasons that different brethren might have for their recusancy. And all the reasons from different meetings of the various Synods are only to be kept *in retentis* at Edinburgh, till the meeting of Nons at the Commission in March, and if they found necessary, they are to be put together in such terms as might be supposed all brethren might best agree to, when the general sense of the most part comes to be known. The meeting at Edinburgh thought it very probable that a few comprehensive general expressions might be agreed upon, that might pretty generally be gone into, to be used in case of our being attacked only, and our being obliged, either in an address, declaration, or whatever else should be found expedient to come from the body of Nons, when brought to an extremity, and not till then. That meeting could have easily agreed, I think, in some few reasons for themselves, wherein they could have been joint, but were willing

to know the sentiments of their brethren up and down the Church as much as might be, and no way offered but this of correspondence, and by that, the transmitting of what the brethren in each meeting could agree in to the brethren at Edinburgh. What use may be judged convenient to make of them, when March comes, I shall not say ; but, in my opinion, a short, cautious, and well concerted abstract of the reasons of Non-jurancy, wherein most might agree, might be of great use in our conversation, in any declaration when matters come to a choak, and for bringing us to a harmony, and it might be for confirming some, if a day of temptation, rather than grace, come. Indeed, in my opinion, before any thing can be fully concerted as all our deed, it must again be transmitted by the meeting at Edinburgh to the sub-meetings for their approbation ; but materials must be had, and the general sense known, before this can be drawn up.

When I have thus laid what I think to be the design of this proposal before you, you will easily see an answer to most of the reasons you hint at. For publishing any such draught, it is not designed at all, unless we are brought to a *casus confessionis*, which, certainly, we are not at yet. But it was indeed needful to be in readiness, because we know not how sudden our blow may be. I do not see the impracticableness of the Nons agreeing in one draught, since there are some things, I think, we all pretty generally agree upon. For our counting members, I was never for it till the choak came, which may take off many. I see some difficulties, indeed, of using full freedom in meetings of Nons ; but I suppose the heads of our reasons may be so large, as it were no matter who hear them, or be with us at our reasonings on them. For the business of the declarations, though I dislike them as much as you do, yet it can never come in as a reason of our Non-jurancy, since it was after we were, I think, generally determined as to our practice. However, let me have any thing particular brethren fall upon as their reasons of recusancy, and if any thing can be generally agreed upon by any number among you, I wish it were. And be sure to send me, as soon as you can, my friend's thoughts

upon the declarations, with all plainness, though it be not to be communicate, yet it may be of use to me.

As to the choosing of members for the Assembly, my thoughts are not yet ripe about it; but as things appear to me, we should hold just by our old way, without considering Jurancy or Non-jurancy. And those that in a Presbytery's ordinary course use to follow to go in, I would have them sent. It's plain many Nons will be there members, for in several Presbyteries they have no other to send. And I would not have us taking any notice of our different practice in the oath, in our judicatories, otherwise it will draw deep. The Commissioner's instructions will be according to the Parliament's procedure; and I am of opinion, the day of grace will be after the Assembly is over, and so we will be all one man's bairns in the eye of law till that new day come. However, I do not think any difference on Jurancy or Non-jurancy should be made by ourselves.

I thank you for your accounts from your bounds and Dumfries. I am grieved with those from the south.¹ Pray continue once a week to give what occurs. I am pleased our brethren, with you, are so little apprehensive of the ill consequences of their recusancy, as they can venture where they are going, and the honest women deserve the thanks of the Nons for venturing on them. I am, yours most affectionately.

Jan. 7, 1713.

¹ Mr Lindsay had said in his letter to Wodrow:—"Last week I saw a letter from Mr Paton at Dumfries, with a very melancholy account of the state of that country. Churches are very much deserted there, and some instruments busy in bringing oil to the flame; and Mr Gilchrist at Dunscore not only preaches against the oath, but frequently from his pulpit reads papers to the people, with directions how they should give their testimony against this step of defection, which makes all the country crowd to him as the famous and faithful Mr Gilchrist. Mr Laurie, late in Closeburn, whose process and deposing is yet fresh to you, is again, I learn, preaching, and holds forth powerfully against the Abjuration Oath, which, to use the words of that letter, is thought so meritorious, that it atones for all other crimes, and he does not want followers. This is a very melancholy account of things. I can neither vindicate these instruments nor the people."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vii. No. 7.)

LETTER CVIII.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

For Mr Robert Wylie.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 2d, with the enclosed, in due time, upon Saturday. Since the Lord's day I have been abroad, and have not had a minute's time to consider the enclosed you sent me. If any remarks offer upon it I shall send them with all plainness; and would not have given you the trouble of this, had I not been in this place, and fancied you might be desirous to hear of my receiving yours.

I thank you for your account of the affair of Kilbride. I am sorry occasion is given by that honest man for rankling old sores. I expect to hear what comes of it. There appears to me yet no occasion of your meeting sooner than the day you name; if any thing can be ready against the meeting in the Commission in March it will be in time, but I fear little be done by our brethren. The choak is for a little over, and no doubt there is practising among them, and I find a great backwardness to do any thing. From Dumbarton I have odd returns to my letters, acquainting them with our correspondence. Some there that lead others reckon silence and sitting still our interest, and plainly say our correspondence is a caballing, and declare entirely against it, and they shall be troubled with nothing of it. From Irvine and Ayr I find many objections against drawing up reasons of recusancy, as what we can never agree in, and what, if agreed to, may be so general as to be taken off by the Government, and bring us to new difficulties. So that little may be expected from thence. The others are of another mind, and I hope may do somewhat. I find it a strait to some, to meet with and use freedom in their reasonings before some that have refused the oath; since they expect upon the day of grace

they will boat. This last has somewhat of weight in it, upon which I desire your thoughts. I am writ to likewise by some, as to the choice of members for the Assembly, and how the Nons shall carry in that matter, which I likewise entreat you may think on, and let me know your mind per first.

From Edinburgh, I hear Mr Lauder's Vindication makes a great noise there; I have read it, and see not much in it, yet wish it were taken up very briefly. I take it for granted you have it, and earnestly entreat your remarks on it, as soon as your leisure allows. It is earnestly desired from Edinburgh that a sheet might be published against patronages, and if you could think upon a draught of materials, I am persuaded it might do some service. I wish it were very short. I find, by a letter this post from Mr M'Crackan, that a *capias alias* is come out against him, and our two other brethren. He meets still with delays, and yet encouragement to stay by the Tr. [Treasurer.]

This letter I design only for yourself, and not to be communicated. Whatever rubbs our correspondence, meets with from some brethren, we must carry things as far as they will go in this evil time. I am, yours most sincerely.

Jan. 7, 1713.

LETTER CIX.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

For Mr James Hart, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 3d last post, and thank you for your news. I hear some talk of the Episcopal ministers being to be prosecuted for their recusancy, which it may be is the first bell to others. The project of a standing army for

securing the barrier, &c. looks like more jealousy of France than some at the top of affairs seem to have. If it hold, I fancy it may come to be an edge-tool turned against liberty. If the present set have the nomination of officers, as we doubt they will, it may come to be a motley company, adapted to somethings I shan't name, and still in readiness, in case of such an easterly wind blow as did in the beginning of November 1689. I wonder your friends in the south write not, since there are accounts odd enough we have from thence ; for which I refer you to mine to Mr F. I have not a word from Argyle. If a new day be granted without any explication or narrative, that by some may come to be made an explication of the oath, by what I can guess, it will not make many converts about us here. But a very little blind will carry off many. I have no accounts of any thing with us, but what I, this post, send to Mr F., who will communicate them with you, and nothing brings you this trouble by this post, but your earnestness to have the remarks you name ; they need much to be considered before any thing be done with them. I have not yet seen those in the other part of the performance, and I fancy these are so hastily writt, that you will scarce inquire after the rest. But such as they are I send them, without any change, and am, yours most affectionately.

Jan. 8, 1713.

LETTER CX.

LAUDER'S VINDICATION.—PATRONAGES AND HOLIDAYS.

For Mr John Williamson, Minister at M. [Musselburgh.]¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Mr Lauder's Vindication I have seen. By not [were it not] the ground of his or his brethren boasting, it is certainly ill adapted to gain common people, and in my opinion contains little but what was more distinctly and better said in some former papers. His performance might be answered without heightening the ferment, but I wish any thing done against it were soft and short, and I think a clear and distinct discovery of the inconclusiveness of his answers, his unfair stating the controversy, and a brief setting things he perverts in their due light, would be much preferable to the publishing the reasons of our non-jurancy, which I am not for, till we come to an extremity.

I would gladly have a double of any of those papers you have by

¹ Mr John Williamson was the son of the celebrated Mr David Williamson of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, and was settled in Musselburgh, or Inveresk, in the beginning of the last century. "He preached the Gospel in much purity and fervour, and was long a serious and laborious minister in that large parish. When the Marrow Controversy was agitated he took a lively interest in it, and defended the truths condemned. Mr Boston says of him, 'He was very useful among us, being a man of clear head, a ready wit, and very forward.' He published a volume of sermons, entitled 'The Gospel Method for Enquiring Sinners.' He also elucidated the doctrines of grace condemned, in a large and judicious preface to the second part of the Marrow, with an appendix; the scope and substance of the Marrow, both parts; also two small volumes of sermons, explaining several doctrines condemned by the Assembly in their acts with respect to the Marrow."—(*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 79.) He lived in friendship with the most devout and evangelical ministers of his day, by whom he was assisted on sacramental occasions, when so many attended that they could not be accommodated with lodgings; and during the night the people "met in companies in a wood near the church, where they spent the Saturday and Sabbath evenings in prayer and praise." Mr Williamson was decidedly opposed to patronage, and much lamented the errors of Professors Campbell and Simson. He died about 1743.

you upon the oath, or can have a copy of in MS., and if any thing here offer worth your while I shall procure you a copy.

I thank you for your accounts of matters with you. Things go pretty easy here, and the desertion of people is not so great as it was at the first brush. But I am apprehensive when communions come about there will be a great decrease in communicants. In this Synod we have three or four ministers who were tender, and yet qualified, carried off without ever discharging any of their public work since their qualifying. Mr Birney in Douglas died in a few days after his taking the oath, not without some remorse, as some say, but others deny it; Mr J. Dougall at N. Kilpatrick, who qualified in his room; Mr G. Renwick in Kilbride, who wrote to the justices his clearness, but they did not give themselves the trouble of a deputation.

Whether this may reach you on the 14th I know not. There is little hazard. General causes, carelessness of the Gospel, contempt of the ministry, I should think, were safest in Pres[bytery] fasts, and were I a Juror I would not desire any more put in them. I know not the temper of people with you, but here a part pitching upon desertion would heighten it, and be a fast for strife and debate. However, I long to know what is done in this affair.

I am so sensible of the great hurt of patronages, that I earnestly wish a sheet were published upon that head, for informing even some ministers, and setting them right in their reasonings anent them, and opening the eyes of people. I am more apprehensive of patronages than the toleration, and wish Presbyteries would not involve themselves in them till the General Assembly give their judgment how we should carry. The Commission you see declines giving general rules, and in so far do right; but they decline advice in particular cases, and I humbly think it is the lesser evil for parishes to lie desolate for a little till either Assembly or Synod, to whom giving rules in this case are competent, shall determine, than for Presbyteries to run into what may bind this burden upon us for ever.¹

¹ Mr Robert Wylie writes to Wodrow on this subject as follows:—"The Commission have not only declined to make any address about these things, which I thought

The business of Christmas is not so sensible to us in the country as at Edinburgh and other places. I do reckon the civil imposition of the Yuil vacance not only unreasonable, and an occasional inlet into the religious observation of the holydays, since this is certainly the *prima ratio legis*, but very burdensome and expensive to the lieges. I hear endeavours will be used to alter the law. Since you have such a collection of writers on this head, I wish you would cull out the best arguments against it, and if once I saw materials I shall add all I can, and communicate with you sometime before the next Christmas, which I take to be the proper time to publish it. Yours affectionately.

Jan. 12, 1713.

LETTER CXI.

REMARKS ON THE SECOND DRAUGHT OF THE DECLARATION.¹

For Mr Robert Wylie.

Jan. 13, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Having a spare hour this night, I come to give you what offers upon the copy of the reasons of recusancy, inclosed in your last of the 2d current. In the general, I like the former draught I saw in November fully as well as this, it being shorter and comprehensive of the most of the matter here. And if a

they might have done about toleration and patronages, (for about the oath I wished for no address from them,) but have likewise positively refused to give advice to Presbyteries how to carry on the matter of presentations, and that because it is better that a particular Presbytery should make a wrong step than the Commission, which refusal, and reason for it, doth, in my opinion, baulk the very end of their being a Commission, and the faithfulness they owe to the General Assembly and to the Church. And since they refuse to give advice, I wish the Nons may concert what course to follow in this matter."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vi. No. 178.)

¹ This draught will be inserted in an Appendix.

particular detail be entered into with subdivisions this way it may be very long, but I doubt we all agree in it. However, I wish any of the draughts, or a shorter, if it might be, were gone into rather than none.

How far a declaration of our loyalty in this form before our reasons of recusancy will be thought necessary, after so many Assembly and Synodical declarations, I know not. For my own part, I am satisfied abundance of law breaks not law. But I know there are some who do scruple the repeating their allegiance to ——¹ after the Union, and under such manifest breaches of the stipulations upon which the United Kingdom is founded; and they are no Jacobites either. If this preliminary declaration be gone into, it might ruin ministers of this legally Established *National* Church. And an act of *protection*, for I do not mind toleration, is in the law.

In the next paragraph, I think, it might be as well, The true grounds of our forbearing, &c. are these, or these among other; for *such as these* scarce imports the following to be our reasons.

The first reason will have several objections against it. That granting state oaths had never been imposed before, the circumstances may be such as require them now, without the ill consequences specified. I have, indeed, heard this asserted, that no civil oaths have been imposed before the Revolution, but I wish our history may be exactly considered before it be peremptorily asserted in our declaration. Somewhat wanders in my head, which I have not time to search to, that in King James the Sixth's minority there was a civil oath put to the ministers, party oaths, especially Abjurations. I would have out likewise *at communions*, because our reasons may come to hands that may think it strange, and the former expression contains it. The close of this reason will, perhaps, seem hard upon our jurant brethren, and it might run by inference from the reason, for us *then* or *therefore* to take this, &c., and then I would class the evils in a subordination to the branches of the reason, otherwise it will look like a second reason. And the

¹ Queen Anne.

the clause *allegiance, about which we have no difficulty*, may be left out upon the reasons hinted at upon the first branch of the paper.

The second reason, from the manner of the oath's imposition, I own, in its own room, was what had some weight with me, and does well enough in conversation, and in arguments against the oath, but I do not see that weight at bottom in this argument, from our bare conjunction with the protected in the act, to bear all their consequences; I think it needless here to reason against them; I would have all our reasons and inferences in our common draught very firm, for they may come to be sifted. And really, if all these inferences were, in my opinion, just, from the bare conjunction of us and them in the act, I would not add in the close a supposition that even a full protestation against the Toleration would free from them. I would then throw into some other of the reasons the conjunction of the Established Church with the prohibited communion, which is indeed a grievance; but the act itself has been honestlier testified against than the patronages, which I am more apprehensive of the consequences of.

The third reason I go heartily into, after all the new light which Mr Lauder has brought to the *as*, and the intention of the Legislature. Only I know not how far the specifying of the Princess Sophia, being Calvinist, and the Elector Lutheran, may be mistaken as a rub upon the Elector; and it may be left out without losing any strength in the reasoning. It may be the close of the reason may be thought a little hard upon our brethren renouncing principles, and casting off the fear of an oath. I only propose *quicquid venit in buccam*.¹ I think upon the former draught I signified my mind about the Commission's address, 1706. I doubt if we gave a sense of it then. It was only declared that we had not seen the acts, and there were provisions required in the successor not agreeable to our principles, but I do not see the address determines any sense the Commission then came to about the oath. In the 1708, indeed, the Commission's letters gave their sense of

¹ Whatever comes uppermost.

the oath as stumbling to many of the best in the land, which might be couched in the fifth reason.

The fourth reason is, indeed, my own sense of the matter, and one of my principal difficulties, but I know not if we may say *it's acknowledged that the taking of this oath, &c.*; and another word does not now offer to me. This reason would [should] be very cautiously introduced, as it is very cannily worded here, and happily, I think, till these words, We can as little approve the breach of the act of security, &c. How far it will be fit for us, without a better backing than we have, to assert that the Union is broken, must be ripely considered. And though the close of the reason be plain Scotch and truth, yet we but turn the cannon on ourselves; our Church is so sunk, we will make no declarations grating elsewhere, when we have Assemblies and the name of Church power.

What follows, with the *further* here, I think might do as well as a distinct reason, a corollary to this fifth. And the first reason is good and *ad hominem*, if we had the courage to assert our principles in a judicial capacity, but since we decline, the Parliament take up what we drop, and set up for judge. The second is good, but I have heard it asserted that the supremacy is not rescinded in the act rescissory. I remember we applied, 1706, in the Commission, for a plainer security against the supremacy, and it was refused, as almost all we sought then was.

The fifth reason I go in entirely to, as I hope the most part will. And the conclusion of it I wish may as heartily be gone into by all, and I would add a solemn committing of our cause to God, as was in the former draught.

Thus you have my remarks upon this draught with all the freedom and plainness I have still used with you. Several of them, I think, are minute, and of no great import, but one or two of them, I presume, deserve your consideration. I am, yours most sincerely.

LETTER CXII.

EPISCOPALIANS IN GLASGOW.—NEWS ABOUT THE OATH FROM THE
SOUTH AND THE NORTH.

For Mr J. H. [James Hart.]

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 17th, wherein I am glad to hear of your receiving mine of the 8th. I know nothing but the weakness and hastiness of my friend's remarks upon Mr L.'s [Lauder's] performance makes you attribute them to me; and if that be any cover for him, I shall be the more content of the charge. I have been from home since yours came to hand, and so have not his second to me by me, but as soon as I go home and can command any bit of time, they shall be sent you.

I thank you for your accounts from London, and I would almost presume to hope that upon every letter you have, with any thing you judge proper to be communicated with me, you will give yourself the trouble of throwing in a short hint of it to the post. You see by this time that this place affords sorry returns, but such as I have to give.

I return my thanks to Mr Flint for his last of the 12th to me, which came not to my hand till the 20th, which I admire, for this is the second letter from him, I have had two posts after his date. I have not one word since my last from our brethren about; as soon as I have, he shall have what offers, and I hope he will continue to write frequently.

I had not writt this night to you, if I had not come to this place, particularly to inquire anent Mr Cockburn. He is returned again here, and, for what I can find, will stay still till a better place offer. He is mightily baulked in his expectations, and the outmost of his stipend is L.20 or L.22 sterling [at] most a-year, and I know not well how that shall be paid. He is upon the chagarine, but finds at present he

is not like to do better elsewhere, and therefore he must submit ; but this salary is not for one of his way of living. I think the party have been infatuate to send one of his conversation to such a place as Glasgow, and he, as I am informed, is daily growing in disrepute ; and his carriage, in minched oaths and some other things, in our coffee-house and public companies, as I am informed, does weaken his reputation. I don't find Mr Fullartoun is like to come in as his curate ; it is scarce agreeable to one of his morals and gravity. What a party zeal will do I know not, but he won't scruple at the English modes ; though to myself, seven years since, he declared his dislike of them ; but *tempora mutantur*, and he has, in Paisley, his old flock, in my Lord Dundonald's family, read service, and given the *viaticum*, *a la mode d'Angleterre*.

I thank you for your accounts from the south, which I am grieved for.¹ I don't think the things advanced by J—ts, in their new de-

¹ Mr Hart had informed Wodrow that the accounts which had been spread of the Non-jurors in that quarter joining with Mr Hepburn, and separating from the Established Church, were altogether groundless ; although it was thought prudent that the Non-jurants should, for some time, absent themselves from judicatories, lest they should entirely lose, both to themselves and the whole Church, such a great body of sensible and serious people, if they should join in judicatories with their Jurant brethren. He also gives the following anecdote of the Jurors in the south and Mr Hepburn :—“ Three Jurors in the Presbytery of Dumfries, viz., Messrs Robinson, M'Mordo, and Somervail, have written and subscribed a letter to Mr John Hepburn, justifying the oath, and upbraiding him with many evils, and particularly with his taking the Oath of Supremacy to King Charles the Second, to which Mr Hepburn has returned an answer more plain than pleasant ; and that which increases the flame, Mr Hepburn has here publicly [Mr Murray of Penpont sent to Mr Hart this account] and expressly inveighed against the ministers of Dumfries their taking the oath. One, to retaliate this, Mr Vetch, in the pulpit of Dumfries, inveighed against Messrs Hepburn, M'Millan, and M'Neil, and gave a particular [account of] Mr Hepburn's taking the Oath of Supremacy, and his breaking the prison and leaping on a midden, and breaking of his thigh-bone, and called him a perverter of souls ; and said, he was sure he was none of Christ's ministers, and that he had never converted a soul, at which many of his hearers laughed, others ran out of the church, and the serious people, who are his daily hearers, are highly offended at this kind of behaviour.”—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vii. No. 14) Mr Veitch had been engaged in controversy with Mr Hepburn. “ It is pretty evident,” says Dr M'Crie, in reference to another quarrel, “ that his temper and mental faculties had begun to suffer in no small degree from his advanced age.”—*Supplement to Memoirs of William Veitch*, p. 217.

fence, should put us from plain duty. I find, indeed, some of our jurants spunk out some such things to some they speak to as you write from Mr Murray ; but they move us not here, nor do themselves any good.

I am fond, with your first leisure, to have a further account of the enthusiastic stuff from Inverness, that you have given me a taste of.¹

I have not a copy at present by me of the declaration of our brethren of Glasgow at Lanrick ; but you have it faithfully printed in the Oath Displayed, by M'Millan's tool or guide, Mr Clerk ; and if you have any doubt about it, I shall procure you a double, with that of our Presbytery of Paisley, which differs very little from it. Meanwhile, pray let me have account, if there be any ground for the clatter we have, as if our brethren were to be questioned by some at London for their declarations and explications when the Parliament sits down.

I mind little further from this country, but in the shire of Dumbarton our Jurant brethren are not so very easy. Some of them have very few hearers ; and they tell a story of Mr G. P. of Killearn, a Non-jurant brother, who, it seems, has got new light, that on Sabbath was eight days, observing a considerable number of his neighbour Jurant minister's people with him, he took occasion to tell them that they ought not to leave their ministers, and that he could now undertake to defend them ; for himself, he had some difficulties when the oath was administrate, but now he had got

¹ " I have heard an account of the way and manner how the brethren of the Presbytery of Inverness, three whereof were generally in the dark with respect to the oath, yet wan to an extraordinary clearness on the very day they took it. I cannot enter into the detail of it now, but it seems to be as enthusiastic and romantic as any thing you have heard ; but take for a swatch their Moderator's speech to the Justices of the Peace before the oath was administered to them :—' We, the ministers of the Presbytery of Inverness, as faithful and loyal subjects, come here before the honourable Justices of the Peace, in obedience to the law requiring us to take the Oath of Abjuration, having already solemnly called on the name of the Lord, and received light and encouragement from the word of the Lord to give this test of our loyalty ; we therefore come to it heartily, willingly, and freely.' "—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vii. No. 14.)

over them, and was willing and clear to take it. Next Sabbath he had as few as any of his neighbours. I am, in some haste, Dear Brother, yours as you know.

Jan. 21, 1713.

LETTER CXIII.

JURORS AND NON-JURORS.—DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE
TO PATRONAGE AND PRESENTATIONS.

*Mr Robert Wylie to Wodrow.*¹

Sandycroft, Jan. 19, 1713.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of January 7th in due time, but, having been for more than a fortnight confined within doors by heavy indisposition, I had nothing to say worth the trouble of a return. I think, as you say, there is no need of our Nons meeting sooner than Wednesday come eight days, which will be the day after our next Presbytery. But the great reason of my writing to you now is, that against that time you may send me a letter which I may communicate to the whole meeting, and whereby they may see that correspondence is not altogether laid aside. And if you have any thing else to impart, it may be in an enclosed paper.

You say nothing about Mr Linning's case, of proposing a pro-
testation as a mean to prevent separation, after other means have failed.

I apprehend we are too secure and unprepared, and may be awakened at the meeting of the Parliament. There hath gone a report here, that the Jurants who offered an explication or sense upon the oath are to be prosecuted. I think there is better law for it than for prosecuting the Nons. But what ground is for it I

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 15.

know not, and take it for a mere clatter. A new day is what I fear most, and that if it come we shall diminish like Gideon's host. In the mean time, it seems to be duty to carry on a correspondence, and a joint concert of reasons, as far as we can. And though it be hard to please every body, yet somewhat still may be attained to the advantage of those who are willing to adhere to principles, and desire to be united in practice. By many stories not worth the writing, it would seem the Jurors are very firm and industrious in defending themselves and aspersing others, particularly with Jacobitism, and not without hopes of increasing their numbers, and that the people's exceptions will die away. This is very hopeless in Kilbride, where the people's irritation grows. Mr H. [Hamilton,] who I told you was sent by the Presbytery, I am told can gain no ground on Mr M. [Muir,] and the people are keen in pursuing their petition to the Synod, if the Presbytery prevail not.

I think it is of great consequence, that, so far as it can, by proper methods, be attained, Nons be chosen members of Assembly, and that a Moderator be likewise chosen of that stamp. The difficulty in the first will be where the plurality of a Presbytery are Jurants, and all that can be done will be that at least the Commissioners be mixt. The only way for a Moderator will be, that all the Nons agree upon one, without scattering their votes.

Your mentioning patronages so oft to me makes me fancy you have some thoughts on the subject, which I wish may be forwarded to the press. I confess myself very unfit for meddling with them, particularly through ignorance of their history, either in the Papacy or since the Reformation, having never in my reading noticed any thing about them, but very overly, as a point we had little to do with, which, in the times of darkness, arose from superstitious dotations or dotages. I am utterly a stranger to what our law says of them since the Reformation, and have nothing about them except Mr Park's little book, which I have lately read, and which is plain and useful. I think Mr Anderson of Dumbarton has a fit pen for it, and though he may not be very keen of cor-

responding, yet would not decline to employ himself a little this way.

We seem too ready to surrender this point, as we have done many others, and it is hard to tell where we will now make any stand.¹ I had lately a visit from a Jurant of an East country Presbytery, who told me there were presentations before them upon which they were endeavouring to get popular calls, but not like to succeed. I asked if they did not look upon these presentations as an invasion upon the Church's Christian birthright, as useless to the patron, except to fill the Church with corrupt and insufficient men, wholly depending upon themselves, as a grievous servitude and a dreg of Popery, and as an encroachment and abuse burdensome to the Reformation, from which by Revolution law we are fully delivered, by Union law secured against, and why will we now submit to and re-admit them? He acknowledged all this, but that there is no help for it, but to comply and wait for a better time, and that otherwise it will be impossible to get any kirk planted. I told him, if thus our claim be wholly given up, we debar ourselves

¹ Patrons very soon began to push their newly restored rights, and to set at nought the call of the people, while Presbyteries, in some instances, by no means showed the fidelity and firmness which became them in resisting this encroachment on the liberties of the Church. "I hear," says Wodrow, (September, 1712,) "there is a minister ordained in the Presbytery of St Andrews upon a presentation. The person was acceptable, it seems, to both Presbytery and people, and the Presbytery did enter him on trials before the call, which was an extraordinary step indeed. At the end of his trials the Presbytery appointed a call to be moderate, and a minister to intimate it in common form. All this while the magistrates, who are patrons, went on and seemed willing enough to go on as before. But after other thoughts, that morning before the minister appointed to preach came in, they sent orders not to intimate the moderating of a call, otherwise they would lay him fast. By the advice of the ministers he, it seems, desisted, and only intimate a meeting of the Session, where the magistrates were all members, but they did not come; the rest met, and I think drew up an invitation to the young man. The magistrates came to the Presbytery, and gave in their presentation. I hear the Presbytery went on and appointed him to be settled and ordained, and accordingly he was ordained. The particular circumstances of the presentation I have not told me; but this seems the first instance of one settled this way in this Church since the Revolution."—(*Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 94.)

from hopes of redress though a better time should come, and it would seem more honest and hopeful to let kirks lie vacant a while, waiting for a better time, and not owning presentations at all.¹ This he thought very harsh.

If, indeed, popular calls be our principal and right, and patronages be a sinful usurpation, it is plain enough that no Presbytery should comply with any presentation, either before or after a call, as given in consequence of the pretended right of patronage, nor admit of any intrant who accepts it. If the patron be conscientious in the matter he will not claim it, if he be civil and moderate he will not trouble the Church about it, but will compromise the matter, if discreetly dealt with. If he be an enemy, he ought not to be yielded to, and Presbyteries may do the best they can to serve the vacant parish with a probationer, as they can agree with the people, for a season, till we see what these things may turn to. But it seems some are in a disposition to give up every thing if they may keep their own stipends, and not incur the censure of the present law. Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

R. W. [ROBERT WYLIE.]

¹ Wodrow was also of opinion, that the Church should adopt this course. "On the 21st (January 1713,) we had before our Presbytery the affair of the planting of Merns. I did very much abstract in my vote, and reasoning from meddling in that affair, because a presentation was given. I think Presbyteries should not involve themselves in any business of this nature till once we can fall upon a general method to act with uniformity. I apprehend we may gradually be carried into presentations, and to go upon them solely without any significations of the people's consent. And I take calls drawn after presentations to be mock calls, and to have nothing of a real, but a forced consent in them, being that they cannot have another than he that is presented. And I am of opinion it is more adviseable for us to lie aside a little, and have congregations unfixed, than to lay down precedents for a method which will in the issue wreath this yoke about our necks. No doubt, a people may heartily choose one whom the patron does present, but it's not one among a thousand. At such a juncture as this it seems more adviseable to delay, till some course be agreed upon for easing ourselves of the ill consequences that may follow upon presentations."—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 148.)

LETTER CXIV.

PROPOSAL OF A PROTESTATION.—SURMISES AS TO EXCLUDING
NON-JURANTS FROM THE ASSEMBLY.—PROCEDURE IN REGARD
TO PRESENTATIONS.

For Mr Robert Wylie.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 19th this day. I am sorry to hear of your heavy indisposition. I hope it's abated, and pray the Lord may support and preserve you at this juncture, when so many of our old seers are gone.

I know not well what to say as to the proposal of a protestation.¹ I have writt to severals the case, but they are as silent as I have been. It's certain our Presbytery, after the Revolution, did allow of a testimony, by way of protestation, from many that had difficulties in attending upon ordinances, and have recorded it in our registers, with their sense of it, by way of answer, of both which I have an extract. That was *in statu ecclesiæ perturbato*, and we are certainly in confusion at present. That was a morning darkness, and we seem entering upon an evening cloud and a black night. A protestation, in my judgment, would [should] be the last remedy, and not to be thought of till all other means be tried. If the recording it in the session-book would please, I think the hazard the less; but if it be carried further, the flame may grow; and I want not my own fears, that if we that are Nons go much into the proposal

¹ Mr Wylie, at the desire of a meeting of the Non-jurors at Hamilton, had requested Wodrow's advice whether, if withdrawing elders will not be persuaded by dealing with them to continue in the exercise of their office, there might not, as an expedient to prevent a further breach, be prepared for them a discreet form of a protestation, upon which they might return to their charges. Mr Wylie adds, "I think I wrote to you before that I had made the same overture several years ago to the Cameronians, not without success."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vii. No. 2.)

in elders and people, we may meet with it in our judicatories, which I would be very much grieved for. And I know not but we may have protestations offered against us, if we help or join in judicatories with our Jurant brethren. We had somewhat like this offered at the last Commission by some of Mr Hepburn's followers, as I think I hinted to you formerly, and the brethren recusants waved the proposal, and endeavoured to reason the two Commissioners out of it. I would, then, have us extremely cautious in any thing of this nature, and manage so as our brethren may see we reckon any such proposal the very last remedy to ease a weak and misinformed conscience, after all other things fail, and have no ground in the least to jealousy that we any way foster them in it, which, no doubt, we will be charged with, if the least ground can be caught hold upon. If it were possible to get elders or people brought to exoner themselves by word of mouth to their Jurant minister, it were desirable. For written protestations I cannot judge unless I saw a draught of one. I am really sorry at the consequences of them, especially when we are not emerging out of the cloud as at the Revolution, but entering into it, and these things may grow. Though I cannot oppose all protestations and testimonies, as some of note and influence enough in this Synod I hear do, as anti-scriptural and unreasonable, and very peremptorily require any instances of them in scripture, church history, or any of our neighbour churches, or any where, till the breach among us with the remonstrance and protest, 1650.

I can learn nothing of a foundation for the clatter of the prosecution of the Jurants for their explications.

From Edinburgh I find some surmises, as if the Government would exclude Non-jurants from the Assembly, which, if fomented by any among the Jurants, will put the copestone upon our confusion. But I think it's scarce to be once expected, though we do sit, that our Moderator can be one of us.

I have abundance of melancholy thoughts upon patronages, and that has made me so oft write to you upon that head, but never put any of them into write. I think by this time you might know

me better than to wish any of them forwarded to the public, where I never aspire to be. The real story is, I have been spoke to and writt to concerning the necessity of a sheet upon this head more than once, and I know none so fit to do it as yourself. Mr Anderson, in my opinion, is abundantly able for it, and his hand is in, and I should be glad he would undertake it; but I doubt if he will, if it be true that he made a reserve before the justices for qualifying afterwards, and that he declares he has no difficulty about qualifying, but the impressions he has, that the Pretender will be in before May.

You have no doubt heard of the step of the Presbytery of Glasgow, their procedure anent Kilsyth. Upon the presentation, they ordered a call to be drawn, and sent one of their number to supervise it. He preached Sabbath, intimate the call and sermon on Tuesday; after sermon, desired the session, heritors, and heads of families, to stay *in communi forma*. The Visc[ount's] bailie came in, and protested against the drawing of a call, and discharged all tenants to subscribe it; upon which none would do it. Next Presbytery day the bailie came in, and desired them to go on upon the presentation, and threatened a protest if they did not, but gave it not in. Last Presbytery he comes in with his protest, by way of instrument, in the Viscount's name, against their going on to settle Mr Robb upon any thing but the presentation. Upon this the Presbytery ordered out Mr Ja. Stirling to go to Kilsyth Sabbath last, and preach, and intimate to the heritors, heads of families, and all the people, that the Presbytery were going on to settle Mr Robb among them, and if any of them had any thing to object against it, the Presbytery would hear them; if none came, they would go on in his settlement; and under the prospect they have no objections will be made, they have appointed him a piece of trials to have in readiness next Presbytery day; and all this, though the presentation, as I hear, be very informal, and given in after the half year was out, and after they had ordered the Viscount to be writt to anent his bailie's protestation, and no answer got. We have yesterday taken another method in

planting the ministers. A harmonious call was brought in to Mr Hunter, and before we concurred with it, because after a presentation, though we had the Session's desire to moderate a call before the presentation was given to us, we declared patronages a sinful burden upon us, and that, in going on in Mr H.'s trials, we had no regard to the presentation given in, and formerly protested against by us, but went on to settle him allendarly upon the call of the people. Whether we shall be censured for this step by our neighbours, or by others, I know not.

From the south and Inverness, (*vide* letters.) The Nons in Irvine have met, and have agreed upon some reasons of recusancy, which are not yet come to hand. Only I hear the ambiguity and the reference to the English acts * * *¹ We have appointed one to meet with any more that shall send their reasons to be casten into one before March. I expect some reasons likewise from Ayr, and one to meet with us. Several of our brethren in this Presbytery that are Nons are valetudinary, three of them confined to their room. We that met yesterday came to no draught, but went in pretty much to the designs. The brethren from Ayr and Irvine think my house pretty central, and name it for the place, as being private and retired, and desire me to acquaint them with the time. I think we can only expect two from them, and you, if possible, if you be able to travel, or one from you, and Mr Lining, if he could be prevailed with, to be with us. I leave the day, in some time in February, to you and Mr L., whom I would be fond to have here. Write to me by first after your meeting. If it could reach me on Thursday next I would wish I had it, for on Friday I go west, but will return the beginning of the next week. I am, yours most affectionately.

Jan. 22, 1713.

¹ Some words here are worn off in the original.

LETTER CXV.

WITH SOME AMERICAN TREATISES.

Dr Cotton Mather to Wodrow.

[Cotton Mather was the eldest son of the celebrated Dr Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, America. Cotton was born in Boston, February 12, 1663, and graduated at Harvard College in 1678. Being chosen by the congregation of the North Church in Boston to be his father's colleague, he was ordained to this charge in 1684. He equalled, if he did not surpass, his father, in learning, labours, and usefulness. In a letter to Lord Pollock, dated Boston, 1712, which is inserted among the letters to Wodrow, (vol. xx. No. 2,) he says, "Our presses in this town are continually bringing forth new productions for the service of our holy religion, whereof more than two hundred, such as they are, have passed from the mean hand that is now writing to you." He afterwards added greatly to this number, his works amounting to three hundred and eighty-two. In the same letter, speaking of his obligations to "study all possible ways, to the best of his small capacities and abilities, to be useful" to the Church of Scotland, he adds, "But there is a good-natured maxim, whereof you will grant me the benefit, *In magnis coluisse sat est*. And the necessary labour of all pastoral offices to the greatest congregation in America, and one of the greatest in the world, and the continual resort which all the churches in all these northern colonies have to the meanest of men on their frequent occasions, and many more employments both at home and abroad, needless to be mentioned, require a greater strength than mine to do all things that are to be done, in any measure as they ought to be done." His correspondents in many parts of Europe, as well as America, were numerous, and to reply to them was a task that occupied much of his time. Wodrow, in noticing his death, which took place in February 1728, in the 65th year of his age, thus speaks of him:—"This month (June) I have the affecting account of Dr Cotton Mather's death, in February last. His character, (see Funeral Sermons on him.) He and I have corresponded these twenty years. He was extremely useful, and did much service

to souls. His style in his writings is peculiar. He and his father kept life in the Independent interest in New England, and I find several of the remaining ministers there incline to come nearer Presbyterian government, and to have judicatories brought to their proper weight and influence. He was a person of singular piety, and a deep concern for the general concern of souls."—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. vi. p. 1.) His piety and benevolence were almost commensurate with his learning. Credulity, pedantry, quaintness, eccentricity, are blended in most of his works, with marvellous erudition, and instructive details of history and opinion. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. His largest and most celebrated work is his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or Ecclesiastical History of New England, from 1625 to 1698, in seven books, folio. His Life is extant in an octavo volume, written by his son and successor, Samuel Mather, D. D., also a learned divine and author.—ED.]

Boston, N. England.

SIR,—Going to write unto you, I can give no other account of what I am doing than what I remember Jerome gave to his friend in one of his epistles : *Utro soleo bonorum appetere vicissitudinem, et me eorum ingerere charitati.*¹ While I was paying my duty to one of the best of men, the Lord of *Pollock*, I thought it would be an omission in me to leave one so near unto him as you are unsaluted. Because he will doubtless communicate unto you what I have written by this opportunity unto him, I will defer till the next those larger communications, with which, if I live to another, I may endeavour to entertain you. In the meantime, I pray your acceptance of two or three late American treatises in his packet, which have your name upon them. I call to mind a description once given of an eminent Scotch divine, *that he did eat, and drink, and sleep, [in] the kingdom of heaven.* I believe myself to be writing unto such an one, and as you are always at work for the heavenly kingdom, I promise myself that when I receive the honour of your letters, I shall be further instructed and advised which way I may be myself also more serviceable to it.

¹ I am accustomed cordially to desire the correspondence of good men, and to throw myself on their charity for an answer.

May the glorious Lord of that kingdom accept you to do very great service for him. I am, Sir, your brother and servant,

COTTON MATHER.¹

LETTER CXVI.

COMMENDATIONS OF DR MATHER'S WORKS.—STATE OF RELIGION
IN SCOTLAND.

*To the Very Rev. and Learned Mr Cotton Mather, D.D., and
Minister of the Gospel at Boston in New England.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had the honour of your first in November last, by my Lord Pollock's packet, with your valuable present of five of your smaller, but very useful and satisfying performances, and a greater obligation yet you lay upon me in making me to hope for the benefit of corresponding with you afterwards, as Providence shall be pleased to give opportunity.

I desire, in the first place, to bless our common Master and Lord for giving me opportunity of your acquaintance, and next to own your kindness in favouring me with a letter, who am in case to make you very inconsiderable returns. I would not lose the first opportunity I had of a ship coming from thir parts to New England, to let you know how acceptable yours was to me.

My worthy and useful friend and relative, my Lord Pollock, would no doubt have writt to you by this ship, if he had been in this country, but he is in Edinburgh at present, in his toilsome and yet useful station there, and will not fail to pay his respects to you when he comes back to this country.

From a child almost I have loved the Mathers, though I never proposed to myself the happiness and honour of writing to any of them. Mr Eliot's Life was what I read with much sweetness when

¹ From Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 1.

at the university near twenty years ago; Mr Nathaniel Mather's Life was most refreshing long since. My worthy father, (*vov iv áγίους,*) [now in glory,¹] Professor of Divinity at Glasgow about the ninety-seven, I remember, put your learned and worthy father's Eleutheria into my hands. Sometime after I was mightily taken with his Letter, Who are the True Church of England? Your *Magnalia Christi Americana* I shall say nothing of to yourself; but I bless the Lord ever I had it. I have a peculiar fondness to know the observables of Providence, and the stately goings of our God and King in his Church and in his saints; and this part of your labours did let me into a new world of this I was formerly a stranger to. May the Lord strengthen and help you to go on in such useful work! and so seasonable, when Providence itself is openly attacked by Satan's emissaries, the Deists and Freethinkers, upon the one hand, and the truly godly are at so low an ebb in their practical improvement of the sweet management of Providence.

Go on, Dear Sir, in trading with the considerable talents entrusted to you, and occupy till your Lord come; and allow me a share in your moyen and access at the throne of grace. I remember an expression of the holy and happy Queen Mary to the Commissioners of this Church, when they were paying their respects to her Majesty in the year 1690, which I have from one of them, who had the honour to be present. At parting, my informer said, "Your Majesty and the King have the hearty prayers of the Church of Scotland." The Queen said, "Sir, I value the prayers of the people of God above any thing in time, and I need and expect them." I hope this Church have the sympathy and prayers of the Church of Christ in New England, now when we are in very hazardous circumstances; and I beg a share in yours, that I may be found faithful and wise in the hour of temptation that is coming to try us. Next to a room in Christ's intercession there is nothing I value more.

No doubt, you have accounts of the state of affairs in Britain from the best of hands, and it would be *actum agere* in me to offer to give you accounts from this retired corner. I know the Rev. Mr Brown

¹ The above is merely a guess at the original, which is very indistinct.

of Glasgow has of a long time had the benefit of your and your father's correspondence. Is the old man yet alive, and is he well? May he be preserved long for the advantage of the Churches of Christ.

This poor Church is, at this day, and for some time, entering into the cloud, and we are "fearing when we enter" into it. May "a voice come out of the cloud," and the bow, the sign of our God's covenant, be seen, that we may have the comfortable prospect the coming rain shall not be a destroying flood. May "the consumption decreed overflow in righteousness," and a remnant return! Upon the late change of the ministry we had a very unfavourable change in our parliament-men from Scotland, many of whom, with the High-flyers in England, are catching at every thing whereby they may encroach upon this Church. We have a boundless toleration put upon us, to the great strengthening of the French and Jacobite interest here; and the English service is setting up in all the corners of the Church; Pelagian and Popish doctrines are vented by the protected party, and shipwreck made of the faith of many. The magistrate's concurrence in obliging obstinate offenders to compare before our judicatories is removed, and the most vicious persons, when prosecuted for scandals, have no more to do but tell us they are not of our communion. Thus truth is fallen in our streets, and lewdness abounds. The sinful and church-ruining power of patrons, in presenting pastors to vacant congregations, is restored, the consequences of which I tremble to think upon; a corrupt time-serving ministry are like to be palmed upon us; and the people's charter Christ has given them, to elect their own ministers, is given up. For these things (and our great guilt that hath procured them) our eyes run down with tears, and the Comforter is far away; a sensible restraint upon the Holy Spirit, and no wonder, we have vexed him; and much of the spirit of the world, of fear, of wrath, and bitterness, in his room. The staff of bonds is sadly broken, and if mercy prevent not, we are like to bite and devour one another, till we are destroyed one of another.

The imposing of the Oath of Abjuration upon the ministry of this

Church is like to have fatal consequences. We have different views of it, and many think it looks at the sinful conditions of Government bound as a burden upon the Protestant successor, in the English acts referred to in the oath. And others take it to be a homologation of something this Church testified against as sinful in the Union with England; such as the civil places of churchmen, and the approbation of the fixing of the English hierarchy there. Other good and knowing persons see none of these in the oath, and have gone into it. The anger of the Lord has divided us. About a third part or more of us have refused the oath, and so lie at the mercy of the Government. And the people, in many places, are deserting the Jurants, and the flame is rising so high, that "the bush" is like to be "consuméd." These things I but hint at to let you see our need of your prayers and wrestling together with us that the Lord's just anger may be turned away.

I blame myself for taking up so much of your time with accounts you have no doubt from better hands. I would have sent you some of the party papers that are flying among us anent the oath, but I doubt not you have them from Glasgow. If by your next I find you are not provided with them and what is going anent the English service, I shall (if the Lord preserve me) send you every thing this country affords.

I would be very fond of a hint of any remarkable Providences among you since the writing of your *Magnalia*, and as large an account as your other weighty affairs can allow, of the productions both of the press, your father's, your own, and our brethren with you, and the success of the Gospel, and the state of your university, and the state of religion with you, and all your sister Churches in New England; and of the condition of our brethren in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and thereabout. I presume to give my kindest respects to Mr James Anderson, my old acquaintance. I pray the Lord may bless your labours, and be with you in all the parts of your work. The more frequently I could hear from you it would be the more acceptable, and any of our Scotsmen that come into Clyde will bring any thing you send; if it be left at Glasgow, it will come safe

to, Rev. and Dear Sir, your affectionate brother and servant in our
Lord, R. W.

Eastwood, Jan. 23, 1713.

LETTER CXVII.

For Mr Alexander Archer in Hamilton.

DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 21st not till Saturday morning, through some mistake in the post, certainly otherwise I had not failed to return you the enclosed, with my thanks for your communicating it. And now I do it with Monday's post, for I shall still be exact in returning whatever you are pleased to send as you appoint.

The query you propose wants not its own difficulty, and I am persuaded the querist needs not my help in any thing of this nature, and I think it were too much for me to offer any of my hasty undigested thoughts upon a head Mr W. [Wylie] is to give a return to, whose experience, clearness of thought, and happy expression, makes it really needless for me to say any thing. And, indeed, I want time at present, though I had any thing worth saying, there being some ministers just coming in to me. Yet lest you should suppose I am in the least unwilling to contribute any thing, if any thing were in my power, to support our brethren in the north under particular difficulties, I shall presume to remark, 1st, Still supposing the grounds of fasting just, that is to say, at present real, plain, and indisputable, moving to the solemn duty of fasting, that the unreasonable certification of a minister's being deprived of his ministry must not hinder him to do what is otherwise present and clear duty. For this way we shall put it in the magistrate's power to hinder us from all duty. He may command to keep the Sabbath under this certification; when there is plain ground for, and the Church has conde-

scended upon a fast or thanksgiving, he may mar it at this rate with his certification. And, therefore, I should think in this case, *2dly*, A protestation against the sinful certification, especially by a judicatory, might go far, and when that cannot be had, a particular minister in his own congregation should very plainly declare against this, and, if he find needful, alter the day, and keep it off the day that is named, if it can be done, and, after all, continue in the exercise of his ministry, which is a sufficient counter to the sinful certification. If it be said, that the keeping the fast is still homologating of the certification, *3dly*, I am of opinion, till I hear further upon this head, that the formal reason of the observing the day is the call of Providence, which must be plain; and the plainness of the reasons and grounds, and neither the magistrate's appointment, far less his sinful certification, nor the Church's, but this, upon the whole, the circumstances of the time and place, and of the Church, in the supposed case of the query, must all come in and be gravely considered. And when any such case happens, no doubt they will be all ripely considered by the querist. I do think it clear enough from scripture and reason, that the magistrate may call for the prayers of the Church; but I wish the Church were likewise far more frequent in calling for the prayers of those under their care. I fear we be gradually carried out of our proper road, and expect few more national fasts of the Church's appointment, till the Lord gives a better spirit. And I pray the Queen may never be prevailed upon to put her hand so far to the altar, as is supposed in the query, lest she meet with Uzzia's punishment.

I think this swatch will let you see I am very unfit to be consulted upon such a query. I do give my kindest respects to Mr W., and would have writt now to him, but have nothing to add to the long scroll I sent by Friday's post. I expect he will write as soon as he can, and if it may be by Wednesday's post; and I'll be fond to have his answer to this query at all the length he gives. I shall only now add, the querist, to whom you'll give my hearty service, though unacquainted, may consider the reasons upon which

the jurants got over the certification in the act imposing the oath, and consult the printed answers to the difficulties advanced from it. And if he get no more light from them than I have got, he will only have the satisfaction that he has been in the road of means. And if the oath and fast, under the same certification, were entirely upon the same foot, I am apprehensive his people shall have no sermon that day, but I am of opinion there is a considerable difference.

I send enclosed Mr Redpath's account of the affairs of Angus, which contains somewhat, I think, is not in the written Gazette I saw. But I had so transient a view of it upon the street, that I would gladly see it again; and if you could allow me it, or rather an extract of the historical part of it, since I think there were private affairs with it, when you return the *Flying-Post*, at your convenience by post, this, with all the after accounts you have from that country, will be most acceptable to your obliged and affectionate

R. W.

Jan. 26, 1713.

LETTER CXVIII.

For Mr J. H. [James Hart.]

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 24th on the 26th, in due time. I own I am much in your debt, and must plead bankrupt. But I decline being debtor for two. Since my last, I wrote on the 21st, by post, from Glasgow, which it seems has been mislaid, as I find several to me are at Glasgow. I hope it's now come to hand. I gave you some further account in it of Cockburn, and some other little stories. I have at present no other thing worth notice, but that I shall write to Mr F. this post, or the next. I beg the continuance of your accounts; and come now to give you

the rest of my friend's remarks upon Mr Lauder's performance, which I truly think scarce worth so much notice; and am, Dear Brother, yours in many bonds.

Jan. 27, 1713.

LETTER CXIX.

PRAYERS FOR HELP AND DIRECTION.—PLANTING VACANCIES.—
PATRONS ENFORCING PRESENTATIONS.

For Mr J. F. [John Flint.]

Jan. 28, 1713.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 24th in due time. I am very much refreshed (though the accounts are heavy) with what I have from you and Mr H., and wish I were in case to make any suitable returns from this country. You may still depend upon it, when I do not write upon the receipt of yours, there is nothing worth while offers. You are in the place of accounts, and at the watch-tower. The Lord strengthen you and direct you! and you will no doubt, in this day of rebuke and treading down, have some melancholy accounts every week. Our night is coming fast on, yet I allow myself to believe in the evening time it shall be light. "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the 1335 days."—"Blessed is he that endureth temptation." O that I durst say, "When I am tried, I shall come forth as gold!"

Dear Sir, As you give yourself the trouble now and then to give me what is passing, let me have a share in your retirements, Christian sympathy and prayers, that I may be found faithful and wise, single, humble, and serious, and useful, while opportunities are continued, and a door of outward liberty open. Let this

people, and the poor west of Scotland, once famous and glorious, now decayed, formal, divided, and broken, let us be upon your heart and the hearts of the remnant with you. We have the sacrament next Lord's day at Kilmarnock, where there is a lively remnant as in all this country, and at Kilwinning, where, if a child of mine grow not worse, I am to be. I would have made the first my choice, but was engaged by Mr Ch. before I heard from Mr W., and I know the Lord is not confined to instruments.

I am grieved for your accounts from above.¹ Things seem to be coming to a choak. I am glad Mr H[art] has writt south; if I had any acquaintance with these you name I would write, but I would fain hope Mr C.'s account may be a mistake. I tremble at the thoughts of our being rent with a wedge of our own timber. I am sorry at the pelts of our brethren.² They are jealous of the people, and must now and then be angry at us. O! that it were without sin. We have greater things to bear. I have not seen that paper upon the Pretender, pray send it. I have sent this post the remainder of the remarks on Mr L[auder] to Mr H[art.] What I sent to him I know you have; they are very rude and indigested, and just as I had them at the dates they have.

For accounts from this Synod I have little. In Ayr, Irvine, Hamilton, and here, somewhat is adoining upon our reasons of recusancy. Dumbarton refuses to join. Lan. and Gl. [Lanark and Glasgow] have but few Nons. But we expect their concurrence. We shall meet and cast them into one paper, and as soon as any thing is in any forwardness, you shall have it.

¹ "A letter this day from Mr Cameron bears, that they are certainly informed that Messrs Murray, Tod, Gilchrist, Taylor, and the minister of Annan, are separating from this Church."—*Flint's Letter to Wodrow.*

² "I do find that several jurants are uneasy to the non-jurants; witness one of them yesterday charged us with separation, because (as he said) they were not blind not to see that they were not invited to the communion which is to be celebrate here in March, to whom I said that we joined with the jurants in the ministerial work; but he would allow us our freedom in choosing ministers to assist us at the communion. He further told me, that the people who followed not their teachers were not to be regarded; and, with some warmth, he said that the Oath of Abjuration bound him no longer than the Parliament continued the succession."—*Flint's Letter to Wodrow.*

The business of planting vacancies is turning very uneasy. The Presbytery of G. [Glasgow] and we have taken different roads upon a presentation; it's much if we be both right. I shall give you a hint of both our procedure.

Our brethren in G. had, some months since, a presentation given in by the V. [Viscount] of Kilsyth to the parish of K. [Kilsyth] to Mr J. Robb. That day they had it presented with an instrument, two elders applied for one to moderate a call. A minister was sent, and after sermon intimated, *in communi forma*, the Viscount's bailie discharged all the parishioners to subscribe a call; they are his tenants, and so none would subscribe. Next day the bailie came to the Presbytery pressing them to go on. They waved it, and wrote to the V. at London a discreet letter. No answer came. And last Presbytery day the bailie came in, (in the Viscount's name, who is bigot Church of England,) assured them they would have no return from the V., and threatened to protest, and take the matter before the British Parliament, if they went not on to settle upon the bare presentation. It seems they were apprehensive of some handle to be taken by the V., and his set above, to get a farther chain laid on us, and calls discharged, and therefore went on to appoint the youth a text for a Presbyterial exercise to be taken in case no opposition was made, and appointed Mr James Stirling to go and preach at K. Sabbath last but one, and intimate to the people and session that the Presbytery were going to settle Mr R., (he is unexceptionable and satisfying to them; his father is one of their number;) and if any of them had any objections to make, they would be heard next Presbytery day. Mr St. informs me that the people, in private, seem satisfied, but they are all discharged to signify their consent, and the session dare not meet, and did not meet with him. What will be their next step I know not.

We have a presentation to the parish of Mearns of a man satisfying to the people and Presbytery. The patron allowed them to go on in a call, but gave in his presentation after the session had applied for moderating a call. We protested against the presenta-

tion. The call was drawn, and brought on Wednesday last. I send you the form of our concurrence.

Paisley, Jan. 21, &c.

D. B., You will soon see the necessity of keeping this very close upon many accounts. You'll communicate it to Mr H. and as few others as you please. I am, yours most affectionately.

LETTER CXX.

NEWS.—ANECDOTE OF MR COCKBURN.—IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

To Mr J. W. [John Williamson,] at M. [Musselburgh.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 30th of January upon the 3d instant, for which this comes with my thanks. I shall be glad that our correspondence be enlarged. You will still find me most ready to communicate my thoughts with all freedom and [without] ceremony, though generally they are very insignificant. There is one subject of our correspondence that I would propose, which I have been a little taken up with before this unhappy matter of the oath came among us, and that is remarkable Providences, and God's appearances in conversions, answers of prayer, remarkable judgments, preservations, helping of ministers, injection of suitable places of Scripture, and the like. I have been making a collection of these things, and have come some little length. And I expect your help in what you have observed or heard, especially from your worthy father, who saw the old temple.

I should be glad to see the remarks upon Mr Lauder you speak of. I do not find it so taking in this country, even with some brethren, as I thought it would have been.

Our Synod meets the first Tuesday of April at Glasgow. And if you do me kindness to be with me some days the week before, I'll presume to promise to entertain you with some things you have not seen, at least you shall have any thing I have to entertain you with. Any thing that you can bring with you, and without breach of promise can communicate with me, either as to the oath, or our history, or providences, will be most acceptable. And if you can prevail with any to loose you of promise, and to favour me with any of the MSS. you speak of, I hope you will do it, and they shall command any thing I can give in return. I don't remember of any information I have had of a letter from a Jurant to a Non with his answer; and if any body has writt to me about it, the letter is miscarried. So, if possible, I should be glad to see it, and yet fonder to see my friends' own thoughts, with whom I shall use all the important freedom the laws of friendship call for.

As to the case of employing Jurants at that communion you speak of in March, I shall tell you my thoughts very candidly. I own there are difficulties on the one hand and the other, but I do not think those upon the people's side do overbalance. I am abundantly satisfied many, that be and live much nearer God than I, have qualified, and I dare not judge them. After the utmost I could come to, I was fully convinced it would be a sin in me to have gone into the oath, but I never durst say in others it was any more sinful than I thought it inexpedient, and of ill consequences. Every man must be persuaded in his own mind, and to their own Master they must stand and fall. And giving it were a sin, it's still personal, and our ministerial communion must not be broken upon that score; otherwise I could not sit in judicatories with them. I would fain hope they and we do not at all differ in point of principle, but mainly as to the import of words, and the consequences of the oath. Upon this *postulatum*, that our ministerial communion is not to be impaired by our different practices, by no means, I humbly think, we should state our difference at a communion. This seems mightily disagreeable to the nature of that ordinance, and if I may reason upon consequences, these appear very dismal. If ever the

Lord grant me an opportunity of that ordinance in this place, I resolve, unless I hear and see more than I yet do, just to hold by my old helpers, some of whom are Jurants and some Nons. I know no answer to the difficulties of serious persons but conversation with them before-hand, and instructing them as much as may be in the true principles of Church communion, and removing their difficulties, if possible, by the same arguments we satisfy ourselves [with,] in hearing them, and joining in judicatories with them.

By a letter from London, I had a hint in November of the Discourse on Freethinking; it is said to be written [by] C——n;¹ and I'll be glad of the scope of it per next at full length, for I have not seen it. If I get East to the Commission in March, I'll do myself the kindness to be a while with you if I can. But I begin to doubt if I shall be in; my wife's circumstances, I fear, keep me at home, which will not be easy to me. However, I expect to hear from you, and write to you, several times before then.

I have few remarkables to give you from this country. Upon the 30th of January, I hear Mr Cockburn declared that all that were not of the communion of the Church of England were in a state of damnation, and left to the uncovenanted mercy of God. I have not been in Glasgow since, and cannot give you a positive account. I am well informed of this, which I give you as one pretty remarkable Providence, which I shall draw no consequences from, but only give you matter of fact. Some weeks since, a shoemaker, Wardrope's, wife fell ill; he has joined himself to the protected meeting, and is a rough enough Christian. His wife was no better, yet did not join. He told her he was to bring in his minister to her; she opposed it. Yet he brought him in, and Mr Cockburn apprehending her dying, offered her the communion. She opposed it much, and told she had never communicate, and by any accounts I hear, she was never in any case for it. However, the husband's minister prevailed, and the poor woman, against

¹ This refers to the Treatise on Freethinking by Collins, published in 1713.

her mind, took it, and presently fell into great remorse, and within a little distracted, and died distracted, still crying she had eat and drunk her own damnation.

From Ireland, I find our brethren there are in very ill circumstances. High Church is rampant and flaming. A Presbytery up the country have received summons to appear at Dublin for the exercise of foreign jurisdiction, because they ordained a minister; and it's said the Government have given orders to every dissenting teacher to give in his name and place of his residence. What is under this is not known, but it's feared some further mischief is designed; though this is mightily against the interest of the Protestants in general in Ireland, and certainly for the advancing a Popish design. I hear from good hands, that there are in Ireland eight Papists to one Protestant; and the utmost calculation that they can make is, two hundred thousand Protestants to twelve hundred thousand Papists, and of these two hundred thousand, I am told there are one hundred thousand Presbyterians. You may easily see what a weakening these methods will be to the common interest of the Reformation.

You are mistaken when you think I have a sheet on patronages. I indeed heartily wish some fit hand would draw it up, but I am perfectly unfit. I wish Presbyteries would instruct their Commissioners to the Assembly, if we have one, upon that head; but, alas! I fear nothing be done. We lost our tide at the last Assembly, and I doubt before another we be so involved in that evil, that we shall not retire till the Lord send a shaking among us.

Write frequently and fully to me, and believe me yours, as you know.

Feb. 6, 1713.

LETTER CXXI.

MISCONCEPTION IN ENGLAND AS TO THE STATE OF THE
CONTROVERSY IN SCOTLAND.

To John Cross.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for yours this day. I am glad our friend has so good hopes of affairs.¹ They should encourage us to ply prayer, and humble dependence on Providence. However, they are beyond my uptaking what their foundation can be, and they seem contrary to all outward appearances.

Though it be Saturday when I opened the enclosed, (Observations on the State of the Nation in January 1712-13,) I was tempted to run through it. The place I first cast my eye upon was p. 28, where he falls upon our Scots affairs, and this concerning myself, with others, led me to glisk it over. He is really a close, pointed, and accurate writer on the subjects he is master of, and seems to have a warm concern for the sinking Protestant interest, and that makes me easily bear with the gross misinformation he has received from Scotland as to the Non-jurors. I am sorry, indeed, he has perverted a plain act of our General Assembly, and wonder so beautiful a writer did not consider it better, otherwise he could never have set it in so unfair a light. He is horribly out in matters of fact with relation to us, and sometimes I am astonished to see some of the best of English writers blunder so terribly in our affairs. However, his design is good to represent the hazard we

¹ "I had a line from T. S. with the enclosed. He adds, it's certain there will be peace, but when it's proclaimed is as uncertain. He adds, however uppish the Jacobites are here now, he hopes in a little time to see them as far cast down. French measures will not do there, nor a Pretender."—(*Cross' Letter to Wodrow.*)

are in from Jacobites, in our present state, which I wish we may be all heartily affected with.

I would not keep this paper any time from you, lest either you had not read it, or any of your friends want it. But when you have done with it, I'll be fond to see it again; and I think I could easily give you such remarks upon what relates to us, as, if Mr S. know the author, he might give him juster uptakings of our state.

It may appear a paradox, but to me it's none, that it had been for the interest of the Protestant Hanover successor, that the Presbyterian ministry of Scotland had not gone into the oath, but in a body had continued joint; and that such who have gone in are not more heartily for that valuable interest than the most of the recusants, and less in case by their practice to act in their capacity as ministers for promoting the succession than we are. I'll be glad of the paper whenever you and your friends have done with it; and am yours, most sincerely.

Feb. 7, 1713.

LETTER CXXII.

PRESENTATION OF EPISCOPAL MINISTERS.—A SESSION INTERDICTED BY LORD KILSYTH.—HIGHFLYER SERMON ON THE THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.

To Mr J. H. [James Hart.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 7th in due time, and would not let slip this post in letting you know how acceptable your satisfying accounts are. By some other letters from London, I find the prime vizier imposes upon more than your friend. I am of opinion the time is fast hastening, when it will be seen who are in the right and who are in the wrong.

I am not much surpris'd at our Scots members' project of enlarging the power of patrons, to that which was certainly in the view in the Toleration Act.¹ If they get this carried, we shall have a motley ministry within a little, especially if Presbyteries fall into the road of settling without the consent of the people signified. Alas! our own hands are like to make our snares. I acquainted either you or Mr Fl[int] of the procedure of my neighbours with respect to Kilsyth. I now add, that at their last meeting they had the report, that the people gave no signification of their consent, that the Session was prohibit to meet by the Viscount of K[ilsyth,] and would not meet. They went on, and took an exercise from the youth, and to appoint him another. They say we are *in statu ecclesie perturbato*, and you'll soon guess who are the troublers, though, at qualifying some months since, our constitution was reckoned unalterably secured, and no encroachments made; and it would seem they will go on to ordination. The V. of K. B. [Viscount of Kilsyth's bailie] came in and asked if they were going on in settling Mr R[obb] on my Lord's presentation? It was told him they had taken one exercise and appointed another. He desired to know if any of them had any objections in this affair? It was told him there were none tabled before them. It's said he wants only a handle to take this affair to the Parliament.

When I am in Glasgow, I cannot but acquaint you that this last post I have Mr Cockburn's Sermon on Jan. 30 in print. It is wanton enough, that he publicly sets down the Rev. Mr A. Duncan, minister, as one of the members of his congregation, who, I dare say, joins in none of the offices for the Queen nor successor. I would name you two or three others, Kilmarnock and Jordanhall, that are no more members of his meeting than you are. His performance is not worth twice reading, otherwise abundance of

¹ "I hear our Scots Jacobites intend to move in Parliament, that patrons in Scotland may be allowed to present Episcopal ministers to vacant churches, providing they take the oath. If they carry this point, they may as well vote Episcopacy into the chair."—(*Hart's Letter to Wodrow*, dated Feb. 7, 1713.)

remarks might be made on it. I shall only notice, that his auditors and best friends that were with him that day, reported he had mauled the Kirk, and proven that no Churches that wanted Episcopal ordination were to be reckoned true Churches, and much to this chime of the Highflyers in England. But he has not seen fit to favour the world with this senseless nonsense. I am only grieved this unnatural Scotsman has not done that justice to his country that some of the Highflyers in England sometimes do upon this occasion. But I fancy the fellow knows scarce matter of fact about that time, and has just copied any thing that has any sense in it from printed sermons, though really he might have made a better choice. And he is not so much as at the pains to alter the style that is peculiar to England, and to me sounds harsh here. But of this too much.

I am informed the magistrates have signified to him they will allow of no more burials after the English fashion, which has interrupt a solemnity of that nature that was expected some weeks since. The occasion of it was really melancholy. A poor woman, &c. (*vide* former Letter, Feb. 6, to J. W.¹)

I have nothing else I mind to acquaint you from thir bounds. Some of our Jurant brethren begin to advance new arguments from the supposition of a new day, that if it be granted, without any attacking of them for their explications, this will be a Parliamentary declaration of their being the sense of the Legislature; for they, after their declarations are given in, are looked on as legally qualified, and, therefore, others may come in safely and qualify. This is like some other forced strained work I could name, and yet is like, jointly with other things, to have its own influence. And it may be (if there be a new day, which I doubt of) our number may be lessened, which, though in some respects may be discouraging, yet I am of opinion, it will not be much against the true interest of recusants.

¹ See before, p. 400.

From Ireland I hear, &c. (*vide* Letter above, and letter this day from J. M.) [John M'Bride.]

I'll be fond to see the paper from the south you write of, pre-faced by Mr Cam., &c.¹ If it be to be sold with you, pray put my name on one of them, and send it in unsealed to the post-office to Mr Weemyss' care, and it will come safe to me, and I fancy I'll be in case to send you shortly one of Mr M'Bride's against Episcopacy, that I am informed will shortly be ready, if you'll let me know how to send it, for it cannot come by post; but any pamphlets you send to me will come very safe and franked in my news packet.

I am Mr F.'s debtor for one, and he shall have it as soon as any thing worth while does occur. Meanwhile, the oftener I hear from you and him it will be the more acceptable to, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 10, 1713.

LETTER CXXIII.

PROPOSAL OF A NEW DAY FOR TAKING THE OATH.—FALSE
REPORT ABOUT WODROW.

To Mr W. L. [*William Lindsay.*]

DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 9th *amica manu*. I am sorry nothing is brought to a bearing among you. I wish our prosecutions be not more sudden than we expect. I wrote to Mr R., who before this will have acquainted you, that one from H. and

¹ This was a pamphlet, entitled, "The Abjuration no Ground of Separation," said to be written by some of the ministers of the Presbytery of Dumfries, and pre-faced by Messrs Cameron, William Boyd, Monteith, and Eward.

G., and ready to meet with one from J. and you, with me, the third or fourth Monday of this month, as you and he will concert. I find somewhat is doing in the east country and elsewhere, but very little among us. As soon as you and he can concert to meet or not, let me know, and I shall acquaint the rest.

As to the new topic advanced among you, on supposition of a new day, I am of the mind it's needless much to reason about it, since that day is scarce to be expected. It's really a symptom of a weak cause, when people run to such miserable shifts. The declarations from the beginning grieved me, as dangerous in their nature, and perfectly unanswerable to their pretended design, and insufficient to remove the most material difficulties. I wish our brethren be not advancing this topic too soon, which I am sure I wish not, to their own hurt. If it take air, it may be a handle to the common enemies to canvass their declarations, which, I fear, be not much for their credit. And unless they be canvassed, it's a jest to talk of their being materially made the mind of the Legislature. This is just of a piece with the argument I have heard used for the oath, that the Commission gave in their sense of it to the Queen, and that when the Parliament sat, *ergo*, they accepted of that as the sense. Rattles for children. The Assembly declared that there was need, &c., and yet they themselves saw need of an after declaration at qualifying, though I can scarce think it was for any thing but to satisfy the people; and it had the contrary effect. In short, there is no close reasoning upon this head, till one see the words of the act for a new day, which, I am of opinion, if ever such an act be, may soon undeceive any that likes not to be caught, and *qui decipi vult decipiatur*.

I am grieved for the account you insinuate from N—C—k. I am afraid we smart for settling and licensing some among us too hastily. Pains must be taken by neighbours before the matter come to a head, before he be engaged too far *in aura populari*.

I thank you for your home news anent Mr R. W.¹ You may

¹ "The greatest news we have here are nearer home, that Mr R—t W—d—w, [Robert Wodrow,] minister at E—tw—d, [Eastwood,] is now wholly proselyted to

tell them your last mail bore that he is just what he was ever since November or December 1706; that he was turned obstinately peremptory about the 1st of May 1707, a day of thanksgiving in South Britain, which there are some, by this time a day, would keep rather as a fast; that August 1 and November 1, 1712, and all the reasonings and prints he has heard and seen, even Mr Lauderdale's declaration, has made no impression. You may acquaint them, upon the authority of a Member of Parliament, that he is a stiff, obstinate fellow; and to sum up all, that the day of grace he reckons a day of temptation. I am only afraid my good friend, Mr W. L., come to be classed with him, for being at Ayr communion.

I hear our Jacobites are to put in for the patron's power to present Episcopal ministers, &c.

They talk my Lord Rollo last week was burnt in his own house with a wh—re. I thank you for the answer to the querie; I only wish you had been a little longer. I want yet your thoughts on the declarations and patronages, which, I think, were once promised. I am yours, &c.

Feb. 11, 1713.

LETTER CXXIV.

REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES.—COLLINS' DISCOURSE ON FREE-THINKING, AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE DAY.

*Mr Williamson to Wodrow.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 6th came not to my hand till the 14th instant. I find Mr Dickie is not so careful to send

the oath, and greatly wishes for the happiness of a new day. I was much upbraided last day for saying that was news needed confirmation. You will please, at a leisure hour, to ask him about it."—(*Lindsay's Letter to Wodrow.*)

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 40.

out my letters when he receives them as I expected ; for I had not got this, perhaps, till now, had I not sent a letter to him by an express upon business ; therefore, if you please, you may direct my letters to the care of David Williamson, (who is my brother,) apprentice to Mr Henry Hepburn, chirurgion-apothecary, at his shop in Miln's Square, over against the Tron Church. There are hundreds of people of my parish every day in Edinburgh, with any of whom letters to me from thence may be trusted. I heartily thank you for your present free communication, and your readiness to continue it. I am exceedingly satisfied with that subject of remarkable Providences, &c., and glad to hear of your progress therein. Were it not that I apprehend your chief design is to make collections of what occurs to persons in our day, from the authentic testimonies of persons of known credit, concerning their own experiences, or those of others of which they have good evidence, and not of those already printed, I might on this occasion mention a late, and very large and excellent book in folio, which I have on that subject, a book which, I have no question, you have seen or heard of, viz., Mr Turner's History of Providence, extracted from the best writers, the author's own observations, and the numerous relations sent to him from divers parts of the three kingdoms ; a work set on foot, thirty years before the printing of it in 1697, by Mr Pool, and finished by the author. I need not say any more of this work here, not doubting but you have seen it. I never, indeed, laid out myself to make collections on this excellent subject, though I cannot but acknowledge I have some accounts and observations which may be worth your while to know ; but I conceive it will not be so proper to communicate these in the narrow limits of a letter, as to make a collection of them in a little manual by itself, which (as soon as the present throng of work in the congregation before the communion here is over) I shall willingly set about. And hoping, when (if it please the Lord) I see you at your own house, you will freely impart to me what you have gathered on that head, I will be encouraged to lay out myself here

for a further increase of the valuable stock of those remarkable Providences, &c.

Several occurrences and unforeseen affairs have interrupted me a little in putting my scraps anent the oath in order; but if I can get any thing done in some leisure hours before I come west, it shall be freely imparted; and I shall do what I can to be loosed from such bonds as may oblige me to withhold from you what has been communicated to me. I shall bring along with me the Letter from a Jurant to a Non-jurant, and the Non-jurant's Answer. I have them only in short-hand; they are long, and my great throng of work will not allow me time to transcribe them. I suppose you may guess the first letters of their names. The Jurant is Mr St—t of In—s; the Non-jurant Mr Cn—t of Cn—s.

I am entirely of your mind anent employing Jurants at communions; but I find several well meaning people, and even judicious Christians in other matters, impregnable on this head, and more ready to stumble at Non-jurants, who reason with them on the subject of hearing Jurants, than to hearken to their arguments, which makes the matter very difficult. I do acknowledge I was once not far from a resolve for this time to choose my helpers only among the Non-jurants, from the principle of present inexpediency as to what I had otherwise no scruple about myself; but on mature deliberation, having satisfied severals of the congregation about it, I have determined otherwise, though I must expect some may be displeas'd. In this dark day, wherein I think it is evident that the anger of the Lord hath divided us, it is in my apprehension next to impossible to steer such an even course, as none even of the serious godly upon either hand will be offended, and therefore the plain road of what is in itself duty must be followed.

That book of Freethinking is a most dangerous piece: the design of it, in short, is to throw all loose; to bring us first to scepticism in matters of religion, and then by an easy gradation to downright atheism. He introduces himself by a reflection on such as allow themselves to be guided by the opinion of others, and styles the

guides knaves, and those led by them fools. He defines freethinking, the use of the understanding in endeavouring to find out the meaning of any proposition whatsoever, in considering the nature of the evidence for or against it, and in judging of it according to the seeming force or weakness of the evidence. And to prove this right to think freely, he argues from these topics, which he largely insists on. That it being our allowance from God to know any useful truths, we have in consequence a right to think freely anent them, because, without such freethinking, no proposition can be known to be true, or laid aside as false. That freethinking is the only means to arrive at perfection in the knowledge of arts and sciences. And having, under this head, reckoned up several arts and sciences which arrived at perfection, when men were not under the slavery of taking up with the dictates of others, but made use of their own understandings freely, he brings in the Bible (with a deal of smooth language to cover his abominable design) as a book, which, because of the greatness and variety of its subjects, of all others requires the greatest freedom in thinking. But, in effect, all that his arguments amount to on this head will reach no further than that word of the Scripture itself, "Search the Scriptures," &c.; which, in a humble dependence on the Lord for light, and a submitting our shallow understandings to clear revelation of the *ori*, while we cannot comprehend the *divini* of many Scripture truths, is allowable for improving our knowledge and experience of the truths of God; but can never be constructed as an allowance to manage our search of the Scriptures with the freedom we do philosophical subjects or common arts, as this vile author pretends we may and ought to do. He argues next from the many pretended absurdities of not thinking freely; and to this he ascribes all the foolish conceits of Pagans in matters of religion, of Mahomedans, of ancient heretics in the Christian Church, and the Popish delusions, and triumphs in an enumeration of the several notions of the various sorts of professed Christians. But I humbly conceive, whatever he pretends of thinking freely, he does not think justly on these heads, does not assign effects to their proper causes, otherwise he

would rather have considered the darkness of our natural state, and the want of revelation, as the cause of the delusions of Pagans, &c.; and the abuse of Scripture by an unjust interpretation, to make it agree with the preconceived corrupt notions of heretics, Papists, &c., who first embrace their delusions, and then seek shelter for them in the Scripture, as the cause of the abounding absurdities of many professed Christians. It is, indeed, much to be regretted, that the many differences among Christians of all denominations do give such a handle to men of loose or rather no principles. But I find I cannot, nor is it needful in a letter, to enlarge in reflections on this book. In a word, then, he pretends to show that there can be no rational restraint on freethinking, and very unjustly represents many Christians as maintaining the principle of the safety of persons in continuing to receive their religion without examination, and the danger of examining matters; and having for himself raised this man of straw, he is at a great deal of pains, to no purpose, to lay him. Poor wretch! he considers no difference betwixt a just allowable examination of the grounds of our belief with such a sobriety as is most just and reasonable, *i. e.* that we admit, with all fairness, the evidences of a divine revelation in the Scriptures, (which are many and convincing, and which, even in the way of rational inquiry, may at least stop the mouths of gainsayers;) and being satisfied in this point, we do (as may be made to appear to be most reasonable) rely on divine testimony as to the truth of remarkable and strange matters of fact, or mysterious truths, though our finite capacities and shallow understandings cannot account for or comprehend them; it being most reasonable to believe what we have good ground to conclude God says to us. He next alleges several great benefits of freethinking, as particularly that of destroying the devil's kingdom among men; and he pretends, that, in Holland, where freethinking is most allowed, the devil is quite banished; whereas, in England, and other parts where it's restrained, he has great power, and tells a great many odd stories of his appearing in strange shapes to some, and possessing others, &c. In this I can compare this author's way of reasoning, anent what

he calls freethinking, to nothing better than the delusions of the pretenders to seek the philosopher's-stone, who are so fond of that fancy, that they frame foolish imaginations of the wonderful effects of it, not only in philosophy, but in divinity, a famous instance of which I lately had in one D. Neagle, who, it seems, was recommended by some ministers in your cast. He stayed some days with me, and wearied me with his pretences about the philosopher's-stone, and intermixed with it as odd notions in divinity as in philosophy. So our author of freethinking imagines all the ill things in the world are to be ascribed to a not thinking freely in this sense; and, indeed, I will so far join with him as to say many are the ill consequences of not thinking justly, and as we ought to think. I have thus confusedly hinted at the scope of his first section, for a taste of his design; it's not the sixth part of his book. But *ex ungue leonem*. And if you think it worth your while to have any more of it, I must refer to my next, seeing I have neither time nor paper to do it to any purpose here.

Your account of Mr Cockburn's preaching, and the dreadful effect of administrating the sacrament to the shoemaker's wife, are very strange and observable. I lament the case of our brethren in Ireland. I had some accounts of their circumstances much to the same purpose of yours. I make no question but you know the attacks made of late against Mr Boys his sermon anent the Scriptural Bishop, by one Mr Drury, and the stop put to his printing a return to it, in Ireland; and that he sent over his papers to London to be printed. I have the book which he calls "Ane Account of the ancient Episcopacy, proving it to have been Parochial, and therefore inconsistent with the present model of Diocesan Episcopacy," wherein he very learnedly manages that argument. It's to be lamented that the English Babylon is like to get such footing in this covenanted land. I am credibly informed that the promoters of the English superstition, in and about this part of the country, do set on foot an oath secretly among their chief pro-selytes to stand to the interest of the Church of England with their lives and fortunes. I had this from a near friend of one who

is so bound. In some families here this business is like to do much mischief. A man of my acquaintance, a writer in Edinburgh, who is lately fallen off to the English service, is so bigot that way that he does his endeavours to compel his children to go along with him, contrary to their own and their mother's inclination, who opposes it to the utmost, and the contention is become so hot that for some time they parted families, and now when they are by much labour of ministers and friends brought together to one house, they still live in such discord as in appearance is like to be irremediable. The woman is a pious, knowing, strict Presbyterian, the daughter of an old suffering elder in my parish.

Seeing you let me know my mistake anent your having a sheet anent patronages, I would wish you would think of it; for I know none here fit for it except some ministers in Edinburgh, who have such throng of work that they can't apply their minds to such things. It's like to be our trial. A very corrupt man, as those who know him have freely acquainted me, is like to be presented to a vacant congregation in our Presbytery; and I do not find our brethren frank in opposing it. It's one — Mutter, who, I am told, was rejected in the Presbytery of Hamilton. I could wish you could get me notice of the grounds of their casting him there. For what I know I design to protest against offering a presentation to him or any man till the matter be regulated by the Assembly. I verily think every thing in this day has a tendency to a shaking among us. O that the effects of it may be such a winnowing as may further separate the precious from the vile!

I doubt not but you have heard of the apostacy of Mr Thomas Rhind, and a printed apology for his leaving the Presbyterian party, written, as is thought, by some of the ablest pens of the prelatists, seeing severals that know him do acquaint me of his being a very weak young man. The book is industriously kept among themselves, and is written in such a smooth and yet malicious style, as makes it mightily to take with unthinking people. If you have not heard of this story or seen the book, I shall not grudge you a further snatch of it per next, if you think it worth your while.

I heard from a student in Glasgow, lately in this place, that Mr Jameson has some new book on the file on the good old cause, but he could not give a distinct account of it. I doubt not but you may know what may be truth in this. As also I heard of a learned book, done by some gentleman in your country, about church government, designed to be printed. Any thing of this kind you know, I hope you will impart.

I have had some thoughts on a design to consider the harmony and concatenation of divine truths, which certainly is in itself very beautiful. I hope you will freely communicate to me your thoughts on that subject. Time and paper failing I must here break off, intreating that you would send me all your accounts. I know I need not trouble you with such public matters as you have in printed news. But one thing, which I had from good hands, deserves consideration, viz. the bold opposition made by the Duke of Argyle to the Viscount of Bollingbroke's challenge of the alteration which the Duke had made in the Barrier Treaty, of the expression, "The Heirs of the Queen," to these, "The Heirs of the Queen's body;" and the Lord Treasurer's joining with Argyle, and the council's agreeing to the amendment, I doubt not but you have heard of this. Perhaps you have also heard of the bold discourse between Mr Burnet, a third son of the Bishop's, with Bollingbroke, and of the Bishop's design of printing his book of the Pastoral Care, with a preface, concerning the Spirit of High and Low Church, and other additions. For private news here I have only room to add, that a lamentable duel was lately fought between one Cockburn and a son of Balmerino's, wherein both of them are dangerously wounded. Yours, as you know.

Musselburgh, Feb. 17, 1713.

LETTER CXXV.

COLLECTIONS OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.—NEW PUBLICATIONS.

For Mr J. Williamson.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 17th in due time on the 20th. You'll see by this I have altered my direction, as you order.

I have Turner on Providences, and there is an author he cites frequently, Auberry's Collections, if I mind right, for the book is just now lent, which I am fond to see. I reckon he has some of the best part of his book from him. I expected more from Turner than I found, about ten or twelve years since, when I got him. I do not find that *dilectus* and choice of instances I wished for, and I think he falls into Clerk's fault in his examples, and depends upon ill vouchers. However, it's easier to find faults in an author than to imitate his good things. He has many valuable things, but nothing from Scotland almost. I do not, in my imperfect collections, restrict myself to the present time, but go back as far as informations offer since the Reformation, especially as to ministers. So I beseech you dash down all that occurs, and let me have now and then in letters, when there is room for them, somewhat. But at your leisure write me largely. And when you come here you shall see any rude collection I have made.

I understand the authors of the Letter of the Jurant and Answer of the Non, and shall be glad to see them.

I thank you for your account of the Essay on Freethinking, with your just remarks, and I shall be glad of the continuation, when no other matter occurs. It's an impudent and perverse thing to call this freethinking, and just a saying, Our thoughts are our own; who is Lord over us?

Dr Neagle, you write of, is certainly a cheat, a Rosicrucian, and ignorant pretender, and is now away to Ireland, whence he came.

I have all the controversy between Mr Boyse, Drury, and French, and Mr Boyse's last piece you write of. He scarce comes up the length of our Scots Presbytery, but is a very worthy man.

I remember to have heard somewhat of Mr Mutter some years ago in Hamilton; and think he was concerned in the difference between Mr Wylie and Mr Foyer, but can give no distinct account of him, and shall inquire.

I have not seen Rhind's Apology, but expect it shortly, and shall be glad of any further account of him and the publishers of it.

I know no new thing Mr Jameson is upon, since his Sum of the Episcopal Controversy, which, no doubt, you have seen; unless it be that he designs to reprint it, the impression being all sold. I have not heard of any thing from any gentlemen with us upon Government. If you can give any further hints of it, I shall make inquiry. Mr M'Bride is printing at present some ten or twelve sheets in answer to a virulent pamphlet, published a year or two ago in Ireland, by one Campbell, entitled, "True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty Exemplified," wherein I expect considerable advances in defence of this Church.

Unless you had been larger in your account of your design as to the chain of divine truths, I can say little on this subject. You have, no doubt, Arrowsmith's Chain of Principles, which will be of no great use to you. I doubt not but there is a connection between all truths, and their dependence one upon another is very beautiful and useful, both for knowledge and memory. But the relation and dependence among truths is so various, that it will be hard to fix upon any scheme but what may admit of variations. *Methodus est arbitraria* is certainly a truth, and every thinking person may and must consider truths as they offer to him. I think the consideration of divine truths, as they flow from God and centre upon Christ, is still sweetest to me; and next to these, as they have influence upon practice. The method of our systems I do not think very natural, but since we are accustomed to it, I am of opinion changes are ha-

zardous, especially in this lax time. And custom and use in the method of truths, when once it obtains, serves the same end that an exact and native order would do. But I am writing at rovers, since your hint is so short, and I am persuaded you need not my help in any of these things.

I thank you for your news; I expect every post, with some impatience, Burnet's Preface, and his two new chapters on Simony and Patronages.¹

I have been indisposed of a pain in my neck these eight or ten days, and have not been abroad, and have had nothing material, that I mind, in my letters. When anything offers I shall write. Meanwhile, though this be not worth your postage, I have sent it, that I may have the advantage of another as soon as you can, which will be very satisfying to yours, as you know.

Feb. 23, 1713.

LETTER CXXVI.

REMARKS ON "THE OATH NO GROUND OF SEPARATION."—
A CURIOUS "SNAPPER."

To Mr J. H. [James Hart.]

REV, DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours of the 21st last post, which was very acceptable, and the more, that I had few accounts for eight or ten days I could depend upon.

The pressing of the Episcopal Non-jurants to pray for the Queen, I fancy, is the blind to keep them safe under their Non-jurancy.

¹ This refers to a new edition of Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care, with a Preface, and an addition of two chapters on the subjects here mentioned.

But if they be people of any principle, I am of opinion they will not come into it.

I have such a love to the family of Argyle, that I am rejoiced to hear they are any way appearing for that quarrel, to which they have been so eminently honoured to bear witness, the Protestant interest now at stake.

Cockburn's sermon is printed with you, by Freebairn, and so, I fancy, I need not send it. As soon as the Essay [appears,] the title of which is, "Jet-Black Episcopal Loyalty Displayed, in Answer to True-Blue Presbyterian Loyalty Displayed,"¹ you may expect it, or any other thing that comes to hand here that I may think you want.

"The Oath no Ground of Separation" came safe in my packet of newspapers, though sealed. Any thing in print you send me again, let it be unsealed, and so it will be free of postage, as this, indeed, was through Mr Weems' discretion, though my agreement is only for open prints, as is reasonable. The paper, by this time you know, no doubt, is done by Mr Alexander Robson at Tinnell, [Tinwald.] I have read it over, and heartily wish it may have good effects to calm the heat in the south. If our brethren-jurants had been as cautious and tender in their conversation as this author is before the world, it may be the flame had not risen so high as to need this, which I am only afraid be, at this juncture, one of those truths that sometimes must not be published, because it cannot be so well borne. Though I hear some have exceptions against the recommendation of it by our four Nons, yet I am hopeful it will do us no hurt, that even a parade is made of this by the author in the very title-page. I am satisfied there are so few inuendos against us in it, though some passages look that way. I know not, indeed, what he means, p. 14, at the close of the paragraph, by some whose greatest scruple was

¹ Wodrow has not here given the correct title of this piece, which is, "A Sample of Jet-Black Pre—tic [Prelatic] Calumny, in Answer to a Pamphlet called a Sample of True-Blue Presbyterian Loyalty." It was published anonymously in Glasgow in 1713, and refers principally to the Presbyterians in Ireland. The author was Mr John M'Bride, minister at Belfast. See a Letter addressed to Mr M'Bride, p. 424.

they could find no scruple in it to found their sufferings on. Another passage at the head of p. 16 needs a commentary. And, p. 30, under his sixth dissuasive, he might have spared his ridiculous and shameful history of the indicative and reduplicative *as*, and its being a frivolous ground. But when I consider the occasion in that country of warmth in self-defence, I overlook these things.

There are some other passages, I reckon, he has overlooked himself in. His third proposition, p. 8, that commission of sin is the only just cause of separation, he owns afterwards omission of duty is likewise a warrantable ground. His fourth proposition is ill expressed, that there are only six warrantable grounds. I little doubt several others may, and I know are added, and he will allow them. It's like he may have little thanks from some for asserting a minister's entry by a bare presentation, p. 9, is a ground of separation. P. 20, he doubts if perjury will warrant separation, and, *ibid.* alleges that the separation upon the oath is the most unwarrantable separation that ever was. Certainly the separation before the oath was more unwarrantable, if he will but allow that the oath has the least shadow of evil in it. P. 21, I doubt much if 1st Sam. i. 9, is to be restricted to the sin of the abhorers. I question if all Jurants in Scotland will allow that the separation from all the curates was unwarrantable.

I fear some of his warrantable grounds of separation be turned upon him by the M'Millanites, especially those p. 9. I do not know why he pitches upon Mr Rutherford, p. 17, as the broacher of God's justice not being essential, unless to get a hit at the Non-jurant he names. Many others have maintained that beside him, both before and after, and see no such hazard from it with the Socinians as is from the other side with respect to the Pelagians. And Twisse, particularly, I think, advances [it] before Mr Rutherford. His expressions anent the declarations, p. 23, 24, in my opinion, lay him more open to an attack than any part of his book. The Jurants fixing the sense in which they swear, and its being a natural right for a man to explain words imposed upon him, are expressions will do his cause little good among thinking persons.

I am in the wrong to take up your time with these things. I do not at all think it be either the duty or interest of the recusants to appear any way against this essay, nor for the advantage of the Church and true religion at this juncture. May what is good in it have good effects, and much of the spirit of love, and a sound mind, possess ministers and people! But I truly suspect there is a sensible (though I hope in many an unwilling) and real decay in love and affection among us, and I wish it may not be on the increasing hand.

There is nothing I mind offers from this country at present, unless it be a senseless snapper of Cockburn some time since. He was pressing his hearers to some duty or other, and, after he had near closed his arguments, he adds, looking off his papers, and being under some warmth, " And, Sirs, *by my conscience*, if you do not so and so, you will not be saved!" It seems he has had a habit of swearing, and, I am told, wants not his sallies this way in conversation yet. Some scandalous persons have protested before the Presbytery, and taken instruments they are none of their communion, when prosecuted, and got over to him, and he passes them very smoothly over.

If any thing further offer, I'll give Mr Fl. [Flint] the trouble of a line this or the next post, when I hope to have some account of Mr M'Millan's meeting within a little of Glasgow, last Sabbath. I hope you will continue your accounts as frequently as matter and leisure allow, to yours to power.

Feb. 24, 1713.

LETTER CXXVII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NON-JURANT MINISTERS.—ACCOUNT OF A
SERMON BY MR M'MILLAN AT GLASGOW.

To Mr J. Fl. [John Flint.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I am too long in your debt for your last, and I do not use to be so ill a payer. I have been for some eight or ten days under a pain in the side of my neck, that I have writt little, and have not been out of my room much; and I have had very little matter to write to you, and when I am begun, I think it will not be worth your postage.

Yesterday there was a correspondent meeting with me from four Presbyteries in this Synod, to cast the reasons of each meeting of Nons in these Presbyteries into one paper. We had a very pointed and well-drawn paper from Hamilton laid before us, which as to the matter was gone into, but some expressions in it were scrupled at, as what would not be so generally gone into. In as far as it satisfied, it was, with some additions from another paper, carried back to the sub-meetings of the Nons, to be considered by them, and it will be again transmitted to me, with the amendments, and I shall, as soon as it is agreed to, send it to you. There is much good matter in it in few words. We considered nothing would be needed till the meeting with you the second Wednesday of March, and so the less haste was made.

We had occasion to talk about several things. It was thought things would scarce open up against that meeting in March, and the pulse at London will scarce be known even then. It was the opinion of some, that it were to be wished that the Commission might, if brethren would go into it, meet in April before the Assembly, in case of new attacks upon us from the south. And it was hoped that our clear brethren would see the necessity of this,

as well as we, in case the Parliament fall upon enlarging patrons' power. If this could not be gone into, to have another Commission before the end of April, it was wished that the meeting of Nons in March might have the reasons all cast into one paper, and that transmitted by the correspondents to particular meetings of Nons, that their concurrence might be had to it *quam primum*, after that meeting, and that, in case of any attack being made upon us, you at Edinburgh should have power continued with you to call in some from every Synod, and meet and think on what was to be done, as the Lord should direct.

I write this conversation to you, that you and your brethren may have your thoughts on these things, and other overtures that may offer to yourselves, and have things as much ripened as may be at the meeting in March, when I would fain be with you, but I fear the circumstances of my family scarce allow me.

Upon Sabbath last, the 22d, Mr M'Millan had sermon within a mile of Glasgow, in the Barony parish. I have not yet had a full account of it. I hear his sermon was exactly enough taken from his mouth, and, according to his usual way, he fell very foul upon the ministers. He had a vast multitude, and could not miss it so near Glasgow, never having been within some miles of it before, and the day being very good. He prefaced, they say, about one hour, and lectured on the 33d of Isaiah, and that for about two hours; and preached upon the last verse of it. He insisted, they say, much on defection, no matter whether in his text or not; and fell foul upon the oath, and told his auditory none could hear the takers safely, for they were perjured men, and had renounced the Covenant, and much to this purpose. The Lord forgive (and for this end open their eyes) those that add oil to the flames of this poor Church. But he shed the blood of war in the time of peace; and no wonder he hang up the flag now, when the anger of the Lord hath divided us. I hear, likewise, Mr M'Millan, in his baptizing children, bound the parents to hear no Jurors; and that upon this two or three of the parents, who were to have their children baptized, withdrew. However, there are two children in the

Gorbals to whom the minister, a Jurant, by advice from the Presbytery of Glasgow, refused to give testimonials to go to Non-jurors to baptize, though he gives daily to people there to go and baptize in Glasgow that have baptized with Mr M'Millan.

I am longing to hear from you; let me know what accounts you have from South and North, and all the bounds whereat you and our brethren correspond. I'll be glad to hear if our Assembly is to sit, and who is talked of as Commissioner, as soon and as frequently, with all your news; and am, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 24, 1713.

P. S.—I hear further, Mr M'Millan was in Glasgow much of the week before, and gathered up all the accounts he could fall on as to defections. It seems he fell foul upon the Non-jurants, as having been unfaithful in not discovering the sinfulness of the oath. That he said Glasgow was so much degenerate from what it was, that if the ministers, that lived formerly in it, were now alive, they would not know them. He fell foul upon the magistrates for protecting Cockburn, and guarding him. He alleged, likewise, that the seminary of learning was corrupted sadly, and unsound doctrine was taught.

LETTER CXXVIII.

REMARKS ON "JET-BLACK PRELATIC CALUMNY."—SUCCESS OF MR M'CRACKAN'S MISSION.—FEARS REGARDING THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

For Mr Jo. M'Bride, Minister at Belfast, for present at Glasgow.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I am too late in returning my thanks for the first six sheets of your "Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny." I

have read it over with much satisfaction. Mr Campbell will have more to say than any of his party, if he rid himself of your arguments.

Any remarks I have on what I have seen are mostly literal and escapes of the press, some of which may be helped in the errata, some not. I shall just dash down what offered to me at reading, that you may see what freedom I would use if there were any thing worth notice. P. 3, line 4, your determination of *ειπων βασιλικη* is, I fancy, only to make your *argumentum ad homines* run the stronger; but some such fellow as Abel Roper may come next day to cite you as a Presbyterian, owning the Royal Martyr to be the father of B. Gauden's child. But you will be in no hazard of this from Mr Campbell. P. 19, line 16, I find a hook without its neighbour, a parenthesis without its clauditur. P. 21, chap. 2, comes at the end of the line most senselessly. I propose it to your thoughts whether the paper will not read the better, if you cast to at the end the contents of every chapter, and there is the greater need of this, that you have no margins for helping the memory. Short hints, you know, will do it. P. 22, line 8, I am sorry for what you assert, but fear it's too true that there are Presbyterians in Ireland who won't allow themselves to be of the same principles with the Church of Scotland in government. I wish they would coin some other name for themselves, whereby we might be distinguished from them. For my own part, all my mathematics have not taught me a middle way between parity and imparity, between crooked and straight. P. 24, line 16, I can scarce come up your length in asserting that the Church of Scotland, these twenty-two years, hath exercised her inherent power with greater liberty than ever. If this relate to our exercise of power, I own we are langalled enough from many arts, [quarters,] especially in our Assemblies, and, in part, it's our own fault. If you mean it, that what we do, we do it with protection and presence of the magistrate, in his representative, we had this and some brisker exercise of our inherent power from the 1585 till after the 1590. And, from the 1640 till we brake ourselves, we had no great missing of this protection and concur-

rence, and certainly exerted more power than since. However, I think it's a mercy to have a Commissioner, when friendly; and am never for the vassalage of the Crown to the Church. It's only the way of wording you and I differ on, if we do differ. P. 39, line 28, I find another parenthesis without a clauditur. These are what offer to me, upon a hasty reading over of what you send me. I hope your performance will be of use to us in this Church; and I wish it would put some that have a head and hand for the work, and materials to draw up the Church History of Scotland, *ab ovo*, or at least where Calderwood ends; for the former times need to be set in a due light. Pray go on and perfect what you have begun, and expect any thing offers upon the following sheets, when they come to, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

March 6.

March 12, 1713.

P. S.—I have been abroad all this day till sunset, when I came home and found yours of the 12th, which was most acceptable; only I was grieved I had not been at home to have returned it with its bearer.

I bless the Lord for opening a door for the return of his banished. I wish there had been more than a verbal signification of the matter being dropt, though I am confident Mr M^cCrackan has done as much as any could do, and I am apt to think more than any but himself could have done. What a *vidimus* this may be for us, I shall not determine. It's best laying one's account with the worst, and to act for sufferings and for eternity. His friends being troubled about our country, looks not so well; however, the Lord lives. I wish we were more active in our own cause. I have pressed, in my small sphere, the sending some to London, or employing some there for our interest, but I find few willing to move that way, except our friend in Hamilton. What our brethren will do at Edinburgh, at the Commission, I know not; I pray the Lord direct them. I was fond to have been with them, but Providence has laid a bar in

the way It may be the rumour, and I can give no solid ground for it, this week, that all Non-jurors are to be prosecute by the Parliament, may put an edge on our spirits, for really we need to be put to our work.

I would have writt to Mr M^cCrackan, but have nothing to propose in the name of others, but would earnestly beg he would inform himself of as much as he can in relation to us; and if he come not by Scotland, write to me, by post, what he can learn, with his own advice, and certainly he is capable to give good advice, having ridden the ford himself. But I earnestly entreat that, if he can any way without hurt, he may come by Scotland, and let us have the benefit of a little conversation, which is quite another thing than letters. And if I were with any number of Nons, I doubt not but I would have their joint invitation to him; and I would fain hope he will not grudge a little pains for the advantage of those that are on the same bottom with him, yea, I may say, for the advantage of the poor Church of Scotland at this juncture.

You'll please to signify so much to him, with my best wishes to Mr Riddel and him, in their journey. I am yours, in many bonds,
R. W.

LETTER CXXIX.

FRIENDLY MEETINGS.

For Mr John Flint.

March 19, 1713.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 13th with the two papers in due time. The account of the Commission was very acceptable. My wife, on the 8th, fell into labour, and was safely delivered of a son, which, with her indisposition after, and the necessary avocations after such circumstances, hindered me from coming

in. I am glad of the friendly conference you acquaint me with, and wish we had, and wish there were more of these at our Presbyteries and other meetings, since many things fall in, in this time of anger, that need all our hands to quench the flame. But, unless the Lord pour out a better spirit upon ministers and people, and interpose when our power is gone, in a way like himself, I know not what the end shall be.

I rejoice at the savoury accounts I hear of the Lord's presence at your solemn occasion in Edinburgh. I wish prayers and vows may be heard, and a pleasant reviving in our bondage may be dated from that uniting ordinance.

It had been to be wished that the meeting of Nons had cast the reasons of recusancy into some common draught, as smooth as might be. But what I feared has happened, that the multiplicity of matter and reasons puts us in confusion; and I almost despair of any things being done till we come to a choak, when outward weight may unite us.

I have, of a considerable time, reflected upon our numerous meetings, as what were very unfit for bringing any business to a consistency and ripeness, and have wished our meeting might be lessened; certainly four or six would do more to purpose than fourscore; and, in 1637 and 1638, the brethren divided themselves into many sub-meetings that prepared matter, which was soon assented to in the more numerous meetings. And, till once this be done, I see not how any things can come to a bearing. But, alas! we want the prudence, piety, experience, and harmony they had. We want their spirit, and many times I have melancholy comparisons between our case now and the 1651 and 1652.

I thank you for the two papers you have sent me. The Essay I think very solidly done, and, if it had been published before November, I think might have done much service. I know not now what to say; there seems, on the one hand, some need somewhat be said and writt upon the frequent attacks by our clear brethren, Mr Lauder and Logan, who truly have broken the peace and agreement all seemed to be for November. And, upon the other hand,

I scarce see how this matter can be managed now in public, without heightening the flame. The Vindication, Part I. has, indeed, a vast deal of matter, and much of it, I confess, new, but it has an air of sharpness that I fear irritate, and some bold expressions I fear may be matter of noise not only from Jurant brethren, but others that are no friends to us. However, when the Second Part is published, I hope you will send it me by post, and keep account of the charges you are at in these papers, that I may refund you at meeting.

I have little to acquaint you from thir bounds. In Hamilton, the members for the Assembly are chosen—two Nons and a Jurant. In Glasgow, three Jurants; in Dumbarton, two Nons and a Jurant; in Paisley, three Nons and a Non-jurant elder. It was just what fell in our ordinary course of elections, except the elder. I have no account yet of the rest of our Presbyteries. Pray let me have all your accounts from above, and particularly as to the Assembly, and if there be any need of meeting the last Wednesday of this month. Let me have timeous advertisement, and I will not grudge to come in. My kind respects to Mr H. I am, yours affectionately.

LETTER CXXX.

RUMOURS OF EXTREMITIES AGAINST THE NON-JURANTS.—OUTRAGE AT LESMAHAGO.—REPORTS ABOUT COCKBURN, EPISCOPAL MINISTER IN GLASGOW.

To Mr John Williamson [of Musselburgh.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 10th, and that of the 14th, and thank you for your particular accounts of the Commission. I shall be fond of a detail of the reasonings of our brethren, *pro* and *con.*, anent the grounds of our recusancy, being drawn at this time, and that as soon as the throng of the great

work before you is over, at which, I earnestly pray, there may be a cloud of presence, and measures of the Spirit, proportioned to such a dead, dark, and dangerous time, let down on ministers and people. You'll please to add, likewise, what farther accounts you have of the Commission, and any after meetings of our brethren.

If any things offer, I shall write to you any time this month; and I expect an account of the time of your coming west to our Synod, that I may cast matters so, as I may have as little diversion from your company as may be. The sooner, the more acceptable you'll be to me; and I wish I may have you some days before and after the Synod. Let me [have] what anent the Oath and Providences, &c., you can bring with you, and I should be glad of the Essay on Freethinking, with its Answer, if you have got it.

I have very little to acquaint you with from thir bounds since my last. I hear from Mr Fullartoun, who was at a meeting with Carnwath, the Lyon, and Boystak, and some other of our Tory members, that they resolve to push matters to the utmost extremity against Non-jurants on both sides, and that the B. [Bishop] of Edinburgh had been with them, and dissuaded them as much as he could from these rough methods, but did not prevail; and that plainly they said, "What! shall we, for forty or fifty old dotard clergymen, lose such an opportunity of overturning the Church?" "No," said they, "we will rather contribute and maintain them out of our pockets." It may be, for all their zeal, they would fagg in their charity pretty soon. However, the Lord liveth, and they can do no more but what he permits them, and their wrath shall praise him, and the remainder thereof he will restrain.

Matters stand much among us as formerly. I doubt not, but before this you may have heard of the outrage of some of the people of Lesmahago to Mr Black, who you know has qualified. Mr Linning was that Sabbath in Galloway, with his daughter Barscob; and in the morning, when Mr Black came to the pulpit, in the pass that leads to it, some ten or twelve women met him, and threatened him, and, when he was stepping forward into the pulpit, a young man came and offered to lay his hands on him, I think pulled him

by the cravat, upon which, the noise rising, two of the justices of peace came out of their seats, and stepped to, and called for assistance, and quashed the mob, and Mr Black went up to the pulpit, and preached. Mr Linning's reproachers, of whom he has abundance, lay the blame of this on him, though at forty miles, distance, and allege he advised elders to protest before they sat in sessions with jurants, which he, as I am informed, denies. That his moving that he should preach one day, and Mr Black another, and so *per vices*, whereas before they preached forenoon and afternoon by turns, increased the gum in the parish; and complain, that though Mr Linning hears Mr B., yet none of his family does. On the other hand, Mr L.'s friends allege, that, if it had not been his good management, this outrage had happened before now, and that it was his providential absence, and not being there to quash this attempt, that was the occasion of it. We will hear more of this and other things at the Synod.

Our elections for the Assembly go on in the common channel, as far as I yet know, (*vide* former letter.)

Mr Cockburn at Glasgow is not gaining many proselytes. For want of better matter, take the two following accounts, the one is pleasant enough, the other is wicked, and very peremptorily told from our witnesses. It seems he has one day in the week, wherein he examines some that join with him, I think it's Wednesday, upon the English Catechism. Accordingly, he asks a man, What is your name? and he told it. Who gave you that name? My father, said he, gave it to the minister at baptism. Says Mr Cockburn, you should answer as in the Catechism, My godfathers and godmothers. The fellow answered, "The devil a-one I had, nor ever were in this side of Tweed, that I know of." And, it seems, such priest, such people; for, some weeks since, he was called over to the Bridgend or Gorbals to baptize one of the soldiers' children. This was a novelty there, and the children got together about the door and windows, and cried, Amen, amen, a common byword, it seems, used among the boys about him. This put him in some disorder; but the worst on't was, when he came out they got about

him, crying as above, which put him in a great passion, and he said, in the hearing of severals, "The devil take you all! say amen to that." I am sorry I have such paltry stuff to entertain you with, but what the subject affords I send. The oftener you write, it will be the more acceptable to yours, as you know.

March 19, 1713.

LETTER CXXXI.

NEWS FROM THE NORTH.—PROSECUTIONS.—PRESENTATIONS.

*Mr Alexander Archer to Wodrow.*¹

REVEREND SIR,—Yours I had by yesterday's post, for which I give you hearty thanks. I showed it to Mr W. [Wylie,] who kept it till such time as he should write to you in answer both to it and to yours to himself, which he had by that post.

I give you hearty thanks for Mr Redpath's paper, for I could not get the time when at Glasgow to get it read, and when I came home, thinking to get it here, it had fallen by, and the postmaster could not find it; however, I see it is more full than my brother's account; nevertheless, what I get from him you may assure yourself of having it in a few days after it comes to my hand.

For that of my brother² which I showed you at Glasgow, the substance is, that, after the Synod of Angus and Mearns met at Dundee, July 2, there was a meeting of the justices of both shires, and in both they passed sentence, condemning the Synod's act to the flames in each royal burgh of both shires; but when they at Stonehaven came to the execution of the sentence, (to give it you in his own

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 23.

² Mr David Archer, minister at Laurencekirk.

words,) though the poor criminal suffered the sentence, it could not abide the execution, but as they are putting it into the fire a gale of wind came and carried it to the sea, in a straight way, to the court of Hanover. And also, at the same time, the justices gave orders to their constables to summon each minister who had kept that fast, before the next quarterly session. They were summoned against November 1, but called October 28, at which he says he found that all the Presbyteries of the Synod were not summoned, and the summonses given were not all of a piece, for some were summoned to answer for a scandalous rebellious paper, others to answer to a libel to be given by the fiscal of court; of the last sort were all the copies given to the members of the Presbytery in which he is, so the said day being the day for taking the oath, all the members of the Presbytery went up to the meeting, and swore their loyalty, &c., except Mr William Trail, in Benholm, and himself, upon the back of which their summonses were called, and these two Nons, with the rest compearing, my brother was first called to answer; and after reading a paper, which they called a double of the Synod's act, the preses asked my brother, whether he was at the Synod or not, and if he did approve of that act which was read? to which he answered, that he was not come to answer questions, but to a libel, and that he craved a competent time to give in answers, which put them to a stand. However, after a little time, the preses renewed his question, and my brother adhered to what he had already said; whereupon one of their number, who I see Ridpath calls Sir Thomas Burnet of Lees, told that he was bound to answer no questions, and what he craved was according to law, and could not be refused; so the court came to the resolution that the diet should be deserted, and a new summons given with a libel to answer against the next quarterly session, and that the summons and libel be given a month before the time of that said meeting.

As to the ministers in Angus, Ridpath gives a far more full account than my brother, only excepting this, that the ministers went all up to Forfar, the place of meeting, even those that were not to take the oath, but to answer to their summons, and there

did protest for their safety, some in one manner, and some in another.

From Perth, he writes he hears that of fourscore only twenty-five qualified. So much for his, dated November 4th.

I heard this day that the Presbytery of Glasgow had received a presentation, in favour of a young man, to a parish in that Presbytery. If it be true as is reported, I am sorry for it; I know not what to say of it. These poor men in the North, you'd see by my brother's line, settled a young man, even where the Queen is patron, without troubling her; though it may be said, as the apostle said, "they have beasts to fight with," even every day.¹ I hope you'll mind them daily, for their case calls for the sympathy of the Lord's people.

Your news in the postscript of yours I shall be content it hold, yea, and go to more height; for I suppose a more dishonourable peace Britain never entered into. I forbear to trouble you further at present. I am, in all sincerity, Rev. Sir, your very humble servant,

ALEX. ARCHER.

Hamilton, July 28, 1713.

LETTER CXXXII.

For Mr Archer.

DEAR SIR,—I have not yours of the 11th till the 21st, by what mistake I know not. I thank you for communicating the news

¹ "On the 23d of the last month, (December 1712,) we settled a young man in Fordoun, our Presbytery seat, who, I think, will not take the oath. Her Majesty is patron of that parish, but she did not meddle, and we were loath to trouble her or any concerned. Two of the heritors did protest against the settlement; alleging the Queen's right did not fall as that of other patrons, and did except against the young man, because he did not say the Lord's Prayer, praying for the widow and fatherless, nor for his enemies; whereby you may have a guess of the northern air."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. vii. No. 24.)

your brother writes, and am glad they have got no summons, and scarce expected they would get any, since that matter made some noise at London, and was noticed by the Elector of Hanover's envoy. For my own part, unless it had been the trouble such a prosecution brings along with it to my brethren, I would almost have been content the causes of their fast had been tried and condemned, as certainly they would, if tried, and taken to a higher court. But all is well managed that falls out.

I before signified both my unfitness and unwillingness to say any thing in answer to your brother's query. Certainly he is better in case to instruct me than I am to give my sense of any thing that comes from him, and he proposes. I don't, indeed, see how a fast can be kept unless a minister be satisfied in the grounds of it and their relevancy, and as to the thanksgiving for the peace, we can scarce solidly speak of it, till we see the terms of peace, and the nature of the act, requiring a day to be kept. Sufficient will the day be for the evil of it. The peculiar difficulties of our brethren in Angus I am sensible of, but what their special strait, as to such a thanksgiving, will be, I don't take up till I be let into them. I am heartily glad Mr Trail's persecutors have fallen from their pursuit. You'll return my kind respects to your brother when you write, and let me have any further accounts from Angus when they come. I am, your affectionate, humble servant.

March 23, 1713.

LETTER CXXXIII.

DR PITCAIRN.—THE EPISCOPALIANS.

To Mr J. H. [James Hart.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 30th last post, which was more than ordinarily acceptable, because I had not heard from you of a long time, though I don't at all mistake your silence, and take it still for an evidence little is going. The value you are pleased to put on my correspondence is so ill grounded, that I am really sometimes, yea almost still, ashamed to make you pay postage for any thing I can acquaint you with from this barren corner.

I am fond to know the issue of the meeting of the Episcopal clergy you write of,¹ anent their praying for what is I am sure contrary to several of their principles; and likewise what advice the Advocate has returned to the T——r anent our Assembly; for I doubt not the express came to have advice as well as to give assurances. And if leisure allow you, pray write, be it but a hint, by Saturday's or Wednesday's post, of these and other news, for our Synod meets, and I'll be fond of any accounts you can drop anent these and our Commissioner, and what methods will be fallen on as to the sitting of outlaws with the Queen's representative.

I have the King of Prussia's letter to the Queen, and thank you

¹ "My Lord Dunn has also (it seems by order from above) had a meeting with the Bishop of Edinburgh, as they call him, with those of the Episcopal clergy who keep meeting-houses in this city, in which he told them that their best friends in London could do them no further service unless they prayed expressly for Queen Anne, and the Hanoverian succession, and if they did not they might expect that all their meeting-houses might be shut up; but it seems they were not all of one mind as to this; some were for complying with what was proposed, others for taking it into consideration, and a third sort for refusing it altogether, who seemed to act most agreeably to their principles, but what they will centre in is yet uncertain, for this night, I understand, they meet again."—(*Hart to Wodrow.*)

for the offer of it. I thank you for the just satire to Pitcairn,¹ and since he is in my head, I would fain know the certainty of a story I have heard confidently asserted, that he has frequently the apparition of an old comrade of his, which, at first, I looked on as a jest of his own making, but have accounts from so many that make me suspect somewhat may be in it. It's given out here the Duke of Montrose designed to go to court three weeks before he came east; and his confidants here give out that there is nothing of invitation or politic in it; though we have accounts from the east that there was a meeting of the squadron with him before he went off. But his friends deny it.

Mr Cockburn is to give the sacrament next Sabbath, being Easter, and they have got up an altar in his meeting-house. They talk of a schism in his congregation, anent his consecrating the elements. A good number of his hearers do not incline he should do

¹ The following lines were sent to Dr Pitcairn in a letter :—

“ You'll rally oaths, and thunder down religion ;
This is the air of Satan and his legion.
You'll roar and bluster, drink below the ground,
And then you'll ridicule all good and sound.
Till Bacchus knock thee down thou'lt never rest,
Thou art but Webster's Atheist at the best.”

Dr Pitcairn was born 25th December 1652, and died 23d October 1713. Wodrow, in noticing his death, says, “ He was the most celebrated physician in Scotland this age, and certainly a man of great skill, and now of long experience. I am told he still spent three or four hours every morning in reading and writing, and some people talk that every day he did read a portion of the Scripture, though, it seems, he made ill use of it. He was a professed Deist, and by many alleged to be an Atheist, though he has frequently professed his belief of a God, and said he could not deny a Providence. However, he was a great mocker at religion, and ridiculer of it. He kept no public society for worship; on the Sabbath had his set meetings for ridiculing of the Scripture and sermons. He was a good humanist, [skilled in human learning,] and very curious in his choice of books and library. He got a vast income, but spent it upon drinking, and was twice drunk every day. He was a sort of a poet. He died not very rich; and for some years he was declined in his business and health. He was a Jacobite, violent, and was consulted anent the Pretender's health. He was a man of great learning, and was sometime Professor at Leyden, and till of late kept great correspondence with learned men abroad.”— (*Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 243.)

it, but have proposed that Mr Duncan consecrate them. Some stumble at him for his immoralities, and others for his qualifying; and it's given out he has condescended to allow Mr Duncan to do this; but I cannot yet believe this. A little time will discover, and you shall (if the Lord will) have an account next week. Mr Fullartoun preaches now and then in a private house near Glasgow, Barrfield; and, it seems, speaks not with that deference of the English ceremonies that were to be expected from one that has gone in with them, though he declares they are never his choice; and it's said some of the protected meeting have writt complaints to their friends above of Mr Fullartoun's schism. Another story shall end your trouble as to him. Last week, Sir D. M'Donald and Cockburn were invited to a certain house to dine. After dinner, when at their healths, Sir D. proposed the King's¹ health, which Mr C. pledged, and drank it to the master of the house, who is loyal enough to the Royal Family. However, he is for the old Episcopal way,² and, I think, on that score, none of C.'s congregation. The return he made to Mr C. was very short, but severe enough:—"Sir," said he, "I like the health; but I am misinformed if lately you did not abjure him."

Since I am not qualified, I hope you don't look on me or yourself as bound to disclose this treason, and yet you see I am palpating it. I am, yours in all affection.

April 2, 1713.

¹ The Pretender's.

² That is, opposed to the Liturgy and ceremonies, which had lately been introduced among the Scottish Episcopalians, and which were much opposed by several of the older members of that communion, both clergy and laity. The introduction of the Liturgy was a work of time and difficulty. Several of the Episcopal clergy continued to conduct public worship much after the Presbyterian form till the day of their death.

LETTER CXXXIV.

HAMILTON AND HADDOW'S CORRESPONDENCE.—CURIOUS ANECDOTES OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP AND MR BARCLAY.

*Mr John Williamson to Wodrow.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I came on Monday night safely to Mr Hamilton's of Airth, and with much difficulty prevailed with him to give me the use of the long letters that passed betwixt Mr Haddow and him, which I at length obtained, upon such terms as, I am afraid, will not be very useful to you. He told me Mr Haddow had strictly charged him not to allow any person whatsoever the use of these papers, without consent of both; and, in a word, I have them under a promise to show them to none, and that I shall not take a copy of them. I was obliged either to want them altogether or to agree to these conditions. However, after I had got them in my hand, I obtained a consent (though not to take an exact copy of them as they stand in form of letters, yet) to make an abstract of the debate contained in them; and, indeed, if I had time for it, they are well worth the pains.² They appear to me to be the most accurate debate on these heads of the Covenant of Grace and Justification that ever I saw. I dined next day with Mr Geo. Barclay, who told me some passages, which, perhaps, you may think worth your while to hear, particularly, that he heard Bishop Sharp's first sermon in St Andrews after he came down Bishop, upon that text, "I determined not to know any thing among you," &c.; and that, in that sermon, after he had offered several other reasons of his change, which he remembers not, he heard him say, that the divisions among Presbyterians made Bishops necessary to overawe them; and told plainly, that if these arguments he had

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 88.

² The Editor possesses a copy of this correspondence.

offered were not convincing, he had more painful ones in reserve. He told me also, that having hired the keepers of the door, he got in beneath the seats, and heard what was transacted in the first Synod, after the Bishop came down. He said there were very many absent, at which the Bishop stormed not a little. And further, when a minister, whom he thinks was the minister of Leuchars, complained of the growth of Popery in their bounds, and particularly in his parish, and entreated that some means might be fallen on to suppress it, the Bishop, with heat and violence, said, Let alone of that, sir, let us take care to bear down the fanatics, our greatest enemies. These things Mr Barclay himself was witness to. He told me as to himself in those times, that he has many times been five or six days altogether without doors, night and day, in the midst of winter, and yet wonderfully preserved and comforted. He told further, that it was always suggested to him as a mean of his preservation, that he should never stay long in one place, and this he found often to prove the mean of his escape, for frequently, when enemies got notice where he was, he was gone before they came. He told me that Clavers pursued him for six weeks together, and often got account where he was, but he was still elsewhere when he came. He had it to say, also, to the Divine goodness, that he was wonderfully helped in conventicle or house-preachings, and remarked this, that if at any time he was disappointed of preaching in a place where he intended to do it, the Lord gave him opportunity of preaching elsewhere before he slept. Nay, he said, sometimes when his heart was overwhelmed, he got help to think on a preaching, and when he had got any thing ready to say from a text, though he knew no place or people to whom he was to deliver it, yet the Lord always provided him that very day with an opportunity of preaching what he had studied. He told me, that at last he was taken and put in the court of guard, among a company of thieves and ruffians, and that one day the captain came in, and told them that there was hope of relief to the rest, but none for him; and he said that with an awful countenance. The Lord helped him to say, that, for all his threats, he should be

the first man that would be delivered. And yet at this time he knew not how or what. But next day, at three in the afternoon, fair day light, he escaped out at a back window of the guard, and that though the prisoners were with him in the room, and some malicious persons, looking over the windows, cried out, The prisoners were making escape; yet he got off safely. After this he went to Holland. All he had was about five or six hundred merks, with which he traded there, and not only lived comfortably, but made so much money as laid a great foundation of the riches he now enjoys.

I have no public news to acquaint you with but what you know. There are various speculations about the Queen's speech; and many think it hard to reconcile the add. of the H. of C——s with their practice. I have been much grieved with an insolent practice of our magistrates here since I came from home, viz. ringing the public town bells, which are, and have always been in use to serve the Church, all the days of what they call Easter-week, to their meeting-house, and on the Lord's day ringing them to their time, ending the last bell at nine o'clock. The numerous sick here, and other duties that could not be delayed, have detained me from visiting our braes. Seeing you are to be at Mr Wylie's sacrament, I desire you would bring me a particular distinct account of the reason of Mr Mutter's being rejected there; and if any thing be recorded, pray bring an extract of it. I thankfully remember your and your wife's kindness, and with my wife's and my own service to you both, I am, R. D. B., yours, as you know,

[JOHN WILLIAMSON.]

Musselburgh, April 18, 1713.

I have got now that book writt directly against the Book of Free-thinking. [Let me] have one letter from you yet before you come [in to the Assembly.]

LETTER CXXXV.

CURATE COCKBURN.—A FREAKISH "WRAITH."

For Mr J. W. [John Williamson.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had the satisfaction of yours of the 18th yesterday. I must begin with my acknowledgments for your account of the Rev. Mr Barclay. It contains some very valuable hints, which shall have a room in my collection, if I bring it to any bearing. I do not now beg, but expect, the continuation of such accounts as you will have great occasion of getting in your conversation, and promise myself very much help from you. I am glad you have got these letters upon the Covenant; no doubt, you will extract the substance of them.

Since parting, I mind very little worth your while that is come to my knowledge. We have a great many stories anent Cockburn's communion upon Easter, which I jealousy may be too true. They talk that Sir Donald took up several of his Highlanders in their habits, in case of any attack upon the protected meeting that day; and though they understood not a word of the language, and, perhaps, as little of the ordinance, yet they were permitted to participate. They came down after the public work was over to an inn, and there drank ale and brandy, how deep I shall not say, but they had time enough, for they were in the alehouse from four of the clock till after ten. An odd conclusion to a Sabbath and communicating.

You know the debate between Cockburn and Duncan issued in Duncan's going out of town on Saturday, and it seems since he got not the elements to consecrate, he would not communicate with them. I find it is very ordinary for those of Mr Cockburn's meeting to spend a good part of the Sabbath evening at cards. It's a pity they cause not the Book of Sports to be reprinted, and the old order anent it read to their meeting.

I am pretty well informed of the following passage, which I de-

sign to inquire after. There is a gentleman in Stirlingshire styled Camswallace, who was in Glasgow last week at his son's marriage, who, I am told, does not refuse the account. I can give no character of him ; but by his company, and son's match, I take him to be Jacobite. This gentleman's wraith, as they call it, or his appearance in air, shape, clothes, &c., which nobody can distinguish from him, is frequently seen about his house, in open day light ; and it's so common, that the servants, and all that frequent the house, are no way frightened at it. It meddles with nobody unless they speak to it, and then they are sure of some freakish trick. A gentleman, at some distance, not long since came to see Camswallace ; this appearance was walking a little from the gate ; the stranger gentleman did not doubt but it was the laird, and alighted, came up and asked him how he did ; the appearance drēw near him, and gave him a severe box on the ear. The stranger gentleman thought this a rude welcome from his friend, and took his horse and went off in great wrath, till he was better informed. I resolve to have this further attested, though I have good hands already for it.

I hope you will provide me in a Fuller's Church History, and, as soon as you can, dash down the fullest account of your father's sickness and death,¹ and what other remarkables anent him come to your mind. I am much longing for a transcript of what you read a little of to me in short-hand, anent the * * * I hope you will look through your MSS., and have some Temptations² ready for me against I come in ; particularly bring in Mr H.'s notes on Christian Liberty, and any thing relative to our Church's civil history, and begin your lithoscoping. I'll be glad to see the Essay of Freethinking, and its Answer. This day eight-days, if the Lord will, I'll see you at Edinburgh. Blame yourself for this trouble from, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

April 21, 1713.

¹ This account Mr Williamson sent in a letter to Wodrow, which, though written some time after this, we have inserted next in order to preserve the connection.

² Instances, probably, of Satan's temptations.

LETTER CXXXVI.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MR DAVID WILLIAMSON, AND A
VARIETY OF NEWS.

*Mr John Williamson to Wodrow.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have been so exceedingly hurried with some weighty affair, that I have had very little time to write. I am very much afflicted with the account of the persecution of our brethren in Ireland. There's a report here by private letters that Esquire Upton is massacred by the Papists there, and that another family was attacked that same night, who defended themselves. Perhaps you can give a better account of this. We are certainly in more danger than perhaps we apprehend. Mass is said in Edinburgh in Milln's Square, and in the Duchess of Gordon's lodging in the Canongate, without interruption. It's observed here that all the known considerable persons in Scotland, who are Papists, are just now in town, and have their cabals. Judicious people here are very apprehensive what may be the issue of the present posture of our affairs.

Take the following account of my father's death,² and some cir-

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 151.

² MR DAVID WILLIAMSON.—Of this worthy minister we have several anecdotes, recorded in Wodrow's *Analecta*. We extract the following notice:—"He was ordained by Mr Hutcheson to the West Kirk three or four years before the Restoration, and when put out after the Restoration, he preached his farewell sermon upon 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' And at the close of his sermon he expressed himself thus:—'I still own my relation to this kirk, and now am forced from it, but I will return again, and will die minister of this kirk.' This he kept up the firm faith of all the time of his twenty-eight years' sufferings, and sometimes when like to be brangled in his hopes, that place was very sweet to him, 'I trusted in God, and am helped.' He was, since the Revolution, called to Edinburgh, and his transportation very vigorously prosecuted; the Sabbath before the Assembly was to determine on

cumstances of it. Some months before, at a table at my communion, he was in a great rapture speaking of glory in heaven, and said very peremptorily he would never have another opportunity of that kind in this place. At the sacrament in his own church, which was about ten days before his death, he was in such another rapture. Speaking of glory at that table he served, (I was hard by him, and I well remember his face, eyes, and countenance, wonderfully discovered the extraordinary frame of his mind,) he happened particularly to speak of the eternity of glory in heaven, under that phrase, "It's glory to come, glory to come, and always, through all eternity, glory to come!" That phrase I cannot tell how often he repeated; he could hardly, for a long time, get his mind off it, and, while he spoke it, was in the greatest rapture I ever saw any person. After sacrament, he preached his last sermon on 1 Jo. iii. 3, "And every one that hath this hope," &c., wherein he discoursed wonderfully on that purity of holiness, and hope of glory, which many do remember with delight. The week after he took his indisposition. (He was very cheerful at the Presbytery.) He had no painful sickness, only a flux and weakness, which carried him off. He was sensible, and spoke till within five minutes of his departure. I discoursed with him the day he died, anent several of the texts he had preached on, which he remembered with great joy. He had a pleasant sedate frame, engrossed himself with a solid strong faith, but not with any remarkable rapture of joy that I could observe, except once, when he happened to speak of the righteousness of Christ. The Advocate, Sir James Stewart, visited him, and, having made some insinuations of the good services he had done, he entreated him to forbear that discourse, forasmuch as he was yet in the body, and said all he did was nothing; all he could say was, that he blessed God he gave

the transportation, he expressed his continuing in the same mind, and said, in his sermon to his people, that he hoped to leave his bones where he had begun his ministry; and that night, before the Assembly was to determine, he was in prayer and wrestling all night, and had many fears and much sorrow, but at length got out of them, and when the elders, &c. came to him, he comforted them and said, There is no fear; and he was continued by the Assembly."—(Vol. iii. p. 171.)

him a willing mind.¹ But he desired only to lean to the righteousness of Christ, which he wonderfully extolled. He gave grave admonitions to his parishioners and family till the last. Several ministers prayed. He ordered they should all pray *per vices*, [by turns,] even when his speech should be laid. He spoke of his expected departure with a great deal of composure, and without the least apparent fear, and sometimes would have felt his own pulse. He told he was afraid of a storm on this land, and of a foul mixture (this was his word) by the Union, which was then but beginning, (his death being Aug. 6th, 1706.) I think he did not say any thing concerning singing in time of his departure, but Mr Brown did it; he sung the 118th Psalm, 17—20 verses, and at the very last line (“And I the Lord will bless”) he expired, without any struggle or pangs in the least. It was very remarkable to see the frame of the witnesses—a sweet mixture of grief, joy, and concern.

No doubt, you have heard of the death of Mr Steedman. He preached his last sermon in the New Church on Thursday, about ten days before his death, on [Job xix. 25,] “I know that my Redeemer liveth,” &c., and was observed to be in a wonderful frame. It’s said he frequently suggested to his wife, those ten or twelve months past, that he would, ere long, depart, and exhorted her to look for it and prepare. He raved much, but spoke sometimes sensibly when he was interrupted. The Monday before he died (for he died the next day) he raved the whole day, as the witnesses thought, about a certain tryst he had next day at seven o’clock; and towards evening, being asked what tryst it was, he said it was a tryst to meet with Christ, and he knew he would keep it, and he died next day at that very hour, very much lamented.

I cannot but acquaint you with a death of a more terrible nature. I was informed yesterday, that the old Laird of Humby, on

¹ Sir James Stewart himself, when on his death-bed, testified a similar aversion to this kind of consolation:—“When,” says Wodrow, “ministers were praying beside him, and began to speak of his usefulness, and to pray for his recovery, he would have drawn up his shoulders, and said, *Hout, hout.*”—(*Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 194.)

Saturday last, at Haddington, was at a cabal, carousing and dancing, and dropt down dead in the company in a moment. A stupendous providence! But you shall have a fuller account of the circumstances of this when they come to my hand.

A certain Non-juring b. [brother,] being much reflected on for some notes in his sermons at communions this summer, has informed me of his design to print them. You shall have a more full account of this afterwards. I believe I told you before the story of Mr Yool. He is still very insolent, and it's talked here he designs once more to appear in print.

I am surprised at the account you gave me of Mr Adamson's doctrine; but I apprehend such flights will tend to the lessening his reputation among his present admirers. I long impatiently for Mr Anderson's answer to Rhind. A considerable well-affected gentleman informed one who told me, that several arms are observed to have been lately brought to some Jacobite and Popish houses; and another discoursed to myself, that it was very proper we were some way on our guard. Nay, plainly, some judicious people here, and of considerable stations, with whom I had occasion lately to converse in the coffeehouse, dread a massacre, or some mischievous project.

Our Jacobites are extraordinarily aloft. They stick not in all companies to drink the Pretender's health openly. Among other things, I cannot but desire you to sympathise with our poor brother Cuthbert, whose house was robbed within these few days, and nothing portable left in it. You must excuse my informing you of what private things are going here, just as they come in my mind. And I conclude, with one particular more at this time, that an honest man in Broughtoun, a considerable tenant, riding in a dark night lately, fell into an uncovered well, and he and his horse both found dead in it next morning. It was near Enderleith. I expect all your news. Public things, I know, I need not write of to you; and though some of these things you may think not worth your while, yet I have sent you what occurs here, which I thought any way at all remarkable. I desire to know how matters are in Mr Moor of

Kilbride's parish, and in Mr Linning's, and in Mr Millar's of Nels-
toun, and what is come of Cockburn, and any thing remarkable.
I am yours, *sicut ante*,

[JOHN WILLIAMSON.]

Musselburgh, December 14, 1713.

LETTER CXXXVII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE ASSEMBLY, 1713.¹

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.

MY DEAR,—Yesterday, about four in the morning, the Lord Advocate died, in the very act of blessing his children, without any shruggs of death, but pleasantly shut his eyes. Thus we have lost the greatest lawyer, and the best Christian, at least in his station, that ever we had.² Yesterday the Assembly met for

¹ Extracted from Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. Nos. 93–98.

² “ Upon the first day of this month, (May 1713,) this Church sustained a very in-
expressible loss by the death of that great man, and extraordinary Christian, Sir
James Stewart, the Queen's Advocate. It's true, his life, in the ordinary course of
things, could not have been much longer, he being upwards of 78, and near 80. He
died full of days, and universally lamented. His burial was the greatest that had
been seen at Edinburgh in the memory of man. The Assembly came all in a body,
and waited upon his burial; and, indeed, it was but a [just] debt lying upon this
Church, to which he had been so fast and useful a friend, that I may justly say the
Presbyterian interest sustained no such loss by the death of any, since King William's
death. He was missed very much at this Assembly. His death was truly Christian,
and a great instance of the reality of religion. * * * * *

“ He was mighty in the Scriptures, and wonderfully seen in them, beyond any man
almost ever I conversed with. He was exact in the original of the New Testament;
and, in conversation with him, I have heard him pitch, without book, upon most of
the places where any remarkable Greek word was used in the New Testament. He
had studied Old and New Testament very much, writ upon some of it, and digested
the whole of it, and was perfectly master of it. He was wonderful in prayer.” * * *

prayer.¹ The Moderator, Mr James Stirling, Mr Dagleish of Linlithgow, Mr Blackwell, Mr Bailay of Inverness prayed. The preachers are named for the Commissioner. The minister of Tonnighame, Mr Turnbull, and Mr Mitchell in the afternoon. The Commissioner was with us all the time. In the afternoon the Committee of Overtures named the Committee for Receiving Instructions, and had the draught of the answer to the Queen's Letter before them. It runs much in common style, and the Queen is thanked for her care of the French Protestants in the galleys, and

“The Lord sifted him singularly for the great work he had to do with him. He was long under his hiding in the ill times, and there he did nothing but read, and read to a prodigy. I have it from his sisters, and others that knew his manner of life, and who used to steal in candle to him in his hiding, that he slept little, and generally every day read eighteen hours. His memory was proportional to his diligence and judgment. I have heard him repeat great long passages of the Roman authors and the poets not many months before his death. His temper was most sweet and easy, and very pleasant. He had a way in conversation and reason[ing] of bantering and scolding, where he used freedom, and many a beast, and fool, and ignoramus he would have called those he reasoned with. In his public appearances in the Parliament and Council readily he heard all, and spoke among the last, if he did speak, and spoke short. He was of great use in drawing up our Church Form of Process, and that Assembly it passed was the last I saw him in. He came in and reasoned every chapter of it. He was the happiest of any ever I was with, for coming shortly to any knotty question; he would have stated the difficulty in an instant, and given his answer in a very few words. * * * In the affair of the Toleration and Patronages, and I may say generally since the Revolution, most of the public papers of this Church are his draught.

“His character would take a man equal to himself to draw it, and I dare not attempt it. He was a great Christian, an able statesman, one of the greatest lawyers ever Scotland bred, of universal learning, of vast reading, great and long experience in public business,—he was a kind and fast friend, particularly obliging, and very compassionate and charitable. And in his last sickness, and at his death, one of the brightest instances of pure and undefiled religion, under affluence of riches, a fixed reputation, and a hurry of business, that I have ever been witness to. In his last sickness he was very much in the longing for his dissolution. He would frequently say, ‘When will the Lord come? but why should I weary? I trust in him; I believe in Jesus.’ And when he fell in a slumber, through his sleep, he readily spoke some Scripture sentence,” &c.—(*Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 194–199.)

¹ Wodrow has not preserved any record of the first sederunt of this Assembly, which met on the 30th of April, and of which the Duke of Athol was appointed Commissioner, and Mr William Wishart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, formerly noticed, was chosen Moderator.

her endeavours for their freedom in Germany. There was no debate at all anent it. And it's thought it will pass in the Assembly very easily this day. There was a fair opportunity, from the letter, to speak of the patronages and toleration, and if there be not an after address upon these things, it will be lamented that the occasion of a humble complaint of these things that are so grava-minous is lost.

This day the Assembly met, and the answer to the Queen's Letter was read.¹ The Earl of Buchan made an amendment on it, instead of "against all Popish pretenders whatsoever," "all pretenders whatsoever." It was thought stronger against the Pretender, and was gone into heartily by all. The Commissioner was very fond of having in somewhat that was an approbation of the peace, and struggled long to get in the word, "in the treaty of peace," which he himself had put out of the first draught of the answer, and it could never be got in again. It seems it has been one of the Commissioner's instructions to bring in the Assembly to a tacit approving of the peace, and, indeed, very providentially,

¹ The answer to the Queen's Letter ran in these terms:—"We beg leave to testify to your Majesty how much it did rejoice us to be acquainted by your Commissioner from the throne, with the great care that your Majesty has been pleased, so conspicuously, for the Protestant religion, and the continuance of it to succeeding generations in your own dominions, and that your Majesty has further extended the same pious care to the Churches abroad, and that God has blest your endeavours for obtaining the release of those who were in the French galleys for their religion; and also the consent of France to redress the hardships to which the Protestant Churches in Germany were liable."—(*Printed Acts of Assembly*, 1713.) "This was all well," says a modern writer, "had it been true; but, unfortunately for the veracity of the Commissioner, and the intelligence of the Assembly, there was not one word of it but what was utterly false; and a principal ground of dissatisfaction with the peace, among all serious and good men, even of the communion of the Church of England, was the shameful manner in which the interests of the suffering Protestants, both in France and in Germany, had been neglected by her Majesty's ministers." "So far, indeed, were the ministers of the Church of Scotland, in general, from being in unison with the Assembly, in respect of the Queen's care of the foreign Protestants, that when the thanksgiving for 'the safe and honourable peace' was appointed, because the poor Catalans, (inhabitants of Catalonia in Spain,) as well as the Protestants of France and Germany, had been deserted by it, they, almost to a man, refused to keep it."—(*Struthers' Hist.* vol. i. pp. 188, 190.)

he broke the design himself. Let few or none see this passage. I find he has upon this seen fit to take a written declaration from three ministers, that it was their opinion the Assembly would not go into the approbation of any draught that contained a tacit approbation of the peace. The Synod books were appointed to be revised, and the Commission and the Assembly meets not till Tuesday at nine of the clock.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1713.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

Edinburgh May 5, 1713.

MY DEAREST,—I wrote at some length upon Saturday. Since then till now the Assembly business has been mostly in committee. The instructions were classed and gone through on Monday in the committee of instructions. There was little done by them, but an address and testimony anent the toleration, and patronages referred to the Commission, to do in as matters open up. There was a representation from the Synod of Dumfries anent the irregularities of those bounds, which issued in a committee for union, which sat late yesternight. The thing proposed is an act of Assembly, declaring the taking of the oath to be no ground of separation. This is owned by all, but being only upon the one side, if we should call them sides, I know not what balance will be put in for the other side. People are that way, and even some ministers, that they cannot, I fear, bear an authoritative way. I pray the Lord direct to such measures as our breaches may be healed and not heightened. This will be a very nice point, and I fear some are not yet come to the crisis of their distemper. There has been a long working in committees since Friday, anent a settlement of a minister in Doull [Dull], in Perth Presbytery, wherein the Commissioner is concerned. There was an appeal made by him from the Synod; this appeal was fallen from,

and a presentation given to another person. That person, it seems, came to be provided for in another parish, on which the Duke of Athol takes up his first design, and though Thursday be the day of ordination, the Assembly this day, I fancy, to prevent worse, will give a sist, and refer the matter to the Commission. Great folk have great power. Upon Sabbath, Mr Turnbull lectured on the forty-fifth Psalm, and preached on the third and fourth verses, and in the close pressed ministers to imitate Christ in following truth with meekness. Mr Mitchell preached in the afternoon, "To me to live is Christ;" and most sweetly and pleasantly, but too short. I mind nothing further worth while. This day the worthy Advocate is to be buried, and never was a greater lamentation made in this place. The burial, they say, is the greatest that has been in this place in the memory of man. The Assembly, as was their duty, came all in a body to it. The committee of overtures this night have passed an overture, that Presbyteries be censured that send ruling elders who do not subscribe the Confession of Faith. The committee for healing have drawn a draught, which I know not how far the larger committee will go into. I wish both sides had the public interest more in view, and their own parties, if there must be parties, less before them.

LETTER CXXXIX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1713.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 6, 1713.

MY DEAR,—This day, at ten, the Assembly met. They waited till near twelve before the Commissioner came, who is but in an ill state of health, and tender. The Commission was unanimously approven, and little more done. In the afternoon, the committee

met about the draught of an act for union anent the oath. The act was read. All agree in the principle, that it's no ground of separation; but they are not like to agree in the expediency and way of expressing it. If this act pass not unanimously, or if there be any dissents from it, I fear [it will] prove very useless. It is again sub-committed, and will be considered to-morrow. In several corners it's plain a declaration at this time cannot so well be borne, and it's proposed a committee may be sent south to take away differences. The Lord direct what to do. I never saw such a critical juncture. The great difficulty seems to be from people, and the misimprovement that is like to be made of declarations now made, both on the one hand and the other.

May 7.

This forenoon the Assembly met, and transported Mr Walker from Partan Craigs Ferry to the Canongate. It was a heartless-like transportation, and not unanimous. In the afternoon the affair of Scrimgeour, now settled Professor at St Andrews, came in to the overtures. Some were appointed to speak with the Commissioner and report. I know not what will come of it.

I am glad to have it at length to write to you, that after three days' reasoning in sub-committee, the draught of the act against schism, and for union, is come before the committee of overtures, and after the rejecting a clause that some thought dangerous, and imposing a reflection on recusants, it was unanimously voted. It declares expressly the different practices anent the oath are no ground of separation. And so, once more, through God's good hand, this Assembly is like to disappoint such as love our breaches. What influence it may have on some weaker people I know not. I want not yet my own fears; but certainly a harmonious vote of the Assembly in this will give it the greater weight, and be a great mercy, be its effects what they will.

LETTER CXL.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1713.

*To Mr ———.*¹

May 6, 1713.

DEAR SIR,—I blame myself that I have not writt to you from this place, when you desired, and I am so very much in your debt; but really I both wanted time, and heard that accounts of all that passed here, with the copy of the Queen's Letter and answer, were sent to you. The Assembly have done very little as yet, and I wish they may have little to do. In the answer to the Queen's Letter there was a great struggle by the Commissioner, in private, to get in a material approbation, or a sentence that might look like an approbation, of the peace. But this was as carefully avoided by those spoken to by him, and it would seem he has had somewhat of this nature in his instructions, for it's said he took a declaration in writing from several persons, that that affair could not be tabled in open Assembly without a breach. However, this design was broke, and the letter runs very smooth. People here doubt much of that relief that is said to be given to the Protestants in the galleys, and take notice that when they are to be freed from that terrible condition, they have no access to return hence or home, but must enter in a new banishment; that our brethren in prisons and elsewhere, except the galleys, are no way noticed, nor any thing done for them. The business of relief to the Protestants in Germany, they say, is what the King of France, by his interest, is willing to go into.

The great affair now under consideration is, what the Assembly should do for the preservation of the unity of this Church, and remedying evil and separation, felt and feared in greater measures in

¹ It is not known to whom this letter was addressed.

the south. The cure proposed is a declaratory act, that the oath is no ground of separation. Whether people are everywhere able to bear this cure in their present circumstances, the issue will best determine. I fear they have been taught a way of disregarding the acts of this Church, and it's a question, whether authoritative and compulsory acts be the way to heal the present distemper? There is much need of fervent wrestling on the behalf of the Assembly in this critical juncture.

Upon the other hand, there are lamentable representations of the effects of the Toleration in the north. The Episcopal party meet in Sessions and Presbyteries, and license young men, and mar all discipline, by taking off persons from their appearances before ministers, and passing them at their meetings very overly. All our difficulties are heightened by the inexpressible loss we have of the old Advocate, whose triumphant death, and the circumstances of it, I must leave till meeting. I shall only say, that the manner of his last sickness and death is a convincing demonstration of the reality of religion, that one of so much business, good sense, and riches, should die in the manner he did.

This is a short view of affairs as they appear to me, which I have dashed down in a hurry, rather than not write at all, since you desired me. I'll be glad to hear from you a hint of our friend's news since your last, for I have heard almost nothing of London news since parting. I'll be fond to know how your family are the first post after this comes to hand. Direct for me, to the care of the Postmaster at Edinburgh. And let me have all your west country news. I am, yours most affectionately.

May 7.

I am glad to tell you that this night the act for union and against schism is got so worded, as to both sides, if they must be called so, that it's unanimously gone into. Our different practices are declared to be no ground of separation; and so, once more, this Assembly, through God's good hand, is like to disappoint such as love our breaches. What the consequences may be among weaker

people time must only determine; but it's a great mercy the Assembly is joint and harmonious. I am, with my respects to all friends, about eleven at night and over, yours most sincerely.

LETTER CXLI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1713.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 8, 1713.

MY DEAR,—Yesternight, late, I gave you an account of the voting of the act for union. Having now a little time, I shall give you a little further account of it. There was a very heavy representation came in from the Synod of Dumfries, anent the carriage of some there since the oath. Upon this there were several proposals made for the quenching and preventing schism. This declaratory act, upon the one hand, and, upon the other, a recommendation to Synods and Presbyteries of the matter of this act, and which many inclined to a committee or conference in that bounds for healing the breach. To this last it was said, that a conference supposed instructions, and matter to confer upon, and the Assembly in these behoved to make an equivalent declaration to this act. For the declaration it was urged, that it was the principle all were agreed upon that the oath was no ground of separation; it was already upon the matter done on the last year's forbearance, and there could be no hurt in declaring in an act that all owned as a principle. Against the act it was urged, that it was liable to misconstructions; that clauses in the address anent the oath and the act for forbearance were misimproven, as if the ministry had approved the oath. It was further alleged, that it would be a kind of reflection upon such as had not qualified, and an expression that looked this way was taken out. It was said, likewise,

that this act would increase the flame, and was what people could not bear till convinced in their judgments by reasoning. And the experience of this in the Synod of Galloway, when, by act of Presbyteries and Synods, they refused to baptize children of Dissenters, and the instance of the ministers that had subscribed a recommendation of Mr Robison's pamphlet, and that matters were come to that pass that our acts were not regarded, that conferences had been the ordinary way to heal the schism in that country, and not acts, formerly; and that the evils, upon the other side, from patrons and prelatists, were not remedied this way, but overlooked. However, after much and long reasoning, wherein there was very much calmness, and a disposition to peace and condescension, and the taking out of some clauses in the act, it was unanimously transmitted to the Assembly this day, when it was the first thing that was voted, and passed unanimously, except one vote, which was, indeed, a mistake. After this Mr Doucat's affair and Burntisland came before the Assembly. I shall not insist on the history of this gentleman, who is like to be very famous, or infamous rather. He was one of the first that got and accepted a presentation from the Queen. He was educate in Popery, and is but lately, that is, within some few years, turned Protestant. The last Assembly remitted the case to the Commission. Of a competition of calls upon his presentation the matter came before the Commission, who declined considering it, the Presbytery when they entered upon the cognoscing of a scandal, or many, were appealed from to the Synod; the Synod, when delaying the consideration of the appeal, were appealed from the Assembly. He is the tool of the Jacobite party in Fife and here; and because the Synod appointed a committee to enquire into the scandals, the town of Burntisland being managed by Jacobites, have rabbled the ministers the Presbytery of Kirkaldy sent there to supply. Three ministers have been rabbled, and last Saturday a fourth. When Doucat came in before the Bills, and they read their deliverance, that the affair of his settlement be not gone into till once the committee of the Synod of Fife purge him of the scandals he is charged with, he took instruments and pro-

tested, and, when told this was informal, ran off. This forenoon his petition, with the deliverance, came in. In the petition he charges the Commission with partiality, and craves his affair may not be judged by them. When the Assembly came to judge of his affair, they found the papers long, and the Commissioner tender, and their business throng; so they remitted the affair to the Commission. When he came in he told them he earnestly desired they might give him sentence, which the Moderator told they had delayed but a short time; on which, with a great deal of insolence, he protested and gave in a paper, and called it reasons, and gave another, with instruments, to the hand of a public notar, by him. The reasons were read as they were called, and they contain nothing to the purpose, but only reasons against the judging his case by a committee in Fife, and other things the Assembly had not given determination in, and an appeal to the Queen and House of Peers, and an accusing the Assembly of opposing him because he had the Queen's presentation, and insolently he run away. The matter was referred to the Committee for Overtures, who, this afternoon, have unanimously agreed that the Assembly declare his licence void and null, and discharge him to preach; and that an address be drawn, with an account of matter of fact, and laid before those about the Queen. This affair is like to make a noise, and therefore I have insisted upon it. In the sub-committee we have a sad representation of Popery in Sutherland and Inverness, by Priest M'Craw, who has, within these three or four weeks, baptized sixteen or more Protestant children, and he has L.5 sterling from the *College de Propaganda Fide* for every one that dies a Papist, and gets it punctually paid. We had a proposal for printing the Irish Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism, (they have the Smaller,) which was remitted to the Commission. But I find many are not clear for reprinting it, though the English Catechism be printed in Irish, and part of the service; because they say all that can read at all understand the English, and it will be of little use to them that cannot read.

LETTER CXLII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1713.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 11, 1713.

MY DEAR,—I was so much hurried in time on Saturday's night, that I could not add any thing to my last. Upon Saturday the Assembly met at ten, and the nomination of a new Commission with their instructions were read. I was one of them. Their instructions are in common form, except that it be they are more peremptorily required to address upon the Church's grievances, if any door open, and appointed to send committees to the south, if need be, for healing rents. Then Mr Doucat's business came in, it being referred to the committee for overtures, who drew up the sentence, that, considering his insolent carriage, &c., he is discharged to preach the Gospel in this Church, and this intimate to all Presbyteries; and the Presbytery of Kirkaldy intimate the sentence, I think, in their bounds. Mr Curry of Haddington had the Church's credit for about L.50 sterling, to defray the charges of this process, he being cited against the 22d to appear before the House of Peers. Then two Synods were censured, and their books attested. There was a committee appointed to draw a representation of Mr Doucat's business to be laid before the Queen, which, by reason of the niceness of touching the appeal to the Parliament before the Commissioner, was remitted to the Commission. Besides what I wrote before on Doucat, I hear now, when he ran out, for he would not appear again after he ran out to the door and took instruments in the notar's hand, when going out he said, "I'll either break the Church of Scotland, or be broken myself." I hear yesterday he went over to Burntisland and preached, though the sentence extracted was sent over to the magistrates of Burntisland; but they are Jacobites, and he a tool for that party, and I hear he is going to receive Episcopal orders to

preach. After these, and at night, the Assembly went through the Synod books, except that of Dumfries, which is eight years behind, and six years and a half not filled up.

Yesterday Mr Barclay lectured on the eighty-seventh Psalm, and preached on Ephes. vi. 10; Mr Carstairs, in the afternoon, upon Deut. xxviii. 54, "The glorious and terrible name." His prayers were very cautious about the peace, and, in speaking of the Assembly in his sermon, he said, "They had all the liberty that in their circumstances could be expected." I do not hear that the Episcopal clergy blessed God for the peace; but I am informed they were pressed to do it, and in contradistinction to us they resolved to do it.

This day the Assembly sat at twelve. I wrote before that the Assembly had given a sist in the matter of the ordination of Dull, in Perth Presbytery. The carriage of that Presbytery on Thursday last has made much noise. The Presbytery, it seems, met in the church of Dull, which the Duke of Athol's men had guarded with fifty armed men all night. When the Presbytery came on Thursday morning last, the men would not suffer them to enter the church, but presented the Assembly letters to the Moderator, who was not there, to Mr Campbell, who was to preach, and Mr Menzies, who was to be ordained. The Presbytery not being constitute, craved they would admit them to the church to constitute, and then they would open the letters; the armed men would not allow them to enter. Whereupon they removed, without taking the letters, or opening them, to another part of the parish, and went on to ordain Mr Menzies. When they called for the edict, one appeared with the Assembly's sist, yet they went on to ordain. An express came up yesternight, with a letter to the Duke; and on account of this the letters were returned unopened, but not the instrument that was taken. This was much aggravated in the Assembly as they sat down, and it was proposed to discharge Mr Menzies to exercise his ministry at Dull, since settled against the Assembly's sist. This was reckoned the greatest trampling upon the Assembly's authority. However, since things stood thus, no account of this af-

fair but from a private letter, the Assembly sent out three to bring in an overture, that the matter be referred to the Commission; and they appointed, if they found the fact proven, to discharge Mr Menzies to exercise his ministry there, till they considered the matter.¹

LETTER CXLIII.

ON THE THANKSGIVING DAY FOR THE PEACE.²

For Mr J. H. [James Hart of Edinburgh.]

June 8, 1713.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 30th of May, which brought me the first account of the proposal to dissolve the Union, which was the less surprising, that I heard my Lord Isla³ (who came down, I imagine, upon some concert, to feel the pulses of some upon this) very peremptory on that head when at Edinburgh. I do not see that the Court will ever go in to such a proposal, since the Union in this shape is so strengthening to a Court and arbitrary interest, unless some there have a mind to brangle the succession, and leave an open door for the Pretender to come in to Scotland. And, without the Court, I see not what such a proposal can issue in, but in fermenting the country, and disposing us more and more for blood and confusion. And yet I am surprised to find the E. of Marr one of four that go to the Queen; I take

¹ Wodrow has given an account of this Assembly, with some further particulars, in his *Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 187, 190, 192. He says, "I thought once the Assembly should not have sit, because it did seem so inconsistent with the Queen's authority, that her representative should sit in a meeting made up of a third part and more outlaws and obnoxious persons, by reason of their Non-jurancy."

² The famous peace with France, which was concluded on the 13th of March, and proclaimed 5th May 1713.

³ Hart had said, that "Lord Isla, at a public entertainment, drunk a new kind of health, even to the speedy and legal dissolution of the Union!"

that Peer to be entire with the Grand Vizier, and would do nothing without his connivance. Indeed, all is mystery to me, and I fear there is somewhat under the proposal that does not yet appear.

The day of thanksgiving is and will be a new trial to this Church, and I am apprehensive it crumble us farther into pieces, and set up a new division; for I think many Jurors in this country will refuse it, and some Nons keep it, though I cannot yet be positive. I was of opinion the Commission should have met last week or this; but I find some leading men were and are against a concert in judicatories anent this; but what we should, I think, have in our eye is, harmony among ourselves, in as far as it can be reached in this splitting time. It seems now every one must be left to walk according to his own sentiments. I have been abroad in the shire of Ayr these eight days, and that both has hindered me from giving you an answer till this post, and kept me from knowing the sentiments of brethren here. The person you speak of as against keeping of the thanksgiving, when in the east, has got no new light, and is *semper idem* hitherto. Our brethren at Glasgow are very silent, and say nothing about it that I hear; but, last week, wrote in to the men of light with you, and what light they may have from them is more than I can tell. I happened last week to be at a burial in Kyle, where there were about twenty ministers of us; we met together, and talked an hour or two. There was nothing among us but darkness, except in one, Mr C. of Kil., who seemed a little more clear. For any thing I could learn, that day will not be kept either in the Presbytery of Ayr or Irvine. Our Presbytery meets to-morrow, and I doubt it will be as ill kept by us. For myself, since you are pleased to call for my sentiments, I'll give you them with that freedom that I use with my dearest friends. I am at a point, and have been of a long time averse to a day of this nature, though I came not to determine myself against it till I had the proclamation, which has, indeed, completed my aversion to it. My reasons are not worth your reading; and yet, since you require them, I shall give them, in the assurance you will correct me when I am wrong, and give me your own sentiments by the first

post after the receipt of this. You will see abundance of haste and confusion in them.

1st, When I consider our rule, Ass. 1710, art. 7, that these days, whether appointed by the Church or supreme magistrate, for just and necessary causes, are to be observed, I cannot satisfy myself that there is either justice to ourselves or our neighbours, or that there was any pressing necessity (except that of a party and its head) in this complex peace. I wanted not difficulties in keeping fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the magistrate, without the concurrence of a constitute Church in her sphere, even to the appointment of them. I looked upon them as of dangerous consequences, and as what would issue in a gradual threading of this Church out of her unquestionable right of appointing such religious days; and now, partly from this and our own divisions, that it's next to impossible we can agree upon causes, I despair of seeing any more church appointments of this nature, except in Synods and Presbyteries; and how soon a check may be put on these, I know not. Yet I durst not rule myself by consequences, and therefore satisfied myself in the justice and necessity of the subject-matter of these appointments, and the magistrate's power in some cases to appoint, and the confused state of the Church since the Union, and so kept them. But now being unsatisfied as to the subject-matter of this appointment, I must stop; and I think I have the Church's authority and the rule on my side, and some little *vidimus* from the carriage of the last Assembly, and their refusing to give a compliment in the peace, when pressed so hard, to regulate me in the application of the rule.

2dly, I judge of the matter of this present appointment by the proclamation, and the views I have of the peace itself. I begin with the proclamation, which is the overt rule by which I and the world must judge of the ground of my keeping this day to the Lord. The reading of it, in my opinion, binds me down to an approbation of the grounds here fixed by the magistrate, and if they be not what have weight with my conscience, I mock the magistrate, and, which is worse, juggle with God. Pardon the rough-

ness of the phrase ; I speak only of what I would reckon myself guilty of, and will not judge my brethren that may act under other views. Taking this, then, for a *postulatum*, that I homologate the matter of the proclamation, I come to go through it. I cannot, then, say that God, in his great goodness, hath put an end to the late war. I think such a peace as I take this to be, without a guarantee, or any security further than the word of the King of France, armed with the conjunction of Spain, is worse than the continuing of the war, and the effect of anger not goodness. I would be diffculted to read the King of France "the most Christian King" to my people, when it may be, in my prayer before, they have been joining with me in praying against him as the main pillar of Antichrist, and a bloody persecutor of our brethren. What follows is yet more choaking, "the conclusion of a just and honourable peace." I cannot see it "just," if justice be a keeping of the public faith pledged in the grand alliance. I cannot see it just, if it be bottomed upon a private concert, and that without the concurrence of the rest of the allies ; it does not appear just, when the Emperor is left, and the terms and demands upon him very hard ; and though Holland and others be come in, it makes it not a whit the more just to me, if they could do no better, and were dragged into it by former secret bargains, and our quitting them in the field of battle. It follows, native, that it is not honourable ; and if we might have had better terms, yea, actually had them in 1709, and a very little more might have had what we pleased of France, for the Protestants, as well as our own civil liberty, and any necessity of coming lower with France, was brought on us by our own mismanagement, and the change of the ministry. You'll see I am at a loss to think it "honourable." From both, you will easily see, that I will have the same difficulty to expect God's blessing on it, or to say that it's on such a foundation that will prove effectual to procure a firm and lasting peace at home. I fear it involve us in a very speedy and bloody war at home, or else in Popery and slavery. What follows, pins me so down to the sense of the magistrate and ministry in these things, that I own I am choaked sufficiently.

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We adoring the Divine goodness, how shall I make a religious address to God upon this particular providence, or rather a religious appeal to a heart-searching God, upon the deep sense I have of the kindness of Providence in this matter, and reckon with the Queen, that such blessings call for public acknowledgment, and keep a thanksgiving for these his mercies? Thus you have my sense of the matter of thanksgiving from the proclamation.

3dly, When I consider the peace itself complexly taken, though I should make some allowances for the forms of public papers and common style in them, yet I am not a whit the more easy. To me it appears to be a peace, than which we might have had a much better, and scarce could have got a worse. I apprehend by the giving of Spain and the Indies to one of the family, and so much in arrears to France, breaks the balance of Europe, paves the way for the attaining the universal monarchy, ruins our trade, and gives power to break it with a vengeance, whenever old Lewis sees it convenient. The breach of faith I hinted at before, and now add, that by the manner of carrying on this peace, I see not how another alliance can be framed; there is such a foundation laid for jealousy and suspicion, and the weakness of England is so laid open, that I know not who will trust them, unless such an alliance could be fallen on, as will, like the renunciation, execute itself. I think the Protestants are entirely neglected, when much might have been done for them, and I know not how far assurances from the throne are like to hold, but there is not one word of them I have heard in the prints since, and as they are little by what might have been looked for, so they do not affect the peace, since they are not in it, but *post factum*; no more than if the King of France should die with an overjoy at his success in the peace would affect it. I apprehend this peace is the establishing of a Tory ministry in Britain, which I never yet thanked God for in private. I think that it weakens the succession very much, both as it brings over a swarm of foreign Papists and others who are not idle in strengthening the Pretender's interest, and so it strengthens France and Spain, who can only bring him, and weakens the Dutch barrier, who would hold him out, and

increases gum and dissatisfaction at home ; and, therefore, is very satisfying to all our Jacobites, who are no fools. As to our civil liberties and trade, as I am no good judge of them, so I dip not much in them ; but I see none of the great things once pretended as to foreign trade, and for Scotland and England, take away salt fish, sugar, woollen cloth, and whale oil, I see little remaining to boast much of. When under these views of the proclamation and peace,

4thly, Supposing I should be mistaken, I cannot but think it would be an iniquity in me to keep a religious day to the Lord, and make a solemn appeal to him in religious worship, that I have a grateful sense of the kind appearance of Providence in this peace, when I have quite other views, and the unhappiness to differ from the appointer of the day and the penners of the proclamation so much. I do not, indeed, insist much upon what I find straitens some, that they know not what is in the peace, nor the articles of it, and cannot bless God for what they know not. It may be I might be easier as to the keeping of the day, if I knew less of the peace ; but, indeed, I cannot shut my eyes, and I see, or think I see, that in it that puts me out of case to address God in a way of public thanks upon it, when it may be I would desire to mourn in secret for it, if my heart would serve me, and sigh and cry for sin that has brought us low, if I may be marked in these times of treading down and confusion, and may be blood, that we seem entering upon.

Lastly, As in my refusing the oath, the offence that would be given thereby to my people and others had its own weight with me, so I acknowledge this same ground scarts me in its own room from keeping this day. It's a satisfaction to me, that I neither made them against the oath, nor this day. I do not much love to converse [with] them on these subjects, and in conversation I still press to peace and unity, and smooth their temper as much as I can ; but I profess, after all, I wonder to find such an aversion in them at this day, and the best, and most sensible, and serious, are violently against it. They are in some better case to reason on it than upon the oath ; and those of better temper among us are fond to have

the Jurant brethren refusing to observe this day, as what they think would do much to allay the heat that is among people anent their taking the oath. And I am much of the mind, that in all this country, (I except Glasgow,) though the ministers would keep this day, they would not have an auditory.

I see it's an ill thing once to be engaged in a wrong way. I am sensible I have outwearied you with my thoughts upon this subject, and yet I cannot forbear adding some few reflections upon what I have heard offered in favour of keeping this day: *1st*, It's said that we are not set up as judges in politics, or to call in question what the Government have done in this peace, nor determine what may be the consequences of it. Certainly, if this argument prove any thing, it proves too much by a great deal;—that we must, by implicit faith, go into every appointment the magistrate makes as to religious days, without pretending to make a judgment on the reasons. For my own part, I have so long enjoyed a liberty of judgment as to my own practice in every thing of a public nature I have been concerned in, that I cannot help myself; I must either judge how far in me it's sin or duty, or not act. And if we be come so far back, as not to be allowed the liberty of a private judgment of discretion in the regulating of our concurrence with the actings of others, I think we are far on towards Popery. I do not profess skill in politics; it's an unhappy study for a minister. But one cannot shut his eyes when the light is so plain. I am not for libelling the Government by ministers; but we must be allowed to go no further on in public approbation of public actings, than light and conscience will go with us. I shall in my station silently submit; but in approving I must be excused. *2dly*, It's further alleged, there are some good things in the peace,—the putting up the bloody sword—the stopping the shedding of blood—the King of France disowning the Pretender, and owning the Protestant succession; and we may thank God for these things, and regret other things. The answer I think is very short. The question is, whether the peace be just, and honourable, and good, and such as are persuaded it's so, as I think the King of France is, may cer-

tainly keep the day. It's not to the purpose to speak of good things, but of a good complex peace. For this method of prescinding and mock physical abstracting in public deeds, I cannot well reconcile it with reason or religion. In the oath there were three good things, yet I could not, with my own hand, abstract from what I thought evil in it, and, in my religious address to God, without concurrence of the imposers, pitch on the three good things in it. The application is easy. There was never a public transaction, but what had some pretences to somewhat specious and advantageous. There were really plainer good things in the Union than here, and yet we were not called to thank God for it, with England, though now, I believe, they are weary of us. For my own part, I cannot win to that cheerful frame of soul, for all the good things I hear yet spoken of in the peace, necessary for a thanksgiving day. The putting up of the sword, when thereby bloody enemies recover strength, when they were at [our] mercy, is no great good thing to me. The King of France disowning the Pretender, and owning the H[anover] succession, is but words; and I doubt if it execute itself, when the barrier is worse, and the balance broken, in taking Spain from the H[ouse] of Austria. In short, I see no guarantee for what is said to be good, nor security for it. And by the keeping this day in the sense of the imposers, I think, on good grounds, we will be reckoned approvers of this peace, and not only of the good things talked of. *3dly*, It's further said, that, by our reading the proclamation, we approve not all in it, nor by keeping the day, all that is in the peace, and that ministers may use freedom in their doctrine against what they think wrong. I differ here from the objectors, and reckon the reading of this proclamation infers the approbation of this peace complexly taken, and much more the keeping of a day to the Lord upon this proclamation; which is a practical appeal to the Lord as to our sense of his goodness in this providence of this concluded peace. For the plainness in doctrine, it may be as irritating to the magistrate as the neglecting the day, and if there be any protestation in it, it's *contra facta*. These coverings I don't think are of the Spirit of the

Lord, nor agreeable to that sincerity and plainness which the ambassadors of Christ should have in all, but especially their public actings; and the world may reckon it juggling. I remember the accounts of Mr Robert Bruce, and the ministers of Edinburgh, in the thanksgiving for Gowrie's conspiracy; they would have had liberty to have used their own expressions, if they would keep the day, but that they would not, not being persuaded in their own mind of the ground of it; and they staked their sufferings upon this. *4thly*, The objection, from the consequences of refusing this day, I own is formidable enough, and I am very much of the mind that such a general refusing as I suspect there will be will draw the wrath of the ministry upon us, and hasten sufferings; and it's probable we Non-jurants may feel the first brush of their indignation. As this is a more direct task put upon the ministry, because the peace is their darling, and mainly necessary for saving their bacon, than the refusal of the oath, for it's a piece of practice that we will be in case to vindicate ourselves less in, without directly attacking their administration. But the apostle's rule is sufficient answer, Whether it be right to obey God or man, judge ye. I have, indeed, a lamentable prospect, that the improvement will be made by our adversaries and observers; and ministers, especially Nons, will be reckoned sons of Belial, and that forbearance will not move us. But we must lay our account with this and worse, if times grow not better. Peace in one's mind, and a smiling conscience and God must answer all. Thus you have my thoughts with all the plainness and sincerity the friendship betwixt us obliges me to; and I promise myself your sentiments with equal freedom.

I shall put an end to this long scroll with observing, that our Jacobites here seem very fond of the peace, and of our keeping the day, which makes not me like it a whit the better; and I hope the Non-jurants refusing this day, may let the world see that their Non-jurancy flows from no Jacobite principle, nor from any dislike to the family of Hanover, whose interest, and that of the Revolution, to me seems very much weakened by this peace; and whatever ill impressions the Jacobites, and some whom I call not

such, that are in the ministry, may have of us for refusing this day, I hope the Revolution party and the Whigs will have none of us; at least they have no ground.

I expect a return *quam primum*, and an account at large how the day is like to be kept with you at Edinburgh, and in the east, and north, and south. I remember Mr Fl[int] kindly, and beg pardon for the length of this, from yours, most affectionately.

P. S.—I remember to have heard it further alleged, that the peace of Reswick was owned by a day of thanksgiving in this Church, when there were ill things in it. This is an argument from practice, which goes no further than that practice was good, which I shall not determine. The oftener ministers are engaged to approve political turns and actings I think it's the worse, if they be not very clear. But it's plain, King William was forced into that peace, and could have no better, whereas we might have had a better. It's plain he did more in the Congress for the Protestants than is now done, and gave in memorials, and insisted till England left him. And the article anent the Palatinate was between the Emperor and France, and what we were not concerned in. And, on the whole, two blacks do not make a white.

LETTER CXLIV.

REMARKS ON THE SUM OF THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY.

To Mr William Jameson, Professor of History in the College of Glasgow.

[MR WILLIAM JAMESON.—The only published account of this extraordinary man, which I have met with, is the following meagre notice in Crawford's History of Renfrewshire, Parish of Houston:—"Near the house of Barrahan, and within that barony, was born the learned Mr William Jamieson, (he himself always spelled his name Jameson.)

preacher of the Gospel, and Professor of History in the University of Glasgow, a miracle for learning, considering he is deprived of the sense of seeing, (being born blind;) yet his learned works give sufficient proof of his being a very able scholar." This was written in 1710, ten years before Jameson's death. It is astonishing to think how one, who laboured under such disadvantages, should have been able to make himself so thoroughly master of the Greek and Latin fathers, and other voluminous writers, as his published works prove him to have been. Wodrow appears to have entertained, in common with all his contemporaries, a very high opinion of the gifts and worth of "the blind Professor." "You will be sorry to hear," he says in one of his letters, "that Mr William Jameson is in a dying condition, and so low with a complication of troubles, that Saturday's night he raved some. If he and Mr Anderson, who is in very dangerous circumstances, be carried off, we lose two who understood the controversy about Episcopacy as well as any they leave behind them. Mr Jameson has not been valued as he ought to have been, and after ages will reckon him a wonder and a prodigy, considering his circumstances." And when noticing his death in his *Analecta*, he says, "October 13, 1720, Mr William Jameson died at Glasgow, or thereabout; and, October 29, Mr William Dunlop, Professor of History, died. The Church of Scotland has a great loss of them both." Dr J. S. Reid, author of the History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, who now occupies the chair of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow, and who, I hope, may be induced to give the public a detailed account of the life and writings of his remarkable predecessor, has favoured me with the following notices of him:— "The only additional facts I have yet elicited from the College records are—that he was educated in Glasgow College, but *when* he entered I have not ascertained;—that, in the year 1692, the Faculty settled a small allowance on him, and directed that he 'have a public prelection in Civil History (in Latin, I presume, as a matter of course) once a week, on the Thursday, at three of the clock in the afternoon, in the Laigh Commonhall;—that afterwards the Lords of the Treasury (in King William's time) were induced to grant him an allowance of L.400 Scots;—that other small allowances were made to him by the College from time to time; one, for example, in 1712, of L.60 Scots, 'in consideration of the considerable expenses he has been at under his want of health, which his ordinary allowance has not been able to answer;—and that he appears to have died in the spring of the year 1720, bequeathing certain books to the library of the College. He appears to have lectured on history, as his health permitted, as long as he lived. He published six

works, the first in 1689, and the last in the year in which he died ; and with their titles I must close, from want of further materials, this brief notice of as singular a literary prodigy, and as extraordinary a scholar, considering his blindness and his poverty, as Scotland has produced. His earliest production was directed against the Quakers ; it is entitled, ' Verus Patroclus ; or the Weapons of Quakerism, the Weakness of Quakerism.' 12mo. Edinburgh, 1689. The next was entitled, ' Nanzianzeni Querela et votum justum : The Fundamentals of the Hierarchy examined and disproved.' 4to. Glas. 1697. This was written principally in answer to Dr A. Monro, the Episcopalian Principal (I believe) of the Edinburgh University. It contains a lengthened examination of the celebrated Ignatian Epistles ; and, in the concluding page, there is an affecting statement of his having been blind ' from the very womb.' The third work had this quaint title : ' Roma Racoviana et Racovia Romana ; id est Papistarum et Socinistarum plena et exacta harmonia.' 4to. Edin. 1702. The next was entitled, ' Cyprianus Isotimus ; or J. S—'s [that is, J. Sage] ' Vindication of his Principles of the Cyprianic Age confuted.' 12mo. Edin. 1705. Hitherto he had merely placed his name ' W. Jameson,' without any addition, on the title-pages of his works ; but in the two remaining ones he subjoins his office in the College. The fifth work was, ' The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy, as it is Pleaded from the Holy Scriptures.' Edin. 1712. The second edition I possess. It is printed at Glasgow in 1713, 12mo, and the title bears :—' By Wm. Jameson, Lecturer of History in the University of Glasgow.' In his advertisement to the reader, he engages to print no more editions with alterations of this work. His last production is in Latin, entitled :—' Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti atque ei vicinarum gentium. Auctore Gulielmo Jameson, Prælectore Historiarum in Universitate Glasguensi.' 12mo. Glas. 1720. From this title, one would infer that he had also been engaged in lecturing on Ecclesiastical as well as Civil History, which was likely enough to be the case. Government granted the endowment for the chair I occupy in 1716 ; but no person was presented to it until 1720. Probably the College did not wish to disturb poor Jameson, by applying for the appointment of a Professor so long as he lived." To these notices I have only to add, that two volumes of Jameson's lectures on history, in Latin, are preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library.—ED.]

DEAR SIR,—You having laid your commands upon me, and I having this day spare from my ordinary work, I have, with very much

pleasure, read over your Sum of the Episcopal Controversy. Though our friendship has been long, and, I hope, shall never end, yet I endeavoured to read it with the eye of an enemy, and make myself for this day a prelatist; and now, when I am got through it, have truly nothing worth your while to communicate, when you have the second edition of it in view. That you may see, that if any [thing] had occurred that I could have wished altered, I would have signified it with all the freedom that I still use with them I regard most, I shall dash down some few thoughts come in my mind in reading, in which, if any thing of use offer, I shall be glad.

In the general, I think, excepting the sections of each chapter, there is no great need of numbering the under paragraphs. A *nova linea* is sufficient, except it be in the answers to some argument or exception of the adversaries. To many, different subdivisions by numbers, I think, make the reading less pleasant.

P. 2, near the foot, I apprehend a few of the most choaking expressions of the most flaming assertors of the prelates' sole power in their own words, might be insert in a very few lines from Thorndyke, Sage, Hicks, and others you know better than I. Many for whom this Sum is designed need to have them in their own words.

P. 3, and elsewhere, there are some phrases reckoned Scotticisms, "signify to a hair," and "man and mother son," which you will consider whether you will continue in the second edition or not.

P. 7, as an introduction to the first, and all the rest of our arguments, you'll think whether it may be proper to premise a very few sentences anent the Scriptures being the only rule of New Testament worship, and the government and governors of Christ's Church, and a hint or two at the method of the Prelatists flinching from Scripture and antiquity both. This is a little hinted at in the conclusion; but I wish a little of the general truth were laid down in the entry as a *postulatum*.

P. 17. If the character of Epiphanius comes to be softened, as I

am of the mind it may be just, you'll consider if it be not proper at the foot to add an instance or two to support the character given.

P. 39. "Somewhat of a *chieftly*, in Timothy and Titus." The word was so unusual to me, that I looked back to the errata to see if it was not wrong printed. If it be used in approved English, it is more than I mind.

Your third chapter, in my opinion, is the most useful, best, and most convincing part of your book. And I am of the mind it will be the most choaking to our neighbours in England, that have any thing of regard left with them to the New Testament. Of a long time I have wished for a historical account of matters of fact from the New Testament, and the first two centuries, with relation to church officers and government. Your bounds in this Sum are so small that you must be very short. I heartily wish, when your leisure allows, you would think of some larger essay this way. I think the historical account is a little darkened in this chapter, by intermixing things controversial upon texts of Scripture, which, I think, might have done as well upon the second chapter. I would not have the thread of the historical account much broken with the various clashings of the self-contradicting Prelatists.

P. 79, at the middle, "This is evident from all their consistories." I should think it would run as well from all their actings or meetings. For the consistory and Presbytery being the same thing, another word I think will be as smooth.

In the same paragraph you prove their parity in their actings from v. 24, "they prayed." It's a question to me how far their praying was a judicial act; at least bishops and deacons may join in judicial prayers for light, and their imparity continue; and the women and Mary probably joined in the prayer, though, indeed, not in the lot casting.

P. 80. I fancy the turning the multitude, Acts vi., to their representatives and our ruling elders will be liable to difficulties. The *plebs sacra* I fancy were the electors, and not the elders, and it's a question to me if our ruling elders were so early as the deacons;

though I preached, indeed, upon Acts xv. 23, as the most convincing place to me as the foundation of these officers, when I ordained my elders nine years ago.

P. 86. I go in entirely with your design in checking the present carelessness in admitting of entrants, but you'll consider if the expression you use may not be softened a little. "Every minister cannot, from his own proper knowledge, say that the entrant is endued with piety, learning," &c. Your preceding remark leads to understand proper knowledge in the strictest sense; and I cannot tell if, in all cases, there be an absolute necessity of personal acquaintance. Letters commendatory and testimonials have been in use in all ages; and I do not see how every minister can have personal knowledge of every entrant.

If your matter swell upon your hand in this second edition, as I fancy it may upon your reconsidering what you have writt, I would think you might leave out much of what relates to Caddel¹ in this third chapter and the preceding. He is such a dull, scandalous fellow, and there is so little in what he writes for bread and the party, that your exposing him is not worth while, and will be of little use to the ordinary readers of this Sum.

When I read over the fourth chapter, there were several other branches of the opposition between the spirit and design of Christianity and prelacy offered themselves. I wished you had a little

¹ Caddel is another name for Calder, the same Curate Calder whom Anderson "whipt" so unmercifully. He was a very poor man, and a good anecdote is told by Dr McCormick of the generosity of Carstares to him. "One day, when Caddel came to call upon him, he observed that his clothes were thread-bare; and eyeing him narrowly as he went away, he desired him to call again. He was no sooner gone, than Mr Carstares sent for his tailor, and desired him to make a suit of clothes that would answer himself as to length, but not so wide by two or three inches. Caddel kept his appointment, but upon entering the room, found Mr Carstares in a violent fit of passion at his tailor for mistaking his measure, so that neither coat, waistcoat, nor breeches, would sit upon him. At last turning to Caddel, 'By-the-bye,' adds he, 'I am not sure but they may answer you; be so good as try, for it is a pity they should be thrown away.' Caddel complied, after some importunity, and to his surprise found they answered as if they had been made for him; upon which Mr Carstares ordered the clothes to be packed up and sent to his lodgings."—(*Life of Carstares*, p 90.)

more insisted upon that of persecution. Practical religion, and any thing like seriousness and piety, has been still opposed remarkably in Scotland by prelacy. Family worship and joint prayer, yea, the having the Scriptures in houses or pockets, was crime enough. The improvement of Christ as Redeemer in his offices, wherein Christianity as differing from natural religion lies, was neglected to be taught, yea mocked, and at this day is ridiculed by Rhind.¹ Our holy religion, as Christian, is quite lost almost, and natural religion, Pelagianism, and Deism, put in its room, and many other things which will offer themselves to you. However, in any additions you shall find meet, I wish you may be as short as may be; for the Sum is already swelled above the pitch of the books [which] those who have most need of it do ordinarily read through.

Thus you have what offered to me in looking over the Sum this day, just with the same freedom I thought these things. I believe their insignificancy will for ever hinder you from desiring my remarks on any thing you do. I am, Dear Sir, yours in all affection and sincerity,

R. W.

July 2, 1713.

LETTER CXLV.

PRELITICAL AGGRESSIONS.—DISREGARD OF THE PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.—LAMENTABLE STATE OF MATTERS IN THE CHURCH.

For Mr Alexander M^r Crackan, Minister of the Gospel at Lisburn.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had your last from London that week you designed to come off, which was the next best to your

¹ Mr Thomas Rhind, author of "An Apology for Separating from the Presbyterian Party, and embracing the Communion of the Church of England;" in answer to which Mr Anderson wrote his Defence of Presbyterian Church Government.

coming yourself. But I would have ridden many miles for an hour or two of you. I am grieved at the heavy account you give me of the designed subversion of our brethren in America.¹ There seems to be a general design, framed by the Pope and prelates, against the Reformation all the world over. The dragon is come down in great wrath; I hope his time will be short. May the wrath of man be restrained, and the remainder praise God! I wish you would write by some private hand some of these [things] you would have discoursed on with me if I had had the happiness of your coming home this way. Pray let me hear frequently by post from you, since now it is established by Portpatrick, by which way this takes a trial to welcome you to Lisburn again.

I have nothing of importance to acquaint you with from this country at present. You will, before this time, have heard that the keeping of the thanksgiving has been generally neglected in this Church. This will of new lay us open to the Queen's mercy. And it may be the ministry may fall heavier upon us Non-jurants than others. I do not know how far the Commons, disapproving of the eighth and ninth articles of commerce, may be an apology for us, or the delay in England till the 7th of the month, which is not extended to us, and that we do not much regret; we do not love to be rebels a third time. I hear nothing of this thanksgiving being imposed upon Ireland. Let me know if it be, and how it's kept. It is our unhappiness, in some respects, and in others perhaps not, that our left-hand brethren, the protected Episcopal party, have neither fallen in

¹ In his letter to Wodrow, Mr M'Crackan says: "I doubt not you know of the trouble that the Church of Christ in Long Island and New York is falling under; and the danger of the Church in New England. . . . I suppose you have heard how the curate that went hence to New York violently broke in into the church on the Lord's day in the morning, and hath kept the possession, and that when the people came to plead their right, the law of the country was for them; but the curate entered his appeal to the Queen and Council of England, and so the matter is to be tried here, when, if we can make no friend, the case may prove of dangerous consequence, considering the design is going fast on of sending over one to be bishop of the American churches. What the event may be, the Lord only knows. Things look very dark every where; confusion, animosities, and speaking ill one of another, abound."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 110.)

generally with the oath, nor this day of thanksgiving. As to the last they think that their prince has too much done against him in this peace, and we are of opinion there is too little effectually done against him. Only two of them at Edinburgh, who qualified, kept the thanksgiving, the rest did not, nor any where through the country that I hear of. In Edinburgh, Mr Carstairs read not the proclamation, but holding it up in his hand, intimated the day, and had a speech upon the peace, wherein he confessed we might have had a much better, but he reckoned there were some good things in it that were matter of thanksgiving; and, accordingly, preached upon Tuesday, the ordinary day of week days' sermon. But his colleague would not preach in the afternoon. It was neither kept at Glasgow, nor in all the west, east, or south. How it has been kept beyond Tay I am not yet informed. I think this thanksgiving had been more observed, if the Saturday before the proclamation was to be intimate, there had not come an account that the day was delayed till the 7th of July, and Dyer, who wrote it, did not say but it was delayed for the whole island. This shook many anent a thing which they were content to be freed of.

The attempt of our representatives to break the Union¹ has very much heightened the disgust at it in the country, and the malt-tax coming on the back of all is like to put the copestone. I doubt if that tax be got lifted without a standing army. Hitherto the Queen's officers are not allowed to come to barns, and it's like to increase rather than diminish.

The refusing to observe the thanksgiving is so popular a step that I hope it will, in some measure, help to calm the humour of the people against our brethren who have qualified. But a great deal remains, and I see no end of it but patience and forbearance. We

¹ On the 1st of June 1713, a motion for dissolving the Union was made, in the House of Lords, and supported by many of the Scottish members. The motion was introduced by the Earl of Findlater, the same nobleman who, on the rising of the last Parliament held in Scotland, exclaimed, "Now, there is an end of an auld sang!" They set forth all the hardships that they lay under since the Union, but dwelt especially on the malt-tax, "which must prove an intolerable burden to the poor of their country, and force them to drink water."—(*Burnet*, vol. vi. p. 159.)

are truly in lamentable circumstances. Our communions, that use to be our pleasantest and sweetest times, are times of distraction and discovering of our divisions. Where no Jurors are (and generally ministers keep by their ordinary helpers) there is thinness and desertion, and leaving the Assembly when our brethren begin. And which to me is worse, if worse can be, whatever outward fairness is kept up, yet there is a plain dryness, and cooling of affections both among ministers and others. All things are framing to bring evil upon us if great grace prevent not. I know to whom I write these things, and except it be to our friend in Belfast, to whom I give my dearest respects, who saw much of this before he left us, I hope you will communicate it with none, that the shame of our nakedness do not appear. I give my kindest respects to him and his. I long to hear from you and him; let me have all your new papers that come out among you by private hands, particularly one I hear of by Mr Kilpatrick; and you shall have what returns I can give you from this place. I am yours, in all affection.

July 2, 1713.

LETTER CXLVI.

DISORDERS AT COMMUNIONS.—MR LINNING.—ADDISON A PREACHER.

For Mr John Williamson.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It is not from any thing that I have to write worth your while from this country that I give you the trouble of this, but lest you should be tempted to think I had forgotten the ties you laid me under in the spring when here, and that my silence proceeded from any thing but the want of matter to write of. And you will forgive me when I tell you it's my own interest makes me by this regret your long silence to me. I have still told

you that you will err mightily if you make my scribbles from a barren private corner any rule for your writing, who lie so near the public watch-tower of this church. I wrote you my thoughts of the thanksgiving, and that it was not observed in this Synod, except by Mr Chambers, and two in Dumbarton, who are not very noticeable. I hear Mr Carstairs' half sort observation of it makes a mighty noise among the Whigs in England, who did not expect it at his hand.

I doubt not Mr Linning's communion has made some noise among you, since commonly what Mr Wylie and Mr Linning do is looked on, I find, by some of east country light, as the sentiments of the Nons in this Synod; but they are mistaken. I am persuaded they neither pretend to be, nor will their brethren be, led by them. I would have writt sooner anent this, but I really wanted perfect accounts of it till last week. We heard rumours of his designing to have a communion in the parish without his colleague. About three weeks since, when Mr Black told me of it, I could not believe what had been represented to him about it, and the more, because Mr Linning himself then had not directly signified it to Mr Black, but only two of his not joining elders. However, it seems Mr Linning did intimate his communion to be the 19th of this month, which, I must say, looked to me so unlike Mr Linning's ordinary conduct, unless there be other things in the matter than I am apprised of, that I could not believe it till I was assured he had done it. It fell to Mr Black to have the action sermon this year, and neither of them had visited or examined their half of the parish since November, and the people, certainly, are in a ferment very unsuitable to such an ordinance. I was desired to write to Mr Linning anent it, but partly from my apprehensions that Mr Linning would never go so far in as to put an end to his colleague's ministry there, and mostly from my own unfitness to meddle in that affair, and the just ground a person of Mr Linning's age and experience might have to mistake one of my youth and rawness writing to him on such an affair, unless he had writt to me, I declined it. I did give it as my opinion to Mr

Black, that if Mr Linning insisted to have the sacrament separately, he should call the Presbytery, and leave the matter to their determination, as most proper for them to cognosce, which, accordingly, was done; and after Mr Linning had made his intimation on the Sabbath, the Presbytery met on Wednesday; and, by consent, the communion was delayed, and the affair laid by a reference before our Synod in October, with a consent of both parties, as I hear, to carry it no farther. This is all I know in the matter. And what comes of it you may in due time hear.

The heart-burnings of people, in my observation, are not upon the decaying hand; and our communions, that use to be times of refreshing, are like to be occasions of propaling our breaches. What I feared would be the effect of the act of Assembly, I think is come too much to pass. I did not think people were yet in case to bear such a remedy, and I do not see that it will be of any force with such whom it was designed to bind; and people have wrong views of it, and it falls generally short of its end, and is made a handle of by some that blow at our flames, as a step of public defection, and the rent this way made wider among the poor unthinking people.

We have a preacher from Perth, Mr Addison,¹ that has taken

¹ Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, gives the following account of this Mr Addison:—
 “He is a Perthshire man, who was put to the schools, and left his books, and for several years continued with his father at the plough and country labour. About four or five years since he took a violent inclination to return to his books, and did so, and recovered a little of his Latin, and being under a great reputation for piety, he was admitted pretty early by the Presbytery upon trials. They were convinced of his want of reading and learning, but were taken with his piety and considerable popular gifts; and, therefore, with a design to send him to some of the places in that country as a catechist, that needed one in the Braes of Athole, under the inspection of the ministers there, they did license him, but quickly finding his imprudence and weakness, they did not grant him an extract of his licence. He preached some time there, and has a very popular gift, but falls into mighty excentricities. He fell foul on the English ceremonies in the church of Perth, and disgusted many of the officers of the soldiers there. In the close of April he came west to his namesake, Mr Alexander Adamson, in Dalzeel, and was with us at the communion of Hamilton, where he preached against the oath, and mightily pleased the people. He was preaching upon the blind man's coming to Christ, and casting away his garments, and

the fields, and preaches both Jurors and Non-jurors to be equally guilty. I find his weakness in conversation is such, that it's hoped his gathering of meetings will be of less hurt. But every thing helps on our divisions.

From Ireland I hear Mr M'Bride is like to meet with new trouble, but I have not yet the particulars from himself. From New England I had lately a line and some papers from Dr Mather, but no news. I hear from London that a design is fast going on to settle a Bishop over the American Churches.

My communion is to be the third Sabbath of August, when I expect your particular sympathy. I keep just by my ordinary helpers. Pray write more frequently, and send me all your accounts once a week or fortnight. I long for more help to my collection of Remarkables; and am yours, most affectionately.

July 27, 1713.

LETTER CXLVII.

PROSECUTIONS IN IRELAND.—PRESBYTERIAN MARRIAGES.

*Mr M'Bride to Wodrow.*¹

[MR JOHN M'BRIDE.—For the following particulars regarding this Irish minister I am indebted to Dr Reid :—The earliest notice we have of him is as minister of the congregation of Clare, near Tandragee, in the county of Armagh, where we find him in the year 1678. He had

fell to tell them what garments they behoved to cast away, began with the garment of the Union, that of the Patronages, that of the Toleration, that of the Oath of Abjuration. These are his common topics, and render him very popular."—(Vol. iii. pp. 231, 232, 251.) It would appear from this extract, that the name Addison, in Scotland at least, was a contraction for *Adamson*, q. d. *Eddie's-son*.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 111.

been originally a preacher from Scotland. At the wars of the Revolution he retired for a short time to Scotland, but returned again to his congregation at Clare. He was transported to Belfast, where he was installed as minister of the then only Presbyterian congregation, on the 3d of October 1694. He was Moderator of the General Synod of Ulster in 1697; and at the opening of the Synod at Antrim the following year, he preached a sermon which he afterwards published, and for which he was brought into trouble, at the instigation of the Bishop of Down, principally because on the title-page he was styled "Minister of Belfast," and because he had pleaded for the right of ministers to assemble in the Synod without the command of the magistrate. He was a staunch Non-juror, for which he was obliged to leave Belfast in 1706, and he did not return till 1709. During this interval he was minister of a church in Glasgow, and was a member of the Presbytery of Glasgow. He continued in his charge at Belfast from 1709 till his death there in 1718. When he had refused to take the Oaths of Abjuration, &c., a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and the sovereign or chief magistrate of Belfast came to his house to seize him; but finding he had fled, the disappointed magistrate ran his sword through his portrait just at the neck—an indication of what he conceived the minister deserved. The portrait, with this unseemly gash, is still preserved in Belfast. Besides the Synodical Sermon, M'Bride was, as we formerly noticed, the well-known (though anonymous) author of the celebrated "Sample of Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny," being an answer to "True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty," one of the scurrilous prelatie attacks on Irish Presbyterians in the palmy days of Queen Anne; and also the author of "A Vindication of Marriages, as solemnized by Presbyterians in the North of Ireland," published in 1702. He was a very eminent man in his day, and highly esteemed by his contemporaries. He was grandfather of Dr M'Bride, a young physician of great promise, who wrote a work well-known in the profession, entitled "Medical Essays," &c., published in the latter part of the last century; and also grandfather of Admiral M'Bride, a celebrated naval hero, who died in 1800.—Ed.]

Belfast, Aug. 4, 1713.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I had acquainted you with my condition since I left you, but it hath been somewhat confused. I arrived here June 8th, and found my family in health, and applied myself to my work as formerly, which did not a little enrage

my old enemies, upon which one of them complained to the Government, and desired to be assisted by some of the army to apprehend us; but this was not granted. Mr M^cCrackan came home, about the beginning of July, with Br[other] Ridell, who, landing at Dublin, were alarmed with the news, and coming home did not appear publicly, so being (as they call it) upon the *capias*. The High Sheriff, one Green, who dwelleth in this town, commanded his sub-sheriff to apprehend me, who coming to my house and not finding me, though I was in it, he gave me no more trouble, for he had no mind to see me. I being advised to keep myself private while the Judges, who were here in their circuit, were in this country, withdrew till they left the country, and so returned home and set to my work again. But I am upon my guard. Our enemies, though very malicious, can hardly get any to execute their warrant. Upon Mr M^cC[rackan's] return, he thought that he had made all sure, but found otherwise, and therefore wrote back to his friend informing him how we are treated; upon which we understand that the secretary to the Duke of Ormond, our Lord-Lieutenant, was desired to write to the Government here to drop this affair, which he accordingly hath done. What effect that will have we do not yet know, but Mr M^cC. was last Lord's day obliged to leave his pulpit after he had entered—one Spencer, a Justice of Peace, having sent constables to take him, but they could not get it done. Thus it is with us, but we are resolved not to leave the country, but if they take us, he and I think it fitter to go to prison; and then we shall know whether those who profess to be our friends can or will be as good as their word. Our clergy are violent to a degree beyond what they were formerly, and are pursuing people as fornicators who are married by us.¹ Let me hear

¹ "We of the Presbyterian persuasion in this kingdom [Ireland] do yet enjoy our liberty, though there are many of our ministers that are troubled and persecuted in the Bishops' Courts for marriage, so that most of our people do marry according to the rites of the Established Church, to prevent danger."—*Mr William Hair of Longford to Wodrow*, Dec. 4, 1712.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 100.) Mr M^cBride thus writes on the same subject, October 8, 1713:—"The rage of our clergy against us for marriages is revived, and many of our people conform to them

how it is with you, and give my service to my reverend brethren, your spouse, and all my good friends.

I hope to be able to give you a better account by my next. That we may be kept by the power of God, through faith, in these evil and perilous times, is the prayer of, your affectionate brother,
 JOHN M'BRIDE.

LETTER CXLVIII.

TROUBLES IN IRELAND.—ATHOL AND BREADALBIN APPEAL FROM THE COMMISSION TO HOUSE OF LORDS.—NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

To Mr John M' Bride.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 4th, by what hand I cannot learn, else I had answered sooner; but for what I see you must take the trouble of this by post. I was very uneasy, indeed, to hear of you, and signified so much by post to Mr M'Crackan last month, which I wish may have come to his hand.

I thank you for any account you give me of your condition, though melancholy enough; you want not a considerable number in this country that heartily bear burden with you. I know so little of circumstances, that I dare say nothing as to your conduct; but I cannot, without concern, think of your venturing on a prison in your old age, upon the credit of such as call themselves your

in this to prevent trouble. Amongst them are two of our ministers, and generally all that are rich, so that the poor only, or mostly, employ us; and of these five couple in one parish have been excommunicated lately. What the issue of this may be God knows; but it's feared our yielding in this may encourage these to proceed farther, which, if they do, many will observe Peter's counsel to Christ, Mat. xvi. 22, rather than Christ's, verse 24th, to his disciples. However, upon the Lord-Lieutenant's arrival, it's resolved by some, that, after an address shall be made to him, for which the General Synod's Committee is to meet, care will be taken to represent this grievance, although, I fear, the event will not be to general satisfaction, seeing we are not all of one mind and practice in the matter."—(*Ibid.* vol. xx. No. 113.)

friends. I don't like such experiments of friendship at all, and had rather hear the laverock sing as the mouse chirp. But I do not at all condemn your resolution till I know better how matters go.

The rage of enemies is very great, and I would fain hope their time is short. I frequently reflect on the Laudean time, and would fain hope the fever is coming to a crisis, and yet I see not how a cure will come without bleeding. The Lord prepare us for what is his will.

Affairs here, since parting, are much in the old channel, but rather growing worse. I cannot say people's humours anent the oath are lessened; I wish they be not on the growing hand. Where Jurants are calm and overlook things, the people are coming in; but in other places the rent is every day growing wider. The flame is most in the south. The five Nons that separate from judicatories are not yet come in. They say many things of their Jurant brethren which I am unwilling to believe, and there is never a fair word in flyting. They have had several meetings with Mr Hepburn, and profess that they have no design to separate, and hitherto have yielded in nothing to him or his party. But we have all need to pray, Lead us not into temptation.

The Commission sat last week at Edinburgh. They have found Mr Menzies, minister at Dull, and reprimanded the Presbytery for going on in that manner of settling him; upon which Athol and Breadalbin have appealed to the House of Lords. They have printed a warning against the danger of Popery, which I shall send you with this, if I can get a private hand; but it will be too bulky, if the letter come by post. By your next, direct me to some method to send you what may be too large to come by post. The English Liturgy and the Union are pretty freely dealt with in it; and I fancy this warning will make more noise in England, than have any great influence upon our people, to whom it's directed.

We wrote a letter from the Commission to the five brethren in the south, who keep not judicatories. It's very calm and smooth, but I doubt [will] have no great weight with them, unless it be backed with conversation of some that may have weight with them.

Our Jurant brethren are now mightily pressing the gaining of the people, but I fear in some places they are beyond their and our power to reclaim. I wish the offence of the people had been more ripely considered in time. It was lightly thrown by with too many, and I doubt now it be a weight we shall groan under for some time.

Our elections for Parliament are like to be much as they were, as to the shires and burghs, if not worse. Whether the Queen's list will carry among the nobility, time must determine. If our three Dukes unite, they might go far. A. M. and R., it's said, Loudon and Ila, are scored out of it, and Breadalbine and Cromarty put in their room. All is conjecture yet. The Earl of Marr is said to be secretary for N. Britain, and we are to have the shadow of our old Council revived; but I scarce believe this last branch.

The E. of Perth is come over, and pretends he has lost his old master because he has turned Protestant. He had a great hunting last week, and there is to be another this week at the Blair of Athol, where all the heads of the clans are to be. A little time may discover much.

I had the MSS. I lent you, but I still want the letter upon the oath, with the answer to it, which I left with you to transcribe. If you have it, I know you'll send it with the first sure hand. If it be dropped, I must look for another copy. Pray send me what pamphlets are agoing among you in Ireland on both sides, and direct me to some way to transmit papers to you, and I'll take care to send them. Let me have frequent accounts by post how things are going; and, indeed, I am impatient for them. Whatever you send to Glasgow you know will come safe to me; and, what you send by post, direct to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow. I pray the Lord may support you under all your troubles, and cause you to know the way wherein you should walk, and preserve you from all evil. I give my kindest respects to your wife and sons; and am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Aug. 24, 1713.

LETTER CXLIX.

RELIGIOUS REFLECTIONS.—PROPOSAL OF A TESTIMONY AGAINST
THE OATH IN SESSIONS, &c.

To Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 27th of July not till yesterday, otherwise I would not have failed to have made a return to so kind and useful a letter. I return you my hearty thanks for your communicating your ups and downs as to the matter of faith and believing. It were presumption in me to offer anything by way of support under them. Underneath you are certainly the everlasting arms, and your faith is not only real but strong, through him that strengtheneth you, that stands out and anyway bears up under such tossings and temptations as you are beset with. It requires much strength to keep our ground, and not to be carried away with the stream of corruption and tide of temptation. But stronger is he that is in you than he that is in the world, and this is the faith and patience of the saints. It remains only that I bless the Lord on your behalf, who will, and I hope does, make you confident in this very thing, that he who hath begun the good work will carry it on to the day of the Lord. Let us meet at the throne, that the Lord may fulfil in us the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power. If our captain and leader honour us to be in the forefront of the battle, and sends none a warfare upon their own charges, he will perfect his strength in our weakness. And by these tossings in his holy and wise providence he hath trusted you with, I know he has made you useful to many of the people of God, who are and have been in the deeps, and in this I know you will rejoice that he will be glorified in you.

For my part, if I know any thing in religion at all, I have some

experience of the truths you write to me, especially at my first engaging in reading divinity and controversy; and upon my entry into our holy calling, I have sometimes in a sort envied the happy condition of some private and less knowing Christians, who know little of controversy, and the enemy has scarce room to act upon them as upon us. But I desire to blush under the sense of my own shortcomings in observing God's ways with me, and in improving them. Sometimes the faith of Christ, when he offered up strong cries with tears, and was heard in that he feared, has been made very sweet and supporting to me, and if I could win to live by the faith of our sweet Lord, and maintain what views he is pleased sometimes to allow, in a humble, close, and needy dependence on himself, I might be free of many sad thoughts that are with me. I can assure you there are none of all your friends you write to have more need of instant wrestling when you win near the throne than I have. Darkness in uptaking, confusion and hurry of mind, and heartlessness, if not stupidity, under all, are very prevalent with me, and I hope I have your sympathy and prayers.

Sabbath was eight days we had the sacrament of the supper in this congregation. I was in no small perplexity of spirit before it with my people; some, though few of them, scrupled to hear and communicate with Jurant brethren. When I considered all circumstances, and laid the matter, as I could, before the Lord, I could have no peace to alter my ordinary helpers, one of them, Mr Ja. Stirling, only having qualified. I endeavoured, by conversation, to satisfy the difficulties of our scruplers, and not altogether without success; and I cannot say but the Lord owned his own institution; and we had our ordinary number of communicants, that is, about nine hundred. Bless the Lord upon our account, and be concerned that the effects of this solemn ordinance in this corner and the neighbourhood may be remarkable to the praise of his name.

I had the paper you got from me at Edinburgh, Quintin Dick's account of himself, from Jo. Gregg, about a month since, and should be glad of your opinion of it.

I have nothing remarkable from this country that at present I remember. Mr Linning's intimating his communion, without his colleague, Mr Black, a Jurant, and the Presbytery's stopping it, and referring the matter, by consent, to the Synod, has made a great noise here.

There has likewise a motion been made among some brethren of your old Presbytery of Hamilton, for bringing in those who have withdrawn from our Jurant brethren, and are in hazard to quit ordinances altogether, by allowing them to give their testimony against the oath, and record it in the session-books, upon which I hear several of them offer to return and hear. This proposal is not yet come to be any way ripe, and I earnestly desire your thoughts upon it as soon as you can conveniently write them, by post or any sure hand. The more fully you consider the matter of testimony against what people think defection, and yet is not declared such by any judicatory, and anent which the godly themselves have different views, and the conveniences and inconveniences of such a testimony I beseech you to consider, and allow me your mind as fully as you can. I earnestly entreat, likewise, your thoughts as to what is duty at this day, for the preventing the total breach and disjointing of this poor Church.

The last papers upon Answers of Prayer I had from you, at your desire I sent them to Mr Webster, but have never got them back. He says he knows not well whether he returned them to you, or to somebody you ordered. If he have lost them, my loss will be very great, and none can make it up but yourself, by another copy, which I'll willingly be at any charge to get transcribed.

Let me know how to direct to you at Edinburgh, by the post, so as it may come to you, for our letters by carriers are mighty uncertain. When you write to me, direct to the care of Mr James Weemys, at the post-office at Edinburgh, and it will come to me three times a-week. This is not to mar our correspondence at more length by carriers or private hands, as occasion offers. I give my dearest respects to Mr Mair, Mr Gib, and all other brethren with you of my acquaintance.

I remember you were desired in the time of the Assembly to write to Holland, to know if their thanksgiving-day was kept civilly or ecclesiastically. Though that matter be over as to us, yet I will be glad to have any account you had of it, with all your news. I put up my sincere desires that you may have much of your Master's presence and assistance; and am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours, in many bonds,

R. W.

Aug. 25, 1713.

LETTER CL.

REASONS FOR DISSOLVING THE UNION.

*To Colonel Erskine.*¹

DEAR COLONEL,—I have with pleasure read the paper we were talking of, *Reasons for Dissolving the Treaty of Union.*² I must own it's the most masterly manly thing I ever read upon the head. There are several friends here to whom I would communicate it, but will let no living see it till I have your allowance. I can fall upon none in G[lasgow] to whom I can venture what was talked of in the laigh coffee-house, but I will continue my inquiry. The matter is nice, and the person to whom they are sent would be of some sense and intelligence. The Hepbronites and M'Millanites there are so dull, that I don't know if they may be trusted. As soon as I can think of any person, I shall write to you by post.

I do not so very well understand the reasoning upon the Hannover succession being established by oath, in distinction from the

¹ Colonel Erskine of Ca'nock.

² The title of this paper is in short-hand characters. It was likely the production of Colonel Erskine himself, or some of his friends, in MS., and Wodrow would not disclose the matter without the Colonel's consent.

Union, but I think all is said the subject will bear. And as soon as I am loosed from my promise of letting none know of this, and when it comes to creep out in other places, I will be better in case to think on ways for spreading it.

Therefore, see that by the first post after the receipt of this you write, and let me have all your news from Fife, if there, or from Edinburgh, and whatever you know anent the elections. Shawfield is setting up for Lanarkshire, but, I fear, carry it not. He is ill chosen, for he is a person the D. of Hamilton has a particular spite against. I hope Sir Robert Pollock will carry for the shire of Renfrew, though Sir Robert Montgomery has a considerable party for him. Mr Jo. Montgomery will carry all for Ayrshire.

Write peremptorily to C. C., and acquaint him with the day, which I have forgot, whether it be the second or the third Wednesday of September. I am yours, in many ties.

Aug. 26, 1713.

LETTER CLI.

HERETICAL DOCTRINES OF MR YOOL.—REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES.

To Mr George Mair, Minister at Culross.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 8th instant, and the other three of the 11th, 12th, and 14th, all which were very acceptable. Your thoughts on Mr Zuil's [Yool's] dangerous and loose pamphlet,¹ at so much length, are very agreeable to me. Un-

¹ In this pamphlet, Mr Yool defended the following tenets:—That Christ died conditionally for all men; that the Covenant of Grace is made with the whole world; that faith, repentance, obedience, and perseverance therein, are the proper conditions

less you had told me, I would not have thought they had been in so much haste as you make so many apologies for. I have, with much satisfaction, read over all you writt to me, and shall not pretend to make any remarks. I entirely agree with you in your positions and proofs, both upon the conditionality of the covenant, and the pretended conditions of faith and repentance. About twelve or fourteen years since I read *ad nauseam usque*, the papers *pro* and *con.* upon justification, among the London ministers, by Mr Humphrey, Alsop, Sibb, Williams, Cross, and many others. The volume Mr Wilson gave me from you I had read, and I think I may say eight or ten times more of the same kidney. I know you have had many thoughts on this subject, and have digested and ripened them, as I find by yours to me, so I need say nothing upon the debate in general. It is easy censuring writers. And I own to me there are many unguarded expressions on both sides among these English divines. The Baxterian looseness is like to ruin the bulk of the Dissenting Presbyterians as they call themselves; and some of the congregational may have run too far in defending Crisp's unsafe expressions. And before I got through the papers on both sides, I was sufficiently weary of the debate. It has stopt for many years in England, and now this unhappy youth, Mr Zuil, is come down to spread his poison among us. I hope it shall not take, and heartily wish it may be crushed in the bud. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, where he is mostly spreading his papers, I hope will be directed to fall on such measures as may give a check to such dangerous doctrine, a mixture of Heathenism, Socinianism, Arminianism, and Baxterianism. Unless the paper take, as I hear it does not, I would not be for taking any notice of it in print, but rather for censuring him, and falling on measures for removing him out of this Church. If he insist for a conference, let him have

of the Covenant of Grace; that persons without any knowledge of Christ, or faith in him, through living up to their light, are justified in the sight of God, &c. In his *Letters to Wodrow*, Mr Mair refutes some of these positions at considerable length. —(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xix. Nos. 11, 12, 13.)

it; if he continue to spread his tares, and any be in hazard, there are those persons of sufficient ability (the Lord enabling them) to lay down the doctrine of the Scriptures and of this Church, since the Reformation, in a plain, short, and familiar way for the benefit of the common people into whose hands his paper may come, without raking into the sink of errors in his essay. His errors are scarce so much as known among us, and I hope we shall be in little hazard from them. I am sure any who know their own heart, and have felt the plagues of it, and seen anything of the sovereignty of Jehovah in all his dealings with his creatures, and the beauty and suitableness of our blessed Redeemer, and are any-way acquaint with the spirit of the New Testament, unless left of God, can never fall into such gross opposition to the whole counsel of peace towards poor sinners.

These are my present confused thoughts on this unhappy paper. I shall communicate yours with Mrs C., as you desire. I'll be glad of anything further that occurs to you on Zuil's Essay, and am longing much for your account of Mr T. Hogg. It may be when you are writing down the Remarkable Providences concerning him, some others may come to your memory. Pray set them all down, for it's a subject I am very fond of, and have made some collections upon, as I signified to you when here. I will be most willing to communicate to you anything that offers to me by way of return. Last week I had the following account,—(*vide* —— letter to me,¹) which I give you in the words I had it,—the person who expressed himself thus was a very great sufferer, and got through the late times very cleanly. The letter is fresh and just before me, and I thought it might not be unacceptable to you.

Pray write frequently and fully to me, and expect very insignificant returns. I remember Mr Hogg, and Mr Gibb, and all brethren with you, and let me have accounts how matters are going in your bounds, and what accounts you have from the north. There is no-

¹ The words in parenthesis are in short-hand characters, and the name of the writer of the letter alluded to cannot now be deciphered.

thing remarkable since parting here. I am, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Sept. 17, 1713.

LETTER CLII.

PROPOSES TO DISCUSS THE PROPRIETY OF A TESTIMONY AGAINST THE OATH.—REFERENCE TO A HISTORY OF THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH.

For Mr Robert Wylie.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The bearer, Mr Henry Davidson, a preacher near Goddard, coming by you, I could not but salute you, having nothing worth while to send by post.

I have had several confused thoughts anent the recording of the testimony of the scruplers anent Jurors, and designed once to have given you a long scribble upon it, but I think it will be a losing your time and mine both. I do not find it takes in conversation, and some of our dons ridicule all testimony and declarations, and know not what they serve for but to vent humour and make parties; they deny any foundation for them in reason, Scripture, or a well constitute church, and allege this practice began but of late, and many other things I forget. Yet, for my part, I can see no other method when a society differs, and no determining judge to which parties can submit, is to be had, but somewhat of this nature or a separation in the society. But what the consequences may be of admitting testimonies in some places, how far they may raise scruples where there are none vented openly, and what a length they may go, I do not know. I wish somewhat were fallen upon wherein we could agree to walk together, as far as may be without sin, but

what this shall be offers not to me, unless God appear and give ministers and people a better temper and a more heart's concern in the sinking interests of vital religion, we must inevitably go to ruin and break in shivers.

Nothing is come to me (or to the Principal [Carstares] before his going to court) anent the Sufferings;¹ if anything be come to your hand, I'll be glad to know. I wish you would entertain thoughts of giving some beginning to some account of this nature; for me, I can fall on no shape, and have not so much as a thread of these times in my head.

I'll be glad of a line from you by post this week. I hear of nothing to be before us at Irvine but Mr Black's business, and I see not what the Synod can do with it. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Sept. 26, 1713.

LETTER CLIII.

DIFFERENT PROPOSALS FOR SETTLING THE CONTROVERSY AS TO THE ABJURATION OATH.—THOUGHTS ON THE PROPRIETY OF A TESTIMONY AGAINST IT IN THE PRESBYTERY RECORDS.²

To Mr Robert Wylie.

Sept. 25, 1713.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of Sept. 9, and shall give you my thoughts with all sincerity upon our present state since the

¹ This is the first time that we find any decided allusion made by Wodrow to the project of writing a History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland; and it is curious to observe how little idea he then had of the vast undertaking which he was afterwards to accomplish.

² The following very long communication, in which Wodrow acknowledges he "had almost transgressed the bounds of a letter," would have been omitted, had it not

taking of the Oath of Abjuration, and then of the remedy proposed, the giving in a written declaration, protestation, or call it as you please, for the exoneration of the consciences of those that scruple to hear such who have had clearness to qualify.

It's now beyond all doubt, that great offence is taken at such as have gone into the oath in many places, and such as made once very little of the stumbling of the people by this practice, I hope now perceive some of their brethren who had very melancholy apprehensions of this, before the different practices fell in, were not so much out as then they took them to be. In the bounds of the Presbyteries of Hamilton and Lanark this stumbling is most remarkable, and yet more observable in Niddale and Dumfries, where it's like to go beyond all bounds. I find that it's upon the growing hand in several places in the shire of Ayr likewise. In the north, matters are pretty equal. In Stirlingshire, Perth, and some places thereabout, the offence is not upon the lessening hand.

This offence, given or taken, vents itself various ways in different places, according to the different tempers and carriages of ministers and people, and the circumstances they have been in formerly, or are in at present. I must not enter into the detail of these, lest I undertake a history rather than write a letter. Where the bulk of a Presbytery have taken the oath, and people have none near them to go to who are recusant, as far as I can hear, there are several resentments, many grudges, and an alienation of affection; but the desertion, by the nature of circumstances, cannot be palpable. This is most sensible where there is a mixture, especially if neighbours of different practices have not that healing temper that were to be wished for in this broken time. And if there have been breaches betwixt brethren before, the old sores break out now with new violence; and I suspect there is very much of this with the efforts of Mr Hepburn, and Mr M'Millan

been considered worthy of insertion from its discussing the important question of remaining in the Establishment while disapproving of certain public evils connected with it.

and their party at the bottom of the flame, in the Synod of Dumfries.

In some places there is much alienation of affection to the Jurant brethren, and yet people remain in subjection to their Jurant ministers as before ; but, as they allege, with a secret heaviness upon their spirits, and grudge in their heart, which they would be rid of if they could, and find much more peace and clearness when providentially under the ministry of such as have not qualified. In other places, I find there are considerable numbers of people either stay at home, or go to Non-jurants on the Sabbath ; yet the Session continue in communion with their pastor, and join in discipline with some tolerable body of the people. Elsewhere, the Sessions are broke, and will not join with their minister, and there readily the people are entirely broken and desert. And, last of all, in the bounds of the Synod of Dumfries, the Sessions and body of the people are so far stumbled at the oath, that they carry along five ministers with them, and those have quit communion with their brethren in judicatories, and take upon them to preach in vacancies, and baptize and marry such as will not join with Jurant brethren.

All this is plain fact, too much known and too little affecting to the most part of ministers and people, though it be an obvious question, What shall the end of these things be ? This summer of communions hath been so far from allaying the heats, that they are but the more observable at these uniting ordinances. And the different practices of ministers in employing some all Jurants, some a mixture, and, in several places, some all Non-jurors, together with mistakes, and, it may be, misrepresentations of the Act of Assembly for peace, and too much of the man mixing in with the minister on both hands, have heightened our breaches, and the stumblings in many places are indeed upon the growing hand.

What may be an adequate remedy for so many various distempers is more than I can pretend to offer. And till the Lord give a better temper both to ministers and people, I do scarce see what can be done. A Moses meek in spirit, and come down from the

Mount of God, full of wisdom, faith, and the Holy Ghost, would be fit to manage such a difficult and confused state of things. Engagement in parties, sensible cooling in affection, and passions even greater than in other men, and temptations heavy in ministers, joined with jealousy of ministers, much ignorance of the principles of Church communion, and an intricacy in the reasonings anent the oath, which are, indeed, above the capacity of the most part of the people, together with many plain encroachments made and daily making upon our reformation and civil rights, which hath soured the country very much;—all these make any remedy to our evils almost impracticable.

Yet I do not see it duty to sigh and go backward, or idly to stand still. But as we are to inquire wherefore the Lord contends with us, and what meaneth the heat of this anger, wherewith we are divided, so let us also consider what may be present and seasonable duty upon our part, in which the Lord may return and yet do us good, and after he hath justly torn heal, and after we are smitten bind us up.

As to ministers and their part in this affair, it's altogether unfit for one of my age and experience in the ministry to say any thing of it. The Jurants blame the Recusants as influencing the people to their measures; the Non-jurants complain of some Jurants as neither so cautious as to them, nor so tender of their brethren, nor so concerned to get their people's disgust removed, and there is too much self-justification and judging of others on both hands. It's both a singular mercy and a great wonder that the ministry have hitherto kept so joint among themselves under different lights and practices. For my share, I own it's matter of admiration and praise, could I win to it, that our differences are not run higher than they are in diverse places. Yet the sensible coldness and change in freedom and respect is too too evident among not a few. I am at a loss what to propose for the recovering ancient affection under different public steps. It would tend to this, in my opinion, if there were a common application to the work of the ministry in things wherein we are agreed, and a vigorous endeavour to check

and bear down the lies and stories talked of each other by friends to neither, and not giving the least countenance to conversation upon such subjects as may heighten the alienation. If there were a joint forbearance to dip into things past, more close gathering together and lying between the porch and the altar, frequent and joint wrestling, and working and walking in those things wherein we are agreed, and self-jealousy, especially over our deceitful and proud spirits, from whence our contentions rise; these and many other things which will offer to any one really having the awful work of the ministry at heart, to much better purpose than to me, would, through the blessing of the Lord, tend to calm and meeken us one to another.

It is the lamentable crumbled state of the people, and particularly the serious godly remnant among us, that requires our joint and most serious consideration, and fervent prayers to God for direction to what may now tend, if possible, to recover them out of their present hazardous and disjointed state they are in. And, therefore, I shall a little turn my thoughts this way, under your correction, and to draw forth your riper sentiments in your next to me.

The methods that occur to me, under the present stumbling of the people, I may class for such as appear unsuitable, and some that may be more useful and seasonable in our present complex case. There are some which, though they may seem suitable and proper to some, yet I am of opinion they can do no service but widen the breach. *1st*, A total forbearance, and suffering matters to run on in the present channel that they are in, without meddling in the least to heal the breach and remove the offence of the people. There shall be none more for forbearance amongst brethren that have gone into different practices than I, because I perceive any farther debates or defences on either side are of no use, since the matter is determined by practice. But I take the people to be in a different case; they are like to determine themselves as to their practice wrong, and several have done so already, and others are in hazard, and it seems to me very necessary that they be not just

left to themselves. I find some reasoning that in former cases of this nature the practice of this Church has been entirely to overlook people, and particularly in the matter of the offence taken at ministers taking the Allegiance and Assurance, in which there were different practices, and that thus the stumbling insensibly wore off. But the case is very different, for besides that there were not by far so many that did not qualify in that case as here, it's plain the offence and flame was nothing so great nor general as it's now. And it's scarce to be expected that it will wear off without some pains, and the making use of proper methods. Without this I am apprehensive that the division grow to such a pitch as it may be beyond remedies, and we will have by far more peace if the Lord would direct to take things by the right handle in time. And though I am against an utter idleness and indolence, yet, *2dly*, I am as much against harsh and severe measures with the people that withdraw. To prosecute them with Church censures would certainly not be to edification, and would but increase their number, and irritate them to turn from all ordinances. How far their practice may deserve censure I am not to determine; I do condemn it, but I have met with none that move for censuring them.

Neither can I think, *3dly*, That preaching either upon the oath, to take off the scruples that remain about it, or too warmly against separation upon that head, is so very seasonable, or can have the desired effects. There are some subjects that I scarce think are to be mixed in with the Gospel, lest they be like a piece of new cloth in an old garment, and look ill. All truths are not to be taught at all times. Christ had many things to say, but the disciples could not bear them till afterwards. We have heard little advantage that hath followed innuendos, or more open declaiming against separation upon this head. And it seems plain, that conversation is much better than the pulpit, for removing scruples and stating this ticklish affair. It's hard in a sermon to enter even upon the head of separation, without dipping into the ground of it, and there readily ministers will be ready to argue in an agreeableness to their own practice, be what it will; and it may be another will handle the

same head, and speak with the views he had that determined his practice, and the hearers shall be torn the more by the very things designed to unite them. I find the most general truths that are suited to these distracted times, pressing love and sympathy among the people of God, and peace joined with truth, are miserably perverted by the hearers just as they incline, and much more if any particulars should be dipped into. If any thing were to be discoursed upon as to this in public, I could wish it were upon the nature of Church communion, and that stated in such a soft and tender way as it may not give new ground of grumbling to people. But it's so hard a matter to do this, and the hazard is so great, upon the other hand, of whatever be said, its being turned to a wrong sense, and the hope so little of gaining any this way, that, for my own part, since November last, I have very much waved any thing relative to this affair, though before, indeed, when none of my people knew what would be my practice, I endeavoured to state Christian and Church communion under different lights and practices. Far less, *4thly*, can I think peculiar ambiguous ways of expression in prayer, that may be differently applied by different persons, though in themselves safe enough, are any proper way in the public, under our present circumstances. When I am engaged in public prayer, I reckon myself the mouth of the auditory, and I wave such petitions as may touch upon our differences, and may be joined with in different senses by the hearers. I do not take prayer to be a time or place for bearing testimony against what is thought wrong; and I find excesses this way very dissatisfying to many, and useful that I know of to no side. *Lastly*, Satirical jesting, taunting or roughsome ways in conversation upon our differences in company, either before the stumbled people, or behind their backs, exposing their weakness and wantonness, and the like, is no method to gain the proposed end here. Lamentation certainly is far more agreeable than taunting and jesting in so dismal circumstances, as the interests of serious godliness are falling and fallen into at this day. Lightness of spirit bewrays little sense of the importance of this matter, and roughness and tartness does but

rouse humours, and will never convince a conscience. Soft words and strong arguments are needful in this case if ever.

You and I will easily agree that none of these methods are seasonable. You would be much fitter than I to propose what may be the proper means with the offended people. But since now you call for what occurs to me, take what follows:—*1st*, I am of opinion, that a hearty oneness among ministers of different practices in this matter, and a cultivating friendship one with another as before, might be of good influence among people; by degrees this might have weight. But, at present, when there is a sensible alienation of affections, a dryness and a parleying, and greater freedom of conversation and frankness with some side than was before, people want not their own remarks upon it, and make their own improvements. But I own this alone will be of little use; yea, if alone, it will but make people take us to be hypocrites and skimmers over of things.

2dly, I wish, as, upon the one hand, such as have not had clearness to qualify, would be at pains to reason, and in all calm measures deal with such as do stumble at their brethren; so it were to be wished that such as have had clearness might be very close at their ministerial work among their people, and visit them; and if they fall upon the head of the oath, handle it very softly and tenderly. I wondered at some who, for a considerable time after their qualifying, were not by far so much at home as they used, and took all occasions to be abroad, and to supply their charge with probationers. Some of the weaker sort, I know, did improve this, as an effect of their being ashamed of what they had done; but the other extreme is yet worse—a hectoring, buffing way of entertaining people, that were really burdened with their taking that step. I am sure this is no way to gain the ends of the Gospel under these circumstances; and banter and violent expressions may well rankle, they will never satisfy a burdened conscience. And the alleging that their scruples were from weakness, affected ignorance, with innuendos upon the refusers of it, as weak, popular, and designing persons, to curry the favour of the people, has done the cause no

service. These things, it's hoped, when the surprise and warmth upon both sides, which fell in a little after the taking and not taking, is over, will be left off as perfectly useless and hurtful.

3dly, Conversation with such as scruple certainly is one good method to allay people's heat. But then methods would be taken to prepare the most sensible and leading of the scruplers for it, and to bring it about from them as their desire, and then to it *animo edificandi non tentandi*. Conversation upon this head, after the practice is over, wants not many difficulties, as every thing will have somewhat that can be proposed in such unhappy circumstances as we are at present in. But calm reasoning, not so much upon the oath as upon Church communion, and the joining in things that are undoubtedly lawful, where nothing sinful nor approbative of what is sinful is required, certainly would, through the blessing of God, be useful in this case. But still there is more necessary.

4thly, I find writing and printing upon the head of separation upon these different practices has been tried, and we have one paper upon this head. This is a very difficult part to write on this subject, so as to reach the end, and I do not take the arguments that are used to be so well chosen as they might be for the removing the gum that is among people in our present circumstances. And whether it's advisable to print any more upon this head, is what I cannot tell. I am afraid further writing may draw forth, from any side that think themselves learned, more papers, and a war from the press will do us no service at this juncture.

Lastly, If upon the use of all these methods the offence still remain, as it indeed does among many, and people continue to think that the oath is a sinful thing, and the takers of it have made a wrong step, I see no other method left but some declaration testimony, or some such thing as you propose for the exoneration of people's consciences, who, after all other methods, continue to scruple to join with Jurants.

This head of a testimony against what people think a defection in ministers, and what ministers themselves are so divided in their sentiments about, that no meeting in judicatories can be had to de-

termine this point, is a subject I do not mind to have read or heard handled in books or conversation ; and what requires a very accurate balancing of circumstances and consideration of them before it be allowed of.

The proposal then you say made among you is, that, after all other methods are tried to bring in scrupling, and withdrawing people and elderships to their Jurant pastors, and their strait continues, they, at their own desire and petition, be allowed to give in a declaration, testimony, or protestation in write to the Presbytery, wherein they declare their offence at the oath, and that their joining after it with such as have taken it shall not be constructed an approbation of what they think is sinful in it, and the Presbytery likewise to give their sense of the matter that it's no ground of separation, and both to be recorded, and the scruplers allowed extracts if they require them.

If a testimony thus recorded be found expedient, I would fain hope brethren needed not much differ upon the draught of it. But the fitness of this expedient at this juncture, and its answerableness to remove the evil, is what I am not yet determined in. And as I generally do in all these things, I shall endeavour to gather up my scattered thoughts anent this subject, which is an untrodden path to me, under these three generals: *1st*, I shall give you what offers to me as to a testimony against supposed or real defections in a church, by private persons, and the recording of it; *2dly*, I shall consider what inconveniencies occur to me which may follow upon such a testimony as is proposed in our present circumstances; and, *3dly*, I shall consider the conveniencies and advantages of it. And if I have no more light before I end than I have when I enter upon it, I will not be able to make the balance, but I must leave all to your riper thoughts, and beg you may set me right as to the conclusion.

I begin with my general remarks upon a testimony in the general. And, *1st*, There may be a threefold declaration of that kind considered,—a verbal, a written, and a practical testimony against what we differ from others in. 1. There is a verbal testimony

that is frequently given both in conversation and in courts, by reasoning against a thing we judge not right, and voting against it, and this is thought sufficient exoneration in most of cases where in people have different sentiments. 2. There is a written testimony, sometimes in matters of greater importance, and this is mostly designed to preserve the person that differs from being thought to have gone on in what he reckons sinful, and to convey to posterity his dissent from what he is overruled in. And this in judicatories, where all are on a level, and yet the lesser party must be overruled by the plurality. It's ordinary to record a dissent, and sometimes the reasons of it are likewise recorded. But this comes not so much up to the case in hand, except by analogy, as I may afterwards remark. There is, lastly, a practical testimony. Thus those that have gone into the oath reckon they have, by their practice, given testimony against Jacobitism, and for the succession. Such as have not qualified reckon they give their practical testimony against the encroachments of the civil magistrate in imposing dubious party oaths upon ministers, and by their refusing the oath they think they have given testimony against any (supposed) sin that may be thought to be in the oath. And on this same foot, the people that withdraw reckon this way they give their testimony against what they think sinful in those that have taken the oath. A practical testimony, in my opinion, is the best and most real testimony, but it would still be well considered that it interfere not with plain duty, the omission of which is but a sorry testimony against any kind of evil. I may farther remark,

2dly, That the foundation of all these kinds of testimony is to prevent the being involved in any wrong course or step those in the same society with us are alleged to go into. Thus when there is no ground to suppose that we go along with persons in what they are supposed to do in a wrong way, there seems no foundation for persons to give any testimony at all. What is done for convincing others that they are in a mistake in what they have done, comes not under the notion of a testimony, but an information. And what is done to prevent others taking the course we

think is wrong, comes under the same notion, and not that of a testimony; which I take just to be a declaration against what we think is wrong in others, that we be not thought, because of our joining with them in unquestionable things, to approve of them in that which we differ from them. And this, if duly considered, I think might be of some use to state the general rules when a testimony is necessary, and when it ought to be given. The word testimony has been very much abused in this Church, and if restricted to this proper and precise design, a great many testimonies that have been given might be cut off. When the difference is not so great, for instance, as to bear the weight of a dissent, when no body jealous, or can, upon any just ground, suspect that we are any way chargeable with what others do, and when it lies out of our road, and we are not engaged with them in any thing that can be supposed to approve that wherein we take them to be wrong; in all these cases this foundation and design of a testimony shows that it's unfit. You may observe,

3dly, That the design of a testimony and its end, in consequence of the former remarks, seems to be twofold:—1. To keep up unity and harmony in a society, as far as may be consistent with principles and purity. Where there is a total separation, I think this a practical testimony, sufficient against the practices of such from whom the separation is made, and no other testimony seems ordinarily needful, except it be for information to others, and preventing the spreading of the evils we separate from, and vindicating our secession from them. Thus, when the idolatrous Church of Rome was separated from, I do not read of any testimony given (but by practice) against Popery, but our Reformers drew up their own Confession of Faith, and exposed the errors of Rome, and vindicated their own secession. But when corruptions come into a church, wherein we still desire to continue, then a testimony is given against what we are in conscience persuaded is wrong, with this view, that in other things wherein we are agreed we may walk together, and keep, by this means, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

2. Another end of a testimony is to disburden the conscience in

those things which we reckon sinful ; and, as I remarked before, it's a public declaration, that we have neither art nor part in those things we reckon wrong and so testify against, and is a public evidence, that though we join in other things, we will endeavour to have these things we think wrong redressed, in a way and season when it can be done without breaking the Church. And,

4thly, From this foundation and design of a testimony, many things might be added as necessary qualifications in every testimony that is given. That it be in a way and time as may not rent the society, and contradict the very design we have in giving the testimony, which is the walking together in those things wherein we are agreed, without sin. And so, no doubt, every testimony ought to be given in great weakness, and without severity and tartness. That it must be only in things wherein the conscience is truly burdened, and so of weight and importance. That it should be so given, on the other hand, as plainly to touch nothing that is grievous to us, and not in dubious and disputable terms. These, and many more, which might be drawn natively from the premises, do plainly follow ; and I wish the end and design of giving a testimony were well looked to, and every thing in it calculate for the right managing of such ends.

Having premised these things, *5thly*, I may further notice, that such a testimony, so and so qualified, seems to be a natural right of every member of a society. Self-preservation seems to entitle every man to it ; and since people enter into societies, and subject themselves to the plurality, with restrictions in many things wherein they must not be concluded by the plurality, if any thing contrary to these restrictions be done, the man must either be quit of his bond as a member, or have liberty to give a testimony, and keep himself as free as he can of what he thinks hurtful to him and the rest. And this is what the very least member, in my opinion, may crave, and cannot, in reason, be refused, especially in religious societies, where considerable allowances must be made, *ad levandam conscientiam*. And I see no loss that the rest are at by this, for *valet* only *quantum valere potest*, and the testimony will go no

further than the reasons it's built upon ; and besides this, it's no more than a public declaration of a person's opinions, and if it be ill founded, it reflects upon the declarer only, and not upon others.

And, further, *6thly*, Agreeable to this, testimonies and declarations of this nature, for freeing persons from being thought to go in to what they judge evil in others, seem to have been used in all ages, and a practice founded upon nature's light. Thus Pilate gives a public evidence of his dissatisfaction with, and his having no share in, the Jews' violent thirst after the blood of Christ, and calls for water and washes his hands, in token of his freedom of the blood of that innocent person. Multitudes of instances to this purpose might be given out of the history of people that had no other guide but their own reason.

7thly, This practice in the Church seems abundantly warranted by the divine law, and wants not foundation in both Scripture precepts, practices, and patterns. If we are not to follow a multitude to do evil, and yet wherein we are agreed to walk together by the same rule, it will plainly follow, that under different judgments and practices, such who would walk together, so as not to follow that which is evil in their view, may, yea must bear witness against what they reckon evil. We are commanded to withdraw from some that are within the Church, and some we are not so much as to eat with them ; and after a second rebuke, we are to reject others. The Angel of Ephesus is commended for not being able to bear them which were evil, and he of Thyatira blamed for suffering the woman Jezebel. We find Paul withstanding Peter even to his face, because he was to be blamed, and he would not give way to the Jewish teachers, no, not for an hour. And I might name many other passages of the holy writ that plainly enough lay a foundation for this practice I am speaking of, though I hear of some that cast all testimony as idle and useless, yet I fancy there are not many such, and, to be sure, you are none of them.

Since this materially, *8thly*, is used in all courts and judicatories, and that by dissenting judges, yea, sometimes it's allowed even to

parties, and this is so true, that it's almost proverbial, *licet protestare*. And since it's leesome to the member of a court to protest, and more ordinarily to dissent and mark the dissent, certainly the same reason will lead us into the right of church members in case they reckon themselves lesed or in hazard to be corrupted, for all are upon an equal footing in matters of sin and offence, and may use all proper methods to be rid of it.

This method of testimony, *9thly*, has been in this church frequently practised in many cases which would be too long to insist upon. I do not say any of them or all come up to our present circumstantial case, which was never among us before, and I wish may never come hereafter. I find testimonies frequent enough in the time of our first Reformation, and they were yet more common at our second Reformation, 1638. There were testimonies given, yea, protestations upon every new encroachment made upon their civil and religious privileges; and these very open and public, and if those of them we have be considered, they will be found mainly to exoner themselves from any share of what was then done. I remark, *10thly*, That there appears to me no other way left, in many cases, to keep up unity and communion in a church and society, wherein different practices fall in upon differences in judgment. We see but in part, and know but in part, and there are many things the Lord does not reveal to some, and they are otherwise minded than their brethren of the same family, and there are cases wherein reasoning does not convince either side; each party think themselves right, and the determination of judicatories themselves neither bind the conscience, if not convinced by the reasons upon which the judicatory goes, neither are they for edification, to be made in some circumstantiate cases. And when matters stand thus, I see no other midse, whereby communion under differences can be kept up but by allowing declarations and testimonies till the day and further providences, and a better spirit, declare what is right and wrong. And so, that I may end this first head, *Lastly*, The expediency or in expediency of such testimonies must be determined by the particular circumstances a church, or a particular society, is in. And

the general rules in the Scripture must be applied with caution and dependence upon Divine conduct, so as all things may be done in order, and for peace and edification of the body of Christ, and so as every one may have their garments clean. These things I thought necessary to premise upon this subject in the general. And this last brings me,

In the second place, to consider the inconveniencies of a written testimony given in at this juncture against the taking of the Oath of Abjuration by such as scruple at it as a piece of defection, and withdraw from hearing and joining in discipline with their ministers who have taken it. The inconveniencies I am to set down will just be so many arguments against it at this juncture, and I think the proper arguments against it are to be mostly framed this way, since from what I have premised, if the remarks hold, there can be no room to argue against a testimony in general when corruptions come in. *1st*, Then it will be alleged here that there is no room for a testimony against the takers of the oath, since they differ not at all from their brethren, unless it be in the different uptakings of the sense of words, and not at all in the principles of this Church, and they very plainly declare that if they had the same views of the import of the phrases in the oath with their recusant brethren, or the people who stumble, they would never have gone into it. I must not venture upon arguing on this head; it would run in upon the matter of the oath itself, and that is none of my business now. All that I shall notice is, that it's plain there is offence taken, and that the people are impressed with the thoughts that there is a deserting of principles, and the plain and ordinary sense of the words do involve in somewhat not agreeable to our constitution, or that it's dubious, and they allege that the takers know they would stumble, and were not so tender of giving offence as they ought to have been. And now the breach is made, and reasoning and all other methods are insufficient to remove the offence, and the question now is, whether a testimony be to be allowed *ad levandam conscientiam*, supposing it to be really misinformed, and the stumbling very ill founded? And without further dipping upon the ar-

guments anent the oath itself, which have been sufficiently tossed, if the offence taken, and the differing in point of sentiments, after all reasoning, be not allowed to be a ground of a testimony for easing burdened spirits, though under a mistake, I do not see any case almost wherein it can be allowed, for arguments are still brought to vindicate both parties, and if these arguments, that relate to the subject-matter in debate, be used against the testimony, none can ever be received by the side testified against, and so a separation must inevitably ensue.

2dly, It may be further said, that the Assembly has already determined that jurancy or recusancy are no grounds of separation and withdrawing; and, therefore, withdrawers cannot be allowed to give in any testimony, but rather ought to be censured. As to the last branch of censuring, I have before hinted at the inexpediency of it, as a method of recovering people, or healing the breach, and I believe it will not be found at all advisable. As to the other branch, what was said upon the first argument will come in here also. It's but too obvious, that that act of the Assembly hath not cured our divisions; and if the stumbling still continue, the argument is the stronger for this last remedy of a declaration. And the Assembly's declaration, that it's no ground of separation, is no bar that I can see against the giving in a declaration against what, notwithstanding of the judgment of the Assembly, remains matter of difficulty to not a few, and only says their testimony is against a thing which the Assembly has determined; and this has been given before now more than once. And if the Remonstrants had stopped here, 1650, and not declined the being and validity of the Assembly, it had been much for the peace of this Church, and had been a stop to the fatal divisions which then broke out; and I know not if they be yet quashed. And the Assembly 1690 did receive a paper for the exoneration of the consciences of some ministers and people, though, for several reasons, they did not registrate it, but only read it in a committee, and kept it *in retentis*. And there is no doubt their testimonies should only be given and received in a manner consistent with the edification of the Church. And the

Assembly, judging some expressions in the larger paper offered, did not in their being made public answer this end, stopped there, and yet received them in the way most to edification, *ad levamen conscientiae*, and as the only stop to the division.

3dly, It may be further alleged, that the receiving of a testimony from people upon this head will encourage them in their disposition to break with this Church, and the humouring them in this will bring on more. This inconveniency, if a testimony be found needful, must, indeed, carefully be avoided; and the draught you send me has a clause in it, I think, very useful this way, wherein the testifiers bind themselves to make no separation or defection till they acquaint the Presbytery of it. And much caution must be used not to suffer any humour of breaking off, and the very design of allowing a testimony is to prevent this.

4thly, It may be further said, that, if such a declaration as this be offered, our brethren that have qualified may very justly require their testimony likewise to be taken in against such a groundless separation, yea, against the testimony given in by scruplers, as ill-founded and tending to their disadvantage. I shall not inquire how far our brethren will find this expedient to be proposed in this supposed case. The deliverance of the judicatory upon the scruplers' declaration, in the draught you send me, seems pretty much to obviate this; and if any more be found needful, I would be very much for doing every thing for the support of our brethren in their work. But I fancy they will not find such a practice necessary. And, indeed, it will be endless, and mar all kind of removal of scruples that way.

These are some of the inconveniencies and arguments against this proposal in the general, which I have given you my opinion upon as I went through. There are some others more particularly as to brethren that have not taken the oath, as to such as have qualified, and the people and elderships themselves, who offer such a testimony. I begin with the first of these classes. As to such as are recusants, I know, 1st, It's alleged that this proposal of a written and recorded testimony from the people that withdraw comes

from some Non-jurants, and it's they advise them to it, and have drawn draughts of their declaration, and put them in people's hands. If you any way jealous me upon this head, I could very soon clear myself of any hand in it. But if the proposal be a habile and safe method for gaining scruplers, it matters not from what hands it come, Jurors or Non-jurors. For the proposers having by-ends in making it, it's uncharitable to suppose it, and without proof is not to be regarded; and as to their drawing draughts to people, perhaps, if any testimony be received, it will not be found a whit the loss of the clear brethren, that the draught be framed by some others than the people, and if this draught answer the end and design, and relieve the consciences, and put an end to our breach, it matters not whence it come. It may be further said,

2dly, That the allowing this written testimony will be a handle to some brethren that have withdrawn from judicatories, as they say, to prevent the people leaving the communion of this Church altogether, to urge before their return a written testimony against the oath, and that it be recorded, which may be of ill consequences. I own, if ministers run to this it will be to be regretted. But it's to be hoped that they are more capable of being convinced by reasoning, and other matters, than the bulk of people are, and having reasoned and given a practical testimony by their recusancy, will not insist upon this, especially when, as they say, they have no scruple of conscience, yea, would very willingly return to joining in judicatories, if the people could be secured from breaking loose altogether, and going to Mr Hepburn and Mr M'Millan. *3dly*, If it be said that the allowance of such a testimony will open a door to the people likewise to protest against recusants for their continuing in judicatories with their brethren, and not declaring further against the oath, than by their practice in not taking it. For my part, though I be a Non-juror, and own it as my opinion, that the taking of the oath is no ground of separation, either from judicatories or ordinances, yet if there were no other way left for the preventing separation, or disburdening well-meaning people's consciences, but a declaration against my practice, I think I could very heartily ad-

mit them to exoner themselves, and if, in this case, I and my Jurant brethren were put upon a level in the sentiments of ill informed people, as equally guilty, I should no way be offended. And as to us, *lastly*, If it be reasoned that there are some may justly, on the other hand, require a testimony to be recorded against our Non-jurancy itself, as what for ever fixes the toleration, and hinders the prosecution of the Episcopal clergy for their Non-jurancy, and what weakens the Protestant succession, and has been the inlet to all the present flame among us; I answer, as above, for my own share, that if any of my people, or others concerned, have really a scruple of conscience in joining with me, and sought to disburden it by bearing testimony against my Non-jurancy, I would allow it without any difficulty; and having inward peace in the way I have taken, I do not see that, in this case, I would at all press for a counter-testimony. I think the method is fully as reasonable on the one side as upon the other, if I must call them sides. It's the peace of this poor distracted Church, and the keeping of people from quitting ordinances altogether, I have in my view.

I come now to consider the inconveniencies of this testimony in relation to the brethren who have taken the oath, and I desire to put myself in their case, when I consider the proposal as it relates to them:—*1st*, It may be said, that it's altogether groundless as to them, and that by their qualifying they have given no real ground of offence, but people have only taken it. This upon the matter I considered before. And now that the offence is taken, and people do actually stumble and scruple, though what they do be ill-grounded, yet their weakness would be consulted, and the most proper way fallen on to prevent the people's hurt. If it be said further, *2dly*, That judicatories wherein Jurants are members, their receiving and recording a testimony of this kind would be constructed an owning a fault and giving offence in their taking the oath, which they cannot do, since they did and do reckon it plain duty. It would be considered that testimonies go no further than the reasons they go upon, and more than these, except the opinion of the declarer, is not in them. And what is done for the exonera-

tion of another does not at all affect me, but in as far as it's supported by arguments. And I suppose the Jurors are not afraid of any thing this way. And the judicatory receiving the testimony is no approbation of the matter of it. Yea, in the draught I have from you, the deliverance does plainly obviate this, and declares that different practices here are no ground of separation. *3dly*, It may be further said, that the admission of the testimony proposed will, especially recorded, transmit and perpetuate the memory of the offence that is taken at brethren who have qualified, and that this is not for their credit and advantage, and what they cannot well consent to. But it may be observed, that there can be no great hazard this way, for the weight of this inconveniency still runs upon a person's clearness, or not being clear, as to the oath's being duty or sinful. And since it's what they have entire satisfaction in, the difficulty here will not be great. And further, the matter of fact of the offence taken upon this event of our different practices will be handed down many ways; and it's no reflection upon Mr Dickson that he was a resolutioner, and Mr Guthrie a protester, but that so sinful a division fell in upon their differences, for want of due care taken among themselves and the people, before matters came to a height. And the proposed deliverance of the judicatory will convey down to posterity the united sentiments of the judicatory upon this head, which will do more than take off any supposed task this way. And methods might easily be fallen upon, if found needful, for the non-recording of persons' names in the records, if the testimony were given in general against all the ministers in such a district as have had clearness. But I do not think this inconveniency is of any weight. *Lastly*, It may be urged, that this method may perpetuate people's disgust and dryness against the brethren who have qualified. And, indeed, if this can be made out, for my own part I should be against this proposal, as I am against any thing that may in the least weaken their hands in our common Lord's work. But I cannot see that the receiving of their testimony can have any native tendency this way. It should rather recommend the brethren to their affections, in that they bear with

their infirmity, and are willing to take all methods to gain them for their soul's advantage. And when the ministers and people, who gave in the exoneration of their consciences to the Assembly 1690, had done so, there has nothing of any thing like this appeared since.

I come now to end this second head, with considering the inconveniencies and arguments against the proposed testimony with respect to the people themselves. And here I own my greatest difficulties lie. *1st*, It's feared that it may confirm them in their ill-grounded scruples anent communion with ministers, and will be a fostering them in their wrong notions anent Church communion, and tend to advance that popular supremacy, that is as hazardous as Papal Prelatic Erastianism; and if this be found, I again repeat it, I shall be against trying this method. But I am sure there is no reason in the thing itself, wherefore they should be confirmed in their mistakes, for the subject of their testimony is not approved, yea, upon the matter it's disproved, and only received, because they cannot be convinced by reasoning, and as the only medium in this affair. And among indifferent judges, certainly the receiving their testimony will be looked upon as an expedient to condescend to their weakness, and as no ground for them to continue in their ill opinion of their ministers, yea, I hope the communion and fellowship that would again ensue in ordinances and mutual conversation, might in time remove their ill thoughts of their ministers, at least it's a probable way of doing it.

2dly, It may be alleged that this way, returning to their Jurant brethren, when a testimony is received by judicatories, would not be gone into by scruplers at communion with them; and if not gone into generally, it may do considerable hurt, and give no small advantage to such as are so stiff, that upon no terms they will return to their duty. I do, indeed, see inconveniencies plain enough, if this method, when condescended to, be not gone into generally, though I cannot say they do natively flow from this method, but are misimprovements which will be made of it, if it be not universal; and for my own part, according to my present views, if

this proposal be not what will universally satisfy the scruplers in the bounds of a Presbytery and Synod, I cannot at present incline to put it to a trial, since I fear it might be liable to have such effects as would not be counterbalanced by the gaining of a few in this congregation and the other ; and, indeed, I am not able to form any certain judgment how far it may be generally gone into, and I see but little assurance any can have of this from a variable, inconstant people, till generally their pulses are felt anent it, which I would not have done till our Jurant brethren be fully satisfied to go into this method, if found universally satisfying.

3dly, It may be feared that the receiving of a testimony in the places that have most warmth in them, might kindle a new ferment in other places, where the people are not satisfied with their ministers' qualifying, but yet make no separation, and revive the ferment almost every where up and down the country. And if such a method were condescended upon, I wish all proper measures for preventing this may be thought upon. There are few or none, indeed, offer to me, but the making as little stir and noise as may be in the places where a testimony is most sought and needful, a calm and cautious carriage in other places, by brethren on both sides, and pressing people not to insist upon a testimony, but when much burdened in their conscience, and where all circumstances concur to render it for edification. Thus I have, in all ingenuity, considered the inconveniencies I think this proposal is liable to, and where any thing offered to remove them or strengthen them, I have dashed down my thoughts. These two last are my greatest straits.

I promised, in the last place, to consider the conveniencies or the arguments for this testimony in our present circumstances. I have already almost transgressed the bounds of a letter, and in the accounts of a testimony in the general, and the removing the inconveniencies, I have prevented what I thought to have said now, and so I shall run through this head in a remark or two. *1st*, I scarce see any other way left that can effectually gain the people, that are on the brink of leaving both Jurants and Recusants, but

somewhat like this proposal. Censuring them is but *fire for the feircy*, and will probably stumble more. Total forbearance and silence lays them open to the efforts and practices of such as are quite broken off from this Church, and Jacobites and Jesuits, who are not idle among us. Reasoning does not convince, and really, considering both the temper and ignorance of the most part, it's a subject they cannot hear reasoning upon, and many of them can neither know the strait upon the oath, nor the answers given to it. They are above their reach, and yet they are capable abundantly of stumbling and offending, and after all the thoughts I have been able to form anent this head, I see no other midse but the receiving of a well worded testimony, and their returning on it. *2dly*, I do not see another way to keep a great many from a total separation from this Church; they allege they cannot join with such as they reckon guilty of a step of defection, and others tell they cannot join with those who join with them, and the M'Millanites and others blow the coal, and this seems a method suited enough to satisfy a conscience, when they are allowed to exoner themselves anent what they judge sinful; and without somewhat be done for satisfying their conscience, I see not what can hinder them from running to the hills altogether and deserting the whole. And this method, *3dly*, I hope might bring back such as are sensible and really conscientious, who have separated since November; and what they can desire more than to exoner themselves is more than I can understand; and for such as would not be satisfied with this, I think it would render them inexcusable, and their rejecting this fair door they have to join would expose them, and put them out of case to seduce others by their influence. And what effects it might have upon Separatists, before this unhappy and new ground of difference among us, I cannot tell.

Thus you have, at full length, my confused thoughts upon the proposal you sent me. I do not offer to draw a conclusion upon the whole, nor determine myself fully till I have your remarks. You see my inclinations run to fall in with the proposal of a testimony, but have already owned there are difficulties not small, and

whereof I cannot fully pass a judgment upon the falling in with this method. I design nothing in all this trouble I have given you but light from you, and the putting you upon considering the subject narrowly, and more ripely than I can do; and conclude by acquainting you upon the whole, *1st*, That I know this method of receiving a testimony, yea, recording it in the Presbytery registers, was fallen into by the Presbytery of P. after the Revolution; with respect to the mountain folks, as they were called, who did not join in hearing till they gave in a written testimony against the indulgence, hearing conformists, paying of cess, the toleration, and some other of their common topics of objections at that time. And when the Presbytery received it and recorded it, as also their sentiments upon it in very plain terms, there were considerable numbers came in, and several of them have been considerably useful in elderships since. And if the Church was but a constituting as it was then, it's now very confused and shaken, and extraordinary times and cases may have allowances to well meaning people who err in the zealous side made to them. And, *2dly*, upon the whole, under my present views, if the case were my own, and when I turn the table, if any did refuse to join with me because of my refusing the oath, I think I would allow them to exoner their consciences against what they reckoned sinful in my practice, if that would bring them back from separation altogether from ordinances. That the Lord of light and love may direct his servants and people to such measures as may promote the truth and the peace in this poor broken and rent Church, is the earnest suit of, Reverend and Dear Brother, your affectionate brother and servant.

October 2, 1713.

P. S.—I find Samuel's commission from the Lord, 1st Sam. viii. 9, "*Howbeit yet*¹ protest solemnly unto them," is urged, as a direct Scripture foundation for protestations in case people will go on in a

¹ Torn out in MS.

way of sin; and that the circumstances of that passage very plainly favour this sense. The Lord tells them the ill hazard of their having a king, and what it would bring with it, yet he allows Samuel to go on, and after he had made his protest, to go on with them in choosing a king. This proof I have not yet considered, and I have been so prolix in what is above, that I must delay any thing upon this subject till after yours comes to hand.

LETTER CLIV.

MR M'MILLAN PREACHES IN WODROW'S PARISH.—THE SYNOD OF IRVINE.

To Mr J. Hart, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have been these many weeks looking for the favour of a line from you. I dare not blame you for silence till I hear your reasons, but I humbly am of opinion that it would be for our advantage if brethren from all corners were more exact in corresponding one with another. There is nothing worth your while from this country, and this mainly comes to put you in mind of your old kindness in favouring me now and then with your accounts, when you can have but very insignificant returns from me.

Upon Sabbath last, I had two colleagues at the Newlands of the Darnley in this parish about a mile from me, Messrs M'Millan and M'Neilly. They have a great many followers here; ten or twelve who never heard any but them, and I wonder they did not visit them sooner. I do not hear their meeting was so great as they expected, though, lying so near Glasgow, they had a considerable gathering. My congregation was much about its ordinary. I have got the notes of his sermon taken in short-hand, and it may be, ere I close, you may have a swatch of some of the senselessest of them. Mr Addison is going up and down this country, and has consider-

able meetings, but he hath not been in this Presbytery as yet. He prays the Lord may divide ministers from people, and people from ministers, and ministers among themselves; and adds, Lord, thou knowest then we would willingly join with them. He has declined the Commission, as I hear, in one of his sermons, as no Court of Christ, and what he will not answer to. The Lord pity us, we are like to be crumbled into pieces.

Our Synod met at Irvine last Tuesday. We had nothing of any importance before us, but the affair of Lesmahagoe, the state of which I need not detail to you, since, no doubt, you know it. Our Synod found both parties not unwilling to delay it till next Synod. The Presbytery of Lanark seemed more inclinable to have it in before us now. Their reference came in to the Committee of Bills, and they gave it as their opinion the Synod should appoint a committee to converse with parties, and bring in an overture to the Synod anent it. When our committee met we found the communion could not be given till next summer in that parish, and so, after we had heard the state of the affair from Mr Linning, and Mr Black, and the Presbytery, without dipping upon it further, we delayed the affair, and acquainted both parties that the matter was now under the cognizance of the Synod, and we expected no further steps could be taken till April for a communion, and pressed them to live harmoniously, &c., and endeavour to have their rents healed against then; and recommended it to three pair of ministers to go up to Lesmahagoe, and converse at different times with the ministers and eldership, and see what might be done to remove differences betwixt and April. The state of that congregation, yea, of that whole country, is lamentable, and I know not what methods shall be fallen upon. We need your help and advice very much. The receiving a declaration from the stumbled people, and elderships, *ad levamen conscientiarum*, has been talked of in private, but not in the Synod or its committee. This, no doubt, must be well and ripely advised, and if all our clear brethren be as much against it as some here, I am afraid we break upon it if proposed.

From Ireland I find Messrs M'Bride and M'Crackan keep by

their people and work, and the former has had his communion lately; and one of his most violent enemies is taken away by death, which I hope will render him easier than he has been for many years.

Pray let me have the state of our brethren in Dumfries, and what accounts you have from the north, and all your public news. I expect, likewise, the double of our letter at the Commission to the five brethren there. Allow me to complain of your long silence, and to long for a letter to, Dear Brother, yours most sincerely,

R. W.

Oct. 10, 1713.

I fancy you have heard that, after Sir James Hamilton's election for the shire of Lanark last week, which continued till late, about two of the clock in the morning, some of Sir James's party went to the Cross, and drank, among other things, the confusion of Presbytery, and the damnation of the ministers; and [damnation] to the Commission's warning against Popery.

LETTER CLV.

ENDEAVOURS AT ACCOMMODATION.

For Mr Robert Wylie.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—By a line from the bearer, I find you want [to see] Mr Trail, a young man on his way to Carolina, and last week, being at Glasgow much of it, I looked after him, but could not hear of his being there.

When I was there, I was extremely pressed by Mr John Muirhead, in conjunction with the ministers at Glasgow, to go up to Lesmahagoe, to essay an accommodation between Mr Black and

the eldership there. I alone, in the committee of Synod, opposed that motion of conferences with the eldership, unless the method were universal; and proposed a conversation among ministers upon the general flame there is in the country. Yet I had the mishap to be named upon the first class of conversers with that people; and it seems there are two pair to follow Mr Muirhead and me. I told them my hopelessness of succeeding, and that I did not like the method unless universal, and unless instructed in the matter of the testimony. And I declined naming a time for going up. They left it still upon me, and now when I think upon it, lest the blame of not trying that (I think fruitless expedient) be upon me, at Mr Muirhead's desire, I have writt to you, that you may (as he said you would) acquaint him, that, out of deference to his and his brethren's judgment, I shall yield, and wait on him from your house to Lesmahagoe, what time he shall appoint. Mr Linning must be writt to, and his answer as to the time had. It's probable, the next week, Mr Linning may be at the Commission; if he go not in, I know nothing to hinder me, nor the week after the next; but the 24th and 25th of this month I cannot come, being engaged in some business at that time. I suppose Monday the 9th, or Monday the 16th, may be a proper time to meet at your house with Mr Muirhead, and to wait on him to Lesmahagoe; and, as he by you shall acquaint me, I shall, health and weather serving, labour to be with you, though I doubt it be a useless journey. The beginning of the week seems best, and the elders must be in a readiness to converse with us.

I have nothing of news to acquaint you with, but the new remit of L.5000 sterling to the Highland Clans from the Treasurer. I'll be glad of all your accounts; and am, yours most sincerely.

Nov. 2, 1713.

LETTER CLVI.

PRIVATE.

To P. [Provost] Aird.

MY LORD,—I send you herewith the copy of a letter, &c., November 4th, 5th,¹ to be communicate with S., to be a beginning for his better head and pen to work on, and to no other till it be transcribed, and put in a better shape.

I wish it be not mistaken by some who were in far better case to do any thing of this nature than I; and it's my hearty wish it be undertaken by some fitter hand, and I hope it will, which will be a great satisfaction to me. It's my concern to put something agoing, that makes me send this to you, which, if worth the while, you may cause double over, and send up to-morrow night, if it be not too soon, with your and the D. thoughts, or, which I rather wish, his own entire new draught, to my mother's. There are many things must be said so as the country may understand them, and for any thing I remark by once reading it over, there is nothing that can expose to the notice of the Government. But this I entirely leave to better judges. I am not willing it be seen under my hand by many. I know you will pardon all this freedom in, my Lord, yours most affectionately.

Nov. 6, 1713.

If there be any news or papers by Friday's post, you know my Athenian spirit.

¹ The letter here referred to not being preserved, it is impossible to explain the meaning of what follows.

LETTER CLVII.

POLITICAL NEWS.

To the Rev. Mr John M'Bride, Minister at Belfast.

REVEREND DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 19th of November came very seasonably to my hand this night, when I was in no small pain for B. M'Crackan and you, from the accounts I had yesterday from Glasgow of his confinement at Craigfergus, and your being obliged again to hide. The bearer contradicts this last part, and I wish his accounts of your liberty when he left you may hold. You have many in this country who desire to bear burden with you both, under all your bonds, knowing we are in the body, and expecting some such like difficulties ere long. I pray this may not find dear Mr M'Crackan under confinement, but let it carry my kindest respects to him. He has now too good a ground for not writing to his friends here, but as soon as he hath that liberty, none will be fonder to hear from him than the writer.

The occasion of my last by post, which I am glad came to hand, was an occasional meeting of friends from the east country and west upon the alarm we had from the new pension sent down to the Highland Clans.¹ We were in some method of forming a correspondence for our own safety in case of an attack, and of awakening a sleepy country, and it will be very satisfying to have the concur-

¹ " We hear this month (October 1713) that a new pension of L.5000 sterling is come down from the Treasurer to the Highland Clans, and a precept is granted for it upon the excise. It's to be distribute by Bradalbine and other Jacobites. And it's another moiety of the L.20,000 said to be granted them to keep the peace; but many say they improve it to arm themselves weel, and it's certain they are all Jacobites who do receive it; and the spring of this, and the former L.4000 given last year, may perhaps appear afterwards to the cost of the Revolution interest in Scotland."—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 242.)

rence of the friends of our constitution and the Revolution among you, when our common interest is at stake. There is little remarkable since my last, but when any thing offers I shall communicate it with you, when I have your next, and know your circumstances. There was a motion to have promoted an address from several places; wherein occasion was to have been taken from the Queen's late messages to Lorrain and other places anent the Pretender, to have thanked for them, and insinuate our fears from the Highland Clans. But this is not yet gone into, and some great men about Edinburgh are in such expectations from the present differences at court, that they dissuade from it till a little time open out things.

Our Commission, about a fortnight ago, had lamentable accounts of the growth of Popery, (*vide* other letters.) It was pressed a detail of these accounts might be laid before the Queen, by way of representation, that she and the world might see that our late Warning against Popery was not unseasonable. But our wise and prudent men did not favour the proposal, and it was shuffled over to a process against the reseters of priests before the Justiciary. The matter lay here. The court are exceedingly disobliged at our late Warning, and our cautious managers did not think it prudence to ruffle them any further. There is a design, I hear, to print the Account of the Growth of Popery of late, and spread them in the country, but I doubt if this be done.

I have lately a copy of an address sent up by the Highland Clans. *Vide* address. I long to see it in the Gazette. They assure themselves of a very gracious reception, and I doubt not but it may be pleasing to some.

Our great folk are mad against the Commission's Warning, and talk loudly of taking away our Commission next Parliament. The Earl of Marr, our new Secretary, hath been down here, and rages against it, and tells us we are beginning the old work 1648 by our warnings.

Let this return my hearty thanks for your accounts of matters with you. Pray continue them by post or private hands, as you

have occasion. Believe it, your friends here will be very impatient now every week to hear of your affairs, since your persecution is begun again, and your Parliament sitting. I'll be very fond to hear how things go at Dublin, and what access your brethren have with their address and grievances, and what comes of B. M'Crackan, and I hope you, if at liberty, or your sons, whom I kindly remember, will not fail to write as soon as may be.

I pray the Lord compass you about with his favour as with a shield, and send us good accounts from you, and long very much for your next. I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, Dec. 4, 1713.

My Lord Marr, when here lately, set up the English service at Alloway, and went to it. It's talked our Jurant tolerated curates at Glasgow and Edinburgh are to have some of the bishops' stipends given them. You know the Principal of Glasgow is gone to Court, to get the College tack of the Bishop of Glasgow renewed, and expects to get his request. But I yet can scarcely believe he will succeed. Our divisions and flames in this country are no way decreasing. Grace be with you.

LETTER CLVIII.

EXTRACT OF CARSTAIRS' BAPTISM.—NEWS OF ADDISON AND
M'CRACKAN.

*To the Rev. Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the College of
Edinburgh.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—According to my engagement when last with you, I send you the extract of your baptism from the registers of Cathcart, just as it stands. The minister's name, and the witnesses, it seems, are not recorded, nor the day of birth, as we

use now. If you desire the day and time of your birth, Mr Love informs me he can get it from the old L. Cathcart, who was with your mother, and yet lives.

I would have sent this sooner, had not the accounts I had of your going to the wells, and your illness there, and since, which grieved me at heart, hindered me. I am glad to hear your health is pretty much established, and heartily wish you many good days and years in this evil time.

We have all our news from the east, and our west country accounts are melancholy enough; no doubt, you have them from better hands than [mine.] Mr Addison is traversing this country, though he has not yet visited our Presbytery, and is at wild work in the bounds of Glasgow and Hamilton. Sabbath was a se'ennight I am told he had this abominable assertion, that as among the twelve apostles there was one Judas, so now among every twelve ministers there would be found eleven devils; and multitudes of the same stamp. And in an agreeableness to his sermons it seems his prayers are; that day he prayed, "Let the winds rise and divide and subdivide the ministers and people of this Church." I fear I weary you with this nauseous stuff, and wonder the Commission insist upon witnesses¹ and a formal libel, since witnesses will not easily be found to come in to Edinburgh, and the notoriety of the fact of his preaching in planted congregations without any warrant, is sufficient ground of declaring his licence null, without entering into the detail of his particular disorders and expressions.

No doubt, you hear the persecution is again begun upon Mr M'Crackan, who is in Carigfergus gaol, and Mr M'Bride, who is upon his hiding. I don't find the first is very apprehensive of the issue, since his imprisonment is illegal, and against the Habeas Corpus Act.

¹ "The Commission ordered the Presbyteries, where Mr Addison preached irregularly, to send informations of his irregularities, and the clerk, when they came to hand, to cite him to the next Commission."—(*Anal.* vol. iii. 233.) He declined appearing, and afterwards turned an Independent.

I know your multiplicity of business, and am unwilling to give you any further trouble. Your commands in this country, with any accounts you have of public affairs, at your leisure, would be very welcome, but I cannot presume to ask them. My wife and I give our humble duty to Mrs Carstairs. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

R. W.

Dec. 8, 1713.

LETTER CLIX.

MATHER'S INTEREST IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—REFERENCE
TO HIS FATHER.

*Dr Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, N. England, 21st August 1713.

REV. SIR,—By the hand of a worthy friend, (who is now gone, with good circumstances and encouragements, to labour in a field at three hundred miles distance from hence,) I received your obliging letters, unto which I intended a large return; but I am unhappily surprised with the sailing of the vessel this afternoon, while I did not imagine that it would have gone till about a fortnight hence.

I have now, therefore, only time to tell you, that you live in continual and a most affectionate remembrance with us; and that we have at heart exceedingly the distressed state of the Church of *Scotland*.

For my own part, when I see what is done unto her, I am bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother. But I cannot lay aside my expectations of a mighty and marvellous revolution

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 5.

at the door, which will in the issue prove her glorious deliverance ; and she shall sing that verse in which there occurs the first *Hallelujah* in the Bible.¹ The same encroachments that a daughter of *Babylon* is making upon you, she is also making upon us ; but the same appearance of Divine Providence will deliver both, only it will be with the *breaking in pieces* and *consuming* all the *TEN*.² And, by the way, I suspect that your late loss of your distinct sovereignty was to reduce the kingdoms into the precise number of *Ten*, at the time when the doom of the *Ten* is just going to be executed.

You did the *Eleutheria* and the *Letter of Advice to Dissenters* too much honour, when you imagined my venerable parent the author of them. He smiled when he read it, and complimented me with, —*Hos ego versiculos*. The marvellous old man, at eighty-four, continues to do notable things, and preaches to the greatest auditory in America ; where I have had the honour to be for three and thirty years his assistant. I suppose he takes this opportunity of letting you hear from him.

I pray tender my best services to one of the best of men, my Lord of *Pollock*. And if he has a lady living, present her, in my name, with a *basket of our summer fruit*,³ which you will find in the packet that now waits upon you.

Our salvages [savages] have lately made their submission, so that we enjoy an entire peace ; and there are no such exceptions taken against our articles, as there are by some, whom I take to be very good Protestants, against yours in Utrecht.

May the glorious Lord continue you a blessing to his people, and employ you yet in many excellent services for his kingdom. I am, Sir, your most affectionate brother and servant,

CO. MATHER.

¹ Alluding probably to Psalm cvi. 1, "Praise ye the Lord. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good : for his mercy endureth for ever." *Praise ye the Lord* is, in the Hebrew, *Hallelujah*.

² A reference probably to Dan. vii. 24–26.

³ Pamphlets, perhaps.—Amos viii. 1.

LETTER CLX.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

To the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., ut supra.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have your very kind letter of the 21st of August last, by Mr Adam Brown, and the honour of one from your venerable parent, about ten days after.¹ Both, and you'll allow me to say, in a special manner, the last, are a new debt upon me I will never be able to pay. I had almost forgot to make my acknowledgment for yours I had in my Lord Pollock's packet of the 20th of February.

That excellent person laid his commands upon me this summer to look about for an opportunity of making a return to you, but I found none; and he is at present serving his Lord and his generation some forty miles from me, otherwise he had certainly wrote to you. His lady, an eminent saint, was taken from him to better society about seven years ago, but your basket of summer fruit shall be presented to him, when in providence I meet with him.

It's only this day that an acquaintance of mine tells me, he is in a day or two to sail for Virginia, and promises to do me the favour to take a care of this, and send it either to Pennsylvania, or, if an occasion offer, straight to Boston.

I would not miss this opportunity of owning my obligations, though I know now, but you may have the trouble of it some part of the road by the post, otherwise I had sent some of our Scots papers, published this season, as some small return for these very valuable [ones] you send me.

And the more, that I am informed we have no ships going this season to New England from this country; so that I do not know

¹ This letter has not been preserved.

when otherwise I could have the opportunity to own my receipt of yours. It seems, before I can have an opportunity directly to you, I may have the advantage of hearing again from you, since I am told you have several opportunities for Scotland in Boston that do not return to you. And I humbly ask, that you please to favour me with a line as you have occasion; and if you can direct me how to give you any accounts this country affords more frequently it will be very acceptable.

I would have writt to your reverend father with this, but my friend tells me it may have some little way to come by post, and one within it will make it bulky. I cannot think this will be worth postage, yet I have ventured upon it, hoping perhaps it may come straight to you.

You'll please to return the venerable old man my humble thanks for the honour he has done me in his letter, and his valuable Essay upon the Jews' Conversion and the Millennium. In his former and this essay, with relation to the future conversion of the Jews, I am of opinion he has exhausted the subject, and said all that is needful for the conviction of any rational man; and, in his valuable sermons upon Psalm lxxii. 19, he has given a very plain and popular abstract of the Scripture proofs on this truth.

What follows upon the Apocalyptical millennium, I must own, was very sweet to me, and hath a great many arguments in it I never before saw advanced in favour of this pleasant opinion, which I never saw so well established from Scripture. But I freely acknowledge myself very much a stranger to Apocalyptical inquiries, and I am not yet come to full satisfaction anent the meaning of many of the short hints given in that dark and Divine book, nor to frame a scheme that satisfies me. It's more becoming for me to learn from one of so long experience and ripeness in the New Testament prophecies, as your worthy father is, than to say any thing upon this mysterious subject; the prospect of the glory of the mountain state of the kingdom of our sweet Redeemer makes me wish all his calculations may hold. We had a very eminent person taken from us

in this church, to be with Christ, which is best of all, this last summer, Sir James Stewart, the Queen's Advocate, (of whom it may be you have heard,) my Lord Pollock's brother-in-law, who was perfectly in your father's opinion, as in conversation many times I have had the honour to know. I do not, indeed, mind to have heard him so directly advance his thoughts so plainly as to the corporeal resurrection. He was the best lawyer, and the heartiest friend to the Church of Scotland we had among all our statesmen. I wish all the parts of Mr Fleming's Christianity had been like his Essay on the First Resurrection, which I fancy was not come to your father's hands in the 1709.

I must return him likewise my hearty acknowledgments for the obliging present of eight of his excellent books, in the Rev. Mr Brown of Glasgow his packet. His accounts of Remarkable Providences I value exceedingly, and have read it with great satisfaction. Since its publishing, and the (in part) continuation of the design in your *Magnalia Christi Americana*, no doubt, many more are come to his and your observation, and I heartily wish the Church of Christ were gratified by the accounts of them. May he and his be long continued to do great things for the glory of God and the good of the (true) Catholic Church!

Your expectations of a marvellous revolution, and turn of affairs to the advantage of religion, are very welcome to me. And a detail of the foundations of them would have been mightily acceptable, and I am sorry the sudden sailing of the ship robbed me of them. When you have another opportunity, I'll humbly expect them.

The loss of our distinct sovereignty in Scotland, I am persuaded, has been wisely ordered by our God, for the carrying on his own designs at present by our Popish and disaffected party. The consequences of this, our heavy taxes, &c., are improven to ferment people, and prepare matters for the bringing in of the Pretender among us. And, indeed, matters seem ripening very fast for an attempt of this nature, which I pray may issue in the weakening of

Babylon, and sometimes I hope it may, though we look like a people ripe for heavy strokes. But when He cometh, shall he find faith on the earth ?

We have now another horn springing up, the King of Sicily, and if our account of the peace between the houses of Austria and Bourbon hold, we are to have another King of Sardinia. How these agree with your thoughts of the TEN, I will be fond to know by your next.

This peace between France and Germany looks very threatening to the Protestant interest. If that great hammer of the nations in France shall have a King of Old Spain his creature, a King of Sweden in his interest, an Emperor of Germany and governor of the Netherlands his creatures, humanly speaking, he may very soon provide a King for Britain. But Jehovah shall reign for ever, even Zion's God, unto all generations. Let us praise him and wait upon him, who in the evening time will make it light.

It is evening time with us in the poor Church of Scotland at present. We are looking and longing for the break of day, but it may, perhaps, yet be darker before our day break, but we are persuaded weeping shall endure but for a night, and are humbly pleading it may be but short, for the elect's sake.

In May last, our General Assembly met at Edinburgh, where the enemies of this Church had great hope, and we ourselves fears, that different practices, in relation to the Oath of Abjuration, might have produced alienation of affection and breaches in our supreme judicatory. But hitherto the Lord has helped. And every thing was carried on in the unity of the Spirit and bond of peace ; and an act of mutual forbearance and unity was harmoniously gone into. And we have hitherto been helped to act such a part as our enemies have not yet got advantage.

In June we had another very sore trial, the appointment of a day of thanksgiving for the peace of Utrecht upon the 15th of that month. Many were the exceptions taken against that complex peace. And in a particular manner, it bears very hard upon our trade in Scotland. It was reckoned hard upon the one hand, that

the ambassadors of peace should seem to be against peace, or take upon them to pry into the *arcana imperii*, and take upon them to determine in a matter of this nature. And ministers thought it was yet harder upon them, in a solemn address to God, to approve of this peace, and to keep a day of praise for that which they had not praised God for in their closets, and publicly to own that an honourable and safe peace, and just when they were not convinced in their consciences it was so. And, accordingly, this day of thanksgiving was almost universally neglected. In one church in Edinburgh the day was kept, and in a very few other places. This made a great noise, and it was once thought it would draw down the resentments of the ministry in England upon us, and hasten the prosecution of Non-jurors, but hitherto no notice hath been taken of it. Perhaps it was our advantage the Parliament stuck upon the eighth and ninth articles, though afterwards they seemed to apologise for it.

In the end of summer our elections came on for the ensuing Parliament, and we are falling very fast into the fashions of our neighbours in England in this as well as too many other things. Party faction, and in some places mobs and confusions, attended our elections of commoners, and the anti-revolution party exerted themselves to the uttermost. After all their endeavours, I hope they have fewer of their set than last Parliament. Our Peers are all of a piece almost, and any changes made are of anti-revolutioners.

In August the Commission of the Assembly met, and emitted a seasonable Warning against Popery and the Pretender, which I shall send you by the first opportunity that offers. It's too large to inclose in this, if it happen not to come to you by sea. It's said this hath further grated some persons in power to that pitch, they threaten to discharge our Commissions, and bring new burdens upon us. But it's comfortable to suffer in the road of well-doing. This warning is very satisfying to all the friends of the Protestant succession and revolution, and I hear has been translated to Low and High Dutch and French.

Indeed, Papists were never so uppish, except the two years be-

fore the Revolution, in Scotland, nor the priests so numerous these hundred years in Scotland as since our late peace. They reckon about eighty priests in and about Edinburgh. They are swarming in the North, and we have extremely melancholy accounts from thence of hundreds of Protestant children baptized by them, and multitudes confirmed. Masses are turned very open, and Popish bishops baptize noblemen's children very openly. You see what need we have of the prayers and sympathy of all that have moen at the throne of grace with you.

Our Highland Clans are very barefaced in their appearances for the Pretender, and it's said have great sums of money remitted to them from London, under the pretext of engaging them to keep the peace. What is the treasurer's design in sending them so much money I am not to judge, but they have all along been so wedded to the interests of France and the Pretender, and are providing themselves so fast in arms and ammunition, we have ground to fear they are ready to shed the blood of war in the time of peace.

If, under all thir dismal appearances, the people of God were at their proper work, standing in the gap, and making up the breach, and wrestling, and holding our covenanted God, and refusing to let him go till he bless, it would be some comfort. But there is very little of this, and practical serious religion under a sad decay. Pray for us that God may strengthen what remains and is ready to die.

This long scribble I fear turns tedious. I wish I had better accounts to give, but such as I have I know you'll take in good part. Pray excuse me at your father's hands for not writing to him, and tell him how welcome any thing from such an old disciple and eminent light in the churches of Christ, and how useful his instructions and advices to me would be, and that I humbly beg a share in his prayers for myself, family, and people, and this Church.

As soon as I have an occasion directly to Boston, I'll presume to write to him, and send any thing that is agoing here, and to yourself, to whom I am singularly indebted. I presume to expect

what you'll please to communicate of your New England product, and as full an account of the state of religion and affairs, and Remarkable Providences with you, and your accounts from your very general correspondence you'll favour me with. Great grace be with you, and all that love our Lord Jesus Christ with you and every where. I am, Reverend and very Dear Sir, yours most sincerely and affectionately.

December 15, 1713.

LETTER CLXI.

To the Same.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I wrote about a month ago to you by a friend coming from Virginia, which I hope may have found its way to you ere this come to hand.

I have nothing now to add but my most humble duty to your venerable father and self, and to let you know I incline to miss no occasion to own the great ties I am under to both.

The bearer, a worthy minister's son, is coming for Pennsylvania a merchant, and tells me he may perchance be at Boston, and allows me only time to inclose a copy of our Commission's Warning, which hath made so much noise here. I pray daily for so much of your Master's presence to be with you, and am, in very great haste, Rev. and Dear Sir, yours in many bonds,

[ROBERT WODROW.]

Jan. 12, 1714.

LETTER CLXII.

COMMENCEMENT OF HIS HISTORY OF THE SUFFERINGS OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

*To the R. H. L.-C. E. [Right Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel
Erskine.]*

DEAR COLONEL,—I have this night scribbled out a very rude and imperfect account of our sufferings the length of Pentland, from what papers and materials I could have access to. I find it swell on my hand far beyond the first design of a short pamphlet to spread among the country people. Thir six years time take up as much as, by a calculation in general, will be about twenty sheets in print in the historical part; but then the vouchers and principal papers to which the body of the account refers, and upon which the authority of the history very much leans, by any computation I can make, will run to near forty sheets in print. All of them, except the Acts of Parliament with relation to church affairs, are what, as far as I know, have never been printed; and if the first six years, exclusive of the business of Pentland, has swollen so, you'll easily guess, that when the persecution turns hotter, the following parts, if materials fall not short, with their vouchers, will be very large.

I think there are materials in my confused collection that may be of use to any person of qualifications suited to this work, which I am very sensible I want; and if such a one can be prevailed with to undertake it, I shall very readily communicate what I have. Indeed, the more I dip into the scandalous methods of that time, the more I lament our want of a history of the unparalleled practices under the reigns of the two brothers with relation to this poor Church. I resolve, if the Lord will, to go on in my rude

collections, such as they are, and, as I threated in my last, I send you this. I now give you the trouble to cause look after the list I send herewith. Pray look through your own papers, and set others upon gathering what relates to our history, from the Restoration to the Revolution; but mention not your friend to any, for it may justly discourage them. I am, yours most affectionately.

Jan. 12, 1714.

LETTER CLXIII.

ACCOUNT OF HIS PROSECUTIONS.

*Mr Alexander M^cCrackan to Wodrow.*¹

Carigfergus, Jan. 7, 1714.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have seen a line to Mr M^cBride, with a kind remembrance of me, and a modest reprehension for not writing. I own my fault, only think I wrote last. As for any thing without the compass of my own particulars, I can say little of it, and therefore leave that to others. After much travel and toil, I am now in *salva custodia legis*, where I endeavour to disappoint those who thought to deprive me of all liberty; for I now enjoy myself as freely as when I was in England, or elsewhere. I have no cause of complaint, for I have a kind Lord and Master, who hath not denied me something of his own presence since I came into this place, and I find that even several that formerly stood aloof, now appear more concerned about me, and the apparent troubles of others seem to allay that formerly seized them. The case hath been a little hard with us, that if any favour was shown us, our otherwise professed friends were disoblged.

I have written to my friends in England, but have no full re-

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 114.

turn; for something fell in when my letters went, viz.—my Lord Treasurer's daughter was then newly dead, and he had not been spoke to by any for several days, so that I could have no return. Nor do I expect that any thing [be done] in my case, until the mind of the Parliament be more fully known. I am as yet in the dark about my own case, for there are two Acts of Parliament we are liable to; and I do not as yet know upon which of them my prosecution will proceed, for if they insist upon the first, and bring me to trial, I doubt not of being found guilty, and so liable to the L.500 sterling; but if they proceed upon the second act, then three months' imprisonment answers the first punishment, and so I shall be liberated at the expiration of that time, six weeks of which is now almost over; but at the end of three months they may confine me immediately for six months longer; and after that, they may tender me the oath, the which, if I refuse, then I am liable to a *premunire*, *i. e.* I forfeit all my goods, and am confined during life. But I thank God none of these things trouble me, for I have that to look unto ever since I began in this matter, viz.—“But God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape that ye may be able to bear it.” Now, this I find every day made good to me, and while it is so, surely I have no cause to complain. Dear Brother, I can say little of suffering; but in so far as I know, Moses was no fool in the choice he made, and I am persuaded there is so much peace in cleanly suffering, that it is a reward of itself. I am not so much afraid of suffering as of our succumbing in and under it. If we were helped to keep faith and a good conscience, and not cast away our confidence, nor to give up our own principles and practice conformity, we might expect the God of Jacob would appear for us in due time. I am sorry to hear of so many displeasing things amongst you in that country. I pray God may graciously prevent the evils feared, and bring about the hopes and expectations of such as are peaceable and well-wishers of Zion in the land. This, with affectionate service to

yourself, spouse, and other friends, is from, Sir, yours to command,

A. M'C.

LETTER CLXIV.

REFLECTIONS ON SUFFERING FOR RELIGION.—STATE OF MATTERS
IN SCOTLAND.

To Mr Alexander M'Crackan, Minister at Lisburn.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 7th of January, with B. M'Bride's upon the 4th of February. I bless the Lord as I can, who keeps up your spirit under what hardships you are under; and I am much refreshed with the Lord's goodness to you, and would willingly take encouragement from his kindness to you, cheerfully to commit myself and my small all to Him in thir times of perplexity, rebuke, and treading down.

I hope and pray your kind Master may help you clearly through this service of suffering you are called to; and no doubt, if you believe, you shall see the glory of God. You have some here who desire to bear burden with you, not only as likewise in the body, but as having very near views of being in bonds and trouble upon the same accounts, and from the same party that trouble you. Let us meet frequently at the throne for one another, whence men cannot exclude us, and where, I hope, we are welcome and accepted in the Beloved. There is grace to help in time of need, sufficient grace, and communicable; and let us glory in our infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon us. We are called by his name, he never bare rule over them, the cause is his own, and I hope he'll please not to suffer our foul hands to sully it.

Dear Brother, you'll pardon me in scribbling thus to one of your stablishment and experience in thir truths. Be of good courage, and put your trust under the shadow of his wings, for he hath been your help, and I trust will be so.

About this time your three months will be drawing to an end, and I am impatient to know what methods are fallen upon next. P. Stirling, who, in December, left your friend at Windsor, tells me he was pleased to say he was truly sorry for your maltreatment, and would see what could be done for you. A greater than I hath said, Great men are a lie, and I know you don't place your confidence in any but as means and instruments. But I thought fit, hearing this, to acquaint you with it. The Lord is witnessing for you against your persecutors, and they are in a chain, and I hope and long to hear that their chain is shortened.

I design to enclose this to Mr M'B., and I doubt not but he will communicate any thing worth your while in mine to him, as to affairs here.

They are very dark, and every month darker. Our Papists, Highlanders, Jacobites, and English Service Men, are mightily aloft, and expecting great things in a few days, either from the Queen's demise, which they long for, or a visit from their King. And we, on the other hand, [are] a poor, declining, broken, and spiritless people; though I must own, since I wrote last, people seem to be gathering a little more life, and a little brisker for liberty, and, as they say, for religion, than I have seen them. But we need somewhat to awaken, and quicken, and unite us some further.

My wife, and all your friends here, salute you, and wish you a sweet balance to all your burdens. I long to hear that you are got from under your safe custody. You'll not blame a Whig in Scotland to call it iniquity established by law. Whatever it is, I wish you a happy deliverance from it; and am, Reverend Dear Brother, yours most sincerely,

R. W.

LETTER CLXV.

UNSETTLED STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN CHURCH AND STATE.

To Mr John M'Bride, Minister at Belfast.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 13th of January by post upon the 4th current, for which I heartily thank you. I was uneasy till I had yours, fearing you might have been confined elsewhere than in Cripplegate.¹

Your accounts of affairs are like our own, but melancholy; but it's good to know that things are no worse. I don't understand how many declarations your friends would have you and Mr M'[Cracka]n give of your loyalty. I love practical declarations best; and I still thought it a hardship, that a man that once or twice a-day prays to God against a Popish Pretender, should have oaths, tests, and declarations put to him, as if he were juggling with God and men, and a rank hypocrite.

It's strange to me that some will still harp upon the string of loyalty and Jacobitism in some things, and yet, to save their I don't know what, are shy to join issue with those that are aiming at loyalty, and securing ourselves against Jacobites and Papists, in a better way than by oaths and declarations. A little time I find will discover much, and who are in the right.

I am sorry for Mr K[irk's] books that are lost at the Port.² I wonder he fell not on other methods than he did, to save the duty of that parcel that came to Glasgow. I wish that good town take

¹ "As for myself, that lordly Prelate Gout hath kept me his prisoner in Cripplegate since the 16th of December, nor am I yet free from his jurisdiction, so that I am a prisoner as well as my brother," viz.—Mr M'Crackan; of whose apprehension and imprisonment, in the preceding part of his letter, he gives a particular account.—(*M'Bride to Wodrow.*)

² "I hear that five dozen of Mr Kirk's books, that were sent to Scotland, are seized at Portpatrick."—(*M'Bride to Wodrow.*)

as many of them off as will pay twelve pounds of duty. I have taken one of them. I am of opinion, if he had either been here, or acquainted friends here, much more might have been said for the vindication of our loyalty, than some collections out of books, already in every body's hands. Of those I find that part of his Vindication that relates to King Charles the Second's reign is made up, which is all I have yet read.

Affairs here are much as I wrote last, but things coming nearer a crisis. All depends upon the Queen's health, and the temper of the Parliament. For what relates to Court affairs, I fancy you have them sooner than we have them many times. The Papists, this month and the last, have all of them almost, of any note in Scotland, been at Edinburgh, and openly clubbing and at cabals. The inhabitants of Edinburgh were in very great apprehensions, and have armed themselves as well as they may under hand, not inclining to have their throats cut.

The Highlanders, even in our West Highlands, many Campbells, who, through the senseless carriage of their chief and his brother, are disaffected to that family, the Camerons and M'Donalds are turning very formidable. At some burials of late, particularly Lochiel's, they are in thousands well armed. There are of professed Papists well armed upwards of one thousand, who can be got together at a call within two days' and a half march of Glasgow.

Beside the Athole men, the Duke of Gordon's, and the Northern clans. These things have a little quickened people, and they are not altogether idle. Public mustering is by law discharged; but, as far as I know, there is no law yet against Protestants arming themselves. Upon the Queen's birth day, there have been here and there some musterings in arms to manifest their loyalty.

For our kirk affairs I mind nothing remarkable. Against the Commission, which is to meet the second Wednesday of March, it may be we may have a gust of the designs against this Church. Most of our Presbyteries in this Synod have a fast at present under their consideration, and yesterday Hamilton appointed one.

I fancy it will be pretty generally gone into. I hear the Synod of Fife have it before them.

When a private hand offers I shall send you a paper, published lately in Edinburgh, "Popery Reviving," which will give you a fuller view of our present state than I can now write. We are very much grieved here at the threatened dissolution of your brave House of Commons, the briskest body of Protestants I see in the three kingdoms.

I'll be fond to see all the parts of the "Conduct of the Dissenters," the B[ishop] of Cork's Discourse against Drinking to the Memory of King William, and all your papers which come out among you. When you have a private hand coming over I'll expect any of them you can come at. Meanwhile pray write frequently by post, and give me all your accounts. It's but insignificant returns I can make, but what offers you shall have. I pray you may have much of your Master's presence with you, and give my respects to Mrs M'Bride and your sons. The inclosed you'll take care of, for I know not how to send it but in yours. I am, Reverend Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 10, 1714.

LETTER CLXVI.

JACOBITES AND THE PRETENDER.

To Mr James Hart.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 20th, which was very welcome after so long silence. I still insist yours are more seldom than I could wish, but when they come they still put me from complaining.

There was nothing to write about the sermon at Glasgow, January 30th. Reports were spread Cockburn had called King Wil-

liam an usurper, but when dipped into it's found to be Cromwell. In the west country things are a little quickened by what they were, but people are very slow; the shooting at prizes at Irvine, Ayr, &c., and those being countenanced by some gentlemen and others, hastens the country people to get arms. It was projected to have had a muster at Glasgow on the 6th of February; but many were so ill in tift for it, and the arms so decreased, it was reckoned safer to lay aside the design, than make a sorry appearance. The inhabitants keep a by guard, which shortly, I hope, will bring in condition to make a better appearance.

I thank you for our account of Lochiel's burial;¹ his name is Cameron, though you term him Campbell. I am well assured, for all our security in this country, that, in the West Highlands, there can be got together, in a day's warning, fifteen hundred well armed, upright, well bodied Papists, within two days' and a half march of Glasgow. Argyle has acted most unaccountably in disobliging many of the western clans, and made fearfully false steps in that country; and if he don't very speedily retrieve things, he will be a cipher in the Highlands.

I am glad to find the Dissenters in the south so full in their declaration against the Pretender. Let me know which of the two kinds, Hepb. or M^cMill., the paper comes from.² I wish we had as full and fair a draught from them for Hanover. I have yesterday a formula sent me by Hepburn's party, and some that hear [ad-

¹ "I had lately an account of a solemnity of a Highland funeral. Campbell of Lochiel died about the 10th of January, and his corps were kept unburied till the 28th, (and I wonder why not to the 30th of that month.) His son, who has lately set up upon the Jacobite lay, did delay the interment of his father's corps so long, that he might have occasion to draw together such disaffected parties of the Highland Clans as lay next him, and others, upon the contrary lay, under the sculk of a funeral solemnity, did go to be a check upon the Jacobites. In short, there were upwards of two thousand and five hundred men in arms well appointed, thirteen pipers, a pair of colours belonging to Bradalbin, and out of his lands five hundred men, commanded by Robert Roy M^cGregor, a bankrupt Jacobite."—(*Hart to Wodrow.*)

² This was a printed declaration against the Pretender, agreed upon at a meeting of the Dissenters in the south, a double of which Mr Hart sent in his letter to Wodrow.

here ?] to the Societies for prayer through this country, and would have sent a double of it, if I were not told it had been before your correspondent meeting at Edinburgh.

I have nothing from Ireland since my last. I hear from the south, Mr Robert Boyd of Portpatrick is broke off from his Presbytery, and refuseth to join in meetings, though he did join for a while, after taking the oath; that he hath recommended a young man, whom that Presbytery stopped in his trial, to the five brethren in Dumfries, who have withdrawn, to be licensed, and they have the matter before them. Every time I think upon the state of that country, I wish that, in August, a committee of ministers, who would have been acceptable to the brethren, had gone in to the south. I fear, if our tranquillity be lengthened out, their imprudence, and the warmth of the other side, cast this poor Church into a flame. The fuel is gathering, and the burning already begun.

Pray grudge me not a quarter of an hour now and then, for I know you have abundance of matter every week now. Remember you and I are not upon an equal lay for matter; I am in a corner, you in the resort of accounts, and yet you have more letters than you give. This is just scribbled to punish you with a postage, for you see I have nothing worth while. I hear a friend of mine blamed for preaching some day after the proclamation of the Pretender, so as to offend the p——t, but know not the particulars. I am yours, &c.

Feb. 26, 1714.

I wish some at Edinburgh would answer the Causes of the Decay of Presbytery, and consider Sage's Life. I hope the last will rouse Sir James Dalrymple to do somewhat in self-defence.

LETTER CLXVII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1714.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

MY DEAREST,—What I write to you I shall leave to the other page, and here give you an account of this day's proceedings. Mr Wishart opened the Assembly, with a very good sermon upon 2 Kings ii. 13, 14. He was longer than such sermons use to be, some more than three half hours; he raised three doctrines, after forty or fifty observations, by way of explication, which he insisted a little on. The first was, that ministers may have Jordans of difficulties to go through; and he gave some reasons why Jordans were before them so oft, and in the application he took notice, that, though we had much encouragement from the Queen, and a new proof of her regard in countenancing this Assembly, and some other compliments to the Commissioner, he came to condescend, with some considerable boldness, upon several difficulties we were under and might expect. After the common heads of Atheism, profanity, &c., he lamented that this Church was like to be corrupted by the inclinations to and setting up of the unscriptural and unlawful English Liturgy. That we were groaning under the heavy burden of patronages, which was like to introduce a very unfaithful and corrupt ministry. His second doctrine was, that, under the prospect of Jordan difficulties, ministers ought to reflect on, and support themselves from, the Lord's former appearances in straits. And there he took occasion to speak very respectfully of the Revolution and King William, and hinted at the barbarities of the late times, and our deliverance from the invasion. His last doctrine was a

¹ From *Letters to Wodrow*, vol. viii. Nos. 72–76.

kind of application of the two former, in some very reasonable advices against division and encouragements to zeal, and a wise faithfulness under difficulties.

The Assembly met, and commissions were read, and the rolls made up. The leet for Moderator was Mr P. Warner, Mr Thomas Blackwell, and Mr William Mitchell, who was concerted and chosen very harmoniously. The Queen's Commission was read in common form, and the Queen's Letter, which is longer than usual. The former part of it was in common style; the remarkable clause which I have transcribed follows:—" We readily embrace this opportunity to renew the assurance we have formerly given you, of our firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland as by law established. The frequent assurances you have given us of your loyalty and good affection to our royal person and Government, and of your concern for the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover as by law established, as they could not but be very acceptable to us, so we doubt not of your continuing in the same dutiful dispositions." (This is more than perhaps has been said for some years from * * * anent the succession.) " Our concern for the good and peace of our subjects makes us take this opportunity, earnestly to recommend to you moderation and unanimity in your present meeting, and that at your return to your respective congregations you would use your utmost endeavours for quieting the minds of the people, and to remove any jealousies which have, without any just grounds, been suggested to them by persons of factious and turbulent spirits, and to make them sensible of the present blessings they enjoy, and of the bad consequences any kind of disturbance would have to your present tranquillity, as well as their future happiness; all which we expect from you, as faithful ministers of the gospel of peace, which you profess, and who wish well to the present establishment in Church and State."

After this the Commissioner¹ read his short speech, wherein he told he was glad to be in case to give the Assembly the account of

¹ The Duke of Athole.

her Majesty's recovery from her late indisposition, and was persuaded they would concur in blessing God for it. That he had particular commands to assure the Assembly the Queen was firmly resolved to maintain Presbyterian government, and concluded with usual apologies and assurances as to himself. Mr Mitchell made a long return in a set speech, congratulating the Queen's recovery, and showing the great sense the Assembly had of her kindness and justice in allowing us annual Assemblies secured to us by law; and then signified that such as differ from us, and set up upon the foot of calumniating this Church, had unjustly caluminate the Presbyterians of Scotland with disloyalty and disaffection. These he wiped off, and took notice of the insults made in the face of all law in rabbles and attacks made upon us, (pointing at Sharp's intrusion to the Old Town of Aberdeen,) and said this was a proper place to notice them, though we expect justice at a proper court; and concluded with the ordinary assurances and apologies. A committee was appointed to answer the Queen's Letter. Messrs Carstairs, Wishart, Warner, Hog, and four or six of the nobility present. Then overtures, bills, and the committee for revising commissions, naming preachers, &c. were appointed. To-morrow we meet for prayer.

For public news I hear nothing, but all letters agree the Duke of Cambridge is expected very suddenly, and some write that it is as certain the Queen will receive him with all respect. Dr Oliphant writes that our Jacobites in Scotland have now a poor game to play for all their big hopes and castles in the air. Another letter bears, that some bishops have been closeted very severely for their disloyalty as pretended; but they remain inviolably fixed in the interest of the P. succession. You will have heard of Bughan's appealing an English gentleman, Campion, to a duel, for saying he hoped to see the damned Kirk of Scotland ruined, but the House interposed. In a short time it's expected there will be great alterations.

May 6, 1714.

There is this day an annual meeting of Quakers in this place, where they have correspondents from England and abroad, and even America.

LETTER CLXVIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1714.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

Edinburgh May 8, 1714.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday, in the forenoon, the Assembly met for prayer. The Moderator, Mr Carstairs, Mr Warner, Mr P. Cuming, Mr James Hog, Mr Jo. Stirling, prayed; Mr Warner's freedom was noticed; as to our nobility, he lamented so few of them were in communion with this Church, and joined themselves with a Church which, when they came to its bosom, would scarce allow them to be Christians, and prayed for their reclaiming. He blessed God for the kindness of the Commissioner in another station, and prayed he might never cast down what he had once built.

In the afternoon the committee of overtures met, and the draught of the answer to the Queen's letter was brought in, and with some amendments was transmitted. The answer to the difficult clause at the close of the letter, I cannot give in the words of it directly, but it's to this purpose: "Though the growth of Papists and enemies to the Queen and friends to the Pretender had bred some fears and jealousies, yet we will use our utmost endeavours to bear down all groundless surmises, and discountenance such as raise *disturbance of your Majesty's government and the Protestant succession*. In yesterday's committee it ran *any disturbance*, without any more, and was voted so; but this morning it was altered as above by the Committee of Overtures. It seems yesternight either the Com-

missioner had not seen the amendment, or would not go into it; and so in the Assembly he plainly moved that the words "Protestant succession" might be left out; and desired that the first draught and the amendment might be read both, and the Assembly make their choice, which was done. He complained the first draught was transmitted and shown to him yesternight, and that it was hard to make amendments after the draught was ended, and showed much inclination to have out the amendment. Mr C. had a discourse to show the amendment was only an explication, and since the Assembly had declared that was their meaning by *all disturbances*, he thought the amendment might fall. When members came to speak they all agreed that, since the amendment was tabled, they were for continuing it, and without mistake it could not be left out. There were four or five spoke very freely upon that head. So the Commissioner let it fall. Many think it was very great imprudence, and much of a party in him, to prigg so with the Assembly from the throne upon this head. If he had insisted, I do think the House had turned very warm; but it's well as it is. Then an address of compliment, on the Queen's recovery, was read and voted, with the answer to the letter, unanimously. It's only compliment.

I have no public news. The House of Lords have carried a private affair against the Chancellor, which the Whigs are glad of. The talk continues of both Cambridge and the Pretender, and of ships and men at Dunkirk. I hope our Assembly will end well.

LETTER CLXIX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1714.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

MY DEAREST,—I am just stealing a minute or two to give you an account of things since my last. Upon Sunday, Mr Blackwell

preached in the forenoon on Gen. iii. 15; and lectured on the first fourteen verses. It was said he flattered the Commissioner to his face, both in sermon and prayer. Mr Gray, in the afternoon, had a very good sermon upon Dan. ix. 17, and a very honest and free prayer after it. Yesterday the committees met in the forenoon to prepare business, and I must say very little business was before the Assembly, except common forms. The great work of the Assembly is before two committees anent the business of the south, where I am glad to see matters carried so evenly. Some warm speeches were uttered for proceeding to censure the disorderly brethren there, but more moderate measures prevailed. And it's probable there may be a committee appointed at Edinburgh, and they ordered to converse with them, and in the meantime they are to be appointed to keep their own charges. The affairs of the north will not be, I hope, any occasion of difference among us. There is a committee appointed to draw a representation of the state of Popery, Intrusions, and other things, and very odd representations read before them. It's thought, perhaps, the Assembly may rise this week, and at farthest on Monday.

As to the public, last post brought considerable accounts. The express sent by Baron Schutz, Envoy of Hanover, did outrun, by thirty-six hours, the express sent by the Ministry to Harley; and when the account came, it's said the Elector approved the Envoy's conduct. When Harley came up next day, he immediately desired access to the Elector. He was just going to Council, and excused himself till it was over. They there approved what Schutz had done, and found it necessary to send over the Duke of Cambridge, and that by reason of the Queen's danger. Upon hearing this, it seems our Court held a Council, and unanimously, except our Secretary, (Marr,) resolved to treat the Duke of Cambridge as a Prince of the Blood, the Royal Peregrine¹ is sent over for him, the guards appointed to go down and receive him when he comes. The Pretender is expected soon to follow him. They say Lawless

¹ The royal yacht *Peregrine*, in which George I. afterwards embarked for Britain.

is to come to Ireland, D. of Berwick here, and the Pretender to England. They expect a manifesto from Hanover of the reasons why they desired the writ to the Duke. They talk the King of Spain is not well, and the Dauphin is spitting blood; and the Duke of Orleans, when he came in to see the King after Berry's death, was not admitted, and almost rabbled as he went hence, and it's very loudly talked that they all die of the Orleans sickness. Breadalbine and some of the Clans came off last week, it may be to prepare matters for the Pretender. It's said two ships are coming, one for Cromarty Bay, another for Fort-William, with officers and arms. They say we are to have lieutenants of counties as England has, who have power of raising the militia, and arming or disarming. This is what I mind in much haste. The Elector of Hanover is to vindicate the coming over of his son in the memorial, from certain accounts he has of the Pretender's coming. Sir John Erskine's petition is thrown out, because not signed. The committee for peace and union have agreed upon an overture anent the brethren in the south; they are harmonious in it, but I cannot say any thing anent it, for I was upon drawing a paper upon Popery, to be printed this week.

My Dearest, I have yours this post, which is very welcome. I bear burden with you as I can, and pray for you. I fancy it may be Friday before I get home, and assure yourself I think long to be with you. I am perfectly well, and so is your father. I never saw him better and eat more heartily. Pray take care of yourself. I have no further time but to add, that I am your own.

LETTER CLXX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1714.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

Edinburgh, May 13, 1714.

MY DEAREST,—This morning the committee about Popery and Invasions met; and the draught of a representation to the Queen, upon the terrible growth of Popery in the north, especially in the E. of Marr's country, was read, and the intrusion upon Aberdeen church. They debated a while whether particular condescendences should be made, and at length resolved that the Commission should draw these in a paper apart, and the representation refer to that condescendence. They take occasion to vindicate the Synod of Fife from the scandalous representation of them in the E. of Wemyss his address; and have some other particulars, that none of the addresses that thank for the toleration and patronages, notice the House of Hanover, and several other good things. In the forenoon, in the overtures, the act for unity was read; and therein, after a deducing of the act for peace last year, they take notice that the Assembly does own that pitch of reformation attained to in this Church. It was moved that *covenanted* reformation might be added; but it was found inconvenient, though it was declared that was meant by it. Then they go on recommending, that no ways should be taken at communions that might be contrary to the peace and unity of the Church. The committee altered this general to another expression, that no marks of distinction should be used, or no distinction made of Jurants and Non-jurants. In the afternoon, when this came to the Assembly, there was like to be some heat upon this recommendation with respect to communions; and it was urged with some warmth, that ministers and

sessions ought not to be prelimited in their choice, and that rules of this nature that would not be kept should not be made. When members were talking of Jurants and Non-jurants, the Commissioner rose up, and desired them to refrain from these terms, for they were not legal, and in the sense of law, all were looked upon as one. And so the members that spoke expressed themselves the brethren of different practices. The debate issued in this, that the Moderator declared the design of the act was not to prelimit brethren in their choice, but to show the sense of this Church, that nothing contrary to peace should be done at communions; and so it was voted, but much of the beauty of the vote was marred by the silence of many. Mr Mitchell's transportation to Aberdeen was referred to the Commission, because debates were like to fall in about his being a Non-jurant, not so proper to be handled in the open Assembly. Mr Baillie's call to Rotterdam was read, and the reasons of his transportation, with the answers; and he was very unanimously continued at Inverness, because the English service would have been presently set up had he been transported.

For public news, this night's post brought a letter to the Commissioner from the Earl of Marr, which he took occasion to communicate to as many as he could; and the Earl writes that the express is returned from Mr Harley, and he tells that the E. does not approve of Baron Schutz his conduct, and that the Duke of Cambridge is not coming over. Upon the other hand, more than half a dozen of letters, some of which I saw, bear that there are no letters this post from beyond sea; but, next post, they expect a copy of the Elector of Hanover's memorial, containing the reasons of desiring the writ, from the accounts he has of the Pretender's designs. And there are two letters I think that expressly intimate, that no letters this post from the enemies of the Kirk and the Court are to be credited, for there is a trick in them. So that people continue firm in their hopes of the truth of all in my last. It's talked Breadalbine came off upon Monday was eight days. It's said General Dillon is to go to Ireland, and then to come over to our Highlands. There are accounts last post from Inverness that the Clans

are in arms; that Huntly and others, upon the 6th of May, went a rendezvous with forty or fifty baggage horse; and some add, that there is a ship, with officers and money, come in to Cromarty Bay from France, and another sailed about to Fort-William. A little time will discover the truth of all. All honest people ought to be on their guard. There is a committee appointed at Edinburgh, with power to adjourn from place to place, to meet with the brethren who desert judicatories in the south. This is the substance of what I mind this night. If I be not called west, you shall hear further next post. Weightman continues in his post, and weathers his enemies. The * * * [Queen?] has been ill again of the former distemper, and the last letters bear she was some better. The Lord send us good accounts next post.

LETTER CLXXI.

NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

To the Rev. Mr Cotton Mather, D.D., &c.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I take it to be my particular duty to let you hear from this place as oft as ever an opportunity offers; and the more that the Rev. Mr James Brown of Glasgow, your old friend and correspondent, is now removed by death to a better world, who used still to give you accounts of our Scots affairs. Far be it from me to think I can any way supply your loss this way. I know you want not several others here who are much more in case to let you know the state of our Zion than I. Yet I reckon myself the more obliged to do what lies in the compass of my small power to show you how things are with us.

Mr Brown died in the Lord at Glasgow upon the last day of April, and, besides the loss of his once very useful labours in that city, there are like to arise peculiar difficulties in the planting of

that post. The Queen is patron of that church; and such is the insolence of the tolerated party, that they hope either to keep it vacant till a further charge be made among us, or to have one of the Episcopal persuasion presented to it. But I hope their evil purposes shall not succeed.

This winter and spring nothing very remarkable hath fallen out in this Church. Our heats and differences I cannot say are yet over, and I wish our Lord be not provoked to send us to the furnace there to unite. The flame of division is mostly in the southern parts of this Church.

Upon the 6th of May our General Assembly sat at Edinburgh, and once more the expectations of our observers are disappointed. We were put in some fear that the Queen's Commissioner had some instructions that would bear heavy upon the Assembly; but, in the event, it did not appear. There was an expression in her Majesty's letter to us, which created some difficulty to answer. She complained that the minds of her subjects were filled with groundless fears and jealousies, raised by factious and seditious persons. The Assembly, in their answer, did own there were fears upon the spirits of many raised by the extraordinary growth of Popery and insolence of the enemies of her Majesty, and promised to make their people sensible of their happiness under her Majesty's government.

The Duke of Athole, who represented the Queen, is not reckoned a great friend to the P[rotestant] succession, as he was like to differ with the Assembly about some expressions of our concern for that establishment, but could not prevail to have them softened. He saw fit likewise to oppose the Assembly approving of the last Commission's seasonable Warning against Popery, which I sent you by my last. But that was a matter of that importance, that it could not be yielded, and the Warning was unanimously approved. The Assembly made an address of compliment upon the accounts the Commissioner gave from the throne of Queen's recovery from her indisposition, and have drawn a very affecting representation of the growth of Popery, and the insults of the Episcopal party in the north upon the established ministers, and some other points, and

laid it before the Queen, craving redress. It would make your heart bleed to hear the melancholy accounts of the terrible increase of Popish priests and bishops of late in Scotland, and no doubt you are wrestling together with us, that the Lord, when we are brought to Babylon, may there deliver us. A new act for the peace and unity of the Church, under our different practices as to the oath, is made, and some ministers appointed to travail in healing breaches upon this account where they are most wide and flagrant.

This, as far as I mind, is the substance of what the General Assembly did. Upon the 16th current they rose without any breach with the Government or among themselves, which we take as one token for good amidst the many tokens for evil.

No doubt you have accounts from England of what passes there much sooner than this can reach you, and from better hands. The Duke of Cambridge is expected there and the Pretender after him, and our Papists and Jacobites are just on the point of rising in arms to join him. Many a time our God has broken their wicked designs, and our eyes are towards him when we know not what to do.

This seems to be the day of Jacob's trouble; he is small, but our God and King can command deliverances. Things now are very near a crisis, and the Lord must appear, otherwise we and all the Reformed Churches will be swallowed up.

I long to hear from New England, and I humbly hope you do not miss any occasion coming hither to let me know how matters are with you. Pray favour me with your thoughts of the appearances of Providence at this day, and all your accounts at full length.

And let this pay my most humble duty to your venerable parent. The bearer's haste does not allow me to give him the trouble of a line, and any thing worth while in mine you'll communicate with him. May the Lord preserve him long to do great things for his name, and to see the beginnings of Christ's mountain kingdom.

I pray the Lord may be with you, and eminently succeed your

labours to the advancing of his kingdom in the world; and am, Reverend and Dear Sir, your affectionate and very much obliged,

R. W.

May 22, 1714.

LETTER CLXXII.

A VERY ODD SIGHT, IF TRUE.

To Mr J. Erskine.

DEAR SIR,—I have been these two or three weeks wandering up and down at communions, where I am glad to hear so much said to awaken people out of their unaccountable security. The shire of Ayr is in very good tift, and they want not necessaries in case of a visit from their neighbours over the water. I was last week in the shire of Dumbarton, where the gentry are very ill disposed, and the common people under some apprehensions, but very ill provided, though they lie as open as many places.

Cockburn, the tolerated incumbent at Glasgow, has been lately at Dumbarton spreading his senseless notions of our reformers not being in orders, and consequently our Presbyterian ordination and sacraments are void and null, and we are all in a heathen state.

At Dumbarton I heard a story which makes some noise in that country, though, for my own part, I lay no stress on such accounts till I have them fully attested. In May last, Mr Archibald Gillespie, minister at Kilmaglasse, [Kilmartin-Glassary,] in the Presbytery of Denune, was one morning called out of his bed to see a very odd sight, if true. He went out, and the sun, who seemed to be an hour risen, appeared very pale, almost white, and larger than usual, and in the sun there appeared to them a woman, very well dressed in a grave habit; when they had looked a while, they observed two large

clouds rise on every side of the sun ; these two, with points one towards another like spears, came pretty near one another, and suddenly removed and clashed together again and again, like two armies charging one another, and tore all the woman's dress. And the frequent rushing and clashing of the clouds ended in a shower of blood, which fell upon them, and stained their clothes, and the ground sensibly red. This account is so odd that I should not have sent it you, if it had not made much noise in Dumbarton, which is but two or three miles from that place this is said to be in. And the ministers with us at the communion tell that six or seven gentlemen, and three or four score people, [were] together when this sight was seen. After all, I must suspend my credit to it till I have it from some present. I am yours, &c.

Jan. 11, 1714.

Pray let us have an account of the Jacobites keeping their solemnity of the Friday.

LETTER CLXXIII.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—COCKBURN'S RABBLE.—PROGRESS OF HIS HISTORY.

To Mr James Hart.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours last post but two was singularly obliging, and I am persuaded if you knew how acceptable yours are to me, you would not grudge me a line now and then. I thank you, in a particular way, for the account of the committee at Penpont.¹ I shall not tell you now how that affair is misrepre-

¹ The committee appointed to deal with the ministers in the south, who refused to join in Church Judicatories with Jurants, had three days' conference in the Kirk of Penpont, and five dissenting brethren were all heard. Mr Hepburn, and a great

sented. If I get into the Commission, this may be the subject of some conversation; I shall only wish some brethren were at pains to get better information, or showed a greater regard to truth.

This strange turn of affairs we are at present under¹ is so immediate an appearance of Providence, as I have seen nothing like it but the happy Revolution, and yet I want not my fears we seem not ripe for such a deliverance as this seems to forebode; but the Lord's ways are not like ours, nor his thoughts like ours. Our Jacobites seem to be thunder-struck, and many of them are laying about; and if the clergy come in and own the Government, I fear the consequences. I tremble at the thoughts of new oaths in new shapes, and I fear we are not out of danger.

Some of our Jacobites are giving up their arms and horses subdously to the Justices of Peace, as corrupt as themselves, and I fear this unexpected turn render many secure and stupid.

You will probably expect an account of the rabble who pulled down Mr Cockburn's meeting-house at Glasgow upon the 6th or 7th of this month. It's but a very lame one I can give. You will have heard four are appointed to take a precognition in that affair,

number of his people, were present. The church was extremely throng all the days; and four of the dissenting ministers, and the people who adhered to them, resolved never to have meetings with Mr Hepburn. The ministers promised to stay at home with their own congregations, and not to perambulate the country preaching to other congregations, at the request of persons who deserted their own ministers on account of the oath.—(*Hart to Wodrow.*)

¹ This refers to the peaceable accession of the Elector of Brunswick, George I., to the throne, upon the death of Queen Anne, which took place in the beginning of August this year. The sudden death of the Queen, before the plans to secure the succession of the Pretender were matured, was considered by the friends of the Revolution a most merciful interposition of Providence. "This month (August) makes a vast change by the Queen's death, and the peaceable proclamation of King George. The joy is so great and universal, that I have seen nothing like it since the Revolution, when I was but young. This is a wonderful dash to the Jacobites, and had the Queen lived a little longer, they think their schemes would have taken effect; and it's not improbable that the Pretender was lately in London, and at St James'. However, the Lord hath broken the snare, and we are escaped. I wish we may all suitably observe the divine hand in it."—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 17.)

my Lord Pollock, Rosshaugh, Blythwood, and Raploch. I scarce think they will be in case to find out who did it. They were certainly strangers, and not inhabitants of the town, and I suspect Mr M'Millan's followers. Mr Cockburn tempted people to attack his meeting-house. Upon the day before the rabble, he caused bring away his canonical gown, Prayer-book, and Bible, and that so publicly, as it might be noticed and observed, and, as it were, displenished his nest, that people might be invited to take it down, and that night took horse pretty late and left the place. I hear he hath represented that his family and house were plundered, and his furniture and books abused, and his wife insulted, which are abominable lies. When he went off, he did not at all crave protection, nor signify any hazard to the magistrates, though his hearers and followers, the day before the rabble, spread a story that a rabble was to be that night, when nobody heard of it, which made people [think] they were actors in it themselves. It's certain they are very fond to have him away, and to be rid of the charges they have been at in maintaining him and the meeting-house so long, and stick not plainly now to tell us, and I believe it may be so, that if they had not been assured the Government would have supported him, and given them some of the Bishops' [rents,] they had never engaged in that meeting-house.

The town of Glasgow, the end of the last week, received a very kind and obliging letter from the Duke of Cambridge, now the Prince, thanking them for the compliment of burgess-ship sent him in the end of April last, with another from Monsr. Kranenbourg, the Hanover resident at London. They are both very kind.

I mind no other thing worth your notice here. I have completed my first book of the History of the Sufferings in the Late Times, from the Restoration to Pentland, and drawn the first draught of the second, from Pentland to Bothwellbridge, which it's like I may either send or bring in to you and friends at Edinburgh. I reckon this great turn of affairs renders this account very necessary and seasonable, though I am a very unfit hand to essay it. If any thing I could collect may be materials to another in case to go

through with that necessary design, I shall reckon my little pains well bestowed. I am yours, &c.

Aug. 26, 1714.

LETTER CLXXIV.

REFLECTIONS ON THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—GRIEVANCES,
INTRUSIONS, AND PATRONAGES.

To the R. H. C. E. [Right Honourable Colonel Erskine.]

Sept. 2, 1714.

DEAR C.—I wrote last post to your son, and signified that if any thing anent Mr Cockburn's process, worth while, fell out this day at Glasgow, I should write. The accounts of what is done are not yet come to hand, but before I close this I shall endeavour to give you some hint of it.

Meanwhile, allow me a little to unbosom myself to you, because I know not if I shall get in on the 15th, not being a member, and seeing little prospect of doing any thing as yet.

I desire humbly to observe and remark this wonderful revolution of affairs, in the timing of the Queen's demise, and peaceable accession of King George to the throne, which we have some prospect of. I own I am like one that is yet dreaming, and I think the surprising removal of the late Queen has disconcerted very much the measures of France abroad, and our Jacobites at home; and I do think it may be harder for them than before to lay down a new scheme; and I take this (if improven) to be a turn of affairs exceedingly to the advantage of the Protestants abroad; and sometimes I am ready to fear it may be sent as much for their relief as it may be for ours in Scotland, till we be better prepared for the mercy.

I observe the name, I shall not [say] the race, of the S——ts

[Stuarts] at an end ; I notice we are now very much obliged to their marriages with Protestant families, as we have been, and perhaps yet more may be, plagued for their and their daughters' marrying with Papists. I observe it was from this we have had the Revolution, and this second Revolution by marriages with Protestants abroad, sore against our King's will. I cannot but notice the father apostatising from (if he was not bred a Papist) our holy Reformation, and justly turned out of our throne, and his two daughters standing firm to our religion ; and both of them enjoying the throne he was justly deprived of, and yet both childless, and the line ending in the seed of the only Papist we have been plagued with since the Reformation. How far the children's teeth were set on edge by the sour grapes the father ate, I am not to determine. I cannot but mind the old and odd tale of our James the Fifth, from what spirit it came is plain enough, at the birth of Queen Mary, "It came by a lass, and it will go by a lass." I reckon we lost our religion, in some measure, by the union of the crowns, and the Scots kingdom went off in her son, when he went to England, and in the last of that race, a woman, to [go] no further, lost our sovereignty in the Union of the nations. What the Lord has to do with this new line, I do not know ; they need many prayers that they may be kept from the sad ways of their relations and predecessors. This old saying of King James puts me in mind of what we had, as they said, from Ireland, current among us last winter, which I reflect sometimes on, and know not whence it could come, and is, indeed, in all its parts verified :

An open winter, a windy spring,

A dry summer, and in harvest a new king.

You'll pardon me for thir idle clatters that come in my head. To come to things which lie heavier on my heart, I cannot, though I desire to remark the strange and most seasonable turn of affairs, win to be so far lift up with it as I find some are. I think, with all humility, I may apply the prophet's expression, "I hear, but un-

derstand not; Lord, what shall the end of these things be?" That the Lord hath heard prayer, and answered it in behalf of thir poor lands, I question not; that he is by such a turn of affairs as we are under, opening a door for further pleading and wrestling, to me is very plain, and certainly we ought to improve it this way. But there are many things make me fear his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. I see little of the inward deliverance to the spirits of his people yet come; I see very little of a temper among professors that looks like a returning God unto us, though I know God is not restrained to our temper and frame. I fear the whole Jacobite and Episcopal party be converted by this Providence, and were it real, I should rejoice in it; but conversions from outweighs, and mere providential dispensations, are never sound. And what influence the complying of the whole of the Episcopal clergy to oaths and the government will have on this Church, I need not tell you. The foundation of all our evils, the Union, I suspect may be now rivetted upon us, and though the King should be for the dissolution of it, as I do not know if it be his interest as King to break it, yet I see not how he will get it accomplished, and, during its standing, I see little prospect of removing our grievances, besides our own differences among ourselves, and a fond tenderness of doing any thing which may put us in hazard of confusion, in the entry of our King upon his government, and till, at least, he be firmly set on his throne, will effectually stop any application to him for this end. I fear likewise that our differences shall be quickly heightened by new impositions of oaths, or new shapes of old ones. It was an unhappy thing that ever party and dubious oaths were made tests of loyalty, and imposed on ministers, who, by their office and station, give every Lord's day abundance of expressions of their loyalty; and, as far as I can observe, from our history, was first brought in with the oath of canonical obedience imposed by the prelates upon intrants, wherein they insert an Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign, the best part of it, indeed, had it not been driven too far afterwards. The universal pressing of the Oath of the Covenant was maliciously improven, after the Restora-

tion, as a pretext to impose oaths of all kinds on ministers and others, by the party in the Church and State who did not fear an oath. And after the Revolution it was made too much a test of loyalty, and gratitude to our deliverer, [which] made ministers run all into what was very lawful in the matter of it, without a due consideration of the consequences of binding down their successors in office to every new oath that statesmen should think fit to contrive and coin. The provision made against this by our Assembly 1647, I think, perhaps, from a sense of the consequences of this nature, which they saw might flow from the covenant itself, was much forgot, that no oath should be taken till the mind of the Assembly were had thereanent. I am very far from inclining to have church judicatories set up as judges of civil titles, but the harmony and unity of the Church national seems to require an antecedent declaration of the mind of the church representative, before ministers run hand over head into matters of this kind.

This would naturally enough lead me to consider what may come before the Commission upon the 15th instant; and here I shall, with all plainness, give you my thoughts as they offer at present. I think there are three subjects will fall under your consideration there;—the methods proper for the Commission to use for the King's taking the oaths appointed by the Act of Union for the security of this Church;—the sending up of some in name of this Church to congratulate him on his accession;—and, which to me appears the most important of all, the proper and seasonable representation of our grievances at this juncture.

As to the first, I acknowledge I am not so much concerned about it as, it may be, some others are. It was a sham put upon us in some respect, to appoint an oath by the Act of Union, and not to lay down a method how it should be administrate to the Sovereign. But I question not but the King will see it his own interest to call some to administrate it to him; and I would be cautious of the Commission's interposing, so far as judicially to do any thing anent this. They seem at their last meeting to have fallen into a proper enough method as to this, to write privately, not from the Com-

mission, to some to put his Majesty in mind of what is convenient for him to do, and leave it to himself to call persons to offer the oath to him. For my own part, I expect little from the Union, or the oaths imposed by it.

The business of sending up some to wait upon the King is [of] some more consequence. If it be considered as a mere compliment due at his accession, I shall say very little about it; and it is of no great importance who be sent. Such as have been at Court already, and know the manner of the land, and can make the best address of compliment, should have my vote, were I to vote in it, as I shall not. But if it be on business they go up, I own the matter deserves a little further consideration; and though the best persons who shall be pitched upon should be limited and bound up by instructions and limitations, drawn up and agreed unto, with the greatest consideration and particularness, yet still much depends upon the persons sent, and many circumstances must necessarily be left to their management. And, in this case, ministers and an elder of the greatest experience and firmness to our Church constitution, and of some measure of courage and resolution to insist upon the Church's privileges, should be fixed on. I wish our different practices and mutual jealousies were at an end and buried, but I see very little tending that way; and how far it may be convenient to send some of both practices, I shall not determine. I see inconveniencies on both hands, and I wish the Lord may extricate the Commission out of them, for I know not what they will do. If I did not think the first opportunity of presenting our heavy grievances were not to be missed, I should wish some were sent up on their own business, and for the ceremony of compliment; and the real business be fully prepared and considered afterwards. But there is an obvious difficulty here offers, which I know not how to answer. If our grievances be not represented by the first who are upon the mission, it may be justly reckoned we have none. Which brings me

To the last thing, and the great matter, in my opinion, you have under your view; and that is the representing or doing somewhat

anent our grievances we are at present groaning under. And here I shall, for fixing my own thoughts the better as to the proper remedies and methods for redress, consider,

1st, The grievances we are under.

2dly, The manner of redress, or what may be our duty at present to get them removed.

3dly, The season of doing this.

Lastly, The arguments and considerations which prevail with me to think that this is the season of endeavouring to do somewhat for this.

The matter of our grievances is much easier to be condescended upon than remedies proposed for them. In this Church at present we have evils that are a little more topical, and grievances a little more general in their nature; and, relative to the whole Church, I shall begin with the first; and the south affords us one lamentable branch, and the north several. *1st*, The unhappy differences in the southern parts of the Church deserve the Commission's most serious notice. There we are divided and subdivided into I know not how many parties. We are crumbled into Mr M'Millan's followers, Mr Hepburn's, and the ministers in and about Penpont, who separate upon the score of the oath. I see no application can be made to the Government anent these factions, among such as profess to be Presbyterians; our nakedness this way should rather be covered, alas! whither shall we cause our shame to pass? I shall only notice, then, that a joint and frank endeavour in the Commission and judicatories to get other grievances removed, might do much to break the most considerable of these parties, and either to bring them back to the unity of this Church, or at least take off the best of their arguments for their separating practices; though I suspect that many of these people are of such principles, and are really so ignorant of the nature of Church communion, that any thing the Church can do will scarce ever be able to reclaim them fully; and forbearance and negligence of them, and pursuing our work and duty vigorously, will at length wear them out. *2dly*, Upon the other hand, the state of the north calls for a very different method.

There the persons we have to deal with are of another temper, and require applications to the Government. The north have evils common to other parts of the Church, as the effects of the Union, and the laws subsequent to it, which are peculiarly heavy upon them; but I shall leave these till I come to the evils of a general nature, and name one or two peculiar to them. *1st*, The awful advances of Popery and Papists. It must be owned that the south country has its proportionable share of this evil, but it's neither so observable nor so hazardous there as in the north. The growth of Popery in Scotland, and the terrible increase of seminary priests and Jesuits, has been given account of to the world in print, and so I need only to refer to these accounts. This hath certainly had its rise from the prevalency of Jacobitism, and the encouragement the friends of the Pretender have had given them, or taken to themselves, these four or five years; and the prelatie party, from their fondness of what they call hereditary right and prelacy, have joined issue with the Papists, frankly confessing they like them better than Presbyterians. I would fain hope the Government will see it their interest effectually to discountenance that party, and the effectual execution of the good laws we have, with the falling of the interest of the Pretender, by this great turn of Providence, will put a stop to this grievance; and the judicatories of the Church need be in no strait to make full representations of it.

2dly, From the same fountain and causes, another grievance in that country flows, and generally it is carried on by the same hands, the violent and illegal intrusions of Episcopal intruders, and the English Service into Churches, and the rabbling of Presbyterian ministers, and the Presbyteries of that bounds at ordinations and other times. Multitudes of these have been yearly laid before the Assembly and Commission. The English Service being set up with so much violence of late, may be attributed to the Union and Toleration, but it must be owned that a Jacobite and Popish party have been the great managers; and these methods have been taken mostly to serve the interests of Bar-le-duc, and to curry favour with the Highfliers in England, who have had the same design in

view. And, therefore, I would fain hope the King will see it his interest to discountenance them effectually. And it were good that a collection of the addresses made, mostly from the north, by the influence of that party, wherein the peace, the toleration, the English Service, and hereditary right, have been asserted and thanked for, should be made and printed, that the King, and such as are heartily in his interest, may see that their scope has been to hinder his accession to the throne, and that not one of these addresses almost that thank for the peace, or show a concern for the English Liturgy, do mention the succession in the Protestant line; yea, several of them have very plain strokes in them for the Pretender, and the addresses of the Episcopal clergy would not be overlooked.

3dly, In the north, of late, the enthusiastical foppery of Bourignianism hath grown very much. I reckon this but a step towards Popery, and what Protestants who have a mind to keep on the mask of a profession of the Reformation, and yet embark with Papists, under political views, do very natively fall into, and they are by it prepared to be wrought upon by the Jesuits and Priests; and their throwing off the ministry of the word and ordinances by Presbyterians, and any thing they hear from the Episcopal preachers, being either bare morality, or Arminian and Pelagian doctrine, joined with the convictions of ill living at times, and the workings of the spirit of the covenant of works, lead them natively to the pretended gravity and fopperies of Bourignianism. I hope this grievance will fall when its causes are taken away, and gradually turn to nothing.

I might add several things as to the Highlands and Isles, which have been fruitlessly and long complained of, which should be noticed upon this great turn of affairs, the lamentable ignorance that abounds there, the largeness of parishes, and shameful provision for ministers, the want of legal and suitable encouragement for schools and educating of the youth, which are a little helped by the Society for Christian Knowledge, but need the help of the Government very much. These heads of our complaints will be what, at

least, we shall be joint in, in judicatories, and so I say no more of them,

But come forward to our heavy burdens of a more general nature, and these I take to be the Union, and some more particular consequents of it as to the Church of Scotland, and the two laws made since anent toleration and patronages.

1. The Union I reckon to be our great and principal burden, the fountain from which many other evils do flow. But when and how we shall get rid of it, I do not see. The only good thing in it, the succession of the King, is now come about; and I wish now the eyes of England were opened to see our Scots members are like to be but a burden on them, and the hazard of their own liberties, as well as ours, are trampled on by them. I own this lies pretty much out of the sphere of Church judicatories, and I know little they can do about it. Only I wish nothing may be done by them to homologate it, and bind it faster upon us. There are some particular grievances that immediately flow from it, which perhaps at this juncture some redress might be found for, though I have very little hopes anent them: *1st*, The appeals Church judicatories are abased with to the British Parliament in cases of calls, plantation of parishes, and multitudes of other things; especially those made from the General Assembly and the Commission; this is so much sham work, and so contrary to our reserved rights in our united state, that I hope, if the matter were fairly laid before the King, an effectual stop might be put to them. And unless we fall in directly with the Erastian constitution of England, where I question if appeals lie from the Convocation to the Parliament, I hope we might all of us be joint in representing this burden. *2dly*, The want of a Court to correspond with the Church, in Church affairs that need the civil sanction, and particularly in fasts and thanksgivings, is an evil that particularly deserves the consideration of the Commission. Through this the Church is like to be threaded out of this branch of the exercise of our power, and gradually we are like to fall out of the use of national fasts, at a time when there is so great need of them. I

should think this want might very easily be supplied. We see the Justiciary have, under a very corrupt administration, got a power lodged in them for executing the laws against Popery, which power is highly reasonable, and, I think, as inconsistent with the united state, as a power in them or some other persons, for giving the civil sanction unto the Church's appointments. And, *3dly*, Another evil I name is the imposition of dubious and involved oaths upon the members and ministers of the Church. This I look upon as a native effect of the Union; we come to be involved in all public impositions, and that of oaths among others, when they are laid upon England. At first they are calculate for the English constitution, and, without any consideration of our reserved rights, they are crammed down our throats. Lamentable experience may teach us the heaviness of this grievance. The consequences of our different practices, with relation to oaths, are obvious to every body; and I fear last longer than many are aware of, and run deeper also. It were, then, to be wished, the Church would exert herself vigorously in opposition to this unreasonable method of imposing state and party oaths upon subjects, and assert the freedom that ministers of the Gospel may justly plead from their station and character from them, providing otherwise they give no just ground of suspicion. This is a grievance deserves the gravest and most serious consideration of the Commission. There are many other burdens flow from the Union, which are of lesser importance; the manner of taking oaths, by kissing the book,—the Youl vance,—the introduction of many fashions in our judicatories, and appeals from them, and other things, which are so much of a civil nature that I very much pass them, and come forward to, *2dly*, the two laws made since the Union, which are, and are like to be, more and more gravaminous to this Church. And,

1st, The act for a toleration in such a boundless and illimited way is what was never done, for any thing I know of, to any Church among all the Reformed, which had the protection of law. The evils of this act are so many, and so well known, yea, felt, that I need not dip upon them. It is very evident it hath been

improven by the Jacobite party, as it was certainly brought into Parliament by them, to spread and sow disaffection to the King, and the settlement in his family; and, therefore, I hope he may be the less fond of it. I own, any application from our judicatories for the repealing of this law is attended with very great difficulties. Our brethren in England and Ireland have their toleration and connivance deeply encroached upon, and how far the moving of the Commission for redress of this grievance may be made use of as a handle to augment their grievances, I do not know. We are indeed in very hard circumstances; yet I do not see but we may plead our own rights, without any just ground of increasing their grievances. And we have all the reason in the world to crave, that our tolerated party may be tied down to the doctrine of this Church, in our Confession of Faith, ratified by law, where there is nothing they can justly quarrel in point of doctrine, as well as the tolerated party in England are obliged to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, bating the two and half that relate to worship and government, besides many other regulations which need to be made in this act; and I am of opinion, the unreasonable and sinful articles in that imposition ought to be plainly laid before the King.

2dly, The act for patronages to me appears yet of worse consequence to this Church, and really far more unreasonable than a simple toleration. It runs the hardest both on the Christian people, the *sacra plebs*, and the judicatories of Christ's appointment, of any thing almost could be put upon us. No law pretends to confine a person in his choice of his tradesmen whom he will employ, his physician he uses for his body, or lawyer for his outward business, and yet he ought to be far more concerned in his spiritual overseer of his life and spiritual concerns. And as there is no warrant pretended from Scripture for this relic of antichristian imposition on the Church, so it seems contrary to the Scripture rule, both as to the people's choice and the power of judicatories, to set and fix elders in every city. The terrible effects that may justly be apprehended will follow this imposition in a few years, should put us to use our utmost endeavours to be relieved from it.

To say little of the sham presentations now turning so common, whereby parishes are just kept vacant till some relation of the patron come to be ripe one way or other for the stipend; the lasting pleas and contentions anent patronages among pretending patrons, which put judicatories perfectly to a nonplus, and the evident hazard the Church is in of the incoming of a time-serving and corrupt ministry, perfectly at the will and disposal of their patrons, and many other things too long to be insert here, make it very necessary this evil be fully laid before the King. And as it is very ordinary in England to address against standing laws, when they are found to be burdens upon the subject, so we have this to encourage us in this application, that the King, when Elector, did express his dislike of the bill for bringing in patrons, as what would break his best friends in Scotland. I do not see that any smoothings in this affair will do; restricting of patrons, if the people be forfaulted of their just right, or obliging them to take the consent of Presbyteries before they present a minister already fixed to a congregation, will but line the yoke, and make it sit closer to our necks, and perpetuate it upon us and posterity.

Thus I have glanced at the matter of our grievances as they offer unto me, anent which, I think, the Commission ought to do somewhat at this juncture, and what that is I am to consider under the next head; and, indeed, I cannot say I am yet determined in my own mind what is to be done, but something certainly should, and if at this meeting members be frank, hearty, and unanimous, in giving a beginning, at least, to an appearance for redress of them, and set things agoing for a representation, I reckon it will be of comfortable effect to this Church; and if, as formerly, the season be lost, and things shuffled by till matters be past remedy, those engaged in such shufflings will have much to answer for.

The second thing I promised was to consider the methods that ought to be taken for redress. Beside what hints are already given in the enumeration of the grievances, I shall here a little consider the difficulties in the way of a redress, which will bring to inquire a little more particularly into the manner of our acting in order to a redress. The difficulties are very obvious. And, 1st,

I reckon our own unhappy and lamentable breaches, and which has sadly followed upon our different practices, not only a mutual cold-rifeness, but sad jealousies one side has of another; the one blaming the other of too much remissness, and they the t'other for too much warmth and rashness. These must either be laid aside at such a juncture, [or] otherwise I do not see how we can draw equally. *2dly*, The toleration and patronages have been brought upon us by our representatives, if those who have acted so much against the real good of their country deserve that name. They proposed them for weakening the succession and raising a ferment in this poor nation, yea, the making us run into unsuitable courses to ease ourselves of our burdens. However, the Church has not been altogether wanting in giving their [her] testimony against both these evils before they were passed into laws, and approving this since they were passed; but in such circumstances, I suppose, more than I wish they had done more since; and now there is yet room to help defects, and I wish such methods could be fallen on as might let the world know they are indeed burdens upon us, and the longer we are under them they are the more grievous to us. And further, I may remark, *3dly*, That the toleration and patronages are now a *jus quantum*, and *datum* to the Episcopal party, and turned to law, though we know when and by whom. And it will be no small difficulty to get them altered. But I see no ground we have to despair, since better laws have been altered than they are. And it's plain, *4thly*, That the National Hierarchick Church of England will look to the new legal grants made to their brethren in Scotland, and take care that none of these burdens be removed from Presbyterians; and they have us, indeed, at bay in the British Parliament, and a vast number of votes to a very few upon our side. *5thly*, The King will find it very difficult to do any thing in favours of the Church of Scotland, even though he incline to ease us as much as we can desire. He is a foreigner, and the Church of England will be far readier to raise the hue and cry of the danger of their Church than formerly; and yet a very considerable use was made of this under the late Queen's reign, tho' they could

entertain no jealousies at all of her. I might add our distance from court, the few of the nobility and persons of interest who have any real concern for religion, or the interests of the Church; and the hazard will be alleged of mending thir grievances in the entry of the King's reign, when he has so much to do, and so many difficulties to grapple with.

Under thir grievances and those rubbs that lie in the way of their removal, what shall be the methods the Commission ought to fall into, I know not well. And yet, under many disadvantages of want of experience in difficult cases, want of conversation on this subject, and real difficulties upon all hands, I shall venture to set down what offers to me under your correction. And, *1st*, I wish some methods more effectual than acts and declarations could be fallen upon for the more close uniting us among ourselves at this juncture. I know nothing would tend more to our advantage. I fear our breaches and the plain methods some, upon both sides, take to keep them up in conversation upon our different practices, printing and partying, especially in judicatories, may tend to make the ministers of this Church base and contemptible in the eyes of our neighbours, and provoke the Lord further to leave us to things that may crumble us into pieces. I have of a considerable time thought that nothing could have happened in Scotland more hazardous to the King's interest, and his family's succeeding, than the imposition of the Oath of Abjuration, and our different practices thereupon. This has too much broken his best and most firm subjects and well-wishers, and, perhaps, was designed to do so by some, as it has evidently been improven by Jacobites to this purpose. I would fain hope the hazard is in part over; but I am persuaded if our differences be fomented by new impositions, or effectual care be not taken to remove what coldrifeness remains, not to the King, but among ourselves, upon this score, and to put our dislocate legs in joint again, the consequences may be very dismal in the issue.

2dly, I know not how far an act assertory of our scriptural and legal rights against the impositions of patronages and toleration might be of use at this juncture. I was never so much for an act

assertory of the Church's intrinsic power, and some other things, because I thought we were directly in the daily exercise of them ; but perhaps we may be found to have yielded some of our ground, both as to the patronages and toleration, and in this case it may be very reasonable to assert our principles and rights in a cautious and unexceptionable way. This may tend to cement us, and may be of considerable use until our grievances can be got represented and redressed by those in whose power it is to do it. I reckon,

3dly, A fair representation ought to be drawn up of our grievances, and, in due time, and when fully ripened, it ought to be laid before the King, and the event committed to the Lord, and the issue expected patiently, in the due use of means. And as to this representation, I am of opinion, *1st*, That our present circumstances require that it be made to the King rather than the Parliament. You know the evident difficulty we have in laying any thing directly before the Parliament, as from this Church, and that our known and declared principles do not allow us to own the civil places of churchmen; and, therefore, I am so far from inclining to delay our representing grievances until a Parliament sit, as I find some are, that I think they ought rather to be laid before the King, before it sit down. And if he shall of his goodness recommend them, with remedies, to the consideration of his Parliament, it will be a part of that kind care he owes to the interests of religion in this part of his dominions ; and if he cannot do so, in point of form, then you'll give me leave to expect he will go as great a length as he may to redress any of them [that] lies in his own power to help. Further, I think,

2dly, This representation ought to be from the Commission of the General Assembly, and not from any particular set of ministers. It's part of the care the Assembly hath left upon them, and most proper for them. And I shall earnestly wish they may not, by their slackness, and lying by at this time, tempt brethren to fall into separate measures of representing grievances which to me appears to be attended with such disadvantages to this Church, that, in the issue, it may even be worse than our different practices about the oath itself. However, I would have, as I shall afterwards hint,

the Commission strengthened in this by the concurrence of Presbyteries, that, as far as may be, it may be the deed of the diffusive Church, which I reckon to be as desirable as that even of an Assembly itself. And further,

3dly, I would have this representation made by persons as well as bare and dumb papers. The persons to be chosen would be such as may be in case to agent the business ; and it is needless to insist upon their qualifications ; they are obvious enough. If so be it be found needful to dispatch some presently for compliment, I shall not be against it ; but such as go up with the representation must be for business. And in their choice I would lay aside all other things, but their being fit for managing an affair which is certainly of the last importance to this Church and religion. And because,

4thly, The redress of the grievances may be supposed to be a matter of time, and upon many other accounts I have many times wished for a person to be pitched upon to stay at London, and act there for the Church of Scotland, as he shall be directed and instructed from hence. Ministers cannot long be absent upon such a work, and, indeed, it would be a person of considerable abilities and great diligence, and some interest and acquaintance above, that would be pitched upon, and have wherewith to do his business and bear his charges. In a word, I think as to the matter and draught of this representation, wherein we agreed we should walk together, and there should be condescensions upon all hands of persons of different lights, and all should endeavour to come to one another, and do as much as we can centre in, though it should be less than some incline to, and, perhaps, more than others, yet as far as possible we ought to unite in somewhat.

The season of this representation of grievances is what I promised to take a view of in the third place. And this I cannot fully judge of, not knowing how things will be at court for a while, nor among ourselves. Certainly the sooner a suitable and harmonious draught of our grievances could be made, in my opinion, it would be the better ; but, on the other hand, I do reckon it a work of time, and that it would not hastily be run into, and the rather be-

cause we have, in my opinion, some time to allow to it, since it's scarce supposable the King, on his first arrival, will be in case to consider our grievances; and I find it said that it does not look so well to entertain him at the first address with grievances. I would, therefore, propose, *1st*, That the Reverend Commission take this affair to their most serious consideration, at their meeting next week; and it were good, and would be very satisfying to many of their brethren and others, that they came to a resolution to make a representation of them to his Majesty as soon as is convenient; and give the affair a beginning, and appoint a committee to bring in before them a rude draught of what they can agree in. And if this present meeting of the Commission find it proper to send an address of congratulation, I could wish a clause or clauses of begging liberty to lay our grievances before his Majesty, or to this purpose, were insert. *2dly*, I could wish this rude draught might be transmitted to Presbyteries, and they be desired to meet upon it, and carefully consider it, and make their amendments and additions; and, *3dly*, That they send up their Commissioners to the next Commission, fully instructed, and resolve then to bring the draught to some ripeness to be sent up to court. And I wish the next meeting of the Commission be not too long delayed.

In the last room, That at present is the season of such a representation. And the arguments that prevail with me to think it is so I shall very quickly show, and put an end to your trouble, by this long scribble, for which you may blame yourself in your last to me. I remark, then, to put both thir heads together, *1st*, That many times since the Revolution we have, by our delays, lost opportunities of doing things which we could never again recover, and I have many times observed some whom I very much honour and respect, never almost could be prevailed with to think any time a fit season for the representing our grievances, or laying any thing before the Government that they suspected would not be so very acceptable. I have heard, time after time, it reasoned the thing was good, and the matter very desirable, but this was not

the season of it; and former delays make me much against any delay further than what is absolutely necessary at this juncture.

2dly, At present we are under a very observable turn of affairs; we have a King who, I hope, will incline to do us all the kindness he can; and in some former cases, not very long since, hath said he would not forget the carriage of the Church of Scotland to him, and we have been very firm to his interests, and have espoused them, when it did not much relish with many lately in power. Now, a new race and family comes to the administration, and it seems reasonable they be apprized of our circumstances; and I know none so proper to do this as the Reverend Commission; and if we neglect the first proper season of doing this, I am of opinion accounts of things will be given him, neither so agreeable to truth nor our interest as we would desire.

3dly, It has still been my opinion real business should be preferred to ceremony. Though I am very much for all discretion in ordering our affairs, and as much compliment as is needful, yet I cannot bear thinking that it should shoulder out matters of this importance. The Commission, at their last meeting, sent up an address of congratulation, and I shall not be against another at this meeting; but shall we still hold at congratulations? I do not think but our grievances may very well come in after a repeated congratulation, and I see no indecency to lay before a Sovereign things that very nearly concern his interest and the ends of his Government, very soon after his accession. And if, through the hurry of things, he shall not be able to redress so soon as we can wish, yet where lies the harm of tabling them?

4thly, I do think a fair representing of our grievances is necessary as early as may be, and I could wish they might be laid before him before the oaths (if they shall be imposed) come to ministers' door. To be very plain with you, though I know this topic is not to be vented nor much insisted upon in public, I take the allegiance to have a special reference to the laws already enacted, according to which the Sovereign is to rule us, and in the view of

which we give our allegiance to him. Now, if there be, as I am sure there is, iniquity established by a law, my strait does lie here very much. I cannot say that where there is no hope of redress at present of an iniquitous imposition, and I am not obliged to homologate it in giving my allegiance, that the swearing allegiance must be delayed till matters be entirely as I would desire. This I speak with relation to the Union, which I cannot approve, and wish were dissolved in a regular way, that may not engage us in new sin, and worse things than it is. But as to other things, particularly its consequent laws, toleration, and patronages, I think, if we were in the way of proper duty to get them abolished, and had laid the evil of them before the Sovereign, and had hopes of some redress, I cannot but think it would clear my way, at least to give my allegiance with that cheerfulness I think I ought to have when I take an oath.

In short, I am of opinion that a fair representation of our grievances might very much tend to cement us among ourselves, and, through the Lord's blessing, it might in part heal our breaches. It would be a standing testimony against the encroachments we are under, and, before God and man, free us of art and part in them; and how far it may be a mean of redress of them, we know not. We ought to be in the road of duty, and expect and hope for success in it; and the Lord has formerly blessed some small mints this way with success, and the great revival of religion and reformation in the year 1637 began this way, and issued in our full and complete deliverance, and the neglect of this at the Revolution was never very fully retrieved, and, therefore, I wish earnestly it may not be unnecessarily delayed at this remarkable juncture, with a due dependence on the Lord, who hath the heart of the King in his hand, and can turn it whithersoever he pleases; and his hand is not shortened that it cannot save.

Thus I have run through what offered to me upon the proper work of the Commission at this juncture. The length of this effectually prevents my saying any thing of the precognition taken at Glasgow, on the rabble that pulled down Cockburn's meeting-

house. After the declaration of four or five score of witnesses, nothing is found that I can learn of worth their while. Begging pardon for the length of this, I am, yours most affectionately.

LETTER CLXXV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD OF GLASGOW.

For Mr Thomas Linning, at London, at Mr Alex. Hamilton's, in College-Hill, London.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—In the hurry of your business at London, I thought you would incline to hear how matters are agoing here, and went to your cousin in Glasgow to see if I might be helped to your direction; and they having directed me to Mr Hamilton, I have ventured to send this to you, and I'll expect that if it come to hand you'll let me know, and either continue or alter the direction as you see good.

The main thing, indeed, makes me write, is to have a way laid down, whereby I may, by post, send you in a letter some proposals, which I shall say nothing of now, and to give some hints of what we have done at the Synod.

To begin with the affairs of Lesmahagow and its supply. There was one of your elders spoke to me the first diet, and gave me the first accounts of the Presbytery's act, ordering all who come to preach half of the day with Mr Black. This was laid before the Synod by themselves, and you may be sure there were warm enough reasonings about it. The time was convenient to propose an alteration in the method when you were away. All I could say was, that the concert being made, and the Synod not finding it proper to alter it, when proposed to them, this was very unfair to alter it in [your] absence, and I was persuaded it would both mar any body's coming and irritate the people, and increase the rent.

However, numbers did the business, and the Presbytery's sanction was ratified, that Mr Black should preach part of every Sabbath in your absence. It was said the concert was not with this view, and for Mr Black to give way to other Non-jurors was to perpetuate the scheme, and confirm the people in their disorder. All I could do was, before the vote in the committee of overtures, to get a declaration of the committee that this did not affect your former concert, nor bind you, when come home, to preach part of the day with Mr Black; and it was declared that it related only to the time of your absence. A letter, in general terms, was written by Mr Scott of Glasgow to the eldership, exhorting to unity, and their observing scandals in your absence.

The sentence of the Presbytery of Ayr, transporting Mr Campbell from Stair to Ayr, was repealed, and the call of Glasgow (whither he is hasting) ordered to be put in his hands.

The address to the King you will see probably before this come to your hand. It was moved, that the Toleration and Patronages should have been specified in the address, but that was not thought so decent in our first application to a Sovereign; and it was held in general, as you see it in the clause, of our hopes he will redress our known grievances.

In the room of this, the following overture was gone into, which I send you as it stands in the minutes. [*Not inserted.*]

We have further appointed the 21st instant for a Synodical thanksgiving for the King's accession. There was some reasoning against it—that it ought to be national, and we might expect one from the Commission or the King; and two would not be so convenient. It was answered, there was no inconveniency in two; the mercy was great, and if a day of thanksgiving were appointed by the State, this would make it go down the better, and this was the most unexceptionable season for us to show our concern for his Majesty, and exert our own power. So the thing was heartily gone into.

The week before the Synod, Mr Webster came west to the Presbytery of Glasgow, and tabled his libel against the Professor.

It consists of upwards of twenty articles, and documents and witnesses for every article. I need not enter into a detail of it. This is an affair you know it's very improper for me to say much of. The matter of fact, as I have it from others, is, in short, Mr Webster was calm and equal, and did not at all heat before his R. Rev. and Righteous Judges, as he styled them. When the long libel was read, the Principal protested that the Presbytery's taking it in might not prejudice the University's power of judging the doctrine of their members. Mr Webster protested that the Presbytery had power to judge, and it was unfit for the fellow-members of the University to judge, lest they should be tempted to partiality. Mr James Robb protested, as a minister of the Church of Scotland, that the Principal's protestation should not prejudice the undoubted power of the judicatories of this Church to judge doctrine. After thir bickerings, Mr Simson had a long discourse, wherein he charged Mr Webster of breach of the Scripture and Church rules, in propaling his supposed errors before he had spoken to himself in private; and Mr Webster replied he had taken this way, and in the year 1710 had conversed him at Maphet. Further, Mr Simson protested that this libel could not be put in his hand till a particular condescension should be made upon the articles of the Confession of Faith and the Catechism, clashing with the opinions libelled. Mr Webster counter-protested that this was not needful. The Presbytery demurred a little upon putting the libel in the Professor's hand, till a particular condescendency, as above, were made, and sent out two to converse Mr Webster on that head, who came in, and obliged himself to make the condescendence within a fortnight; so the Presbytery's interloquitour was, that the libel should lie in the clerk's hand till the condescendences were made, and when they were sent west the Presbytery ordered both to be put in Mr Simson's hand.

This is a short hint of matters with us. I earnestly beg you'll favour me with a line, and lay all your commands upon me, and give me all your news and accounts, which will be very acceptable, and shall be communicate to any you order, and none else. Let

me know if you are like to get any business done, or if your journey is to be a mere compliment. And if you send a sure direction, Mr W. [Wylie] and I design to write you our thoughts at some length, as soon as I hear from you. I pray the Lord may be with you, and be a mouth and wisdom to you; and am, yours most affectionately. You know the hand.

Oct. 11, 1714.

If old Mr Robert Trail be alive, give my father-in-law's service to him, and tell him we have some things to acquaint him with, and to beg of him, anent Mr William Guthrie's papers he speaks of in the preface to his edition of his *Saving Interest*; and procure his direction and send it me.

LETTER CLXXVI.

WITH THE FIRST DRAUGHT OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS
HISTORY.

For Mr William Forbes, Professor of Law at Glasgow.

DEAR SIR,—I send you the first draught of the first six years of our Sufferings. You'll dash down your corrections in the style, where you'll find some solecisms, and in the matter, with any additions that offer as to acts of Council, &c. I earnestly wish you would at some spare hour run through the Acts of Parliament that relate to Presbyterians, and make your observes upon them. I am sure you'll smile at my rude and homely remarks. I could heartily wish you took Sir G. M'Kenzie's remarks on the Government of King Charles the Second in task. I have an answer to it, published at London, but it's lame. I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Oct. 11, 1714.

LETTER CLXXVII.

ON GIVING THE TITLE OF SPIRITUAL LORDS TO THE ENGLISH BISHOPS.

To the R. H. C. E. [Right Hon. Colonel Erskine.]

DEAR SIR,—I had your son's this post, and heartily thank him for his accounts. Last week I sent the papers I read to you by the carrier, and wrote you an account of our Synodical procedure by the post on Friday. So by this third, I think, I am over with you. I think John insinuates as if he were going with you; but whether to Culross or London, I know not. If to London, I'll be deprived of a good correspondent here; but I expect to hear the oftener from London.

As to the case of giving the title of Spiritual Lords to the prelates of England, it's a subject, I own, I have not ever fully considered. I can bear with persons who give them their titles in a private capacity, and from themselves; but Commissioners from the Church in a public capacity, their doing it, which [is what] I cannot in any case allow, till I see more. I own further, I would more look over the giving the English Bishops their titles than Scots Bishops, because of our different measures of Reformation.

The reasons for allowing them the title of My Lord in conversation, which I have heard advanced, are, that it's the ordinary style affixed by use to them; and, upon the same score, some Protestants can give the Pope the style of His Holiness, as a title of no other import but to distinguish him from other temporal princes. But I own I would be in a great strait before I would use that style to antichrist. And it's further said, that the Bishops are Temporal Barons and Lords of Parliament by the standing law; and from

their baronies they have their titles, and have many other privileges annexed to their sees, such as a palatine power, and coining of money, and other things, by a charter from the Sovereign. How far they have their titles as Barons of the kingdom is more than I can determine; but if they have them as sitting in Parliament as Church officers, this will straiten me the more to give them.

Upon the other hand, it's said that the using this title is a homologating of their lordly dominion and sitting in Parliament. I cannot, indeed, so well get by the force of this, when addressed in judgment as Lords Spiritual, but I see it not altogether so forcible in common conversation. When an evil becomes epidemical, and there is no probable prospect of any remedy at present for it, I know not if every thing which in another case might be reckoned a homologation of it will be so. And I scarce think my praying for the Parliament when sitting is any homologation of the Union. It's further said, that our Assembly advised a minister, who happened to fall into as next in line to an estate and honours of a lord, not to take on him the honours and title, which accordingly he did. But the case is considerably different. It's likewise added, that our first Reformers did not allow them their titles in letters to them; and yet I find they called them Reverend and Dear Brethren.

This is the state of the reasonings upon this head, so far as I mind. And I fancy, upon the whole of them, you will perhaps be as undetermined as I am. For using them in common conversation, after a pleasant declaration by the person in the entry, that he does not like their office, and is sorry for the necessity laid on him from an epidemical custom of using a style he reckons liable to misconstruction, and yet if he speak otherwise, he must go out of the common road, and be scarce understood or thought civil, and that by so speaking he would not be supposed to desert his known principles; after such a declaration, I do not blame persons who use their titles in conversation; but I own I think the giving them to them sitting in judgment on civil causes runs to me a little deeper, and I think it a hard thing in the Union,

that we Scotsmen are obliged to own churchmen in civil places and in Parliament.

Upon the whole, I shall not take on me to judge them that do it, or do it not, in conversation; to his own master every one must stand or fall. You'll pardon this indigested scribble you have drawn from, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

October 11, 1714.

P. S.—It comes just now in my head that, in the Scripture phrase, the heathenish sign of Castor and Pollux is used; though heathenish, and the title of their tutelar deities, yet because it was become the ordinary manner of speaking, if such a ship would be known, it's kept by; how far this is applicable to the case in hand, I leave to others. The very word, *Sir*, given in ordinary conversation from *κύριος*, is of the same import with My Lord, and if the ordinary use of it to persons of all ranks has altered its import, as that of Madam is like to turn common, what can one help those things? We are forced in to use words and phrases as others do, without being to be supposed to be understood in the stricter meaning of the word, nor to assent to things that may be imported in it in an accurate way of speaking. *Verba valent usu.*

LETTER CLXXVIII.

WITH A MEMORIAL OF GRIEVANCES.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Linning, Minister of the Gospel, for present at London.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I think you and your parish have been very harshly dealt with by your Presbytery and Synod. I com-

plained of this as to the Presbytery's part to several of your brethren, some of whom seemed sorry for it, and assured me it was not to come before the Synod. However, it came in, and by what they have done, I apprehend a great part of your congregation will be in a state of vacancy till you return. I know this will be grievous to you, but you must not be discouraged in attending and prosecuting the end for which Providence hath sent you to our King for the service of this Church, and if more public wrongs be rectified, there will soon be a redress of this.

I have taken the freedom to send you a private memorial of some things we want to have amended, and though formal application should not be made to the King about such of them as may not be contained in the instructions to be given you by the Commission, yet all of them may be discoursed with such persons about court as you find friendly to the Church of Scotland, and a judgment made whether there may be hopes of success upon after applications. You have herewith a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, recommending you to his advice, and with it you may communicate to him the whole memorial, because I am persuaded he will be very friendly, and will, with a generous, disengaged, and Christian frankness, give you both his advice and assistance as to every particular. I wish you may have no scruple in giving him his title of Lord, he being both one of the King's Lord Barons in England, and likewise his Majesty's Lord Almoner. But if you cannot come over this nicety, I doubt not but he will take the title of Sir as kindly from you as that of Lord. You may make your acquaintance with his nephew, Mr Gilbert Burnet, advocate, who is at London. He is son to the doctor, Sir Thomas, a ruling elder, and member of the Commission; he is a very honest and ingenious gentleman, and will introduce you to his uncle, and be assisting to you, in as far as lies in his power; but if you should not find freedom to converse with the Bishop, (which I hope shall not be the case, and which I think would be a great loss,) then burn the letter, since it bears to be delivered out of your own hand, and the other paper to be shown to him by you. As for that other paper, I know no other use for

it but to give occasion to your own thoughts to work upon the particulars suggested in it. Perhaps it may not be so proper to communicate it to your colleagues, otherwise than by discoursing the particulars it contains, which I leave to your own management. Only there are two things which I observe have heretofore, especially in King William's reign, done us much hurt; one is, that we do not use that freedom we might and should have done in laying before his Majesty the nature and rights of our constitution, which I am persuaded, if his Majesty had known fully, would have prevented sundry things which became uneasy to the Church, and rendered the Government needlessly less endeared to our people. The other is, that we would needs always have a blind and implicit dependence upon the dictates that is upon the views and innuendos of some about the King, whose design was (how much soever they called themselves Presbyterian) to make a merit of their influence upon ministers, and valued themselves upon keeping Church matters, in an Erastian dependence upon the Court; but *verbum sapienti sat est*. In Lanarkshire, Sir James Stewart has told that the King allows not him nor the Advocate to be absent from the kingdom, so that he cannot stand for the election to Parliament, which he had certainly carried, and it's like now to fall upon the Laird of Lee, whom every body reckons to be the next best choice. I heartily recommend you to the presence and conduct of the only wise God; and am most affectionately yours,

ROBERT WYLIE.

October 29, 1714.

MEMORIAL.

Oct. 1714.

SIR,—Your sudden departure deprived some of your friends who would gladly have seen you before you went of that benefit. We know you must walk by the instructions to be given you by the

Commission, and are to present nothing to his Majesty in their name but by their order, yet as we judge their sentiments and ours may in many things coincide, and as there are ways, in a friendly court and ministry, of suggesting some things which may prove of advantage to the Church, though they be not presently brought before the Sovereign, so we have thought it proper to give you some hint of what occurs to us, that you may make your own use of it as you find convenient.

We cannot, but with deep thankfulness and sincere joy, consider his Majesty's accession to the throne, especially under such circumstances, as the immediate work of God, and a demonstration of his Divine care over Protestantism in Britain, and our Reformation constitution in Scotland. And we are mightily encouraged by his Majesty's heroic Christian virtues, and by the early declaration of his royal mind in favours of this Church, to hope that God hath brought his Majesty, with his royal offspring, to the kingdom at such a time, not only to be, under God, an impregnable and lasting bulwark to the Protestant religion, but to be the great preserver of the legal rights of his people, and a repairer of the breaches that have been made upon them; and that we, in particular, shall be restored to the full enjoyment of our revolution attainments, if we be not wanting to our King and to ourselves. We hold it the greatest unfaithfulness to a good and beneficent King, (such was King William, and such is his present Majesty,) out of a servile truckling to the views of designing statesmen, to forbear to lay freely before him the grievances of his people:

It is very plain that of late several shocks have been given to this Church, and palpable invasions made upon her just rights, contrary to stipulated securities, and that all these have been branches and under parts of the hellish plot of Jacobitism for defeating the Protestant succession, and reducing these lands to Popery and slavery; such as,

1st, A boundless toleration of such a nature as wants a precedent in any nation, whereby a door is set wide open to all profanity and error, and the discipline of the legal Church entirely

baffled and enervated ; and this in favours of the avowed and undisguised enemies of the Protestant succession, as well as of our national establishment by law. We never grudge a connivance to these men whilst they behaved themselves peaceably, nor are we at all for distressing tender consciences ; but the difference between them and the Church being neither doctrines, nor ceremonies and modes of worship, nor an imposed compliance with any thing that can be pretended to straiten conscience, which is the case with many English Dissenters, but merely a form of Church government and policy, whatever the faction hath of late vamped up. And though there are many parties in England on the Dissenting side who counterbalance one another, and so are kept under an incapacity of doing any prejudice to the legal establishment, yet there being no parties in Scotland of any note but this one of Episcopal Jacobite, whatever strength is given them by law, in so far the legal Presbyterian settlement is weakened, and a perpetual schism in the Church, as well as Jacobitism and disaffection in the state, is encouraged, authorised, and propagated. We know an Act of Parliament is not to be rescinded but by a subsequent Parliament, but we humbly hope his Majesty, with his Parliament, will consider how heavy a grievance, and unreasonable a burden, this Toleration is, and will either annul or antidote the mischief and venom that is in it.

2dly, There is in the same act an Oath of Abjuration imposed upon the ministers of the legal establishment, who have always been known to be loyal, and from principle and interest most conscientiously zealous for the Protestant succession, and have showed themselves always so, both by their prayers and constant conduct. Now, as it was not very honourable to their character, that by such an imposition they should be set on a level with a party of notorious Jacobites, so there being sundry things in that complex oath, which did administer ground of scruple to many who had in the fullest terms disclaimed the Pretender, and declared their affectionate and stedfast adherence to the Protestant succession, what effect could the imposing of such an oath have, but like a fire-

ball to break and scatter the ministers of this Church? There was a formal security given to the Church at the Union, that no oath, declaration, &c. should be imposed upon the subjects of Scotland in Scotland contrary to Presbyterian principles, and with a special eye to the Abjuration, and in answer to that part of the Commission's address to the Scots Parliament, which was in express words against this oath. Was it not, then, strange treatment of a legally established and secured national Church, for the Legislature of another nation,—for such the Parliament at Westminster is still,—notwithstanding of our scanty and pickt representative in it, and those, too, of different principles,—to take upon them to determine what was or was not agreeable to Scots Presbyterian principles, which can only be declared by a General Assembly? Does not this look more like the usage of a conquered than a united people?

We hope that his Majesty, in his Royal wisdom, doth consider that all State oaths, beyond the simple allegiance, have always been unprofitable for any good end, and productive of many bad effects. They never brought any manner of security to a Government, but have often proven means to undermine it. It was under the qualification of abjuring the Pretender that so many have been enabled to do him service, and none did run faster into it than the keenest Jacobites, that they might be the better in condition to break it, to overturn the constitution, and frustrate the true design of the oath. This hath involved the nation in the horrid guilt of perjury and open profanation of the awful name of God; nor were those who took it, with an honest mind, one whit more zealous for the Protestant succession than they had been before, and would have continued to be without it, but were, by taking it, rendered more incapable, at least in this country, to serve that interest, by reason of the prejudices the people hath taken up against it. And those of the ministry who conscientiously refused it were fully at least as zealous and hearty for the interest of the Protestant succession as any who took it, and ready to have gone as far, and able to do better service. Besides, oaths under exorbitant penalties are dangerous snares to the conscience.

The true security of a Government is good laws once promulgated, and then punctually executed; and a few impartial examples of punishment upon offenders will make others, who would transgress, stand in awe, and at least feign subjection. Severity to a few is mercy and clemency to many; but the weight of State oaths falls heaviest upon the honestest subjects, who are firmest to the Government, and the best men who fear an oath.

We, therefore, earnestly wish there may be no more such oaths imposed beyond the simple and plain Allegiance, and that even it be without the certification of depriving ministers of their office, (if put to them;) for you know very well there are some ministers as stedfast in true loyalty as any whosoever, who yet cannot help scrupling even the Allegiance itself, under such a penalty as affects their ministry.

3dly, The act abolishing patronages being a part of our legal constitution and Revolution right, the late act restoring them is a manifest invasion. And it's a known Presbyterian principle, that the people's power of choosing and calling their own ministers is their Christian birthright. Besides that, the power of presenting brings a heavy charge upon patrons, for which they are accountable unto God, and no manner of gain or advantage unto them, except that where patrons were Jacobitishly affected, it gave them a handle for creating much vexation to Presbyteries and people, and for thrusting in corrupt men upon vacant parishes.

4thly, The introducing of a foreign worship, or of the English Liturgy into Scotland, is an innovation which this Church and nation could never bear, no, not when Prelacy was at its greatest height, being still looked upon by the Prelatists themselves as a mark of this Church's vassalage and subjection to the Church of England, if it should have been received. And it is plain, that at this time it hath served among us no end of religion, but merely to be a guise, symbol, or badge of the disaffected party, and the rendezvous of Jacobites. We suppose it may not be easy to get this Liturgy in Scotland discharged by an Act of Parliament; but if his Majesty would be pleased, in a Royal proclamation for Scotland

against profanity, to signify his gracious intentions to strengthen and support Church discipline, and to discountenance all innovations against the rights of the Church, there is no question but the Liturgy would soon dwindle away amongst us.

5thly, There was a proposal made in the year 1690, that the Bishops' rents being all paid into one fund or office, should be employed for the maintenance of the then outed clergy, who were not convict of any scandal, there being many at that time, as there are still, continued in the possession of their kirks and stipends, and since confirmed by law. It was proposed, that such as had been ejected for what cause soever, except that of notorious scandal, should have from this office an allotment for their maintenance, payable twice a year, more to such as had families, and less to them who were single persons. It was L.300 Scots to a single person, and L.500 to a married man; yet so, that each minister should, at the receipt of each payment, present to the said office, to be recorded in their books, a certificate to the Presbytery of his residence, bearing his peaceable behaviour, allenary, without meddling with his principles, any manner of way, else to forfeit his quota for that *vice* or reason. This was greatly applauded by many, as a Christian and charitable overture, and as what would prevent the absurd clamour of persecution which hath since made so unreasonable a noise, and would be a mean to keep the outed clergy in some dependence upon, and fair understanding with, the legal National Church, and would have probably nipt Jacobitism in the bud, and the growth of Episcopal meeting-houses, which have since done such fatal mischief. Besides, the rents would, from time to time, have sunk back into the funds, as any of the grantees died, (except in so far as it might have been thought fit to continue the pension with poor widows and orphans,) to be disposed of as the civil Government should judge meet; and thus, in process of time, the schism should, in a gentle and indulgent method, have worn out, since our laws do not allow Episcopal ordination to continue or propagate it; and what wrong was done this Church in Green-shields' case every body knows.

The only objection against this project was from the then courtiers, who alleged that the Bishops' rents were the best funds for pensions to such as behoved to be gratified, and so could not be spared to any other use.

But were it not reasonable, in the present happy juncture, to revive some such project? Is it not reasonable that men, who have spent their time and stock upon divinity, should not be exposed to starve upon such a turn of Church affairs as they cannot thoroughly comply with, if they but live peaceably, and give no offence? And it is no less unreasonable, that they should be left at liberty, or under temptation to impose on people with bad principles, and sap the constitution. It is true there is less stock in the Bishops' revenues now than was at the first proposal, but still there is some, and that not inconsiderable; and there is less occasion for it now than there was then, and no doubt there might be more than enough found for so generous and Christian an end *alimnde*; nor can it be doubted, as far gone as matters are to the worse, but it might still in some good measure produce the foresaid desirable effects, if these three things be observed:—*1st*, That none have access or claim to this gratuity, who betake themselves to a meeting-house benevolence, or are already provided of subsistence by a patron. *2dly*, That the foresaid certificate of quiet and peaceable behaviour (and no further) be duly obtained from the Presbytery of the person's residence for the time. *3dly*, That none who have been ordained by Bishops since the Revolution (or, at least, none who shall be ordained so hereafter) enjoy the benefit, otherwise the seeds of the schism should never be rooted out. These, and some other considerations, might be much enlarged, as most necessary and just in our present circumstances; but we leave this hint to be better ripened by yourself and others.

6thly, The Union is a very nice point, and the rather that some are pleased to state his Majesty's legal right to the succession of the Crown of Scotland upon the second article of that treaty. But you know that this Union is an universal grievance to the nation; that they generally testified against it, and were very unfairly

wheedled into it, or rather had it as a heavy yoke wreathed upon their unwilling necks; that it hath nowise answered the pretended views and promises neither to Scotland nor England, not to mention the disappointments of statesmen, and of the trading part of the nation, which have soured this Union to those in both kingdoms, who were got to be most forward for it. Some of the Presbyterian ministers who were prevailed with to approve it, under pretence of a better establishment of Presbytery in Scotland by an act of the English Parliament, do now see their error in not resting on their revolution right, the strongest security that a Church government could possibly have, and doating upon that which tends to render it in all its parts precarious. -It might perhaps look presumptuous or chimerical to speak of dissolving this Union, but these four things may be said concerning it.

(1.) It's pity, while we had a Parliament of our own, the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover was not expressly declared by that Parliament, and that, as to explicit and formal declaration, it should have no better nor more honourable foundation than that of the Union, the nation's greatest grievance. But,

(2.) If the matter be duly considered, his Majesty hath, antecedently to the Union, a much better right and title to our Crown than what an Act of Parliament, and much more than what the Union could give him. For as, by a constant succession of above 2000 years, the right hath continued without interruption in one line or family, confirmed and recognised by innumerable laws and acts of Parliament; and the Estates of this kingdom have always asserted and often practised a constitution-right of setting aside the next immediate successor in case of inability, and transferred the Crown to the nearest habile person still within the line or family; so, at the late happy Revolution, the Estates having, after the example and according to the right of their predecessors, declared a Papist incapable of the Crown, it is plain to a demonstration that the succession most legally and rightfully devolves upon the Protestant family of Hanover, and that they being the first that purged the incapacity of Popery, must of necessity and by law

succeed to King William and Queen Anne. So that his present Majesty's title stands inviolable, upon these two solid pillars in law, the right of his royal ancestors, and his own stedfast adherence to Protestantcy; to which no act in Scotland nor England, and far less an extorted or violented Union could add any thing but a bare declaration. There seemed,

(3.) In the late Parliament, to be some real edge upon the Scots members, being sensibly stung by the malt-tax, to get a bill brought in for dissolving the Union. And many of the English, considering that this Union, which hath ruined our privileges, may prove dangerous to theirs, were ready to join issue with them. Only the English Whigs could find no security for the Protestant succession from the Scots Jacobites, in the event of a separate Parliament. But good Providence having now removed that difficulty, by placing his Majesty so peaceably on the throne, it is generally wished that the same spirit might now revive, when it can be made effectual without any danger; and all are convinced the Union brings no real advantage to either people.

(4.) Would it not be more for his Majesty's honour, (and some politicians say, for his true interest,) to rule over two free and independent kingdoms, in a close and perpetual friendship, and good correspondence together, in both which power and trade, according to the just measures of neighbourly communication of privileges, might flourish, than under one in such an incorporation, where the extremities or remote parts must languish and wither under an atrophy or gradual decay for want of nourishment, and where the people pine under endless discontent?

(5.) If some present difficulties should arise to obstruct a speedy or total dissolution of this Union, yet some effectual means may be expected from his Majesty's profound wisdom and paternal care of all his subjects, in conjunction with his Parliament, for removing the burdens under which this nation doth groan, and for rectifying inequalities, and securing reserved rights, civil and religious, so as the nation may be more easy, and all encroachments upon it, either in Church or State, may for the future be prevented. And if it

shall please his Majesty to send his Royal Highness the Prince to Scotland in the spring, to warm our northern climate, and clothe him with his royal commission to the General Assembly, it can hardly be conceived what an endearing and refreshing revival this would give to the whole nation, and what support and life to religion and to the Church. In this case, we might apply these pretty lines of Horace to his Augustus, unto our most excellent Prince George Augustus :—

Instar veris, enim, vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies,
Et solcs melius nitent.

7thly, In the meantime, it might do a great deal of good, if his Majesty shall please, by his royal proclamation for Scotland, to command that the laws against profaneness and immorality be strictly put in execution ; and that all magistrates and ministers of justice give that ready and effectual assistance to Church judicatories to which they are obliged by law.

8thly, The restoring of the Yule vacance, abolished at the Revolution, as it carries in it a studied reflection upon the Reformation then attained unto, so it is most senseless and superstitious in itself, an occasion of much debauchery, and a great prejudice to the lieges, by stopping the course of justice ; and it is most evident, that this and sundry other things were hatched and promoted by ill-affected persons or Jacobites, sent from among ourselves, for no other reason but merely out of wantonness, to kick at our constitution, at the Revolution, and at the glorious reign of King William our deliverer.

9thly, Our doctrine about fasts and thanksgivings is very well known, that we own the power and authority of the Christian magistrate in appointing these solemnities upon just and weighty causes, as well as that of the Church. But his Majesty being at so great a distance from us, that sometimes the proper season may be lost and over before application can be made to him, if his Majesty would authorise some Officers of State, residing in Scotland, (*ex. gr.* his

Chancellor, Advocate, Solicitor, or President of the Session,) two or three of them, to give the civil sanction to such indictments made by the Church, when applied for, it would be a great ease, and prevent much foolish scruple in that matter.

We hope these and such like considerations, well ripened and brought to bear, would change the face of affairs among us to the better, and prove effectual not only to crush the schism and extinguish party views on each side, (that is, both Episcopal Dissenters and Separatists, who falsely call themselves Presbyterians,) but would give a new life and vigour to the whole nation. The King's wise choice of a new ministry is our great happiness, but that which is much greater, and gives us strong confidence of a righteous and comfortable government is, that his Majesty himself is a person of deep and penetrating judgment, of unbiassed integrity, and love to do good, and who we hear was never influenced by faction or favourite. In all sets of ministry some have still had their by-ends. But our King sees with his own eyes. This encourages us to the expectation of great and good things from him. May God prepare mercy and truth to preserve and direct him in all his counsels and administration! And may God grant you mercy and favour in his sight, for the refreshment and comfort of this Church, who have sent you to him.

LETTER CLXXIX.

RECOMMENDATION OF LINNING AND THE MEMORIAL.

*To the Right Reverend the Bishop of Salisbury.*¹

Oct. 29, 1714.

MY LORD,—The honour I had of being once a little known to your Lordship a while since, and the profound affectionate regard

¹ Bishop Burnet, author of the well-known History of his Own Times, and of many other works. He was born at Edinburgh, 1643, and died in March 1715, in the seventy-second year of his age.

and veneration I have ever since retained to your great name and character, particularly in the noble and Christian appearances you have made for truth, liberty, and moderation, in the most dangerous and violent times,—these considerations do embolden me to address your Lordship upon the blessed occasion that merciful Providence doth offer.

The surprising goodness of God in bringing our rightful Protestant King to the throne in safety and peace, at a nick of time when our all was in the utmost hazard, and when our own sins and the encouraged power and insolence of our enemies did threaten us with a most dismal prospect of ruin and misery, (God grant we may not continue to abuse such signal and uncommon mercies!) this raises the hopes of the Church of Scotland, which your Lordship well knows hath been sadly depressed, since the Union, to expect from his Majesty's clemency and justice redress of grievances, and establishment of just and legal rights.

For this end, the Commission of the General Assembly hath sent some ministers to attend the King. Your Lordship's generous and truly Christian concern for this your native land, and even for the legal Church settlement in it, attained at our late happy Revolution, doth persuade me that none of these Commissioners from this Church, nor their errand, shall want your Lordship's kind countenance and advice, as there may be occasion for it.

But that which I humbly presume is to recommend one of them, Mr Thomas Linning, my worthy neighbour, who is to deliver this letter to your Lordship's special notice and direction. He is, indeed, one of the strictest among us, but a man of great honesty and of a solid judgment, and where your Lordship perceives integrity, you will easily find allowances in your own excellent temper for any small alloy of niceness or strictness in point of principle or opinion.

Their instructions from the Commission, according to which they must make their applications to the King, are not yet, so far as I can learn, sent to them, but there is a memorial from a private hand sent to Mr Linning, which he is directed to communicate to your Lordship. It contains some things which it's hoped would contri-

bute to the good and peace of this Church, and, consequently, to the service of the Gospel in it. I know your Lordship can look upon those things with a Christian and noble freedom of spirit, and consider the Church of Scotland as a true Christian Church, and upon a legal footing, and, therefore, doubt not of your giving advice for Mr Linning about them, and assistance, so far as your wisdom shall judge it convenient and proper, particularly as to the fifth article.

I have nothing to acquaint your Lordship with from this place. The good old Duchess is still alive, entire in her judgment and senses, and labouring with a most exemplary patience and resignation under the infirmities of old age, and frequent conflicts with the gout. The young Duke is very promising and smart, of a most excellent disposition and capacity, and a very good scholar. I pray God may preserve your Lordship to continue in bringing forth fruit in your old age, and still to be what you eminently have been, and are, the ornament not of your native country only, but of the Protestant world, a pillar to the Church, and a promoter of the good of mankind. I am, with all possible esteem and deference, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most affectionate servant,

R. W. [ROBERT WYLIE.]

LETTER CLXXX.

ON THE MEMORIAL.—ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS AND INQUIRIES.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Linning, Minister of the Gospel, for present at London, to be left at Old Man's Coffeehouse, near Charing Cross.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 4th of November came safe to me yesternight, and it was very refreshing. I bless the Lord who makes our King and his family look pleasantly on you and your brethren, and pray that he may put it in their heart to do much

kindness to the Church of Scotland. I am not in at the Commission this week, and so shall not see your speech or his Majesty's answer. I take your main work to be in private with the great men. I am glad Gray, who has done so much hurt, is like to be discountenanced. As to your own affair at Lesmahagow, I was out upon the address when it came to the Synod, and I spoke as I wrote before in the Committee. I shall seriously consider what methods may be best to prevail with your colleague ; but you know he is under the management of others. However, you must not be discouraged nor vexed about what is done, but leave your people on the Lord, when, in his providence, you are so clearly called from them. The Lord forgive those who have taken such ways as to increase the flame when, by all means, it should be calmed !

As to the Rev. Mr Trail, I am unwilling to write to him, since he seems shy of it. When you see him again, you'll give my father-in-law's humble respects to him, and mine, though unacquainted. The matter I designed to have writt to him was, in short, to have informed him of some few mistakes, as I apprehend, [that] are in his accounts of Mr William Guthrie, though they are not of very much importance, and to have begged a copy of those singular things he says he hath on record by him, in writing for several years, which he forbore to publish. I have drawn up a rude draft of his life, from any materials I could gather here, in some sheets, and I am more than ordinarily fond to have a copy of what he hath relative to him, and if his goodness and regard to the memory and relations of that shining light may prevail with him to allow me a double of them, it will be a very great obligation upon me. I shall engage they shall go no farther, nor be published without his allowance, and any returns I can make him from any collection of manuscript I have he shall command them. If he be so kind as to grant my request, I'll be most willingly at the charges of transcribing them, and you'll do me the favour as to lay out what is necessary, and bring the papers with you. When you have signified this to him, and I have his mind from you, I shall write to him or not as you advise me. I have some things in the History of the Sufferings with relation to

his father, who was minister of Edinburgh, if I mistake not, and if he has any materials to complete the account of that great man's persecution, and please to communicate them, they will be very acceptable.

The enclosed memorial and letters I send you. I know you will not grudge the postage, and I shall add nothing of my mind on any of those heads touched in the memorial. The fifth article anent the provision of some of the better sort of Episcopal ministers out of the Bishops' stipends, with the regulations specified, I am of opinion might have done service these years bygone, and by this time might have broken the schism on the left hand from this Church. I am apprehensive there is so little remaining of the Bishops' rents that it will come to small account; but I wish some other fund were fallen upon which might keep these people in some kind of submission to this Church, and expose those who will come to no terms, and deliver the generations to come of the trouble of them. The sixth branch, anent the Union, I question if any thing can be done so soon about it. If you wait on Bishop Burnet, pray let me have all that passeth; if not, you see you are desired to destroy the letter. He hath been all along very favourable to this Church, and I am of opinion he may be helpful to you. If I thought you needed it, or he could do you any service if he be at London, I could have sent you another to the Bishop of Carlisle;¹ but I fancy there will be no need. To the last article, anent a court for corresponding anent fasts and thanksgivings, I shall only add, (to answer the strait I remember was alleged, that it is not consistent with the laws of England that the regal power should be delegated to any but where he is at present,) that the very last Parliament, the Lords of the Justiciary were clothed with all the Queen's executive power, for prosecuting of Jesuits and Seminary Priests, and executing the laws against Popery, as you will find if you inquire. And if the power has been delegated in one case, I hope it may be in another, which is less difficult, the giving the

¹ Bishop Nicolson, with whom Wodrow had been long acquainted, and with whom he corresponded on subjects of natural history.

civil sanction to the Church's appointments, and exercise of her jurisdiction, secured by Act of Parliament to us.

The patronages I do reckon that which will, if mercy prevent not, be ruining to this Church; and I see no smoothings will do, nor regulations upon patrons. No longer since the 9th, the Presbytery of Irvine had a letter from the Earl of Eglinton, with a presentation of Mr Chalmers to Kilbride Wester, plainly telling them he had rendered himself useless to him and his family, and to the bulk of Kilwinning, which is a lie; and from this instance it may be seen, that not only we shall have the sinful burden of the patronage itself, the shameful bantering sham presentations continued, but any nobleman or gentleman, when his friend or himself is dissatisfied with a minister's freedom and zeal against vice, will present him to another place, where he or his friend shall be rid of him. I wish, then, the utmost endeavours may be used about it. As to oaths, I think you are in your duty to press in all conversation, that ministers in Scotland be altogether freed of them, unless they give just grounds of suspicion of their disloyalty. I shall scarce prevail with myself to hope that we shall be free from a simple Oath of Allegiance; and yet I know some will have their difficulties anent that, not from any disloyalty to his Majesty, but from the unnecessariness of imposing an oath upon them who daily own him as their Sovereign in their prayers, and their scruples, lest the simple Allegiance import an approbation of our present constitution by the Union. And I shall only add this consideration beyond what is in the Memorial, that the ministers of the Church of Scotland are in very far different circumstances from those of the Church of England, who are obliged to take the oaths. All the beneficed clergy there have a vote in choosing Members of Parliament, which we neither have, nor desire to have, and by our principle and practice, we disclaim meddling in affairs that are civil, and disapprove of the clergy being justices of the peace, and Bishops sitting in Parliament.

There are several things the Memorial hath not touched upon, which come in my head; and if they may be any occasion of your

ripening them, so as they may be of any use, I know you will take my honest aim in putting you in mind of them in good part. The intrusions and rabbles in the north, I am of opinion, should be laid before the King; and since formerly they have flowed from the common enemies of his Majesty and this Church, I hope he will find it not only an act of kindness to this Church, but his own interest, effectually to discountenance them. The growth of Popery in the North and Western Highlands I think likewise should be represented; and if independent companies, under honest commanders, with an exact payment of the premiums for the catching of Jesuits and Seminary Priests were established, it's to be hoped it might go far to put a stop to these evils. The terrible ignorance of these places, the vastness of parishes, the want of modified stipends, are what you know a great deal better than I; and if any thing might be done by the Government at this new turn of affairs for helping of these, it would bring the blessings of many who are perishing upon the King.

And this brings to my mind what I think were not improper for you and your colleagues to move in, and that is the getting subscriptions from our countrymen in England, and other well disposed persons, for the noble design of propagating Christian knowledge; and I should think many thousand pounds might, with a little pains, be got for the enabling of the Society to erect schools and bring up children in Christian knowledge. It will be no doubt minded by you to get the small royal allowance for the public charges of the Church secured and augmented if it may be. And if there be no present prospect of removing patronages, all methods may be taken to have the King's patronages made as easy as may be. You know there was a project for getting the nomination to these put in the hands of some four or five friendly noblemen and Officers of State, about two years ago, which came to nothing. I know not how it would be to have the Commissioner to the Assembly every year, till we be eased of this heavy burden, empowered, with two or three other friends, to provide vacancies which are in his Majesty's nomination, with the advice of ministers,

who, in time of the Assembly, will be present from all Presbyteries. The scandalous appeals from our ecclesiastic judicatories, especially the Assembly and Commission to the British Parliament, would be particularly considered, and a stop endeavoured to be given them. I am mistaken if in England there be any appeals from the Convocation itself to the House of Lords. The imposition of the English forms of kissing the book, and the like, in taking oaths before the Exchequer in Scotland, is but a badge of our subjection to them, and ought to be prevented; and especially the obliging of Scotsmen, the officers of our army and soldiers, to communicate with the Church of England when in England and Ireland, is what deserves your most serious consideration; as likewise the imposing of oaths on our young gentlemen and noblemen, when at the English Universities, contrary to the principles of this Church, which gradually debauches their consciences, and may, in the issue, turn very much to the prejudice of this Church. These are hints which I give you, in confusion enough, but I know to whom I write. The more important things are in the Memorial, which I go heartily along with; only in any motions anent the Union, though I am as much against it in my judgment as any can be, all care must be taken that the Jacobites make no handle of it for dividing us among ourselves, nor improve any essays this way to break us with the King's Majesty.

I doubt not but you'll have, before this reach you, the Reverend Commission's instructions, which I wish may be full, plain, and free. But there are some things which, as I take it, will scarce fall under the compass of their instructions, as not being so proper for them, and yet, as I have the view of things, ought not to be overlooked altogether by you.

1st, I take it to be your work to endeavour both to have a Commissioner sent to Assembly who may be acceptable and friendly, and likewise to give such informations of affairs as may make our instructions as favourable and easy as may be. I promise myself that as the King will not incline to retrench any thing the late Queen yielded to the Assemblies, so none that are friendly will

accept of any instructions harsher than we have been used to these ten years. My good neighbour, my Lord Rosse, brought us into a tolerable way [of] ending our Assemblies just ten years ago; and if the ceremony, for I can call it no more, of the Sovereign's dissolving the Assembly in his own name, after it's dissolved already, were omitted, it might gratify some well-meaning people, and stop the mouths of observers, who make their own reflections upon our separating first, as we met, in the name of Christ, and naming the day, and then the Commissioner's dissolving the meeting, and indicting another in the King's name. I could wish that the Commissioner were empowered to give the civil sanction to acts anent fasts or thanksgivings, if they be found necessary by the Assembly, and the Church not straitened in these. I reckon his presence in the Assembly gives all the necessary sanction to all the other acts made by the Assembly, and why he should be bound up as to these is what I do not understand. No doubt much may, and I hope will, be done by you and your colleagues to adjust thir things.

2dly, I take another branch of your work to be to prepare matters as much as may be for the ensuing Parliament, their doing somewhat for the ease of the Church's grievances. Whether you may stay till the Parliament shall meet is what I know not. I heartily wish some were at London in the time of it, and I know none fitter than you, who are already there. But several things may be done to dispose matters for a favourable issue there. How far it may be proper to move that there may be some way of the Church's having access, without owning the Bishops, to lay the truth, and matters of fact necessary to be known, before them, I do not know. If his Majesty, in the throng of his affairs, as our nursing father, would lay before the Peers our grievances and petitions, it would be a great act of kindness to this Church. However, I hope much may be done in private conversation, and by leaving memorials in the hands of our friends, members of both Houses, and stating our Church rights fairly and candidly unto them. And if his Majesty could be impressed with the necessity

of rectifying our abuses, I hope things would run very easy in the Parliament; it's seldom that a court is cordially for a thing but they carry it. And, therefore, I am of opinion you should wait upon the leading nobility, who may be reckoned favourable, among the English, who very much need information, as well as our Scotsmen. I propose it further,

3dly, To your consideration, whether it might not be of very great use to have one at London to agent the affairs of the Church of Scotland, and particular ministers, and to obviate the lies and slanders sent up by the Episcopal party. It may, perhaps, look odd to expect any salary should be allowed to such an one from the privy purse, as Gray had under the late administration, but I am very much persuaded L.100 sterling a-year might be very easily got to him. I think I could procure ten or twenty guineas hereabout. The great difficulty will be to pitch upon the man. A layman, I think, he must be, and behoved to be both of general acquaintance and activity, and some weight. We have a foolish story going that Mr Carstairs is to stay still at London; if it were so, I know none more capable to direct such an one than he.

4thly, Since I fear very much the incoming of the bulk of the Episcopal clergy to the oath, now that their hopes of the Pretender are much dashed, and that the English nation are very ignorant of the true blue Jacobite temper of those people, I wish a collection of their addresses to the Queen these four last years, and the northern burghs who are under their influence, were made, and reprinted, with a very few remarks that not one of them mention the succession, &c. Two or three sheets would do it, and if it were spread among the good people of England they would see their French temper, and that they make the English Liturgy only a shoe-horn to thread in the Pretender and Popery. Our friend, Mr Ridpath, would soon put them together, and if he want any of them he may be furnished with them.

5thly, I have, of a long time, wished that some way of correspondence, and nearer knowledge how matters actually go, were set up between the real Presbyterians in England, especially at Lon-

don, and this Church. I want not my own fears that most of the Dissenters are much off Presbyterian principles; yet Dr Williams, and some others, appear to be really Presbyterian in their judgment. If a Presbytery were formed at London of such, and they kept correspondence with the brethren of their judgment through England, and that meeting kept close correspondence with the Church of Scotland, I think it might be of very great service to both our real interests. Yea,

6thly, I know not how you, who are now at London, could do the public interest of religion better service than by acquainting yourselves with some of the German divines who are come over with the King, and through their means try if a correspondence might be begun with the Calvinist Churches in Germany in the King's dominions. I have been told there are in the country of Hesse, and other places, several hundreds of Calvinist ministers, who meet together in assemblies, and to whom our King used to send a layman, much in the quality of our Commissioner to our Assembly. If matters be so, it's a pity the Church of Scotland and they should not but be in the closest harmony. I doubt not but the Church of England will take care to send their Liturgy and Service among them, and endeavour, through the conjunction of our Sovereign, to infect them with their hierarchy and ceremonies; and why the Church of Scotland should not labour to propagate their purer worship and doctrine, and confirm them in what is right among them, I know not.

I am abundantly satisfied I have wearied you with this long scribble. But it is an ease to me I have you to tell my mind fully to. If our dear friend C. E., after his disaster by the way,¹ be got safe to London, I know it will be a great satisfaction to you, and you will have him to advise with as to the Memorial, and what I have presumed to add in this letter. I am in great pain about him, for I have not heard this fortnight what has become of him. He knows how fond I'll be again to hear from him. I sent him a letter, writt

¹ Colonel Erskine had his leg broken by a fall from his horse.

before the last Commission, containing my rude thoughts as to several of the grievances above specified, which he will communicate with you if need be. Pray, give my kindest respects to Mr Hart. I would be glad to hear from one of you three once-a week, but I dare scarce presume to expect it, when you have so great work on your hand. But if you knew how welcome your last was, after long expectation, and how anxious I am to hear what is agoing, you will none of you grudge me half an hour now and then, with all that's agoing, a copy of your speech, the King's answer, and any other things you think fit. You will be satisfied to hear that many prayers are put up day and night in this Church for you. Pray, give my dearest respects to worthy Mr Ridpath, and tell how glad I would be to renew my old correspondence by letters, which the unhappy Union broke off, and to communicate with him what papers I have relative to his design of continuing our Scots History.

There are a great many things I have by way of inquiries, were there room for them in your conversation, for diversion to yourself and my instruction. I was told there were letters from France to Mr M'Millan in the time of the Union, which Mr Montgomery, Mr F.'s son, told my informer were in Queensberry's office, when secretary, for the discovery of which Kersland got some money. You'll please to try the truth of this. I would be fond to know as much as may be of the state of the Protestant Churches in the King's dominions in Germany, and what number of Calvinist ministers there are there, the nature of their meetings, &c. You will, no doubt, inquire into the present state of Mr Whiston's abominable errors, and what support he hath, and whether his revived Arianism be gaining ground or losing;—how he stands with the convocation;—and how the differences between the Higher and Lower Houses of Convocation stand now since the King's accession;—what may the number be of Tory or Jacobite bishops;—if Dr Clerk be come off from Whiston, and how his declaration to the Higher House of Convocation was received. It's a pity so distinct a writer should herd with Whiston. You'll have now some opportunity to satisfy yourself and friends as to the origin and contrivance of the Abjura-

tion Oath. I would likewise desire that any pamphlets or papers you buy anent our Scots affairs, or on any curious subjects, you may buy one of each for me, or resolve, when the Lord sends you home, to give me those you buy at your price. There are some papers I see in the newspapers anent the Lutheran Church, which I will be very fond of. But I hope to have occasion, once and again, to write to you before you leave London. I'll be glad to know if Mr Evans, Dr Williams' colleague, has published the History he has in hand of the Sufferings of Presbyterians in England, or if there be any answer given to Walker's History of the Sufferings of the English Clergy. Let me know if we are to expect any more of Mr Robert Fleming's Christology, or if any have taken him to task for his errors.

You see I have given you abundance of work. I have nothing from this place to give you in return but my best wishes. The Professor's affair is yet in dependence, and if you want a detail of it I shall send it per next. Mr Hart will join with you in the inquiries, and I'll be the more in both your debt the oftener you write. The Lord be with you all, and give you much of his presence, and return you safe to us. I am, R. D. B., yours, as you know,

[ROBERT WODROW.]

Nov. 2, 1714.

P. S.—As to the Churches in Germany, you'll inquire how their discipline is exercised, and particularly the discipline of the Lutheran Churches, their worship and government; how the affair of the union between them and the Calvinists stands. All you please to send anent the present state of the Barnavelt and Arminian party, and Cocceians in Holland, with the condition of religion there, will be most acceptable. You will likewise be fond to know the present numbers of the confessors and new converts in France; and, if you have as much time, I would fain know the state and the issue of that affair between the Cardinal Noailles and the Bishops who join him anent Father Quesnel's tenets, and the rest of the clergy in France who adhere to the Pope's Bull; and if there be any num-

bers in France that are any way breathing after a reformation, as we hear there are. Any thing anent the success of the Gospel in Dutch and English plantations, in the East Indies, and the Danish Missionaries in Malabar; of the state of the Greek Churches. These things are sometimes on my spirit, and no doubt you'll have notices anent them in your excellent conversation at London. May I expect any thing anent the much forgotten Jews in Africa, Asia, or Europe? You'll inquire, likewise, into the design of sending over a suffragan Bishop to America, and the bearing down of our brethren of New England; and you will not forget to inquire into the efforts for spreading the Liturgy, and Ceremonies, and Hierarchy, in the Protestant Churches abroad. Sir Peter King, I am informed, has much of the care of all the Churches upon him, and, no doubt, will give you much satisfaction in all these points. It's hoped Mr Smith will carry the election for our burghs; but I am doubtful of it.

LETTER CLXXXI.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.—ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

To the Rev. Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 15th of October, with the inclosed queries, which were singularly welcome, not as if I were in any case to answer them, but as they contain a very fair state of the difficulties as to the oath. I got it very easily read, and you should make no apologies for its length, for many sheets from you upon this head would not have been unacceptable. I have received a dozen of your prints from Mr Martine, and shall use all my endeavours to help off with the Questions and Cases on Mark iv. 26, &c., when they come to hand. I'll only presume to offer my advice, that what is printed of this nature at once do not exceed the rate of "The National Enmity," for whatever goes be-

yond twopence or threepence is not bought by such who have most need of these essays, and, in so far, comes short of part of the design. I want a copy of your Essay upon Illumination, and the Appendix at the end, against the Cevennoise and Prophets. It's the only piece of yours I know of which I want, and if you can direct me where one of them is to be had I will be glad of it.

The important and awful matter of oaths is what I shall spend what remains of this letter upon. I fancy you mistake my circumstances, but there is no matter for that. I have yet taken no oath of a public nature, though, with you, I very much honour my Rev. Brethren who have light on this matter. I was called to take the Allegiance and Assurance in the 1702, but got it waved, and inclined to make no noise in that matter, where I found the generality had clearness; and this increases my difficulty now, when I expect, at least, a new Oath of Allegiance. The Abjuration I never had any strait to reckon in me sinful, and if I mistake not, I had peace in stating my sufferings upon that score. But I confess, my darkness is greater upon a simple Allegiance, now when the prospect of it returns; and it has been matter of some perplexing thoughts to me, and yet is, though I desire to make little or no noise anent this, since I yet find the bulk of my brethren, yea, I may say all whom I have occasion to speak with, clear on this head. Beside the difficulties you propose, some of which do stick with me, there are some others which offer to me against an Oath of Allegiance, as things stand at present, which I shall propose to you for your advice and help in them, and humbly expect your sentiments as soon as conveniency allows.

1st, The foundation of most of my scruples is the undetermined sense of the *true allegiance* I am to engage myself by oath unto. To be a faithful subject I think I understand; but this true allegiance to me is embarrassed with some difficulties. I find, by some, it is understood as including only the general duties of a subject required by the Word of God—subjection for conscience sake. I find others understand by it a peaceable subjection, and active regulating myself by the laws of the kingdom. If this be the im-

port, you'll present[ly] find my scruple, and it's more than ever I shall, I think, engage to approve all the present laws by oath.

2dly, I own I am very much difficulted as to my swearing any oath to the present Government, from our present united state, and I very earnestly beg your thoughts as to this part of my strait. The Union, as it stands, I still reckoned sinful, and hitherto have found it a fountain of much mischief, though I humbly adore the holy and wise providence of God, who hath made use of it, and the late sinful peace with France, for the helping on the peaceable and rightful accession of King George to the throne. And I question if its ill fruits be yet at an end. That I swear to the King in the allegiance as King over United Britain, I think cannot be questioned; that I, in my mind, must approve this united constitution, before I can lawfully swear allegiance, seems as clear. The miserable shift of *de facto* and *de jure* kings can be no ease to a conscience, and to me appears but juggling. I know some question the very power of a representative [body] to overturn its own constitution, and take it to be *felo de se*. But if my allegiance to the Sovereign import an approbation of the present constitution, it's what I have at present no clearness to do; though I can live peaceably under any usurpation, till Providence open a way for the removing the burden.

3dly, Which is but a consequence of the former, the present sinful laws anent patronages and toleration, especially the former, which is like both to be ruining to the Church, and seems to bear a particular relation to the practice of ministers as subjects, do very much darken me in my oath. I, under correction, take the *true allegiance* to import compliance with, yea, in my station, an active homologating and executing the laws relative to it now in force, especially those which relate to me considered civilly in such a station. Now, the law of the Union, the sinking our representative, to me is so contrary to the ends of liberty and religion, and many other things in it, that I, according to my present light, can never actively comply with it. And by my oath of allegiance, I, till I be better informed, would think myself obliged to receive a

presentation to settle an intransigent, with a view to that as the foundation of his legal right. And by that same reasoning the allegiance will bind me, as a subject, actively to protect the tolerated party in the exercise of their worship, and in their meetings.

4thly, Upon the same grounds, you will perceive I will have my scruples from the imposers of the oath, who, as I expect, will be the united Parliament, whose authority in impositions, especially if contrary to our reserved rights, I am diffculted to own. But that falls much in with the second; only the imposers, the Parliament, not the Sovereign, darken me a little as to my call to this piece of worship.

I might name many other things which perplex my way, as to even a simple oath of allegiance. The King's hands being bound up by his oath from the Reformation of England, I would be glad to have it fairly stated how far that may affect my allegiance to him, especially in a united state. I know some Englishmen who are of opinion, that, by their allegiance, they are bound to maintain the King in the maintenance of Presbytery in Scotland, and scruple upon that head; and I am persuaded I have better reason [for saying, that,] by it, I should be bound to maintain the hierarchy, or bound up from doing all I can for its removal, or required to support the King in his maintenance of it. And, to end your trouble on this head, I confess the want of any evident necessity in a matter wherein, every Lord's day, and at all other suitable occasions, I evidence my owning of the King's authority, to give a superadded testimony of this kind in an oath, sticks with me. I have laid these before you, as what at present offer themselves to me, and most willingly would I have your answers to them and opinion anent them.

You are pleased to desire my opinion upon your six queries, which, since you require, I shall give, not for any information to you, since, to be sure, you want none from such a hand as mine, but that I may be set right by you, and have your mind further anent them. [See Appendix, No. 3.]

As to the first, I humbly think, that under remaining difficulties.

with a person even anent the circumstances of an oath, he ought to decline swearing till, through dependence on the Lord in the use of all means, he come to light in what should be done, without all doubts, and most cheerfully.

The second query seems to be a little harder to answer. Certainly the magistrate's call will never to conscience carry the matter another way than the Scripture hath determined; neither make any thing necessary which the Lord hath not determined previously in his Word, directly or by good consequences. But I humbly apprehend the circumstances of Providence, and among them the magistrate's call may be one mean, joined with other things, to help a serious observer to draw right consequences from, and apply the general truths, in the Holy Scriptures, in a humble reliance upon the Spirit for conduct. But then, as to the amplification of this query, I, under your correction, suppose that there may be many other ends of public oaths than confirmation. Heb. vi. 16, seems, indeed, to say, that an oath merely for confirmation, and the end of controversy, ought not to be repeated; but how far this will hold in oaths that are of a mixed nature I shall not determine. I am sensible there are too many repetitions of the same oath at every new office and election, &c. But if I had taken the allegiance to King William and Queen Anne, I would not have thought it a bar to my taking it to King George. The matter to be confirmed now is a new thing. Besides, as I hinted, there seems to be much more in the public oaths than confirmation, and ending the controversy whether I be loyal, &c. The allegiance seems to be a bond and vow upon me to the duties of a subject, and a help to the practice of them, if right managed, beside many other things I need not specify to you. But I entirely agree with you that the land mourneth because of multitudes of repeated, alas! I fear, unnecessary oaths; and by the repetition of them the very design of imposing the solemnity of an oath is crossed.

The query that is third, as to myself, I never had any difficulty anent it. The clause specified I do neither take to be a part of

the Claim of Right, which ends at the offer of the Crown, but only an accidental consequent of that claim, whereby former iniquitous oaths and laws were required to be abrogate; neither do I think the words do bear any relation to any oath, but the iniquitous Oaths of Supremacy, embodied with the Allegiance, the contradictory Test, and the Abjuration of that time, which, upon the King and Queen's acceptance, the Convention do pray the King to abolish. Really, without a more than ordinary stretch, I cannot see how the Covenants can be drawn in under this. Neither do I think this clause was the reason why the Assurance was not imposed in the form of an oath, but in that of a declaration, as far as I could ever learn, but rather it's coming in room of the Association, which was more privately entered into at first, but when countenanced by authority was cast to this shape.

As to the fourth query, I am very clear the imposition of an oath upon ministers, on the penalty of deprivation of office, borders very much upon Erastianism. I have heard that this clause was once in the act imposing the Allegiance in King William's time, and was by some ministers got put out, and that of deprivation of the benefice put into it. I hope this shall not be the certification of any oath imposed now, at least wish it be not. When the magistrate hath any just ground to jealousy a minister's loyalty, I humbly think he may require some suitable test, upon the pain of deprivation of benefice, which in cases of failzour [failure] of his duty as a subject I am of opinion he may remove, and I cannot see that this affects the just maintenance God hath appointed for ministers; but this I say only under your correction.

The two last queries are very evident, and I wish the Lord may direct ministers what to do, both for preventing a multiplicity of State Oaths, and to do what is proper for the reviving the obligation of the best oaths ever these lands were under; though I sometimes wish that our Covenants had had less of civil things, at least of political views, in their first frame and make. I wish earnestly you may, in your next, enlarge upon the state of the Reformed Churches abroad as to oaths, for I thought that both in France

and in Holland there had been an Oath of Allegiance required of ministers. How it's in Germany, where it concerns us now particularly to have intelligence, and the northern countries, which are Lutheran, I know not. Pray let me have all offers to you on this head.

Thus, you see, I have adventured to give you my rude and indigested thoughts anent the queries which are so welcome to me. I thought to have proposed several other subjects of our epistolary conversation, but I fear I have wearied you too much already. They shall be the subject of my next, when you have favoured me with your riper thoughts upon the subject of oaths. I earnestly beg a special room in your sympathy and prayers for me and mine, and this poor place. May the Lord be with you, and continue you long to be useful to many, and to, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, Nov. 15, 1714.

I give my kindest respects to Mr Gib, Mr P., and all brethren with you of my acquaintance.

LETTER CLXXXII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSION.—CARSTAIRS' SPEECHES.

To the Rev. Mr R. W. [Robert Wylie.]

Nov. 18, 1714.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 15th, and have nothing to acquaint you with but what you'll have before this can reach you. You'll know the Commission last week have done nothing but recalled their missionaries,¹ after they have got the civil sanction, to

¹ The Commission had deputed five of their number, viz. Messrs William Carstairs, William Mitchell, James Hart, Thomas Linning, and James Ramsay, to go to London for the purpose of pleading the rights of the Church, and representing the grievances under which she laboured, such as patronages, &c. They were, however, recalled without accomplishing their errand. "There is such a humour in delaying

a day which they would not venture to name themselves for a national thanksgiving; and when they have sought a proclamation against immorality, though we have very good laws and proclamations already, and little or no execution; and desired that Jesuits and Papists may be prosecute upon the public charges, as being guilty of a branch of treason; at least, hearing and saying of mass is, by our law, made so. So that, for my own share, I shall not be much for a fast in the terms you propose. We have ground, indeed, in my opinion, to fast and humble ourselves for losing excellent opportunities to do good to this Church, when Providence opens so fair a door for it; and our lying by from any fair representation of the Church's burdens, from narrow pitiful party views, in the proper season of it. It's pretended nothing can be done till the Parliament sit, and that making noise now will weaken the King's interest, and that of the Whigs in elections ensuing, and heighten the cry of the Church of England's danger; and, no doubt, when the time of the Parliament comes, some new pretence will then be vamped up. I fear we are not ripe yet for a complete delivery, and very little of a spirit suited to outward providential appearances seems yet allowed us.

I would have sent you Mr Carstairs' three speeches, but you'll have them in the prints before this can come. Some allege there is too much of compliment and the courtier, and too little of the minister, in that to the King. I fancy the Commissioners will be very quickly down, and it may be care will be taken who will be sent up next. The Commission is not to meet till March, and then the Assembly will be drawing on, and nothing must be done the first Session of Parliament till the King know where he is, and the pulse of the Parliament felt. The views I have of the present circumstances of this Church are not so pleasant as I find many others have. I pray the Lord's controversy with us were at an end, and we had another and better spirit. I'll be most glad of

matters of this kind, by the managers of our Church judicatories, for some years past, that I am afraid of the consequences."—*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow, Nov. 27, 1714.*

your thoughts of things fully and frequently; and am, yours most
entirely, R. W.

LETTER CLXXXIII.

THANKS FOR REVISING HIS HISTORY.

To the Rev. Mr John Anderson, Minister at Dumbarton.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 23d this day, with your very obliging corrections and additions to the First Book of my papers. I have looked them over, and reckon them all very just and reasonable, as far as I yet see. By your kind pains to correct and amend it, you truly encouraged me more to go on than any thing I yet met with since I entered upon it.

Your good wishes to so necessary a work have made you pass by far a too favourable judgment on this First Book in your letter. I own, the further I go on, I see the more necessity for somewhat on this head; and if any thing I can cast together upon this head may be of use when corrected by you and others, I shall not reckon my pains altogether lost; and nothing but a conviction of our negligence since the Revolution, and the ill consequences of it, made me last winter venture to give a kind of beginning to it, almost in a fret. My hand is ill; my style and syllabication have given you a great deal of trouble; my head is worst of all; and I have few or no materials sent me. However, I'll endeavour to go through with it as I can, if the Lord spare me. The rude draught of the Second Book is finished to the year 1679, and, with the appendix, will be much of a size with what you have read. I am just now working upon collections for the Third Book, which, I think, will prove more tedious and difficult than the two former. I would send you the Second Book before I transcribe it, but not without a promise, that afterwards, when I extend it, and make some additions

from papers since come to hand, you'll be at the trouble of amending the second draught when you come to Glasgow. I beseech you allow me a night of you. I am, yours most affectionately,

[R. WODROW.]

Nov. 25, 1714.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

A SCOTTISH IMPROVISATRICE.—THE JACOBITE CURSE.

*To the Rev. Mr W. W. [William Wright,] Minister at K—n—k,
[Kilmarnock.]*

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had not yours of the 25th till the 28th, and heartily thank you for the copy of verses you send me. I want to know if the person uses the duty of solitary singing of Psalms, or if ever she offered at making any other poems; if she have been frequently trysted with the representation of her exercise in verse; if she has any audible voice; or if ever she was led in any other duty than that of meditation to this versifying method, and if ever in her applications to God; or if it be restricted to what she takes to be manifestations from God; with the woman's character, and all you please upon this odd subject.

I sent in to Glasgow for Caddell's paper, but it was not sent me. I have not seen it, and so cannot give any judgment of it. I was, as I told Mr Anderson, against his noticing Caddell's Answer to his Dialogue, and yet far more against the Curate Whipt. I can see no ground of prosecuting you in law for any thing in the Jacobite Curse,¹ nor any reason you have to be afraid of their boasts. It's the hardest thing in law almost to prove a person the writer of a paper; neither do I find any thing in it they can reach you for.

¹ This work of Wright's was replied to by Caddel, in what Mr Williamson styles "a scandalous paper."—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. viii. No. 145.

If you had signified the pretences of a prosecution, you should have had my thoughts upon them. I am, yours most affectionately,

[R. WODROW.]

Dec. 1, 1714.

LETTER CLXXXV.

DECLINES PUBLISHING HIS LETTER ON THE GRIEVANCES.

To Mr J. E. [John Erskine,] at Edinburgh.

DEAR SIR,—I had your father's of the 27th, and yours of the 4th. I give you this by post, upon the head of the letter both of you write about. I am persuaded it's from haste he desires it to be printed, (*vide supra*, p. —,¹) and want of consideration. Indeed, I wish somewhat upon our grievances, civil and ecclesiastical, were going abroad; but that paper is so rude, indigested, and mixed with so many things perfectly private and temporary, between the two persons concerned, that it is a perfect jest to speak of printing it. If the Lord return your father safe home, and he, or some he judges proper, can cast some matter in it in some better shape, and add some other necessary things to it, which come not under the view of the letter, which related only to the view of things at the Commission, I should think after the elections were a fit and proper time for any thing well done of that nature; but, to be sure, this rude and indigested heap will never do good, but hurt. These are my sincere sentiments on this head.

I long for a copy of the Pretender's late Declaration. Mr Wylie in Hamilton is very low, and whatever some are pleased to think, I am of opinion the loss of him will be very great. I wonder you

¹ This evidently refers to Letter CLXXIV. p. 565. The well-written Memorial at p. 592 appears to have been the production of Mr Wylie.

write nothing of the cabals of our Peers at Edinburgh, the list, they say, of the sixteen that is agreed on. Tender my dearest respects to your father; I was refreshed again to see his hand. I pray the Lord preserve, restore, and direct him. I am, yours, &c.

Dec. 7, 1714.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

VAIN ATTEMPTS OF PRELACY IN AMERICA.—BIBLIA AMERICANA.

*Dr Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, N. England, 17 d. 3 m. 1714.

REVEREND SIR,—Since my last, there has occurred little matter of intelligence in these parts of the world, that may give you any entertainment.

We have our share in the general peace, and we are not without our share in the fears which arise from the condition to which it has restored and advanced the grand enemies of our holy religion. Nor do we forget that 1 Thess. v. 3, is in the Bible.

Attempts to propagate the Church of England in these colonies are often renewed by a sort of people, whose character you are no strangers to; but they are strangely blasted of God. Be you also of good cheer, my friend, for the third and fourth verses of Obadiah's prophecy are in the Bible too.

Our Churches multiply considerably, and, within a little while, I think above twenty new congregations have been formed in this country, generally with the good satisfaction of those from whom they swarm into distinct societies.

I have sent unto Mr Thomas Reinolds, with two other ministers in London, and Mr John Laurence, a bookseller at the Angel, in

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 7.

the Poultry there, my new offer of our *Biblia Americana*, and am waiting for their direction.

I now tender a few more of the latest productions from our presses to your acceptance. And, if your and my excellent patron, the Lord of Pollock, may cast his eye upon them, I shall count them honoured. It is in obedience to his direction that I address my letters to you, as being to reach him through your mediation.

May the glorious Lord graciously assist and accept your holy essays to serve His kingdom! I am, Sir, your affectionate brother and servant,

CO. MATHER.

LETTER CLXXXVII.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCHES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

To the Very Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 17 d. the 3 month, in August last, from the hand of my reverend and dear friend, Principal Stirling, with the valuable packet of discourses and sermons which came with it. I am very much refreshed by what of yours you favour me with, and edified by them, and desire to condole with you the family losses I find by them you sustain, and yet to rejoice, since I observe the rod blossoming; and the Lord make them up with much of his presence!

I bless the Lord who preserves your venerable father. He is now about the age of mine, who was taken from me near eight years ago, after many longings to be with Christ. May yours be much longer preserved for your comfort and the good of all the Churches of Christ! May his fruit be much, and his consolations many, in his advanced years! Let this give him my humblest respects, and beg a room in his moen at the throne of grace. I am

very unwilling to presume to trouble him with any thing from me, and I know if there be any thing I can signify worth his notice you'll communicate with him; but I would reckon myself highly favoured if I might hear from him at his leisure.

By some accident or other, the Rev. P. Stirling forgot to let me know he had an occasion of some ship coming to you, a little after the receipt of your last, which was grieving to me; for though I have nothing worth your while, I am still earnest to acknowledge my receipt of yours, and to own the repeated ties you lay upon me.

With thankfulness I receive the accounts that your Churches multiply. May the word of the Lord run and be glorified! May they walk in the fear of the Lord, and comforts of the Holy Ghost, and be multiplied! I bless the Lord, that the attempts of the builders of Babylon among you are sensibly blasted. I hope they will at length be snared in the works of their own hands, and we have a Higgsion Selah!

Your new offer, or Biblia Americana, I have endeavoured to spread up and down this country, that ministers may be acquainted with the noble design; and I am persuaded your undertakers at London will not want encouragement, if they shall, as I hope they will, engage.

I communicate yours with my Lord Pollock, who tenders you his most kind respects. At this season of the year he is still at Edinburgh, in his honourable station, serving his generation according to the will of God.

This comes by a friend of mine going for Maryland, who promises to send it carefully to Boston. These two years we have had no ships I can learn of coming directly to Boston, which I much regret, since it deprives me of the occasion of sending you some papers and books published here, for your diversion; and I fear some of mine to you lose their way, and within these few weeks I find my last, in May, is not come to your hand, and so once more I send it to try its way with this.

Since I wrote it, the Lord hath done great things for us in Bri-

tain, and they are the sweeter to me, that I promise myself, ere this time, the comfortable effects of this second and glorious revolution have reached dear New England.

We were like those who dreamed, when the Lord did turn back our captivity as streams in the south, and very little expecting so sudden a turn. You will, no doubt, have full accounts how matters stood in the southern part of the island. Poor Scotland was yet worse. We have by far more Jacobites among us to our proportion than (I hope) England hath, and they were very open, and setting the day when the Queen should resign, and her pretended brother come in. But our God thought not so. I must own the people of God were quickened, by the impending danger, to cry to him whom they had forsaken; and there was not wanting somewhat of the spirit of supplication, in some places, and the hearts of some were prepared to seek, and the prayer-hearing God acted in another way than we durst seek or expect, not for our sakes, but for his own name sake, when the knife was at our throat, and our power gone, and none shut up or left.

Upon the Queen's demise we expected great confusions and bloodshed, but many became Jews for fear, and I pray they may not be as pricks in our eyes and thorns in our sides. The Episcopal Jacobite clergy, who have stood out since the Abdication, are now like to weary of their opposition to the government, and fag in their hopes from France, and we want not our fears, that they lay aside their scruples at the oaths, and many of them take the benefit of the Toleration Act.

However, we rejoice, and will rejoice, in the Lord's doing; it's wondrous in our eyes. We observe as singular and immediate appearance of Providence, if not more, in our second, as in the first Revolution, by the glorious King William. Then England and we both were desirous, yea, groaning after a deliverance from Popery, and had made considerable steps to invite our deliverer; now we were little less in hazard, but scarce sensible of it. In that the hand of men was much seen, in this the hand of our God much

more. Then, though deeply guilty, yet not so much as now at present.

And yet we rejoice with trembling. We know not if the Lord's controversy with thir lands be at an end. We long for the inward delivery, for the Lord's returning to the spirits of his people, and to ordinances, when the time of our merciful visitation is lengthened out, and reviving a work of conviction and conversion, his repairing our breaches, and taking off the restraint from his Holy Spirit, that the wilderness may be turned to a fruitful field, and that this wonderful turn may extend to all the Churches of Christ.

"That his name is near, his wonderful works declare." When under this astonishing turn of Providence, with new pleasure I again read over your venerable parent's sermon on that sweet place, and the pleasant appendix, and my longings after the 1716 revived, and I desire to wait for the vision, though it tarry. It would now be exceedingly strengthening to me to have his and your thoughts of the times, and what Israel ought to do.

When I look abroad through Europe, I think it's "neither day nor night;" but in the evening time it shall be light. The Ottoman Power seems to be recovering strength, and ready to fall upon the Venetians. The House of Austria seems in nearer conjunction with Bourbon than were to be wished; but what our Sovereign King George may be spirited to do, and how far he may break the cords of the wicked, perhaps a little time may determine. The changes are like to be great from the King of Sweden's return home. If the maritime powers can prevail to bear down the flames rising in the north, and to embark the unhappy and the bold Swede heartily in the Reformed interest, it will be an adorable step of Providence. But his thoughts are not like ours.

The Jesuitical Locusts are, it's said, more than ordinarily busy at the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, to impress those bigoted Princes of the hazard of the (pretended) Catholic faith. They fail not to buzz in their ears that their succession is very uncertain, and if some speedy methods are not taken, the maritime powers

will be in case to name successors to both. They pretend that there are two heretics in the electoral dignity, and a temporary Catholic, who are crowned heads, and, by their interest, may carry a King of the Romans, who is heretical, and that the Duke of Orleans is little better than one; and the only way to prevent all is, that the Catholic King, as they call him, of Britain be set on the throne, and a religious war be entered into. What shall the end of all these things be?

Our state at home you have earlier and better accounts of than I can give. The wrath of man is beginning to appear pretty much in England. We are praying that He who stilleth the waves of the sea, and the tumults of the people, may restrain it, and cause the remainder praise him, and give his judgments to the King, and his righteousness to the King's son.

No doubt, the Rev. Principal Stirling would give you a better account of the state of this Church, since my last, than I can pretend to know. I shall only then tell you, that after our Assembly in May, there was nothing I mind very remarkable, but fears and melancholy apprehensions, till the 1st of August. In June, I think, there was a committee went to the southern parts of this Church, where our rents run highest, by reason five ministers in that country withdrew from attending judicatories, since the imposition of the Abjuration Oath. They pretend they design no separate course from their brethren, but are, for a little, obliged to withdraw from judicatories, wherein there are ministers who have qualified themselves, otherwise the people will not subject to ordinances dispensed by them. The committee endeavoured to convince them and the people, that different practices anent the oath were no just ground of separation. But I do not find so many good effects of the committee's diligence as were to be wished for.

In the middle of August, our Commission of the General Assembly met, and sent up an address of congratulation to the Lords-Justices, to be presented to his Majesty upon his accession, which was kindly received. In September they met again, and upon the King's happy arrival, ordered five of their members, Mr William Carstairs,

Mr William Mitchell, Mr James Hart, ministers at Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Linning, and Mr James Ramsay, to go up to London, and congratulate his Majesty in name of this Church. Their address to him, the Prince, and Princess, you will have in the London prints before this can reach you. Their business was likewise to see what might be proper to be done for informing his Majesty, and the great men about him, of the grievances and burdens this Church lies under, from the impositions of patronages, and a boundless toleration, and the remiss execution of our good laws against profaneness, and to take all cautious methods to prevent any thing that may be further hurtful unto this Church. These brethren are at present at London, and by letters from some of them I understand nothing can be done, unless about profanity, till the new Parliament meet, when, it is to be feared, new oaths may be imposed, which may rip up our old sores, which otherwise, I hope, would close.

This provincial Synod appointed a thanksgiving in the beginning of October, for his Majesty's safe accession, and we expect, shortly, another of a national nature from the Commission.

This is a hint of matters as they stand with us. Our Jacobites are of a sudden turned a little uppish, after they were sensibly stunned at this strange revolution, and pretend to be in hopes that their darling will yet come over.

Please to refresh me with full and frequent accounts of matters with you; and continue to favour me with all you can send me of your American productions, especially your own and your reverend father's. I have yearly occasions going to Virginia and Maryland, but I can hear of none directly to New England. I could wish for a more stated way of receiving the benefit of your letters. I pray the Lord of the harvest may bless you, as he hath done, with great fruit, and preserve you long for doing great service to the Church; and am, Reverend and Dear Sir, your very much obliged B., and most humble servant in the Lord,

R. W.

December 11, 1714.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

JACOBITE ADDRESS FOR A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

To the Rev. Mr J. F. [John Flint,] Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 21st was most acceptable to me, as all from you still are. I have scarce been abroad these three or four weeks, and so am very much a stranger to what is doing up and down this country; but for any thing I have learned, the address¹ you speak of is not come our length, neither is there any stir among us anent it.

You will oblige me much if you'll send me a double of the draught that is handed about, by the first post, that I may have my thoughts about it, if ever it comes our length, with your remarks on the looseness in the expressions of it, and I shall not fail to communicate the hazard of this, in as far as my small influence reaches, to our brethren.

I was and am still against the Union, in this shape we have been burdened with now more than seven years, and I reckon it is the great fountain of many of the grievances this Church groans under, and if mercy prevent not, is like to [be] an inlet to more.

And yet I would be very unwilling to give any countenance to any thing that may embarrass the King in the entry of his Government, when he hath his hands so full with the Jacobites in England, or to do any thing which may strengthen the Jacobites among ourselves.

In my small experience, I have still found it the hardest thing to

¹ This was an address to the King for the dissolution of the Union, which made much noise about Edinburgh. The promoters of it, as Mr Flint states, were Jacobites, whose object was, by this means, to disturb King George in the beginning of his government, and to promote the cause of the Pretender, by appealing to the predilections of Scotsmen on a subject popular among all parties.

judge of things and actions by their consequences only ; these are so uncertain, and parties and factions, especially in the State, and politics are so many. And how far arguments only from events and consequences, which will be called uncertain, will weigh against the doing a thing, which at first view will appear plausible in its nature, I am at a loss to judge.

And, therefore, if you would have me doing any thing to purpose in this affair, I earnestly entreat you'll send me both the just exceptions that are made against the matter of the Address and its looseness, and as good evidences as may be of its having its spring from the Jacobites, and being their last effort, and the particulars, in so far as you see convenient, of its breeding uneasiness to his Majesty, and, above all, any grounds of hope we may have of getting this burden redressed in a more convenient season.

I easily see I will be called upon in conversation as to all those heads, and many more, especially now that the Union has had its best effect, and the almost only good thing in it is accomplished, our Sovereign's happy accession to the throne. And I'll very freely own to you my opinion is, that when ever the Union can be broken, with lesser hazard and fewer inconveniences than these are we labour under by it, all regular and calm courses ought to be taken to get rid of it.

But if we must out of the frying-pan into the fire, if we have 20,000 to encounter with 10,000, if the Protestant interest and the King's title may be any way endangered by any such efforts, I think it's duty to sit still ; it's our yoke, and we must bear it, and our own hands have made the snares wherein we are taken.

You see with what freedom I write to you, that you may please to send me your sentiments and every thing that may give light unto this affair. By this day's letters I find the ministers of Dunfermline have been the first signers of an address of this nature. I love not to condemn any body till I hear them, but I am not for ministers engaging in quisquouse [dubious] matters till their brethren know of it, and unanimity be essayed. When means have been essayed, and brethren cannot convince one another, no doubt, in point

of practice, where there are no standing rules of the Church, every one must follow his light.

Since I had yours, and observe ministers beginning, without conference among ourselves, to enter into such addresses, I am turning thoughtful, and want not some fears that our flames revive, when I had some prospect of their gradually dwindling away.

The harmony of this Church is what I still have had fears somewhat or other would fall in, that would break. I hope the bulk of such who had not clearness to qualify have evidenced their concern about it; and it's matter of wonder to me, considering humours appearing too much on both hands, that so little of a breach has been.

But the taking of or refusing the oath was but a personal thing; I fear we have yet a harder game to play as to the Union; I pray the Lord direct ministers in this difficult time, when billow after billow comes, to steer straight, and yet steadily and fairly. I see we will have our left-hand enemies observing us, Jacobites and others, and our right-hand decliners, the followers of Mr Hepburn and Mr M'Millan, and many others, ready to take offence.

I thought there was a more than ordinary conduct of the Commission 1706 and 1707, when the Union was a framing, and I never allow myself to forget what of the Lord's hand I observed in guiding ministers then. I wish we may be directed, if we have a new trial to grapple with, as to the dissolving of it.

Thus I have given you my sentiments upon this head, in as far as you are pleased to let me into it, and the more and oftener you write upon it, you'll oblige me the more. Your sons, to whom I give my kindest respects, will not grudge to write when your age and infirmity make it uneasy to you. I wonder you send me no other news, whether our Commissioners be come off, when expected, and what they have done as to what the Commission instructed them. These, and whatever else you judge meet, will be most agreeable to, Reverend Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

December 23, 1714.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

PROPOSED DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.—MINISTERS MEDDLING
WITH POLITICS.*For Mr R. W. [Robert Wylie.]*

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 29th instant yesternight, and heartily thank you for communicating with me what you have from that person of eminency.¹ I find there are a great many letters of this nature spread, and I have had some more since my last to you, of the same nature with yours and Mr Flint's. But yours has a singularity in it which I have not observed in any other, that the Jacobites are in a special manner dealing with Non-jurors as to the dissolution of the Union. I cannot hear of any particular attacks made upon Non-jurors hereabouts. I am persuaded, whatever some are pleased to insinuate, that the King will have none firmer to his true interest than Non-jurors. I wish some innuendos of this kind be not fostered, and made by our Jurant brethren; and, if they be guilty, they seem to me neither to advance their own interest, nor that of the Church, nor that of truth.

I have had occasion to converse with few or none of our brethren upon this head, though I have been more abroad this week than for many before. Our own different practices have occasioned a sensible dryness among us in matters of any public nature, which

¹ " My letter, which I had but the other day, is from a person of considerable eminence, and bears that the Jacobites, for their own designs, and not out of any regard to the country, are propagating a National Address against the Union, and that they are endeavouring to persuade the Presbyterian ministers, especially the Non-jurors, to concur with them in it. He hopes we will be so wise as to prevent any such thing amongst the brethren here; for he says we may depend upon it, that as the cry of the Church's danger in England, so this of the Union here, is to be the handle whereby to disturb our present happy settlement and the King's affairs, and so to sour people's tempers as to make them ready to receive the Pretender."—*(Wylie's Letter to Wodrow.)*

I am truly sorry for. I have had but very raw thoughts on this proposed dissolution of the Union, and just write this to you, that I may think a little on it, which I do easiest when writing to my friends, and that I may be set right by your riper thoughts.

The reasonableness and necessity of an attempt to free ourselves of this heavy burden, I suppose, will be owned by the bulk of Scotsmen. The two questions that offer to me are, whether this be the time for it? and how far ministers may or ought to concern themselves in it, if it be? I am very unwilling to enter upon the first, because it is really one of the hardest things for one to come to a determination about the seasonableness of a duty, agreed to be good in its matter. There are so many different things to be considered, and such an uncertainty as to many of them; and I have many a time seen seasonableness and expediency made use of to dwang off and delay things till circumstances fell in which really marred them, and made them unseasonable in truth, when at first they were only so in pretence. And I further observe, that a hundred things may be advanced pretty semblable, for an inexpediency and unseasonableness of many things, especially in a limited mixed government; and I have generally observed, that debates upon the unseasonableness of a thing have generally issued in thrusting out confessed duty, for which a season can never be found without some difficulties attending it, in such a state as we are under.

I find the same confessed matter of fact, that we are in the entry of a new reign, is urged upon both hands, for and against this proposed project. Such as are for it allege that the beginning of a reign is no doubt the properest time, with all caution, to let a Sovereign know our pressures; and if we do nothing then, it's to be presumed we have none. On the other hand, [it is alleged] that the beginning of a reign is attended with such native convulsions and difficulties, that it's the hardest thing that can be to urge a Prince to make so vast a change, attended with so great a train of consequences.

Thus, the hazard seems to be disputable here on what side of the balance it lies. Let us see how far the effects of such a project, if

gone into, may help us to judge of its expediency and seasonableness. It seems evident, that the proposing of any thing at a time when it's not probable it can take effect, is unseasonable, or the proposal of a thing which may have good effects, and yet is liable to bad consequences, is inexpedient, when there is a great probability that the ill effects are likelier to come about than the good consequences; and if this be the case, here it may serve to clear the matter. It may then be thought, that at present this project will either be thrown out, or, if granted, will have ill consequences. I think it's evident, that the granting or not granting of the desired dissolution depends upon England, and not us. There are, then, two cases may be supposed as to the ensuing Parliament, upon which the granting or refusing of this proposal depends. The Parliament will either be Whig or Tory. If it be Whig, and the proposal come from our Jacobites in Scotland, and be what, in this case, is supposed, to embarrass the King, I think it's probable it will not be granted. If the Parliament be Tory and Jacobite, it's scarce supposable that they will grant this dissolution but with an eye to cast us to confusion, and bring the Pretender [in] at the breach. And, in the general, if any or both refuse it, it will very much weaken any design of that nature in a better and more seasonable juncture. If all the branches of this reasoning hold, it will appear to be hazardous on all hands to propose it. But then the difficulty recurs, there will be after embarrassments may attend the government, as well as in the entry, and the Whig party, if they prevail, will be as much against any thing which may difficult his Majesty as now, and so to-morrow will be as this day, and it may be more abundantly. I see nothing to answer this, but some promissory concession of the King in the first good juncture, that he will essay this good work, and he will allow the Scots to lay before him, as soon as he can extricate himself out of the difficulties he at present is under.

Thus I have represented, on both hands, what straitens me upon the first question. As to the second, our duty as ministers in meddling with this. The intricacy of the former question, if all mini-

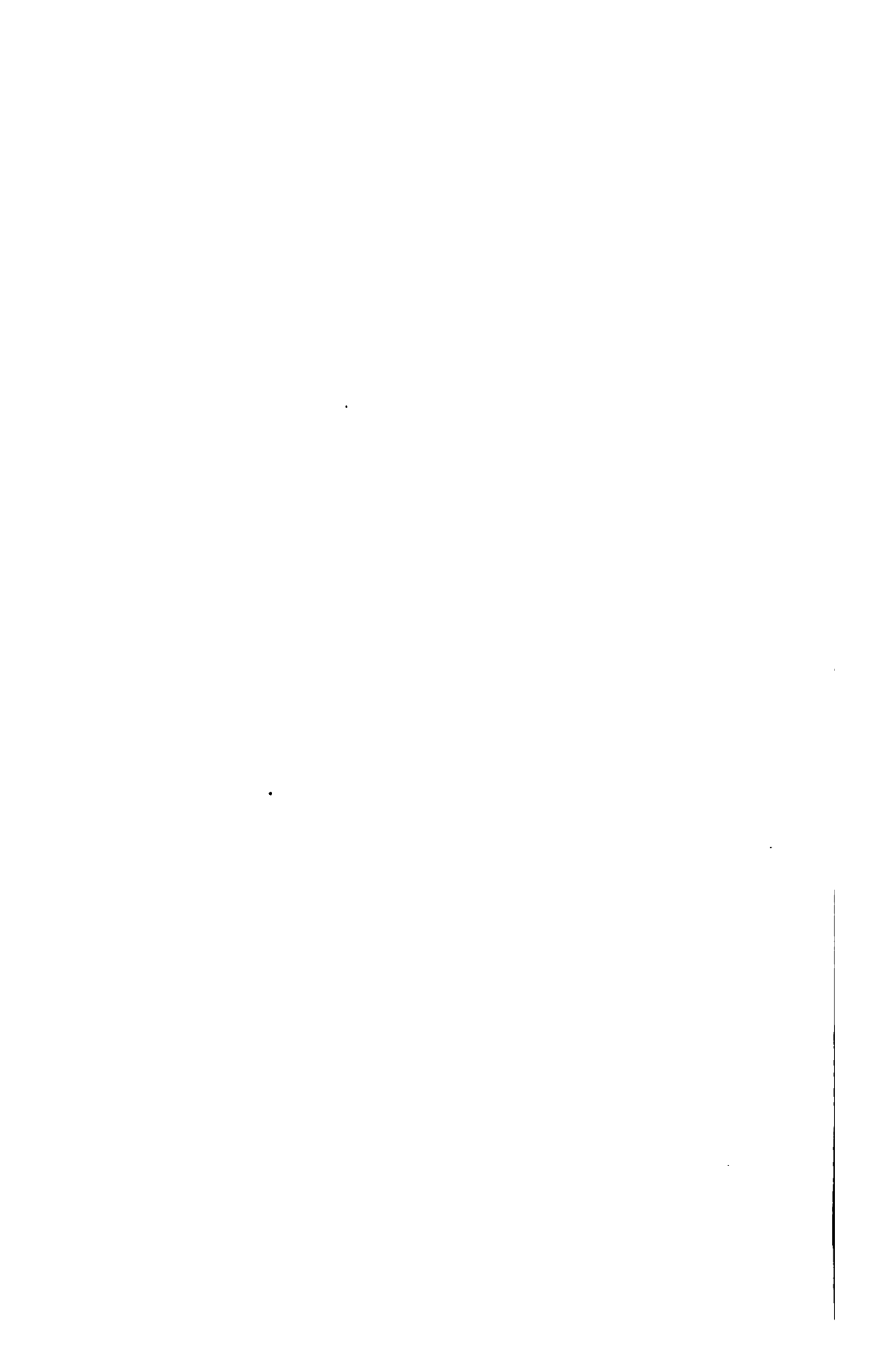
sters be as undetermined in it as I am, I think will be a considerable clog upon our appearing much in this matter. I love to have things very plain before I meddle with politics. And this is not the case here as to me. I see that, if we do not meddle with the efforts which may be made for dissolving the Union, we will be the less pitied under our burdens of toleration and patronages; from which it seems to me to be next to impossible to get rid, without the removal of the spring and fountain, the Union. And yet, on the other side, had we a Scots Parliament, I do not well know but they might lay us under the same, if not greater burdens, than these. I question if there be a set of persons less concerned about religion and liberty, than the most of such as we have to represent us. The only difference here seems to be, that our burdens are perpetual in one united state, and in a separate we might have prospect of a delivery from them. Upon the other hand, the M'Millanites, Hepbronites, and others, will make a loud cry, and heighten our breaches, if we shall be still, and do nothing in this matter. Arguments from inexpediency and unseasonableness have no great weight with them.

You very well observe, that, if we were not broken and disjointed among ourselves, it were much easier for us to act in this case; but, for my part, I see nothing but Providence which can prevent our further dividing and subdividing upon this new incident. Upon the whole, till I see further about me, and be more fully informed of the tenor of the Address, the spring and effects of it, I think it's best to say little. Your thoughts upon this affair, when you are able to write, or when you have any occasion of a hand to write for you, will be most acceptable to, Reverend Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Dec. 30, 1714.

I am glad to hear you are no worse.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

DRAUGHT OF MINISTERS' (NON-JURANTS) DECLARATION.

(See page 371.)

WE, the ministers of the Presbytery of * * * * who have not sworn the Oath of Abjuration required of the ministers of this legally Established Church, in an act of toleration to Episcopal Dissenters, do firmly profess our stedfast loyalty and allegiance to her Majesty Queen Anne, our cordial adherence to the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover, and that though we cannot think it proper to renounce allegiance to the Popish Pretender, having never had the least inclination towards him, nor regard to his pretensions, yet we do utterly reject, detest, and disown any claim that is or may be made by him, or any other Popish pretender, to the crown of this kingdom, or the succession thereto. And being fully fixed in our judgments, determined in our affections, and conscious to ourselves of the integrity of our hearts as to these points, we are not moved by the malicious surmises of any who suggest our refusal of the oath to proceed from some latent inclination or bias towards Jacobitism.

But the true grounds of our forbearing to engage in this oath are such as these :—

1st, The Presbyterian ministers of this Church have never had a purely civil or state oath imposed upon them, except the simple Allegiance, about which we have no difficulty, and that only since the late Revolution. And it having been always evident in fact, that public

party oaths, particularly Abjurations, were never a real security to any Government, but have produced effects contrary to the design upon which they seemed at first to be contrived, and the multiplying of unnecessary public oaths being so often in our solemn humiliations, and at communions, acknowledged to be one of our crying national sins, for which God hath a controversy with this Church and land, and by means of which men's consciences have been woefully debauched. For us to take this civil oath, though we should have judged it lawful upon the matter, were to debase our ministry, lessen the reverence due to our character and office, harden the profane, and expose ourselves to new and contrary swearings upon every turn or change of exactions in the civil Government, which we could never prevail with ourselves heartily and willingly to do.

2d, This oath being required of all the ministers of the Established Church in conjunction with the Episcopal ministers, and in an act of toleration to them, we cannot but apprehend that our taking of this oath had been in us a virtual acknowledgment of these three things :

(1.) That we of the Established Church are as justly to be suspected as the Episcopal Dissenters, whose opposition and dissatisfaction to the Government is notorious.

(2.) That notwithstanding our legal establishment, we are, in the eye of the Government, but upon the same level with the tolerated party, since the same condition or qualification that entitles them to their toleration must entitle us to the liberty of our ministry, as if we were no legally Established Church, but only another sect or party tolerated jointly with them. How would the Church of England have resented it, if this oath had been imposed upon them in a clause of the Toleration Act to Dissenters ?

(3.) That we do approve and consent to the Toleration which the Commission of this Church deservedly termed almost boundless, as being an inlet to all errors, blasphemies, and licentiousness ; so that albeit this oath had been unexceptionable both for its matter and expression, neither of which it is, yet we judge that from the very manner of imposing it, we could not have taken it, at least without a very full and plain protestation against the Toleration in all its parts, and against the introduction of the English Liturgy.

3d, Not to mention several doubtful words and clauses in the oath,

which render it a doubtful, and therefore a sinful oath to us, its being an oath purely English in contrivance and design, framed long before the Union, and that expressly "to the intent that the acts upon which the maintenance of the Church of England, as by law established, do, under God, entirely depend, may be for ever inviolably preserved," without any regard to or mention of the separate reserved rights of the Church of Scotland, we could, by no explications, distinctions, or precisions, free ourselves from swearing contrary to our known principles, if we should swear this oath. And, so long as there stands in the oath an express reference to those English acts, which contain the farther conditions of entail, upon its being extended to the House of Hanover, that is, to the Princess Sophia, who is Calvinist, and to the Elector, her son, who is Lutheran, that they shall be of the communion of the Church of England; none of the trifling niceties about *AS* and *WHICH*, or the many printed evasions and smoothings in this matter, can ever render the oath harmless and innocent to us and our principles; unless we durst renounce our principles by approving the hierarchy and ceremonies of the Church of England, and cast off the religion and fear of an oath. Nor do we see how the taking of this oath is reconcilable with the Commission's sense thereof in the address to the Scots Parliament against it before the Union.

4th, It being acknowledged that the taking of the oath doth import an approbation of the Union, and a binding of the swearer to the justness and lawfulness of it upon oath; though we have lived, and resolve to live, peaceably under it, yet having upon weighty grounds addressed against it, we have not yet arrived at such a conviction of the lightness and insufficiency of these grounds as to warrant us, without hesitation or doubtfulness, to approve it or bind ourselves to it by oath. And, upon the other hand, we can as little approve of the breach of the Act of Security declared to be a fundamental and unalterable part of the Union, whereby we are freed from all oaths inconsistent with our principles. Nor can we think that any Parliament can be held to be a more proper judge of that inconsistency than the Church herself; for otherwise, were the Parliament disposed, they might easily find or force a consistency betwixt Prelacy and Presbytery, as they have already done betwixt unlimited toleration and legal establishment, and betwixt patronages and popular calls.

Further, we cannot but think ourselves well warranted in law to refuse the said oath upon these two accounts :—

1. Because we are by the foresaid Act of Security exeemed from being liable to any oath inconsistent with our principles, which act was made, and incorporated with the Union, with a direct eye to the Oath of Abjuration, and in answer to the Commission's address against it.

2. Because the fine of refusing it is extraordinary and exorbitant, which by our Claim of Right is contrary to law. And the penalty of deprivation of office to the ministers of this Church is incompetent in law, the supremacy being abolished by an Act of Parliament still in force.

5th, Though we are very far from subjecting our principles or conduct to the notions of the people, yet we reckon ourselves obliged in conscience not to despise the flocks committed to our charge as [an] unthinking, vulgar, or brutal mob; and knowing that very judicious persons amongst them, from the first imposing of this oath, had, and still have, without any procurement of ours, material exceptions against it, especially as imposed upon ministers, as tending to undermine the Reformation of this Church, and to bring us back to Prelacy and Erastianism, we could not but have thought it an untender and unfaithful part in us to have laid a stumbling-block before them, and frustrated all good effects of our ministry among them, by going into a public oath, which every man has right, in a judgment of discretion, to consider, unless we had been satisfied both in the lawfulness and necessity of our taking the said oath; and had likewise taken all due previous pains to convince our people thereof, after acquainting them with our design.

As each of these considerations, to which many others might be added, is sufficient to beget in us a fear of this oath, so all of them together do determine us on this resolution, that through grace we will not engage in it, whatever hardships to ourselves, or inconveniences of suffering may follow upon our refusal.¹

¹ From Letters to Wodrow, vol. vii. No. 3.

No. II.

NOTICE OF THE REV. JAMES BOECE OF CAMPBELTON.

Of this minister, I had said, (page 332,) that I could learn nothing. Since the preceding sheets were thrown off, however, I have come into the possession of the following facts regarding him, which are taken from a communication addressed to the Rev. Dr Burns of Paisley :—

Mr Boece, or Boes, was a native of Angus and Mearns. When he came to Kintyre he was schoolmaster of Southend, and would have got the parish had he been master of the Gaelic language. He was ordained minister of Campbelton in 1696, and died in 1749. He was the second minister of the Lowland congregation whose fathers fled to Kintyre, as a Patmos, during the sanguinary persecution in the time of Charles II. Mr Edward Keith, who accepted the Indulgence, was the first minister.

Mr Boece was much beloved by his people, and during his ministry was the honoured instrument of bringing many souls to Christ. Religion flourished in every family many years after he was gathered to his fathers; in every house the voice of prayer and praise was heard morning and evening. As an affecting illustration of the esteem in which his memory was held, it is related, that when his grave was opened, sixteen years after his death, (for the interment of his grandchild, Mrs David Campbell, wife of the minister of Southend,) many of the Lowlanders, though not asked to the funeral, went down to Kilkerran, the place of interment, and when they saw his bones, burst into a flood of tears.

Mr Boece seems to have been remarkable both for personal piety and firmness of character. There is a cave, at the south side of Dunaverty, still called Boes' Cave, where he used to retire almost every day for prayer and meditation. Tradition gives an anecdote of him in connection with the Porteous proclamation, which the clergy were ordered to read from the pulpits. When the officer brought the paper to him on a Saturday

night, Mr Boece said, " James, what have you got there ?" " It is the Porteous bill," said James. " Give it me," said Mr Boece, holding out the tongs, and catching it with that instrument ; " I will soon, James, take the sting out of that serpent !" and forthwith he cast it into the fire. A gentleman now alive relates the following incident, on the authority of his father, who heard it from the person to whom it refers, and whom our informant himself recollects of having seen in early life :—William Ralston, when very young, was under concern about his salvation. His father brought him to Mr Boece for instruction and comfort, and we shall give what passed at the interview in William's own words :—" Mr Boece was, when we called, indisposed, lying in bed with the Bible before him. I have heard of one under the Law, and one under the Gospel, whose face did shine like the sun ; but there was in the countenance of Mr Boece a majesty and dignity which I never saw in mortal man. ' James,' says he to my father, ' is this young man your son ?' ' Yes, Sir, and he is under concern about his soul.' The reply Mr Boece made I will never forget : ' The most of this world go down to hell without a check or challenge !' " He then spoke most comfortably to the young man ; and William died in the 95th year of his age, one of the most experienced Christians, and distinguished for a strength of faith and good hope through grace to which few attain.

It is a curious and interesting fact, that there should be some even yet alive, who can speak, from personal recollection, of the honourable testimony borne to ministerial worth, by persons who sat under the ministry of a man ordained in 1696, or 146 years ago !—Ed.

No. III.

MR HOG'S QUERIES AS TO THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

(See Page 618.)

Mr Hog, in his letter to Wodrow, represents, by way of question, the chief things which "straitened" him with respect to the Allegiance and Abjuration Oaths, and which had hitherto determined his practice in reference to them. Some of these queries he illustrates at considerable length, and concludes by requesting Wodrow's sentiments upon them. They are as follows:—1. When some things that affect the imposition of an oath, and belong to the taking of it, are what the person of whom the oath is required cannot well understand, and are (for what he can perceive) not agreeable to the Rule; at least, he doubteth about their conformity to it; is it not his duty, in this case, to decline swearing until he be resolved, though otherwise he be satisfied about the matter of the oath abstractly considered? 2. Whether the call of the magistrate can make that to be the necessary matter of an oath which the Spirit of the Lord hath not previously determined to be such in the now written Word? Or, whether the magistrate's call suffice to sway the balance to what he requireth, while the Scriptural determination would appear to carry the matter another way? An oath for confirmation is the mean to end strife, (Heb. vi. 16;) and one would think the Scripture bears that the matter of an oath should be not only necessary and weighty, but also justly called in question. Hereupon I resume the inquiry, whether in a thing manifest, and attested before the Lord again and again, in a continued course, &c., any human law can afford sufficient ground for faith to build on, that the Lord requireth a formal swearing that very thing? 3. Whether the clause in the Claim of Right, that putteth the Allegiance Oath in the room of all other oaths required of the subject, be not doubtful; and whether it giveth just ground to the scrupler to decline a giving his oath until the ambiguity be removed by some authentical declaration of the Lawgiver? The clause is general, and seems not only to condemn oaths then passed, but also to pre-

clude the imposing of any other general oaths for the future. It is thought that on this ground the subsequent *Assurance* was not put in the form of an oath, seeing that clause did prohibit the adding any new oath, and sundry judicious persons thought the imposition of the Abjuration Oath upon us to be an encroachment on that claim. 4. Whether the higher powers their classing of ministers with others in office and trust under the civil government, and a requiring them to swear, upon the pain of deprivation from their office; and ministers thus taking the oaths so enjoined, do not imply (in the nature of the thing) somewhat prejudicial to the immediate dependence of their office upon the Lord Jesus, whose ambassadors they are? 5. Whether oath upon oath be not a heavy grievance, and hurtful to the ministry, while our Covenants, which contain the best of allegiances, remain neglected and much buried? 6. Whether this yoke of oath upon oath on every turn of government, and otherwise also as the higher powers do order, be not a hardship upon the ministry, from which they should endeavour to be freed in all just and regular ways? And whether it were not duty rather humbly to represent so much to the magistrate, than still to swear?—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xix. No. 24.)

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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