THE EARLY COVENANTING MOVEMENT
AS REFLECTED IN THE
LIFE, WORK AND THOUGHT OF JAMES CUTHBERT OF STIRLING (1612-1651)

by

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James Guthrie (1612-1661)
Robert Bodrow said, concerning James Guthrie, "I wish this great man's life were published by some good hand." Bodrow provided the foundation for such a project by his assiduously seeking out and cataloguing vast numbers of manuscripts dealing with this period. All these, as well as others from different sources, have been consulted. At the instigation of this research project a warning was issued to the effect that there might be insufficient material for such a work. It was for this reason that it was recommended that, not only should the life of Guthrie be treated, but also that the movement, in which he was such an active participant, should be considered. Once the investigation of unpublished sources had begun the problem became not a question of insufficient material but rather how to deal with the overwhelming amount that was being collected. There was also the necessity of a complete investigation; it was to this that the major portion of the researcher's time was directed. With a few deviations the results of the investigation have been presented in chronological form. In attempting to deal adequately with both the man and the movement a lengthy work has been produced which is partially attributed to the limitations of the format and the amount of documentation. In spite of the length the work has had to be confined to the task of a

presentation of the evidence and has been unable to deal extensively with the underlying principles of the period; neither has it taken as its task the demonstration of Guthrie's subsequent influence on the life of the Church in Scotland.

The work has not been written primarily for those unfamiliar with this period. Should a difficulty arise, one or more of the general works listed in the Bibliography will prove helpful. The Bibliography does not consist of all the books consulted but of those quoted and considered of importance in the understanding of the subject under investigation.

It is impossible to express one's appreciation by name of all those who have so kindly assisted in conference and correspondence. The author will always be grateful to the Very Rev. Hugh Watt, D.D., former Principal of New College, and the Rev. Prof. John H.S. Burleigh, D.D., who have assisted by giving helpful suggestions and advice. A word of appreciation should also be expressed to those people of Great Britain who opened their homes and their private papers to the author. Such courtesy is not soon forgotten. The references in this work have been verified, with assistance being used in checking several chapters, and it is hoped that few errors of this nature will be discovered.

The reader may wonder at the lack of theological work produced by Guthrie, but it must be remembered that for
him the period compelled one to action; not speculative thinking. He was one of the leaders in the drama of the struggle of church and state.

The period was noteworthy for its changeableness. Generals fought with the adherents of one cause and then fought for its opponents; parliaments were changed suddenly both in policy and membership, and pledges were solemnly made only to be broken. Is there any wonder that the Covenanters in this perplexing, precarious and hazardous period, after having wrested the Kirk from the steadily increasing control of monarchical Episcopacy, should pertinaciously strive to preserve it?

They felt that they were being attacked both behind and before. They were confronted with Episcopacy, which they were thoroughly convinced was extant only because of a mild and temporary altercation with Roman Catholicism which might readily and momentarily be dissolved. The victory of the Reformation was too fresh and precious in their minds and hearts to risk the custody of the Kirk to an establishment which might lead, or be led, back to Rome. The other danger was from the rear. When the young monk of Wittenburg picked up his hammer, he was by that very act encouraging others in the movement that was to raze for many the petrificative shell that had long confined ecclesiastical thought and action. Others, less learned than he, began to read their newly printed Bibles, and from their reading to formulate their own thinking and acting.
For some the priesthood of the believer came to mean 'I, too, can be a Luther'. From such self assertions the numerous sects were born. The Kirk of Scotland fought in both directions; it wanted neither. Because of that, and perhaps partially for self preservation, rightly or wrongly she took the offensive and attempted to win England and Ireland for Presbyterianism. Once having made that decision, one must admire the tenacity and courage with which she adhered to her ambitious campaign. When she was defeated by Rome in one and by the Sectarians in the other, understanding if not sympathy can be offered those of her number who would not bow to monarchy, when they thought that by doing so, they would lose their Kirk. At the same time the non-presbyterians cannot be calumniously treated for wanting both their Monarch and their Kirk. In that day when men had yet to be acclimatized to the novelty of Toler- ation it was extremely regrettable that any nobleman, commoner, or man of God should have had to give up his life for his convictions. One can only say in this day and age, that if faced, as some have been, with the more serious alternative of Christ and His Church or a godless state, it is hoped that there will be men like Guthrie who in the face of death said "my conscience I cannot submit..." ¹

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<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Oxford</td>
</tr>
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<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Committee of Estates</td>
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<td>CHR</td>
<td>Church of the Holy Rude, Stirling</td>
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<td>Col.</td>
<td>Collection</td>
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<td>CSL</td>
<td>Church of Scotland Library, Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Col. Erskine, private family collection of MSS</td>
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<td>EBS</td>
<td>Edinburgh Bibliographical Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAC</td>
<td>Records of the General Assembly Commission; the General Assembly Commission</td>
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<td>JFHHS</td>
<td>Journal of the Friends' Historical Society</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>Laing</td>
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<td>NL</td>
<td>National Library, Edinburgh</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSD</td>
<td>In the hands of the Clerk, Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSAS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</td>
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<td>RH</td>
<td>Register House, Edinburgh</td>
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<td>RSCHHS</td>
<td>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Stirling Town Council Records, Stirling</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHS</td>
<td>Scottish History Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>In the hands of the Clerk, Synod of Perth and Stirling</td>
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<td>s.v.</td>
<td><em>sub voce</em> or <em>sub verbo</em>, under the place, name or date. Used mainly in absence of pagination</td>
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<td>UAL</td>
<td>University of Aberdeen Library</td>
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<td>UEL</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

EARLY LIFE AND MINISTRY
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A. Ancestry

The period in which James Guthrie, the Martyr, was born, fought for his ideals and met his untimely death was one of the most decisive and turbulent periods in the ecclesiastical and the civil history of Scotland. The religious history of Scotland antecedent to his nativity is exemplified by his ancestry.

The Guthrie family trace their ancestry back to the Chief Falconer to Malcolm Canmore, who reigned from 1057 until 1093, when he had his palace at Forfar. It was approximately three centuries later that the land of Guthrie was first granted to a member of the family by David II. The Barony itself was granted to Sir Alexander Guthrie by a charter from George, Lord Leslie-upon-Leven, on the 10th of April 1457. His son, Sir David Guthrie, 2nd of Kincaldrum and 1st of Guthrie obtained a Royal Charter for the Guthrie Estate from King James III, on March 25, 1465. Shortly thereafter he procured a licence to fortify the house of Guthrie, the tower of

which still remains.

Religiously the family was intimately and actively affiliated with the Roman Church. One of Sir David's brothers was Abbot of Arbroath. In 1479 Pope Sixtus IV issued a Bull of Confirmation establishing the church at Guthrie as a collegiate church with a provost who was subsequently assisted by four canons.

When Scotland under the leadership of John Knox emerged from the domination of the Papacy, the Guthrie family supported the change. Alexander Guthrie of Guthrie was described as a leading Presbyterian. He with fellow barons signed the articles agreed upon in the General Assembly of the Church on July 25, 1567. He was also included among the bonded supporters of the King and his government after Queen Mary's resignation. His Presbyterian zeal was at least a partial cause of his assassination in his house of Inverpeffer by his cousin

1. Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, No. 2910. The Bull was granted to David with his father's consent. The church was in existence some centuries before. It was granted to the Abbey of Arbroath by William the Lion in 1173. Vide, Jervise, Andrew, Epitaphs & Inscriptions (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1879), Vol. II, p. 144; Easson, D. E., "The Collegiate Churches of Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 213. The church was in the Diocese of Brechin.

2. Guthrie of Halkerton and Guthrie of Kincairdrum were sureties for the issue of the Bassadine Bible. Wortley, V. S., op. cit. p. 5.

Thomas Gairden of Legatation in October 1587. Thus was initiated a feud that was to continue through the early part of the seventeenth century.

In the ensuing period of Scotland's vacillation between Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism the majority of the family became episcopalian. It was under this latter influence that Guthrie was born.

B. Early Life and Training
James Guthrie was born in Angus, the son of William Guthrie of Memys, in the parish of Tannadyce,


2. Variously spelled, i.e., Guthry, Guthrie, Guthery, etc. Autographically it is as above. For an article on the name itself vide, The Bulletin (Glasgow), April 12, 1950. He is not to be confused with his contemporaries, James Guthrie of Graige, James Guthrie, Minister of Urquhart, or James Guthrie, (1590-1662) Minister at Arbirlot and Clerk of the Synod of Fife (1610-1638).

3. R.H. Ms. G.R. Sas., 2 Ser., 30 April 1659. In this document it is found also that his older brother was Alexander Guthrie who by 1659 was dead and had left a son, John Guthrie of Memys. Coline Guthrie of Easter Memys represented James at Edinburgh in this matter. James was also uncle to James Guthrie, Minister of Kirkpatrick-Irongray. Vide, M'Crie, Thos., The Correspondence of Rev. Robert Wodrow (Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1842), Vol. I, p. 68. William of Memys was 7th Laird of Guthrie, as heir of his brother to whom he was retoured 20 June 1616. He disposed the Barony of Guthrie to David Guthrie, 7th. of Kincaldrum, his third cousin once removed.
The Seal of James Guthrie
about 1612. His father subsequently became the Laird of Guthrie.

In spite of the ecclesiastical connections of the Guthrie family this period saw the continuance of the

The date of this transfer is undisclosed, but it had passed to his brother Patrick and to Patrick's son before 1656 when it came into the possession of Bishop John Guthrie, the 11th Laird of Guthrie. Vide, Burke, Landed Gentry, s.v. This clears up the error made by Warden op. cit. p. 360 in naming James Guthrie as James Guthrie's father, which he doubtless was confusing with his cousin William Guthrie (1620-1665) whose father was James Guthrie of Pitforthie. William's three brothers were ministers also. Vide, Scott, Hew, Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1920), Vol. III, p. 93. James Guthrie used the family coat of arms until his sentence of execution. According to the present Lord Lyon, "Reverend James Guthrie...used a seal, which was quarterly 1st and 4th 2 garbs, 2nd and 3rd a lion rampant. Being a seal no colours are given, and as Mr Guthrie was executed before 1672, the date of the Act of Parliament which made registration of arms compulsory, these arms are not on official record." Similar bearings are carried by the present Laird of Guthrie. The location of the garbs and the lion rampant are altered as was true of the family of the Bishop of Moray from at least reformation times. This alteration may have resulted from the previously mentioned feud. Cf. seals found in Stevenson, J. H. & Wood, M., Scottish Heraldic Seals (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose & Co., University Press, 1940), s.v., or MacDonald, William Rae, Scottish Amorial Seals (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1904), s.v. James Guthrie's seal is fully described in Laing, Henry, Descriptive Catalogue of Scottish Seals, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Ednouston & Douglas, 1866), p. 229, No. 1386. His seal is to be found on several letters to Warriston in the Laing Collection of MSS in the Edinburgh University Library. Strangely enough R. G. Cant in The University of St. Andrews (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1946), p. 61, seems to assign Guthrie's home as a "country manse or a burgh merchant's house."

Hewison, J. King, The Covenanters, A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1903), Vol. II, p. 90. He states that Guthrie was forty-nine years of age at the time of his death (1661).
internal strife and hatred of their feud. Warden writes, "the old family of Guthrie, in their waning stages, appear to have had feuds among themselves in which some members lost their lives at the hands of their brethren." Because of this conflict Guthrie in early life acquired the traits of bravery, tenacity and perseverance so strongly displayed by him in later years.

His mother was Isabella Fenton, daughter of Fenton of Easterogill, which is in the same parish. The parish of Tannadice is located on the north bank of the South Esk. At one time the church was dedicated to St. Adamnan and belonged to the Abbey of Arbroath. James Ramsay of Wester Ogil had been minister here for fifteen years when Guthrie was born. In 1617 he appears to have engaged an assistant, Alexander Pitcairn, a graduate of St. Andrews. The only incident preserved of this period concerns a raid made by James Ramsay of Ogill upon the parsonage in 1641 which Pitcairn in his report to Parliament describes saying, "...he was spoliizied of money, goods, and plenishing, his life threatened with a dirk, and himself, wife,

and children left naked."

Guthrie may have lived at Guthrie during the time that his father was laird but if so, he would not long have been influenced by either Glover, the former schoolmaster of Arbirlot or Henry Guthry, a distant relative and later to be Bishop of Dunkeld. The latter, years later, in his "Memoirs" may have had James in mind when he wrote regretfully of the Covenanting professors, who, having replaced others on the University faculties, were persuading young men to adopt their beliefs.

According to Alexander Smellie young Guthrie was educated at the Grammar School of Brechin, a strong episcopal centre eight miles from either Guthrie or Memys. Here Bishop David Lindsay, the chief defender of the Articles of Perth, was the towering figure of the town.

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5. Keith, Robert, An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1824), p. 167. It is interesting to note that he was the bishop chosen to preach in St. Giles the Sunday of the first reading of the New Liturgy, July 23, 1637. Ibid., p. 61. The fact that he had been a former minister at Guthrie Church (1599) lends some credence to Smellie's statement of Guthrie's attendance at Brechin School. Grub, George, An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland (Edinburgh: Edmiston & Douglas, 1861), gives more detailed information/
Although the school was no longer officially connected with the Cathedral it was located adjacent to it and the two were bound together by tradition. It was here that Guthrie saw and admired the pageantry and power of prelacy.

The final stage of episcopal influence in the life of Guthrie was reached when he entered St. Leonard's College, 2 St. Andrews University, at the beginning of November 1628. Wodrow was informed that "He (Guthrie) was... highly prelatical in his judgment when he came at first to St. Andrews..." There is little cause for surprise that he should not become even more so in the ancient Primatial

information on Bishop Lindsay. Vide, Vol. II, p. 324. The minister of the parish church at Brechin was Alexander Bisset but little is known concerning him. Serving under the very shadow of the Bishop he must have been in sympathy with the episcopal system.


2. St. Andrews University Records. Furnished by Dr George H. Bushnell, University Librarian. Dr Bushnell states that his matriculation took place in February 1629 "which means that he probably went into residence for the first time at the beginning of November, 1628."

3. Wodrow, Robert, The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1829-50), (4 Vols.), Vol. I, p. 159. It is only fair to mention that Wodrow was a relative of Guthrie's.
See of Scotland. Since 1615 the office had been held by John Spottiswoode (1565-1639) who had been moderator by self imposition of the Assembly of 1613 which had passed the Articles of Perth.

The Principal of St. Leonard’s at the time of Guthrie’s matriculation was Peter Bruce. He had served for eighteen years and was relieved in Guthrie’s second year (1630) by Andrew Bruce. The principal was ipso facto the Minister of St. Leonard’s Church. The duality of educator-minister was decried because in actual practice it involved the neglect of one of the offices - usually the Principalship - at the expense of the other. The Church in their appointment laid undue emphasis upon the demands and the duties of the parish to the detriment of the administration of the college. It was not only his task to teach but also to conduct the daily worship of the college. Because of his greater experience and intellectual maturity, he should have been much more influential in the training of the students than any of the


3. Evidence Oral and Documentary (London: W. Cawes & Sons, 1837), Vol. III, p. 205, for the Principal’s duties. This work is frequently referred to as University Commissions.
regents most of whom were recent graduates. Principals
Peter and Andrew Bruce, in their administration of the
college, must have been to a degree successful, for both
were rewarded by the conferment of degrees of Doctor of
Divinity.

Undue emphasis has been placed by some upon the gay
and carefree student days of Montrose at St. Andrews,
forgetting that he attended only two years and did not
attempt the M.A. Degree. His main interest lay in the
social and recreational life of the University. Student
life was enlivened by intercollegiate rivalry. Sports
were supposed to be confined to "gouffe, archery, and
other of that kind which are harmless and do exercise the

1. Salmond and Bushnell, op.cit., p. 11. Cf. Cant, R. C.,
The University of St. Andrews, pp. 58-59. Howie,
Bruce and Martin, principals of the three colleges,
with others received the degree in 1616. Cf. Nicholl,
Progresses and Public Processions of King James VI
Iyon, C. J., History of St. Andrews (Edinburgh:
D., The History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. T. Thomson
(Edinburgh: Wodrow Society 1642-5), Vol. VII, pp. 332,
442; or Τον Μούσαν Ελκόια: Τε Μιατζ Μελμένε, ed.

2. Buchan, John, Montrose (London: Hodder & Stoughton,
1928), pp. 23ff. He gives a picture of student life
immediately antecedent to Guthrie's entering St.
Leonard's. Montrose was born the same year as
Guthrie but he left St. Salvator's the year prior to
Guthrie's entrance. It may be assumed that Lauder-
dale, (Gen.) David Leslie, and George Gillespie (1616-
1648) were students with Guthrie. Cf. Napier, Mark,
Memorials of Montrose (Maitland Club 1846), Cant, R. C.,
The University of St. Andrews, pp. 61-62, and Lang,
Andrew, St. Andrews (London: Longmans, Green & Co.,
1893), Chapt. IX.
To the average student the physical opportunities were eclipsed by the intellectual demands of the University. In spite of the reformatory idea of Luther, the Nova Fundatio of Melville, and the ineffectual reforms of George Buchanan, the philosophy of Aristotle dominated the core of the curriculum at St. Andrews. Even the abolition of regenting and the inauguration of professorial specialization failed to survive after the turn of the century. Marischal College, Aberdeen, which was especially founded to perpetuate, develop and propagate these new ideas, restored regenting. By 1621 the New Foundation was abolished by law, and the retrograde system of regenting returned. The cause of this may be accredited to the uniqueness of, the added expense of and the lack of experienced men in the new system of pedagogy. It is significant that humanism with its disdain for the scholastic philosophy had yet to replace it in the minds of the students. Cartesianism, though on the horizon, was yet to become of vital interest in university circles. In fact Robert Baillie, professor

and later principal at Glasgow University, spoke of Descartes as being unimportant. Professor G. D. Henderson gives an excellent description of the Arts course:

"Rhetoric and logic and the art of disputation and a little mathematics soon called for attention, to be followed by more Aristotle -- metaphysics, ethics, politics, pneumatics, perhaps even some anatomy such as could be learned from mere lectures, and in the fourth and final year physics and geography and astronomy as these were then understood." 2

For the most part the classes were small. By comparison Guthrie's class was large, having nineteen members at graduation. The students made painstaking notes of the lectures which were used for their periodic disputations and in their preparation for examinations. Both in the class room and in ordinary conversation the exclusive use of Latin was required.

4. Vide, Cant, R. G., The University of St. Andrews, p. 69 n. He states that a notebook by a student under James Sharp is preserved in the University Library. These notebooks were later used as evidence to determine the doctrinal position of professors by the ecclesiastical courts. Baillie, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 405 et al.
For the M.A. Degree an oral examination on the books read during the course was required. To meet still another requirement Guthrie's class together with their Regent, James Mercer, prepared their theses which they called, "Theses Aliquot Logicae, Ethicae, Physicae, Metaphysicae, Astronomicae, Geometricae." They had to defend these theses upon the occasion of their graduation disputation. They dedicated the work to John Lindsay of Byres who was later made Earl of Lindsay and Crawford. It indicates that attention was given to works of Aquinas, Arminius, Dionysius, the Jesuits, Bellarmine, Calvin, Beza and Smugilio. Aristotle was, of course, liberally quoted throughout. The class was graduated in 1632.

Having completed his four year arts course it is almost certain that Guthrie entered St. Mary's College.


3. Also called New College at this time.
the following Autumn to begin his work in Divinity. 

Robert Howie, who had attended Basel and Herborne Universities, and who had been the first Principal of the new protestant foundation of Marischal College, was still Principal of St. Mary's College. He had been chosen successor to Andrew Melville in 1607 as much for his politics as for his scholarship. He worked under the direct control of the Archbishop and was not permitted the freedom necessary to maintain the advantages of the new methods. Among the professors was Doctor Patrick Punter, who was later to be condemned for Arminianism. The students attended the Town Kirk where

1. There is no mention of Guthrie's entering St. Mary's in the University Records but to quote from a letter of Dr. Bushnell "He was probably a student of Divinity in St. Mary's College, while awaiting a vacancy as a Regent." This would be further substantiated if one accepts his approval by the General Assembly to supply vacancies in 1638, infra, p. 25. Vide also APPENDIX A.


3. Peterkin, Alexander, op.cit., pp. 155, 182, 260. It is doubtful that there were more than three on the staff. cf. Mitchell, Alexander Ferrier, "St. Andrews in Covenanting Times" The Scottish Church, Nov. 1886, (Perth: S. Cowan & Co.,) who lists on p. 463 Blair and Punter leaving because of the Covenant. When Rutherford replaced Punter, only he and Howie were on the staff. Punter served from 1627-1638.
Alexander Geldstan.es was minister and no doubt influenced many of the divinity students toward prelacy.

The Visitation of 1642 gives some idea of the course of study at this time. It lists commonplaces and controversies of Divinity to be taught by the Principal, together with the study of the New Testament and the Old Testament including the History and the Hebrew, Chaldean and Syriac languages. By this time text books had been imported from Holland, but "seventeenth-century Arts and Theology, in spite of new Dutch text-books, were little less [than] scholastic" ... In Guthrie's largest work, "The Waters of Sihor", he displays his familiarity with most of the works of Calvin, Rivetius, and Hugo Grotius.

In the same work he names those whom he considers to be the "famous sound protestant divines." These are Luther, Tarinovius, Zwingli, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Lavater, Ursini, Zanchius, Gualter, Zepperus, Amandus Polanus, Pareus, George Gillespie, Volipius, Willet, and Rogers. His quotations cover a wide range of authors of varied faiths, fields and ages. Some of the content of the book can be accredited to the later

1. Evidence Oral and Documentary, p. 206. This appears to be an allocation of contemporary courses rather than the projection of innovations in the curriculum.
3. His work was used as a text at Glasgow. Vide, Baillie, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 464.
influence of Rutherfurd but the origin of it must be traced to his training at St. Andrews.

C. Regency at St. Leonard's (1635-1642)

Upon the completion of his work in Divinity in 1635 Guthrie secured an appointment as Regent at St. Leonard's College. It was necessary for an applicant for the position not only to present recommendations but also to be tried by disputation in Aristotle's works before the University. In the case of several applicants there was a dispute held between them with the best disputant securing the position. In the case of only one applicant a disputant was appointed from the university staff.

The position of regent is best described in the words of G. D. Henderson:

"The custom had been for a regent to take charge of students throughout their whole four-year course, giving instruction in all the subjects of the Arts curriculum. The regent was generally a recent graduate, with little experience and no inducement to depart from tradition in methods of teaching or in the content of the lectures. ... In Scotland it was customary to have three or four of these young men, chosen by comparative test after the usual disputation method, and remaining in the college at this work for only a few years, after which they normally entered the ministry." 2


The term "regent" was used interchangeably with that of "professor" as early as 1579 when one reads in the Acts of Parliament, "... that in either of the vther tua collegis viz Sanctleonardis t sanctsaluaturis Their salbe besyde the principall foure ordiner professouris or regentis..."

Regents were not only responsible for the secular education of the students but the religious as well. The forementioned act specified that the regent was to teach in Greek a lesson every Sunday in either Luke, Acts, Romans or Hebrews depending upon the year to which his pupils belonged. Elsewhere it is recommended that at 7 a.m. on Sunday morning they were to teach the "contraversies of Religion, according to there capacity, and in such a compendious way that he may go throw the whole contraversies in the space of foure yeares; and in the like manner, at fynge houres in the afternoone, he sall examine the classe upon the sermons which they have been hearing that day, and upon the lesson which was taught them in the morning, - every one of the schollers having ane English Byble in his hand, that they may be acquainted with the grounds of truth against errors, from the text of the Holy Scripture."  

According to Morgan

"... they had to live within the precincts of the College, dine at the common table, visit the students' rooms before nine when the gates of the College were shut for the night, and at five or six in the morning, conduct all examinations for degrees, and preside at disputations omni die legibili. For many years there was no salary attached to the office, and the regents were dependent on students' fees, which were small.

2. Evidences Oral and Documentary, p. 205.
They generally continued in office for only a year or two, and it is not to be wondered that there was difficulty in finding qualified persons willing to take posts. A Master of Arts on graduating came under an obligation de lectura ad biennium, but he often escaped this upon paying a fine. 1

Though it may have been difficult to secure regents for some Universities it does not appear that St. Andrews experienced this difficulty. In fact one writer states that men were waiting to obtain the position. 2 Though the number of regents in Scottish Universities varied from two to four St. Andrews seems to have been able to maintain four throughout the period. 3 Salaries varied greatly, from that above-mentioned to a sum of fifty merks during the Rectorship of Robert Wilkie. Prior to Wilkie the Regents received "Lodging and food, and as salary the sum of ten merks."

Regents were supposed to remain celibate and were compelled to reside within the college. The former regulation could not be strictly enforced with the result that it became necessary for those who did marry to find

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2. Anon., The Life of Mr James Sharp from his Birth to his Installment in the Archbishoprick of "St. Andrews" (1719), p. 21. Though biased there is no reason to doubt his statement in this regard.


lodgings for their families in the town.

It is commonly reported that sometime during his stay at St. Andrews Guthrie was attracted by the daughter of a 1 Bishop, but this is extremely doubtful.

At the time of Guthrie's return to St. Leonard's Andrew Bruce was still the Principal. He joined a staff composed of his former Regent, James Mercer, George 2 Wemyss, and John Mackenzie. During his seven years as Regent he had also as his colleagues on the staff, David 4 Nevay, Walter Comrie, and perhaps James Sharp.

From the beginning of his regency he took under his special care his cousin, William Guthrie of Pitforthy, who had entered the University the previous year, i.e., 1634. James must have known his younger cousin when the

1. Wodrow, Robert, Analecta, Vol. III, p. 92. Concerning the daughter Thomson, A., in Lauder and Lauderdale (Galashiels: Craighead Bros., [1902]), p. 101, states that it was Archbishop Spottiswoode. Cp., Watson, Jean, The Lives and Times of The Two Guthries (Glasgow: Dunn & Wright, 1877), p. 40, who says it was the daughter of the Archbishop. Unfortunately, the records show that the Archbishop's daughter Anne (or Anna) was married about two years before Guthrie was born. Vide, Hay, Richard Augustin, Genealogie of the Saintcclaieres of Rosalyn (Edinburgh: Thos. Stevenson, 1835), pp. 151-153. It is difficult to discover any bishop's daughter of a suitable age to make the story plausible as may be deduced from Keith, Robert, op.eit., and The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Stephen, L., and Lee, S., (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906-9).
2. Later to be Minister at Clunie 1641-2. The information on the regents is supplied by Dr. R. G. Cant, Deputy Keeper of the Muniments, St. Andrews University.
3. Later became Principal of St. Leonard's in 1647.
4. Eventually became a lord of Session.
5. Became Minister of St. Leonard's Church in 1644, later Principal of St. Mary's.
former attended Brechin School. It may even be suggested that he stayed in the home of William at that time, since the latter lived only a mile from Brechin. Not only did James take over the class of which William was a member, but they also shared the same room. It was here that they established the friendship that was to last until death parted them. William said later to James, "I always looked on you as my father." William completed his M.A. under the regency of his cousin James in 1638 and entered St. Mary's College. Their close association continued until both left the university town four years later.

Meanwhile the episcopal party under Charles I was not satisfied with the progress made by the Articles of Perth, but by the instigation of Laud a new Liturgy was ordered by royal proclamation to be used in all the Churches of Edinburgh on Easter, 1637. The date was subsequently postponed until July the twenty third. The reading was met by the "thrown stool" in St. Giles, which was symbolically indicative of a greatly aroused public opinion that by February the twenty eighth of the following year had culminated in the signing of the

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1. A list of the members of this class will be found in APPENDIX A.
3. St. Andrews, Brechin and a few other towns were notably quiet in the midst of the national tumult. Vide, Peterkin, A., op. cit., p. 6.
National Covenant. Some writers state that Guthrie
joined the group who gathered at Greyfriars to sign the
document. The earliest possible evidence is to be found
in Wodrow's Analecta which reads,

"...when Mr J. G. was going to Edinburgh to subscribe
the Covenant, as he was entering in at the West Port,
he meets the hangman of Edinburgh; and though every
body would not regard that, yet he had an impression
on his spirit, at that time, that he would suffer for
that cause, as he told to some afterward. And when
he took the Covenant, he said he took it with that
resolution to suffer for the things therein contained,
if the Lord should call him theretoo." 1

It was only natural that the town dominated by the
Archbishop should at least make token resistance against
this movement which was aimed at the destruction of the
hierarchy. There was issued on March 20, 1638, a paper
entitled "Reasons for the Universitie of St. Andrews of
their just refussall of ye Oath and subscription to
that... [pretendię] covenant obtruded upon them amongst
the rest of the leidges, March 20, 1638." 2    Unfortunat-

p. 92. It does not mention Greyfriars, the date, nor
specify what covenant is signed. The solution seems
to lie in the fact that this refers to the Solemn
League and Covenant and the date is 1643. Vide,
Infra p. 22.

2. N.L. MSS. No. 1908, Baillie Letters, pp. 122-125. The
Answer follows immediately thereafter, and is entitled
"An Answer to the Articles Opposeing Our Covenant for
Religion and the King given out under the Name of the
Universitie of St. Andrews." pp. 126-128. The latter
infers that one man wrote the "Reasons" though it does
not mention his name. It would be logical to believe
that the Archbishop himself was the author. The
omission is Baillie's own, which he may have inherited
from the author. Cp. N.L. MS. 4to, XXV, 23, which
gives "pretendit" in the title. Cf. Maitland Club Mis-
ly, there are no signatures subjoined to the document. It is written partially in the first person singular, which leads one to believe that its viewpoint was somewhat limited and not the prevailing one of the University. The sentiment of the Town Kirk is to be found in the session minutes,

"Sunday 2 Aprile. No session keipt thir sessions was becaus off the magistrates elders and deacones of the Session their subscriyving of the Covenant agaynst their ministers mynds or consent so that they did not concurr together for keep[ing] of the Session as lykewis this whole citie except verie few did subscriye the said confession of faith contained in the said covenant." 1

"Doctor Alexr. Gladstones Archdeacon of St. Andrews and Doctor George Wyshart" are last mentioned in the session minutes on April 22, 1638. By then Wishart had fled to England while Gledstones along with the Archbishop had gone into seclusion. "The Covenant was read herin this kirk which was Friday the first of June last." 2

(1638). Shortly thereafter - Sunday, June the 10th -


1. RH. MS, St. Andrews Kirk Session Minutes, 1638f, s.v. The Presbytery on September the 12th ordered the visiting ministers to hold the session meetings "till it pleased God to provide a settled minister for the citie." Cp. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 64, also Cant, R. G., The University of St. Andrews, p. 65.

2. St. Andrews Kirk Session Minutes, Feb. 17, 1639. Wishart had said that he would never come into the pulpit if the Covenant were read in it. Vide, Peterkin, A., op.cit., p. 182.

3. RH. VS, St. Andrews Kirk Session Minutes, s.v.
the Church heard two ministers from the West, "Mr James Bonar and Mr Samuell Rutherford." There is no indication as to whether this visit of Rutherford's entailed special promotion of the Covenant in the city. It may be surmised that the kirk was impressed with him, as a few months later they selected him to return as co-pastor.

On Sunday, October the 21st, the Holy Communion was observed in the old manner in the kirk:

"Which day the holie communion was celebrate with great Solemnitie in the old fashion sitting. My old Lady Marquess of Hamilton, my Lord Lindsay and sundry uthers baronis Ladyes and gentlemen Strangers being present the bellis Ring at thrie hors to the mornynge Service. The ministers thereof were Mr George Hamilton had the preparation service Mr Andrew Auchinlek the mornynge and Mr Alexander Henderson the forenoon service and Mr David Forret the service of Thanksgiving. The magistrates and chief off the session attending the service..." ¹

Unfortunately, nothing is known of the neighboring parish, St. Leonard's, where Guthrie now attended. It is to be noted that Andrew Bruce, the pastor and college principal, retained his position for some years afterwards, which denotes at least a tolerant unobjectionable attitude.

It is doubtful if Guthrie meant his words to be taken literally with respect to time when he spoke of this earlier period before Parliament just prior to his death.

¹ RH, MS, St. Andrews Kirk Session Minutes, s.v.
"...I was not honoured to be of those who laid the foundation in this kirk and kingdom. I am not ashamed to give glory to God, in acknowledging that until the year 1638, I was treading other steps, and the Lord did then graciously recover me out of the snare of prelacy, ceremonies and the service book, and a little thereafter put me into the ministry." 1

A writer for a journal of the year Guthrie died states "...and it is well known when he officiate as a Regent at St. Andrews he was of the soundest Principles: which he no sooner quit, but he delivered himself up to all that was mutinous..." 2

During 1638 the people of Scotland were forced to give serious consideration to the Covenant and to make a decision as to its subscription. Even the intense public pressure would have been insufficient to make a man like Guthrie change his mind, if he were as immovable as he was later to prove himself to be. Although the transition may have begun, he was far from being the actor in the drama which Lyon would assign to him.

On October twenty eight a letter was sent by someone in the vicinity of St. Andrews to Wariston. It was signed 'G' which reveals that 'G' is one of the leaders in the movement against the prelates. Lyon suggests

2. Mercurius Caledonius, Friday February 15 to Friday February 22, 1661, (Edinburgh: 1661). Peterkin, A., op.cit., p. 182 records that a delegation from St. Andrews stated that "their necessity was considerable, in respect of their corrupt Universities, and the dangerous fruits that a corrupt Ministry had brought forth amongst them."
that 'G' may refer to Guthrie.

A few days prior to this - the twenty fifth - action was instigated against Archbishop Spottiswoode in Cupar by the Presbytery. This was followed by his deposition at the meeting of the epoch-making Glasgow General Assembly. With him, his bishops and some of the episcopal clergy were deprived. The impact of this was felt strongest at St. Andrews. Gledstanes of the Town Kirk

1. Lyon, C. J., op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 473-474. He states that it was written by an "unknown hand," but then says "'G' (if it stands for the Rev. James Guthrie, as it probably does)..." Lyon would have been correct had he selected the vicinity of St. Andrews as the letter's source for one should read here for there in Lyon's sentence "we are going to take order with his chief supporters there, Gladstone, Scrymgeour, and Halliburton." Conversely, in the later sentence "It is the advice of your friends here, that in a private way, some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace, if he offer himself in public." there should be substituted for here. 

was deposed and like Wishart fled to England. They were followed by the Archbishop who left for Newcastle early in 1639. At the same Assembly Dr. Panter of St. Mary's College was deposed for his Arminianism.

On December 17th at the meeting of this Assembly, after dealing with John Bell, an elderly minister, concerning assistance, the Moderator, Alexander Henderson, suggested that "a number of expectants be taken up." The result was that,

"Mr John Adamson, Mr John Weir, Mr John Robertson, Mr James Bonnar, Mr James Mairtoun, were appoyntit to take up the names of the expectants, and some were given in presentlie Mr Thomas Hog, who was this twentie yeares has been holdin out of the ministrie.
Mr Andro Stevinson  Mr Arthur Mortoun  Mr Robert Craw
Mr Thomas Lamb  Mr Thomas Garvaile  Mr George Dick
Mr Eliazer Bothick  Mr Thomas Gilbert  Mr Hew Archibald
Mr James Guthrie  Mr John McGhie  Mr John Weir."

This appears to be a suggested list of possible expectants and not as Alexander Gordon says a "list of

1. Peterkin, op.cit., pp. 182, 260, variously spelled, (listed in the last ref. as Wm.) He was later Bishop of Edinburgh. cf. Gordon Quig, article Montrose's Chaplain. Vol. V, pt. 1, R S C H S.
2. The Archbishop did not leave for Newcastle until early in 1639 according to Russell in his prefaced biography in Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, Oliver & Boyd, 1851), cxxx.
4. Peterkin, op.cit., p. 185. December the 17th was Sunday and hardly a day for the meeting. It may well have been the 18th. Vide, Note 2.
5. NL, MS 2263, p. 148. This item is found immediately before David Lindsay's call to Belhelvie. The session number given is the 23rd, and no date.
those ready for ecclesiastical vacancies."

The same Assembly passed an act "...commanding the Covenant to be subscrib'd by all Masters of Universities, Colledges, and Schools, and all others who have not already subscrib'd the same..." From some of the descriptions given of the University at St. Andrews at this time it can be seen that this action was taken to remove some of the difficulties which confronted the movement at the University as well as in other sections of the country. This effort was augmented by the selection of Robert Blair of Ayr and Samuel Rutherford of Anwoth to be transported to St. Andrews. Perhaps from the reluctance of the ministers these transportations were not speedily consummated. The people of St. Andrews expected Blair to arrive by the 3rd of April, 1639, but it was not until Tuesday, October the 8th that he was finally installed. Rutherford joined him on Tuesday, November the 19th "... for being one of the ministeris of the New Colledge to teach divinity and lykwise coadjutor to the said Robert Blair in function and charge of

2. Peterkin, A., op.cit., p. 189. For similar action the following year vide, p. 208. Subscription was also required at graduation.
3. Ibid., p. 251. The delay may have been partially due to the war on the Borders during the summer.
4. Ibid., pp. 253-254.
ministrie heir..."

Very little has been written concerning the changes wrought by these two covenanters both in the town and the University. Rutherfurd was displeased at Howie's mal-administration at New College and sought to remedy the situation. In addition he became very active among the students. Henry Guthry described the effect of the new appointments,

"This design in placing such men in the universities... did in the progress of time prove the most effectual means whereby that cause prevailed; for when those young men (who had breeding under them) came forth to be ministers in the church, they were incomparably furious, and therein outstripped the elder men (even of their own judgment)...."

Both William and James came under the influence of Rutherfurd. William is referred to as the "first fruit" of Rutherfurd at St. Andrews. Concerning James, Wodrow

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2. The Case is doubtless overstated by the author of the preface to Rutherfurd's Joshua Redivivus ed. Ward (Rotterdam: [W. Leod, Robert], 1664) (B2-B3) when he says "...and his being shortly after sent to the Profession of Theology in the University of St. Andrews by the General Assembly (where he was also called to be worthy Mr Blair's Colleague in the Ministry) which being the seat of the Arch-prelate, was the very Nursery of all superstition in worship & Error in Doctrine and the sink of all Profanity in conversation amongst the Students: where God did so singularly second his servants indefatigable pains, both in teaching in the Schooles & preaching in the Congregation, that it became forth with a Lebanon, out of which were taken Cedars for building the house of the Lord through the whole land: Not a few of whom are this day, amongst these..." Ward is described as Rutherfurd's secretary.
speak

"...highly prelatical in his judgment when he came at
first to St. Andrews; but by conversation with Mr
Samuel Rutherford and others, and especially through
his joining the weekly societies there, for prayer and
conference, he was entirely brought off from that way."

Kirkton also testifies concerning Guthrie's con-
version to the Covenanting Cause asserting that he

"...was with difficulty persuaded to take the covenant.
There goes a story, that when he yielded to joyn with
the covenanters in Mr Samuel Rutherford's chamber, as
he came out at his door he mett the executioner in the
way, which troubled him; and the next visit he made
thither he mett him in the same manner again, which
made him apprehend he might be a sufferer for the coven-
ant, as indeed he was."

This is perhaps what Wodrow had reference to when he said,
"Even while at that university he wanted not some fore
notices of his after sufferings for the cause of reform-
ation, now heartily espoused by him." It seems from the
evidence that Guthrie was persuaded to become a covenanter
by Rutherford sometime subsequent to November 1639, and
that it was not without effort that this change came about.

It is difficult to see how Rutherford was able to
accomplish a great deal at St. Andrews during the early
years of his residence. He was away frequently in Edin-
burgh on ecclesiastical and personal affairs.

2. Kirkton, James, The Secret and True History of the
Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Jas. Ballantyne & Co.,
4. Early in 1640 he remarried, his bride being Miss
Jean MacMath of Edinburgh.
was a Chaplain with the Army during the summer of 1640, and was ill part of the time after his return. The crucial year was 1642. It was then that the Church at St. Andrews chose to call Andrew Auchenleck, an action that was opposed by both Blair and Rutherford. The same year Alexander Colvill was called from his chair at the University of Sedan to a professorship at St. Mary's College. This same year the General Assembly met at St. Andrews.

There is a doubtful story concerning a vacancy among the regents at St. Leonard's about a year before Guthrie's departure. The usual disputation was held between the two candidates, James Sharp and John Sinclair. Sharp was chosen. He was a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, and had just returned from England. There is no


3. It had met there the previous year but found it advisable to adjourn to Edinburgh.

4. Alexander Henderson is said to have recommended him to the position. Stephen, T., Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp (London: Jas. Richesby, 1839) says that it was the Earl of Rothes. The date of his entry is variously given. Mathieson, W. L., Politics and Religion (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1903), Vol. II, p. 185 may be correct when he says that it was about 1641. Cant thinks the vacancy was Guthrie's, vide, APPENDIX A.
reason to believe that he was other than strongly episcopal. Guthrie is alleged to have been the originator of the distich concerning Sharp:

"If Sharp do die the common Death of Men,  
I'll burn my Books, and throw away my Pen." 1

Sharp was described as a promising and quiet student, with no outstanding display of brilliance. If Guthrie were associated with Sharp at St. Leonard's it was for a very brief time for "...the famous Mr James Guthrie, who was then a Regent in St. Andrews College, being called to the Ministry, demitted in Mr Sinclair's Favours, to whom having succeeded, he became Colleague to Mr Sharp." 2

The only other colleague of Guthrie was the Professor of Humanity at St. Leonard's, Robert Norrie, who a year after Guthrie's departure incurred the ire of Rutherfurd and Blair. That year Rutherfurd was elevated to Rector of the University and was appointed by Presbytery to re-impose the signing of the Covenant upon the University.

Sometime after the spring of 1642 Guthrie received a

1. Recorded almost universally. The earliest allusion seems to have been Simson, David; "A True and Impartial Account of the Life of ... Dr. J. Sharp" (1723) xxxiv–xxxv. He gives as its source "...one of their [viz. Sharp's murderers] Teachers some while before the murder, thus blabbed out in Rhyme,..." after which the distich appears. No earlier evidence has yet been found that might connect Guthrie with the authorship of this couplet.
2. Supra, p. 26. He was later to become a Professor and was banished to Holland in 1662.
call to become the pastor of the church at Lauder. It is difficult to ascertain the factors that influenced him to accept the call and leave St. Andrews. Was it because his cousin William was also leaving? Could Rutherford have recommended it? Was there a desire on the part of the Lauderdale Family to have Guthrie accept? There is only silence to the queries.

Wodrow's appraisal of Guthrie at the time of his departure was that:

"...he gave abundant proof that he was an excellent philosopher, and exact scholar. His temper was very stayed and composed, he would reason upon the most eristical points with great solidity, and when every one about him was warm, his temper was never ruffled. At any time, when indecent heat or wrangling happened to fall in reasoning, it was his ordinary to say, 'Enough of this, let us go to some other subject, we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage.' Perhaps he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper, as any man in his time." 1

Before entering into this new work Guthrie married Miss Jean Ramsay, the daughter of Ramsay of Shielhill in the parish of Kirriemuir, just across the river from Guthrie's birthplace. During their stay in Lauder their daughter, Sophia, was born.

2. When Guthrie writes his last letter to his wife in 1661, he says "In these twenty years past you were never a tempter of me to depart away from the living God, ..." [Stewart, Jas., & Stirling, Jas.], ed. Wm. M'Gavin, The Last Words...and Naphtali (Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun, 1852), p. 67.
3. Warden, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 74 speaks of a "John Ramsey buying the property in 1630, probably the father of Jean. Cp. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 120.
D. Ministry at Lauder (1642-1649)

When Guthrie was installed at Lauder in 1642 he was placed near the Border at a time when the country was in turmoil. Just two years before there had been the Second Bishop's War. Now the King and the Parliament were arming to fight each other. Scotland was preparing to fortify the Border. The Cross Petition was ordered to be read from all the pulpits. This same year the English Parliament summoned a meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Lauder is in the news infrequently as by far the most important function of the town was the meeting of the commissariat.

The Kirk at Lauder does not seem to have been a very popular charge. There is no record of its having a regular minister for seven years prior to Guthrie's arrival. The last known minister was James Burnet. Though he had opposed the Perth Articles his ministry was unacceptable and for keeping a fast privately in Jedburgh, which the covenanters had appointed, he was deposed in April 1639.

1. NL, MSS, Sir Robert Sibbald, No. 23.5.15., p. 201. Cp. Mitchell & Clarke, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 174-5. In 1648 due to the commissioner, Major Wm. Iyle, joining the Engagers it was discontinued until by petition it was restored with Major Abernethie being appointed to the post. Vide, RH, MS, C. of E. Records 1648, pp. 21-21b.

There is no reason to assume that the parish was different from that of the average parish in Scotland at the time. The kirk session was a religious court that tried its kirk members for sabbath desecration which included the failure to attend services, drunkenness, scolding, fighting etc. In some major cases the culprits were sent to the magistrates of the town with recommendations for punishment. Habitual cases were referred to Presbytery for judgment. The "pillar" of repentance was frequently occupied with, at times, offenders waiting their turn to use it. There was a number of cases of immorality revealed by the desire of the mother to baptize illegitimate children. The jurisdiction of the session also involved parish charity, the collection of which was accomplished by fines, fees, and communion offerings. When disaster struck appeals went out to churches throughout the nation and these appeals were met with assistance. Victims of fires, refugees from Ireland etc., were all taken care of by the kirk. From the minutes of Stow in April, 1644, one reads that "the which day there was a pitfull supplication hed sent be Mr James Guthrie for a pure persone in a miserable estate in Pilmure." The session was also responsible for the property of the church. It was even at times in this period asked to

1. CSL, MS, Kirk Session Minutes of Stow, s
This refers to Pilmuir which is not too far from Stow though in the bounds of Guthrie's parish.
assist in taxation, assessments, appraisals, and the levy of troops.

The Church at Lauder was located only a short distance from Thirlestane Castle, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale, John Maitland, and his son, later to be the Duke of Lauderdale (1616-1682). The absence of records leaves one to wonder what the relationship was between the young minister and these two nobles. The Duke was an attendant at the Westminster Assembly of Divines and for a time was considered as one of the rising lights of the ultra-covenanting party. He attended, as a representative elder, the General Assembly at St. Andrews in 1643. On August the eighth of that year he was a member of the committee for the Solemn League and Covenant. On the seventeenth of that month he and Cassillis presented it to the two houses at Westminster. On Nov. the fifth he went to the Westminster Assembly. By February 1644 he was the President of the committee of both kingdoms. He visited Charles at Uxbridge on November twentieth to obtain peace. In 1645 together with Loudoun he tried to induce the King to accept Presbyterianism. The beginning

1. An ancient sycamore still marks the place. Parliament had decreed the kirk's removal to the burgh in 1617 but this was not accomplished until 1673. Vide, H. F. Kerr, "Lauder Church", Scottish Ecclesiological Society Transactions, 1925, p. 132.

2. He was selected by the General Assembly to present a supplication to the King. Peterkin, op. cit., p. 330. Vide, also pp. 338, 339.

3. He was a graduate of St. Leonard's College. As churchman vide, Peterkin, A., op. cit., pp. 336, 337, 339, 342, 343 et al.
of 1646 again found him in London. The following year he was present at the King's surrender and is thought to have turned to the King's interest at this time. During all this time in his correspondence he neither mentions Lauder nor its minister.

Apart from the Lauderdaleles the parish was well represented by Covenanters among whom were the Houses of St. Leonard's, Blackburn, Bassendean, Throntykes, Shielfield, Park and Flass. In the parish, though perhaps not members, were the Wilkieisons, the most famous of whom was Alexander Wilkieison who represented Lauder in Parliament for the years 1643-1645, and 1648. In the latter year he was a member of the Committee under the Act of Posture "for defense of the country," also in that year he was a member of a small committee of Estates. His political career was impeded in 1649 when he was called in question and censured for his misconduct in his local office.

1. A careful search has been made of all available Lauderdale MSS the main body of which is located in the British Museum. The present Earl of Lauderdale has very kindly examined the few that remain in his possession. Sharp later mentions the relationship between the two in his letter April 9, 1657, stating that "M. Guthree dyne[d] with his old patron Lauderdale..." CSL, MS, Wod., I. 6. 5.


3. A commission was constituted to try a late Bailie of the Burgh for misapplying the common good, oppressing the poor, and committing many gross insolences, such as affronting the Magistrates and breaking his father's charter chest, and taking away his evid-
The Committee of Estates on October 13th nullified the election conducted in Lauder by Wilkieson and others because they had elected magistrates who were Engagers contrary to two acts by the Committee. For his contempt Wilkieson was ordered to "pay the somme of Five Hundred meks to be applyed towards the building of that Church or chappell now erecting in the same burgh..." On May 18th of the following year they ordered him to trial, where, through witnesses, "tua Acts of the Kirk Session of Lawder" and other sources, the Committee learned that Wilkieson had ruled the town like a tyrant. He was not only in sympathy with the Engagement but he had extorted payments from townsmen and then had put them into prison. He was accused of assaulting not only two burgesses, George Walker and John Wood, but also his own father. Injustices concerning the people and mismanagement of civic affairs were brought against him. He was ordered to Tolbooth, Edinburgh, within 24 hours. One of the leading members of the Church was Alexander Hume, Bailie and Burgess of Lauder, who had been a member of the 1638

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1. RH, MS, C of E Records, 13 Oct. 1648, p. 20b. For the trial vide, 18 May, p. 79 and later pp. 91-92.
Glasgow Assembly.

Like many other communities Lauder during Guthrie's ministry was unfortunately afflicted by several cases of witchcraft which at that time played a role in the unhappy features of Scottish life. The spirit world was all too real. It was believed with a stolid credulity. At times the ministers felt compelled to participate actively in the trial of the accused. It was their firm conviction that the witches' souls were damned unless they confessed their sins. Guthrie appears to have been no exception.

George Sinclair, a respected Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Glasgow 1654-1696 relates the only incidents known of the process against

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2. In his Satan's Invisible World Discovered (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685) pp. 45-55, from which the subsequent quotations are taken. This first edition was an extremely popular book. For a description of the various editions and other books on Witchcraft vide, John Ferguson, "Bibliographical Notes on Witchcraft Literature of Scotland", Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. III, 1895-98, pp. 37-124. Sinclair's book was a collection which he calls "of Modern Relations, proving evidently against the Saducees and Atheists of this present Age, and apparitions from Authentik Records, etc." From his Pre-
witches in Lauder. Early in 1649 gossip arose concerning a "warlock" named Robert Grieve (Alias Rob Grieve) who was "traffecking" in the neighbourhood "...he was at last discovered, apprehended, and imprisoned, at the town of Lauder." After a long examination, he ceased his denials, acknowledged his guilt, and confessed to being the Devil's Officer, whose duty it was to call the other servants to the meetings of Satan. In his account it is noted that his wife had been burned as a witch at Lauder about twenty years prior to this time. He blames her for his compliance with Satan. He describes the meeting with Satan arranged by her. The Devil appeared in the form of a Black man (the customary form), and in exchange for riches

face to the Reader it is clearly evident that he ironically uses the verity of the (evil) spirit world to make a frontal attack upon the Cartesian Philosophy and its concomitants as it had formerly been used to prove the existence of God. Vide, Davies, R. Trevor, op. cit., p. 175. There is a suggestion that the whole structure of witchcraft as a serious problem had a religious foundation arising from the vacuum left by the Protestant abolition of Mariolatry and Iconolatry, in spite of the charge made by the Protestants that the Roman Catholics were responsible for it. Was not this vacuum filled with an acute perception of evil spirits? If so, many of the common people substituted evil for good spirits. The Protestant Church eventually had to shift from its solitary attack upon the spirit hierarchy of the Roman Church to an attack upon the insidious dangers of Satan and his demons, as personified in witches and warlocks. Not all of the witches were wholly innocent. Some laid claim to demoniac powers for monetary reasons.

1. As defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, "one in league with the Devil and so possessing occult and evil powers; a sorcerer, wizard...": the male equivalent of witch. It quotes this very passage, Vol. XII, p. 100 s.v.
he became his servant. He then testifies as to those whom he knows as servants of Satan. It is noted that "...there was neither man nor woman delated by him. But were all Confessor, when apprehended; and confronted with him, and dyed confessing." He accused as many as "the Prison could conveniently contain and the Keepers attend ..."); He accused a woman in Lauder, in excess of this group, and she sensed his accusation and came to the prison and "railed" on him. "She sat down upon the Tolbuith-Stair and said she should never go to her house, till she and that slave to the Devil were confronted."

It is here that Guthrie entered the story. One reads

"Whereupon the Baillie came to the Preacher desiring him to come and speak to her, to go home to her house, for there were none accusing her, who accordingly came, and entreated her to go home: but she obstinately refusing to go till she should be confronted with that Raschal who had delated her an honest woman, for a Witch."

The Bailie finally acceded to her request and she scolded Grieve. He confronted her with some of her past deeds. "By this she was so confounded, that immediately in presence of the Bailly, the Preacher, the School-Master, and many witnesses, she cryed out" that she had been sent by the Devil to confound Grieve assured by Satan that he would deny all.

"And having said this, she with many tears, confessed, that it was all truth which he had said, and prayed the Minister, that he would Intreat GOD for her poor Soul, that she might be delivered out of the hands of the Devil. Under this confession she continued even until the day of her death."
Doubtless the most unusual church service conducted by Guthrie was at this time. Grieve, after five or six men and women whom he had accused had confessed, desired that they might be taken to Church on Sunday to hear the Word of God.

"Which being granted and they conveyed with a Guard to the Church, all of them sat down together before the pulpit. The Preacher lectured on the words, Mark 9, 28. And oft times it hath cast him into the fire, and in the water to destroy him, etc. The Father of the Lunatrick-child complained to Christ of the Devil's cruelty towards his son. And the Preacher briefly noted, that observation from the words, That what ever the Devil did to such as he had gotten any power over, his aim and end was always to destroy the poor creature both Soul and Body. This truth being seriously applied and spoken home by the Preacher to the said Hob Grieve, and the rest of the confessing Witches, and Warlocks, they were all immediately so confounded, that all of them cried out with a dreadful and lamentable noise, Alack! That is a most sure truth; Oh what will become of us poor wretches? Oh, pray for us."

Hob Grieve stood up and "in the face of the congregation" testified to the truth of Guthrie’s sermon. He stated that Satan tried to drown him in Musselburgh water when he had a heavy creel on his back and "since I came into prison, he did cast me into the fire to destroy me, as is well known to the present Preacher..." and others.

Grieve concluded by exhorting all to beware of the Devil for his purpose is to destroy them. On October 4, 1649, the Committee of Estates appointed a committee including Gilbert Lawder of Whitesoled, William Lawder in Park, both Baillies of Lawder, Mr Edzer Younger of Wedderlie, Mr Alexander Hume of St. Leonards, etc.,
"to minister justice upon Robert Grieve in [ ]
John Browne of Bouzhunse, Janet Lyes in Wedderlie,
Isobell Brotherstanes in Kirkinsyde, Christian Smith
in Lawder, Isobell Raich there and Margaret Dalgeish
ther confessing witches. There depositions attested
be Mr Thos. Byres, Minister at Ligestwood,
Mr Jon. Cleland, Minister at Stow, and Mr John Veitch,
Minister at Bassindean as having power and authority from
the Presbyterie of [Earlston] for examining the said
Witches and taking depositions." 1

Sinclair's second account also in 1649 concerns a
woman who "fyled" and denied for a long time.

"The Magistrates of the place for this cause, were
loath to meddle with her, but adjudged to death all
the rest, who had confessed; and ordained them to be
burnt. She hearing of this, and that she alone was
to remain in prison, without hopes of escape, was
promoted by the Devil to make up a confession in her
own bosom, as she supposed might take away her life,
and thereupon sent for the Minister, and made that
confession of Witchcraft which she her self had
patcht up before Witnesses; and in the close she
earnestly intreated the Magistrates, and the Ministers,
that she might be burnt with the rest upon Munday
next."

Her confession was doubted for it was thought that
she wanted to destroy herself.

"Therefore much pains was taken on her by Ministers,
and others, on Saturday, Sunday, and Munday morning,
that she might resile from that confession, which was
suspected to be but a Tentation of the Devil, to de-
stroy both her soul and body, yea it was charged home
upon her by the Ministers, that there was just ground
for Jealousie, that her confession was not sincere,
and she charged before the Lord to declare the truth,
and not to take her blood upon her own head. Yet
stiffly she adhered to what she had said and cryed
always to be put away with the rest." 2

On Monday morning she went before the Judges, con-
fessed, was found guilty and condemned to die with the

1. RM, MS, C of E Records, 4 Oct. 1649.
2. Sinclair, op.cit., pp. 52-55, from which the subse-
quent quotations are taken.
rest on that day. At the place of execution she remained silent during the first, second and third prayers. When there was nothing left to do but to rise and go to the stake, she cried out and freed the ministers and magistrates of her blood blaming herself. She stated that she had been,

"...delated by a malicious Woman, and put in Prison, under that name of a Witch, disowned by my husband and friends, and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of Prison, nor ever coming in credit again, through the temptation of the Devil I made up that confession, on purpose to destroy my own life, being weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live, and so died."

Needless to say the spectators wept. The story was attested to Sinclair by "an Eye and Ear witness who is yet alive, a faithful Minister of the Gospel." No doubt it was Guthrie who told Sinclair the story.

There is extant an expense account for the burning of a witch in Lauder Parish in 1649. The total expense was 92:14:-. This included her two guards who watched her for thirty days. It paid Jon Kinked for "brodding" her, his accommodation and transportation. It also paid for two other officers together with the cost for "twa treis and ye making of them" and for cloth. Of this sum

1. Arnot, Hugo, A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland from A.D. 1636 to 1784, (Edinburgh: William Smellie, 1785), pp. 392-393. This account was furnished to Arnot by Mr William Henderson of the Glasshouse, Glasgow, a descendant of Mr Logan of Burnscastle, where the victim lived.

2. He seems to have been in demand. He was used in Stow as well. Vide, CSL, MS, Minutes of Stow Kirk Session.
Margaret Dinham (or Dunhome, or Dollmoune), the victim, paid 27: -: -. The account is a voucher of a payment by Alexander Loudtoun, factor on the estate of Burncastle, the proprietor being then a minor and infant. The account is signed by "Ghilbert Lauder, Um. Lauder Bilz- uars," a Bailie of Lauder at this time.

From archeological evidence discovered in 1338-9 it was declared that about thirty people were executed in this manner.

The Assembly of 1649 found the condition alarming in that year and appointed a committee of Ministers, Lawyers and Physicians "Concerning the tryal and punishment of Witchcraft, Charming and Consulting." Guthrie was one of the members chosen. He was not chosen on the several Witchcraft Committees appointed by the Commission that same year.

From the records of the neighbouring Kirk of Stow one can judge the prevailing conditions of the time. In August 1649 a contribution was demanded from the parish to pay for the watchers of witches. On Sept. 2 a trial was held. "John Kinkad tryor of witches havely come yesterwyt ad did find the werk upon henrsone and hi wif. He did come befor the session and gave his oath that they were grait witches." A week later a person was accused

2. Ibid., p. 203.
3. Peterkin, op. cit., p. 553. The date is August 6th.
of witchcraft. On the 20th of October "a letter from the Presbyterie was red unto them for the maintaining trying and sensuring of poor witches two addie apprehendit." The Session assented to contribute two hundred merkes Scots. Another letter was received the same date from Torsonce anent the trying of John Johnstons and paying of his watchers at Orsilkoune against the more whereupon recomendit to the clerks to pet in the stent for the poor witches with all diligence for the present the minister advancing some money for the present to that purpose." 2

On January 20 they were still concerned with the contribution but their minute reads, "they should make it addie against the nest poore witches that should be apprehendit" which would indicate that Henderson and his wife had been taken care of. In February they refer to witches in Jedburgh. A Minute of March 17, 1650, refers to one Marion Pearsonel "burnt for witchcraft six years since." The invasion of Cromwell seemed to have changed the centre of interest for there was little mention of witchcraft for years.

The only intimate record of Guthrie as a pastor is given by a visitor to the parish, Walter Pringle. He records in his diary that in May, 1649, after his father's death,

"...I had good Days at a Communion in Lauder, which

1. GSL, MS, Minutes of the Kirk Session of Stow, s.v.
2. Ibid.; s.v.
3. Ibid.; s.v.
was the last, which that precious Servant of GOD, Mr James Guthrie (whom I may call my Father in the Gospel, if any Man may be so call'd) had in that Place, And altho' my [fiancée] was there, at that Time: Yet I remember, I had scare on Thought of her, all these three Days; though I had very much of that, which is called Love. After that Time I was led into a more close way of walking with my God, than formerly..." 1

Pringle was impressed and sought Guthrie out and with him discussed his intended marriage. Guthrie

"... desired to understand if I knew any Thing of a Work of Grace in her Heart, which he said was most necessary, and that her having a good Woman to her Mother, was not enough to me; But I was engaged before this, and have nothing to ascribe to mine own Prudence or Foresight: But very much, yea more than can be expressed; to the Goodness of my God: Who... gave me a good Wife..." 2

One is not surprised to read that "In November, 1649, we were Married, at Stow, by that Renowned Mr James Guthrie." 3

On the fifteenth of this same month the General Assembly Commission considered the summons for the transporting of James Guthrie from Lauder to Stirling. After hearing

"... the reasons hinc inde, given for and against the said Mr James... the Commission... according to the power given to them by the late Assembly, transports the said Mr James Guthrie from Lauder to Stirling, and appoints him to remove and sette himself in the charge of the Ministerie in Stirling betuixt and the nixt

1. Pringle, Walter, The Memoirs of Walter Pringle of Greenknow or, some few of the free Mercies of God to him, and his will to his children, left to them under his own Hand (Edinburgh: n.p., 1723), p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
quarterlie meeting."

Guthrie in no wise restricted himself to activity within the bounds of his parish. The entire succeeding chapter will be devoted to his extra-parochial activity.

CHAPTER TWO
EXTRAPAROCHIAL ACTIVITY
I. LAUDER
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I. LAUDER.

A. The Beginning

During his first two years at Lauder Guthrie seems to have been completely absorbed in his parochial duties. In April 1644 when the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale met in his church he must have been selected to attend the ensuing General Assembly at Edinburgh for in the May minutes of an adjoining parish is found an "Item despersit to Mr James Guthrie as Commissioner to General Assemblie 3 mks."

This General Assembly, which met from May 29th to June 4th, marked the beginning of Guthrie's rise to prominence. It was at this time that he first spoke on the floor of the Assembly. Mr Norrie, the Professor of Humanity at Guthrie's alma mater, was appealing against two acts recently passed by the Commission of Visitation which had placed his salary and position in jeopardy. Guthrie rallied to his support. A subsequent Act of Parliament tells how "...Mr James Wood in Old Colledge and Mr James Guthrie in St. Leonards... had disputed the said cause in genall assemblie." Norrie had been installed by a

1. CSL, MS, Stow Kirk Session Minutes, May 26, 1644. Gordon in his art. "Guthrie" in the Dictionary of National Biography gives the amount as "15 l." which is the sum on the line preceding and refers to the amount collected at Communion on May 15th. Cf. Carslaw, C. H., Six Martyrs of the Scottish Reformation p. 138 where the same error is made.

private endowment; as a result his appointment had become
a source of jealousy for the sister college. One reads
that "The General Assembly..., after the question with
much debate was stated whether the saids two acts should
be recalled or approven. Recalls and rescinds the saids
two acts..." giving Guthrie his first victory in the
Assembly. The following year Parliament approved this
Assembly's action but four years later it was brought be¬
fore them again. On the same day as his triumph Guthrie
was rewarded by an appointment to the Commission for the
"Public affairs of the Kirk," commonly known as the Gener¬
al Assembly Commission or simply the Commission.

The following year he was the Moderator of the Synod
at their meeting in Jedburgh, October 24, 1645. From
this meeting they sent a petition, signed by Guthrie, to
Parliament requesting the purging of the land and the
execution of justice against delinquents which was read
in Parliament the 5th of December.

B. Chaplaincy

The period during Guthrie's Lauderian ministry was
marked by almost constant warfare. Except for a brief

1. University Commissions, p. 211.
2. Historical MSS Commission, Second Report on Historical
Manuscripts (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1871) Vol.
XXXIII, Appendix p. 175, No. 171, or in the muniments
of Buchanan Castle, (Duke of Montrose). For another
synodical petition vide, Ibid., Vol. XXVII, Laing MSS,
pp. 228 f.
period in the winter the Scots were at war either in England or within their own bounds. The men of the parish were called to the colours. Baggage trains and artillery could at times be seen passing through the town on their way towards England. As early as 1638 the Army of the Covenant had been raised to meet the march northward of Charles' army in his attempt to suppress the Covenanting Movement and restore episcopacy. This, the first Bishop's War, ended in the indecisive Treaty of Berwick, June 18, 1639. In August, a year later, the Scots marched victoriously into England only to return and disband upon the completion of the Treaty of London, August 10, 1641. By this time Montrose had turned against the Covenant. By November 1643 Scotland had allied herself with the Parliamentary Army. Lauder was called upon at the first of the year to appoint townsmen to "goe always with and assist the carriage horses and men that are employed to carie the fielding pieces and other ammunition from Kelso to Lauder as they shall be required." The next month the Scots once again crossed the border pausing momentarily before Newcastle and then proceeding southward. Some months later Guthrie's first call to the Chaplaincy is found in the Committee of Estates Register under the date of August

1. The exact time of his change is difficult to ascertain. His band was contrived in August 1640 but an open break did not occur until early the following year.
2. RH, MSS, Committee of Estates Register, Jan. 22, 1644.
1644 as a "precept to Wm. Thomeson for five pundis sterling to David Robertson going to Wanschtons regiment and also much to Mr James Guthre going for Dallousseis regiment." Guthrie probably joined the regiment at Elsworth about the time of its arrival there from the south on August the 15th after which Leven led the Scottish Army in its siege of Newcastle. Terry is under the impression that the usual tour of duty for a chaplain was three months. If this is true in Guthrie's case he served until after the fall of the city on October the 19th. On his arrival he relieved John Hog, Minister of West Linton, who had served as chaplain of the regiment all or part of the period from February until the middle of August.

The Regiment of William, Earl of Dalhousie, was composed of a body of cavalry requisitioned from Haddingtonshire, Berwickshire, Edinburghshire, Stirlingshire, and Linlithgow. Each regiment had its own kirk session which was responsible for the sick and for the exercise of discipline. An elder and the Chaplain were its representatives

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1. Assistant minister at Dunbar, also a graduate of St. Andrews (1639).
2. RH, M33, Committee of Estates Register, August 1644.
3. Robert Douglas and a few others are exceptions to this as they served for the duration of the campaign. Douglas had served under Gustavus Adolphus. His Diary is exceptionally valuable to military historians concerned with this period.
4. Terry, C.S., Papers Relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant 1642-1647. University Press (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1917) SHS p. 160. Hog is paid his fee for coming and for one and a half months duty. If other payments were made the records were either not kept or were lost.
5. Under Sir Wm. Bruce. For the listing of officers vide, Terry, Ibid., pp. xlix-1.
to the Presbytery of the Army. Attendance of the soldiers at morning and evening prayers in addition to the Sunday morning and afternoon services was mandatory. During these times buying and selling were strictly prohibited. Profanity at any time was summarily punished. Soon after the fall of Newcastle the Army went into winter quarters and Guthrie returned to his parish.

All had not been quiet in the little town for about the first of October Montrose met the "Irish rebels at Lauder in Scotland, and had defeat the Stratherne and Fife men,..."2

Nothing further however seems to have been done until the following year when the Scots' and the Parliamentary Armies resumed their English campaign. The former was viewing with growing apprehension the bold campaigns of Montrose against the covenanting forces in Scotland. This uneasiness was somewhat dissipated by David Leslie's victory at Philiphaugh on September 13, 1645. Leven began his siege of Newark on November the 28th. It was near the end of this siege that Guthrie returned to the army, this time assuming the post of Staff Chaplain. He arrived about March the 11th for a two months tour of duty.

1. Unfortunately the records of these bodies are not extant. Only a few scattered acts, etc., can be uncovered in the contemporary papers of the ministers and the church courts.
3. Terry, C. S., op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 496-497. He was paid the regular staff salary of £10 per month with the date of payment being May 18th.
He shared his duties with Mungo Law and James Simpson, whereas Patrick Gillespie, having completed four months attendance, was returning to his parish at Kirkcaldy.

While the siege was being continued, on Tuesday morning, May 5, 1646, Charles rode into the Scottish Camp at Southwell placing his person in their custody. He was taken to Kellam. The following day Newark surrendered and the day thereafter the forces of David Leslie with the King were on the march towards Durham. A diurnal states concerning the journey that "...there are always some of the best and ablest Scots Ministers with the King." The King entered Newcastle Wednesday afternoon, May 13th, and was immediately called upon to accept the Covenant.

Faced with this situation he asked that Mr Alexander Henderson be sent from the Westminster Assembly at London to discuss his personal scruples against renunciation of Episcopacy and to serve as his Chaplain. Henderson arrived about the 15th. The following Sunday "...Charles listened to the first of a long series of sermons of the same burden and advice. Mr Douglas preached before him in his dining room at the court, 'and spake home to him,

and advised him to dispose his spirit to peace and unity." On Monday Guthrie was paid for his two months service and probably returned to his parish in Lauder. After two weeks, Charles on June the 3rd says, "None are suffered to come about me but fools or knaves." He also pays Henderson a dubious compliment, saying, "I thinks you for the present, the best preacher in New-Castle... a better preacher may come."

Charles sent a letter dated May 28, 1646 by Douglas to the General Assembly meeting at Edinburgh (June 3-13). The Assembly delayed their answer until the last day of their meeting. When completed Craufurd says,

"The Assembly sent to wait on the King with this letter [2] Mr Robert Blair, the Moderator, Mr Alexander Henderson... Mr Robert Douglass, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Andrew Cant, and several others who were in the army." 5

H. Guthry adds concerning the appointments,

"Mr David Dickson, and others of old standing, did not take it well to be passed by, and Mr James Guthry to be pitched upon, who then had been a minister only for the space of four years. But the business was, Mr James had already given such evidence of his bitterness against his majesty, as made the assembly to presume that he would encounter him more boldly and rudely than any other; and therefore he was preferred." 6

1. Terry, C. S., "Visits of Charles I to Newcastle", Archæologia Aeliana, New Series, Vol. XXI, p. 116. This is the most thorough treatment of the subject.
2. Charles in 1646, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society, 1856), p. 44.
4. The text is to be found in Peterkin, Records, p. 450.
5. CSL, MS, Craufurd, Matthew, The History of the Church of Scotland, s.v. June 13, 1646. The pages are frequently unnumbered.
This seems to indicate that Guthrie was important enough for the task but hardly for the reason his distant relative gives. One wonders if Henry Guthrie was not among the 'others of long standing' who not only was embittered by a younger relative's appointment, but also by the fact that this particular year he was not re-appointed to the General Assembly Commission.

The delegation arrived at Newcastle on the 27th.

One writer states that,

"The Ministers from the Kingdom of Scotland were with the King, and spend much time with his Majestie; the business that they were upon, was about Ecclesiastical Matters, to clear some points to his Majestie, in matter of Conscience, which took up some time, though very little seeming to be prevalent, in what they so laboured for yet they are resolved to do what they can, and go on to the utmost in what lies in them, and leave the event to God." 2

On July the 5th, the second Sabbath after their arrival, Andrew Cant preached a sermon which moved his auditors to tears "and the King was observed to change countenance more than once as he listened to the preacher's vigorous onslaught." 3 After the sermon the preacher, with Blair and other Scottish divines, was invited to discuss a case

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2. A Letter from Newcastle.

3. Terry, C. S., "Visits of Charles, etc." Arch. Ael. Vol. XXI, p. 119, where he quotes the contemporary journals which vividly describe the occasion.
of conscience with the King. In spite of the conferences nothing seems to have altered the King's views. Guthrie had returned to Edinburgh by the 14th. Dalgleish followed a week later while the rest of the group make their appearance about a month later. Douglas and Cant did not submit their report until August the 26th. In the meantime, because of illness, Henderson was relieved as the King's Chaplain on August the 3rd by Blair. When Charles paid him a visit on his departure "...the dying man 'wept to his Majesty, and desired him to hearken to counsel.'" Henderson died on the 19th.

The day after their report Cant, Douglas, Blair, with the addition of the man "who did not take it well", David Dickson, were appointed to continue the conferences at Newcastle. The conferences, which were begun on the 10th of September and lasted at most for a week, were fruitless. Blair remained to confer with Charles into next month but by the first of November he too had departed.

2. Terry, C. S., "Visits, etc." Arch. Ael. Vol. XXI, p. 117. It is interesting to note that Bailie accredits the book of Andrew Ramsay entitled The Treatise as more effectual with the King than the conferences with Henderson or others. Bailie, Robert, Letters and Journals, Vol. II, pp. 339f, ltr. dt'd Aug.18 to Blair.
3. It is doubtful if Dickson went. It is likely that John Smith was substituted for him. A letter is extant addressed to Blair, Douglas, Cant and John Smith "all now at Newcastle" dated 10 Sept. CSL, MS, Wodrow Collection, LS. I. 6. 4. No. 38. A large amount of the correspondence received by Douglas is preserved in this collection.
A famous incident occurred on the Sunday of December 6th at St. Nicholas' Church in Newcastle. A Scottish minister who had just newly arrived from Scotland was preaching before the King. He is described as very violent and was said to have given Charles much displeasure. He is alleged to have given out the 52nd Psalm whereupon Charles ordered it changed to the 56th.

On the 31st of December the General Assembly Commission was asked by Parliament to send a deputation to consult with their Parliamentary representatives at Newcastle. The Commission appointed Blair and Guthrie

"...to go to Newcastle, and there to labour with his Majestie by themselves, in presenting the humble desires of the late Assembly, and to concurre with the Commissioners of Parliament in their desires to his Majestie concerning Religion and the Covenant..." giving them full power to act. Plans were already under way to deliver him over to the English. In desperation Blair pleaded with him to sign the Covenant and abolish Episcopacy. Guthrie writes later that they were willing

1. Dr. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford in his recent book King Charles the Martyr (London: Hollis & Carter, 1950), pp. 170-171, revives the story for present day readers. Blair, Dickson, Moncrieff and Gillespie were all occupied with the Parliamentary Services at Edinburgh on that date. If by 'newly arrived' is meant for the first time, Guthrie, provided he was in Newcastle at the time, also would be excluded. Terry, C. S., in his art. "Visits etc." Arch. Ael. Vol. XXI, p. 135 and notes, indicates the confusion of the facts of the case. Wm. Row arrived in late October. Row, Wm., op.cit., p. 189.

upon any tolerable terms to have received Charles the first to the exercise of his government. Seeing that no progress was being made the two representatives wrote to Douglas for assistance,

"Reverend Brother

The information which the committee and wee received from libertoun of posture of affaires in Scotland makes them and us both to conceive that the greatest difficul-
tie and danger is past therefore being sensible of the
good and virtute of your paines hear at this time as they have exhorted youe to hasten hither so it is our
earnest desire that according to the act of the com-
missione youe would repaire hither with outemen
diligence which will be acceptable unto
Your affectionate brethren
M Robert Blair
M J Guthrie

Jann. 20
1647.

(P.S.) Lauderdaill is this night at Durham."

Charles remained adamant to all the entreaties of the Scots. The English arrived on the first of February and the Scots retired leaving Charles at Newcastle in the hands of the English. Guthrie reappears in Edinburgh on the 11th.

Hardly had a week passed before Guthrie was again called into service. Because of continual raids by Montrose in the North every shire was asked to give men and weapons for the forces under Lt. Gen. David Leslie. The Committee from Parliament to the General Assembly Com-
mision asked for the "...provyding ministers to attend

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2. Doubtless "utmost".
3. CSL, MS, Wod., Col., LS, I. 6. 4. 41.
the forces of the new modell sent against the rebells...

The commission "...considering that the Generall Lieutenant, David Leslie hes put over upon them to make choyse of such ministers as they shall judge most fitting for that employment,...do appoynt...Mr James Guthrie...to attend the Generall Lieutenant himself." Guthrie was to report the 15th of May and serve until the ensuing General Assembly met on Wednesday the 4th of August. Due to the urgent demands of the South West Kirk of Edinburgh for the services of their minister, Mungo Law, then serving as Leslie's Chaplain, Guthrie took over the post two weeks early. The Army's morale is best described by the Commission which regrets that "...there is not greater alacrity and cheerfulnes in the soldiery of this new modell..." Because "There hath been so great defection from the cause in the North amongst ministers and others..." the Commission found it necessary to hold their quarterly meeting

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1. GAC, Vol. I, p. 204. Terry, C. S., in The Army of the Covenant, Vol. I, p. xix, says the army was almost entirely disbanded at this time. Yet twenty chaplains were appointed to serve ten to a term. Hewison, King, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 439 n. cites the GAC but perhaps swayed by a traditional view assigns Guthrie to Munro's Regiment rather than to Leslie. Robert Munro was still occupied with his Irish Campaign which he continued until captured by Monk and imprisoned in the Tower in 1648. However, Col. Geo. Munro left Ireland to become one of the leaders of the Engagement Forces that made their last stand at Stirling, where H. Guthry was minister. It is quite possible that the latter may have been chaplain to G. Munro, but the author has found no such evidence. Guthry was deposed for his part in the Engagement.


3. Ibid., p. 227.

4. Ibid.
in Aberdeen. The opening session was attended by Guthrie but they were two short of a quorum, by afternoon three more had come. They met for twelve days with Guthrie attending each session. At the last meeting Guthrie was relieved of his chaplaincy by William Cockburne not having served a full month. This seemed to have closed his army career until the Battle of Dunbar, three years later.

G. Education

Although after leaving St. Leonard’s College Guthrie was never again actively engaged in education he by no means lost his interest in it. He endorsed heartily the first Scottish Hebrew Grammar which was written by John Row, who was later to become Principal of King’s College, University of Aberdeen. The Book was entitled “Hebraeae Linguae Institutiones Compendiosissimae & Facillimae, in Discipulorum Gratiam Primum Concinnatae” for which Guthrie composed the following:


2. Row, John, Hebraeae Linguæ Institutiones Compendiosissimae & Facillimae in Discipulorum Gratiam Primum Concinnatae (Glasguæ: Georgius Andersonus, 1644).
From the first the Covenanters took a special interest in education appointing commissioners to visit each university. In the first few years their interest seems to have been concentrated in the institutions at Glasgow and St. Andrews. Aberdeen gains their consideration in 1644 when the question of the plantation of the New College is raised.

On March the 8th the following year Parliament 

"...Considering that it hath bene the ancient custome of parliamentes To grant commissiones for visiting the universities and colledges within this kingdome..." found it necessary to appoint a commission including Guthrie for Aberdeen University.

The commissioners were 

"...To order the course of the studies of the youth And to rectifie all abuses and what is amise for the bettir breiding of the studentes in Religione and learninge..." and to do everything for the good of that University. They were to meet in May 1645 to consider the finances, the staff of the University and

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This work was actually written in 1637 when Row was Master of the Perth Grammar School. Other prefatory notes were given by John Adamson, Alexander Henderson and others known only by their initials. In spite of the fact that T. F. Henderson in his art. "John Row" in the Dict. of Nat. Bio. gives the date of first edition as 1634; as does Scott, Fasti, Vol. 7, p. 366; Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, Librarian of Aberdeen University, is of the opinion that the 1644 edition is the first published.

2. Ibid.
to report by the first of November. Nothing is known of
the work of this particular commission.

On January 24th of the following year the commission
was re-appointed with Guthrie as a member. To it was
again assigned the tasks of the previous year and in addi-
tion the trial of Rev. John Cheyne, and the plantation
of New College. Again there is silence concerning the
results except that the latter two items are again assign-
ed to a reconstituted commission in 1647, to which Guthrie
was not appointed. It was this latter year under the
auspices of the visitation commission that all the univers-
ities sent representatives to meet at Edinburgh to arrange
for a uniform course of study for Scottish Universities.
Among other things the commission reproved the dictation
method of pedagogy.

On the last of July 1649 Guthrie was appointed as a
commissioner to St. Andrews, Edinburgh and Aberdeen Uni-
versities. With the exception of one short act passed on
June the 10th, the 8th Session at Marischal College, Aber-
deen, there is no information concerning the work of

2. For an account of the meeting and a view of the con-
temporary courses vide, Dalzel, Andrew, History of
Edinburgh University (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas,
1862), Vol. II, pp. 141-4, 149-153. Cf. Bowen, Alex-
ander, The History of the University of Edinburgh
(Edinburgh: Alex. Smellie, 1817), pp. 218-222, 239-246.
For the covenating period vide, pp. 185ff.
4. One of the regrettable losses is the "...register, be-
ginning ye 2d day of August 1642, and ending the 13th
day/
these Commissions. This one act related to the Trial of Regents in the New College of Aberdeen, requiring testimonials from the college and the presbytery of the applicant. It specified a trial in one of the Greek poets, in arts and the sustentation of a disputation. In case of failure the patron should be notified concerning the reasons for disqualification. The only change noted during this period was the transfer of David Dickson from Glasgow to the University of Edinburgh. The procurement of a law professor at Edinburgh University was also discussed at the General Assembly Commission meeting on February the 8th. This University transferred to Kirkcaldy in October after the Battle of Dunbar. There was a discussion by the Commission concerning the filling of the Provost's place at Old College, St. Andrews, during their meeting in Edinburgh, November 22, 1649, which resulted in Guthrie being placed on a committee to consider this matter.

D. General Assembly Commission

From the very first Covenanting Assembly in 1638 it was found necessary to have an executive body for the day of July 1649 inclusive, containing 142 pages, and ye whole Acts y'of ought to be approven and ratified by the Parl. 30th July 1649 "Sic Subscribitur, W. Johnston, Cls Regri", University Commissioners, p. 213.

1. UAL, MS, Marischall College, Visitation Papers, 1636-1717, No. 4.
2. Up until 1648 Edinburgh University had refused the visitation vide, Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 64.
Assembly that in some way supplied the function vacated by the Hierarchy. Baillie says, "we appointed a number of ministers and young noblemen and barrons, not commissioners for Parliament, to wait on the next Parliament, as the Assemblie's agents, to petition in the name of the Church, a number of things..."

On August 5, 1642, this body received official status as the "Commission for the publicke affairs of this Kirk and for the prosecuting the desires of this Assembly to his Majestie and the Parliament of England." In this year of its inception it was to assist in the maintenance and promotion of peace between the two nations, to consider and perform what was necessary for the ministry including preaching, supplicating, to prepare drafts for a Confession, Catechism, and Directory of Worship for the two Kingdoms, to appoint and dispatch commissions for service either at home or abroad, to plant vacant kirks, and to act on any affairs assigned to them by the General Assembly. In the performance of its Acts it was censurable to the General Assembly. It is evident that during this first year the body proved its usefulness as their "painful endeavours and proceedings" were unanimously approved and the Com-

3. Ibid., p. 755. A number of the documents of this first Commission are preserved. Vide, CSL, MSS, Wodrow Collection, Milne, pp. 303-574 passim. There is ample evidence that they took a strong stand against the action/
mission re-appointed by the 1643 General Assembly on August the 19th.

This latter Commission in addition to the above duties was asked to prevent the Dangers of The Remonstrance (June, 1642) to prosecute the remedies of these dangers contained another Remonstrance (July 6, 1643), to command all members of the kirk to sign the recently approved Solemn League and Covenant, to proceed against all recalcitrants, to call an Assembly pro re nata if necessary, and to reply to all foreign correspondence directed to the Church.

In 1644 due to the 'present condition of the land' the proceedings of the former commission were not examined but its authority was renewed and additional members added, including Guthrie. It was given added power to determine which among those selected by the General Assembly should go to the Westminster Assembly together with the time of their departure.

The original size of the Commission had been fifty ministers and twenty five elders but by the time Guthrie

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2. Ibid., pp. 7, 9-11. Vide, Guthry, H., Memoirs, p. 114. It was a Remonstrance presented by Robert Douglas to Parliament which under remedy four described a very zealous and active non-covenanting non-clergical party of the upper class.
was chosen on June 3, 1644 the size had increased to seventy and fifty-three respectively. Some few of the members were at the Westminster Assembly and thus were unable to attend the Commission but this does not account for the large number who would not or could not attend. At times even the matter of a quorum was an urgent problem. When Guthrie was added both John, Earl of Lauderdale and his son, John, Lord Maitland were ruling elders in this body as were two others of the family, Richard, a minister, and Robert, an elder, but none seems to have attended with any degree of regularity. After 1644 the Commission held regular stated quarterly meetings but it was by no means limited to these, usually holding at least a hundred sessions during each year. From the time that the records are extant (1646) Guthrie seldom missed a meeting. He was in attendance as much if not more than any other member. This coupled with his ability in writing and in conferences soon placed him on virtually every important committee. Even

2. Distance cannot be a very valid reason as the Synods of Lothian and Tweedale, Fife, Merse and Teviotdale and Glasgow and Ayr had by far the largest representations, the Presbytery of Edinburgh had a third more representatives (in ratio to charges) than any other presbytery.
3. GAC, Vol. I, pp. 240, 241, 242, et al. The quorum was originally a total of 15 with at least 12 ministers. It then changed as follows: 19 and 15 ministers in 1645; 17 and 13, 1646-8; 19 and 13, 1649. Members at one time were upbraided for coming to Edinburgh and spending their time in the city and not at the meetings. Vide, GAC, Vol. I, pp. 407-475, passim.
4. The Earl died in 1645, and John, Lord Maitland was attending the Westminster Assembly and so was unable to be present.
in any lengthy minor item he was eventually made a participant. It is difficult to trace his membership on the various committees etc. A résumé will be given of the work of the Commission during each term in which he was a member. It may be taken for granted that in almost all of the actions described he played his part. More and more power was given to the Commission until Spang in 1649 wrote to Baillie "For God's saik, look this course in tym be stopped, else the Commission of the Kirk will swallow up all uther ecclesiastick judicatories..."

1. First Term - June 3, 1644 - February 13, 1645.

The policy against the malignants had already been taken when Guthrie entered the commission. Montrose and some of his lesser lieutenants had been excommunicated. The Commission was concerning itself with the insurrection of Montrose and Huntly in the North and the campaign in England against the Royalists. William Bennet served as Moderator while Douglas accompanied the army. In August

1. In following such a procedure it will be found that a committee appointed for one task will be assigned another and perhaps even another, all of which may be completely unrelated. The indices will be of little assistance in such study as the original committee will be mentioned according to its function and not its composition.


a letter was sent to presbyteries, kirk sessions, and to families "for turning the Lords Wrath from the Land." About the same time the commission recommended to the presbyteries a paper entitled, "Enormities and Corruptions observed in the ministrie, with the remedies thereof", which included remaining silent concerning the Cause. Among the remedies was the visitation of the parish by elders and neighbours in the assigned quarters, and for the ministers the "running between the perch and the alter sighing and crying for all the abominationes of the land." They proclaimed a Fast in October calling attention to the progress of the reformation, the sins of Argyll's army (which was fighting in the North), the rupture between the King and his subjects, the "miscontentment amongst the ministrie them selfis." and the civil strife, etc. A Thanksgiving was proclaimed Nov., the 10th, for the Fall of Newcastle - a date which Spalding assigns to the entry of the 'pest' into Scotland, which was to remain through the year 1647 taking many lives, closing schools and churches, and placing people in ghettos. Guthrie makes his first recorded appearance as

2. Ibid., p. 379. This was recommended to be printed by Geo. Anderson, Glasgow. It was approved by The General Assembly June 13, 1646. Vide, Peterkin, op.cit., pp. 446-7.
a member of a committee composed of Robert Douglas, John Moncrief, John Smith, the Earl of Angus and the Laird of Bogie which presents a resolution to Parliament Jan. 10, 1645, asking that civil punishments accompany ecclesiastical censures upon the rebels, which they were assured would receive serious consideration. Concerning this first year, in which he was a member of the commission, Guthrie later writes,

"In...year 1645 the commissione of the Generall Assembly doe frequently hold furth and warns against the sinne of complying with and not censoring and punishing of Malignants, and exhorte to the doeing justice upon them according to the degree of their offence and doe take notitie of sending out of .. scandalous persones to be souldiers for the defence of the land to be a playne scorning of God and betraying of the Cause." Perth, June 30. Also at Perth the last of Sept. they ask the Committee of Estates to keep the disaffected from being magistrates. 1

The General Assembly meeting in February sent Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, Dickson, Blair and Cant to ask Parliament to take measures with the Royalists prisoners who had been captured and incarcerated in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh. 2

1. NL, MS, Wod., Col., fol. 15, James Guthrie, "The Waters of Sihor". (To be subsequently referred to as The Waters) p. 45. A series of Documents are preserved in CSL, MS, Wod., Col., Milne, pp. 382-403. These include a letter from the Westminster Assembly, A Declaration (published January, 1646) cf. GAC, Vol. I, xiii n; and another declaration, March 20, 1646 - against Seaforth, vide, Row, Blair, p. 130.

On January 28, 1645, the Assembly approved the work of the two preceding commissions and on February the 13th renewed their authority. It is evident even at this early stage that the Commission was taking an increasing interest in civil affairs under the claim that they concerned the Kirk. Their main endeavour was to unite the two Kingdoms under Presbyterian Government. To do this all opponents must be suppressed while all exponents must be given every possible assistance. As a result the courts, the army, the legislature and the consultations with the King all soon came to be the concern of the Church as well as of Parliament.

2. Second Term - February 13, 1645 - June 18, 1646.

Montrose had become a severe threat. Parliament asked the Commission to call a fast for the 26th of July before the rendezvous at Perth. The Commission pointed out the sins of the land to Parliament at the end of the month. In spite of this religious aid Montrose succeeded in eliminating all effective resistance to him at Kilsyth on August the 15th, which resulted in many of his men,

Guthry states, of all the prisoners is to be seriously questioned. The hatred of the country for the Irish and the national feeling for the Covenant could possibly have led to such a request, but in spite of this it is difficult to believe that the religious leaders should call for the blood of the prisoners. One should not forget, however, that Irish prisoners and others were executed at Glasgow in November and at St. Andrews January 1646. Cf. Mathieson, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 71.

2. Ibid., p. 445.
who had been held prisoners, being released. Had not David Leslie marched north, met and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh on September 11th, Montrose would have gained control of all of Scotland.

When the commission met in October at Perth and St. Andrews it concerned itself with what action to take against the followers of Montrose. Guthrie says later, "...many presbyteries and Synodes did send petitiones to the Parliament supplicating for the executione of justice upon the men who had shed so much innocent blood..."

He also says that the Commission,

"...in their remonstrance given to the parliament at Saint Andrews December 5 they not only press the speedy executione of justice and remembers them of many suppli-
cations from shires" etc., "but also press the purging of the army...in the overture made to the Parliament...to purge...judicatures and armyes from malignants..." This same plea was again made on January the 2nd, but with an additional request for legislation on morality, educ-
ation, reverence for the Sabbath and the banning of un-
authorized books.

On the afternoon of December 21, 1645, Guthrie preach-
ed before Parliament.

4. For the Commission and Parliament vide, Acts of Parlia-
5. Balfour, James, The Historical Works of Sir James
Feeling continued to run so high against Montrose and his followers that the first Act of Classes was officially passed by Parliament on January 7, 1646.

At the next General Assembly held in June at Edinburgh James Simpson "...a forward, pious, young man, being in suite of a religious damsell, sister to Mr James Guthrie's wife, had kept with Mr James Guthrie, and others, some private meetings and exercises, which gave great offence to many.

2. The son of Richard Simpson, Minister of Sprouston, in the Presbytery of Kelso. He had served as a Chaplain in Sinclair's Regiment in 1642 and since that time as a colleague of his father. He was later (Dec. 24, 1650) to be transferred to Airth in the Presbytery of Stirling. He was later deposed with Guthrie and with him was appointed a 'tryer' under Cromwell. Vide, W. J. Couper, "The Levitical Family of Simson" RSCHS, Vol. V, pt. ii, pp. 129-139.
3. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 19. Guthry, on p. 221 of his Memoirs, states: "...the laird of Halyburton, in the Merse, having given in a bill complaining of Mr James Guthry minister of Lauder, Mr James Simpson minister of Sprouston, and their adherents, for keeping Brownistical conventicles, he could not obtain so much equity as once to get his bill read in public, but the same was referred to the commission also. So the assembly rose upon June eleventh." It is noteworthy that conventicles broke out early in Guthry's own parish of Stirling. Vide, session minutes as published in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Vol. I, pp. 475-477. Guthry was strongly opposed to conventicles from the beginning, almost causing a cleavage in the church. They were defended by Rutherford and Livingstone and others. The Irish were accused of their importation into Scotland although they were also to be found in England at an early date, and may well have been an outgrowth of the Reformation. Livingstone admits that such meetings were held in the Presbytery and cites one at Earlston. A Brief Historical Re-
The case, as reported in the minutes of the General Assembly Commission, actually involved the plantation of the kirk of Gordon, near Lauder, with Simpson which was opposed by Halliburton; Guthrie representing his Presbytery upheld the transportation. The main dispute centered around Simpson's conduct at Reston with Elspeth Home, who later became his wife. The only hint that conventicles were involved is found by a pronouncement of the General Assembly concerning the case the following year which states that "...the particulars...ar for the tyme to come provyded for by the Directiones for secret and privat worshipe and mutuall edification..." Guthrie later cites Halliburton before the Commission for slander which brought from the latter a formal apology, containing a hint that Guthrie was to some extent involved for Halliburton declares "...that the errors in doctrine, contained in the papers given in to the Assembly and their Commissioners, which may reflect upon Mr James Guthrie or Mr James Simpson...wer dilated by me upon information, and not upon certaine ground, but that for anything I know they ar

sound in their doctrin..." 


Blair was elected Moderator both of the Assembly and the Commission this year. Due to his duties as Chaplain to the King at Newcastle he was unable to attend some of the sessions, as a result Guthrie and others were nominated for the post of Moderator of the Commission to which William Bennet, a previous moderator, was elected.

When the King refused to accept the propositions of the Scots at Newcastle the question of the removal of the Scots Army from England was broached. Guthry stated that "The commission of the church hearing thereof, sent Mr Robert Blair and Mr David Dickson, Mr Andrew Cant and Mr James Guthry, to the committee of estates, to desire that they should no longer defer their resolution to call home the army upon the account of the reformation, because they could not press mens consciences. This was esteemed by royalists to be very contrary to the method they took in the year 1643 when they imposed so far upon mens consciences as to force them to swear to the Solemn League

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1. GAC, Vol. I, p. 240. Cf. pp. 137f. Simpson was approved to be transported but the consent of the Earl of Home was not forthcoming. He was assigned as a Chaplain and no doubt went back afterwards to continue as assistant to his father. For further references to the case see GAC, Vol. I, pp. 39-43, 72, 103, 107, 142, Wodrow MS3 (Church of Scot. Lib.) LS I 6. 4. No. 40 Ltr. Simpson to Douglas. Peterkin, Records p. 482 Acts 116, 122. Lauderdale, years later, recalled the case when Simpson went to London on the Protester mission.

2. Ibid., pp. 10-15.

3. Guthry, Memoirs, p. 231. No such imposition is found in the GAC, the closest being found in Vol. I, pp. 153, 154. The/
and Covenant against their consciences.

The Commission continued to be concerned with the rebels who had followed Montrose. After the surrender of Charles to the English, opposition from the Scottish Royalists virtually ceased. The Hamiltonian party in the Committee of Estates offered them terms of peace. The Commission appointed Guthrie and others to petition the Estates asking them "...to weigh what you have done in relation to pardon and peace with these rebels..." and proceeded to excommunicate the leaders. To their dismay the Estates had already reached a settlement so the petition was undelivered and they sent a remonstrance instead which deplored the lack of correspondence and asking them "...chiefly to consider how men duell in quietnes and peace beside those who have murthered ther nearest and dearest freinds." The Committee of Estates replied in a conciliatory manner. To a request for the use of captured rebels by Major General Middleton, the Commission surprisingly answered; "...in case of pressing necessitie the Generall Majour may make use of them in that exigence against the common enemy."

The date is probably Oct. 12, 1647. No record is preserved in the RH, MSS Records of the Committee of Estates.

3. GAC, Vol. I, p. 52. The Resolutioners seem to overlook this pronouncement in the later controversy.
Numerous reports came from the North of compliance with Montrose so that the next meeting is scheduled for Aberdeen and the Synod is asked to try all the ministers of two presbyteries and report at that meeting. The activity of the Roman Catholic priests is noted in both the North and in Argyll. A vivid description of conditions in the Argyll country is given.

"The sword of the rebels quhilk hes bereft us of our frends, spoiled us of our goods, and burnt our dwellings, the apprehension of a following famine, - there being no sowing in our country, - except we be helped, cannot parallel the bitternes that the feare of the sorest of all plagues, the removall of the light of the gospell, hes possessed our soules with." 

The commission was concerned with malignants in Public offices, and more specifically, with the magistrates at Glasgow and Aberdeen. The Kirk had already informed the Committee of Estates that none who were under the censure of the Kirk or State for compliance with the rebels might hold public office to which the Committee of Estates had agreed.

In Glasgow, not only having intruded themselves into office, Coline Campbell and James Bell, also led groups before the Presbytery of Glasgow disturbing, affronting and threatening them. These 'pretendit' magistrates petitioned Parliament. The contents of the petition were resented by the Commission for they were said to be "poss-

2. Ibid., p. 67.
Cf. Ibid., pp. 626 ff.
est with prejudices and owners of civile debates, and such as have studies to weight them with "...informations before the truth be tryed..." Pressure seems to have been brought upon the magistrates for in another petition to Parliament they apologized for their offence to the Kirk. In spite of this apology Parliament imprisoned them in Tolbooth, Edinburgh. Upon further expression of their humility they were released.

In Aberdeen, Montrose had ordered the election to be held and had excluded fourteen men of the town from consideration as candidates. Parliament declared the election illegal and appointed the council for the ensuing year, restricting the election of the subsequent year to "...men of known affection to the cause..."

Uniformity of religion was still pressed both at Newcastle with the King and at London by civil and religious delegations.

2. Ibid., p. 142. For further consideration of the civil side of the controversy vide Extracts from the Records of Glasgow (Glasgow: Scottish Burghs Records Society, 1881), p. 96, which ordains the provost and John Spruel to go to Edinburgh to petition the Estates in regard to the election. Vide al. Some Remarkable Passages...towards Mr John Spruel town clerk of Glasgow 1635-1664. (Edinburgh: Thos. Stevenson, 1832), pp. 8-9, which states that Geo. Porterfield, John Graham and Spruel attended Parliament in this regard and were called back into office by the malignants themselves in order to deal with the plague. Cf. Smith, John, Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow, p. 110, also Baillie, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 399 and 407; Vol. III, p. 47.
The most enlightening picture of the time is revealed by the overtures of church courts which are presented together with a remonstrance to Parliament. They give the ills of the land as war, pestilence, the strengthening of malignants, and the behaviour of the army, which are caused by the profanity and ungodliness of the people. They call upon Parliament to set an example for the country, to get the King to accept the Covenant, and to exclude rebels from places of trust. They are concerned with immorality, the prevalence of charmers, the lewdness and impiety of beggars, and the insolence of papists, mosstroopers, robbers etc. They urge the strengthening of marital laws, the proper education of noblemen's children, and the plantation of vacant kirk.

During the term Guthrie took his turn both at offering prayer and preaching before Parliament. There was no special honour attached to these services except to that which opened the first session.

By July 1647 Scotland became alarmed at the rise of the Sectarian Army in England and its conflict with Parliament. This alarm was partially due to the reports from

3. He offered prayer on Thursday Nov. 19th. Parliament opened at 10 a.m. and Guthrie was back for the morning session of the Commission. He preached on December 20th.
her commissioners at London. Guthrie was among those who drew up a Declaration which spoke of the sectaries who "...have for a long tyme retarded the work of God, ..." The land is "...much darkned and infested with a swarme of sectaries come up over the face of that Kirk whose opiniones and practises portend rwin to England and exceeding danger to us..." They were alarmed by the fact that "...not only toleration is pleaded for, but an absolute and universall libertie to believe, to professe, and propagat without disturbance in mater of Religion..." The Solemn League is thus in danger and Scotland must prepare the people against the onsloughts of error.

The above is re-emphasised in the reasons of a subsequent fast which includes as a judgment the pestilence which continues to increase in many of the most eminent cities. The next day in a letter drafted for the Synod of Divines concerning the sectarian question the Commission says, after working some years together "...that all our hopes and your paines should be lost in one day;
and that ... you should have a wofull anarchie and toleration

1

thrust upon yow," wounds them deeply. They appeal to the

body of Divines to act because "...the eyes of the Churches

2

of God throughout Europ ar fixed..." upon you.

4. Fourth Term - August 31, 1647 - August 11, 1648.

During this period the commission was mainly concerned

with the Engagement. The Scots, seeing England speedily

being taken over by the Sectarian Army, with Parliament and

the King under its power, were alarmed. Some of them upon

consultation with the King determined to rescue him and to

re-establish the monarchy. This group led by the Duke of

Hamilton were known as the "Engagers". The Commission

also desired the restoration of the King, but they also

wanted guarantees for the establishment of Presbyterianism

in the whole land as the price of their co-operation. The

price was unacceptable. This failure to agree resulted

in conflict between the legislative and religious bodies

concerning the venture.

The size of the new Commission was increased to al-

3

most a hundred ministers and sixty elders. The members

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2. Ibid., p. 296. The Gen. Ass. in that year communicated

with brethren in Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary,

vide Peterkin Records pp. 478-479.
3. As compared with 89-51 for the previous year, the

numbers for former years are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Elders</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1644-45</td>
<td>105-53</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645-46</td>
<td>105-55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646-47</td>
<td>89-51</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647-48</td>
<td>97-59</td>
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at the Westminster Assembly had returned and could also take an active part in the affairs of the body.

Their first problem concerned the abandonment of the Scottish army since the fighting had ceased and the King had come to a consideration of the Sectarian Army's terms. This was found inadvisable as these terms were worse than those at Newcastle. The Commission contended that the malignants "...were so ready to stir when the Army was but out of the kingdome, how much more if it shall be disbanded?" Having taken this decision it was necessary to see that the army did not abuse the people of the land. Gen. Middleton was asked to subject the soldiers to the kirk discipline of the parish in which they were quartered.

This year the Commission was given "...full power of censuring compliers and persons disaffected to the Covenant ...Declaring alwayes and provyding that ministers shall not be deposed but in on of the quarterly meetings of this Commission..."

A forceful letter is directed to Rutherfurd and Lauderdale in London for the Synod of Divines saying that though most of their delegation have returned to Scotland that does not mean any change of mind on the part of the

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Kirk of Scotland. Concerning the Sectaries in England they say, "It is indeed the amazement of the Christian world that after such a solemn Covenant for extirpation of heresie and schisme, these pernicious plants have been suffered to spread more than ever before." They ask them to stand in this day "Tis not in vaine in the worst of times to be witnesses for Christ and for his truth, to do duty and trust God with events...The very glory of Jesus Christ is highly concerned..." in this matter.

This was the last plea to be made before civil action was taken. Loudon, the Lord Chancellor, Lanark and Lauderdale paid their visit to Charles on the Isle of Wight, December 27, 1647, at which the secret treaty was made, putting the arms of Scotland at the King's disposal. The Commission was apparently aware of the 'secret'. They had difficulty in the ensuing months either to maintain or to secure guarantees concerning religion.

In an attempt to have a hand in these matters the Commission endeavoured to obtain a closer correspondence

1. GAC, Vol. I, p. 336. The whole letter is of interest. Some writers attribute it to George Gillespie although Guthrie and others were on the committee to draft it.
2. Ibid., p. 337. For the reaction to this letter vide, p. 342.
with Parliament. A letter from the King was sent to the
Commission which they heartily disapproved, against which
they issued a Declaration. Parliament, learning of this,
asked that the Declaration be not published. It had
already been printed, but not yet distributed. Over the
week-end, no settlement having been reached, the Commission,
being also irritated by a duel between members of Parlia-
ment, ordered it to be distributed on Monday the 13th of
March. From then on the split between the two bodies
widened. A conference was called for March 17th but be-
fore it could be held Parliament had already taken action
concerning the fortification of Berwick and Carlisle which
the Commission considered 'predetermination' and a move
towards war.

From then on it was a battle of paper, comparable to
a tennis match with a great deal more at stake. The

   II, p. 407.
2. Ibid., pp. 355f.
3. Ibid., pp. 373-382.
4. For the opinion of the time vide, Baillie, op.cit.,
   27 and 44; Raw Blair, p. 200 and note. For subsequent
6. Baillie who is critical of the Commission, because of
   illness at home, does not attend to any degree of
   regularity while this crucial matter is under dis-
   cussion. He blames Guthrie for the draft of what
   must be The Humble Petition', Baillie, op.cit., Vol.
   III, p. 44. Cf. GAC, p. 451. Guthrie was on the
   Committee and we may assume Baillie is correct. Other
   papers intervened between The Answer of Parliament and
   this paper. He is later critical of his Westminster
   colleague.
main issue, as previously stated, was the question of guarantees for Presbyterianism. The Commission wanted a declaration issued giving the purpose of the Engagement. They were also concerned about the composition of the army and the negative voice of the King. They did not want the power to nullify Presbyterianism placed in the King's hands. They were unconvinced that Parliament had tried to negotiate with the English. The Commission followed the Declaration with The Humble Desires. Parliament countered with Answers of Parliament to the Desires, etc. The Commission replied with A Humble Representation. Two minor papers were then exchanged concerning a proposed conference. The Commission then produced The Humble Return. They also sent to Parliament The Humble Petition. Parliament countered with another Answers of Parliament to colleague, George Gillespie, for his part in the Commission's consideration of Parliament's Declaration drafted by Lanark, saying "...Mr. Gillespie, without much contradiction, gott in[t]o his representation whatev[er] either himself or Warriston or Guthrie had collected, which made it tediouslie long, and in sundry things needleslie quarrelsome, and to come so late, that the Parliament, after ten days waiting for it... commanded their Declaration to goe out." Letters, Vol. III, p. 46. (Brackets are Laing's). This no doubt refers to the Committee appointed 21st April. See GAC, Vol. I, p. 472, which includes all concerned but Warriston. The resultant paper was the Humble Representation which appears in GAC, Vol. I, pp. 439-512.

The Desyres, and with it they published A Declaration for the public. The Commission replied with The Humble Return, followed by The Humble Representation, and, one of the best of the series, A Declaration. This latter work traced the progress of the difficulties concerning the Engagement treating the whole issue. They indicate that even in Parliament itself there has been opposition to the Engagement. After stating their reasons they conclude that "we cannot in our consciences allow either ministers in their places and callings, or any others whatsoever to concur and co-operate in the Engagement..." They send abroad this work to the Presbyteries. In Parliament the Hamiltonian party, the Engagers, had by now become very concerned at the opposition of the clergy. Hamilton acknowledged that the latter had more power in the kingdom than had he, but contended that he had more power than they in Parliament - thus he tacitly admitted that Parliament was by no means unanimous in their opposition to the Church. Some of the more irresponsible elements of his faction advocated imprisoning some of the clergy. Instead of such drastic action they also sent a communication to the Presbyteries in which they called for civil obedience. The

2. Ibid., p. 524.
Commission answered this in *The Humble Vindication* which asserted that the Church’s demands had not been granted and stated that "...it can be no Treason to obey God rather than man."

By this time the nation was in turmoil. Presbyteries had sent in petitions to Parliament which required an answer. A committee met in the home of Douglas to consider sending advice to Parliament to assist them in drafting a reply. Three days later *The Humble Advice of the Commission* was issued, which deplored the haste in making the levy, which was now underway. It asked that the levy be stayed, security be granted to Religion, a treaty be made with England and then applications be made to the King. They opposed the Engagement until the king assured them of the continuation of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. They demanded that he be given no power to negate this assurance, that a clear policy be laid down concerning the enemies of the Church, that the union of England and Scotland be preserved, that the Presbyterian Church in England be encouraged, and that a solemn oath be taken for the Engagement.

Parliament had gone too far to turn back, even if she had desired to do so, and she did not. They must restore the King to his rightful place Church or no Church. When

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that was accomplished, then they could deal with the Sect-
aries, Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Nothing was left
for the Commission to do but to authorize a Fast and to
communicate to the Presbyteries accounts of their procedure.

Contrary to some authors who speak of great clerical
opposition to the Procedure of the Commission one reads
that the General Assembly the following month unanimously
approved the actions taken by the Commission "...particular-
ly their papers relating to the said Engagement..."

There was some opposition, however. It had originated
with the compulsory reading in each church of the Declar-
ation of the Commission which had caused the paper war.

On the very day after its issue Guthrie is among those who
are asked to"...informe themselfes of these scandells of
contradictiones amongst ministers in Edinburgh and Leith..."

Sunday the 19th passed without the Declaration being read

1. About this time the Battle of Mauchline Moor took place
in which Middleton defeated men opposed to the Engagement
who had been collected by Western Ministers, (Monday June 12th), Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 48-49. On the 24th the Committee of Estates passed a warrant to Parliament "for drawing summons against these min-
isters that war at Mauchlane Mure." On August 1 they
permit "Mr John Neve, Maister William Adair, Mr Gab-
riell Maxwell, and Mr Alexander Blair to goe home and
attend their chaires" acquitted. See RH, Ed., MS, C.
p. 53.
3. The Declaration against the King's letter as previously
mentioned. It had been co-drafted by Guthrie on March
1st. For the text, vide, GAC, Vol. I, pp. 373-382. For
the requirement of the reading, vide, Ibid., p. 330. It
was printed by Evan Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643. Tyler had
been called in question during the crucial week-end, the
inquiry of whom may have influenced the publication de-
Vol. VI, pt. ii, pp. 11-12.
as required in the Tron Church. William Colville, its minister, was summoned to answer for this disobedience. The Presbytery of Edinburgh reported concerning their ministers' compliance with the order to read the Declaration, which revealed that Andrew Ramsay, Minister of the Old Kirk, had not read it and that Robert Lowry had read it with glosses. Ramsay after being cited to appear before the Commission finally arrived on the 30th accompanied by a "...promiscuous multitude, or in a great number, coming with him in a very tumultuous way..." The Commission appealed to the city for the investigation and punishment of the leaders of the crowd. Parliament's attention was called to the countenancing and assisting of the mob, by two of its members, namely, Lord Forrester and the Clerk Register, Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie. The crowd

1. William Colville was the first to be appointed to Tron Kirk, which had been dedicated in 1641. He had studied at St. Andrews University at the same time as Guthrie, (graduating in 1631). He was suspended by the ensuing General Assembly and later deposed because he favoured the Engagement. Cp. Montereul, _op. cit._, Vol. II, p. 439.

2. _GAC_, Vol. I, p. 407. Attempts had been made by the Engagers to form a party among the ministers, including these three and Andrew Fairfoule, and Andrew Affleck. Vide, Baillie, Vol. III, p. 34. According to Baillie the real charge against them was that in their sermons and in their negotiations with noblemen and ministers they had tried to create a faction. Vide, _op. cit._, Vol. III, p. 41.

thronged "...rudely about the doors..." during the whole day. Guthrie was later one of those asked to discover the leaders of the tumult and "what were the threatening expressions that were then vused, and by whom they were uttered, who have threatened the witnesses or laboured to withdraw them." In Ramsay's trial Guthrie was one of the examiners who dealt with the elders and deacons of Ramsay's church and also with his colleague, James Hamilton. The main points considered were his doctrine, prayer, and foremost his two statements that the King has promised to settle religion when he comes to power and that Presbyterian government is human. He also prayed for the King saying "God forgive us for what we have done to him." He was deferred until the Commission's quarterly meeting ostensibly in order to use the newly acquired power of the deposition of ministers. At the time of that meeting, however, the Commission was too involved with the Engagement Controversy per se to do more than to refer the whole matter to the General Assembly.

3. The implication of the latter being that it was not a divine institution, GAC., Vol. I, p. 481.
4. Ibid.
5. It was noted that neither Colville nor Ramsay express dislike for the Engagement. Guthrie was called in on the case of Colville (vide, GAC., Vol. I, p. 544) and this new committee was asked to formulate a policy concerning ministers who did not declare against it. Colville was remitted to Presbytery, p. 545. For Gen. Ass. action vide, Peterkin Records p. 519 Acts no. 139, 140, 141, 151, 152, 155, where both are suspended. Cf. Balfour, Annals, Vol. III, p. 419, Baillie, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 41.
A lesser matter, but a revealing one, was the question of duels which was brought to the forefront by the challenge given to Crawford Lindsay by Argyll on the crucial week-end - actually on the day set apart for solemn humiliation and prayer, Sunday March 12th, though the tryst was kept Monday morning on the Musselburgh Links. The culprits and their seconds were interviewed and action was asked to be taken by Parliament to prevent future occurrences. Argyll alone, conscious of his offense, came to acknowledge it before the Commission. The Commission later enacted that none who participated in duels, until satisfaction was given, could sit in their meetings.

Guthrie was called upon to pray before Parliament on March the 15th, just after the issuance of the Declaration, and to preach the following Sunday, March 19th. He was again selected to pray on May the 2nd and June the 6th.

It should be noted that when Sir James Turner went to Glasgow to make the citizenry submit to the Engagement, he attempted to achieve this by quartering, plundering and

1. Crawford Lindsay had said something concerning Argyll to which the latter took offense. At the duelling place they were prevented from doing each other harm. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 35-36. This was not the first case nor was it to be the last. Vide, GAC., Vol. I, p. 393n, Rushworth, op.cit., Pt. IV, Vol. II, p. 932, or Montereul, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 400n. For other versions of this particular incident vide, Rushworth, op.cit., Pt. IV, Vol. II, p. 1022, and Montereul, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 427-428.

2. Crawford Lindsay and Lanerk, his second, were both elders and members of the body. For the act see GAC., Vol. I, p. 560.
imprisoning the city officials. The city presented a
petition to Parliament for relief. Guthrie was one of
those chosen to bear this petition to Parliament with the
Commission's accompanying protest.

The Commission was marked by absenteeism, at this
very crucial time. Because of the ecclesiastical and
civil uncertainty many appear to have wished to remain
non-committal and inactive.

A word should be said in passing concerning the 1648
General Assembly. Not only did the Assembly "...unani-
mosly find that in all their proceedings they have been
zealous, diligent, and faithfull in discharge of the trust
committed to them..." and ratified the Commission's pro-
ceedings but they also issued a Declaration in the draft-
ing of which Guthrie participated. At the same Assem-
bly another Declaration was also prepared for England by

Memoirs of His Own Life and Times (Edinburgh: Bannatyne
pp. 47f.

2. GAC., Vol. I, pp. 398-475 passim. This absenteeism
seems to have occurred mostly after a strong stand was
taken against the Engagement, and just when the Com-
mission wanted and needed support.

3. Ibid., p. 571. Baillie explains the zeal of the Assem-
bly as due to the selection of the most zealous coven-
Anters to be its commissioners, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 54.
It should be noted that the Assembly refused to furnish
chaplains to the Engager Army.

Smith seem to have prevented Guthrie's participation,
"lest it fall in Mr James Guthrie's brisk hand."
Ibid., p. 57. For text, see Peterkin, Records, pp. 430-
505.
Guthrie. It was at this Assembly that he and James Hamilton were selected "...to draw in Articles the duties of Elders, and a forme of Visitation of Families, and to prepare a report to the next Assembly." One of the incidents of the Assembly described by Baillie concerns the attempt of Patrick Hamilton to be restored to preach, he in the very nick when the Assemblie was to grant all his desire, was rejected by his owne unhappiness. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective against the Church's proceedings. This, by mere accident, had come in the hands of Mr Mungo Law, who gave it to Mr James Guthrie, and he did read it in the face of the Assemblie, to Mr Patrick's confusion."

5. Fifth Term - August 11, 1648 - August 4, 1649.

The Renovation of the Commission for this year is specific concerning the preservation of the Kirk against all opponents. It also grants power "...to censure all such as interrupt this Commission or any other Church judicarie..." It concludes with "...all opposers of the authoritie of this Commission in matters intrusted to them shall be holden as opposers of the authority of the

2. Hamilton was not a commissioner to the Assembly. Vide, Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 63.
3. Peterkin, Records, p. 519, Act 158. For the same matter the following year, vide, Peterkin, op.cit., p. 558, Act 221.
Generall Assembly..." but the body still remains accountable to the General Assembly. At the Assembly, the Act of 1601 was revived which requires that this accountability have precedence over any other business. Many questions of transportation according to Baillie were "...referred to the Commission of the Kirk, with a power almost arbitrary, to neglect all the rules before appointed by Generall Assemblies for transportation."

At the very opening session of the Commission the 'paper war' was resumed with the preparation of The Answer of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly unto the Observations of the .. Committee of Estates upon the Declaration of the late Generall Assembly. The contents were on a high plane. Lawful wars are defined as those

2. This was revived to prevent a repetition of delayed action, as in this Assembly, which occurred at the request of Parliament. In spite of the delay Parliament brought nothing against the Commission’s actions by the time appointed.
4. GAC., Vol. II, pp. 8-36. This is presumed to be composed by George Gillespie. Guthrie may well have been influenced by it in his later writings. Although Guthrie is a member of the drafting committee and Gillespie is not Mitchell cites internal evidence in his presumption that the author was Gillespie, vide, note p. 8. Wodrow indicates it was Gillespie’s last paper, vide, Analecta, Vol. I, p. 159.
In which the "...glory of God is chiefly concerned..."

In the Engagement God is not consulted nor is the safety of religion secured. An association in war with wicked men and the enemies of Religion is sinful. No war is lawful in which there is not first every means used for its prevention. In conclusion it is shown in detail how the Engagement broke the Solemn League and Covenant. Concerning the Engagement Guthrie later said "the fault mostly was in preferring the interest of men to the interest of God..." Shortly afterwards, the Army of Engagement, having marched into England, was defeated at Preston on August 18th. The Committee of Estates, controlled by the Engagers, proceeded to deny the freedom of the press to the Kirk, called for assistance from Ireland and England, and proceeded to attempt to raise a second Levy. The Anti-Engagers in the West rose in arms, marched upon and took Edinburgh. The Committee of Estates removed to Duns from which Crawford Lindsay, Glencarne and Lanerk asked the Commission to negotiate a settlement.

1. GAC., Vol. II, p. 9. The Answer was not ordered printed until Sept. 22, after the defeat of the Engagement Army.
2. Ibid., p. 12. Specific incidents are cited where this is not true in the Engagement. Parliament had falsely accused the Church of encouraging Sectaries, stating that some had deserted to the Sectaries.
3. Ibid., p. 15.
5. The Committee of Estates was a small body appointed by Parliament. On July 5, 1649, the body divided; one group staying at home with Crawford Lindsay and the other going with the Army. The records of the latter are/
The Commission replied that they must repent, secure religion and union of the Kingdoms, and live peaceably.

In a postscript, freedom of the press is requested and a conference suggested. The Engagers recognised the present ruling party in Edinburgh as 'these in arms in and about Edinburgh' and ask the continuance of the former decisions of the Committee of Estates and Parliament and their full restoration. A conference was held at Woodside and it appeared that a reconciliation might be reached until the Engagers

"...marched into Stirling, and surprising the forces which were there, did kill some, and take others prisoners, and possesse themselves of the town and the bridge and passes there, and left no means essayed for strengthening and increasing of their Army..." 2

The Commission retaliated by threatening excommunication are not extant. The body had imposed censureship on the 16th June ordering all printers to present all that they plan to print to the C. of E. before printing under pain of death. RH, M33, CE Register, s.v. On 25th August, 1648, the Committee of War at Stirling wrote concerning their ministers at Stirling. Cf. Row, Blair, p. 205.

It should be noted that up till Sept. 4 the Committee of Estates consisted of the following: Loudon, Chancellor, Crawford Lindsay, Treasurer, Lanark, Colinton, Lauderdale, Roxburgh, Traquair, Gen. Hamilton, Lt. Gen. Callendar, Armeston, Innes, Archibald Syderfe, Geo. Bell, John Hay and Bogie. When the register again begins, Sept. 22, it consists of Loudon, Chancellor, Argyll, Leven, Elginton, Cassillis, Lord Balmerino, Geo. Gardyne, with Lord Angus, L. Echo, Torphichen, Kirkandbright, Tostis, Dundass, Sir John Chelislie, James Stewart, Dick, Lawerence Henderson and others. Needless to say no Engagers were allowed membership. Some of the former group were now imprisoned in London. Cp. Rushworth, op. cit., pt. IV, 11, p. 1395 for new leadership.


and expressing their indignation that in their seizure of the town they had impeded ecclesiastical representatives who were there on business. The Commission now turned their attention to the Army (no doubt the forces at Edinburgh), and discussed with the new Committee of Estates, composed of Anti-Engagers, the advisability of securing assistance from England. The Commission was in favour of this move provided the English troops and their chaplains were Presbyterian. In the meantime, attempts were made to purge the Scottish Anti-Engager Army.

The Engagers now pleaded that they were unable to get their Irish and English allies to accept the proffered terms. However, a few days after the English forces entered Scotland, the Engagers, in conference with a delegation, of which Guthrie was a member, accepted the conditions of the Treaty.

George Gillespie became ill at the Assembly and thereafter was confined to his bed at Kirkcaldy. He wrote to the Commission speaking as a dying man maintaining his opposition to Engagers and his support of the Covenant. He died the 16th of December 1648. Guthrie succeeded him as the compositor of ecclesiastical papers.

"Mr James Guthry penned many of the publick Papers after Mr George Gillespye's death, till the breach; and then the Protesters' Papers were generally penned

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2. Ibid., pp. 53-55.
by Mr Guthry, and the Resolutioners' by Mr John Smith.  

On Sept. 21st the first conference was held between representatives of the Kirk and State for "...classing persons that have had accession to the Engagement..."  

This was later to lead to the second and better known Act of Classes, which Parliament enacted on 23rd January 1649. It was suggested that The Solemn League and Covenant be renewed on the Third Sunday of December, but that Engagers be secluded from the Covenant and the Lord's Supper which was to follow its renewal.

Arglyll arrived in Edinburgh with a letter from Cromwell asking the Committee of Estates to take action against Malignants holding public positions.

Cromwell followed this by determining to come to Edinburgh himself. The diurnals report that he was conducted by Argyll, Lord Elcho, Ludwick Lesly, and Hasilrigg.

Three miles from the city he was met by Leven, and Loudon. He arrived on Wednesday the 4th of October and was conducted to Lord Moray's house in Canongate where they "...feisted with all Solemnity, the Kirk saying Grace,

1. Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. I, p. 168; Vol. III, p. 98; Row, Blair, p. 568. Guthrie, unconsciously or not, held much the same views as Gillespie. He wrote in much the same manner and about the same things. For Bailie's view of Guthrie at this time, vide, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 115.


4. Late Governor of Berwick.

5. Referred to as the "rooked apostle for Indepence in the North" Mercurius Pragmaticus, Oct. 10-17.
not to God for the victuals, but to Oliver, for his seasonable visit, "... the heavenly Behaviour of these Brethren was such on both sides, that never was a more excellent game of hypocrisy plaid in any generation." 1

Aside from a number of noblemen Cromwell received a delegation of the clergy composed of Guthrie, Blair and Dickson. Blair was chosen as the spokesman of the group as he had met and conversed with Cromwell after Marston Moor. After listening to a long discourse by Cromwell, Blair asked three questions. The first concerned monarchical government to which Cromwell said he was in favour of it in the person of this King. To the second he said he was against toleration. He gave no answer concerning his opinion of Church government. Dickson was impressed; Blair was not. The Committee of Estates was now working for the unity of the two kingdoms, but the Presbyterian House of Commons had finally come to an agreement independ-

1. Mercurius Pragmaticus, Oct. 10-17, 1648. It dates his entry as Oct. 10. It says that the ministers did not like Cromwell's preachers holding services in the city. Mercurius Militarius, Oct. 10-17, claims that Cromwell entered Scotland so that the Kirk could form a new Committee of Estates which was not valid, because the new Committee had already been formed. The Moderate Intelligencer, Oct. 12-19, No. 187, says that Cromwell stayed at Murrays house, the best house in the city. The Chancellor's coach was sent to Seaton for Cromwell, "with our lighting Lord Leviston, E. Castels, David Lesly and Sir John Chisley to receive us after one half hour Gen. Leven, Lord Chancellor, Argile and many others came to visit us." Argyle, Warriston and Chisley "supt with us, very great cheer was provided, and every hour visited by other some of the nobility, or of the honest ministers." The party stayed from Wednesday until Saturday at night. Leven had a banquet at the castle upon their departure.

ently with the King. This was too much for the Sectarian Army so they took over Parliament and excluded most of the Presbyterian party. The Scottish representatives write from London on the 26th of December that "...there are above two hundred of the House of Comons secluded and imprisoned, beside others that forebear to come... Those who continue to sit in the Houses, being above fifty in the House of Comons, and four or five in the House of Lords..." The altered Parliament then proceeded to declare the King the instigator of the past wars and determined to bring him to trial. In the face of this in Scotland The Solemn League and Covenant and the Solemn Acknowledgement of Sins were renewed on the third Sabbath of December.

At the request of Cassils, Wariston and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh a Fast was kept on Wednesday, January the 10th. To Robert Douglas and James Guthrie was conferred the honour "...to preach to the Parliament upon the day of the Fast, and renew the Covenant..." H. Guthrie describes the event,

2. Ibid., p. 79; Guthrie, The Waters, p. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 146.
"The Parliament kept a Fast upon the 10th of January, at which time Mr Robert Douglas, and Mr James Guthry, preached to them, and had Thanks given them. Their purport tended towards the purging of Judicatories, and therefore the next Day it was appointed that a Committee of Parliament - Men should meet with a Committee of the Church, to consider thereof. Whereof the Result was,..." the Act of Classes. 1

Guthrie was also placed on the committee for

"...conference vpon publick bussines, and to prepare an report, as also to conferr with a Committee of Parlia-
ment from time to tyme." On the 13th he was appointed to attend Parliament to witness the subscribing of the League and Covenant.

The Commission further showed their disapproval of the English Army Parliament by issuing The Necessary and Seasonable Testimony against Toleration, and the Pre-
sent Proceedings of the Sectaries...; in England, in refer-
ence to Religion and Government... in which they hold to the one true doctrine, finding no authority for toleration in the Bible, quoting the New Testament and Josephus. They assert that "Such a cursed Toleration...will...make everything in Religion appear to be vncertain, rend the Churches and disturbe the State...is like to banish Re-
ligion and Righteousnesse quite out of the land, and at last make a hell vpon earth." They make a plea for the Solemn League and Covenant with monarchy at the head of

the country. They ask "Have we laboured in the fire to remove one corrupt Religion and to bring in many in its stead, to put Tyrannie and set vp Anarchie?"

The Scottish Parliament endorsed the Testimony, asserted their freedom from the Army's action in London, and sent a message to delay action concerning the king until Scotland could be heard, and instructed their representatives to protest should any action be taken. They cited in their favour the fact that they had repealed all acts allowing the late Engagement. Rather than delaying action, this if anything hastened the trial which culminated in the execution of Charles I on January 30, 1649.

Less than a week after the death of Charles I, Scotland proclaimed Charles II, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. For their protests against the regicide and their claims for Charles II the Scottish Commissioners were made prisoners and conveyed to Berwick.

Meanwhile the Church was having its internal diffi-

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2. For Parliamentary action see Acts of Parl. Vol. VI, pt. II, pp. 140ff., also Balfour Annals, Vol. III, p. 377. The Act of Classes was partially to let England know that the Engagement was to be adequately punished.
culties. The Engager Ministers had held meetings some months previously in "...William Colvills house about the Divisive Petition, wherein ...it was agreed that a draft of the Petition should be drawne..." This supplication in behalf of the Engagers was to have been presented before the last General Assembly. The Commission appears to have discovered this some time in November and spent some months in investigation and referred the matter to the General Assembly.

Having proclaimed Charles II as their ruler, there yet remained the problem of arranging with him the terms for his entry into the Kingdom. The Kirk was, at the outset, optimistic, because of his acceptance of their demands for Presbyterianism. Parliament was overly zealous to have him come to them under any circumstances. Neither of them wanted Cromwell and his non-monarchial sectarianism. The real goal was to have a Presbyterian monarchy. On February the 14th, Robert Blair, Robert Baillie, and the Laird of Libberton were selected as the Kirk's representatives to his Majesty. Guthrie was one of those selected to draw up

1. For the instructions vide, GAC., Vol. II, pp. 213-214. Among other things they were to ascertain the religious position of the King and his retinue and to persuade him to adopt Presbyterianism personally as well as officially. They arrived March the 22nd and were in court the 27th. In addition to carrying out their instructions, they protested against the presence of Montrose in the court. Ibid., pp. 242ff. Cf. Gardiner, S. R., History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903), 4 Vols., Vol. I, pp. 62-63 and notes. Guthrie, Gillespie, Hutcheson, and Durham opposed sending a representative until the King gave some sign of a change. Baillie, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 114.

2. For this he was brought before the General Assembly. Vide, Peterkin, op. cit., pp. 555-558, acts 12, 21, 49, 111, 194, 231. He was threatened with excommunication by the Commission. GAC., Vol. II, pp. 259-261.

army. By June 7th the Commission is astonished at

"...blasphemies, contempt of the worship of God, reproaches of the cause and servants of God, and all the godly and well affected in the land, and of the Malignant and disaffected, and profane and scandalous speeches and carriage that abound therein, and of the many outrages and insolencies that are committed by soldiers upon the people of the country, by mutilating of some, wounding of others, ravishing of women, plundering of houses, spoiling of goods, exacting of moneys, destroying of victual, and forcing the people to provide immoderate and excessive food, and many other exorbitances, pressed thereto...by the testimony of Ministers and otherwise. It is acknowledged, and beyond contradiction, that Malignancy and profanity and oppression reign and abound in the Army."  

Aside from the mere passage by Parliament of an Act for purgation on the 21st of June and an Act for Redress on July the 5th, nothing seems to have been done to enforce them. This continued to be a burning issue during the following year.

The Commission dealt with several notable cases of Malignancy. Sir John Cheisly repented of his part in the negotiations for the Engagement, which were held with Charles on the Isle of Wight, at which time he was knighted. Advice concerning the Marquess of Huntly was requested from the Commission. They replied "...That it is clear from the Word of God that murderers should die without partiality...and whether the sumtyme Marques of Huntlie be guiltie of murther it is competent to the Parlia-

2. Ibid., pp. 231-232.
ment to consider..." He was beheaded on March the 22nd. On the other hand Major Strachan was examined for participation with Cromwell in the Engagement, found not guilty and admitted to the Covenant. 2 They also accepted the repentance of Loudon, the Lord Chancellor, and that of Lord Cranston, and threatened excommunication to those who rose in the North.

The greatest triumph of the Commission concerned the abolition of patronage. A committee was appointed on January the 25th which resulted in the petitioning of Parliament who enacted the necessary legislation on March 9, 1649. With the passages of this act the commission was virtually free to plant churches as they wished. They had already requested a survey of the vacant churches in the presbyteries. There remained only the power of the stipend in the hands of Parliament and once this was provided it appears that Parliament was powerless to interfere.

With a co-operative Parliament the Commission also was able to have legislation enacted concerning witchcraft, fornication, remission of capital crimes, swearing, incest, clandestine marriages, scandalous persons, sabbath observance, ratification of the Catechism and Confession of Faith,

homicide, money conversion, donations, and an increase of the ministers' stipends.

During this term Guthrie was chosen rather frequently to officiate in Parliament. Aside from the day of the fast and the renewal of the Covenant Guthrie preached before that body, the 4th of February, for another fast held after the news of Charles' execution had reached Scotland, and a thanksgiving sermon on its dissolution, March the 16th. The latter appointment adds that "...in case of the continuance of Mr James Guthrie[s'] indisposition of health, appoints Mr Robert Baillie to supplie his place." He was also selected to pray on March 2nd and June 6th.

A picture of the condition of the land is gained from the records. It is in a state of near famine. The quartering and the raising of levies had limited the amount of labour for agricultural purposes as well as depleting existing stores. The Commission speaks of a "...tyme of such penurie and so high rates of victuall..." and asks Parliament that "...no victuall may be keeped vp, forestalled within the Kingdom, nor transported out of any part

1. GAC., Vol. II, p. 236. This is the first indication that Guthrie may have been ill at this time. He was a regular attender of the Commission and there is little reason to believe that he did not carry out his appointment. Mitchell would add another appearance of Guthrie as preacher, viz., Jan. the 18th. It seems more plausible to consider the 'James' referred to as being James Hamilton rather than James Guthrie as the latter had just preached ten days before at the Fast and would hardly be selected so soon again. Vide, Ibid., p. 171 and note.

of the Kingdom..." and that provision be made to import "...from abroad, and sold at a reasonable rate, and how the poore...may be provided..."

The General Assembly on July the 7th unanimously approved the proceedings of the Commission.

The General Assembly - 1649.

The General Assembly met on July 7, 1649. About this same time a privy committee meeting of State and Kirk was held concerning the King.

"...they wer all tayed to manteie of them and assist him to the last drope of ther blood, and vtemost endeuer. Onlie 3 opposed that conclusions, by all means, and with divers arguments, sauorong of themselues, and ther zeall to the new Englishe Commonwealthe.

The 3 opposers wer Sr Archibald Jhonston, Register; Sr Jo: Chisley, the new Master of Reouysts... and Mr James Guthrie, Minister of Lauder; a man once totally episcopall, but now a pryme rayller, a grate fauerer of conventickells, privy meitting and sectaries..." 3

By this time according to Balfour the leaders of the kirk were Douglas, Dickson, Cant, Guthrie and Law. He further states that "Mr James Guthrie is werey wysse in his carriage, in keipin a bar as zet one the malignants, till they be vintered and summered not to be admitted to any publique meetings."

It was at this Assembly that Guthrie was nominated to compose a History of the times, but Livingstone was elect-

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2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 419.
5. Ibid., p. 414.
ed, with Guthrie appointed by the Commission to assist him in the collection of material. According to Wodrow, Livingstone was supposed to be aided by every minister, but because of their failure to submit material, the project was never completed.

It was also at this Assembly that Guthrie was placed on the Commission for Witchcraft. The Commission was composed of Ministers, Lawyers and Physicians who were to consider seriously "...a good way for the tryall and punishment of these sinnes..." and report to the General Assembly's Commission and the ensuing General Assembly.


This term of office covers the period of Guthrie's last months at Lauder and early days at Stirling. In order not to break too much the continuity of thought Guthrie's extra-parochial duties at Stirling will be discussed in the next chapter.

The first item of importance concerned the Orkneys and Ireland. James Morison and Patrick Watterston have come from the former and report that they were ousted from their homes by an insurrection led by the Earl of Morton and Kinnoul. This was the beginning of the last attempt of Montrose to win Scotland for the King. The first detachment of troops under Kinnoul landed in the islands

1. GAC., Vol. II, p. 303 with others. Lord Humbie had contributed a sum of money for this purpose.
in September. There was great apprehension also concerning Ireland as the King had just granted approval of Roman Catholicism for that country. By Jan. 2nd the Commission had seen the declaration of Montrose and had given answer to it.

On the following day Strachan writes from Inverness to Guthrie. He complains of the lack of maintenance for the soldiers. He advocates a reduction in the army for unity and purity. He assures Guthrie that he will give Montrose a fight if he attempts to land near Inverness, but he wants no levy of "knavis" to help him.


2. NL, MS3, Wod. Col. fol. 67, No. 97. Wisewart prints the letter, vide, op. cit., pp. 308-9. He excuses his mistakes legitimately on the "cramped illegible hand" of Strachan's. The author has made another attempt which he hopes will be an improved transcription. Vide, APPENDIX B. Gardiner in his History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate Vol. I, p. 213n has made a pardonable error when he says that the date January 3, 1650 is impossible, "...as it is addressed to Guthrie as minister of Lauder, from which place he removed to Stirling in November 1649." Guthrie was not inducted until Jan. 16, 1650 and such a letter could have been sent to him at Lauder prior to his removal. Gardiner advances as secondary evidence Strachan's desire for the purgation of the army and says that Strachan takes no note of the Act passed on the subject, June 21st, 1649, therefore, the date should be 1649. The very fact that acts were passed concerning purging and nothing had been done - a process that was becoming habitual - was the very reason Strachan would make his complaints to the Kirk who were the only ones doing anything in this matter. In the opening of the letter he thanks them for what they have done. The Manuscript allows for no variance of date except the month, and this could hardly be later than January because of/
The Commission was far from satisfied concerning the purging of the Army. Efforts were again made in November with special emphasis concerning the garrison at Perth.

The Commission took action against the importation of diverse erroneous books and sought prohibitions against their entry.

At the first of the year Guthrie removed to Stirling but this in no way interrupted his work on the Commission. During his stay in Lauder he had risen to become one of the leading churchmen in Scotland. As he took his leave of the little town little did he know what lay before him in the more important parish of Stirling.

1. GaC., Vol. II, pp. 329, 376. Ships and stationery shops were to be searched. Sectarian books are specifically mentioned.
CHAPTER THREE

EXTRAPAROCHIAL ACTIVITY

II. STIRLING
CHAPTER THREE
EXTRAPAROCHIAL ACTIVITY

Not only did Guthrie after his transference to Stirling continue his activity on the Commission, but his activity in the Synod of Perth and Stirling can now be observed as well. Because the two are closely linked they will be presented concurrently.

The failure of the first conference with Charles at the Hague had not damped the ardour of the Scots in reaching a settlement for his entry into Scotland. Another conference was held with him at the turn of the year from which Liberton returned with a letter from Charles expressing a desire that the negotiations might be resumed at Breda on March the 15th. This suggestion met with some civil opposition. Guthrie was among those selected to consider the King's correspondence. After discussion the Commission selected Livingstone, Wood, and Hutcheson, ministers, and Cassils, and Alex. Brodie, ruling elders, to go to Breda and gave them instructions similar to those of the former mission. Concerning this selection Livingstone says,

2. Only Cassils and James Wood were re-appointed. Blair seems not to have gone on the representation. One is left to conjecture as to why Baillie and Liberton are not again selected. Cassils in the original mission had represented Parliament and not the Kirk.
"Messrs David Dickson, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie, after some while's dealing, prevailed with me to go. One word I foolishly spoke then to them, which many times thereafter met me: 'That ere I condescended to go, and to have a hand in the consequences that I apprehended would follow, I would choose rather to condescend, if it were the Lord's will, to be drowned in the waters by the way.'"

A Fast was held for the success of the Mission.

From the very beginning James Guthrie took an active part in the work of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. This ecclesiastical court usually held two meetings a year: one in April and the other in October.

The first meeting, after Guthrie was inducted into his new charge at Stirling, was opened in his church on Tuesday, April 9, 1650, with a sermon by the retiring moderator, Alexander Rollock. The Presbytery of Stirling was represented, aside from Guthrie, by four ministers, John Craigingelt, minister of Alloa and Tullibody, Robert Wright, minister of Clackmannan, and Robert Geddie (Geddes) minister of Dollar, together with ruling elder John Short, the Provost of Stirling. From among the list offered by the retiring moderator, and those suggested for the freedom of the Synod, James Guthrie was chosen as the new moderator. In addition to this duty he was appointed with his elder, John Short, to consider the new Presbytery of Kinross, 

1. Life of Livingstone, ed. T. Houston, pp. 116-117.
2. According to Scott, Fasti, Vol. 5, p. 56 this presbytery was not created until 1865. Further information is lacking in the Synod Minutes.
in the Presbytery of Stirling, and to serve on a committee to review the visitation of Auchterarder.

On Wednesday morning the moderator preached on Zech. 3:6. After the sermon and the "invocation of God's name be the said Mr James Guthrie Moderator...they spoken unto by the Moderator in the several particulars above mentioned." The concern for Auchterarder led to the appointment of a committee with Short and Guthrie as members to visit the Presbytery to which was given the power of deposition.

Edward Richardson had been relieved as Synod Clerk the previous meeting, and Wm. Meiklejohn, the clerk and precentor of the Stirling Church, had been appointed.

Some indication of the pastoral work of the time is revealed by a Synod act requiring two sermons to be preached each Sabbath throughout the year. They deplore the neglect of private worship and pastoral visitation and insist upon a visit at least once a year to each parishioner. The minister is to catechise some part of his parish one day of the week, every week of the year. They recommend that he preach or lecture upon a week day

1. This is the text recorded in the minutes but it must have included the following verse as well. Verse six reads "and the angel of the Lord protested unto Joshua, saying,"
2. SP5, MSS, Minutes of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. (The "particulars" refer to the Presbytery of Auchterarder).
3. Meiklejohn was to be paid "half dollar for each Kirk and one dollar from each burgh." Vide, SP5, MSS, Minutes, dated 9 October, 1649, Perth.
that marriages and baptisms be confined to that service, so that there will be "the more numerous auditorie."

They also expressed the need for more catechisms.

After the meeting of Synod, Guthrie, in his consideration of the correspondence received from the Breda Mission, learned that the King had accepted the demands of the country "in terminus" and that he would subscribe to the oath and declaration as soon as he came into Scotland.

Guthrie's committee replied, expressing their concern for the security of religion and the peace of the Kingdom. They desired a clearer assurance of his Majesty's swearing and subscribing of the Covenant, his approval of the work of uniformity in England, and his acknowledgment of the authority of Parliament. They see nothing altered in the King's attitude towards Ireland or his choice of advisers. They deprecate the presentation of unapproved assurances to the King.

Just prior to sending this reply, news was received of the defeat and the capture of Montrose in the North. He, together with twenty-three prisoners, was brought to Edinburgh on Saturday afternoon, May the 18th, and was received by the Provost and Bailies with their guard and placed in ward. The commission appointed David Dickson, James Durham, James Guthrie, Robert Traill, and Hew Mackaell to attend him

"...when he is entred in waerd and vpon the scaffold, and deale with him to bring him to repentance, with
power to them to release him from excommunication, if so be he shall subscribe the Declaration contended
upon by the Commission, containing an acknowledgment of his heinous and grosse offences, vtherways that
they should not relax him."

Wodrow has preserved an account of the examination
prior to his sentencing by Parliament on Monday morning,
May the 20th.

"...some Ministers, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Robert Traill,
Mr James Durham, and Mr Mungo Lau, appointed by the
Commission, went in to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, to
the room wher Montrose was keept by Lieutenant-Colonel
Wallace.

Mr James Guthrie began and told the Marquise,
there were severall things might marr his light in
this affair, that he thought he would do well to lay
to heart; and he would hint at them before he came to
the main point. As, 1st, Somewhat of his natural
temper, which was aspiring and lofty, or to that pur¬
pose: 2ndly, His personall vices, which wer too
notoriouse, (my relator [Patrick Simson] told me this
was meaned of his being too much given to weemen).
3dly, The taking a commission from the King to fight
against his country, and raise warr within our bouells.
His answer to this my informer has forgott: 4thly,
His taking Irish and Popish rebels and cut-throats by
the hand, to make use of against his own countrymen:
5thly, The spoil and ravage his men made through the
country: 6thly, The much blood shed by his cruel
followers.

He heard Mr Guthry discourse till he had done,
patiently; and then resumed all the particulars, and
discoursed prettily, as he could well do, and mixed in
severall Latine sentences ... He granted God had made
men of severall tempers and dispositions, some slou
and dull, others more sprightfull and active; and if
the Lord should withhold light on that account, he con¬
fessed he was one of these that loved to have praise
from virtouse actions. As to his personall vices, he
did not deny but he had many, for which he desired to
find mercy; but if God should withhold light on that
account, it might reach unto the greatest of saints,
who wanted not their faults and failings ... As to the
taking of these men to be his souldiers that wer Irish,
Papists, &c., he said it was no wonder the King should

1. GAC., Vol. II., p. 396.
take any of his subjects who would help him, when these who should have been his best subjects deserted and opposed him: 'We see,' said he, 'what a company David took to defend him, in the time of his strait'.

... As to his men's spoiling the country, he said, he knew that soldiers that wanted pay could not be restrained from spoiling, nor kept under discipline, as other regular forces; but he did all that lay in him to keep them back from it. And for bloodshed, if it could have been prevented, he had rather it had come out of his own veins.

Then falling upon the main business, they charged him with breach of covenant; to which he answered, 'The Covenant that I took, I own it and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them; I never intended to advance their interest. But when the King had granted you all your desires, and you were sitting, everyone under his vine and his fig-tree, that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a League and Covenant with them against the King, was the thing I judged it my duty to oppose to the yondermost'.

After other discourses, when they were risen and on their feet to go away, Mr Guthry said, 'As we were appointed by the Commission of the General Assembly to confer with you, and bring you, if it could be attained, to some sense of your guilt, so we had, if we had found you penitent, power from the same Commission to relax you from the sentence of excommunication, under which you lye; but now, since we find it far otherwise with you, and that you maintain your former course, and all things for which that sentence is passed upon you, we must with sad hearts leave you under the same unto the judgment of the great God, under the full apprehension of that which is bound on earth, God will bind in heaven!'

To which he replied, 'I am sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the Church of Scotland, and I would with all my heart be reconciled with the same; but since I cannot obtain it upon any other terms, unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty, I cannot do this for all the reason and conscience in the world!'

It is quite apparent that the Commission made another attempt to come to some reconciliation with Montrose, although no official record remains of it. Traill writes,

"The Commission of the Kirk then sitting did appoint Mr Jas. Hamilton, Mr Robert Baillie, Mr Mungo Law and me to go and visit him in the Prison... We stayed a while with him in conference anent his soul's condition but we found him continuing in his old pride by taking very ill what was spoken to him saying I pray you gentlemen let me die in peace. It was answered to him that he might die in true peace reconciled to the Lord and to his church. We returned to the Commission and did show unto them what had passed among us they seeing that he was not at present desiring relaxation for his (censure) of excommunication did appoint Mr Law and me to attend tomorrow on the scaffold at the time of his execution that in case he should desire to be relaxed from his excommunication we should be allowed to give it unto him in the name of the church to pray with him and for him that what is loosed on earth might be loosed in heaven but he did not desire it. Yea did not look towards that place of the scaffold where we stood, only he drew apart some of the magistrates and spake while with them etc., then went up the ladder in his red scarlet casoke in a very stately manner and never spoke a word but when the executioner was putting the cord about his neck, he looked down to the people on the Scaffold, and asked, how long should I hang here. When my colleague and I saw him casten over the Ladder we returned to the Commission and related to them the matter as it was." 2

By June the 20th intelligence was received that the King was coming to Scotland, but also that as a result

2. The Diary of Robert Traill, in the private possession of Col. H. A. Erskine. Traill was not a member of the Commission at this time but was called in to assist. For other accounts, see Buchan, Montrose, pp. 319-320; Napier, Mark, Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose (Edinburgh: Thos. Stevenson, 1856) 2 Vols., Vol. II, pp. 797ff. He prints part of Traill's Diary, vide, Ibid., pp. 789ff. (This work is sometimes referred to as "Coltness papers")
the Sectarian Army was planning to invade the nation. Parliament notified the Commission that they were inquiring from the English concerning their intentions towards Scotland.

On June 25, 1650, the Skidam from Amsterdam arrived in the mouth of the Spey with Charles II aboard. Livingstone, who had been dissatisfied with the procedure of the Mission and had to be 'shanghaied' aboard the Skidam, writing to the Commission said that they had arrived about 10-11 a.m. on Sunday morning after a rough voyage, Mr Hutchison had held the service aboard ship and plans had been made for disembarkation the next day. Upon the receipt of the letter Guthrie among others was selected

"...to confer with the Comittee of Parliament concerning addresses to be made to the King, and any other thing necessarie in prosecution of their former desires to his majestie, as also vpon all things necessarie for securitie of the Kingdome at this tyme against the invasion of the Sectaries and the secret plotts of Malignants." 1

In a subsequent letter, dated the 24th, Livingstone states that the King has conformed "...for the outward Part..." and thinks that he might do well "...if he were in good companie...", but "...trewly there is here such a swarme, some of our countrey, some of English, as I fear may bring a curse on any purpose or company they are in." Guthrie says a few years later, that the King was

about to make a protest when they were ready to land but
"some of the commissioners would not tender him the Coven-
ant upon these terms."

On the 28th the Commission appointed David Dickson, James Guthrie, James Durham and elder Robert Burnet to go to Aberdeen or to wherever the King was - which proved to be Falkland - to represent them and

"...to gratulate his Majesties safe arrivall into this Kingdome, and to deale with him to abandon all Malignant company and fellowships, that he may there-
by give reall profe that he is sensible of the evill that hath come to him, and to his Fathers house, and to his Kingdons, from mens counsells, and that he pur-
poses from henceforth to abandon their principles and courses; And appoints them also to concur with the Commissioners that are alreadie there, and in their stations to assist such as the Parliament shall im-
ploy for making effectuall the removeall of all Mal-
ignant and prophane persons from about his Majestie and out of his family; and thinks fitt that they re-
turne against the doone-sitting of the Generall Assembly." 3

This Mission was to report to the Generall Assembly, leaving one of their number with the King. Row states that the committee arrived at Falkland on July the 6th and met with the Commissioners from the Committee of

2. For the King's itinerary vide, Walker, Edward, Historical Discourses (London: W. B., 1705). pp. 159-181; Row, Blair, p. 220; Lamont, Diary, p. 20. He was surrounded by Argyll, Cassiles, Wariston and Chiesly. James Wood was in attendance as minister.
Estates.

"The chief things they had in commission were, to desire of the King that he would be pleased to remove from his family and service all against whom Kirk or Estate had any just exception; which, after some dealing with him, was granted. Yet the Duke of Buckingham, with some others, were permitted to stay until the next Session of Parliament." 1

The demands for purging the Army continued. As late as June the 25th in "A Seasonable and Necessary Warning etc.", 2 stress was laid on the proper purgation of malignants from the army and the judicatories in the face of the need for the protection of the Kingdom against the expected sectarian invasion. In this connection they call attention to how dangerous "...it is to suffer Malignants and disaffected persons to duell in garrison towns..." 3

Guthrie at the last meeting of the term was appointed on a committee to confer with the Lords of Parliament "...for revising the order of the Kings coronation, that all superstitious solemnities therein contained may be removed." 4

Once again the proceedings of the Commission were unanimously approved by the General Assembly on July the 13th.

Little is known of the 1650 General Assembly which met at Edinburgh, June 10-24th, with Andrew Cant as Moderator. The Act of Clases had been put into effect.

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1. Row, Blair, pp. 230f.
3. Ibid., p. 425.
Ministers who had been silent during the Engagement had been suspended. Large numbers of Ministers had been deposed in the North for compliance with Montrose. Visitations to the various presbyteries had 'cleansed' the Kirk. The Anti-engagers were supreme. The item of lasting importance which was brought before the Assembly was the consideration of the Treaty of Breda. Guthrie says concerning the action of the Assembly in approving it.

"When it came to voting some did so qualify their vote that it did relate only to the approving of the diligence of the commissioners...insinuating that they were not clear to approve of the matter itself." 2

He says that it was said later that "the Assemblie did approve it upon ignorance and misinformation..." He also asserts that the Moderator of the General Assembly's Commission later regretted that the "plain business was not made knowne to the Assemblie" concerning the bringing in of the King.

Aside from the Treaty it is known that the King gave "free contentment" to the Assembly.

1. In Angus and Mearns there were 18 deposed and 5 suspended, vide, Lamont's Diary, p. 10. For the action of the Assembly in this matter vide, Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 91ff; Balfour, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 430; Lamont, Diary, pp. 31-32.
5. Ibid.
According to Traill the Declaration to be signed and issued by the King was drawn up on July the 20th by Geo. Leslie, Jas. Naismith, Geo. Hutcheson and Traill, Ministers, and Argyll, Lothian and Friland, Leslie, Traill, elders, and the elders delivered it to the King - the other ministers refusing to go - who was then at Perth, "...finding him esteem us very gracious, we left the paper with him that he might read it at his own leisure..." The two ministers remained and preached before the King. The King said he agreed with the paper in substance but wanted some particulars changed.

7. Seventh Term - July 17, 1650 -

As the members of the newly appointed commission held their first meeting on 24th of July Cromwell marched into Scotland. The only business transacted was the appointment of chaplains "to repaire" to their regiments "with all diligence." 2 On the next day, the enemy was at Modinton, and by the 28th, at Dunbar. By then Wariston had suggested the appointment of a sub-committee to

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1. E. MS, R. Traill, Diary, s.v. If this date is accurate then the two ministers must have stayed a long time as they found the armies at 'Gogerstane', a position that would make the return on or after August the 24th. Charles signed the Declaration on August the 16th. The Declaration is mentioned on August the 5th. GAC., Vol. III, p. 17. Traill is probably inaccurate in saying it was drawn up by the GAC because he was not a member. It was probably done by a committee appointed by the General Assembly in July.

act as a Council of War to which Leslie objected.

The Commission on the 29th appointed four ministers - Robert Douglas, David Dickson, James Guthrie, and John Livingstone - three of whom were to "...attend constantly the Committee of Estates and Generall officers of the Armie, for performing ministeriall duties to them..."

On the evening of the same day - Monday - Charles arrived from Stirling to be with the troops. After his arrival Malignants thronged into the camp. Wariston was alarmed because "...the society of Malignants, Ingagers, in our camp comit skirmishes, under pretence of coming and vewing the King..." As a result a proclamation was made for the removal of malignants from the camp.

Cromwell had arrived the previous day and spent Monday in a reconnaissance of the Scots’ positions. Having been a day and a night in the rain, on Tuesday the English forces hastily withdrew towards Musselburgh inadvertently leaving their rear guard under Lambert behind. The Scots seeing this, upon the recommendation of their officers

1. Livingstone though appointed did not serve and was not at Dunbar, vide, The Life of Livingstone, (Houston ed.), p. 123.


3. Ibid., p. 6.

4. [Wariston], An Answer to the Declaration of the Pretend-
were given permission to attack. The group under Leslie were fighting well but the cavalry under Hachett on the left, according to Blair, having marched out without orders "...before ever they had charged the enemy, did wheel, and so were in great disorder most basely beat into the trenches." Guthrie blames the malignants. The Causes of the Lord's Wrath later says

"The next day after the English forces came in view of our Army, which was intrenched betwixt Leith and Edinburgh: some general persons in our Army (whether from any desire to approve themselves to the King, who the night before was come to Leith from Sterlin, or from any other principle, we know not) did draw forth a great many of the Horse to skirmish with the English, by whom they were with some losse, and much shame beaten back again to the trenches, which bred such a disheartning, and astonishment in the whole body of the Army, that had the English then stormed the trenches, they had belike gained them, and routed our Army." 

It was on this same day that command was officially given to Leven, Leslie and Holburn. As a result of the disappointing display of their army, the ministers in the army determined to hold a fast and humiliation the following day.

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1. Row, Blair, p. 234.
That night, the 30th, some of the officers determined upon a surprise attack, Bates says,

"...Straughan had undertaken, with fifteen hundred Horse raised by the Clergy, to have Cromwell either a live or dead. For that end Prayers were poured forth in the Churches, and the Ministers roaring from the Pulpits, implored, may, I had almost said, commanded the Victory..." 1

Montgomery was in command with Strachan, Lockhart and Ker under him. About three o'clock on Wednesday morning they made contact with Lilburne's regiment, dashed through, defeated a detachment of Fleetwood's regiment and were only stopped by Lambert's muskets. The English camp was now fully roused and arose and scattered the Scots who had difficulty in returning to their own camp being attacked by a force of the English along the way. Reports indicate that among the group on the raid were Carstairs, Wariston, Jaffray, Brodie and Chiesley.

As had been determined the Fast accompanied with Preaching was held in the trenches the next day. Rumours were received that the Sectaries had retreated as far as Berwick.

The high command and the advisory group seem to have disagreed almost at once concerning policy. The logistic-

al phase of the campaign was not taken into consideration by the field commanders who wished to take time out to train their troops. The fact of the matter was that because the country was over-run by plague and was in a state of near famine, the troops had woefully inadequate supplies. The English Army also were inadequately supplied but expected shipments to arrive within ten days. Wariston and others were in favour of an immediate attack, but Leslie and his group won the day for drilling.

In spite of the Commission's unremitting desires that purging be summarily executed the question of the use of Malignants was broached. Wariston asserts that some of the chief in the army

"...did obstruct the purging of the Army, and gave countenance and encouragement to such as were, or should have been removed out of the Army; so the whole Army Officers and Soldiery, and the Committee of Estates were much perplexed, discouraged, and dissatisfied with the slowness, shiftings, and delays, and solitary counsels and courses of the chief men in the Army, who had the leading of the Forces, and for the most part did do therein, and dispose thereof as seemed best to themselves, without taking much notice of the Committee of Estates or Officers of the Army..."3

1. Loudon seems to recognize these facts, vide, Charles II and Scotland in 1650, pp. 133f. (ltr. August 10th, Loudon to Charles.)

2. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 8. Some wanted to call in beside the Engagers, the English Malignants. When it is realised that the courts of the land were controlled by Malignants and Engagers there is no wonder that the army was not purged before this. Cp. Douglas, W.S., Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 1650-51 (London: E. Stock, 1898) Appendix to Chapter "Dunbar", pp. 113f.

3. [Wariston] An Answer, p. 15 etc.
Once more Guthrie was among those selected to approach the Committee of Estates to ask that at least the Malignants about the King be removed. He also accompanied two other ministers when they met the King upon his coming to Edinburgh from Leith on August 2nd to discuss a declaration which he was to emit.

By now some provisions had been received by the Scot's Army. But the morale of the nobility was anything but inspiring. Some were saying that they would be like Lauderdale and Lothian - in prison. Argyll said that all would be lost and sent his family from Stirling to Inverary. In spite of all this the Sectaries failed to realize their boast of preaching in the churches of Edinburgh by August 4th.

A letter was received by the Commission from Cromwell, sent from Musselburgh August 3rd, in which, among other things, he questions their aims and suggests that they are political and worldly and makes this judgment upon his observation of the character of their associates. Guthrie is appointed to draft a reply, which asserts that this War is unwarrantable and calls attention to Cromwell's own solemn oath taken to support the Solemn League

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1. GAC., Vol. III, pp. 13-15. In reply to the General Assembly's answer to the Declaration of the Army (Cromwell's). Herein is contained the much quoted "thinke its possible you may be mistaken."

2. Lord Guthrie points out that Cromwell was among those in Parliament who took the oath to support this Covenant. Vide, GAC., Vol. III, xxx.
and Covenant. In reply to the Cromwellian accusation of censureship of his messages directed to the Scots it states that they are circulating his messages which may be read by any of the people. Concerning the Cromwellian claims of a Scottish plan to invade England, Guthrie asserts, "it as an undoubted truth, that there was no debate, much less any resolution, in any judicatories of the Kirk or Kingdom of Scotland for sending an army into England. In spite of Guthrie's statement, and in fairness to Cromwell there is evidence that such a plan was in the minds of the King and others. Were there no evidence, one could hardly suppose that Charles would have been satisfied to remain King of Scotland only. Cromwell had not given the Scots time to bring any such plan to official discussion. On the other hand Guthrie affirms, "Wee stand to our defence against these who invade ws with their words and swords both at once."

At this same time Guthrie is appointed with others "...to consider of the causes which provocks God at this tyne, and of the declaration to be subscriybed by the King,

and vther things conduceing for the well of the pub-

list, ..." As causes they cite the desire to bring in
Malignants, the failure of the King to emit his decla-
ration, and a failure to carry out the Lord's Work.
These causes were later known as "The Leith Declaration".
In their conference with the Committee of Estates "... they represented God's deserting our counsels and con-
duct."

While the Scots trained Cromwell received on August
the 7th six ships with provisions at Dunbar. A great
deal more pressure was being placed on the King to emit
his Declaration which many seemed to think would greatly
strengthen their position and weaken that of Cromwell.
The Committee of Estates and the Commission sent a joint
mission to the King. Balfour says,

"One Friday, the 9 of this mouth of Agust, ther came
from the Committee of the Armey and Kirk to his
Maiesty, to Dumfarmling, commissioners, viz., The
Earle of Lothean 24, Secretarey; Sr Archibald Jhonston,

1. GAC., Vol. III, p. 15. In the margin of the former the
paper is labeled "Causes of God's Wrath". In this
connection vide, Appendix F. This paper was unaccept-
able to the Committee of Estates. Their rejection
later became a point of controversy.
2. Ibid., pp. 15-17. Among other items they cite Lord
Newcastle's attempt to raise forces for the King in
England.
lack of unanimity that prevailed in the Committee of
Estates at this time. This very disunity was one of
the contributing factors in the defeat at Dunbar.
Already one reads "S. J. Cheisly and I was blaymed
as hindering generall officers ... the Lord knows
how innocent wee ar." Ibid.
4. For what Lothian told the King concerning the emission
of the Declaration, vide, Charles II and Scotland in
1650, pp. 151ff.
Register; Mr Robert Douglas, Mr James Guthrie, Ministers; and Mr Robert Barclay, Prouest of Irwing, to intreat him that he wold be gratiously pleased to subscribe that declamation, wch the armey so muche desyred his Matie to emitt for the satisfaction of all honest men; wch was deliuere d by the Marques of Argyle to him some few dayes befor. His Maiestie did receaue ther message gratiously, about 1 a clocke in the afternoone, and delayed giving them answcer untill his returninge from hunting in the eiuning this night, wiche he desyred them to expecte; but they receauid no contentement: The King dennyng absolutly to declare anye thing (that) might rube vpone his father, so they depaiered, vpone Saturday, vsatisfied.1

Walker says much the same but adds concerning the ministers,

"They staid but one Night, and so went away to Edenborough and Sterling; where the next Day being Sunday they thunred out against the King, that they were deceived in Him, that He was the very Root of Malignancy, and an utter Enemy to the Kingdom of Christ; and the Covenant which He had taken was only to gain His Ends, and that they must heed of Him and Heathen People about Him." 2

On Tuesday the 13th, the Commission met at the Abbey Church but on a notice from the Committee of Estates they removed to the West Kirk (St. Cuthbert's) to be near to that body. The Declaration of the West Kirk was drafted in which the espousal of the Malignant cause is denied and re-affirmation is made that they fight for the same cause as they have for the last twelve years. They claim to support the King only in "...so farre as he owes and prosecutes the Cause of God..." 3 It was adopted 'unanimously' 4 by both bodies and was printed and sent to

2. Walker, Historical Discourses, p. 166.
4. Row, Blair, p. 236 says that it was a tie vote which was broken by Robert Lockhart. The vote was later protested on the claim that Lockhart was not a mem-
Cromwell. A similar remonstrance was sent by the Scots' Army.

On August 16th the purging of the Army took place. Wariston states "...wee spent all day in going through all the regiments of horse and foot, and purging out and placing in of officers... The Lieut.-General, or General Major, went amongst with us all the day." He further indicates a command problem, "...seeing the Kirk was not clear to appoint day and place for battle."

On August 16th the King signed the Declaration in which among other things he renounced the sins of his father, and many of his former actions. This seems to have been accomplished mainly by Patrick Gillespie, though he was accompanied by Robert Ramsay, James Hamilton, and William Brown. Guthrie was among those chosen

\[\text{ber. The records show that he was a member, vide, GAC., Vol. III, p. 4. For Douglas' later account of the meeting vide, Wodrow, History, Vol. I, pp.47f.}\]

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, pp.17-18. The document seems to have had some effect on Cromwell's troops vide, Ibid., p. 19, Baillie says that it was printed and sent to Cromwell without the Kirk's knowledge, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 114.


4. GAC., Vol. III, pp. 33-40. Charles tells Mr King "You have heard how a Declaration was extorted from me..." Charles II and Scotland in 1650, p. 143.
to draw up causes for a fast concerning the removal of the wrath from the Royal family. He was also commissioned to draw up an answer to Cromwell’s Vindication and other papers. Due to the proximity of the enemy and the conduct of the war the Commission was unable to gain a quorum during the last of August and it was not until after the Battle of Dunbar that they gathered at Stirling to continue their efforts.

Since there are several excellent treatments of Cromwell’s Campaign there is only the necessity here to treat with the Battle of Dunbar. Toward the end of the month the English, again low on supplies, began to retreat towards Dunbar. A writer states,

"...many opportunitys had they of falling on them but none could be taken, because some were dishonest, as appeared at Leith; for upon Monday at night, the English having retired to Dunbar, were in a manner beleagured by the Scots, so that in appearance they could not come off. But that night being commanded to come off a hill, when they lay safe in strength be reason of the ground, and having no tents (they) were exposed to the violence of the rain, which fell in great measure,

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and about midnight command was given to put out all their matches, except the file leaders, which hardly could be kept in for the rain. But unexpectedly, in the morning, by the break of day, they were charged by the enemy, which put such a fright in the army, being unready, and in an open field, that they began to run away upon the first sight; some of the horse charged, especially those commanded by Coll. Strachan, and he was wounded. Two regiments of foot fought it out manfully, for they were all killed as they stood, (as the enemy confessed,) many were killed in their huts fast asleep, and so all fled. Those that fought had most part firelocks; Lawer's regiment was one. This discomfiture was Sept. 3. The most part never halted till they were at Stirling, so left the town of Edinburgh and Leith to be taken by the enemy; only the castle of Edinburgh was provided. Many doubted this army was betrayed, and D. Lesly, Lieutenant General, was much suspected. 1

Dunbar, though much discussed, still may be investigated in regard to the movement down the hill made by the Army. Who ordered it? There are a number of possibilities: Leslie and his command, or the so-called 2 Council of War, the Committee of Estates, the Commission of the General Assembly, or a combination any or all of these. Carlyle asserts that the Scottish Army arrived "...with the Committees of Kirk and Estates..." 3 It would not have been the Committee of Estates in its properly constituted form as they held an inquest on the matter later. It is quite apparent that some of its

1. Collections by a Private Hand at Edinburgh 1650-1661, pp. 28-29, which is contained in Maidment's Historical Fragments (Edinburgh: T. Stevenson, 1833).
2. This body also seems to be referred to as the Committee of War which is different from the Committee of Estates. For its powers, vide, Row, Blair, p. 235, cf. pp. 237-8.
members, including Wariston, advocated certain actions to be taken. Douglas asserts that the Council (or Committee?) for War was composed of Leven, Leslie, Col. Lumsdain, Col. Holburn, Col. Montgomery, Sir Jo. Brown, Col. Strachan, and Col. Kerr. From the Civil Investigation which followed it is evident that the final decision was taken by Leslie in consultation with the higher ranking officers.

Concerning this Wariston writes

"It is well known who made the motion to draw the Army down the hill on Monday morning, and carried it by plurality of voices in a Council of War, which appointed it to be put presently in execution; yet upon a new conceit, without advice of the Officers, he delayed all that day till five at night that it was dark, and then he brought it down, contrary to the advice of the Officers." 2

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1. Baillie says it "...was a consequence of the Committee's order, contrary to his mind, to stop the enemies retreat..." op. cit., Vol. III, p. 111. Wariston implies that he played a part in the decisions taken. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 101. Burnet states "Leslie was in chief command; but he had a committee of States to give him his orders, among whom Waristoun was one." Burnet, G., A History of His Own Times (London: Thos. Ward, 1734-34) 2 Vols, Vol. I, p. 54. Gardiner believes it was "...especially those members of it who were most under clerical influence..." History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Vol. I, p. 294. For evidence to the contrary vide, Walker, Edward, Historical Discourses, p. 181. Wariston in An Answer etc., says concerning the officers in the Army, that they advised falling on at Goger and at Dunbar, to set behind the Enemy and not before them, but were not hearkened to." p. 16.

2. See Appendix C. This material has yet to be brought to the attention of military and civil historians. It is taken from the Papers of the Committee of Estates MS. Register House, Edinburgh. He was exonerated and given approbation for his faithfulness, as a result of the investigation. Acts of Parl., Vol. VI, pt. ii, p. 613.

The Commission of the General Assembly, as such, was not present at Dunbar though many of its members were. As has been seen, Guthrie's appointment only stipulated ministerial duties, and the only evidence to the contrary is that of the enemy viz., Cromwell, his messenger to Parliament, Major White, and the diurnals.

Mercurius Politicus reports,

"The Ministers likewise being no lesse presumptuous than the rest, conceiving us in a Trap, began to reckon without their Host, and to make sure of all, persuaded their commanders to draw up the Army between us and home, that none might escape; which counsel was followed, the clergy being their oracles in all Causes, Military and Civill, as well as Ecclesiastick; ..." 2

Ballock, the military historian, says,

"This movement has often been attributed to the influence of the kirk ministers, who believed and declared that the Lord had delivered their enemy into their hands. There is, however, no good reason for supposing this story to be true." 3

Douglas would judge from the Causes of the soleme publicke humiliatione vpon the defait of the Army which in the seventh cause stipulates

2. Mercurius Politicus, Sept. 5-12, 1650. There was a precedent for control by clergymen. Baillie, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 203 in 1639 states concerning Leven, "... that he should be subject to answer to the Courts ecclesiastic and civill, according to the settled laws of the kingdom;..."
3. Ballock, T. S., Cromwell as a Soldier, p. 446. Thomas M'Grie in his Sketches of Scottish Church History (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1841) attributes it to Leslie's own deceit, and says "none were more indignant at him than the Protesting Ministers." p. 354 note.
"The exceeding grate diffidence of some of the cheiffe leaders of our arrmy, and wthers amongst ws, quho thought wee could not be saued bot by ane numerous arrmy; who, quhen wee haue gottin money thousands to-gider, wold not hazard to acte aney thing, notwithstanding that God offred faire opportunites and advantages, and fitted the spiritts of the soaldiers for their deute..."

that the ministers were at fault. It is evident that the ministers wanted to have the army act before they completely ran out of supplies and the winter set in.

The great concern here, however, is the accusation of Guthrie. It was originally contained in a diurnal two years after the battle,

"James Guthery was Moderator: ... so in his old wonted Presbyterian zeal, would proceed in nothing till first he knew whether any was present, who were necessary to the shedding of the blood of the Saints. Quasi vero he had been free of any such thing, though most instrument in drawing on an Engagement at Dunbar...",

This was later quoted by Nicoll and Balfour, neither of whom were sympathetic to the Protester cause. It is regrettable that Mathieson much later should perpetuate

1. Balfour, Vol. IV, p. 104. GAC., Vol. I, p. 50. This is a document which Guthrie no doubt drafted or assisted in drafting. Walker says it was drafted "...lest the People should lay the Fault upon the Committees and Ministers of Miscarriage of Affairs..." Hist. Discourses, p. 183.


this allegation. The only other evidence that Guthrie was at Dunbar is from a more sympathetic source. John Carstairs, Chaplain to Col. Strachan’s Regiment, was lying among the dead on the battlefield when a woman came by and asked if he desired anything for he was weeping sore. "He enquired at her, if she saw Mr James Guthrie ride by her? for he was much concerned about his safety." This seems to indicate that Guthrie was in the thick of the battle with the cavalry. Later Carstairs, Gillespie, and Wauch are listed as ministers captured at this battle. Cromwell states that "...some of the Ministers are also fallen in this Battle," and hints that they should have confined themselves to preaching. He further relates that "...divers Scottish Priests are found, who obscured themselves in the habits of common Soldiers." Guthrie says "...our armye by a dreadful and unexpected dispensatione being defeated at Dunbare,...", and again,

2. Gillespie must have either been set free or escaped shortly afterwards as he soon reappears in Glasgow. Carstairs on the other hand is retained until at least the last of February 1651. Vide, Barclay, John, Diary of Alexander Jaffray (London: Harvey & Darton, 1853), p. 38 and Note N; RH, MSS, C.E. Papers, 25 Nov. 1650. Carstairs was often on furlough, vide, Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 27, Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 120.
5. Guthrie, Waters of Sihor, p. 5.
"He that runnes may read at Dumbarr he (meaning God) did lifte us up and cast us donne at night, we wer in the confident expectations of a victory, having brought the Inglishes into great straits and hedged them in one every syde. And lo in the morning before the sune rose one of the most numberous and puisant armies that Scotland has had was ruin'd and defeatted almoste without stroake of sword upon our side many gallant yea not a few gracious and godly men lay dead on the ground, sundrie thousands wer prisoners and carryed away into Ingland, wher many of them did endure very hard things, and few returned into their owne countrey manie having dyed and sundry being sent affarr off into strange lands; the chief city and harbour of the Kingdome and all that most populous and fertile parte of the Kingdome be south forth was at the same time lost and put under the feet of the enemy..."

Traill, who was in Edinburgh, relates,

"The tydings came to us in the town at the close of our Sermon, it being Thursday, one of our preaching days: I had preached on ps. 85th:9., the tydings of our defeat trysting me at such a time did put me to many perplexed thoughts;..."

Traill also states that he sent his family to Fife, and that He, Hamilton, Smith, Maket, Law and Garvin with Geo. Leslie entered the castle to shelter themselves. The ministers had three sermons on Sunday and an exercise every day for the garrison. Upon his arrival Cromwell offered to let them preach in the city but they refused.

The following Sunday Guthrie is back in his pulpit.

Walker reports,

1. Guthrie, Jas., The Waters, p. 95.
2. Traill, Robert, Diary MS., s.v.
"And the Sunday following at Sterling, Mr Guthery said 'That if His MAJESTY'S Heart were as upright as David's, God would no more pardon the Sins of His Father's House for His Sake, than He did the Sins of the House of Judah for the Goodness of holy Josiah'. 1

One writer states,

"Mr James Guthrie having kept that humiliation publickly in the Congregation at Striveling, before the Commission did meet or make any such addition, did pray for the King..." 2

The leaders of the Church and Nation fled to the town of Strirling which now became the temporary Capital.

"Our Army...having retired towards Striveling in the end of that week, a considerable number of the members of the Commission, and Presbytery with the Army did meet there... finding that in all appearance they might be driven from thence, and scattered one from another very suddenly... they thought it expedient that there being one or two wanting to make a quorum of the Commission, and those of the Commission who were present being also members of the Presbytery of the Army, and sundry other Ministers who were also members of that Presbytery being present, that they should set down the heads of these things for which... the Lord hath smitten us, and send them abroad to the Presbyteries throughout the land, with a Letter written from the Presbytery of the Army..." 3

This action met with opposition in Fife under the leadership of James Wood who was personally offended at the second article of the paper which condemned "the wrongs

2. Ibid., p. 51. In Clarendon Papers, Vol. II, p. 79, No. 400 it is listed as a "Statement of Causes for humiliation after Cromwell's Victory at Dunbar, drawn up by the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be read in churches on Sept. 8, when giving notice of the day of humiliation to be kept on the following Sunday, Sept. 15". Cf. Walker, Edward, Historical Discourses, pp. 183-186, who gives the approved form, also Guthrie, "The Waters", p. 50.
and corrupt ways that was taken by sundrie amongst us for carreeing on the treattie with the King," because it reflected upon him as one of the commissioners at Breda.

According to Clarendon the King took the defeat with a different attitude,

"The King, who was then at St. Johnston's, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; and if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that the would have shut him up in a prison the next day..." 2

Stirling was filled with the disillusioned and the disgruntled. Soldiers complained that they had been betrayed, and their commanders had basely deserted them, ministers were decrying the command of the army, and the failure of purgation. The command itself was woefully divided. Only about 4,000 fighting men could be gathered together at Stirling in over a week's time after the battle. Walker reports concerning the ministers that,

"In the interim there was great Lamentation by the Ministers, who now told God Almighty, it was little to them to lose their Lives and Estates but to Him it..." 1

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1. BL, MS, Clarendon, No. 40. This section was later altered by the Commission before being approved. The actual document is marked '40' but is 400 in The Calendar.

was great loss to suffer His Elect and Chosen to be destroyed, and many other such blasphemous Expressions; and still crying out not to take in any of the Engagers, or to assert the Kingdom of Christ by carnal and selfish means."

As concerning the officers he says,

"...the Committee and General Officers at Sterling accused each other, some of Neglect, some of Cowardice, others of Treason. David Lesley laid down his Commission, and a few Days took it up again..."  

Baillie agrees saying that in the first meeting it was pressed to have Leslie laid aside, as was previously desired by some.

"[The man himself did] as much presse as any to have libertie to demitt his charge, being covered with shame, and discouragement for his late unhappiness, and irritate with Mr James Guthrie's publict invectives against him from the pulpit."  

According to Wariston the West had been warned by the Committee of Estates that the forces that had been raised in the north of England might enter Scotland by way of Carlisle and asked them to prepare themselves for defence. Alarmed by the news of Dunbar the men of the West called a meeting on the 5th, and sent representatives to Stirling the next day. They promised to double their levy and in return received the approval of the leaders of

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2. Ibid., p. 183.  
4. Wariston, *An Answer*, pp. 16-17. Leslie did not help his reputation later by allowing "...his soldiers to plunder, kill, ravish and abuse the Country... so that some fled out of Fife unto the Western parts towards Strachan". *Weekly Intelligencer*, Oct. 22-29.
both Church and State, as well as obtaining leaders who were acceptable to them. Strachan, Ker and Hacket were chosen to raise these forces. At the same time the General Lieutenant was appointed to command Stirling and Major General Holburne to command the infantry.

On the 12th the King comments on the Defeat saying,

"Tommorowе or in an Houers space nothing soe confused, and soe weak, when the Terrour of God falls upon them, and they turn their backes, and that the men of might fynde not their hands; then that was before goodly and dreadfull is at ance instant despicable and contemptible."  

The Commission were unable to gain a quorum at Stirling until the 11th at which time they approved the previously issued Causes of Humiliation on the defeat...

Guthrie and Wariston debated on the petition concerning praying for the King, and Wood had the phrase, which offended him, changed to "...sundrie of our statesmen..."

The Causes include the usual assertions of carnal confidence, sinfulness of the army, failure of its leaders to act, provocations of the King's house, laxness of judicatures, and the neglect of God and his service. Guthrie was among those selected to purge the King's family and draw up the subsequent papers including a Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates.

1. RH, M33, CE Papers, s.v.
2. Vindication...Review, pp. 30-34. The petition was placed in a postscript to a letter to the Presbyteries. Vide, GAC, Vol. III, pp. 56f. A Short Declaration was also sent. All three were printed by James Brown, Aberdeen.
It is startling to note the change in the composition of the Commission in Stirling as compared with pre-Dunbar meetings. Only four of the former members are present, viz., Douglas, Thos. Ramsay, Guthrie and James Simpson, of whom the first two had fled from their churches in the South. Those who had remained in the South, because of conquest and other difficulties, were unable to attend.

It was almost a new commission, having sixteen new members, some of whom had never before attended, James Sharp being a notable example. At first, there was no appreciable change of policy. Guthrie's committee drafts were approved and emitted, including a letter to the King asking for introspection concerning his aims in signing the Covenants, and ferreting out anything which may have provoked God.

They continue to deny the inclusion of malignants into the Army in spite of regal and ecclesiastical pressure to the contrary, and issue a Short Information to England and Ireland. They even ask Simpson and Guthrie to draw up a Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates which was passed the same day (13th Sept.); it included the failure of the Committee of Estates to accept the Causes of Humiliation at Leith which "...had an influence upon the sad stroke..."

1. The ministers of Fife asked concerning the possibility of admitting malignants. Row, Blair, p. 239, Cf. Balfour, Annals, Vol. IV, p. 108; GAC, Vol. III, pp. 46-48. Guthrie later expresses the belief that some of the prime members of the Commission conferred with the King at Stirling concerning taking in malignants long before it was accomplished. The Waters, p. 70.

2. GAC, Vol. III, p. 64.
at Dunbar and asked that encouragement be given the forces in the West that there may be right understanding in the land. They indicate that the food supply has not improved, speaking of "...poore people, whose faces alreadie are begune to look pale for want of bread."

The following day, Sept. 14th, Cromwell led his whole army towards Stirling but because of the stormy weather returned. But on Tuesday the 17th he was within a mile of Stirling, whereupon the members of the Estates fled. About 1 p.m. an order was given to attack the town but it was soon withdrawn and the sectarian army withdrew because of "...several disadvantages, the strength of the towne and the enemy...", and as Cromwell reported to the Council of States "...the place standing upon a river [was] not navigable for shipping to relieve the same..." Concerning the state of the soldiery of Scotland Cromwell says that they were possessed with great fear of him at Stirling.

The Commission met on the 25th and wrote an encouraging letter to the forces in the West. By now Cromwell was planning an amphibious attack on Fife which he later cancels.

1. The actual break with the Western Forces is hard to determine. It was not really official until the Remonstrance, though they were under separate command they were answerable to the Committee of Estates. Row says Guthrie "...was suspected to have been the first stickler for dividing the army,..." Blair, p. 245.
On the day after his court was purged, the King, from fear of what he may suffer further at the hands of the Western Forces and the Covenanters and from a desire to gain aid from the malignant forces in the North, flees from Perth on Friday, Oct. 4th, to go to the latter. He is discovered by Col. Montgomery and he returns to Perth on the 6th. This deviation called "the start" was much deplored by many including Guthrie.

The Synod of Glasgow urged by Mr Patrick Gillespie and supported by non-members "Mr G[uthrie], Mr Hutchesone, Ker, Strachan and others" passed a Remonstrance. This was presented to the Commission's next meeting, Oct. 9th, by John Hamilton, minister of Innerkip. Action was delayed. The Commission removed from Stirling to Perth no doubt because of Cromwell's movements. David Leslie had reported to the Committee of Estates in a letter dated October the 10th from Stirling that at 9 p.m. the enemy

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1. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 115. From the context Mr G. could hardly be any one else but Guthrie. It is interesting to note that none of these are present at Stirling on Oct. 9, 1650, when Hamilton presents it to the G.A. Commission, GAC, Vol. III, p. 72. Guthrie was at his own Synod meeting. This Remonstrance may be what Abbott refers to when he says "The ministers of Stirling and Glasgow, Guthrie and Gillespie, published a declaration of the High Church of Glasgow, calling the people to repentance and Charles to mourn the sins of his father and his own;..." op.cit., Vol. II, p. 333. If so, Abbott errs in chronology and subject matter. The other choice is that it was the Causes drafted at Stirling not Glasgow which agrees chronologically and in subject matter.

2. RH, MS3, CE Papers, s.v. Cromwell writes that evening from Kilsyth.
was at "Rostell Munger" and that they may cross above Stirling or go on to Glasgow. Cromwell chose the latter, moving into Glasgow the afternoon of October the 11th. Most of the ministers and the magistrates fled except Zacharie Boyd who "rallied on them all to their very face in the High Church."

Cromwell attempted to negotiate with the Western Forces and found Strachan and Ker willing but Wariston and Chiesley opposed to such a move. He decided to return on Monday to Edinburgh, arriving there on the 16th to find that the tunnel he was burrowing under the castle lacked fifteen yards for completion.

With the exception of opening meeting of the Commission at Perth on October the 11th, Guthrie was absent. No action was taken concerning the Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow, so it was directed to the Committee of Estates accompanied by a letter from the Moderator, Thomas Wylie, minister of Mauchline, in which he opposes the prevailing desire of some to join with the malignants.

2. By now the chasm is fixed between the Western Forces and those of Leslie, who said he would rather resign than be ordered to keep correspondence "...with them that void keepe non with him..." Balfour, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 122.
3. For the full text vide, GAC, Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 558-562. A shorter and perhaps earlier draft is in NL, MS, Wod. Col. 4to. 29. 41.
4. The King has sat with this body since Oct. 10th.
In the Remonstrance the past relations with the King are brought into question together with his negotiations with the enemies of the kingdom since his arrival. The deeds of the Committee of Estates are criticized. Their failure to purge the King's court and household, the army and places of public trust, together with their refusal to accept the causes of humiliation at Leith and the desire of some to employ malignants, "...and to entrust the work of God againe vnto their hands..." are all mentioned. It is claimed that even had the Scots been victorious at Dunbar the Malignant Party would have been raised up, and in fact, it was already being done. They cite this as "one of the chiefe causes of this strock".

During Guthrie's absence the Commission deplore the King's "Start", but at the same time continue their plans for his coronation. Guthrie is appointed to preach at the opening of Parliament if it meets at Stirling - Perth was selected and Andrew Cant was the preacher.

The Autumn meeting of the Synod was held in Perth on Tuesday, October the 3th. Guthrie, as the last moderator, preached on Jer. 1:17. A Committee of Public Affairs was appointed with Guthrie heading the list. Their first accomplishment was the drafting of two Remonstrances; to the King and to the Committee of Estates.

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former they speak of the "Iniquitie & guiltines" of "you and your fathers house". They ask the King to examine himself to see what was the motive for signing the Covenants whether it was to advance religion in the nation or "ane inordinate desyre to reigne and haive a Crowne and kingdome to yourselff." They ask this because of his retaining malignants and especially because he took their advice to flee from his residence, "unto the endangering of your persone and great scandell of the Cause..." They ask that he purge his family and court and replace them with persons of known integrity.

The fragment of the Remonstrance to the Committee begins with Royalist rising in the North.

"We think that we shall not offend against the truth to say that some of these who are now in armes are encouraged to do evil for not only are they pardoned after their insurrectiones and rebelliones bot more courtesies and greater favors shower upon them then to many others in the Land who keep their steadfastness..."

They also deplore the delay which they say is giving the Sectaries a chance to "strenthen themselves easily And we..." The Remonstrances were approven unanimously. The committee appointed to deliver them did not include Guthrie. Balfour gives some insight into their reception.

1. 3PS, MS. Minutes, s.v. Both of these acts were ordered, expunged and obliterated by a synodical act in April 1661. The major portion of the Remonstrances is simply stricken through with the contents readable.
2. The rest has been destroyed, as is true of the beginning of the Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates.
3. Another break occurs here which the reader can imaginatively supply.
He writes:

"...The Lord Chancellor giues them thankes for ther caiire, and shew them that they haue not beine wanting, rather should be, to redresse wronges; and in some particulars he desyrered them to informe themselves better.

The Earle of Cassiles desyred the ministers to don-descend vpone the particulars of the crooked wayes (as they in ther remonstrance called them) of carring one the trettye with the Kinge.

The Earle of Louthean said, that his carriage in that busines was als cleire, als honest and straight, as anye ministers in the world.

The particulars of this remonstrance remitted to 3 of eache estait." 1

No further notice is found concerning these remonstrances as they were overshadowed by "The Remonstrance" of the western forces.

The Synod passed an act concerning preaching which is of interest,

"The Synod does recommend to the severall presbyteries and ministers that in their preaching they speak both against malignants and Sectaries That their flocks may not be ensnared to split on any of these rocks but now to guard against both in ther tymes of difficulties And to stirr up their people to give obedience to publict orders concerning the good and saftie of the kingdome." 2

With no further threat from Cromwell, on Oct. 23rd the Commission returned to Stirling. Guthrie was among those appointed to draw up a caveat concerning the malignants who are now in arms in the North. The Royalists had risen to arms because they were afraid they would be blamed for the King's flight. When Sir John Brown threatened to hang

1. Balfour, Annals, Vol. IV, p. 119. No further action seems to have been taken. Both Cassils and Louthian had been on the mission to Breda.
2. SPS, MS, Minutes, s.v.
any messenger from the Royalist then it was that Middleton attacked the latter. The King pleaded with them to disband and the Committee of Estates passed an Act of Indemnity in their favour.

A Short Warning... Concerning the Malignants now in arms was presented and approved by the Commission on Oct. 24th which warned against this rising and implied that its purpose is to take advantage of the fact that there is already an enemy in the land.

In this connection Guthrie, according to Baillie, moved Middleton's excommunication. The Act, as passed, recalls his participation in Mauchline Moor, the Engagement, the rebellion of M'Kenzie of Pluscardine, and his failure to answer to the Commission. They find him,

"...now in arms with a number of Malignants, risen in open rebellion against this Kirk and Kingdom, and doth lead and command that partie, to the great disturbance

2. Baillie, in op.cit., Vol. III, p. 118, states "Mr James Guthrie well near marred this peace: he moved Middleton's summer excommunication." It seems doubtful that the Warning would have been passed had the peace already been consummated. Apparently what really happened was that negotiations were being made by the Committee of Estates and the King and it was these that were in jeopardy. Nash states that the King had promises from "...the Assembly and the Committee that shortly all partys should bee united, and admitted to the common quarrell," and used this to disband the North after the "Start". Charles II and Scotland, SNS, p. 152. The act of Indemnity was published the day after the excommunication of Middleton by the King and the Committee of Estates. Hewison, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 21; For the private conferences with the North etc., vide, Balfour, op.cit., Vol. IV, pp. 128, 132-135.
of the peace of the Kin'dome, and the hindrance of the
levies and other means and supplies intended for the
defence of the Kin'dome against the Sectarian army now
infesting this Kin'dome..." 1

Baillie states that Robert Douglas and "...the most number
present were against it; yet Mr James and Mr Patrick, by
two or three votes of elders, did obtain it;..." 2 He was
to be excommunicated and considered as "...Ethnicks and
publicanes, and appoynts this sentence to be pronounced the
next Lords day in the Kirk of Sterling by Mr James Guth-
rrie..." 3

Wodrow gives two accounts of what happened on that
Sunday, Oct. 27th, one from Mr Russell, a strong Episcopal-
ian, who said that,

"Mr James Guthry... was guilty of a most notorious act of
rebellion against the King, which was this: That having
received one order from the Commission of the General
Assembly, to intimate the sentence of excommunication
against the Earl of Midletown publickly in the Church of
Sterling, on the Sabbath morning in which it was done,
he received a letter from the King, who was then at St.
Johnstown, pressing him to delay the intimation of the
excommunication for that Sabbath. The letter was sent
by a Nobleman, (as he called him) and delivered into his
hands: After Mr Guthry read the letter, the messenger
demanded his answer. Mr Guthry answered 'You may come
to Church and hear sermon, and after sermon you shall
get your answer.' The messenger, thinking he would
obey the contents of the letter went to Church, but was
surprized after the sermon, when Mr Guthry made publick
intimation of the sentence; so, taking horse immediately,
without waiting for any further answer, went off with
the report of what he had done." 4

To which Wodrow adds his father's account,

"... upon the Sabbath morning before Mr Guthrie intimated Midletoun's excommunication, just as he was going to Church, having put on his gown, and come down to his hall, there comes in a gentleman with a letter, ... that ... came ... not from the King immediately, but from a Nobleman. ... Mr Guthrie having now but little time to advise on it, the last bell rung out, his wife said to him, 'My heart, what the Lord gives you light and clearness to do that does, without giving a positive answer to the messenger!' ..." 1

Baillie says that "... though the Committee of Estates, by one earnest letter, intreated Mr James to delay a little the execution..." he executed the sentence. Whether the King actually sent a letter or not, he was hardly in a position to protect those who caused his own defection. Guthrie was not dilatory in the execution of an act of the commission. It should be added that Middleton was not alone in receiving the censure of the Commission.

The most important event of the meeting of the Commission was the presentation of the Western Remonstrance, 3 which had been drawn up at Dumfries on October 17th. It had been presented to the Committee of Estates two days before. It represented a break from the King. It was this forthright declaration that was to cause the dichotomization

2. Baillie, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 118. Row in Blair, p. 245, indicates that a third letter was sent to Guthrie, "... the King wrote a letter to Mr James Guthrie. The Committee of Estates and the Moderator of the Commission wrote also to him. Notwithstanding all these letters, Mr James Guthrie did excommunicate Middleton, which made many of the ministry, good and moderate men, dislike his way..." Cf. APPENDIX I.
3. Guthrie said that he was in Stirling when it was drawn up. Vide, Wodrow, History, Vol. I, p. 178. Geo. Hutcherson was said to have played a leading role in its drafting. Vide, Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. III, p. 14; et al.
of the Kirk. The Commission were unwilling to take a stand and delayed action concerning the Remonstrance until the next meeting, November the 14th.

Gillespie writes to Douglas Nov. the 1st saying that he was

"...not well pleased with the resolutions taken at a house at Drumlargy. At a meeting at Glasgow Nov. 7th of officers and ministers another meeting was scheduled for the 14th. I was commanded by the Presbytery that wt al earnestness in their name to entreat your presence at that meeting... I shall labour in the most secret way I can to have Mr David Dickson, Mr Ja. Durham and Mr James Guthery to meet you here and we shall celven wt you to Stirline at the appointed tyme,..."  

This meeting apparently was to pacify the Western "Remonstrants" as they were designated. They were joined afterwards by others who protested conjunction in arms with malignants and the combined group were then called "Protesters" although both terms were used interchangeably.

Guthrie and Wariston had opposed a remonstrance by the army of the Western Forces at the late meeting of the Synod of Glasgow, and for a time it was laid aside.

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1. CSL, MS. Wed. Col., LS. I. 6. 4. No. 88. In another letter Wariston to Douglas Nov. 2nd sent from Stirling it is stated that Guthrie and Durham are "here" and intend to keep the Glasgow meeting. Ibid., No. 89.

2. All too frequently the terms "Anti-engagers", "Remonstrators" and "Protesters" are used ambiguously. The first group contained many who were the opponents of the latter ones. Other movements or groups almost contemporaneous used the terminology of the last two with the result that such designations must be carefully examined.

3. Baillie, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 116. He also states that "...the posts then and thereafter runne very thick night and day..." among Gillespie, Guthrie and Wariston.
The Remonstrance of the Army of the West states that the remonstrants find it necessary to make known "...the causes and remedies of the Lords indignation..." Their first consideration concerns the King; they question his actions in pardoning the Irish, commissioning Montrose, the Scots' haste in concluding negotiations with him, their use of malignants in the negotiations, and the failure of their representatives to carry out the desires of Parliament in the negotiations. They attack the King's own actions since his entry into the land viz., his relations with malignants and his desire to join with them, mentioning the start. They boldly state we cannot own him in the conflict with "...the enemie, against whom...we are to hazard our lives." They call upon the Estates to take definite steps to separate the King from malignants. They deprecate the 'secret' private plans of some to invade England and force Charles upon that country.

Other sins are enumerated mentioning the self seeking of the Committee itself including the misappropriation of public funds. They wish to leave this testimony as they

3. Ibid., p. 98.
4. A public scandal seems to have been caused by the misappropriation of the funds that were raised for the levy, GAC, Vol. III, p. 103. Cf. Balfour, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 120; Guthrie, The Waters, p. 95 (b). Guthrie says the levy of over 10,000 was "almost wholly inverted and put in mony for their private use."
go out to fight the invader.

In preparation for the Nov. 14th meeting of the Commission, letters were sent urging all members to be present, and asking other prominent ministers of the Church to attend. Of the ninety ministers of the Commission twenty-three attended this meeting as compared with the thirteen of the previous session, eleven elders as compared with four of the previous session. Only twelve of the twenty-two ministers and elders who had been at the previous session were present. Although opponents of the Remonstrance had gained only a few additional adherents among this group, they, with those gained since Dunbar, would prove sufficient in the next fortnight to change the Church's policy.

Upon meeting at Stirling they received requests from the King and the Committee of Estates to transfer their meeting to Perth where Parliament was to meet. In addition to being appointed to a committee to discuss removal, Guthrie was among those selected to consider the Remonstrance and to confer with the Committee of Estates concerning it. Baillie reports that this conference took place in Stirling,

"...Wherein there were many high words about it betwixt Waristone and Mr Robert Douglas, Mr Robert Ramsay and

1. The Committee of the Estates was to meet at the same time.
2. Four of this group are not now present.
Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. James Wood and Mr. James Guthrie, and others: no appearance there was of any issue... 1

Another writer says,

"...James Guthrie his Speech, uttered publickly in the Commission at Strivelling, where in conference upon the Western Remonstrance when the Moderator did once and again press the Act of the Generall Assembly approving the close of the Treaty with the King, and the Declaration of the same Assembly, emitted when the English Army entered the Land, against that part of the Remonstrance, condemning the close of the Treaty, he publickly answered, Press me not with humane constitutions in matters of Conscience;..." 2

The Reviewer of the Vindication says that this was said after much argument, in which some, who were commissioners at Holland, declared their mistakes in the matter and "did conceive themselves accessory to all the misery that was come upon Scotland, and that they desired to repent thereof". This was met with the question as to why they had not had tender consciences in their report to the General Assembly. They then pressed the Act of the Assembly. Whereupon

"...Mr James Guthrie said, you would study to satisfie the scruples of mens consciences, otherways then by pressing on them the Act of the Assembly..." 4

Before they transferred to Perth, "The desyre of many was but to have some agreeance before..." even if the Remonstrance be laid aside and much of its contents pressed

4. Ibid.
5. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 121. The Vindication .. with Review says at first "...the major part of the commission then present, seemed to be satisfied therewith..." p. 26.
by the Commission, and that the forces of the West be joined with those at Stirling. Wariston says concerning the Stirling meeting,

"...a meeting of the Commission of the Kirk at [Sterline] that Remonstrance was cleared and vindicated, and all objections against it were so fully answered by Members of the Commission, as the chief opposers thereof, had no more to say against it, but were silent;..." 1

Upon receipt of another letter urging them to remove to Perth they replied that they would meet at Perth the 19th, the day before the opening of Parliament.

The day following this decision, Guthrie preached at Stirling on Jer. 30:14-16. Bennett, Alexander Dunlop and John Carstairs were also heard. From the text it may be assumed that Guthrie was preaching to the contemporary situation saying that Scotland is attacked because of her sins but that eventually her enemies will be destroyed.

Wariston reveals the conflict in the Committee of Estates at Perth over the Remonstrance when he speaks of the

2. Mercurius Politicus reports "...the major part determined to goe hither, according to the Tenor of them (the requests); but the rest that were against it, dispersed to their several homes, and went out." 20th Nov. This is not borne out by the attendance records as only three did not go to Perth; John Livingstone, Andrew Rynd, and Robert Young. The opposition knew that they had to go unless they were willing to have the cause lost. Vide, Cromwell's letter Nov. 22nd in Abbott Writings, Vol. II, p. 362, also in Several Proc. Nov. 29th.
3. Carstairs was on furlough and attended the GAC and preached, though technically still a prisoner of Cromwell. GAC, Vol. III, p. 112.
"...Committee's going high on Remonstrance and condemning it in discourse as against Confession of Fayth, Covenant, Acts of Parliament, deuity, conscience, mutinous, treasonable, and the King's Advocate would draw a criminal dittay against it..." 1

Wariston defended the Remonstrance but Argyll asked two questions ".if they would declyne the King's authority, and if they would maintene it with their sword..." 2

On the afternoon of the 19th the Committee of Estates desired a conference with the Commission. A large committee including Guthrie was appointed and a conference was held for four days in Argyll's chamber. Baillie, who attended, says

"For the one side, Mr Patrick and Waristone spoke most; for the other Argyle, the Chancellour, the Advocate, and Mr Robert Douglass; but Mr Wood spake most, and to best purpose. Mr Rutherford and Mr Durham said some little for sundry points of the Remonstrance. Mr James Guthrie most ingeniously and freely, did vent his mind, for the principal point, (as he avowed he had oft before maintained,) 'That the close of our treatie was a sinne, to promise any power to the King before he had evidenced the change of his principles; and the continuing of that power in his hand wes sinfull till that change did appear'." 3

After much debate ".there wes a willingness to joyne on two conditions; The first wes, ane expresse laying aside of the King's quarell in the state of the question; the other, to keep none in the armie of Stirling but according to the qualifications in the

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1. Wariston, Diary, p. 28. The King's Advocate was now Thos. Nicolson.
2. Ibid., p. 29. It was later inferred that Wariston played a great part in the Remonstrance, Vide, Vindication ... reviewed, p. 22.
The cause of the Remonstrators was not aided by Archibald Strachan, who through the influence of Guthrie and Gillespie, had been commissioned in the Scottish army and now led the Western Forces. At the Remonstrators' meeting at Dumfries, just before the presentation of the Remonstrance he had opposed the draft as insufficient. Because of this and perhaps because many suspected him of being too sympathetic with Cromwell at Glasgow he was commanded not to return to his regiment but he disobeyed. A captain of Strachan's was intercepted bearing letters from Strachan to Cromwell "...implying that if Cromwell would quit the Kingdom, he would so use the matter as that he should not fear any Prejudice from this Nation." Wariston says his opponents in the Committee of Estates are given some advantage "...be Col. Strachan's miscarriage, to haysten them on in their violent course..." against the Remonstrance.

On Wednesday night Nov. 20th, Wariston says "...hear-

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3. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 30. Cromwell says Strachan quit three weeks or a month prior to December 1st. Carlyle, Letters, CLIII. This would be before the battle of Hamilton.
ing the Committee would goe on hiehandedly, I advysed the Remonstrants to give a testimony by a protest to be extend-
ed, and I resolved to enter my dissent also.¹ The debate continued. In the Committee of Estates on Saturday Nov.
23rd all the members disclaimed the Remonstrance. "Varr-
eston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it,
but refused to give hes wotte therein. He denayed that he
was accessorey to the contriving of it at first."² In the
afternoon plans were made to condemn the Remonstrance.

On Monday after passing a declaration against the
3 Remonstrance Argyll, Nicolson, and Jas. Sword presented it
to the Commission together with a paper in which "...they
accused Mr James Guthrie and Mr Patrick Gillespie as con-
triuers and abbators of all this diviisione in churche,
armey and stait..."³ Guthrie is spoken of as "...one of
the pryme authors of the Remonstrance and division of the
armie..."⁴ As the opening of Parliament was to take place
on Tuesday the 26th little was done that day by the Com-
mission.

On Wednesday the Remonstrants ask to be allowed to

¹. Diary, Vol. II, p. 30. It should be noted that the re-
mainder of this section of his diary is devoted to
Remonstrants.
³. There were about 15 dissents in the Committee of
Estates even though the King was present. Baillie,
⁵. Ibid., p. 124.
They then considered the charges against Guthrie,

"And the said Mr James Guthrie, being putt to cleare himself, declared that he had no hand in the Remonstrance, neither in the contriving nor penning of it, nor in furnishing any materials to it; assuring that he never saw it untill it was brought to the Moderatour and him together; and as to dividing of the army, said the expression being so generall, he could not well understand what it might imply; but as he conceived the meaning of it, he denied it; acknowledging withall that he had declared his judgment against the imployment of officers not rightlie qualified, as he had occasion." 2

He was upheld by the Commission.

In the afternoon there was a lengthy debate concerning the Remonstrance in which Guthrie and Rutherfurd asked that any decision be laid aside lest the people be discouraged in acting against the enemy. Parliament sent the Commission good advice, recommending that a General Assembly be called. This was in the power of the Commission, but some of the members were determined to take immediate action. The debate lasted on into the evening and the Commission, by necessity, had to adjourn until seven the next

1. The Vindication... with Review calls this a hasty action, p. 27.
morning.

When the forty-seven members gathered the next morning - November the 28th - they were met with a verbal protest insisting that no sense be given on the Remonstrance. In spite of this the Commission voted and approved the Sense of the Commission on the Remonstrance. This vote could not have been more than 28-18 in favour of this action. This act against the Remonstrance admitted many of its sad truths, but

"...there seems to be...some conclusions...in respect...to the King, his interest, and the exercise of his power and government, and in regard of the engagements...we thinke it is apt to breid divisions in this Kirk and Kingdome..."  

They expect the Remonstrators at the next meeting "...will give such a declaration and explanation of their intentions and meaning therein as may satisfie both Kirk and State..." Such aspirations were not to be achieved. The State had called the Remonstrance "...scandalous and injurious to his Majesties persone, and prejudicial to his authoritie..." asserting that "...it holds forth the seeds of a division...is dishonourable to the Kingdome in so farre as it tends to

1. Some were not allowed to vote because of their part in the Remonstrance, vide, GAC, Vol. III, p. 129. Twelve asked that their dissents be recorded: Guthrie, Rutherford, H. Archibald, H. Peebles, A. Cant, R. Lockhart, H. Kennedy, A. Livingstone, D. Bennet, W. Row, H. Semple and W. Brown. Other opponents were Maxwell, Dunlop, Adair, Nevay, Wyllie and Porterfield.

2. Ibid., p. 131.

3. Ibid., p. 132.
ane breach of the Treattie with the Kings Majestie at Breda..."

Although Guthrie was chosen to confer with Parliament he felt that the Commission had repudiated all that it had stood for; that it had failed to keep its commission given it by the Assembly. Sick at heart he left the body to which he had contributed so much time and effort and made his way back to Stirling, destined later to lead a new group in the Church - The Protesters.

The depleted Commission - for others had gone as well - turned their attention to the compliers with Sectaries instead of compliers with malignants, arranged to restore Middleton, continued coronation plans, and began to take in Engagers and Malignants.

The decision had been made but the consequences were yet to follow.

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CHAPTER FOUR

UNCERTAINTY
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UNCERTAINTY

Stirling was a very ancient and famous town of Scotland even as early as Guthrie's time. Alexander I had died in its castle in 1124. The champions of Scotland, Wallace and Bruce, had achieved glory on its neighbouring plains. The Stewarts had used and would yet use it for their residence. The church, in which Guthrie was to minister, had witnessed the crowning of both Mary and James VI, and had reverberated with the preaching of John Knox.

In spite of the opposition of Henry Guthry, then Minister at Stirling, the General Assembly of 1648 appointed a Visitation of Stirling Presbytery. Due to the Engager occupation of the town the group did not visit Stirling until November the 14th, at which time they deposed Guthry for preaching for the Engagement. His colleague, John Allan, was also deposed. Wm. Meiklejohn, the Precentor and the Kirk Clerk, seems to have been the only one who remained.

It was not until July 16, 1649, that any official

1. It was probably for the same reason. He died the following year, at the age of 31 yrs. The minutes state that the session meetings were not held from Sept. 5-Oct. 10 "...throw armies being in the town who keptit prisoner in the Church." CHR, M33, Minutes of the Kirk Session, s.v.
2. He had been appointed to this post on August the 21st, 1648. He also served as clerk of other church courts.
The Visitation of the General Assembly to the Presbytery recommended the holding of a new election of the kirk session which took place on the 6th of September. Sixteen members were removed and fifteen new members added.

On the 16th

"The Session considering the long want of a settled ministrie to their great greiff And being now purposed to use all diligence for getting one Have unanimouslie resolved to deall for Mr James Guthrie Minister of Lawder to be minister of this congregation and intendis godwilling with all possible diligence to give him a lawfull call to this ministrie And appoyntis Major Gen: Hopburne Mr John Rollock and David Forrest\-er of Denovan or any tuo of them to repair to the toune counsell on Monday nixt And to represent to them the said resolution. And to desyre the counsell to concur with the Session\; to give the said Mr James Guthrie a call to this ministrie..." 3

The Council concurred,

"The qlk day the Provost baillies and counsell convent, hes all in one voice voited and consendit to send out commissionaris with ayyse of the kirk sessions for calling of Mr James Guthrie minister of Lawder, to be minister of this kirk there anent letters are sent to Edr." 4

1. The town officials sent a letter to James Schort, who was in Edinburgh, concerning the procurement of a minister. On the 23rd of July they sent a delegation to the General Assembly composed of the Provost, Thomas Bruce, John Schort, Duncan Nairne, Thomas Bachop, Robert Young and Christopher Russell. On the 6th of August they suggested John Robertson, David Wemyss, and Jas. Naismith as possible candidates. S, MSS, Burgh Records, s.v.
2. CHR, MSS, Session Minutes. The session usually consisted of twenty-six members, eight of whom were deacons.
3. Ibid., s.v.
After negotiations the Council is able to record a copy of the transportation in the book on December the 4th.

The General Assembly Commission,

"...appoints Mr James Guthrie to be admitted to the Ministrie at Stirling upon the sextene day of this instant, and that Messrs John Duncane, Harie Semple, William Oliphant, Ephraim Melvill, Patrik Gillaspie, Hew Kennedy, and John Carstaires assist the Presbyterie of Stirling in that action that say, and that the said Mr Patrik Gillaspie preach."

It may be assumed that Guthrie did not arrive in Stirling with his wife, Jean, his daughter, Sophia, and his servants until the first of January. Although Gen. Maj. Holburn, Governor of the Castle, had been allowed a chaplain for the regiment and the garrison on Sept. 27, 1649, Allan's vacancy still needed to be filled.

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1. S, MSS, Burgh Records, s.v.
2. GAC., Vol. II, p. 340. Because of the Act abolishing patronage, the patron, the King, was not consulted.
Guthrie doubtless chose his cousin William for the post as a delegation was sent to the Commission on February the 11th to ask for William Guthrie's transportation. It is reported that Guthrie "...pleaded much in a General Assembly, that he might have his ministry [William Guthrie's] in that city, which was malignant and profane at that time." The request was refused. On the first of May David Bennet was selected. He excused his attendance at the meeting of the Commission so it was not until May the 18th that the Commission approved his transportation to Stirling.

Stirling had suffered great losses from the plague but there were more trials in store for her. But first, there was the return of the King. Charles arrived in Stirling on July the 23rd, but left to join the army at Leith on the 26th. The next great but terrifying event was the defeat at Dunbar with the leaders and forces fleeing to Stirling and crowding her streets. She was now the 'capital' of Scotland. These hectic days have been already described. It is interesting to note that

2. His letter of excuse to Douglas is preserved. Vide, CSL, MSS, Wod. Col.; I3 I. 6. 4. No. 73.
4. Mer. Pol. said "...the King is lodged in one of the old Palaces of as royal a structure as an English ale house...". July 18-25.
during these events the Merchant Guild found time to prescribe the dress for the guild when they attended church.

When Guthrie turned his back on the Commission on November 28, 1650, eighteen other members also left. These men placed their hopes on the Western Forces. On November the 30th, being forced to hasty action at Hamilton by the approach of Montgomery from Stirling, who was under orders to demand his submission, Kerr was the victim of circumstances and after fighting bravely lost the battle and was himself captured. Strachan tried to rally the forces but when he found this impossible he surrendered to Lambert thus leaving the Western Forces leaderless. The same person who accused Guthrie as responsible for the defeat at Dunbar includes Hamilton, saying he was responsible "...in drawing on an Engagement at Dunbar: He may remember his accession to the

2. Those leaving were Hew Archibald, Geo. Brown, Andrew Cant, Alex. Dunlop, David Bennet, Alex. Livingstone, Gabriel Maxwell, Hew Peebles, S. Rutherford, Jas. Sibbald and Jas. Thomson. Those who left earlier were P. Gillespie, Ralph Rogers; others remained for an additional session, Hugh Kennedy, Robert Lockhart and Harry Semple. Robt. Ramsay was the last to depart. Livingstone had left while the meeting was still in Stirling where he "...declared how sensible I was that, being over-ruled by some others, I had not made a perfect narration of the treaty in the General Assembly." Life, ed. Houston, p. 134. Cp. Carlyle, op. cit., Letters, CLIII, p. 151.
spilling of blood at Hamilton." There is no evidence
that he took an active part in the battle, although he
certainly gave his moral support as did most of the Scots.

After this defeat the civil leaders told the church
to act in permitting everyone to join the army, or they
would act without them. Because of this the Commission
met nine days prior to their appointed time (Dec. 14th).
To a Query of Parliament as to what persons might be used
to defend the nation the Commission replied that Parlia-
ment may use "...all necessarie and lawfull means for the
defence of...the Kingdom...the raising of all sensible per-
sones in the land..." They then express the hope that

gave strong moral support. Vide, Mercurius Politicus,
p. 470. This diurnalist says, "This blow strikes
deeper upon any that look to Religion then that at
Dunbar."

III, pp. 157f.

3. Wariston claimed that many of those who objected to
allowing a general levy were not notified early enough
to attend the meeting. Vide, An Answer, p. 26. Cf
Balfour, Annales, Vol. IV, pp. 197f.; who indicates that
Parliament wanted the meeting fully advertised. For
other complaints of unfair notice vide, Vindication...

4. GAC., Vol. III, pp. 159f. A few exceptions are made to
certain people being levied. Cf. Nicoll, Diary, p. 38;
Bailie, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 126. The reply was print-
ed as The Answer of the Commission of the General Assem-
bly, to the Quæreæ propounded to them, from Parliament
with an answer. Presbytery of Stirling (Aberdeen: Jas.
Brown, 1651). Row in Blair, p. 251 indicates that there
was opposition to the answer to the query and that some
left the Commission. The records show that only Blair
and A. Bennet left though before the action was taken
P. Colville and Robt. Ramsay had departed. Row or the
records are in error when he - Row - says "Mr Blair
was not present...when the answer was given...but came on
the/
all the officers appointed will be of known integrity. As a result of the action taken, Baillie records that "Mr Samuel Rutherfoord and Mr James Guthrie wrote peremptor letters to the old way, on all hazards." Concerning the subsequent appointments by Parliament Guthrie later said,

"...that a great many if not the greater parte of the officers were either such as had accession to the unlawful1 ingagement..or the bloodshed by James Grahome, or to the insurrectiones in the north..."

There was a tinge of irony in the Commission's assigning one, John Elphinstone to the ministers of Stirling for satisfaction and restoration. There was also a hint of sadism in their order to have them intiate the notice for Strachan to appear before them at Perth for censure. They also write a letter to the western brethren expressing their sympathy for the defeat at Hamilton.

With the South under his control Cromwell concentrated his interest upon the capture of Edinburgh Castle which had proved itself a constant irritant. His original plan to tunnel under it and to blow it up was uncompleted, so he resorted to the use of siege artillery. After some bombardment the Castle surrendered on December

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the 24th, much to the disgust of many including Traill who said the Castle had enough supplies to last until May.

Row states that between the defeat at Hamilton and the beginning of January, 1651,

"...the enemy did sundry times march west, but it pleased the Lord of armies to restrain them both from assaulting of Stirling and crossing of Forth. They sometimes went to Glasgow, where Cromwell and his chief officers had many debates with the ministers of Glasgow and some others, viz., Messrs James Guthrie, Robert Ramsay, Patrick Gillespie, John Carstairs and James Durham." 2

There is no evidence that either Guthrie or Cromwell were at Glasgow during this period. Cromwell appears to have been too preoccupied with the siege of the Castle to make such a journey.

Meanwhile the forces in the North were massing and a rendezvous was appointed for Stirling on the 10th of December. On January the 1st, the King was crowned at Scone with Robert Douglas preaching the sermon. The


2. Row, Blair, p. 254. There is no indication that Cromwell went to Glasgow at this time. Whalley and Lambert are described as descending upon the town on December the 4th and 7th. Vide, Nicoll, Diary, pp. 36f. Carstairs was a prisoner at Edinburgh and was asked to be a negotiator for the rendition of the Castle.

King said in his speech that God

"...he moved me to enter in Covenant with his people and he has inclined me to a resolution by his assistance to live and die with my people in defence of it. This is my resolution. I profess it before God and you, and in testimony hereof I desire to renew it in your presence." 1

The day before the Coronation Day the Presbytery of Stirling met and drew up a letter addressed to the Commission. It was to be the first in a long series of publications that were to extend over a decade. It was concerned with the Commission's letter relating to the general levy of troops. They oppose the levy on the grounds that it violates the Covenant, it is contrary to past ecclesiastical policy, it is an offence to God, it negates the reasons previously given against the Engagers to the Sectaries, it completes the design for taking in the Malignant Party, and it will bring down the wrath of God upon the nation. They see evidence of the last in

3. The text of the Commission's letter is found in GAC., Vol. III, pp. 164f. The Stirling letter also attacks the Answer to the Querist and coins the term 'public resolutions' for the two documents, viz., the Act of Levy and the Answer. The advocates of the 'public resolutions' later became known as the Resolutioners. In fact they used the term themselves, vide, GAC., Vol. III, p. 286, op. p. 266.
the defeat at Dunbar, "...the Lord hath lately written such a demonstration of it in our blood at Dumbar as may convince both us and the following generation of the vanitie of the multitudes of man." It is difficult to see how the argument of necessity can offset these reasons. They say it will rather make men "...choyse to retair and suffer then to act in such fellowship." Because the Kingdom is mentioned to the exclusion of the Cause they assume that this is a design to separate the State from the Church. The letter is signed by David Bennet, Moderator, Jo. Craigingelt, Minister at Alloa, Guthrie, Geo. Douglas, Minister at Bothkennar, R. Wright, Minister at Clackmannan, Thos. Hog and Jas. Sympsøn.

In the face of this opposition the Commission sent letters, January the 6th, to the Presbyteries asking for assistance in the raising of the levy, describing the King's taking of the Covenants at the Coronation, and including an indirect threat asking them "...to take notice of them...who doe obstruct, speak against, dissuade privatlie or publictlie from the present leavie, or (having a calling to speak for it) are silent therein, and to make report..." to the next meeting of the Commission. Even before this can be sent a similar letter to that of Stir-

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2. Ibid., p. 180.
3. Ibid., p. 194.
ling is received from the Presbytery of Glasgow.

On the same day, they answer the Stirling letter saying that in view of the condition of the country and the lawful commands of the authorities, they deplore the failure of the Presbytery to bring their doubts to the meeting of the Commission. They refer not only to the letter but the use of the pulpit, saying, men seldom change their minds.

"...once they have in matters of that kynd put pen paper on; but no wayes expecting that any brethren would have been so disrespective to the publick judicature of the Kirk, and so forward to undoe peace and union in the Kirk of God as to goe up to pulpits and preach publickly against the Resolutions of the publick judicature, before they had recourse to them selves, to be informed of the grounds and reasons of their resolutions, and to communicate any doubts them selves had upon the same, as, to our great griefe, we hear some have done."  

Baillie writes about this time that Guthrie and Gillespie utter their passion wherever they go. It is unknown as to when Guthrie began to preach against the


Resolutioners but it must have been soon after the answer to the Querie on December the 14th. On December the 31st the diurnalist reported that Holburn had been relieved of his command at the Castle which some ascribe to Guthrie's preaching and others to his being suspected as corresponding with the English. Row says that "...it was certain that always he preached against the army at Stirling... to the great discouragement of the garrison and army there; which moved some officers to lay down their charge; others to go to the western army." Guthrie was not alone in his opposition from the pulpit. The diurnals report that two ministers were imprisoned; they report that one of them, "...being the Minister of Dalgittey... when the Act for the new leavy was put into his hands, said, That they were going the right gate to the Devil, and threw it away, and went out of the Kirk." Nicoll speaks of Alexander Hamilton being hanged in Stirling as a traitor in January and later says,

"Sindrie lykewyse were takin and apprehendit and committit to prissoun, for being upone that wicked Association in the west cuntrey, and for fomenting divisioun in the Kirk and Stait..."

1. Several Proceedings, Jan. 2-9. He was relieved by Sir John Brown.
4. Several Proceedings, Jan. 2-9th.
To return to the Commission's answer to Stirling Presbytery, they lay great stress on the defensive character of this war as contrasted with the Engagement. They say the authorities feel that if they get all able bodied men there "...will scarce be a competent power against the ... enemie..." In the 1648 General Assembly it was a "...question \textit{de jure}, here the question is about the existence of physical means." Their main arguments consist of the universal practice of other Christian nations in defensive wars, the traitorousness of non-participation, the authority of the Bible and Calvin, and the joint participation of the whole land.

In refutation of the arguments of the Presbytery they contend the Covenant is not broken, the former course was not applicable to defensive warfare, the danger of taking in all men is questionable but the danger from the failure to do so is certain, the Godly should not be offended in doing their duty, the action does not approve the Engagement, but one must not stand off because of what the enemy thinks of him, and the wrath of God is against the whole land but that does not mean that the enemy should be allowed to come in without resistance.

2. Ibid., p. 204.
3. The same logic is used when they say that the King has taken to Covenant therefore they that are for the King are for the Covenant.
On the 7th they send another letter to the Presbyteries demanding obedience. They send a personal letter to Guthrie and Bennet stating that they "...having heard more of your preaching against the Publicist Resolutions, have thought it necessary hereby to desire yow, that (unless yow be satisfied by these ...) two letters to the Presbytery of St. Andrews betwixt this and the next Lords day,..." Receiving a letter of dissent from Aberdeen Presbytery they invite them to St. Andrews also. One diurnalist interprets the appointment of chaplains to Stirling, saying,

"They have ordered Mr John Smith and Mr Mungo Law, two of the bitterest spirited Ministers in Scotland, to go to Sterling to take charge of the Garrison there, which speaks out the spirit of the times, as also the distrust of Mr Guthery."  

On Sunday the 12th, by order of the Commission, Middleton was received back into the church and Strachan was excommunicated. Prior to the 18th an Army mutiny broke out in Stirling because of the lack of pay.

The conference at St. Andrews seems to have begun on Monday the 21st. The debate was mainly between Mr Wood

1. GAC, Vol. III, pp. 233f. This would have been between Sunday the 12th and 19th. Cf. Sev. Proc., Jan. 16-23 et al.
2. Ibid. He speaks of the Commission saying "The Commission is as blind as Bayard; They are dancing after the Royall pipe: They have voted the reception of all sorts..." Jan. 2-9.
...that their arguments did militate against a conjunction with strangers, idolaters, worshippers of Balame...and not against a conjunction with those that are membra ecclesiae et cives patriae against an invading enemy - enemy to both; neither could they produce any part of Scripture showing that ever any that was reputed a member of the Kirk, and admitted to ordinances, or counted a member of the commonwealth, was hindered to fight against an invading enemy.  
Contra, The Public Resolutioners did bring many parts of Scripture, where all sects, even those that were called men of Belial were joined against an invading enemy in the time of the judges and kings, even in the time of the best reforming kings... Contra, The dissenters did condemn all these practices... [using] Deut. xxxii. 9-14. This place was much used by the dissenters, and great weight laid on it as the rule of constituting and purging armies. Contra, It was a straining of the place..."  

The Ministers of Stirling were first asked to be silent concerning their opposition, and not to hinder the levy, stressing the importance of their parish. Guthrie and Bennet protested and appealed. They were asked to withdraw from Stirling and permit others to supply their places but this too was refused. The Commission appointed Hamilton and Law to preach at Stirling and are reputed to have informed the King and the Committee of Estates of the refusal of the ministers to desist in their opposition.

1. Row, Blair, pp. 257f.
2. Vindication...Review, p. 229.
4. Vindication...Reviewed, p. 47. The King was in Stirling from Feb. 1-12. The evidence is conclusive that the conference was called by the Commission to comply with the demands of the State. Vide, Dickson, David, The Protestation...Reviewed, pp. 13f. Vindication...Reviewed, pp. 217ff.; or for the full account pp. 216-228.
The meeting concluded about the 25th.

On February the 4th the King and the Committee of Estates appointed a deputation

"...to meet with the Commission of the Church or such as shall be appointed by them, and speak with them concerning Mr James Guthrie and Mr David Bennet Ministers at Sterling And what is fitt to be done in relation to the securitie of that place and to them because of their preaching, speaking and writing against the Publict resolutions in reference to the present Levies And to report." 1

The Committee prepared a citation which they read before the Commission without any objection from that body. It was then sent to the ministers summoning them to appear before the Committee on the 19th. Guthrie later states that the letter never arrived at Stirling until the afternoon of the 18th, - it is dated the 14th.

In the meantime changes are taking place. Stirling has been complaining bitterly about the quartering, and the lack of clothing and food. Leslie is replaced and the Earl of Crawford is made Governor of Stirling. Hamilton is received in the Church at Dundee in what was reported as an event marked with gaiety which brought from Rutherford the remark that, "...night is coming upon the Prophets, and how can a fallen stoune raise againe into the Firmament." 3 James Douglas, a prisoner in Stirling

1. RH, MSS, CE Records, 1651, p. 60. They add three others to the deputation on the 6th. Ibid., p. 65b.
2. Ibid., pp. 70b-71. It is printed in the Acts of Parl., Vol. VI, pt. ii, p. 641. (The date of the latter is the 14th, the former the 10th.)

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Castle, had completed his prophesies against the rule of Charles. Some of the Royalists are blaming the ministers for the slowness of the levy. The King is reported to have written the ministers and asked them "...to preach up the Army, and none presume to speak against it." Presbyteries bravely continue to send in letters of opposition. They include Ayr, Deer, and Irvine. Some dissatisfaction is noted in Fife. By this time the minister of Guthrie's native parish, Alexander Pitcairne, has retired, and Robert Rule inducted at that charge.

On February the 14th Duncan Robertson, Guthrie's servant, appeared before the Commission and presented a Protestation sent by Guthrie and Bennet. Although it was received long past the ten days stipulated for the receipt of appeals yet they refer it to the General Assembly.

1. Vide, Douglas, James, A Strange and Wonderful Prophesie (London: J. C., 1651) which includes in the subtitle "The Strange and Wonderful Prophesie of a Dumb Scot, living in the Town of Stirling, aged about 50 and written with his own hand. With great rigor sent to Stirling Castle where he remains a close prisoner...Jan. 8, 1651.
5. Ibid., p. 293. Conferences were held in Burntisland for Fife and also they were held in Aberdeen.
6. Ibid., p. 294.
7. Ibid., p. 295.
Wednesday the 19th came, and Guthrie and Bennet did not report to the Committee of Estates. That night the Chancellor received a letter of excuse from them in which they stated that one of them had been ill for the past ten days, and that one, if not both, of them will arrive at the end of the week. On Thursday "...it was read that was much long ane hot debate upone the business at length..." the result was another letter to be written..." in which they ask the two ministers to come to Perth and stay there or Dundee until the King returns from Aberdeen. They did not receive this letter.

Guthrie and Bennet arrived at Perth on Friday afternoon about 5 - just after the King had left for Aberdeen. The Chancellor called a meeting for Saturday with the expectation that few would attend and that the ministers would be allowed to return to Stirling, but most of the members attended.

"After much debate, wither or no these two ministers should stay in Perthe, conforme to the former acte, wntill his Maiesties returne backe, ore goe back to Stirling? The Earle of Cassiles said, quhat if his Matie did never returne, was it reasons that they should stay from their charge? Maney honest men of the committee wer offendit with this expressione of Cassicles, and the Chancellors too forwardnes; bot at last it went to a wette, and was carried, that conforme to the former ordinance, Mr Guthrie and Bennett should stay confynned in Perth..."  

2. HL, MSS, Wod. Col. Fol. 67 No. 103. ltr. Guthrie and Bennet to (Wariston ?) Feb. 22.
4. Ibid. p. 248. The Committee was still too sensitive over the "start" to appreciate Cassiles' levity.
The records show that on February the 22nd,

"The said day Mr James Guthrie and Mr David Bennet Ministers at Sterling appearing before the said Committee in obedience of the letter sent to them for that effect from the Kings matie and Comte of Estates gave a Protestation in writt subscried with their hands That their appearance before the Comte to ansr to these things for which they were sent might be without prejudice of the liberties of the Church of Scotland and of the Servands of Jesus Christ. Which was red in the Comitte." 1

They affirm that they will obey the civil authorities as long as they conform to the will of God, but "...if in any thinges your commands shall fall out to be contraire to that reule, wee shall patiently, in the Lords strenthe, submitt ourselue to any ciuill censure that ze shall thinke fitt to inflicte vpone ws." Guthrie says that

"The chancelour did intimat to us that our protestation should be keipt in retentis but for the busines itselfe they could not meet with the King and the Committie of estaites having appoyntit it to be doeth till the Kings backcoming fra the north and thereupone writtin a new lre for that effect. till we had not seine nor recevut such a lre the clerks man being called for the lre was deliverit to us and wee having spoken further aftir reading of it to the strangness of such a procedor that we [being callit] to a hearing should opone the mater by a civill judicatur be suspendit from the discharge of or ministrie...and putt under a sentence of confynement before we was heri." 2

They then requested that they be allowed to go back to Stirling on promise of their return when the King has come back. This was denied. They then enter a second

1. RH, MSS, CE Records, 1651, pp. 251-3.
3. NL, MSS, Wod. Col., Fol. 67. No. 103.
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protest against the letter of restraint. In their letter to Wariston they ask whether they should obey the Committee or return to Stirling to preserve the liberty of the Church, and whether they should protest their imprisonment without a hearing. They assert

"...we are in nothing terrified and thoch we may fail in circumstances of forme yet we holp to gaine so much mercie of himselfe as to stik to the mater..." 2

It is not until the 28th that

"...Mr James Guthrie and David Bonnet Ministers at Stirling appearing personallie before the Committee of Estates gave in another Protestation subscribed with their hands relative to the former and to the two letters from the Kings Mtie and Comte of Estates relating to their coming hither and stay at this place or at Dundie untill his Mties returne from Aberdene of the dait the 14th and 19th instant regrd which protestation was red in the Committee." 3

Again on March the 7th the matter is considered, and an Act issued that since His Majesty has returned and the two protestations have been read before His Majesty and the Committee they do,

"...ordaine upon the former grounds and reasons con¬teaned in the said Letter of the 19 of Feb. Last that the said Mr James and Mr David stay in this town or Dundie until the 15th of this instant inclusive that betwixt and that tym he may have a conference with the Comission of the church


2. NL, MSS, Wod. Col., Fol. 67, No. 103.

3. RH, MSS, CE Records, s.v. The second protest was first verbal and then, as of this date, written. For text vide, Note 1.
concerning the business for which they were called hither and the aforesaid protestations, and take such resolutions thereupon as shall be found agreeable to Justice, and the prinill of the given to the partie may conduce most to the good of the Church and Kingdom."

On Saturday evening, March the 10th, Guthrie sent a letter to Gillespie in Glasgow, "...shewing, that he was to appear before the King and State on Monday...the 10th...and for that end desyred the prayers of the people of God..."

Gillespie and Carstairs preached on the suffering of faithful ministers and the great defection of the Church and State. Most of the day was spent in fasting and prayer by "...sundry of our best people, in Mr Patrick's house and other places."

Baillie on the 11th advises Lauderdale to refer the ministers to Parliament and to "...beware of Mr James Guthrie's loope." This was done with their papers being read to that body the opening day and given in to the Clerk. On this same day the ministers send their papers and a petition to the Commission. They "...desire it may be considered whether by the procedour of the Committee with them there be any encroachment made upon the liberties of the Kirk as the servants of Jesus Christ..."

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1. RH, M3S, CE Records, s.v.
3. Ibid.
5. CAC, Vol. III, p. 303. At this meeting of the Commission the Presbytery of Stirling express a continued dissatisfaction with the resolutions. Certain discipline cases were referred to the Kirk at Stirling. They were also trying to have James Turner received in Glasgow. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 307f, Turner, Memoirs, p. 94.
14th the Presbytery of Glasgow wrote to the Commission
"...concerning the carriage of the King and Committee to-
wards the Ministers of Sterline..." Two days later
Blair wrote to Douglas saying that he heard "...that if Mr
James Guthrie and his colleague be fairly desyred by the
Commission, and a place be assigned to him for the interim,
that he may be induced to hearken to that desyre."

After the ministers had sent in their petition to the
Commission, Parliament also sent to them to ask advice in
the matter. On the morning of March the 18th the Com-
mission replied to Parliament that the ministers had a
right to protest when their doctrine and ministerial
functions were questioned. In this case in which the
Government is concerned they uphold the conduct of the
Estates. The ministers had been before an ecclesiastical
court in St. Andrews, and the result had been reported to
the Committee of Estates. The Commission, like Herod,
returns the case to the original judge with the confid-
ence that "...they will continue to deale with these
brethren with all tendernessse, in so farre as may consist

With reference to taking in malignants vide, Mer. Pol.
which says "Now the veriest Rascal that now comes in
to make repentance is accepted;...", Mar. 11.
p. 141. For information of friends writing in their
with the security of that place wherein they serve..."  
Wariston attacks the action of the Commission saying that

"...the State could not take notice, unless there had
been a Process, and a Sentence from the Kirk...which
sentence they could not have given at St. Andrews, it
being neither their Quarterly meeting, nor after Pro¬
cess, nor a Trial of their Doctrine, and least of all
because it agrees not with their Commission to censure
these who preached according to the Acts of all our
General Assemblies from 1560-1650." 2

The Diurnalist reports that

"...the Commission of the Kirk, after a long debate
voted...That the Committee of State were competent
Judges over him, which is indeed the opening of such a
Doore, as I know not how Mr Robert Douglas will be able
to close when possibly he would." 3

The next day Parliament thanked the Commission for their
reply and at the same time instructed the ministers not
to leave Perth. But the following day they returned
them to the Commission stating that they "...might doe as
they thinke fitting for the security of that place." 5

On this same date the Commission forbade any to oppose
the levy. Their "Short Exhortation and Warning" is con¬
demned by all opposed to the resolutions. Guthrie says
it calls

"...the opposers of these resolutions with the foulle
characters of the old Malignants, and inhibiting and

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2. The Nullity, p. 11. This is a part of the letter on
the subject sent by Wariston to the Assembly at St.
Andrews in July.
discharging all ministers to preach, and all ministers or professors to spread or write against the resolutions..." 1

Concerning Guthrie and Bennet it is recorded that

"...some of those Ministers friends entreated some of the Commission to deal with the Parliament, to let their Brethren go home, undertaking for them that they should not further offend; which the Brethren of the Commission did, engaging themselves to be answerable for their carriage; whereupon they were presently dismissed." 2

Meanwhile a paper war had started. At an unknown date David Dickson sent a letter to George Porterfield, a town official in Glasgow, giving his views on the Resolutions. This led to answer by both Guthrie and Gillespie.

Dickson's friend had questioned the Commission's reply to the Querie so Dickson wrote to reassure his friend. In his letter he states that no one should disobey public orders. He sees two mistakes in those who oppose the resolutions, one, that they consider them a change of policy, and secondly, they should not fight for defense or the Covenants in such an army. He tries to

3. The first letter is preserved in CSL, MSS, Wed. Col., Milne, I3, I. 6. 10. pp. 6-11. On this copy is the title "Mr David Dick his reasons to Presbytrie of Stirling for joyning with those called Malignants in Opposition to the Sectarian Army. 1650." As he directs the letter to "Worthie Respected Sir" it is evident that he sent a copy to the Presbytery of the letter he originally directed to Porterfield. Blair mentions the letter to Porterfield. Ibid., p. 748.
remove these mistakes. Concerning the first he indicates that the statements of the Church should be interpreted according to the organization and not private individuals, that by taking in repentant Malignants they are being recovered which is a duty expressed in the Covenant, that there are two ways of joining with Malignants, viz., publicly and privately, and that warnings are to be varied according to new difficulties. He tries to show how the latter applied in the Engagement of 1648.

He then attempts to remove the second mistake, by giving five considerations, viz., one, ecclesiastical discipline must be satisfied by profession of repentance, two, it is wrong to call one a Malignant who has returned unless he has relapsed, three, ecclesiastical sanctity is sufficient to permit association with a person, four, when another partakes of a holy ordinance it effects him not another, and five, there are cases of conjunction in the Bible.

He then adds a series of propositions. There can be no reason for disobedience. It is sinful not to obey, because of the consequences, it is a failure to perform common duties, it is disobedience to the state, it sets an example for the disregard of law, it is disobedience to the Commission, it weakens the army, and it is contrary to the Covenants.

He elucidates the last point, stating that it is a
deserting of the true Covenanters, in inactivity it breaks
the covenant promise to preserve the True Religion, it
creates factions, it lays a ground for war between England
and Scotland, and it is a withdrawal from covenanting
unity.

Both Guthrie and Gillespie return answers to Dick¬
son's letter. These replies received public notice, one
of the diurnals reports "Mr Patrick Gillespie, and Mr
James Guthry have lately writ a publick letter against
the present conjunction with the malignant party."

Guthrie's reply takes the form of four letters writ¬
ten from about February the 11th to the 15th. He holds
that the Resolutions are inconsistent with the Scriptures
and the Solemn League and Covenant, are contrary to the
former views of the Church, and that it would be sinful to
join an army containing malignants.

He deals first with Scripture but at the same time
indicates that the conscience is not eased by association

1. For Guthrie's reply vide, NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to. 32
No. 18; 4to. 31 No. 7; EUL, MSS, I. Col., I. 210.
For Gillespie's vide, NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to. 32 No.
19.
2. Mer. Pol., March 24, 26. A Perfect Diurnal, March 31-
April 7, No. 69, p. 933. For other references to the
writings vide, Baillie, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 121,
124, 125, 137; CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS. I. 6. 10,
Milne, pp. 748ff. The letter on p. 749 after dis¬
cussing the writings then seems to feel that the pass
at Stirling is now safe with Guthrie removed from
Stirling. The letter is barely legible.
with evil people even if they are citizens of one's own country. He presses Deut. 23 as the rule for the composition of armies and opposes Dickson's use of the negative argument in hermeneutics.

Guthrie says that the Resolutions place the sword in the hands of the Malignants rather than the magistrates punishing them and the people bringing them to punishment as required by the Solemn League and Covenant. The Resolutions represent a declining from the Covenant. The statement, which some have made, that there is now no Malignant party, is disproved by observation. Some recently made their repentance and had since relapsed and were debarred from the Lord's Table until the next General Assembly. It is the duty of the church to prove the profession of those who make repentance. He shows that there has been no previous distinction made in conjunction, but that the church has condemned it in any form. If the legislation of the church is to be variable then it can all be overthrown. He argues with Dickson point for point concerning the 1648 Engagement and shows an excellent grasp of the procedure of the Church at this time which was lacking in Dickson's assertions. He shows that much more has been previously required than a mere profession and immediate employment as is now practised under the Resolutions. He states that up until Sept. the Church held to the need for true repentance of the Malignants.

Guthrie next deals with joining such an army. He
states that all censured men except excommunicates may join, that no sure trial is made, and that no oath imposed on them will be a corrective when some of them have broken more solemn oaths. The good rule has been abolished, a wicked party admitted and no person should indicate their approval by joining with them. Dickson had said that Army discipline would weed out the wicked, but Guthrie shows that this is most effective when the power in the army is in the hands of the Godly. Anyway what good is it to put them out when the new resolutions permit them to come back in?

Guthrie then deals with Dickson's considerations. The church is not satisfied with a mere profession or repentance, e.g., a ruling elder. They do not immediately re-employ a repentant. The Church debars from Communion when a member's faults are not yet proven. Guthrie contends that ecclesiastical sanctity is not sufficient for communion but there must be a suitable outward behaviour as well. Guthrie says that he can not commune with one whom he knows has not changed. Even so, he claims a qualitative difference between communion and association in the Army showing that members of the army are more interdependent.

1. The matter of the purity of the church and whom to admit to the communion was soon to give rise to the Sectarian problem at Aberdeen.
In his last letter Guthrie chides Dickson for his severity with those who disagree with the resolutions. Because they do not like malignants does not mean that they are traitors and will go to the sectarian cause. Such charges should be accompanied with proof. They are willing to defend the kingdom in any lawful way. He does not think the Malignants will set the King a good example. He would ask that the Golden Rule be practised in Dickson's writings concerning accusations.

It is difficult to see how Baillie can describe Guthrie's and Gillespie's answers as

"...a heap of clatters, mere testimonies of late papers (which Mr James Guthrie and two or three with him put on the Church) which touch not the present case; without scripture, reason, or any light, or any life of discourse; they goe in a way of confusion and will not state a question..." 2

Dickson replies with "No Separation from the Army of Covenanter Defending Covenant and Kingdom against the faction of English Sectaries opposing both within the land." The diurnals report that "Mr James Symson hath now written a large Treatise, in answer unto all that hath

3. NL, M33, Wed. Coll., 4to. 32 No. 9. It appears from this document that Dickson received Guthrie's and Gillespie's answers on Feb. the 27th and 28th. His "No Separation" attacks Guthrie's and Gillespie's positions but does little to strengthen Dickson's own position. Guthrie seems not to have made a reply to it.
been said for the Times..." Soon Wariston was to join in with more than ten works for the year. James Wood and James Ferguson were to join forces with Dickson. Blair wrote but only to bring the two together. He calls the writings of the others, "...our weakness-discovering writings, and papers that do not heal but augment our divisions, and cast more oil in the flame.

If, as Douglas maintained, Guthrie's internment in Perth had saved the pass at Stirling from Cromwell it was not indicated from the reports. They indicate how destitute the citizens of the town had become from the quartering, and clothing levies. Leslie held a muster on March the 4th. His report is as follows,

"I did this morning muster the Garrison, but to my great greefe I never did look upon such a naked, hungered company of people since I was bourne scarce one amongst ten able to stand..." 4

He also states that there is nothing in the houses of Stirling and the town is without fuel. It was to these

1. A Perfect Diurnall, Mar. 31-Apr. 7, No. 69, p. 933; Mer. Fol., Mar. 25. This may be "The Nameless Answer to a Nameless Paper" which was written in Feb. or Mar. of this year. For text vide, NL, MS3, Wod. Col., 4to. 32. No. 24. For the Nameless Paper vide, Ibid., 4to., 31. No. 8. There is another paper proving that there is still a malignant party in the Kingdom. Ibid., No. 17.
2. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 140. It was originally planned to append a list of the writings, MS, and printed, known and unknown, but space and time will not allow.
3. Row, Blair, p. 263.
4. RH, MS3, CE Records, s.v. Holburn on the 6th verifies this report.
conditions that Guthrie and Bennet returned. The first notice of their return is Hamilton's interesting letter of Tuesday, the 25th. He writes to Douglas,

"Reverend & Dear Brother,

Mr Mungo and I finding the ministers of Stirling in this town, did send our commission to the provost & bailies to know where they were to preach, they having confiered with the ministers, told us, that they would preach in their own pulpits except they were stopped theirupon we resolved to be hearers of them all this day. Both of them vaporied a little & gave som few shotts, but, all says, much more sparinglie than usualie they say they cannot find light nor libertie to Leave ther charges: Yet they intend to tak journey tomorrow to the west. Mr James to sie Mr Wm. Guthrie whom he hears to be at the point of death and Mr David to visit his old parisioners at Kirkintilloch: but they intend to return wtin a fourteen dayes, and remain for ought I [know] they did both pray heartilie for the King and armie wherat I was glad. I reserve all other my thoughts till or meeting at Couper which I shall be some tym on Thursday together wt Mr Alex. Spittele as for Mr Alexr Dicksoun he is tender & his - - they two taught today each of them once, & caetized once & red the warning to the garisoun in the tolbooth & had a good auditorie, who heard respectively, So Mr James Hamiltoun March 25, 1651." 1

A week later the Commission receives a letter of complaint concerning the ministers still preaching in Stirling, to which they reply "...the Commission will not be defecient to use all diligence in an Ecclesiastick way, that these brethren bring no danger to the garisone of Sterling." Guthrie and Bennet were silent visitors at the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow which began on the 5th of April. One diurnalist writes,

"The greatest stickler for the Covenant and Presbytery (Mr Goutrey) hath deserted them, and is come on this side the water to Glasgow, and accounts himself happy, that he hath escaped with his life only, for there have been sundry attempts to murther persons of eminency..." 1

Mr Symmer, Minister at Duffus and member of the Commission, on the 14th receives a reply to a letter,

"Sr

I had your letter that the Stirling Ministers hes not answered your brotherlie and lawfull desire with that brotherlie respect and submission, as might have been expected from ministers of their great profession formerlie in relation to that great judicatorie off the General Assembly. I am greatly greaved to hear these who did formerlie so much esteem and cry up that present and profitable judicatorie in thir tymes, and did so tricklie censor all who in word or practice did ether slight at or speak against it, soubl not [with] themselves so neglect it yea preach and [strell] against the just and lawfull procedings thereoff for ther papers off that lyk are frequentlie and speedily sent abroad through thir northern parts, which stumbles varie many & greatlie prejudices the present busines & fills the heart & wraths off many with great prejudices against the lawfull procedings of the Kirk. It wold have ben thought are great point off malignancie with any since [for] any in this land to have either spoken or wretten against the just conclusions of the commiss. The practice of these does not opain the mouths off many who are saying that these men and all others lyk them did cry up the commiss, so bring as it advance ther designs & intentions, but so soon as they find it crosse them in ther purpose they slight it pitlie. I wish they would wyslie & pintie consider these though and tymlie prevent the great scandale is lyklie to aryse to the profession be ther slightie or opposin the commiss. lawfull conclusions when grave judicatorie the Lord hes mad verie eminentlie a coin full mean to hold

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all things right and straight in this kirk & kingdom since the beginning thereoff. And I hope be god's grace left in [ - - ] spoke and wretit against it what they please shall [creto?] so & to terror I [ - - - ] the enemies of the cause both on the one hand other so long as such sale sh[- - -] pious and able men sitts in it as members thereoff as are [now] ...#

On Thursday, April the 17th, Cromwell began his march toward the West, arriving in Glasgow on Saturday. The next day he heard Ramsay and Durham preach and Carsstairs lecture. Baillie reports, "Generallie all who preached that day in the Town gave a fair enough testimonie against the Sectaries."

On Sunday evening,

"...some of the armie was trying if the ministers would be pleased, of their own accord, to conferr with their Generall. When none had shewed any willingness, on Monday, a gentleman from Cromwell come to the most of the brethren, severallie desyring, yea, requyring them and the rest of the ministers in towne, to come and speak with their Generall." 3

Guthrie preached rather frequently during his stay in Glasgow. The first, that has been preserved, is his lecture for Sunday on Isa. 30: 18-9. In it he assures the people that though they are tried by adversity God is

4. NL, MSS. No. 664 A gives nine sermons and lectures which Guthrie preaches at this time together with those which others preached at the same time and place. The period covered by Guthrie's sermons is from April 20-May 25, 1651. Only one previous sermon of his has survived and it is in undecipherable shorthand, vide, Brodie, Diary, (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1863), p. xx. This one may be dated between Nov. 15, 1646-1650.
merciful, "...weighing the quantie and the qualitie and endurance of his peoples affliction in the balance of judgment in the scales of wisdome and love...."

Concerning deviation from the way of God he says they that turn from that path "...must be under the Guilt of destroying the house of God." And,

"The end of the hie way is God himself his exaltation and the exaltation of his truth and glorie, but the end of byways is man himself, or some thing tending to sett upe man. Ther is such antipathie betwixt all by ways and the hie ways that all that turn asyd to by ways are persecuters and oppressers of all that keeps Gods his way." 3

Lectures were also held on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday mornings in Glasgow. It was on Monday morning that a diurnalist attended Guthrie's lecture or at least he records its content,

"...one of them preaching tooke an ocassion to speak of many stumbling blocks that were cast in the way of the people of God...their complying with a malignant party... 2. Ther untenderness in respect of the Ordinances of God...3. The miscarriyng of their Army when they were in England. There were other blocks which he said this Army who was now amongst them had laid in the way... 1. Their untenderness...to the Covenant...2. Their unjust invasion of this Land...3. The throwing down of all Kirk-government, and Religion, and setting up nothing. 4. The disrespest of the Lords day..." 4

1. NL, M33, No. 664 A, p. 234.
2. Ibid., p. 236.
3. Ibid., pp. 236f.
4. A Perfect Diurnal, April 28-May 5, pp. 996f. Cf. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 49. The last three "blocks" mentioned by Wariston appear to be the rebuttal of the English. This sermon is printed in A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Sermons (Edinburgh: R. Menzies, 1814), pp. 1-13, and is commonly referred to as "A Great Danger of Backsliding and Defection". Another preached at this time is in APPENDIX D.
Cromwell when he calls the ministers together mentions some of the points referred to in the lecture. He asks that they discuss the points with him on the next day but the meeting is postponed until Wednesday. When they met they were asked to defend the assertions made in their sermons. Craufurd states that the ministers,

"...appointed Mr James Guthrie minister at Stirling...to manage the debate, who did hold out the unlawfullness and unjustness of that invasion by the English Armie, and charged upon them the violation of the League and Covenant." ¹

A reporter says,

"...the most of the time was spent about the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the invasion, though in many things they had not what to say against us, yet the conclusion was that they were not satisfied...The debate and discourse was with all possible meeknesse and moderation, and the parting was accordingly, and some of the Officers have been with some of the Ministers since, and this hath begot a hearing of one another,..."²

Another spoke of the Scottish Ministers with their syllogisms and their authority of antiquity and commended the English officers who were "...all gallant men, were as powerfull interpreters of the Scriptures as..." the Scots. The conference is said to have been managed with much sweetness and moderation with Cromwell and Lambert debating with Gillespie and Guthrie until nine at night. The

¹ GSL, MSS, MS History, s.v. (unnumbered in this section). Apr. 23.
³ A Perfect Account, Apr. 30-May 7.
result seems to have favoured the ministers. Wariston ascribes Cromwell's ill temper on his return to his failure to gain converts in the West, "...and most of all, that the ministers of the West, by their conference and sermons, had (led) many of his officers to beginne to scruple..." Balfour believes that after scheduling the continuation of the conference for the following day, Cromwell discovered that some of his officers were beginning to express doubts and as a result at midnight ordered the army to return to Edinburgh.

Guthrie's sermons during the subsequent weeks in Glasgow reveal something of his character and emphasis. He strongly presents the just, majestic, sovereign God who punishes those who sin against His will but does not leave those that trust in Him. He sees Scotland as

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 48. cf. pp. 50, 55. None of the Sectarian writers speak in certain or glowing terms about the result. The weakest is Mer. Pol. who admits "I know not what satisfaction they have received" but then goes on to assure his readers that "We have no cause to be discouraged" which seems to indicate defeat. This is reprinted in Cromwelliana (Westminster: Geo. Smeeton, 1810) p. 102. Vide, Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 196; Sev. Pro., May 8-15; The Weekly Intel. Apr. 28-May 6, pp. 150, 152.

2. Balfour, Annals, Vol. IV, p. 298. Cromwell wrote a letter from Glasgow on Friday, April the 25th, which would leave Thursday unaccounted for; Baillie on the other hand, sets the departure date as Wednesday, April the 30th, vide, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 161. It is at this conference that some writers would place the incident in which Cromwell refers to Guthrie as "...the short man that would not bow." This originally occurs in Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. III, p. 98 in the context of the London Mission some years later.
departing from God, back toward idolatry, the people are making God one of them and only speak His name in profanity and the rulers who rule by the grace of God have abused their trust. As a result God has not yet left "...his temple in this land...but...he is gone from the church to the threshold of the door and has..." a mind to depart. He gives on several occasions graphic illustrations e.g., a Christian observing himself in God's mirrors consisting of His Nature, Law and Son, a Christian's conscience being pained like an unaccustomed barefooted person on rocks, and the melted versus the hard heart.

The Commission attempted in May and June to hold conferences with the dissidents first at Stirling May the 6th, then at St. Andrews a fortnight later. They were poorly attended by both parties. Another conference was held in June at St. Andrews. Row says,

"In all these conferences, the man that especially disputed for the Public Resolutions was James Wood, who was most active and instrumental for advancing them. On the other side, the most forward and zealous were Messrs James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie." 3

1. NL, MSS, 664 A, p. 249.
2. The records, like many sermon records of the period, were copies made by an auditor and fail to give the full text and much of the vigour and the substance that really went into the preaching.
Meantime the parliament was anxious to repeal the Act of Classes. A number of ministers including Dickson oppose this move but to no avail, the Act was rescinded on June the 2nd. The Committee of Estates were displeased with the co-operation of the ministers asking the Commission "...that you will take such course with these ministers who had a great hand in that Remonstrance and such others as doe still oppose the publct Resolutiones... as the peace of the Kingdome may be kept..." Wariston had gone to Edinburgh and Guthrie was eager to have him come back to the Scots. According to Wariston, Guthrie urged him to come to the ensuing General Assembly saying to Wariston, "...that in al Scotland, I was the man most ingaged and designed of God to apeare for Christ in His courts at this tyme."

After a three months' absence Bennet was back in Stirling preaching prior to June 30th. Guthrie seems to

2. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, pp. 65f. Guthrie seems to have acted as Wariston's spiritual adviser until 1660. Wariston's Diary speaks of numerous letters of this type.
3. Ibid., pp. 87f. Cf. pp. 73, 78.
4. GAC, Vol. III, p. 486. Bennet had attended the May 13th meeting of Synod at Perth but Guthrie was excused by letter. It was reported that Guthrie, Bennet, Geo. Bennet, Thos. Hog and Simpson were dissatisfied with the Resolutions in the Presbytery of Stirling. One of Guthrie's elders, Sir Wm. Bruce, was accused of compliance with the English but it was not proven. The Synod also appointed a conference for dissenters for May the 29th. The next meeting was to be held June 10th.
have returned at about the same time. From a letter we learn,

"Sir

This Morning Mr James Guthrie preached on Is. 9.5 his third doctrine was It is the unhappy condition of a people smitten by God to be so far from a mending as to revolt more and more; his first use was for the publick to search not to be easily satisfied in the search whether these were the carriage yea or no, because more and more revolted is 1. a sad symptom of this use 2. a sad prognostick of most sad things to come as appeareth by Isa. 9:13,14 etc. The other use for the private which he gave from Heb.13 shun two extremes despise not the chastisement, and faint not under it; follow the middle way, studie to be partakers of holines, to live righteously, and to make straight steeps for your feet, the contrary is to be found pfrunes, oppression and manie declineing from straight pathes to Sectaries many more to Malignants. In his prayer about the Arme he prayed the Lord to forgive them all their trespasses the Lord to stretch out his owne arms against the enemie, but not a word for the armies success or that the Lord wold make them instrumentall in his service against the enemie. Our nobles and great ones he said were revolters and prayed God to forgive them their blackslidings and revoltenings. I comitt the judgment of the premisses unto yourself and unto such as you are pleased to commicate the same unto. And whither such dangerous doctrine as is hinted at, may exprest in his first use, and such general petitions in matters of particular concernment etc. are fitt to be vented in this place. Think seriously on it, and doe not lightly lay it by, for it is of more concernment than I am able to express, that they darre so openly come furth here in publik, after a promise, as we were made to beleve, that they wold willingly withdraw. I am not for severe courses, but I am and I am sure othersoulde be for sure courses. Sir, I shall say no more. You may think I am somewhat convinced and indeed I am, and could wish that others would resent their concernment and not suffer their tendencies to be blassed and abused. I recomend you to the grace of God, and am, Sir,

Sterling 1 July
1651
M Jo Smith."

1. CSL, MSS, Wod. Col. LS. I. 6. 4. No. 120. This was written the day when Cromwell was encamped before Stirling. Cp. Ibid., No. 121; Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 560, in which Durham thinks Guthrie should have stayed away longer.
The Synod had met at Perth at which time the Stirling Presbytery book was ordered to be presented at the General Assembly. The Presbytery reports "...that there is scandal of Schisme and division amongst them as if they were two presbyteries..." This matter was likewise sent to the Assembly, and the members ordered to sit together. Guthrie was summoned to appear before the Assembly for writing against the Resolutions. In spite of this the writing continued. Guthrie and others gathered at Scoonie to administer communion to a large group of followers on July 12-14th.

It was difficult for some of the Commissioners to attend the General Assembly at St. Andrews, which held its opening session on Wednesday, the 16th of July. The Commission had sent a letter to the Presbyteries citing all who opposed the Resolutions to appear before the Assembly. Some of the Commissioners were sent back, imprisoned or threatened on the way. Dual elections had been made by Stirling and Glasgow.

When the Assembly was about to constitute and elect a moderator, John Menzies questioned the seating of the members of the Commission, which resulted in an uproar. Guthrie agreed with Menzies, saying, "...these persons be-

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1. SPS, MSS, Minutes, s.v. For the Presbytery election of Commissioners to General Assembly vide, Vindication...Review, p. 78.
3. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 95; Lamont, Diary, p. 32.
4. Vindication...Review, pp. 149f.
hoved to be scandalous who had led the Kirk and Kingdom to a course of defection..."  
Blair tried to restore peace. Rutherford presented a paper against the constitution of the Assembly but it was laid aside. Guthrie says that previous to Menzies suggestion they had earnestly desired an adjournment but this had been denied. Catt and others requested a conference to no avail. The Assembly was constituted and Douglas was elected Moderator. Conferences were then held but to no avail.

News of the English crossing of the Forth and the defeat of the Scots at Inverkeithing reached the Assembly and an emergency session was held on Sunday at midnight at which time they adjourned to meet at Dundee on Tuesday at 2 p.m. It was at this session that Rutherford gave in the Protestation against the lawfulness of the Assembly which was signed by twenty-two members. The subscribers and some others then departed.

The Protestation claimed the Assembly unlawful because those dissatisfied with the Resolutions had been cited, many brethren could not come because of enemy occupation, many Commission members had contrary to their trust stirred up civil magistrates against their opponents, pre-

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1. Peterkin, Records, Appendix, p. 626; NL, MS3, Wod. Col., 8vo.5. These are Alex. Gordon’s accounts.
3. To comply with their strict Sabbath observance, no doubt.
limited the Assembly and had voted in their Moderator as the Assembly Moderator. The Crown had spoken too much against opponents of the Resolutions, and the foundation had been laid for civil interference with ecclesiastical affairs.

When the Assembly reassembled at Dundee with half their membership they read the Protestation and discussed it. The next day letters of opposition to the Resolutions arrived. The Assembly determined to cite five ministers, Guthrie, Gillespie, Simpson, Naismith, and Menzies, to appear on July the 31st. The Commission was approved,

"See the whole Assembly voiced approbation of all and evry part of quhat the Commission had done, with the largest commendation that ever any Commission got except these 7, who voted, not approve..." indicating that previous Commissions approved "unanimously" had had opposition.

Wariston had sent a number of papers to the Assembly but these were never considered. One of them related to Guthrie's and Bennet's treatment at Perth.

Meanwhile Guthrie and Bennet and others had been confined at Stirling on their return from the Assembly until the day of their required appearance at Dundee, which was

1. The King's letter was a strong condemnation of them. See APPENDIX E.
2. Copies may be found in almost every diurnal and diary. The list of names varies in various MSS.
4. It was later printed in The Nullity.
the day the King left with his army for England. In spite of his restraint and inability to attend Guthrie with Gillespie and Simpson was deposed, and Neismith suspended.

When the Scottish army decided to invade England with the hopes of gaining English followers and winning the South, Cromwell was before Perth. After the fall of Perth Cromwell sent Monck against Stirling while he and Lambert followed Charles into England.

Monck on his arrival found the town of Stirling defenseless. Many of the citizens had fled to the Castle. Monck proceeded to lay siege to the Castle, using as one of his gun emplacements the steeple of Guthrie's Kirk. The Scots had no choice but to return the fire from the Church with the result that on one occasion they "...shot through the steeple, but did noe harme."

The Highlanders staged a mutiny in the Castle which

1. For the confinement vide, EUL, MS, L. Col., I 315 No. 4; Vindication...Reviewed, pp. 147f, 154. The first reference states that they were confined from 3 p.m. July 22nd. Guthrie is not mentioned by name but Wariston reports Guthrie, Bennet and Oliphant as going to Stirling, and later that five ministers are imprisoned at St. Andrews and four at Stirling, and still later he reports Guthrie's "escape" to Glasgow. Vide, Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, pp. 89ff. The silence of the diurnals is only explicable in their excitement over their new victories. Wariston implies strongly Guthrie's restraint and states that he wrote a strong letter to the Assembly concerning the citation, vide, Ibid., p. 109.

2. It is difficult to see how or when Cromwell attended either a General Assembly or Commission meeting as reported. Vide, Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. II, p. 283.

led to its surrender by Col. Cunningham at noon on the 14th. This surrender was made when there were ample provisions for a long siege.

Shortly after the fall of Stirling Castle Col. John Okey left to raid the west. A Diurnal reports that there were

"12 ministers whom they found in a Barne, who are counted the most eminent men in all Scotland for Religion and Abilities, some of their names are as follows, viz. Mr James Nisby, Mr John Hambleton, Mr Patriarke Elaspee, Master James Goodtree of Sterling, Mr John Littleton, Mr Delape and several others; several were ordered not to preach and if they did they would be in so facto excommunicated. If they did preach then they should be cast out, in case they did not wilde men would be put in their places, and if they did obey they should obey a Tiranicall and an unjust power. Many of them had a great hand in bringing in the King setting up that power. They now see their weakness." 1

Okey says that he found them in a barn by a wood six miles from Glasgow. He learned that they had decided to disobey the prohibition against their preaching and that "...they did on the last Lords day, in Glasgow and other parts, preach publickly against that wicked authority." Monck now moved from Stirling north to Dundee to lay siege

2. Firth, Scotland and the Commonwealth, p. 317, cp. p. 5. The account is in 3ev. Pro., Aug. 21-8, p. 1542. The Protester group is forming. A little later Wariston sends money to Guthrie which must be meant for use in the cause. Vide, Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, pp. 119f. Cp. Ibid., pp. 108-110, 115, 119. It appears that a Number of Spiritual Causes of the Lords Anger, with special reference to the Clergy, was drawn up at this time together with other papers. The meeting seems to have taken place at Nevay's parish of Newmilns
to it. In the course of the siege the Committee of Estates and the Commission of the Kirk attempted to hold a joint meeting at Elliot (Alyth). The Commission had previously met at Dundee and again at Forfar. At the latter meeting they issued A Short Warning which called for a united effort in the War and for adherence to the Resolutions. They also issued a Short Information for English Brethren. In the latter they assume that the Protesters have already stated their case to the Brethren speaking of the separation, and their allegiance to the King but also asserting, "Our principles are the same that they have been, and carry us constantly to the unfeigned hatred of Malignancy."

The joint meeting at Elliot was called for the purpose of planning relief for besieged Dundee. With forces nearby they had failed to place sentries directly around their meeting place. Col. Math. Alured, coming through the rain by a rough tedious way close to the Highlands early on Thursday morning the 28th, surprised them "...sleeping in their beds..." The ministers captured included Douglas, Law, John Smith, Jas. Hamilton, James Sharp, John Ratra, Geo. Pitillo, and Hugh Ramsay with the

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2. Ibid., pp. 508-13.
3. Ibid., p. 511.
4. Wariston had heard it was also to process Rutherfurd and other Protesters, vide, Diary, Vol. II, pp. 129, 140.
5. Ibid., p. 121. Vide also Fleming's very thorough note on this page.
Clerk of Assembly, Andrew Ker. Important leaders of the
government included Leven and Crawford. This incident
broke the resistance of both the Church and the State.
Less than a week later, Sept. the 3rd, the King's forces
met defeat at Worcester and Middleton, Leslie, Lauderdale
and others were taken prisoners.

1. Guthrie says that this Army had not over two or three
ordained ministers and a very few expectants with it.
The Waters, p. 95.
CHAPTER FIVE

ECCLESIASTICAL CONTENTION
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ECCLESIASTICAL CONTENTION

The Scottish Royalists were stunned at the defeat of their troops at Worcester and the flight of the King. Cromwell could now reign supremely. The capture of the nobility and the ministers at Elliot had decimated resistance in Scotland.

The Resolutioners suffered a severe blow when their leaders were placed on the "Discovery" and conveyed to the Tower in London. They tried to continue a much depleted 1651 Commission but with little success. They were powerless to prevent the divisions occurring in the Presbyteries.

The Protesters, on the other hand, took advantage of the abolition of a restrictive regime and began an active program. In accordance with a plan suggested by Wariston, Durham, Gillespie and Carstairs determined to call a meeting of the members of the old Commission of the Church of 1650 to be held at Glasgow on September the 24th. This meeting was then adjourned to meet at Edinburgh on the 30th.

The Edinburgh meeting was reported by the diurnals, speaking of the preparatory service, they say, "Sunday 28 September, Some of the Scots Ministers preached against the late design of the joyning with the Malignant party, and the Ministry and the Elders had great meetings that night after Sermon." On Tuesday the 30th Guthrie and Wariston held a

conference concerning the program of the meeting. Rutherford presided and led in prayer. After discussion it was agreed to begin the meeting with one day set apart for confession and prayer. Guthrie participated and advised Wariston as to his confession. On Saturday Guthrie and others supported Gillespie's request that advice be given to Glasgow Synod concerning the Protestation. This was opposed by Durham and resulted in a six hour debate, with Guthrie and others calling the conference "...a deserted meeting,..." and that they "...missee God's presence amongst us..." Livingstone participated in the conference and may at this time have gone to Leith to see if the Sectaries would consider the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. On Monday Jaffray presented his Causes which was the beginning of the continued conferences concerning the Sectarian influence in Scotland. Tuesday and Wednesday were spent in prayer and confession and then Wariston spoke on the causes of God's wrath "...which they pressed me to draw up in writ and give it in." This was presented on Friday. The same afternoon the Treaty of Breda was voted unlawful. Then followed decisions against the Resolutions, and conjunction in the army, together with the affirmation of the Protestation. They found it necessary to continue the 1650 Commission. They emitted causes for a fast.

which included the entry of the King as "...the mother
sin of the land." They approved The Causes of the Lord's
Wrath which was published shortly afterwards in the
diurnals and was widely circulated. The meeting concluded
about October the 25th and some of the members went to deal
with the Glasgow Synod. The next meeting was scheduled
for the second Wednesday in November.

There was some difficulty in Aberdeen among the members
of the church courts concerning the lawfulness of the last
General Assembly. The Synod of Lothian met and appointed
a committee to reconcile the Resolutioner Commission of the
Kirk and "...the Commission which was appointed by the
Ministers who did last meet at Edinburgh." This resulted
in a "...moderate and peaceable Paper..." being sent to
them.

The Protester Commission met at Stirling on November
12th but with less than the expected attendance. There
is no report of their meeting. They again met the latter
part of December in Edinburgh. The main concern of this

1. Row, Blair, p.287. It is difficult to know whether this
is The Causes of the Lord's Wrath.
2. In this original form it included only the ten articles.
For a discussion of the work vide APPENDIX F
3. Baillie, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.199f. This seems to be
1651 rather than 1652 as listed. Traill and Livingstone
were both deeply impressed by this first Protester
4. Sev.Pro. Nov. 13-20. The Synod of Fife also approved
this action.
5. It was well attended by the Protester Presbytery of
Linlithgow who had lately refused the jurisdiction of
their Synod. They especially opposed the Synod's desire
for a contribution to send Robert Leighton to London to
see the prisoners there. They contended that had they
been following their calling they would not be in the
Tower. Sev.Pro. Nov.27 - December 4th. The imprisoned
ministers' wives had already gone to London.
meeting was the writing of a letter to Cromwell, "...remonstrating the iniquity of their invasion, and the wrongs they had done to the truth and ordinances of God; as also the dangers that they feared should ensue unto religion and the truth of God."

The diurnals report the meeting as well attended, and that there was a great debate over the letter. Andrew Ker was appointed to deliver the letter. "They sent for a Pass for him, but it was denied; and so perhaps this Letter may sleep for lack of a convenient Messenger to convey." The diurnals print the main tenets contained in the letter. It was dated January the 2nd and declares against the Invasion, and Toleration. In particular it deprecates civil interference with the ministry. The letter ends with an appeal to Cromwell to "...seriously endeavour that our religion and libertie may be preserved to us intire..."

In a despatch dated January the 27th the Mercurius Politicus reports that there was an attempt at this time to unite the two groups,

"Periston and his Complices have given a Commission to some privately, to repair to ther dissenting brethren who stood for the late Generall Assembly, to work them to disown it, and so to grow to an Union among themselves. This is now in managing, and the persons

1. Row, Blair, p.290, cp. p.293.
employed have already been with Mr. Robert Blavre, and Mr. James Wood with whom they have wrought so far as to lay aside that General Assembly, but they will not yield to dis-own it. From them they are going to Mr. Andrew Cants party, to bring them off from their Separation. Others are to go to Mr. Robert Bailly to endeavour to work the like in those parts. By this odd shuffling together, they think they shall make themselves more comfortable, so as to gain better terms of Indulgence (if possible) for the upholding of that ambitious Interest of the Kirks spiritual, or rather carnal Kingdom."

Meantime English Commissioners had been sent to Scotland the first of the year. They arrived on the 15th of January and on the 31st declared English Law in force and Carolinian authority abolished.

The Resolutioners held a meeting on February the 12th at which time they felt that it was necessary to draft a Warning and Testimony. They called in some of the Protesters, including Guthrie, to join with them.

"Warriston offered a paper to be a ground of a Declaration, therewith all were satisfied as to the matter; but the Dissenters would not concur with the others, unless they would likewise agree with them in the differences between them as to the Saint Andealan Assembly; which they denying, the meeting was thereby for the present, rendered ineffectual, and is dissolved. The Dissenters and Remonstrators are upon thought by themselves of framing a Protestation or Declaration in answer to ours. Warriston is retiring out of Edinburg to draw it up."

As a result of their failure to obtain joint action the Resolutioners drafted their own warning and sent it to Blair for revision, but there is no evidence that it was ever emitted.

2. The Protestation, Reviewed and Refuted, pp. 7f.
The English next call the Scottish representatives to Dalkeith and ask them to take "The Tender" which gave consent to the incorporation of Scotland and England into one commonwealth, without Kings and Lords, and which also included a promise on the part of the Scots not to attempt anything against the English. A blizzard of papers descended upon the representatives against such consent but they did not have much of an alternative.

Suspicions arose during this period. There was an ugly rumor against Guthrie and Gillespie of their having been bribed by Cromwell and drawing up the Protestation with him in Glasgow. Blair and Durham were suspected in their attempts for union. Baillie was alarmed at their success in reaching agreement with Gillespie.

Guthrie strongly opposed the "Tender". In his trial he states that his family was cossed by a number of English soldiers, that he

"...was violently thrust from the pulpit, and quartered upon for six months together, for preaching against the tender, and giving warning to his congregation not to take the same, as being destructive to religion and the liberties of the nation, and the ancient civil government of this kingdom in his majesty's person and family."  

He further says,

"...being delayed by some, and challenged by sundry of

3. Wodrow, History, Vol. I, p.178. Cf. Consultations, Vol. I, p.4 which speaks of the sufferings of them that speak against the government. One of the papers that may have been written against the Tender is CSL, MSS, Wod. Col. LS I. No.22. It uses the phrase "water of Sihor" and cites the failure of the Sectaries to allow elections.
his counsel in this nation for a paper published by me, wherein he [Cromwell] was declared to be an usurper, and his government to be usurpation; I [was] threatened to have been sent to the court for writing a paper against Oliver Cromwell ...

It is surprising that many of the Scottish Royalists were the first to accept offices under the Cromwellian regime. They took power in opposition to the clergy. In Edinburgh the new magistrates threatened the ministers. On April the 21st the Declaration of the Union of the two Kingdoms was proclaimed and seven judges appointed for Scotland.

In the meantime Blair was still working for the Union of the Kirk, but was defeated by Baillie in the Presbytery and Synod of Glasgow. On the other hand Menzies was in conference with Wariston concerning the Dundee Assembly and the rumor that the English intended to remove all from the Universities who would not take the Tender. Wariston and Guthrie were dissatisfied with the overtures for union and the latter desired a meeting to discuss a proposed conference for union planned by the Synod of Fife. The day after the Declaration of Union, Wariston heard that those who took the Tender would be given the power "...to plant kirks with what ministers they pleased..."

On Friday, April the 23rd, Guthrie observed a day of prayer in his family for God's direction in the matter of church union. About this time Guthrie received

Gillespie's angry letters addressed to Wariston condemning the latter's failure to attend meetings for union and his questions concerning the same. Wariston points out another difficulty, stating, "I did heare thes of Fyfe would not meet with [James Guthrie], M. [Patrick Gillespie] and uthers depos'd..." At the same time the Synod of Lothian restored William Colville, and some of the members even suggested him for the Principalship of Edinburgh University.

The Resolutioners at the instigation of those in the Synod of Fife had sent Overtures for union to the Resolutioner Presbyteries and Synods asking their approval of the Overtures between April the 28th and 30th. Upon their reply it was planned to notify the Protesters to meet with them in Edinburgh on May the 12th "...to concurr in such a necessarie work that may conduce for making up ane union in the Lord..." The notices were so late in arrival that the Protesters asked for a delay of a fortnight, but this was not granted.

The Resolutioners met at Edinburgh as a Commission and elected James Wood as their Moderator and A. Dicksone as Clerk. They requested the Protesters to send representatives to them to give in their objections to the last Assembly. Wariston says that the Protesters desired that a way might be devised for

1. Wariston, Diary, p.162.
2. SPS, MSS, Minutes, April 13, 1652.
3. In Observations Upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee (n.p., n.p., 1653). His authorship may be determined by use of his Diary for many Protester works.
the choice of commissioners and the sitting of the Assembly to the satisfaction of both parties. This was not to be. The Resolutioners proceeded to appoint July the 21st as the opening date of the Assembly and appointed the ministers who were to preach. One of the difficulties which perplexed the Protesters was that the calling of the Assembly was based on the authority of the previous Assembly at St. Andrews which they had disowned.

At this time there is another group meeting in Edinburgh, Wariston reports that he heard

"...of the deposed ministers meeting, fasting, and preaching in the Tallyors' Hall, and sending some of their number to the meeting, telling them that, if they would not repone them, they would think on ways of their own reposition themselves, as well as others (who) continowed preaching notwithstanding their depositions."¹

The Protesters held a meeting on Thursday the 20th of May in which they determined not to concur in the ensuing Assembly, but to give in a testimony against its constitution. Wariston drew up reasons for the Protester failure to concur asserting that it would be contrary to their protestation. They all departed on Monday the 24th satisfied with their decision. A diurnalist reports

¹ Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.166. This is confirmed by Mer.Fol. which describes the meeting and says "...their Commissioners have opened the mouthes of several of their stamp formerly silenced, and recommended them to divers congregations to preach." This must refer to a restoration by the Resolutioners. May 13-20.
² Guthrie at this time fears that many would concur. Vide, Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.168.
"since their dissolution, the other dissenting Ministers, Mr. Cant, Guthry, Gillespie, with the Lord Wariston, and others, have kept their meetings these 2 last days more close than ever, being very private in all their Debates and Resolutions; neither do they meet in the ordinary place: But its said their Intention is to resolve upon a solemn Protestation against the next general Assembly; and that all the deposed Ministers shall be restored."1

The English appointed a Commission for the Visitation of the Universities and for Church Affairs on June the 4th, which was to sit every Monday at Edinburgh.

Concerning the ministers, they say

"...they shall and will remove all and every Minister and Ministers, through this Nation, from his and their Place and Places, that shall be found scandalous in his and their life and conversation, and take care that other fit Persons be put in his and their Place and Places; and in all other Places that are, or shall be vacant: And shall also hear and determine all Causes relating to the Maintenance of the Ministers or others, as aforesaid."3

The Protesters held a meeting on Friday the 16th of July with nearly a hundred ministers present. Those who were absent were written on the opening day. Wariston's draft of the Remonstrance and Protestation against the forthcoming General Assembly was presented and referred to a committee. On the morning of July the 21st, the opening day of Assembly, the Protesters gained full

2. For the text of the appointment vide, Firth, C.H., Scotland and the Commonwealth, pp. 44.  
3. Ibid. For opposition to this vide, Mer. Pol. June 10-7, p. 1677. A synod meeting in Edinburgh wrote "A Testimony against the present encroaching..."  
4. Livingstone may not have been typical when he wrote "...the Protesters kept so many meetings, so numerous, and of so long continuance, which I thought made the division wider, and more conspicuous than it otherwise would have been, and therefore I stayed from many meetings." Life, p. 135.
support for the documents.

The General Assembly opened in the High Kirk, Edinburgh, with sermons by Dickson and Hutcheson. That afternoon, Variston declares,

"...M.A. Cant with 32 uthers, Ministers and elders, presented the Representation and the 8 propositions to the new pretended Assembly, and had a long debate, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased agayne sensibly to assist me in the debate, and to move my heart to tears that I was scarce able to read out our protestation of them...they gave us for answer that they behaved first to constitute themselves, and then consider them and appoint a conference..."1

In the Representation the Protesters lament the division, speak of broken Covenants, and ask the Resoluti...
authority of the previous Assembly, that it is pro-
limited by the Act of the Dundee Assembly against
opposers, and the restrictions now imposed upon some
Presbyteries. They claim to represent the majority of
the godly in their Protestation. Their Protestation is
signed by 64 ministers and 85 elders.

Concerning attempts at conferences Wariston says
that the Resolutioners did keep their distance,
"...they would neither send nor allow any of their
number to motion a Conference to their Brethren who
were met together, but desired some of their number
to tell such of them as they met upon the streets,
that they were willing to confer; and when at length
there was some meeting of some few of both sides,
those of the Assembly, who were upon the Conference,
could by no persuasion nor reason be induced to give
any note of the Overtures in writing, though it was
often and earnestly desired, that being clearly
communicated to the whole meeting of Protesters they
might return a clear Answer thereunto."  

When this request was refused the Protesters left their
instructions - which required the securing of the Resolu-
tioner offer and presenting it to the whole Protester
group- and returned to their own meeting. They then
addressed a letter to David Dickson, the Resolutioner
Moderator, together with their Reasons and Instructions.

1. The Representation, pp. 15 ff. The names are interest-
ing, 14 who protested in St. Andrews are not listed,
but there are 48 new ministers and 83 new elders.
There are both gains and losses in the West and the
Aberdeen Sectarians are now lost to the cause. Three
names are printed twice.
2. Wariston, Observations, pp. 27f. Cf. Guthrie, The Waters,
p.170.
3. Which were later printed as Reasons Why the Ministers,
Cannot Agree to the Overtures...Together with Instructions
(Leith: Evan Tyler, 1652). The text is given in Rev.Prc.
The Resolutioner Overtures had offered the repeal of censures in exchange for a denial of the Protestations and a silence concerning past differences. The Protesters replied that no remedy is offered for past or future defections, that a retraction of their past stand is demanded together with the affirmation of past Assemblies but no free Assembly is offered, and that they are not concerned with personal suffering, but the sufferings of the land and the purification of the Church.

The Protesters excused themselves for the breakdown of negotiations, completed their Reasons, appointed a fast and a meeting for the first of November, and drew up instructions for a delegation appointed to go to the English judges.

An English reporter writes concerning the ecclesiastical meetings at Edinburgh,

"...the public resolutioners...have made themselves the Generall Assembly, are hotly opposed by the Protesters. This protestation enclosed, the Lord Warriston brought into the Assembly before ther constitution, and read it with such zeal and acted it with such violence, that I thought he had been wild; for I never saw his Lordship before. Such senseless and bitter actings there was betwixt them, that I am ashamed to repeat: notwithstanding the publick resolution-men under the conduct of Mr. David Dick, and Mr.James Wood, and Mr.G.Hutchinson chose their Moderator Mas.David, and sit as an Assembly but the poorest and leanest one that ever sate in Scotland, that the old Ministers cry The glory is departed, and..."

1. An Act and Overture of the Generall Assembly...with a Letter(n.p.; n.p.,1652); Peterkin, Records, p.649 et al.op. Guthrie says that the Resolutioners shut the doors of the Lord's house "...barring out all such from entering into the ministrie or to be elders as doe not embrace the overture...of the...assemblie at Edinburgh concerning renouncing the protestation..." The Waters, p.165.

2. Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.184 says that they went to complain ".against their commission and practise..."
truly so it is, they are absolutely irreconciable without a strange condiscension. As soon as the Protestation came out, it was put to a vote what character to give it; and by Mr. James Woods authority it was voted unchristian, false and frivolous. A Committee is chosen out among them to set down the character of a Malignant, that they may know hereafter how to distinguish men, and the old Ministers were very angry at it lest they should be stiled Malignants who were formerly for the publick resolutions. The Assembly appointed Ministers of their own to preach in every church in Edinburgh the last Lords Day; but Mr. Sterling and Mr. Rob. Trail another Minister, who were Protesters set up two of their own gang, and displaced the Assembly men. 30 of the deposed Ministers put in a menacing petition to the Assembly to be restored, in a very high language, urging this as one reason, that they desired no more favor than the Protestors, who had vilified the authority of the Church more than they had done. But they voted it a threatening of the Assembly; and yet they pretend to print the petition, and make a new kind of protestation.”

The General Assembly appointed a new Commission, appointed ministers to deliver letters to and deal with the noblemen, appointed a fast, and enacted new restrictions on the reception of expectants.

By August the 9th the Resolutioners’ answer to the Protestation is in Wariston’s hands. It methodically but not convincingly attacks the main points of the Protestation but omits many difficult and important subordinate items.

1. Mer. Pol., August 12-9, pp. 180ff. Cp. Sev. Pro., July 29-Aug. 5 which states that the Resolutioners had three times as many at their meeting as the Protesters.
2. For this new act vide, CSL, MSS, LS. I. 6. 10. Milne Col., pp. 89ff. For a more useful act by the same Assembly concerning lecturing and catechising vide, Ibid., pp. 211ff.
3. This is the work of Dickson, Moderator of the Assembly and Commission. He had it delivered to the Protesters. Vide, A Reply to the Late Printed Answer... (Leith; E. Tyler, 1653) p. 3. The title of the answer is The Protestation...1652..Reviewed and refuted which has already been quoted. For authorship vide, NL, MSS, 3159, p. 16. “Mr. David Dickson...put forth and ansr yrto in print with an act of the assembly with their overtures to make an agreement...” The same document describes the 1652 General Assembly.
Dickson characteristically speaks of the youth of the Protesters saying, "Scarce twenty of them are yet of six years standing in the Ministry, and but about five only of them were Ministers when the National Covenant was subscribed." He admits difficulties in the elections of General Assembly Commissioners.

In the ensuing weeks the Protesters worked on their answer to Protection. Reviewed. One of the diurnals speaks of their work on a large treatise.

Blair is still crusading for union. Because both groups were meeting in Edinburgh in November, he wrote to the ministers asking them to discuss union at that time. The Protesters at their meeting in November agreed to delay the publication of their polemic works until the Resolutioner Commission met. They sent a letter to the Resolutioners asking them to forbear to act officially, as they have, and not to enforce any acts made since the division. The Resolutioners agree not to enforce censures, but said that they will not interfere with the lower church courts. They agreed to a conference but their reply was sent so late that the Protesters had already dissolved before its delivery. Chicosley states that Blair's attempts had been thwarted by the Resolutioners and reports that

"Some of their number said privately that the acts anent the public resolutiones must never be rescinded for that was the warrant to the consciences of the people to rise and joyne all together in armes for the King when he should land with forraine forces whereof there is great expectation against the Spring though for my part I see little ground for it."1

Trail complained that the Resolutioners dissolved their meeting before they sent their answer, and also that the reply was so unsatisfactory that a conference based upon it was useless. The Resolutioners had already scheduled a conference for January and February at St. Andrews.

Disgusted with the Resolutioner offer the Protesters proceeded to issue their papers under the title The Nullity with The Vindication...with a Review attached. The Resolutioners, about July the 1st, had published in London A Vindication of the Freedom and Lawfulness of the Late Generall Assembly. One of its interesting questions was why the Protesters sat for a while in the Assembly at St. Andrews which they afterwards contended was null.

"Reasons Proving..." included in The Nullity is the

1. NL, MSS, Wod.Col. 4to 29, No.62. The Resolutioners denied this before Cromwell but it seems to be one of the hidden arguments against rescission. For another letter of this time vide, Ibid., 33, No.15.
2. Most of the papers are Wariston's. Concerning the Vindication...with a Review Baillie says it was more Guthrie's than Wariston's in op.cit., Vol.III, p.213. There is no mention of it in Wariston's Diary. Guthrie layers seems to imply that The Waters is his first major work in the controversy. Ogilvie assigns it to Wariston. The Nullity includes quite a lot of Wariston's papers.
3. A Vindication of the Freedom and Lawfulness of the Late Generall Assembly...(London; n.p.,1652). This work is normally assigned to James Wood though there were many capable men in the Tower that may have done the work. The Reviewer implies that the author was a man of learning and had been at Breda. But he gives similar evidence though not as concrete that would seem to point away from Wood.
4. Ogilvie assigns Rutherfurd as author.
best work yet put out. Compared with it the *Vindication* ..Review is laborous and pedantic. The latter's main value is in its historical information. It does truthfully assert that the Resolutioners have yet to bring one ecclesiastical act to support their position, that after gaining an unrestricted levy only, at most, one third of the men available were called. He denies that there was a lack of time at St. Andrews for conference since the opening sessions were devoted to the case of a man and his glebe.

Meanwhile Guthrie was not only having difficulty with the Sectarian garrison in Stirling but within his own Church. On July the 14th the Town Council minutes read that Robert Russell, Convener, has a "commissoun frome the craftis to show that they are desirous to give one call for a minister in place of Mr. James Guthrie who is now lawlie deposit..." On the 17th the Council appointed representatives to go to General Assembly for this purpose. The same day they determined to ask that Henry Guthrie be restored to this his former charge. As a result

"...comperit Mr. David Bennet minister and with him Adam Winchet and Mr. Johne Nistite two of the eldares of the pretendit kirk sessioun. And declarit that the sessioun being informit that the counsell was to give one call to Mr. Harie Guthrie. They had appoyntit thame to give in a protestation..."

1. S. MSS, s.v.
2. Ibid., s.v. James Schort, Provost, and Thomas Bruce also protested the action. For a printed entry in the matter vide, *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling* (Glasgow: C. S. and Sons of the Rock Soc., 1867) p.204. An undivulged report is receiv'd on August the 2nd and Guthrie remains.
It is quite evident from this that there was a "pretendit" session. Whether this means the one that was elected just prior to Guthrie's arrival at Stirling or not is problematical. The elders, who were his supporters, had been elected then, and since that time. After this attempt to oust him, Guthrie published his work *A Treatise of Ruling Elders and Deacons*. Professor Henderson has so masterfully treated the subject of the Elder in his book that it is superfluous to attempt to give the history or describe the office for this period. He calls Guthrie's book the best discussion of the subject during the Cromwellian period.

Guthrie gives his usual description of the land suffering under God's punitive wrath and asserts that one of the reasons for this is the impurity of church members and officers. He speaks of a great body of gracious men who serve as elders, but also describes the other type who give the enemy reason to reproach us.

Guthrie gives three reasons for writing. The first is that the church officers neither know nor perform their duties. The second concerns the vindication of the offices "...that the mouths of such who speak evil may be stopped, and others who stumble may be satisfied."

2. Henderson, G.D., *The Scottish Ruling Elder* (London, Jas. Clarke & Co., [1932]). Special attention is called to Chapter VI for the historical setting and the previous chapters for the early history and duties. A great deal of information concerning the deacon may be gleaned from Chapter III "The Elder at the Plate". There is not a great deal of material on the office of the deacon.
The third is that Ministers and Elders in the Presbytery and Church "...where the Lord have set me; all which did receive some spirit and life, when I found my name among those to whom the Gen. Assembly did commit and recommend this work long agoa."

While Guthrie was at Lauder the Presbytery in 1646 had had such a paper distributed to the Churches ordering that copies should be made for their elders. It may have been this treatise. Two years later he was asked by the General Assembly to work on the committee which he mentions. Though not indicated, it is quite possible that he now issues the treatise to justify a session which has been elected in Stirling together with those that have been purged by the Protesters elsewhere. It is to be their continual contention that they have purged their sessions on spiritual grounds, as compared with the purging done by the Resolutioners in their sessions of elders because they were Protesters.

All too frequently the influence of the Sects on Scotland in this period has been dismissed as transitory and unconsequential. This is not true of the Protesters. They rose to the defense of their kirk. Whereas in Aberdeen the cry was for a "gathered" church among those infected with sectarianism, Guthrie and others advocated a stricter

1. Guthrie, A Treatise, p.16.
2. GSL, MSS, Stow Kirk Session Minutes, Sept.13th and 20th, 1646.
3. Peterkin, Records, pp. 519 No.158,558, No.221 He was appointed with Hamilton. The following year Hamilton and Smith were appointed; Guthrie was not then reappointed.
discipline of those who were not worthy Christians in the church as contrasted with the sectarian demands for evidences of conversion for admission into the church. Thus, the issues of the national church which included all parishioners, infant baptism without regeneration, the contamination of sacraments and last but not least the sectarian congregational eldership were all live issues at this time. One has only to read Lockyer's sermon to realize the challenge to the Scottish Eldership.

There was another element that should be noticed. If Baillie was typical of the Resolutioners, they were not happy by the large number of elders that joined the Protesters, especially in the Glasgow area. They complain that were it not for the elders they would have control of the higher church courts. Whether they recognised it or not, this was an echo of Hamilton's contention in the 1638 Assembly. The Bishops lost the Kirk because of the Elders.

Henderson calls attention to the fact that Guthrie nowhere mentions the elders serving the Communion. The explanation may possibly be found in the fact that there seems to have been no precedent for including it officially in duties, and next that the Protesters had a difficult problem to face in this matter. They had refused the

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1. Surprisingly little support is found from elders for the Resolutioner Cause, as contrasted with the Protester Cause. It is interesting to note that the Resolutioners complained of non-clerical members praying in Protester meetings. NL, MSS, Wod.Col., fol.61. Nos.79-83 concern the right of elders to membership in higher church courts than the kirk session.
Lord's Supper to any who took the Tender. Members of the congregation had taken positions under the English government which had required taking the Tender. Many of these were magistrates and people in other powerful places of influence. It was therefore inadvisable to have a parish communion in the prescribed manner. This may explain the large gatherings composed of a number of Protestant congregations which the Resolutioners deplored.

Guthrie in his work relies on Junius, the Fathers, the Books of Discipline and the works of his friend Geo. Gillespie. He admits that there will be little new about the book but he points out its chief virtue when he says,

"I have put together in one, and digested into some Method what was lying scattered of before, that these who either could not, nor would not...search for such things may now have them at their hand." 

To the expected complaint that the standards are placed too high, he answers that if the Elders do not measure up then other men should be found to replace them.

He first deals with the title stating that all elders are Ruling Elders not just the representatives to the higher church courts. They are part of the Church and of the people.

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1. When Symson held Communion in 1657 at Stirling, the clerk records that it is the first time for nine years. CHR, MSS, Kirk Session Minutes, Nov.5, 1657. He also omits three other duties given by Henderson viz., the election of the minister, the selection of the precentor, and the specific duties regarding education.
2. Guthrie, J., A Treatise, p.17. Many elders would not read the works of Gillespie, Rutherford, Henderson and others, but they would read Guthrie's short treatise.
3. Andrew Donaldson exhorted his elders to tend the parish when he went away as a Chaplain.
For the institution he cites the usual Biblical foundation, viz., the Old Testament economy, Romans 12: 6-8, I Corinthians 12: 28, and I Timothy 5: 17. The duties are not arbitrary but are to be done in humble sincerity with a holy, grave and prudent bearing. He holds to the life tenure of position, but not necessarily of service.

He divides vocation into two divisions, the inward which comprises a good conscience and the purpose to employ one's gifts for Christ, and the outward which comprises the election and trial by the Church. Concerning the election of Elders Guthrie advocates the nomination by the Session with their election subject to the approval of the congregation. The actual trial is conducted by the Session, and concerns the character, knowledge, experiential religion, and ability. They are admitted to office by a service in the Kirk with a sermon on their duties, prayer and humiliation, an engagement by the candidates to perform their duties faithfully, and by the congregation to obey them.

He outlines the personal and official duties of the Elders. In the first he lists and elaborates on the Pauline requirements. He describes the Elder's home as a place where he reads the Scripture, sings psalms, and prays. He emphasises their private activity of visiting and counselling the members of the congregation. They have a special charge over the souls of the people and must therefore be diligent. Official duties include representing the Session at superior church courts. Guthrie makes a theoretical provision for an ecumenical court with Elders represented
and composed of all "...Nations professing faith of Jesus Christ." With a few exceptions viz., the laying on of hands, power of excommunication, etc. the Elder has the full powers of a minister.

All members of whatever type or condition are subject to the discipline of the Kirk Session. They are, in addition to disciplining the congregation, to admonish each other. Guthrie emphasises the need for discipline in cases of omission of Christian duties, and calls attention to some elders tending to overlook the lesser violations. He warns against the use of, or meddling in civil jurisdiction. No person must be brought before the public trial until sufficient evidence is collected to justify it. The Elder must not let the position or influence of the offender affect his duty. He deprecates the idea of penance in censures saying that they are correctives used to bring the sinner back to a true sense of his guilt. Until this is obtained the offender is not to be presented before the church.

No man should be put in as an Elder simply to make up a required number on the Session. Men, though experienced in civil power but inexperienced in spiritual things, are not to be accepted. He approved the assignment of Elders to districts.

He discusses briefly the office of deacon under the same divisions. He opposes the practice of some churches in failing to distinguish between the two offices. Each

church should have both. The regulations concerning calling are identical to that of elder. The Pauline character requirements are given. The duties are listed as the taking exact notice of the poor in the congregation, the collection and promotion of giving to the poor, the faithful delivery of the collections to the treasury of the Kirk, the observing and reporting those who are ill and need aid to the Session, and the equable and fair distribution to the poor. Assistants to the deacons are advocated who will aid in canvassing the parish to find the poor and to aid in the collections. Guthrie proposes that there be as many deacons as elders.

The only reference to deacon in this period seems to be in 1656, when it was feared that the English were interfering with the office with the appointment of Overseers, but the Church was reassured in this matter.

Something should be said about the use of the treatise. The first important instance is in a letter of Wariston to Menzies and others concerning the purity of the church. Wariston tells him to go to the Presbytery to get his Session properly constituted "... according to the rules of the Word and the acts of the Kirk wherein the lait tractat printed by M.J.G. will give you light..."

This Treatise was used to describe the conditions of

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Sessions in protestor literature. It is quoted almost word for word, but not referred to in *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath*, and in Guthrie's "The Waters". In Guthrie's last speech he indicates that he was hated for endeavoring to purge the Church of God of corrupt Ministers and elders.

The best result is found in a sermon at New Kirk at the ordination of Elders. Concerning the duties of the Elders the preacher says they are

"...at length sett down in that little treatise of Ruling Elders and Deacons, and we can add nothing to them, we shall mention them to you and remit you to your little books of which everie one of you hath one, for your personal qualifications..."  

He also refers the Deacons to the *Treatise*. This shows that the book was used at least by one congregation as a handbook for each new elder. A new edition was issued again in 1655 and then several times again after the restoration of Presbyterianism to Scotland. In many ways it was Guthrie's great contribution.

About this time the English Judges were meeting at various courts. In Stirling they had brought before them numerous cases including witches. They permitted the 4 witches to go home upon caution until April.

Toward the beginning of 1653 some of the ministers

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1. Presbytery of Ayr. The preacher is probably William Guthrie.
2. UGL, MSS, BE.7. y.1. p.490.
3. A damaged copy is in CSL. Through the assistance of the C.I.D. of the Corporation of Edinburgh and their equipment the date was determined. It was not a first edition and it definitely was 165[?]. The scarcity of copies seems to be due to their use rather than their unpopularity.
4. Lamont, *Diary*, p.47. The first witch burned by the Commonwealth was in February, 1653.
who had been imprisoned in London were being released. Sharp appears to have been the first, followed in January by Law and the ministers of Dundee.

By February the Nullity was well distributed. Blair, after reading it, called those who desired union together for a monthly prayer meeting to heal the breaches. In the same month the Protesters attempted to gain control of the Glasgow area. In spite of the opposition of Baillie, Gillespie was appointed as Principal of the University of Glasgow. On the 23rd the Resolutioner Commission met at Edinburgh for two and a half days, called a fast, wrote the Presbyteries regarding the government's interference with ecclesiastical affairs, and condemned the Nullity saying that it is guilty not only of "...suppression of the true storie of the business, but contrarie thereunto..." They asked for rebuttals to be sent to the next Commission meeting. This same month Stirling had a fire in the town.

Both the Resolutioners and the Protesters held meetings in Edinburgh in March. One diurnal reports that the Resolutioners locked the Church where the Protesters "fere..." 1

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1. Baillie, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.203-213. Gillespie was sworn into office on Feb.14th. Vide also, The perfect Diurnal, Mar.28 - Apr.4, p.2619. Gillespie seems to have gained the position through Judge Edward Moysley. 2. The causes of which were printed. They are also in GAC Vol.III, pp.544f. 3. Ibid. p.542. 4. A perfect Diurnal, Feb.28 - Mar.7, p.2541. About the same time Robert Leighton was chosen Principal at Edinburgh. Guthrie is reputed to have stayed at the home of Leighton when he came to Edinburgh. Vide, Wodrow, Analecta, Vol.I, p.374.
to meet. The Protesters in order to get in "...brake the glass and put in one at the window to open the door..."

"The Brethren of the General Assembly meet in one place, and the dissenting Brethren...in another, each contending to carry on a different interest." writes a reporter who adds that the Resolutioners drew up an act about the celebration of Communion. Another dispatch speaks of dissension among the Protesters,

"Mr Patrick Gillespie and Mr Lavington, two Ministers of note with Sir William Bruce, Sir Andrew Ker, and divers other elders have withdrawn themselves from the meeting of the rest of the Remonstrators, as being much dissatisfied with several of their proposals. For Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Rutherfurd, Mr Blair, and other leading men of that Society, wherein the Lord Warestone is very active, purpose to appear in a Remonstrance, where they will discover and lay open the Defections, as they call them, with the Deviations and mis-carriages of England and Scotland people; not including themselves, for that in their own apprehensions they are the only men that kept their Garments unspotted.

The first thought this an unseasonable course, and therefore refused to join with the latter; declaring that if there might be any humble Expedient offered to the Parliament, where Grievances might be redressed, or anything rectified that is amiss, they should concur with them."

The Declaration or Testimonie, mentioned by the diurnals, was drafted on March the 17th, and directed to the English. They condemn the Invasion, and the imposed union. They criticise the English for making the conjunction with Malignants a cause for the Invasion, while now they take them into their own government. Toleration has resulted in

"...many papists who were formerly excommunicated and departed forth of the land...having now returned..." They deplore the civil interference with ecclesiastical affairs, and the failure of the English to adhere to the Covenant. They sent this paper with a letter to Col. Lilburne, enclosing a copy of The Causes of the Lord's Wrath.

On the same day, in a letter signed by Andrew Cant, the Protesters call upon the Resolutioners for union. They are critical of the past actions of the Resolutioners in the Forfar act of censureship, the letter to noblemen, and their offers for union. It is stated that at the conference for union the Protesters waited for three weeks to discuss the matter with the Resolutioners, but received no answer until after they had adjourned. Due to the causes and the nature of the Resolutioner fasts they do not feel that they can join in them. James Fergusson replied to the letter in April. The Protesters also addressed a letter to the Aberdeen Separatists at this time.

On the following day, March the 18th, the Resolutioners were reinforced by the rest of the ministers who had been imprisoned in London.

Fergusson prepared his answer to Cant's letter and they both were published as A Letter from the Protesters with an Answer thereunto from an Asserter. In this Fergusson

2. Firth, C.H., Scotland and the Commonwealth, pp.108f and notes.
3. The date given by A Perfect Diurnall, Apr.18-25, p.2661.
denies all that Cant has brought forward, saying that the Resolutioners have not departed from the Covenant in their actings, and that he has no knowledge of their acting against the Protesters. His main defense is his attack upon the Protesters in their stirring up of the country against the Resolutioners by the Causes of God's wrath and accusations against them. He concluded by asking the Protesters fourteen questions. Among the important enquiries were; Must the Resolutioners deny the Resolutions before a conference can be held? Is it unlawful to join with those who approved the Dundee Assembly? What authority do you have to read 'The Causes of God's Wrath'? Why do you debar some of the people who come of age from Communion? Why do you cast Resolutioner members out of Kirk Sessions? He concluded with a plea for union. Fergusson was answered in July by John Hamilton.

At the meeting of the Synod at Dunblane, April the 12th, Guthrie and Simpson together with Sir William Bruce, one of Guthrie's elders and a member of the Protester Presbytery of Stirling, protested the failure of the body at roll call to call the names of Guthrie and Simpson. Guthrie protested the laying aside the matter until the choice of Moderator was made, and excepted to the Resolutioners sitting in the meeting. His protest is rejected because the matter had been decided by the Assembly. The Protesters presented an overture asking that the two groups meet together to discuss the causes of God's wrath on the Land. They

1. Not James Hamilton, who was a Resolutioner.
handed in a copy of the enlarged *Causes of the Lord's Wrath* with their overture. The Synod after speaking against the book agreed to a conference.

The Synod attacked the statement in *The Nullity* that the election of the commissioners from Dunkeld Presbytery was rejected because they were unsatisfied with the Resolutions. The clerk recorded

"Eftir the Synod haid found the...allesadge to be a none trueth & calumny Mr. James Guthrie who was supposit to be the wriettar yrof and did not deny the same did publiclie aervr in the face of Synod that it was the fault on the printer qrunto the moderator replyt that it could not be the fault of the printer being so oftymes repeatad and prest in the book."¹

He also gives the status of Guthrie in the Synod saying, that though the Synod has

"...permittit Mr.James Guthrie and Mr.James Sympsone to speak and reasone in the Synod yet they did not acknowledge them to be members but judges them (as they ar) deposit Ministers..."²

The month of May seems to have been rather quiet.³ Wariston's exhortation for union is mentioned. Brodie and Edward Mosely, one of the English judges, discussed the Declaration and Testimony of the Protesters at which time Mosely asserted that "...Lilburn said, He would see, if the Assembly sat again, by what authority they sat."⁴ Brodie speaks of the night of the 25th of May saying, "It was the night that the Protesters and the Assemblies Commission came to town."

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1. *SPS, MSS, Minutes*, s.v.Apr.13. None of the Protesters assign Guthrie as the author.
2. Ibid., p.186. In the June meeting they refer them to General Assembly. The October meeting was interrupted by soldiers.
3. Brodie's Diary seems to be the main source for this month.
4. Brodie, Diary, p.35.
5. Ibid., p.43.
It may be at this time that the materials of a Presby-
terial warning are drawn up by the Resolutioners. They
are taken to Guthrie, Wariston, Brodie and others of the
Protesters, but were refused by them.

The Resolutioner Commission held what was to be its
last meeting from the 25th to the 30th. They were not
satisfied with the rebuttals received concerning the
_Nullity_ and sent for more information. They considered
2 intrusions, asked the Presbytery of Aberdeen to proceed
against Separatists, and selected a committee to meet in
Douglas' house to consider overtures for union.

Antecedent to their meeting the Protesters had dis-
tributed the enlarged _Causes of the Lord's Wrath_. The
Resolutioner Commission heartily condemned it. They also
wrote to the Protesters telling them why they were unable
to grant the Protester requirements for a conference and
offering a conference on their own terms. On the 27th
Blair, Durham and Brodie went to Wariston's chamber to
exhort the Protesters that peace and union might be achieved.
Rutherford's comment was that he heard so much about peace
for men but so little about peace with God. Brodie says
that the whole afternoon of the next day was spent"...in
jangling without any fruit."

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2. In Linlithgow there were three men for the parish, one
   of whom was an Englishman. Cf. _A Perfect Diurnall_, June
   6-13, p.2776.
4. Brodie, _Diary_, p.44. For a full account of the conference
   vide, pp.48ff; Traill's letter, CSL, MSS, Wod.Col., LS I.
   for union.
In the period that followed a number of polemic works were issued by both sides. The much delayed answer to Dickson's *Protestation...Reviewed* was issued by Wariston with several other works under the title *An Answer to the Declaration...and...Protestation...Reviewed...with Observations...and Papers...*. In his introduction he condemns the secrecy concerning the acts of the pretended assemblies, stating that the Protesters could hardly approve what is unknown. He says that the Protesters have given in over twenty papers in favor of purging the army, yet he asks the Resolutioners to show one case where by design the Protesters have aided the Sectaries. He then traces the history of the Resolutioner activity, answers the Reviewer showing that the Protesters have half of the membership of the 1650 Commission, seems to refer to Guthrie when he speaks of one who was for prelacy but now is "...very useful in his station, for promoting the Work of Reformation beyond others, of whom more was expected.' and shows the inconsistency of saying the Protesters are young and insignificant and then describing them as important men who swayed the Church to their opinions.

Several letters exchanged between the two factions in November, 1652 are then included in the work, followed by the

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1. For authorship vide, Wariston, *Diary*, Vol. II, p.189, where he is writing these papers under the dates August 16, 17 and 19, 1652. *Observations* was also issued separately.
2. The Records of the Assembly were doubtless captured with the ministers at Elliot, which was true of some of the Commission records.
Observations upon the Answer of the Commission... It is here that he says that some of the Resolutioners say that they must keep the Resolutions so that the whole body of the people may rise in arms with the foreigners "...when they shall land with the King." The Sectaries seeing this and hearing of the rising in the North could hardly have been favorable to the Resolutioners in the following months.

The final large work in the group is Observations upon the Chief Acts of the Two Late P. Assemblies... in which Wariston quotes acts against the Protesters. He calls attention to the fact that the Resolutioners have recognized the smaller group of divided Presbyteries as the lawful presbytery, if they are Resolutioners.

The Resolutioners publish Some Few Observations about the Late Differences in the Kirk of Scotland by Geo. Hutcheson. He claims that if the Resolutions are wrong and the acting with the King in error, then the Assemblies of 1649 and 1650 must be null as well, as they approved the action concerning the King. He deplores the Protester failure to defend their country, states that a purged Parliament took in the Malcontents, and asserts that an Assembly can only be protested against by another Assembly. In speaking of the divisions

1. An Answer, app. p.9. "Observations upon the Answer..."
2. Hutcheson, Geo., Some Few Observations about the Late Differences in the Kirk of Scotland (Edinburgh: G.Lithgow 1653).

The authorship is derived from Guthrie's "The Waters" in which he says the author was at Breda (p.177), and active in the Remonstrance, "Yea, he was moderator in that meeting of ministers when it was concluded..." p.177. Hutcheson was the only one known to have been at Breda, who was first a Protester and then a Resolutioner.
even down to the local level, he says that people will say that if the members of the Kirk cannot get along together what they need is prelacy. He attacks the Protesters saying that they tend toward Sectarianism, that their Sins of the Ministry gives an excuse for the government to take actions against the clergy, and that they have weakened the judicatories by not accepting their censures. It is one of the best Resolutioner papers yet published.

Plans were made to use Guthrie's The Waters of Sihor to refute parts of it, but a work was also under way by another - neither seem to have been published.

The Protesters met at Edinburgh in the Tolbooth about a week before the Resolutioners were to call their General Assembly. Some of the Resolutioners came to the Protester meeting but could only obtain the promise that the Protester protestation of the Assembly would use "...more mild and gentle expressions..." than formerly.

The Resolutioners opened their Assembly on July 20th, 1653 with high hopes since they had their newly released ministers with them. Douglas and Dickson had finished their sermons and the Assembly was about to engage in prayer when about 4 o'clock Lt.Col.Cottrel, accompanied by Captain Hope, and Captain Cliftown, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, appeared at the meeting having been sent by Lilburn. The Assembly was asked by what authority they met. Not having any civil permission for meeting they were led out to the Bruntsfield

1. This unidentified work is mentioned by Guthrie in "The Waters" p.157.
Links. Upon entreaty they were allowed to return to the city to get their belongings but were ordered to be out of Edinburgh by eight the next morning. Lilburn had understood that the meeting "...tended to a further correspondence with those mett in the Highlands..." 1 He stated further concerning the two factions "...itt's conceived they would have agreed, and both Mr. Dick and Mr. Douglasse (consenting tended to union and reconsciacion." The Protesters drew up a protest against the action of the government. One writer states, "It was thought that they would have give the Assembly leave to sit if they would have sitten under their authority." After this a number of the lower courts were also disrupted.

The Protesters were able to publish one final paper, that of John Hamilton, Minister of Innerkip, entitled A Reply to the...Answer. It is an answer to the Asserter, James Fergusson. Hamilton says that Fergusson sent his A Letter...with an Answer out to the public before the Protesters received their copy of it. He denies that Cant's letter was distributed before it was sent to the Resolutioners. He also says that they do not blame the Resolutioners for all the sins in the land. He cites the acts that the

1. Firth, C.H., Scotland and the Commonwealth, p.162.
2. Ibid., p.163. There are many reports of the incident; the best and fullest is without doubt printed in The Scotsman, May 28, 1901, p.3, col.2. Cp. Lamont, Diary pp.56f et al op. Lilburn exonerates the Protesters of any collusion in having the Assembly disbanded, although he says they were not unhappy about it.
3. Row, Blair, p.308. This protest is extant in MS. For a copy vide, APPENDIX. G.
4. NL, MSS, 3159.
Resolutioners had previously read from their pulpits which condemns the course which they later took. He denies that the Protesters maintain the view held by Guthrie that admission to the army is more important than admission to the Sacrament. He asks them to act in purging if they still believe in it. He makes a very frank statement about taking in Malignants,

"The truth is, that the satisfying of Court-desires and Court-designes, together with the too pressing apprehensions of the need of their help upon the one hand; and the avoiding of the dint of objection of employing and intrusting them without repentance on the other, made this sinfull haste."  

He states that the Resolutioners offer nothing, and desire the Protesters to deny all their actings. He suggests that both go back to the agreed assemblies. He does not see why the Resolutioners make acts against the Protesters if they do not expect the lower courts to carry them out. He points out the fact that the Resolutioners have dictatorially appointed the time and place for a conference. If the actings of one side can be turned into the Causes of God's Wrath then something must be wrong with their actings. He then answers the questions of the Asserter. To have union there must be a change on the part of the Resolutioners, the Protesters should not sit with Resolutioners who have proceeded against their number, the Protesters will not unite in an Assembly

where the majority is Resolutioner. Only the scandalous and ignorant are not admitted to the Sacrament.

Guthrie's largest work "The Waters of Sihor" was written on May the 10th to show that the employment of Malignants in the courts and the Army was a defection on the basis of the Scriptures, the Covenants, and the beliefs of godly men. He dedicated the work to fellow Protesters. In the preface he shows a dislike to undertake the work for he desires to seek

"...the meditatione and studie of practicall trueaths that concern mortification and the life of God in the soul; and have more spiritual marrow and sweetness in them, as lead my more neerly to communion and fellowship with God; and conscious of my owne weake less compared with the difficulty of my work, togidder with "..." the opposition with which this work will be met."

He would rather content himself "...to sit downe in the dust and to mourn in secret by myselff alone, then to oppose upon a publick stage; wher I ame lyke to provert many and convince by few..."

In his argument he points out that if this matter is of small importance then why are people so highly censured because of it? He wants also to know what kind of a church will result with the Malignants in power? He divides his work into five books. In concluding his preface he says,

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1. NL, MSS, Wod.Col., fol.15 and 4to 17.
   Folio 15 is the earlier document and it is used throughout this work. There are two books with that designation in the collection. For a description of the latter volume vide, Fleming's note in Wariston's Diary, Vol.II, pp.214f. The author has transcribed the earlier book.

"I had rather walk alone in a true th then with company in ane error yet I doe not effect singularity...I know myself to be a man compaft about with infirmities...in all things I have spock according to the light that is in me...The Lord Jesus whom I serve make my poore indeavours acceptable to all his saintes especially to those in Scotland that they may one more be blissed with unione and peace in the true th." 1

He shows excellent scholarship and a knowledge of the linguists when he defines "defection". He then devotes Book One to a treatment of the policy of the church and State from the Reformation until 1650 showing that it corresponds with the policy of the Protesters. Book Two shows how the Resolutioners made a defection. Concerning the forty colonells selected for the army, he asserts that thirty of them were Engagers, and some he asserts were "...soaked with the blood of hundreds and thousands of..." God's people. He deplores the appointment of Middleton. He then takes up the results of the defection saying (1) there is no mention of a Malignant Party now, the opposition is now against Protesters and not Malignants, (2) the censuring by the Commission is without a legal right to do so, it being not a point of doctrine or discipline, (3) the opposition has been caused by the godly, while the ungodly favor it, and (4) purging is abolished. He quotes Alexander Rollock's dying testimony and Geo. Gillespie's letters. One of these letters which he says is

2. Ibid., p.65. He states some of them had been excommunicated three times, and some were under censure at the time of their selection.
3. The Waters, p.95. Rollock was the one who had recommended to Guthrie the Scottish proverb "Juick, that the wave may go over you." vide, Wodrow, Analecta, Vol.III, p.95f. The note corrects the proverb.
unpublished, asserts "...if there be a falling back to the sines of comployance with malignant and ungodly men then I look for the breaking out of the wrath of God till ther be no remedy." Guthrie thinks that even before he returned to Scotland it was the King's design to use Malig-

nants and that it had been promised that he might do so. His final argument deals with the change of the issue from a religious question to a civil one. He attacks also Dickson's idea that the Covenants are human laws and may be changed at will.

In Book Three he takes up the arguments that the Resolutions are not inconsistent with former policy, and that they do not directly affect the church. He condemns the lack of real repentance on the part of those received, speaking of their "...laughing and sporting at their repentance when they met togidder..." He refutes the Observer's argument of necessity showing that only one in three were called into service. He then shows that the Church's doctrine is affected in the matter of repentance, and the duty of man to God. He describes how the change in the State can affect the Church. The Resolutioners preach against the Protesters describing them as "HIPOCRITES, SECTARIES, FACTIOUS, SCHIS-

MATIK, CONTENTIOUS, GADDIE, CONCEITIE, FOOLISH, BRAINSICK and suchlyke." This has resulted in the godly becoming

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1. The Waters, p.95.
2. There is an unfortunate gap here which may possibly be explained by Guthrie's account of some of his friends taking a section away from him concerning the King.
3. The Waters, p.143.
4. Ibid., p.166.
a "...by word and a reproach and are pointed and hissed at and made the drunkards song. Yea have stories throwne at them and are openlie beaten." He finally shows that the King was brought in on less stipulations than were demanded of him in Newcastle.

Book Four deals with the Scriptural arguments ranging from Exodus to Zechariah. He says that Paul also reinforces them. He quotes the proverb of "not giving the wolf the wedder to keepe." He uses Hebrew exegesis in his Scriptural proofs. Guthrie asserts that evil in the army is infectious, that the association is "...one of the strictest and most intimat and obliging kinds of freendship." No oath has been taken by the soldiers and if there was one, it would be interpreted against the Protesters.

In Book Five the practice of other nations is discussed. Guthrie claims that their practice confirms the practice of the Protesters. He adds rather sarcastically, "I must acknowledge my readings to be so shallow that I cannot give any confident accompt of that which hath been this uncontroverted universal practise of all Christiane Kingdoms and States throughout all generationes..." He cites cases to the contrary e.g., Ferdinando Fulton's Collections of Statutes against papists in the army during the 1588 Spanish Invasion. He quotes an amazing number of divines in his defense. He cites schoolmen and politicians, ending by saying that even the

1. The Waters, p.166.
2. Ibid., p.203.
3. Ibid., p.227.
4. Ibid., p.264.
Turks exclude some from their army. He concluded with a refutation of minor arguments which had very little validity. The work breaks off without a conclusion.

Guthrie is very methodical throughout the work. He relies heavily on Calvin in his scriptural arguments. The book would be a good reference book for the subject treated, as he quotes from numerous and varied sources. He shows an excellent knowledge of ecclesiastical and civil documents. His main but minor failure is a repetition of ideas and quotations. Wodrow was impressed with the work and wrote after reading it and the Brown Controversy, "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 the Church." Its main interest today is in the historical material which it contains. Wariston did not receive the work until the next Spring, and it appears never to have been circulated like some of the unprinted materials were. Contemporaneously, it was only pertinent in that the people still expected Charles to come in and the land to rise to his aid. The rising in the North directed by Charles confirmed them in their belief. Guthrie wanted it to be a purified army if one was used for this purpose.

On the first of August, a proclamation was issued against praying for the King. It also included the power of the civil government to remove and appoint ministers. This

proclamation was strongly opposed by the Resolutioners and others. A paper called the Reasons was issued in opposition. But some of the ministers, who continued to pray for the King, were imprisoned. Mercurius Politicus says the ministers have been praying more for the King: "...especially the Remonstrators, who till now have bin either silent, or but cold in their Petitions to him."

The Sectaries tried to alleviate the difficulty by issuing an Answer to the Reasons. Lilburn then took sterner measures. Hearing that about sixty ministers, including Douglas, were meeting at Biggar on August the 11th, he sent troops there to break up the group. He even thought of sending some of them to London "...which, though they get noe other punishment, will terrifie them most for disobedience and contempt for the present authority." Meanwhile the rising in the North was becoming an increasing menace to the government. Middleton and Gloucester were expected to arrive to assist, and some even expected the King to come over and drive the English out of Scotland. One writer spoke of the Scots sending the fiery cross through the country to rally the clans.

1. A Perfect Diurnall says it was entitled "Reasons why the Ministers of the Church of Scotland ought not to be troubled for praying for the King..." Aug. 29 - Sept. 5. Cp. Row, Blair, p. 309.
The Protesters held at least one meeting in October. They appointed fasts, and assigned the next meeting to be held on the second Tuesday of March.

Much of the controversy was now soon to be transferred from the printer's shop to the courts of Cromwell.

1. A meeting was held in Edinburgh about Oct. 27th. vide, EUL, MSS, L.Col., III, 368. Second col. LTRS, p.1. Nicoll, Diary, p.115 has a vague reference to the meeting. Brodie has a letter from the Protesters that indicates that a meeting occurred prior to December 11th; Diary, pp.99,108.
CHAPTER SIX

CONTINUED STRIFE
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CONTINUED STRIFE

From the fragmentary material of the early part of 1654 one learns that Guthrie is still having difficulties in Stirling. Wariston records that he writes in February "...anent his abydung or removing from Stirling...."

At this time some of the Protesters plan to have neighbouring ministers take in young expectants as assistant ministers in order to avoid the new English Commission set up to control all settlements. There is a rumor that Cromwell plans to call a General Assembly.

In spite of a letter drafted by the Protesters against the acceptance of officers from the English at their last meeting, one of their elders, Sir William Bruce, accepted the sheriff clerkship of Stirling. Since he is Guthrie's elder and close friend, it is a severe blow to the Stirling minister. Wariston writes about Sir William Bruce "...opening the mouthes of the profane, and filling M.J.G. with contempt and reproch...." James Couie, Guthrie's servant, heard Guthrie "...speak very freely to Sir William Bruce

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.204. According to the MSS of the Diary a meeting was held in February. This work appears to be the only source of information at this time. It gives very brief statements that could well have been expanded. Guthrie and Wariston correspond regularly. On this occasion it appears that Guthrie has the "Register of the Kirk".
of Stenhouse about his complying with the Englishes. He entreated him to come off in time, otherwise he might go a great and sad length in the way of sin...

The English are reported to be very angry at the Protester meetings and testimonies. Wariston was told that they "...especysly wer most incensed against M.J. [Guthrie] and me as the keepers of the godly in Scotland in contrary termes to them by our influence at our meitings; and that they would be very angrye at our meeting the nixt week."

On March the 7th Cromwell writes to Lilburne saying that after talking with godly ministers and hearing that Gillespie may come to London, he asks that Gillespie together with Livingstone and Menzies, be required to come to London for a conference "...to accomodate the interest and to begat a good understanding between the people of God of different judgments in this nation."

At the Protester meeting on the 14th some of the members were opposed to the ministers going to London. Livingstone said that he would go out to meet Cromwell, but not for a conference with the Independents. They then instruct him to make it clear that their position is stated in their testimonies and they draft another testimony for the two

2. Guthrie served with Bruce in the army before coming to Stirling.
4. Menzies was an Aberdeen Separatist, so there were only two Protesters to go.
ministers to take to Cromwell. The meeting ended Saturday the 25th with another meeting scheduled to be held in August. It was at the March meeting that Wariston received his copy of Guthrie's "The Waters". After reading it he "...prayed the Lord to thrust it out in publik and back it with his blessing."

Shortly after the meeting one learns that Guthrie has been preserved "...from seen danger..." but the nature of the danger is unknown. In a letter to Guthrie on March the 29th, Wariston mentions Guthrie's children, which means that his son William had been born by this time. In addition he states that Lilburn had favoured Guthrie and Rutherfurd going with the delegation to London.

Meanwhile the forces in the Highlands were beginning to overrun the country. Sympathizers with either side were having their lands burned. The situation was so bad that Lilburn was relieved of his command and Monck was returned to Scotland in April. On May the 4th Cromwell was proclaimed Protector at Edinburgh. On the same day another proclamation was read for the Union of England and Scotland.

The delegates to London had left Scotland about the middle of April, and on the 29th it was learned that they had

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.215. For letters from the Protectors vide, NL, MSS,Wod.Col.,4to 29, nos.69-71. In the latter a Protester visitation is outlined. Guthrie, Rutherfurd, Livingstone, Hall and others were appointed for a visitation of Ayr and Irving.
seen Cromwell. There was a rumor that there would be a new confession of faith, and that "...some able pryme ministers..." were to come to Scotland, but that there would be no assemblies. Another report said that Cromwell told them that he sent for them "...to haive from them ouvertures for maiking up the breaches amongst the lovers of treuth in thes nations, which they sayde was a busines above them." On April the 21st they preached before Cromwell. In May Livingstone departed disappointed in the mission. He later writes, "...I found no great advantage, so I left the other two there, and came home."

Monck, concerned with the Highlanders on May the 10th moved his headquarters to Stirling. He had called Resoluters before him who had prayed for the King, and they had promised him not to stir up the country against him. He had little love for the Protesters having said "...he could live with any pairty but the Remonstrators and Protesters in Scotland..."

Cromwell, still optimistic about the settlement of Religion, wrote to General Monck asking that Douglas, Blair and Guthrie come to London by the 6th of June. They all excused themselves. Guthrie enclosed with his reply a letter

2. Ibid., p.250.
to the Protector "...testifying against their toleration." Wariston seems to have hoped that Guthrie would have accepted saying that he had the feeling that "...he would be by some providence drawn from Stirling where he was so perplexed..."  

The Protester Presbytery of Stirling meantime have difficulty at Bothkennar. Guthrie had attempted to have John Galbraith, the minister, deposed. Failing in this an order is secured from the English to force Galbraith to give up preaching. The congregation then calls William Galbraith, but the English oppose him. Guthrie's presbytery appoints John Blair because the Church is malignant and thus do not have the right of call. Baillie describes the induction,

"The whole people of the parish meets, and keeps the other out of the kirk; the tumult begins; dry stakes are distributed; some fell upon the Sheriff's neck. The gentlemen-parishioners, so soon as the Sheriff produced his English orders for the admission, did cede; but the people continued all day casting stones and crying: yet they went on with their work, and thrust in the man. For all this, Mr. James Guthrie has no dealing with the English, and does no wrong: Our oppression is great and crying."  

It was not safe now to go out alone in Scotland. Simpson was taken to a wood, but when he suggested that his captors go and pray, they released him. The English soldiers were unsympathetic with any gathering that might signify

opposition. On occasion they are reported to have persecuted the people at Church, interrupted Communion, and ridden through groups of Church attenders slashing with their swords. It was reported that Monck and Argyle were dealing with the West to take up arms in their own defense.

In his correspondence with Wariston, Guthrie indicates that he does not approve of men who have accepted English offices, such as magistrates, being allowed to partake of Communion. In August he writes despondently of "...his fanyting and being cast doun and near Jonah's case...if the Lord hold him not up; and tells of his fruitles dealing with G.Monk about the prisoners..."

By now, the Highlanders were ranging through the Lowlands, interrupting services, taking the horses of worshippers and raiding sectarian sympathizers.

The Protesters gather at Wariston's house in Edinburgh for their August meeting. On Tuesday the 15th Livingstone reports on the London Mission. He says that the Protector had written to Monck that the godly are to be respected and assisted, when their commissions and visitations are refused, and that instructions had been sent to the judges which include the holding of conferences with men of both opinions, and taking a course against the growth of popery.

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol.II, p.235. This seems to have been done by irresponsible soldiers and not by the policy of the command.
2. Ibid., p.235. The prisoners were doubtless the moss troopers that were being sent to the Barbados.
3. Ibid., p.301 and note. Additional instructions are given to those mentioned above.
At the meeting the questions of communion and the admission of ministers were discussed. Concerning the latter it was suggested that twelve men from each party be chosen to consider the purging and planting of ministers, omitting Wood and Wariston because of their "...passionate natures..."

The Protesters reported the success of their communions and progress in spirituality. There were some few who did not make optimistic presentations. Guthrie reports that "At Stirling...Sathan has a heigh thron; a profan loosenesse of sojours and Scots people meeting togerether; drunkenesse, blasphemy and uncleannes, 60 or 80 knowen fornications, and errors among the Inglishes; the Universalists breeding trouble; yet some in the place seeking God and number increased. I knoue them by somthing they halve had long since, the image of God, tho many toes and freas, som as old as M.R.B(ruce's ?) ministerey, any good their is unto thes of neighbouring regions, a considerable number every Lord's Daye;..."2

He also reported on the Presbytery and the Synod, expressed his regret at certain men going over to the English, and pressed the sin of and God's wrath upon Scotland. The Protesters plan to send a letter to Cromwell asking that the ecclesiastical power given to the court be taken away. They were considering the acceptance of ecclesiastical commissions from the present government when they were interrupted by Lt.Col. Gaff and three other officers, who said that they had orders from Gen.Monck to inquire by what authority they met and to raise their meeting. The Protesters replied that they were not an official body. In spite of this they were ordered to leave town the next day. According to Wariston, one of the

2. Ibid., p.314.
officers "...sayd if wee went not he would laye us by the heeles, M.J.C. sayd that was no great argument to a man eyther of conscience or courage." They moved to Traill's home and decided there to delay action concerning the English commissions and nominations until the next meeting which was called for the second Wednesday of March.

Guthrie left Edinburgh on the 24th. The next day he writes to Wariston asking him that when Gillespie comes to see him to get a copy of the commission which Gillespie has. This is the first mention of the paper which came to be known as "Gillespie's Charter" or "Gillespie's Ordinance". It appointed certain clergymen as "triers" of entrants to vacancies. It was condemned by both Resolutioners and Protesters. "...Mr. James Guthrie wrote sharply against it..." although he had been appointed as a "trier". Nicoll says that the ordinance "...evanisched in the birth."

Because of internal dissension the Highland forces were made impotent, and on August the 31st Glencairne capitulated to Monck. Although the English were still to be harassed by raiding parties from the Highlands, the main threat was now at an end.

The Scottish ministers were now upset by an order that all entrants must have a warrant from the English judges to obtain their stipends. The Protesters called a meeting

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5. Vide, NL,MSS, Mod.Col., 4to.29 No.66. Ltr. Protesters dated Sept.12,1654.
for November the 1st to consider united action in the matter. The Commander in Chief was consulted and assured them that they would not be interrupted in this meeting.

In a letter to Wariston on October the 23rd Guthrie expresses anxiety concerning the Glasgow Protesters and the possibility of their not attending their next meeting. Among others he had written to his cousin William. It should be noted that shortly afterwards Guthrie was "...dealing very freely and sharply with his dear and worthy friend, Mr. William Guthrie... for his going some length with Mr. Patrick Gillespie... that was not pleasing to Mr. James..." He also mentions in his letter that Bennet is ill and that he will probably be late for the meeting. He mentions that Gillespie has united the Synod of Glasgow. He fears that "Its lik our trialls will be more personall then they have yet beene..." and does not think that they will be permitted to meet again. There is no information concerning the November meeting, unless it is there that Guthrie expressed the new idea of a renewed covenant, which he describes as a "...confused mishapen thought not founded upon anie extraordinarie communication..." He says that he had twice expressed it at Geo. Gray's and Andrew Steill's in Edinburgh.

The Synod of Perth and Stirling attempted to unite its presbyteries on the basis of the Assembly's overtures but

2. He was to die shortly.
4. Ibid.
in Stirling Presbytery these were not acceptable to Guthrie and his members, but the Protesters were agreeable to discuss union without them. The matter was postponed until January.

After Bennet's death Guthrie on the 23rd of December brought up the subject of a new colleague. He asked the Town Council whether an expectant or an actual minister should be called, which presbytery they would recognise, and whether they thought it advisable to find a young man to help during the vacancy. The Council first decided to send the Provost to Guthrie to speak with him concerning "...the electioun of ane eldership within this congregatioun..." and report. On January the 29th the Resolutioner Presbytery decided to "...conferr with the magistrates and council of Stirling anent the plantane of yr kirk in regard they could not make an application to the sessione for reasons." On the same day the Council received the report of a conference with Guthrie which says that Guthrie replied that he and his elders will "...take course for making up ane eldership in the congregatioun and will not acknowledge any utheris theyrintill..."

On February the 19th the Town Council referred the matter to the Resolutioner Ministers at Edinburgh and Glasgow. Their report was presented to the Council on March the 7th. Meanwhile the Protesters met at Edinburgh in January.

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2. PSD, Minutes, 29 January. They did not meet in Stirling because of the English garrison.
4. S, Council Minutes, s.v.
They discussed the idea of a new Covenant and apparently at this meeting opposed "Gillespie's Ordinance" with their "Considerations of the Order of Dutie of Ministers", asserting that it is arbitrary, prelactical, and authoritative. They consider that it makes the Church subservient to the civil powers with disregard of the ecclesiastical courts. This paper was one of the reasons for the differences between Gillespie and his followers in Glasgow and the other Protesters.

Guthrie had been ill in 1654 and again in the early part of 1655, on one of these occasions he is thought to die. Two incidents are related concerning this illness. One was that he caused his servant, James Couie, to read Romans 9 and when the servant came to the fifteenth verse "'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy' he burst into tears and said, 'James, that is the only place in all the Scripture I have to grip to!'" The other included the much quoted prayer of Wariston

"...he was once like to die of a sore fever. There were several worthy persons about him, as my Lord Waristoun and some others: He spoke well to them all, and gave my Lord Waristoun a copy of a Covenant which he had drauen up, which he desired him to make his own use of. They all prayed for him, but it was with much submission; but...My Lord Waristoun (was) more peremptor in his prayer for his life, and said to God, that the Church of God could not want such a great

1. Baillie, op. cit., Vol.III, pp.276f., 298. It was shorn of its monarchical relations and was thus unacceptable to the Resolutioners. Wariston later wanted to have it approved in the Council at London, November 10, 1659, vide his Diary, Vol.III, p.152.
instrument, when (he) had spoken to them all very freely, he said, 'I desire no more now but to be an hour or an half at the back of the Protector's chair, that I may tell my mind freely to him;...'"1

In July William Thomson writes to Gilbert Robertson of Stirling saying at the conclusion of his letter,

"Remember me to your dear minister Mr. James. O that much of the consolation of God may flow and spring up to him for making up all his grief and trials. I think I need not desire you and others to comfort him. I think ye will be in your duty in it and let him have encouragement. I have thought long to see him and was coming for that end when he was sick but hearing that the Lord had mercy on him in restoring him to have more fellowship of his suffering that his crown may mount the hier on his head at that day, and also his mercy to his church and to you in particular in restoring him. I say the report of the recovery stayed me, and I have purposed to write to him, but am loath to do it, onlie I sall desir he may be comforted in God. Let me know what is com of Mr. James business wt your town or presbyterie either be your letter or communication to the bearer."2 Glasgow.

On April the 25th when he hears that Guthrie is again not well, Wariston asks God to direct him to think more "...of this lands reconfederacy with God...according to his intent and promise when he was going to dye."

To return to the question of Guthrie's colleague in Stirling - on the 20th of March Guthrie, and two of his elders, Robert Gib and James Millar went to confer with members of the Town Council. The Council informed them

3. Wariston, Diary, Vol.III, p.1. This refers apparently to Guthrie's idea of the new Covenant. Guthrie was well enough to write urging Wylie to accept the call to Kirkcudbright, on March 29, vide, NL,MSS, Wod.Col. 4to 29 No.72.
that they wished them to absolutely submit the differences to the "...foure ministers who wer nominat And that by these differences they did mean the Constitution of the Sessioun and the nomination and electioun of a minister..." The Council agreed the request of the Session that the Council would not take the matter to the Synod without their concurrence and consent, if the Session agreed not to do anything concerning obtaining a minister without the consent of the Council. The Session considered their constitution above question, and that both the matters of constitution and the calling of a minister were not of civil interest, "But things that concerned the Kingdom of Jesus Chryst and the good of soules and mens consciences." They deny that the civil power has any right to choose the minister, but to have peace they are willing to refer the matter to Guthrie, Traill, G.Hutcheson, and Sterling. The Council replies that "...seeing their are differences betwixt the Counsell and most part of the toune and the minister and the pretendit Sessioun They desyre that these differences may be taken away by the Churche...be some pious and judicious men of the churche..." The Session refused this request. Bennet had advised them "...to plant his place with a man peaceable, not

1. S, MSS, Burgh Minutes, s.v.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. They planned to publish a paper concerning their action. Guthrie makes a reply to this paper which is appended to Guthrie, James, A Cry from the Dead (Glasgow: Wm. Duncan, 1738) pp.59ff.
factions..."

But by March the 22nd a call to Robert Rule has been inscribed. On March the 25th a visiting minister from Ayr Presbytery preached to the Stirling congregation. On a previous visit in May 1652 he had spoken against their turning from their ministers to follow after "...some new lights." and that they were offended at their ministers for telling the truth. On this occasion he again speaks in concrete terms. He indicates that they have accepted the Session for several years, that their problem is whether to side with the Church or the Town Council, and that they are unwilling to place the matter in the hands of those who know the case and instead desire to place it into the hands of strangers. He then having as his text Psalm 4: 2-3, preached on their regaining the lost glory of God at Stirling.

Guthrie stated in defense of the Session that the Town

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1. Baillie, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.283. He also states that Guthrie "...had formed the session to his owne mind: who opposed his way, were removed, on diverse pretences; the remainder were but few." Guthrie in defense of the Session says they "...were not only Chosen in an orderly Way, and publicly admitted and sworn unto their Office by that pious and godly Man Mr. David Bennet... but also, have been in constant Possession and Exercise thereof, now for four Years past, and that the haill Congregation have without Question...been constantly subject to their Discipline, and sundry of the Magistrates and Town-Council themselves, being the Members of the former Session, were consenting and concurring in their Election, and none of them did ever heretofore decline or disclaim them..." *A Cry from the Dead*, app.pp.60f.

2. 3, *MSS*, Burgh Minutes, Mar. 22. A number of men removed themselves from the meeting having subscribed the call. Rule was minister of Tannadice, Guthrie's native parish.

3. UGL, *MSS*, BE.7.y.1.p.391. The complete sermon includes pp.388-391. This sermon is probably by Wm.Guthrie.

Council would not meet with them in the selection of a minister because they claimed that the Session was not a lawful body. He says that the Council members "...did run out of the Doors so soon as they came in." to meet together. He asks everyone to concur in the call to Rule.

The Synod attempted to take up the case of Stirling on April the 10th, but the meeting was dissolved by English soldiers before any action could be taken. The Resolutioner Presbytery was able to meet on April the 5th. They welcomed a delegation from the town of Stirling and appointed a committee to meet with them and ask them to draw up papers concerning the Session. The most revealing item in the minutes follows, in which the Presbytery asks that the Council

"...would not discourage the presbyrie to concurr with their desires and open the mouthes of others against them that they would abstain from all provocations against God particularly drunkenness swearing sabath breaking and mocking of piety which is much objected to them..." 2

It is understandable why Guthrie did not desire these men to select his colleague, if that was their reputation.

The Presbytery met again on the 18th and condemned the procedure at Stirling, saying that harmony should have been achieved before calling a man. They appoint ministerial supply and ask the Presbyterial Moderator to confer with "...thrie of the most grave and pious of them who were elders formerly there and to draw up a list of such as they should think fitt to bear such charge..."

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2. PSD, MSS, Minutes, 5 April. If these were the men that Guthrie had in the Session, it seems his purging had been justified.
3. Ibid. 18 April.
A call is mentioned for Robert Young. On May the 23rd the Presbytery approves the list of elders and deacons for the new Session at Stirling. The parishioners were called to take exception to the list on the 30th; no one appeared so the new Session was received the next Sabbath, June the 10th, and the first Session meeting was held.

On June the 29th the Town Council, hearing that Guthrie and the Session plan to induct Rule to the charge, annul the town acts for a colleague in the Kirk. In spite of this Rule was inducted in July. Baillie states that

"...the people did tumultuously, with cryes, and shouts, and strokes oppose it; yet Mr. James admitted the man, and caused summond above three score of the chief burgesses before the English Criminal Court at Edinburgh for a ryot. Being all put to one assise, to the Judges open dissatisfaction, they were all absolved once and again. Their advocate did publicltie serve Mr. James with very coarse language; but the judges did favour him in all their power. This all did mislyke in Mr. James as a dangerous preparative to the whole land: however, it made his people irreconcileable to him."¹

It may have been at the same time that the incident occurred which Wodrow describes,

"He was very hardly used by the woeful Halignant party in Stirling. One day they stoned him, and he very hardly escaped with his life, and if he had not won a house, they had killed him outright; for in a certain lane they threw him down to the ground, and because they could get nothing truly faulty in him to quarrel, as to his personal walk, they in derision called him 'Sicker-foot.'"²

For a long time there was a story told in Stirling that the butchers of the town were foremost in the riot, putting their dogs on Guthrie to tear him to pieces. The place

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¹ Baillie, op.cit., Vol.III, p.283. Cp. Acts of Parl., Vol.VII, app.p.51, which says they were also summoned by Stirling magistrates "...Because of disturbeing the publict worships of God and doing personal injurie and violence to their magistrates and ministers..."

of the incident was assigned to Ladie Vennel, and a stone was indicated where Guthrie shed blood.

Synod was able to meet again at Dunblane on July the 10th. On the next day the Stirling case was presented. Guthrie immediately placed a declinature before the body. It is here that one finds the sharpest words about Guthrie, recorded by his former precentor, Wm. Meiklejohn,

"And being interrupted by Mr. James Guthrie casting in a paper not onlie with gestures betraying much virulence of spirit and immoderate passion but also with high provoking words expressing much contempt of the Synod as was unsuitable to any professor of religioun and unseemlie in any comon societie far less becoming him in such a reverend Judicatorie."¹

The Synod replied by ordering the intimation of Guthrie's deposition in Stirling, declaring the nullity of Rule's admission, and approving the Resolutioner Presbytery as the lawful body. Guthrie suggested that one Session be chosen from both parties in the town, and that they choose a third minister to serve the town. This was unacceptable. The Burgh of Stirling asked for their own precentor, and that course be taken "...with the landwart people their coming to our toune on the Sabbath day and troubling our Congregatioun."² Meiklejohn was made their precentor. The Protesters in the Synod opposed all these actions. William Row intimated Guthrie's deposition on July the 15th and the

¹. SES, MSS, Minutes, s.v. Guthrie had Sessional support in his action viz. Gilbert Robertson, Walter Cowan and John Steinsone.
². Ibid. p.227.
³. James Couie, Guthrie's servant, had taken over Meiklejohn's duties as precentor and clerk of the Session and was also clerk of the Protester Presbytery in addition to being Guthrie's amanuensis.
elders went through the parish warning the people against going to hear Rule or Guthrie. The following Sunday they note that not all obey their warning, so they decide to submit the names of the disobedient to the Presbytery. They also consider extending a call to James Ferguson. Rutherfurd, who frequently visited Guthrie, came to preach against the action of the Synod concerning Stirling. Thos. Hog read a paper in the Stirling pulpit against their action.

In spite of all the trouble in Stirling, Guthrie in May was working to unite the two religious parties in Scotland. This effort originated with Blair and Durham. They had been able to get Wood to consent to meet with the Protesters in Edinburgh to discuss union, the prohibition against praying for the King, and the debarring compliers from communion. Guthrie wrote letters calling for a meeting in June. Wariston wished to have a meeting of the Protesters prior to the joint meeting. Guthrie arrived in Edinburgh on May the 29th. The joint meeting was held two days later. It was composed of nine Resolutioners and ten Protesters. Baillie was quite fearful that union would take place but he reports that at the meeting he found "The Remonstrators had as little a mind to unite with us as we with them." Blair and Durham pressed for an act of oblivion of both Resolutioner and Protester acts. Wariston and Guthrie were "...very free and... back freedom with stronger reason than they could answer."

1. CHR, MSS, Session minutes, s.v.
Wariston insisted on purging according to the 1650 Assembly. The Protesters' overture was unacceptable. The Resolutioners insisted on the same demands as at the Assembly and said that Blair's proposals granted too much - the Resolutioners had yet to grant anything. Baillie reports Blair and Durham as saying "...so long as Waristone and Mr. James Guthrie did guide that partie, there could no peace be possible." Concerning the other matters an attempt was made to reconcile the difficulty connected with communion, and it was agreed to cease praying for the King if there was no longer any penalty against doing so. After the meeting Traill heard that the Resolutioners were offering compliance to the English in exchange for a General Assembly.

The Protesters held another meeting on August the 28th. Hutherfurd, Guthrie and others discussed the renewal of the Covenant. Col. Lockhart upon hearing of it threatened dire results should it be done. Guthrie drew it up and it was revised by the group. Gillespie had been in conference with Monck, and reported to the meeting that Monck spoke "...very faire of friendship." In the meeting Guthrie prayed God "...desyring Him eyther to move or remove theses over us that they hinder not our espousals."

1. Baillie, op.cit., Vol.III, p.280. This was also Lockhart's opinion, vide, CSL, MSS, Mod.Col., LS.I.6.9. No.40. For what must have been Blair's and Durham's overtures vide, Consultations, Vol.I, pp.30f; NL, MSS, Mod.Col., 4to 33 No.1.
2. Cf.Baillie, op.cit., Vol.III, p.281. Mer. Pol. records the offer saying that the satisfied party of the General Assembly state that they pray only to the King as a person, that they acknowledge this government to be lawful, and promise to live under it and pray for it if they be given a General Assembly. March 13-18. The date seems to present problems.
4. Ibid., p.10.
The day after the meeting - September the 8th- Guthrie sent Wariston a copy of Traill's letter in which the latter says that Monck is pleased with the overtures on the covenant, that he granted a more frequent meeting and that he sent letters to the governor "...discharging any to medle with the Kirk of Stirling and stopping the presbyterie from meeting their seing they mett not their befor." Baillie says that the Council was highly offended at Guthrie and Wariston for the new covenant. But Monck is so friendly with Guthrie that "...when both are in toune, he sends his mind to him in closed epistles, which I doubt if any other of the nation has made bold to doe."

Guthrie drew up an answer to the objections to the 'covenant idea' and also a letter to the Kilmarnock meeting called by Gillespie to crush the movement. At Kilmarnock Gillespie defeated Chiesley who had been sent to sponsor the covenanting movement.

In a conference with Swinton, Guthrie asserts that this movement has no civil implications. Swinton maintains that the Commonwealth desires to keep their power over the church.

Broghill, the new President of the Council for Scotland, in one of his first letters to Thurloe on September the 22nd writes that he esteems the Protesters as the "better sort of people". His view is that the Resolutioners love Charles and hate Cromwell, whereas the Protesters love neither. He

3. For Baillie's comments on the Covenant which among other things he calls a "very shrewd peice" vide, ibid., pp.276-7.
thinks that if it were not for Wariston and a few others they might join the government; but he thinks that either party might join if given the power to suppress the other. He is provoked with the failure of the prohibition against praying for the King, and is resolved that if taking the stipend is not effective, then he will prohibit their preaching.

In another letter of the 27th Broghill states that he has been in conference with Douglas and Dickson which resulted in a promise to take off the prohibition against praying for the King in return for their promise that this practice will be discontinued. They had even mentioned to Broghill that they might send a representative to Cromwell to discover his attitude concerning religion in Scotland. If a General Assembly was granted them, Douglas had told Brodie that all, but those censured, would be allowed the right of commission.

On another occasion Wood and Douglas presented to Gen. Monck their papers "Some Considerations...", a strong paper against Gillespie's Ordinances, and "Grievances" which opposed governmental interference in ecclesiastical affairs, toleration and the increase in popery. They ask for church freedom and unity, and a submission to Church discipline.


2. For these papers vide, Consultations, Vol.I., pp.71-87.
On October the 5th after the repeal of penalties against praying for the King, the ministers agreed to desist from the practice.

A delegation from the Western Presbyteries comprised of Livingstone, Gillespie and others came to Broghill in October asking how to give address to the Council. They implied by their conversation that they might acknowledge the government. At this time there seems to have been a meeting in Edinburgh of a few of the Protesters, some of whom came to Broghill asking that he would not proclaim the Gillespie Ordinance until November the 14th after their general meeting. He had already put it off by their request, so he determined to issue it. Shortly after this Gillespie preached before the Council.

On Wednesday, October the 17th, the Gillespie Ordinance was approved by the New Council and the approval proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 24th. They also had placed a tax on ministers' stipends, but this was soon taken off. Row says "...differences among ministers not only continue, but were heightened and augmented by the animosities of the two parties that stood at greatest distance, especially by their printed papers, pro and contra." Money was scarce, as a result little could be collected for publishing such books as Guthrie's "Waters"; in fact Traill, the secretary for the Protesters wrote numerous letters to ministers to collect the salary

4. Row, Blair, p.325.
of David Anderson, former amanuensis for the Commission and now serving the Protesters in that capacity.

In spite of their differences another meeting for union was held in Edinburgh from November the 8th to 28th, 1655, with nine representatives from each group and the mediators, Blair and Durham. The meeting seems to have consisted of each side drafting and presenting papers that were invariably rejected. The Protester papers "...were all framed by Mr. James Guthrie's hand of my Lord Waristoune's materials." The first paper was offered by them on the 9th which was called "Overtures for Union". It called for a repudiation of the two assemblies, the acts of the Commission of 1650 and all resultant acts of church courts, and sought the purgation of elders and ministers. They ask that in case of a General Assembly being called there be equal representation.

Baillie calls the overture "...high and absurd..." Wood in a reply - on the 12th - makes meticulous and inconsiderable enquiries. The Protesters return a moderate and conciliatory explanation of the questionable points, and at the same

6. "Answers to the Queries".
time present their own questions in reference to the Resolu-
tioner overtures of June the 1st. This concerned minor points.
On the 16th the Resolutioners in "Answers" maintain the author-
ity of the assemblies but suspend the execution of censures
against the Protesters. On the same day they offer new "Over-
tures" which fails to grant any new concessions. The Protest-
ers present a "Paper" on the 19th drafted by Guthrie, which
Wariston calls the "Scroll". This is a summary of the debates
thus far showing that the Resolutioners have granted nothing
important, and also points out that the Resolutioners concern
themselves more with purging Protesters than the insufficient
and that those recently received have at times been able to
elect ministers of their own choosing. On the 21st the Resolu-
tioners presented their "Answer", an amicable but unyielding
paper. A debate ensued in which Gillespie, Wariston and
Guthrie all participated. It was reported that the Protesters
were about to divide into three groups, one to unite with the
Resolutioners, another to adhere to the Gillespie Ordinance,
and the rest remaining faithful to the Protestations. Guthrie
was against granting the authority of the pretended Assemblies.
it was suggested that all controverted matters be laid aside,
and that Cromwell be asked to call a General Assembly. The
Resolutioners offered their "Representation" on the 24th in
which they stated that censures will be taken off without re-
quiring a denial of the protestations, and that the acts of
censureship will be set aside until the meeting of the General
Assembly at which time they will work for their repeal. They
expressed a desire to work out the difficulties which the
Protesters had presented. It was by far the best paper for
union presented, and, had it not been presented so late in the conferences, it might well have become the basis of union. Instead Wariston reports that "...without contest or heat the whole meeting found it unsatisfactorye." This action was taken by the Protesters unanimously. Wariston claimed that they gave more than the Resolutioners, as they gave up the Gillespie Ordinance, and the Resolutioners only gave up the censures. In their Answer to the Representation on the 27th the Protesters suggested equal committees for visitation and consultation in the synods and presbyteries. The last Resolutioner paper, called "Our Return", refused to consider the Protester suggestion because it would give the Protesters a negative voice where they were in the minority. By this time the Protesters were leaving town. The "Return" was delivered to Wariston, who calls it "...very sharpe and tairt..." The reply was dated the same day, the 29th, but was not delivered to Douglas until December the 17th. The Protesters appoint their next meeting for March. Wariston is glad that they were saved from union, Gillespie's Ordinance, and application to the government. The record does not confirm him in the latter, as application was made the first of December for the restoration of the power of the 1650 Commission. On December the 2nd the Resolutioners planned to ask for a General Assembly. On January the 3rd it was learned that the Protester application had been sent to London, and that the Resolutioners

2. Ibid., p.17.  
had sent in a counter petition. About this time Lady Ingleston tells Wariston "...the Inglish in their hearts kept a great respect and affection to W.J.G(uthrie) and me above uthers tho they thought us the only two obstruct-ors of their settlement in Scotland..."

Meanwhile the New Stirling Session on September 30th received a letter from James Hamilton recommending a clergy-man from England, who at that time was in Edinburgh, as a possible minister. This was Matthias Simpson, Minister at Kirkandrews, Cumberland. He had become friends with the Resolutioner ministers when they had been in prison at London. The Session inquired from other Resolutioner ministers and received answers recommending Simpson. On the 24th of October the Resolutioner Presbytery of Stirling appointed a meeting of representatives of the Session, Town Council and Presbytery to meet concerning the calling of Simpson. After hearing Simpson preach, and several of the corporations of the town approving, the "Proveist Balzeis Counsell Eldars of the Sessioun and the bodie of the Congregation of Stirline doe unanimously call..." Simpson on October the 29th. The Presbytery met on November the 17th, and Simpson presented his credentials. He was asked concerning the Covenants, and he

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4. CHR, MSS, Session Minutes, s.v.
replied that he had signed them. He also says that he is willing to undertake the task "...notwithstanding all the difficulties...in the way." The Presbytery appointed the induction to take place on the 19th. All of this was done in spite of Monck's explicit order that nothing be done concerning the Kirk. It is not surprising that at the appointed time, Monday at 10 a.m., after Geo. Bennet, the presiding minister, had prayed and had gone up into the pulpit to preach

"...as he was about to read his text Captain Goslen one of the captains of the garsone came in and interruptit the said Mr. George desyring there might be a forbearance of admitting any Minister in Stirling until that mater could be decydit by the counsel of State before whom it was depending whairupon the said Mr. George ..did desist..to their great greiff and the many tearies of the people present..."

Two days later the Town Council appointed a delegation to go to the Council of State and the Commission for Church Affairs at Edinburgh and ask that they may be allowed to proceed with the induction. On the 24th Monck sent a copy of their petition to the Protesters. By December the 10th it is reported that the poor have taken advantage of the two Stirling Sessions and are obtaining assistance from both of them. On the 15th the Governor of Stirling questioned the Town Council "...anent their proceeding with Mr. Mathias Sympse since they were prohibite..." Presbytery was of no assistance as the December meeting was at the

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1. PSD, MSS, Minutes, p.23.
2. CHR, Session Minutes, s.v. Meiklejohn is quite a graphic writer.
3. CHR, Session Minutes, s.v.
time of "a great storm of snow". Simpson was absent from the middle of December until the 7th of January, but a week later Meiklejohn records that Simpson is "...to remane constantlie with us..."

The whole controversy was moved to Edinburgh. On January the 30th Guthrie told Wariston "...how his busines was putt off after great debayte in equal termes to both, and that after desner the President chalenged him for treasonable words in the first paper against the Ordinance,..." The paper here seems to be one written by Guthrie on August the 8th, 1654, and upon Guthrie's admission of its authorship Broghill seems to have turned against both Guthrie and the Protesters. On February the 2nd, the Council of State "...haveing heard both parties did delay to give out their determination in the matter for a 14 dayes seing it was a busines of weightie concernment."

On the 7th Meiklejohn records

"...Mr. James Guthrie hes given in a Supplication to his hienes Counsell in Scotland for the government thereof containing not onlie gross reflectiones upon this Sessioun and Congregatioun & prebrie ament our procedor in the ordorlie planting of the congregatioun. But also containing diverss untruthes doe therefor for their vindication commissionate their Reverend Minister Mr. Matthias Symson to mak address...and give information of the true state of the busines..."4

The Presbytery accepted Simpson as a member in February. They had also heard of Guthrie's supplication to the Council which mentioned the Presbytery and they also sent representatives to Edinburgh. They were more concerned at this time.

1. CHR, Session Minutes, s.v.
3. CHR, Session Minutes, s.v.
4. Ibid., Sev.
about Guthrie and his Presbytery attempting to settle Doolar, where they report that Guthrie and others went through a window of the Kirk and held a service. The Synod also accepted Simpson as a member in April.

On April the 31st two representatives are sent by the Town Council to Edinburgh to obtain an answer to the Town's last supplication concerning planting the church and "...to take advyse what salbe done for obteaning of the churche..." On May the 26th they sent some of their number with Simpson "...to supplicat his heighnes counsall for libertie of the churche to preatche into, or at least for the libertie of the utter churche." This seems to imply that the government had prevented Simpson from using the Church. The matter was to continue for some time.

To return to the Protesters - on January the 17th it was learned that Cromwell planned to enforce the Gillespie Ordinance and to appoint a group for purging from both the Protesters and the Resolutioners. Guthrie had information on the 28th that Gillespie had been offered permission for the Commission of 1650 to sit, and that Gillespie had thought it not advisable. On the 28th both Guthrie and Wariston dined with Broghill and discussed civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Two days later the Resolutioners present papers against the revival of the 1650 Commission. They oppose it

1. The Synod was also concerned with the irregularities charged by Guthrie against Alexander Ireland.
3. Ibid.
on the grounds that it has been superceded, and that it would set up a perpetual council. What they do not say is that they might possibly lose their cause, as the groups would be about equal in such a commission.

On February the 15th the Resolutioners, meeting in Edinburgh, again ask for the freedom of the church and the rejection of the petition of the Protesters. Five days later they present suggestions to the State about vacant stipends, and on the 23rd another letter against the Protester request.

Broghill wrote to Cromwell a discerning letter on February the 26th concerning the status of religion in Scotland. He states that the Resolutioners are by far the greater number of the ministry and are better thought of by the Irish and English Presbyterians, but they are not favorable to Cromwell and they have "...too many amongst them not fitt for the callinge of a minister of the gospel,..."

The Protesters are "...more strict and close in their outward walkinges, than...the other..." but they too are against Cromwell and are divided among themselves.

"Part of them lead by the laird of Warresten and Mr. James Gutery, who are bitterly averse to your highnes authority, if not to any. The other lead by mr. Patrick Gilespy and mr. John Levingston, who are pious sober men, and I verrily beleve frends to your government..."

He states that they are so weary of the Guthrie-Wariston faction that he thinks they would unite with any but them.

Concerning the Guthrie-Wariston group he thinks they are

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2. Thurloe, op.cit., Vol.IV, pp.557-9 gives the text from which this and subsequent quotations are taken.
"Fifth-Monarchy Presbyterians" closer to "the late All Hallowae men" than any others. He encloses a treatise written by them on the 8th of August 1654 which he could not believe had been written by any one under Cromwell's government until,

"...I called Mr. Gutery privately and shewed it to him, who after some hesititation did owne it; and truly from late addresses we have had from that divided part of the remonstrators have the same spirit in them, tho' not fully the same rebellious language. This paper was dispersit since a yeere since, and upon our late declaration for puttinge that ordinance in force, was so carefully and industriously scattered abroad again at the first."

Rutherford had been in a constant clash with Wood at St. Andrews. Wood was later transferred to the Principalship of Old College. Rutherford by March the 13th thought the post would be an excellent place for his friend, Guthrie. It would also tend to relieve the situation at Stirling, but the move was never consummated.

The Protesters met on the 13th, but there were few present. The possibility of sending representatives to Cromwell was discussed, but it was decided to await developments. A paper titled "Remedies of the Sinnes of the Ministry" was being drafted. They met again in June. Among other things they discussed Rutherford's problem at New

3. NL MSS, Wod. Coll., Vol. 27 No. 38. Ltr. Traill to Murray, Cp. Ibid. 4to 29 No. 76.
College, and Guthrie's at Stirling "...and knew not what to
doe about eyther of them;..." Guthrie suggested that Chies-ley be sent to London to represent them, but he refused. By
the end of the month Guthrie is afraid that Argyll will take
a post in the government, and that he desires Wariston to do
the same so there will be less reproach for either of them.

Representatives from the Synods met at Edinburgh and
discussed the problem of the increase of popery and the main-
tenance of entrants with Broghill. While there they agreed
to send James Sharp to London as he had become a friend of
Broghill, and the latter was going to attend Parliament.
Sharp's instructions included points of refutation against
the Protesters, a desire for ecclesiastical freedom, a desire
for action against popery, advice against the calling of a
general assembly, and the prohibition of intrusion.

The Protesters had planned to send Guthrie, Wariston
and Rutherfurd to London, but when they heard that Sharp was
to go, they declined. Sharp, when he arrived at London, had
a good hearing from Cromwell but activity was hampered when
Argyll suggested to Cromwell that he wait until the Protesters
arrived. It was in a conference between Sharp and Argyll
that the latter said concerning Guthrie "...Mr. Ja:Guthry he
is too short he could bend nor bow."

2. They seem to have presented their overture to accept the
Government in return for a General Assembly again on
3. For the text vide, Consultations, Vol.1, pp.204-210. They
send a letter of recommendation for Sharp to Broghill.
Ibid., pp.210ff.
4. CSL,MS,Mod.Col.,LS.1.6.5, No.77. It is at this same confer-
ence that Argyll recalls the case concerning J.Simpson and
his wife that was before the Commission years before.
The Protesters met again in August. Wariston and Guthrie spent about a fortnight drawing up instructions for a representation to London. Gillespie apparently was unsatisfied with the arrangements and left the meeting. At this meeting they drew up instructions for those who were to convene the Protesters of the various synods. Guthrie and Simpson were given such instructions for the Synod of Perth. The place was not mentioned but the meeting was to be held on September the 2nd. They were to make known to the meeting the reasons for making application to Cromwell, and to inform them of the general instructions to the delegation. They were to send three ministers and a ruling elder to the meeting on September the 23rd, and to collect and send money to that meeting.

By this time Guthrie is not in favor with Broghill. The latter writes "'Tis Mr. Guttery and thos fierce men... who in their writinges call his highness's government usurped and unlawfull."

On the 23rd of September the Protesters chose Simpson to go to London giving him general instructions. Simpson wanted to go to Glasgow to consult Gillespie concerning his mission, but Wariston discourages him and says that he

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1. It was agreed to send a delegation to London but it had not been selected, vide, NL,MSS,Wod.Col.,4to 29, No.74.
2. For a copy of these instructions vide, NL,MSS,Wod.Col., Fol.27 No.23, dated August 22.
thought it strange concerning Gillespie's

"...going to London and drawing up ordinances to impose on all Scotland without advice of any and against their conjuration not to meddle in ecclesiastical matters, and sending up sensyn ouvertures and instructions anent all our affairs without our advice, and yet no meeting, after 4 several meetings and dealings with him to be present, shal meddle with any publick matter in his absence for without his consent..."

Guthrie at the same time thought Wariston was overly ambitious, saying that if he could but see Wariston's diaries he could show that Wariston expected to be Protector before he died.

The Resolutioners heard of Simpson's instructions to ask for equal committees so they wrote to Sharp informing him of this and also telling him that he could not meet with Simpson because he is deposed.

The Protesters met to choose additional representatives to go to London. At the meeting they discussed joint committees, divided presbyteries, the calling of ministers by magistrates, and union. Wariston drew up a paper for the reactivation of the 1650 Commission. In the course of the meeting Guthrie frequently disagreed with Wariston. Guthrie opposed the suggestion that both groups of the Protesters meet together for the selection of representatives. But when action was taken concerning the suggestion of Simpson's letter that more representatives be appointed, Gillespie was again selected together with Wariston, Col. Ker and Guthrie. The

1. Wariston, Diary, Vol. III, p. 44. Wariston thinks that such authoritarianism would make him not only Archbishop of Glasgow but "...Metropolitan and Patriarch of Scotland."
2. He later breaks this rule arguing with both Gillespie and Guthrie with Simpson present.
3. Cf. NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to 29 No. 75.
4. Col. Gilbert Ker of Hamilton Battle. It appears that Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead also went to London about this time. They were both Protesters.
latter refused to go "...and desyred a committee to hear him, unsatisfaction in the instructions, and his wyfes 1 seakness..." were given as reasons for his refusal. Simpson seems not to have altered the choice by writing that Col. Desborough had said in London that Guthrie and Wariston "...would cutt the Protectors throte", for they were destined to go.

The Resolutioners wrote to their English friends, presenting their side of the controversy in the best light possible, omitting all that might reflect upon themselves. On December the 24th they sent additional instructions to Sharp to the effect that he was not authorised to discuss union.

Meanwhile in Stirling the feeling is still high. In May Guthrie and Couie apparently were cursed by a townsman. The Town Council continued to send representatives to Edinburgh and M. Simpson stayed in Edinburgh from July the 3rd to August the 16th. On the latter date Simpson, who had been made Moderator of the Presbytery, secured the help of that body, the Council and the Session to go before the Council of State on Wednesday August the 27th. On this date the decision was made that Simpson might have the stipend of Bennet and the use of the Kirk. On September the 1st it

2. Ibid., p. 56. Wariston was convinced that the Lord sent him to London, p. 121.
4. CHR, MSS, Session Minutes, May 22. It says that profanity was vented in their presence and that the man was brought before the magistrates.
5. Ibid., s.v. Aug. 28, cf. 16th, PSD, MSS, Minutes, Aug. 27th, cf. Aug. 16th.
is recorded, that the Town Council sent a delegation to Guthrie requiring from him liberty to preach in the church —they seem to have held their services in Tolbooth previously when Guthrie refused, then one reads,

"...they have theirforr resolvit and concludit that according to the ordour of his heighnes counsell, whairby their lordships hes gevin warrand to cause build up a partitioun in the churche to go on for shunning furder controversie..."¹

A week later they make their contract with Simpson. On December the 24th it is indicated that the Protesters are still unhappy about the case of Stirling. In fact it was to be appealed to London. Rule, in the meantime, tried to collect his past stipend.

The Synod at its October meeting was concerned with a paper "Evidences of the Growth of Defection in the Province of Stirling and Perth". This dealt with Guthrie's troubles at Stirling, his opposition to Ireland and the restoration of deposed ministers including Henry Guthry. The Presbytery is more concerned at this time to have Simpson removed at Airth. This was halted by a letter from Monck to M. Simpson ordering him to do nothing until the Council meets.

The Resolutioners had become too elated by their success at

4. SPS, MSS, Minutes, pp.275ff. They speak of Guthrie having a design to perturb them after his usual manner. It is strange that they let Guthrie have so much influence on the body of which they insist he is not a member.
5. PSD, MSS, Minutes, pp.55f. The letter concerned the same action against J. Blair and Hog.
Stirling and had tried to have everything their way.

In the midst of his difficulties Guthrie preaches on April the 28th, 1656, on Revelations 3:15 concerning luke-warm Christians. He speaks of the person who would rather shift for himself than to lose his estate for God, of the mediator who compromises, of the church members who have private devotions in the morning but not in the evening, who attend church on the Sabbath but not during the week, and when they are wronged, defend themselves, but when the Cause of God is wronged, they do nothing. Concerning their attendance he says

"...how few thinketh the ordinances worth the coming to on the week dayes and on the sabbath dayes our eyes never saw the like in any place else none will come to the church till all the bells be rung in and for duties we have nothing but the common jod trot and many no that, though this tyme calleth for much spiritual duty."2

Such lukewarmness will never bring one to communion with God.

1. EUL, MSS, L.Col.III, pp.103ff. It is difficult to date this collection. This particular sermon is dated. The others will be discussed in toto in the next chapter.
2. Ibid.
CHAPTER SEVEN

PROTECTOR AND PULPIT
The Protesters held a meeting at the first of the year to give their last instructions to their delegation. Preceded by a letter from Monck to Cromwell stating that the Protesters had lived peaceably under his government and advising Cromwell that in his opinion "...they are better to be trusted than the other partie which are called the General Resolucion men", the four Protesters left Edinburgh for London on January the 16th. Prior to their departure they had sent a large paper to London.

On January the 27th the Resolutioners finished the first paper that was to be published since Hamilton's Reply of 1653. It is James Wood's A True Representation and was to be used by Sharp for propaganda in London. It presented the Resolutioner viewpoint on major issues but omitted such items as the Commission overstepping their authority in their actions, and the "Start". They place the blame upon lower ecclesiastical courts for failure to purge and for the admission of

1. For a letter from this meeting vide, NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to 29 No.77.
2. Firth, Scotland and the Protectorate, p.345.
3. The date is variously given. This date is found in NL, MSS, 2263 p.235a. For their instructions vide, CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS I.6.8.No.10.
Malignants. Wood had heretofore tried in Scotland to minimize the strength of the Protesters, now he speaks of their "...convening of great numbers of Ministers, Elders, Professours and Expectants from all parts of the Land in extrajudicail meetings..." In spite of its defects it was one of the best of the Resolutioner books. It traced the progress of the dispute up to the date of its publication. To a person unfamiliar to both sides of the question it would be very convincing.

One great difficulty in any reunion is that the minority group inevitably fears that in union they will be coming under complete subjugation to the rule of the majority. It was this that prompted the Protesters to ask for equal representation on consultation and plantation committees in the various synods. It could not accurately be called, as Wood terms it, a desire to overthrow Presbyterianism. It was designed by them as a temporary measure to achieve some form of tentative agreement. It was certainly better than the uncompromising position of the Resolutioners. One of the most interesting items in the work is the description of the Protesters' Communion. Wood says that in disobedience to the act of the 1645 General Assembly

"...they have a great many (six or seaven, and sometime double, or more) of Ministers gathered to it, whose Congregations (most part) are left destitute of Preaching that day; great confluences from all the Country and many Congregations about are gathered at them, and on every day of their meeting (which are Saturday, the Lord's Day, and Monday), many of these Ministers do Preach successively one after another, so that three or four, and sometimes more, do preach at their preparation, and as many on the

1. A True Representation, p.32.
Munday following; and on the Lord's Day, sometime three or four do preach before they go to the action; besides these who preach to the multitudes of People who cannot be contained in the Church."¹

The book's effectiveness in London was principally due to the failure of the Protesters to publish a reply. In this work the Resolutioners presented to another nation a sad picture of intrusions, divided presbyteries, and a partial ungodly ministry in Scotland. Little would have been gained by a "paper war" conducted outside Scotland. In fact it was properly questioned by Blair and others whether religious problems should ever have been taken to London.

The Protesters gave a paper to Cromwell which Traill describes as

"...the faithfull representation of the sad condition of the people of God in this land in regard of the corruption of the church and encroachment upon the liberties thereof, vastnes of toleration, breach of covenant, slighting of the bond thereof, and the dis-countenanceing and bearing down the power of goodnes."²

On Monday February the 2nd Cromwell was ready to receive the delegation from Scotland. He called in English clergymen to be present, among whom were Ashe, Manton, Lockyer, and Owen. The Scots were called in about eleven in the morning and found that there were also present Gen.Desborough, Col.Philip Jones and Sir Gilbert Pickering. Cromwell explained the presence of others as a need of witnesses for he did not trust his own judgment. Cromwell first

¹. A True Representation, p.35.
². NL, MSS, Wod.Col., 4to 29 No.78. It seems to have been widely circulated as a copy reached Wood vide, CSL, MSS, Wod.Col., LS I,6.5. No.11. Wood to Douglas, St.Andrews, 2 Feb.1657.
spoke of the Protester requests concerning the magistracy, the ministry and the Church. He then addressed Sharp, saying that the latter had been to see him three times in reference to matters that seemed reasonable. He asked Sharp if he had brought papers as the Protesters had. Since he had not done so, Sharp was allowed to state his case. He claimed that he spoke for the liberty of the Church. The Protesters report that he said

"...that he had a commission from the Church of Scotland and all these who did owne the government thereof, that the acts of assemblies at Dundie and Edinburt had never been put in execution that they had more of the sober godly of their judgment then was both good and bad of ours; that there was not above fuyve or six of the deposed ministers reponed in all Scotland; that they did not keep out intrants upon the account of the publict resolutions, but had admitted some protesters in Presbyteries where the plurality was of theirs judgment; he did also most bitterlie charge my Lord Waristoun for having a hand in the Treatie at Breda and used other bitter resolutions." 1

At the conclusion of his speech Sharp reports that Guthrie said,

"' I would desire to know if Mr. Sharp doth seek a Generall Assembly, and that none of us who appear here are against the liberty of the exercise of the Government of the Church; but seeing it is in a troubled state and the plurality thereof corrupt, we conceive it ought not to be granted without security to the godly.'" 2

Sharp demanded by what authority the Protesters appeared, called them troubleurs, and denied that the Church was corrupt. A debate ensued, in the course of which Wariston

1. NL, MSS, Wod.Col., 4to 29 No. 78. Cp.fol.27, No.39. The latter MS includes important postscripts.
2. Consultations, Vol.1, p.351; CSL, MSS, Wod.Col., LS 1.6. 8. No.79. The latter is not the MS of the Consultations which are also located on this library.
alleged that the Resolutioners held to the Resolutions so that the people might act unitedly should the King return. Sharp in turn complained that the Protesters gained the young men to their cause because they put them in churches. Concerning the acts of censureship against the Protesters "Guthrie sayd I desire Mr. Sharp may be posed yea or no (this was his usall preamble to all his peremptory propositions) whether these Acts..will be repealed..." The meeting was adjourned until after dinner. The Protesters report

"Yet after dinner when my Lord Protector called them againe to proceed in the conference Mr. Sharpe diew_withdraw to his chamber and shunned any further hearing upon the matters of our difference so the Protector was necess-itat to dismiss them to some other occasion..."1 Sharp learned after the conference that the Protesters main desire was to have the Church purged and that Guthrie desired that it be done by Protester ministers.

In the period after the conference Gillespie preached in St. Margaret's on February the 13th before Parliament at the Thanksgiving for the delivery of the Protector from assassination. The Protesters complained to Broghill concerning Sharp's proselytizing the London Ministers for the Resolutioner cause. Broghill declared that they would not be prejudiced. To this Guthrie replied "...laughingly, 'It is hard to dispossess a minister of an opinion which he once taketh up.'" In promotion of his cause Sharp by February

2. NL, MSS, Wod.Col.,4to 29 No.78. Sharp says that he went to his room but when he returned the meeting was dismissed because of his absence. Vide, Consultations,Vol.I, p.364; CSL,MSS,LS I. 6. 5. No.80. For other Sharp papers at this time vide, NL,MSS,Wod.Col.,fol.49 Nos.2ff.
the 16th had the Representation off the press and ready for distribution.

The appeal of possible power and position from the Cromwellian government enhanced by the London setting was beginning to break down what little resistance Wariston had to accepting office under the regime. Guthrie pleaded with him. One evening after supper Guthrie "...spak whither this people was freinds or foes, and whither wee should not praye for breaking their power..." Guthrie seems to have become sick of controversy for Wariston reports that on February the 12th Guthrie "...fell upon the busines of controverseye and had sundry sharp reflexions, and after desner told his desyre to go hom..." The close friendship of Guthrie and Wariston is revealed when Wariston records "...and then I speaking about his wryting home he told he had written to some of my friends. I sayd, his doing it and not telling me of it both greived and angered me..." Wariston is very unhappy concerning Guthrie's opposition to his acceptance of office. He declares that he thinks it will mean an ungodly government over the people since the godly can not take positions in it.

The second conference before Cromwell was held the morning of Tuesday February the 24th and lasted for three hours. Guthrie opened the debate asserting that the government of the Kirk as it was now "...could not be for

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
edification and promoting of the work of reformation..."  
This he based on the exclusion of godly men from the church courts. Sharp retorted that Guthrie is "...a contemner of the exercise of it in the lawfull judicaturies..." He asked why Guthrie brings this matter to a magistrate prior to bringing it to a church court, and if Guthrie thinks the Church has continued to be pure in constitution and power. Guthrie upheld the right to appeal this matter to magistrates and affirmed that he had participated in church courts in the past. Sharp declares that Guthrie was for Presbyterian government "...modelled after his frame..." Guthrie broached the matter of the Acts of Censure. They afterwards discussed the entry of Malignants. Later Guthrie took a paper from Gillespie and read the names of the ministers the Resolutioners had refused to accept. Sharp denied that this matter was presented to a church court, that it does not make the Church corrupt, and that it cannot be proven that they were excluded merely because of the differences. Sharp attempted to deal with some of the cases mentioned. Guthrie stated that the Resolutioners give official status to a minority group where the plurality of a presbytery is Protester. Sharp denied this and asserted that Protesters themselves were guilty in this respect and cited the Presbytery of Stirling as an example. According to Sharp Guthrie replied "...it was strange boldness to assert that which could not consist in my knowledge as in his." Sharp asserted that there was

3. Ibid., p.8.  
4. Ibid., p.12.
only one recognized minister in the Protester Presbytery of Stirling. Sharp spoke about prelacy, saying that there may be one of the Protesters who "...did goe a greater length in owning the corruptions of the prelates at their worst than could be alleaged of any of..." the Resolutioners. "M.Manton...observed M.Guthree's face to grow reid at this..." Guthrie at the end of the conference informs Cromwell that he has a list of those men that the Resolutioners have restored. The evidence which Sharp gives in his letter concerning the conference hardly bears out his conclusion, "This was one of my triumphing dayes." About this time Cromwell is reported to have said that he was not taking judicial cognizance of the matter but for his information that he might be able to propose a method for union.

About this time there was a change in the House concerning their attitude towards the Protesters. It was only after a lengthy debate that Gillespie was chosen to participate with the other English ministers in a fast. Because of this changed attitude Guthrie wanted to abandon the mission and return to Scotland. Gillespie agreed, but first wanted to present their instructions. Most of the delegation did not want to wait until the new Council was formed.

When the Humble Petition and Advice was passed on March the 9th making all Scotsmen capable of public trust, the delegation despaired concerning their desire for a godly

2. Ibid., it never seems to be forgotten that Guthrie was once for prelacy.  
3. Ibid., p.18.
magistracy. Wariston reported that "Mr. Sharpe... jeered us upon the vote and asked when wee was going to Scotland..."

Gillespie for some reason was proving difficult in the delegation. The day after the conference he was ready to "...heighten the Protectors harsh opinion of..." Guthrie.

By March the 11th the other three of the delegation are convinced of Guthrie's and Gillespie's "...rooted jealousy, suspecting every word the uther spake..."

About this time the Stirling case was presented to the Council. There was a meeting held on Tuesday night (probably March the 10th) where the position of Guthrie was backed by Fleetwood, Lambert and Pickering. A decision in the matter was postponed until Sharp could be heard. This later meeting was delayed. Broghill told Sharp to bring him "...Guthrie's paper in reference to Patrik's Ordinance..." and asked him if the people at Stirling were accessory to Montrose. Sharp discussed the matter with Broghill explaining that

"...these very persons who did now call Mr Simson did 6 or 7 years ago give a call to Mr Guthrie, who did not then except against their malignancy. I knew no act done by them since for which they ought to be deprived of their liberty to call their minister."5

In conversation with Desborough Sharp learns that Desborough

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2. Ibid., p.66. Cromwell's feeling may have stemmed from the Glasgow experience or it may have been the result of the recent conferences.
3. Ibid., p.73.
4. Consultations, Vol.II, p.21; CSL, MSS, Wod.Col. LS. I.6.5. No.82. Broghill seems never to have forgiven Guthrie for this paper.
upholds the Scottish Council in their decision. Sharp commented "I saw there was no thing which could satisfie Mr. Guthrie's stout stomach but to give him his will in everie thing. 'It appeareth so,' sayd Desbarrow..."

A Night meeting was held at which Guthrie's petition was read. It traced the difficulty at Stirling stating that..."a prevailing party in that place whose disaffection to Godlinesse and to ye work of Reformation hath in all the progress thereof since the yeare 1638 upon appearing advantage manifested itself in open opposition against the same end in promoting and carrying on Malignant and ungodly courses did thereupon separat themselves from ye settled ministrey and eldership of that congregation and within six moneths thereafter having first made a change of ye Magistrate of that borough by removeing all those who did concurr in Mr. Robert Rule his call to the Ministery their ane choyceing and appointing others of their own judgment and way in their place did thereafter without the consent and concurrence and contrary to the judgment and endeavours of the ministery and godly in that congregation call and receive one Mr. Mathias Sympsone...upon whom ye public maintaine...has been latly settled and ye one half of ye publicke place appointed him to preach...hath againe lift up the heade of the Malignant and disaffected party in Sterling and doeth not only expose ye godly in that place to reproach and contempt and persecution from that party But is lyke to deprive or...Mr. Rule...and by strengthening and hightning of yt continued and strong opposition that hath been made to Mr. Guthry his Ministery and endeavours for Reformation in that place by that party. These seavin yeares past which are long if remedy be not provyded will necessitat his removeall also."

After the reading Sharp spoke against the petition saying it reflected upon his party, that the same people elected Guthrie as elected M. Simpson, and otherwise defended Simpson's election. He was informed by Lambert that the Council

2. For Sharp's imperfect copy vide, Ibid., pp. 28f. For the true copy vide, PRO, MSS, SR, I, 77 p.713. op. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1656-7, p.279. It is under the date Feb.17th in the Calendar. It is a petition by James Simpson and Guthrie.
3. Ibid.
was only investigating Simpson's fitness. After the two delegations had withdrawn Guthrie asked Sharp by what authority he appeared. Sharp refused to answer. Guthrie asked him if he knew Simpson. Sharp returns the question to Guthrie, to which the latter replies, according to Sharp,

"...truly I never spoke with him, but I have upon report what I sayed, and I heare him preach and Catechize, and I think had you heard him you would have been of another opinion, then now you are of him: I answered I knew M. Simson both in England 5 years agoe and in Scotland, I knew Mr. Rule before he was a minister and what his carriage was when he was a student so I thought I had better ground to give a testimony to M. Simson having for so long to speice had pryval acquaintance with him and suering a good report of him, then M. Guthrie had ground to defame him, being such a stranger to him."

In comparing Guthrie's and Simpson's calls to Stirling Argyll says "I can bear witness they are a very malignent people, expressing great rejoicing upon the defeat at Kilsyth and though they called M. Guthree, it is known they were overawed to doe it..."

Sharp asked what the opposition party at Stirling had done to be denied the right to choose a minister. Guthrie stated that they had been debarred from the Sacrament. Sharp said "...that was before he came to be their minister and these barriers had been taken off; sayth he smillingly they did petition the Assembly 52 for M.H. Guthrie to be their minister and was not that an act of malignacy;..." At this juncture of the discussion Sharp says Guthrie mentioned M. Guthry

1. CSL, MSS, MS7, L. Col., LS. I. 65. No. 82
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
"...in a great rage, yet with a seeming calmness which he can personate prettily well...some years ago I would not have thought of M. Guthrie and I would have appeared on such a stage in treines of opposition upon such an account and if I had intention to give just cause of grief to M. Guthrie, and wished he had not occasioned the griefes put upon him in his charge; so I professed it was grievous to me..."

Broghill had told a committee that he thought Guthrie "...the greatest malignant in the three nations, who had taught, wrought, acted, and minded no thing but sedition, confusion, and blood..." He is still incensed by Guthrie's paper against the Ordinance and wants justice. Concerning the Stirling case he says that there are more godly men for Simpson than for Rule and contends that "...Mr. Guthry was the greatest enemy to the Gouernment..." Guthrie unperturbed went out the next day for a game of golf.

In Sharp's letter of March the 19th one learns that Guthrie preached the previous Thursday in Mr. Thomas Case's church. Sharp reports that "...half of the people went out after he did begin, and one pious woman of my acquaintance, being present, told me that some asked her if he was a Quaker."

Broghill after an afternoon session dealing with Stirling declared to Sharp that if they wish to give money to Rule from the vacant stipends they can do it but Simpson must have the stipend. If there is anything against Simpson let Col. Whithan, who is going to Scotland, investigate it. In a later meeting

1. CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS 1.6.5. No. 82. This was a lengthy discussion but nothing else of importance was mentioned.
when the two parties were discussed, Broghill produced Guthrie's speech, referred to Rule's past misconduct at the University, and J. Simpson's recent scandal. In the course of an argument between Gillespie and Sharp the latter said that "... wer he in M. Guthrie's place as he hath often told him he would choose rather to preach the Gospel in Caithness or Orkney than amongst these people" at Stirling.

On April the 9th Sharp reports a visit of the Protestant delegation to the prisoners at Windsor. He says that Guthrie

"... dyed with his old patron Lauderdaill who himself prayed, and blessed the table and gave thanks, without any desire made to M. Guthrie at which he so stomached, that having before proffered his service to my Lord Lauderdaill, towards what he would desire from the powers at Whytall after finding that he was so unfit held his peace and past that time with fair generals on both sides." 3

On May the 14th the Stirling case was considered. The paper that remains is partially stricken, but it proposes to withhold the stipend from both parties until they are heard and that Rule be paid from the vacant stipends for his past two years service.

The Protesters, arguing from the fact that Cromwell had insisted on the Act of Classes being passed in Scotland in 1648, were able to secure a proviso attached to the Humble Petition and Advice on June the 15th which virtually

1. This was a curious incident that was never proven against Simpson. The offence was admitted by a man who had since gone overseas.
re-enacted the Act.

On June the 9th Guthrie was resolved to go home, because there was no hope of obtaining a Council from Fleetwood. This desire to leave may have stemmed from his feeling toward Wariston who seemed determined to accept office under the government. On the 11th he gave Wariston a letter against acceptance which Wariston called "...very sharp and ful of reflexions." The next day Wariston said that "...he spak passionatly about my turning."

On June the 13th Guthrie reported upon a conference which he had with Cromwell,

"...about the Covenant and how he shew obligations and promissorye oaths wer 'if God will' and with reservation of providence, and not obliging in chaynging exigencies of providence, as som things in the Covenant as conditioinal. They spak about the settlement. He denied his speaking harshlye of him to any and spak smoothly to him..."

At some time during the conferences "James Guthrie used such freedome with Oliver Cromwell that he was threatened to be sent prisoner to the tower of London." It is almost certain that while Guthrie was in London "Cromwell said of him, as is reported, that Mr. Guthrie was a short man, and would not bow." It was also reported that "...he studied a sermon to preach before Cromwell, if he had invited him. It was on these words, Psal.xeiv.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.80.
5. Ibid.
7. Wodrow, Analecta, Vol.III, p.96. Is there any connection with this and Guthrie's warning of approaching sufferings recorded by Kirkton in his History, p.109, which he assigns to this year?
'Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which framed mischief by a law? But he never desired him to preach..."}

Guthrie left London for Stirling about July the 15th. Baillie says that he does not know whether he was prompted by financial reasons or by differences within the delegation. Guthrie was not satisfied with the conduct of either Gillespie or Wariston, as they seemed destined to conform with the wishes of the government. He was not on good relations with Cromwell. He had not even been able to gain justice for his own parish. About the time Guthrie left the conferences were shunted off to a committee. The debates continued without Guthrie until October. It was about this time that the committee reported, and on the basis of their report the Council "...resolved not to interpose in our debates..." and asked the delegates to agree at home among themselves. It was about this time that the Protesters lost the support of Gen.Monck. The Protesters returned to Scotland in October, with the exception of Gillespie who was expected to return November the 19th. The mission accomplished little aside for airing the controversy before the Cromwellian government in London.

On September the 15th it was determined that Rule would be the associate minister at Stirling and would re-

2. For the financial difficulties of the Protesters vide, NL,MSS,Mod.Col.,4to 29 No.79 ltr 15 June.
receive £80 per year from the vacant stipends. The Protesters in Scotland met in September but Guthrie took no active part. In fact Guthrie seems to have confined his activity to the parish for some time. Aside from M. Simpson asking Guthrie not to ring the church bell during communion and a few isolated cases of discipline little is known about Guthrie's parish work at this time. He so increased the number of his services that Simpson felt compelled to do likewise. Simpson continued to use the Tolbooth as well as his half of the church for services. By the end of 1659 the Guildry wished to build a loft in the east end of the church as "...there ar a great scarceitie of seatts in the westmost church."

The Protesters and Resolutioners did not take the advice of the London Committee who had suggested that a settlement be attempted by Douglas, Dickson, Traill and Stirling. Instead the Resolutioners held a meeting on January 7th-12th to hear Sharp's report of the London Mission. By March they published Wood's Declaration. Row says that the first part of this work is "...somewhat bitter and

1. PRO, MSS, SR 25, I, 77, p.984, No.4; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1657-8, CLVI, p.99.
2. NL, MSS, Mod. Col., 4to 29 No.81.
3. CHR, MSS, Session Minutes, 16 August 1659.
4. One of the puzzling discoveries of this research has been the location of CSL, MSS, Mod. Col., LS.16.6.No.82, a document signed by a David Dickson with a seal "Scottiae Sigillum Concillium" calling for a Presbytery to appear before the Council. (Nov.26, 1657, Edinburgh). Was this the Resolutioner, David Dickson?
5. [Wood, Jas.], The Declaration of the Brethren, who are for the established Government and Judicatures of this Church, Expressing their earnest Desires of Union and Peace with their Dissenting Brethren (Edinburgh: [C.Higgins] 1658). An abridged version is in Consultations, Vol.II, pp.131-136.
sharp, setting out the Protesters as overturners of the present government of the Kirk..." The second part was purported to be overtures for peace and union. It attacks severely the Protester suggestion of equal committees. It again emphasises a willingness to repeal the acts of censure, but this must be done by a General Assembly - but in their private papers to Sharp at London they had informed him that a General Assembly was inadvisable. It asserts a willingness to purge by strict rules as long as those rules are uniform and universal. This document could hardly be accepted as a basis for union. It represented little progress over the situation in London. The work was attacked by the Protesters in the various lower church courts. In the Synod of Perth and Stirling it was not adopted at their Spring meeting; instead they held meetings for union with the Protesters.

On May the 14th it was determined by the Resolutioners that since the Protesters had not asked for a conference on the basis of the Declaration they would ask the various Presbyteries if they were willing to have union as offered by the document. The Presbytery of Stirling agreed to the Declaration as a foundation for union and sent a delegation to Guthrie offering these terms. They met with Guthrie on July the 12th.

1. Row, Blair, p.334.
2. Cromwell's attitude towards a General Assembly, if correctly recorded, was interesting. He would not grant it because they would have deposed one another. Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. I, p.273. The reason for his proclaiming fasts is given also, vide, Ibid., pp.273f. cf.Kirkton, History, p.56.
3. This action was deprecated by Protesters no Subverters and Presbytery no Papacie (Edinburgh:n.p.,1658) postscript. Vide also, Ibid., p. 7f. The writer claims that it is a priori action. He also condemns the use of civil means to deliver this paper to the Protesters.
and he promised a reply on the 21st. He sent a paper from J. Simpson, Hog and himself in which he pointed out that the Declaration has inferred that the Protesters are not for the established government of the Kirk and asked the Resolutioners if the Protesters must accept this part of the Declaration. He then cited the illegal composition of the Resolutioner Presbytery, saying, that when they divided, it was composed of three ministers who were under scandal and that they later added to their number by taking a minister who had been suspended, intruding ministers, and ministers who had revolted against the Presbytery. He also indicated that they do not recognize Rule and J. Blair as members of the Protester Presbytery. He asked what was meant by submission to the church courts. Does it mean even in matters contrary to the Scripture? He concluded by stating that he enclosed a copy of the Overtures of the 1655 Edinburgh Conference as a basis for union. This matter was continued until the 29th of September at which time M. Simpson reported that "...the substance of these papers are now emitted in print and so were made of public concernment to this whole church."

At the same time that the Resolutioners sent the Declaration to the Presbyteries they also condemned Rutherford's newly published book A Survey of the Survey. They were

1. CSL, MSS, Wod.Col., L5.I.6.9. No.60. It is interesting to note that Moir records Guthrie as having told Mr. Robert Stirling to pass his trials in whichever Presbytery he thought right. vide, Analecta, Vol.III, p.99.
2. The Presbytery minutes read the Overtures of the Protesters to the 1652 General Assembly. This could mean that the two are identical.
3. SPS, MSS, Minutes, Sept.29th, p.105.
offended at his relation of the hardships that Protesters are undergoing in Scotland, and claimed that it reflected upon Presbyterianism. They seem to have forgotten that the same may have been said about their Representation which Sharp diligently distributed in London. What disturbed Resolutioners was that many people had awaited Rutherford's answer to Hooker, and as a result the offending portion, which Rutherford had placed in the preface, would be widely read.

Rutherford's work was followed by Protesters no Subverters. Contrary to some writers this work did not open old wounds as the Resolutioners had done this already. It was a belated defense against the attack of the two previously unanswered Resolutioner works. In fact, a third, of dubious origin called Uldericus Verdicus, displaying the Protesters in a bad light, had been issued for readers abroad before Protesters was printed. Some opprobriums against the Protesters had been emitted from the pulpits of the Resolutioners so that "...the profane sort are furnished with a common theme for the tavern."

1. The Protesters are accused of spreading papers in London also, but these papers seem never to have been printed nor were they refuted. Vide, Hutcheson, Geo. A Review and Examination of...Protesters no Subverters (Edinburgh: Christopher Higgins, 1659) p.63.
3. Protesters no Subverters, p.28. For another Protester paper against the Declaration vide, CSL, MSS, Vol. Col., LS.I.6.8. No.13. The authorship of Protesters is currently assigned to Guthrie on the basis of a MS note of David Laing which says, "This tract, understood to be written by Mr. James Guthrie, was answered by Mr. George Hutcheson, Mr. James Wood, and other Resolutioners..." Kennedy, Jas., Smith and Johnson, Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926-1934) Vol. IV, p.452. It has at times been assigned to P. Gillespie. A likely possibility could be Simpson as he was writing just prior to this and there is no contemporary mention of works by the others. The work contains none of the usual marks of
The author of *Protesters* presents the views expressed in London. The Protesters are the defenders of the Church not its destroyers. He affirms that the "equal committee" is not a permanent proposal but a means towards the pacification of the two groups. With reference to purgation he asserts that if it was required when Malignants "...were under board, how much lese now, when all of them are got above the hatches, I and sundry of them are set to stir the rudder?" He does not consider that the Resolutioners have made any great concessions.

If the censureship Acts can be revoked why can not the same be done to the Resolutions? He points out the difficulties of the Protesters, saying,

"...yet, have they great cause to complain, because they have thereby not only been violently thrust out of these Kirk-Judicatories, where the resolution Brethren could carry the vote, but also have been exposed to railing and reproach and hazard from profane and malignant men throughout the Land, and sundry of them to suffering and persecution from ill-affected persons in their own Congregations, who have, upon that account, not only separated themselves their Ministerie, and set up others according to their own heart in their stead, but done their utmost to thrust them out of their stations, and when that could not be obtained, have done what they can to make their life a burden and comfortless unto them...

He defends the plantation of churches where there is not a plurality for the incoming minister on the basis of the ignorance of the majority, and counters by claiming that the Resolutioners accept deposed ministers after they have intruded themselves. He does not see any equality in the Resolutioner offer

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Guthrie's hand, except its lucidity. The author gives the impression that he was not a leader in the Protesters, but this could be assigned to Guthrie's semi-retirement after the London Conferences.

1. Protesters no Subverters, p.36.
2. Ibid., p.81. This description fits none better than Guthrie. For the Resolutioner rebuttal vide, [Hutcheson, G], A Review and Examination, p.71.
that if the Protesters do not use their papers any more and accept the absolute authority of the Resolutioner majority, then, the Resolutioners will receive them. Ministers had been deposed by the Assembly when they disapproved of the Commission's action in a civil matter, and men had been excluded from the Lord's Supper because they did not want Malignants in the nation's army. He asserts that the ministry and the courts of the Church must obey God, their higher authority. The Protesters want a sinless union but until it is obtained they will continue to defend the truth.

Later Patrick Drummond told Sharp that in London "...the Protesters by their late pamphlet had gained as little as M. Rutherfurd in his preface, which was the generall dislyke of all honest men here..."

All had not been quiet on the political front. On May the 6th, 1657 the justices of the peace in Stirling called for the Kirk Session books wanting to extract the information concerning delinquents i.e., the penalties imposed and the fines collected. It was apparently in preparation for raising additional revenue by imposing civil fines upon offenders. At the first of the year 1658, the matter of revenue was in such a state that the stipends of ministers were taxed. Many complained of this action.

1. CSL, MSS, LS, I. 6.5. No.88. Sharp to Douglas, 22 February 1659. In a later letter Sharp says that Wariston has a "good supply of ther copies by him." and desires more copies of the review. Ibid.,No.91. Sharp to Douglas, 29 March 1659; cp.BM, MSS, Lauderdale Col., MS 2.113, No.66. Sharp to Lauderdale, 28 August 1658 where Sharp calls it "a bitter invective pucee...to make us odious."


Oliver Cromwell died on September the 3rd, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, Richard. Guthrie writes to Wariston in October opposing Wariston's advice that the Protesters delay their testimony and join in thanksgiving for the proclamation of the Protector. The testimony against the government was issued and because of it, Guthrie was threatened with "...banishment for concurring in offering a large testimony against the evil of the times, to Richard Cromwell his council immediately after his usurping the government..." Guthrie writes to Monck, saying that the Protesters give this testimony

"...because my Lord Protector comes to the Government by virtue of the Petition and Advice, in which there is no mention of the League and Covenant, and thereby they conclude that the English have first, unjustly invaded; second, unjustly tolerated diversities of religions; third, unjustly usurped the government of these nations; and all this they do under the colour of their testimony...such businesses must be taken at the beginning, which is the only time to cure these growing diseases."3

The Resolutioners met in Edinburgh in October, and work begins immediately on their answer to the Protesters. This was undertaken by Geo. Hutcheson with the assistance of Jas. Wood. They met again in November and decided to send a representative to London once again.

Much against Guthrie's will Wariston planned to go to London to attend Parliament. He departed on January the 11th. The Resolutioners met in February, and "...knowing that the Lord Wariston is gone...to the Parliament, and that some

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other Protesters are to follow..." him to London, they drew up instructions and on the 5th appointed Sharp to go as their representative. The instructions were identical to those of the previous mission; but in addition he was told to oppose Toleration, and the Protester attempt to have a commission appointed for planting churches, to attempt to have the control of vacant stipends restored to the Presbyteries and to make the securing of stipends easier for newly inducted ministers. He departed for London on the 7th.

In London the Presbyterians were gaining power. Wariston spoke in Parliament against Toleration. Argyll was in favor of the government repealing all the ecclesiastical acts subsequent to 1650. This would have eliminated the basis of the controversy but the Resolutioners could have claimed that the civil government was interfering with church courts and thereby setting a bad precedent. There was a rumor of another assembly of divines meeting. By March the 4th Sharp had copies of the Review. Baillie thought that the cure of the controversy lay in a General Assembly and that Sharp could secure one.

The Army fearing that Presbyterianism might be established secured control of the government, dismissed Parliament on April the 1st, recalled the Rump Parliament and dismissed the Protector. It was about this time that Gillespie planned to go to London. Sharp on the other hand wanted to return to his parish. He saw little that he could do and said that the

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2. They wanted this function to remain in the hands of the Council.
3. According to Sharp a Protester protestation was being circulated against Toleration which was met with laughter. CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS.I. 6. 5. No.91, March 29, 1654.
Protesters "...heir think to have the ball at their foot..."

At a meeting of the Protesters on May the 5th they spoke of 1 Sharp being so busy in London. At this time Wariston was appointed to the Council of State. On May the 27th Guthrie wrote to Fleetwood and Lambert, the actual heads of the new government, asking that they be "...sensible of their invasion of Scotland and to lett Scotland goo free both for Church and Staite in things religious and civil,..." Lambert is reported to have said if this were done "...good people behooved to quyte Scotland, Malignants would so overpoure it and ruyne them, or wee behooved to flye to Ingland for help."

Before he could depart on May the 26th Sharp was called before the Council, after being questioned he was asked to remain in London. Sharp reported that Wariston and Argyll urged the union of the two nations on the basis of a just proportion assigned Scotland in taxation, the liberty of the Presbyterian Government, and the preservation of Scottish Laws. He anticipated Gillespie's arrival to act as a mediator. He revealed that Fleetwood and Lambert were told

"...that they are bound in conscience and honour to leave Scotland itself, to be a distinct republick from England, to putt the power into the hands of

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4. Ibid. The "wee" refers to the Protesters.
the godly party who would secure England as to any hurt or danger from Scotland, and ease it of the charge of maintaining an English army in it."\(^1\)

On June the 3rd Wariston was elected President of the Council. Meanwhile in the Synod of Perth and Stirling the Protesters present their "Desires of the Brethren of the Protesting Judgement in the Synod of Perth". In it they ask for a denial of the controverted Assemblies, the admission of Guthrie and J. Simpson to the Synod, acceptance of the ministers settled by the Protesters, disapproval of the Declaration and unprejudiced status for Protesters in the Synod. The Synod agreed only to take in the ministers who had been settled by the Protesters if their churches were willing.

On Monday June the 3rd some of the Protesters went to Edinburgh on the call of Guthrie but it was not found expedient to have a meeting.

After having investigated Sharp's activity in London the Council ordered that he return to Scotland on June the 29th. The order read,

"...Mr. James Sharp be comandit furth with to returne out of England to his owne habitation into Scotland...not intermeddle with any matters that relate to the publict affaires or concerns of these nations...by negotiating or corresponding with others...but...keep within the compass of his own calling."\(^5\)

Sharp planned to depart on July the 6th.

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3. NL, MSS, Wod.Col., Fol.27 No.18. It is in SPS, MSS, Minutes, April 13, 1659. It appears to have been presented by Protesetter members of the Presbytery of Perth. For a letter to Guthrie from one of the petitioners vide, NL, MSS, Wod.Col., Fol.27 No.40.
4. Hay Diary, p.52.
About this time Wariston gave in a Declaration against Toleration in which he stated that few if any in Scotland were for it. This occasioned the circulation of a petition in Scotland for Toleration which was later presented to the House. Wariston as a result wanted the Protesters and the Resolutioners to send a joint counterpetition.

In October Lambert and his army dismissed Parliament. Monck purged his army in Scotland of Anabaptists by the 21st. It was rumored that Charles might be asked to return. There was a great movement for union in the Kirk with representatives appointed to meet in Edinburgh. When Hay dined with Guthrie and twelve others on Wednesday, November the 2nd, a paper by Guthrie was read which contained the conditions upon which the Protesters were willing to accept union. The next afternoon this paper was debated in Guthrie's room. The union was never consummated as Monck at the beginning of the next year marched into England and the Resolutioners thinking that they had regained favor with the new government refused to confer with the Protesters. Guthrie seeing the dangers of disunion pleaded for a united stand concerning religion but without avail.

It has been shown that Guthrie in the early part of his ministry at Stirling, like most of his fellow ministers at crucial times, discussed contemporary political issues.

4. Hay Diary, p.179.
5. For the sentiment for union at this time cf.Ibid., pp.180f., 192; NL, MSS,4to 29 Nos.86-9.
from his pulpit. In 1653, referring to the opposition which this caused, he said

"...the carnal politicians of the world who crie to ministers that they sould preach faith and repentence but ought not in their sermons or writings to medle with things that concerns the state and magistrate dutie...also condemne... the churches of Christ who have always preached and writtin from the word of the Lord of the Magistrates dutie as well as of the subjects dutie,..."\(^1\)

The political element is almost entirely lacking in his later preaching. In his speech he truthfully affirms, "I have preached salvation through his name..."\(^3\) There are very few direct references to the difficulties in his own parish. From these it is learned that he considers that the citizens have forgotten the Covenants and the town is full of abominations and ill customs. He says that there is no place where

"...the Lords matters are in a more ticklish condition than in this place and in this congregation yet there are none in any part where there are any that know God that are slacker in seeking of God then we are..."\(^4\)

His burning passion is to strengthen the souls of his parishioners in their warfare against the forces of evil in their souls. He speaks to the faint-hearted saying,

2. The exception is in EUL, MSS, L. Col. No.111, pp.129ff. where he speaks of the removal of the candlestick. This is similar to Some Considerations Soberly Offered... appended to A Testimony... (Edinburgh: Society of Stationers, 1660) pp.113ff.
4. EUL, MSS, L. Col., No.111, p.52. The twenty-six sermons in this MS are not in chronological order. If the few dates given were accurate such an order might be achieved, but the weekdays correspond to 1656 while the dating on p.47 is 1658 or 1657. The nineteen sermons on Revelation seem to have been a series. The one dated April 28, 1656 has already been treated. Thomson, Life of Guthrie prints two of them, vide, Ibid., pp.181-208. The first will be treated in this group and the latter in the next chapter. The MS is a student's notebook and as a result fails to give the complete text of the sermons. For reference to the MS in another relation vide, Graham, G.F., The Popular Songs and Melodies of Scotland (Glasgow: Bayley & Ferguson, 1908) p.ix
"...ye who muster fair while ye see no cannon shot and when an appearance of a battell cometh ye run away ye are not to expect what is promised..." He states that temptation ",...made them leave Christ his cullors and draw back and ly down and suffer their spiritual enemies to run over them." Guthrie reveals one of his strongest convictions when he asserts that this conflict inevitably brings suffering to the participant, but through it, he gains a crown and is able to sit on a throne.

His suggestions for practical action are not frequently stated, but they include giving to charity, mutual edification, and private devotions. He does not think that twice daily is enough for the latter. He speaks against materialism, especially mentioning adorning one's "tabernacle of clay". The Christian should not keep the Word of God in his pocket or on a shelf but in the cabinet of his heart. He is very pointed concerning the attendance at week day services, speaking of preaching to walls and telling his people "... either wait on ordinances or give us our leave to be gone and preach to others that would hear it from us." He re­proves the citizens of Stirling who accuse the congregation of hypocrisy when they express their Christianity in every­day living.

He admits that certain doctrines are under attack and

2. Ibid.
3. He says that he frequently stresses this.
4. Ibid., p.56.
emphasises the importance of learning and holding to the truths of God. He makes no digression from his staunch Calvinistic position, but he does not let his theology eclipse his care of souls.

Christ is the dominant figure in his preaching. The Saviour overshadows the Wrath of God. This may be due to the fact that his previous extant sermons were all taken from the Old Testament, or that he was preaching them in a political arena during a tumultuous period. Now, with four exceptions, all the sermons are from the New Testament, and three of the exceptions are from the Song of Solomon with the traditional Christological interpretation. The remaining sermon concerns God's Covenant through Christ. He speaks of Christ suffering to bring people to God, because: He was appointed by God, He might redeem souls by defeating the power of Satan, He might learn obedience, He might through his temptation aid those who are tempted, and He might leave an example. In speaking elsewhere of the Atonement he uses military terminology, saying,

"It was on his cross that he spoiled principalities and powers triumphing over them openly...Not in fields clothed in armour and strong arms and soldiers at his back, but racked on his crosse blotting out the handwriting of ordinances and the law...nailing it to his crosse."

He offers Christ to the poor

"...you are free to come and sit down at Christ's elbow as the greatest Laird or Lady in the Land: though it may

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1. His consciousness of this attack is expressed in his difficulty and care in the explanation of the possible loss of one's crown or one's covenant with Christ.
2. The sermons preached at Glasgow during and after Cromwell's visit. NL, MSS, 664, pp.233-254.
3. EUL, MSS, L. Col., No.111, p.149.
be that ye have not a heal coat nor sark nor hose nor bonnet, yet thou art as free to come as those that are coming with their gold buttons and as the greatest women in their silk gowns.\textsuperscript{1}

He offers Christ to the less gifted

"...albeit thou...cannot read a word and was never at school nor colledge and though thou hast no so [much] wit of thy self as to guide a town, yet thou art free to come and sitt down with Christ at his table as the greatest Clerk or Divine or Philosopher or Politician in all the Land."\textsuperscript{2}

The Church is the bride of Christ. He is in Covenant with the Christian. Christ calls the lost. He offers freely the Water of Life. Guthrie did preach salvation through His name.

Guthrie on two different occasions spoke of the ministry. The first time was in 1653 when he said "...in regard of many with whom we have to doe, we labour in vaine and spend our strentgh for nought,..." The other was in the last speech "Blessed be God...that hath deigned...to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and especially in...the congregation and presbytery of Stirling;

..."

What little is known of Guthrie's personal life in Stirling is commendable. One minister testifies that "...he never kneu one that was so much a Christian at all times..." He was very charitable to the poor. He would not let a Christian leave his house without first having prayer. His frequent

\textsuperscript{1}EUL, MSS, L.Col., No.III, p.119.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p.120. This principle of Christian equality may explain why Guthrie was popular among the landward part of the parish and gained the opposition of some of the more aristocratic in the town.
\textsuperscript{3}Guthrie, The Waters, p.iv.
\textsuperscript{5}Wodrow, Analecta, Vol.III, p.94.
use of Psalm 71 resulted in it being termed "Guthrie's Psalm". His servant, Isobell Dougall, cited as his only fault his failure to properly care for his family. He claimed as his predominate sin a desire to die a violent death for a good cause. Guthrie's holy and tender life was to Couie "...a greater conviction of his high lenths in real religion, then all his sermons and publick appearances." Couie testifies that Guthrie "...was keeped as fresh and lively under deep Christian exercise as if he had been but a young convert..." His family worship was so intimate that Couie on one occasion was convinced that Guthrie was praying about him when in reality Guthrie was praying concerning himself and confessing his own sins. On another occasion Guthrie was disturbed about the Doctrine of election and Couie clarified his thinking by reading Romans 5:18 at family worship, with the result that Guthrie burst into tears. Guthrie, like many in his day, was superstitious and at one time thought Satan had haunted his house. Not only did he fast and pray about it in his own home, but he enlisted others to do the same in his behalf.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.284f. His relationship with Couie was very close. When the latter married Isobell Dougall Guthrie insisted on giving away the bride.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SECTS
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The Reformation was accompanied by a freedom of thought that expressed itself in the emergence of a wide divergence of opinion and dogma. The novel vernacular Bible was making a supreme claim upon the newly invented printing press as well as upon the minds of the people. The diversity of religion was first noticeable in England by the rise of the Puritans and then of the Separatists. Presbyterian, Baptists, and others were later to make their appearance. The approval of the Authorized Version of the Bible and the importation of the new theological ideas of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) at the turn of the century by travellers led to an upheaval in theological thought and action that was to cause the alteration of the status of religion on several subsequent occasions.

Scotland, perhaps because of its tardiness in reformation - resulting from its absorption in the newness of Presbyterianism - or perhaps because of its continual

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2. The Separatists withdrew from the Puritans to found modern congregationalism.

3. Marsden says in The History of the Early Puritans ... to 1642 (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1850) p. 419 "The sectaries...broke out at the close of the reign of James, and were now (1642) spreading like locusts over the whole land..."
struggle to maintain the purity of Presbyterianism from the encroachments of Episcopacy, was unfruitful ground for the Sects. An attempt was made by Robert Browne, in 1584, an English Separatist, and later by John Penry who laboured for four years to win converts in Scotland, but both were unsuccessful. On the other hand Scotland's champion of the Reformation, John Knox, while in England, had conducted a discussion with English Anabaptists concerning predestination.

The first penetration of the Sectarians into Scotland seems to have been made by the "Brownists". As early as 1624 Scotland took official notice of tendencies in this direction. The Privy Council speaks of people going outside the bounds of their own parish to worship, and assembling themselves in houses - Edinburgh is specifically named - to hear intruding ministers. The Act calls these gatherings "seditious conventicles" although the people concerned called themselves "congregations". John Mein, a


merchant of Edinburgh, was one of the leaders in this non-conformity movement.

The signing of the Covenants did not stop this trend, if anything it appears to have increased. Conventicles were held in and around Stirling under the leadership of Mitchell and Leckie. Henry Guthry, then minister of the town, speaks of Brownists coming from England and "...from Ireland a fleece of Scots people..."

About this same time complaints of the same nature were received from Aberdeen. Calderwood, Guthry and a few others violently opposed these intrusions. Other ministers attracted by the spiritual vitality of the participants not only advocated toleration but seem to have attended and led conventicles. Rightly conducted it was spiritually profitable to meet together for prayer in private homes. All the opponents could see in it was a threat to the authority of the established church. Because of such diversity of opinion the General Assembly dealt very carefully and wisely with the issue so as not to alienate either group. With this moderate action for a time nothing is heard of additional missionaries coming to Scotland to promote this cause. On the other hand

2. Guthry, Memoirs, p. 78.
the books of the various sects were finding their way into Scotland and action was taken against their entry. Baillie was also afraid that the Scottish soldiers returning from England would bring these heresies back with them.

Although Scottish theologians had lectured and written concerning the divergencies of the sects, especially Arminianism, they had not had to cope with them in a practical way. When Henderson, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Baillie went to the Westminster Assembly they came face to face with what sectarianism really was. They had to defend Presbyterianism and refute their opponents. They forewarned the Church of Scotland of what was involved. These early caveats may have contributed largely to the failure of the Sects to prosper in the land under the Cromwellian occupation.

Shortly after Cromwell invaded Scotland the ministers rose in their pulpits and preached against the sects.

Cromwell had been zealous to have gifted chaplains with his Army who would proclaim Sectarian doctrine. The first description of one of his chaplains preaching in Scotland is related to James Wilson who quotes his informant, an officer under Cromwell, as saying,

2. It should be noted that there was a declaration of "Levellers" in Scotland drafted at Perth, June the 14th, 1650.
"After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see, and bring me word what was the meaning of this gathering, and seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who stayed in like manner, and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler, than I was at the battle of Dunbar...I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to, so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast."  

The officer relates this to Wilson to support the Quaker Movement but the fact of the matter is that Nayler was at the time of the Battle of Dunbar still a congregationalist. He was not 'convinced' until the following year. 

To Cromwell's troops Scotland lacked a great deal religiously and they determined to contribute to its improvement. Aside from removing the stools of repentance and burning them, and sometimes the benches as well - giving as an excuse that there was no fire wood - they


also interrupted the services to interrogate the minister, and disdainfully sat on the repentance stools that remained.

There were others both officers and men who looked on Scotland as "a field white with the harvest" and on every opportunity they preached to the Scots seeking to give them a clearer conception of Christ's Kingdom and the individuality of religion.

The first and main establishment of the Anabaptists seems to have been at Leith, which was founded about 1652. In 1653 there were services on alternate Sundays in Leith and Edinburgh. This was the period in which Major General Lillburn, an Anabaptist, was in command of Scotland.

Cromwell had his own sectarian troubles. In May 1651,

"On the 27th he was able to take his place in the Council of officers and to commit to the marshal a lieutenant's wife, belonging to a new sect of Ranters, telling her she was to vile to live." 2

It has already been shown that Cromwell attempted to win the ministers to his cause by debate. It may be assumed that he tried his best to win over the captives taken at Dunbar. He found a negotiator in Carstairs and in John Waugh, an opponent that was later to be imprisoned for praying for the King. He was notably successful with

Alexander Jaffray, the provost of Aberdeen. Jaffray conversed with Cromwell, Fleetwood and Dr. Owen. He says, "I had first made out unto me ... the sinful mistake of the good men of this nation,..." When released early in 1651 he returned to Aberdeen and engaged in attempting to convince Cant, Menzies, Row and Moire of the 'right' way.

In November 1651 the fifteen overtures were composed by a group of Scottish sectaries which they planned to send to Cromwell. The Protesters were alarmed and called a meeting for the last of December when they planned to get this group to desist from their action. At the opening session a desire was expressed for separate meetings,

1. He had been on the mission to the King at Breda.
2. Jaffray Diary, p. 38.
3. CSL, MS, Wod., Col., Milne Col., pp. 43-45. It is entitled "Overtures to the Right Honorable Commonwealth of England... November 1651." Milne says it is the work of "some abominable Cromwellian." On pp. 45-46 is a copy of their accompanying letter to the shires. The fifteen overtures are: that only the "certain" Godly in Scotland are to be entrusted with power although the uncertain are to be considered as brethren, that malignants and noblemen are to be cast out of power and the former brought to trial, and also have their land sequestered, that minor posts not be used as merchandise but given to the English or faithful Scots, that Scots law be replaced by English law, that actions against the present government be punished, that liberty of conscience be granted in religion, blasphemies and heresies be curbed, the mouths of ministers be stopped who preach seditious doctrine, gathered churches conform to the primitive apostolic pattern, and that the power of Presbytery be abolished that "the name of a national church may perish under heaven in Brittaine." They add that they have sent a similar supplication to the West.
one for the laymen; another for ministers. It was determined that they would meet together. The next question was whether a layman or a minister should moderate the meeting; a minister was chosen, viz., James Guthrie. They then dealt with the issue of whether a layman could pray and "speak about scripture" to which they determined that he could pray but not exhort or preach. As a result of these decisions some of the representatives left after the opening session.

In October Jaffray, not finding any satisfaction by writing, came south and met with the Protesters. He first talked privately with Wariston, Guthrie and Livingstone. Wariston says in reference to Jaffray's captivity, "I feare his conversing with thir people hes shaiken him..." It is after this that Jaffray gives in his "Causes of God's Wrath". This invokes a debate on the 9th among Wariston, Jaffray and Menzies, who had accompanied Jaffray, concerning this paper "condemning the Covenant and Presbyteryal government and our work thes 14 year;..."

1. Row, Blair, p. 290. Balfour as early as February this year was calling Guthrie "...a maine preacher for the sectaries." op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 248.
2. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, p. 148. Other elders expressed unorthodox views at this meeting also. There was opposition to the monarchy, and approbation of lay preaching and anabaptism etc. Vide, Nicoll's Diary, pp. 61ff.
On January the 2nd 1652 the Protesters in their letter to Cromwell state that

"...it is not usual for officers and soldiery to stepp into pulpits and to speake there what they list; and there is little regard had to the Worship of God, and the observance of the Lord’s day, yea, in several places, pulpit Worship is much disturbed and interrupted...several pamphlets are printed and vented full of scorne and reproaches, not only against the whole Ministrie, but against sundrie of the ordinances of God." 1

They also speak of the

"...gathering of the Churches of what so ever sort out of all or any of the congregations of Scotland, and the same latitude to tolleration in Scotland that is in England,...the broaching and venting of many heresies and errors, the lawlesse preaching of whosoever will and whatsoever they will,..." 2

On the same date the Sectarian Scots gave in a paper addressed To the Very Honorable the Representative of the

Common-Wealth of England, The humble Petition and Remonstrance etc. in which they state that "...we intended, and went about this long ago; but the truth is, it was crushed a little in the very birth..." by meetings, but

"...the Meetings of these...have no whit retarded our

1. Consultations, Vol. I, p. 3. One example of the pamphlets mentioned is Thomas Wood’s A Dead Man’s Testament (Leith: Evan Tyler, 1651) authorized by Tim. Wilks, Governor of Leith. A few months later they protested concerning Parker’s anti-covenanting works, vide, CSL, MS, Wod. Col. 18. I. 6.8. No. 22.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

3. To the Very Honorable the Representative of the Common-Wealth of England. The humble Petition and Remonstrance etc. (Leith: [Tyler ?], 1652). The only extant copy is in the Rosebery Col., NL. This may be what Row refers to in Blair as "a Declaration with some Overtures" given in to the English the last of January, who upon its receipt printed it. op.cit., p. 291.
purpose..." After a declaration they present four overtures asking that

1. Both nations be made into "one common-wealth, without the subordination of the one to the other."
2. Worthy God fearing men "...of known and approved integrity, who are not wedded to power, worldly greatness and promotion of friends..." be appointed Governors.
3. The people be given the liberty of conscience and freedom to worship God.
4. Men not be chosen rulers because of their worldly greatness.

The English Commissioners in Scotland declared that "For church government by presb. they left it arbitrary for men to doe as they list, etc."

As a result of these actions a movement was started for united action by the Protesters and the Resolutioners against the Sectaries. A meeting was called for February the 12th in Edinburgh. The Resolutioners met on that date and drafted a Warning and Testimony. They then sought the support of the Protesters, only to discover that the Protesters had already made Animadversions on the English papers, and communicated them to Col. Fenwick. According to the Protesters many of their number had departed by the time the Resolutioners approached them.

A Declaration was proclaimed on February the 11th which announced that God was to be worshipped in accord-

1. It is obvious that they refer to the fifteen overtures previously mentioned.
2. Lamont, Diary, p. 37.
3. The text is found in Nicoll's Diary, pp. 81-83; Terry, Cromwellian Union, pp. xx1-xxiii, and Acts of Parliament, Vol. VI, pt. ii, p. 809f. It was also printed separately in London.
ance with His Word. This was accompanied by an Explanation which was more specific in upholding the "...ordour of the Scottis church, with any that sail voluntarie joyne in the practik thairof..." but also it is asserted that they "...sall protect utheris quho not being satisfeyd in conscience to use that forme, sall serve and worship God in ane uther gospell way..." This met with great opposition from the pulpits.

In April 1652 there is a record of at least several English Sectarian ministers visiting Scotland. The most noted was Nicholas Lockyer, an English Independent, whom Baillie says "wes sent for by some of the Scots to oversee the erecting of new congregations in the North." It is strange that James Simpson is reported to have written a letter to Lockyer "...desyreing a conference for union betwixt ours and some of their divines." Gairdner is also on a mission re baptizing. Baillie expects Oxenbridge and Lockyer to visit Glasgow soon.

1. Nicoll, Diary, p. 84. The full text is found on pp. 83-84 of Acts of Parliament, Vol. VI, pt. 11, p. 809. It was also printed separately.
3. Ibid., p. 177. Gillespie indicates in a letter that he was in Aberdeen about this time. Could he have attended such a conference? In March the civil authorities had proposed a conference between the English and Scottish clergy concerning toleration. Vide, Nicoll, Diary, p. 86.
4. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 178. He says that Wood, his correspondent, should know more about Gairdner than he which seems to imply that this Anabaptist is in or near St. Andrews.
It was while in Scotland the previous year that Lockyer preached in Edinburgh concerning the visible church which was later published as *A Little Stone out of the Mountain*. Wood says he "...not only opened his mouth to Preach in the most eminent place in this Land, but also adventured to Write and Print against the Orthodox Doctrine touching the constitution and Government of the Visible Church of Christ, reviling in speciall the Church in this Land... as no Church, but a dead carcase ... a nest of unclean birds..."

The last of March there was a Declaration made in the North in which "...under subservyveris of the paroches of, etc...." declare against Presbyterianism and state that "...we nather can nor will continue memberis of Presbyteriell governament ... bot intendis to leave in such a gospell way as the Lord hath dispensed in his sacred word,..." This declaration is probably the result of

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1. He, Arthur, Caryll and Faulconbridge were appointed chaplains to the Commissioners for Scotland, on Nov. 21st, 1651. *Great Britain, Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1651, pp. 28, 492.
2. Lockyer, Nicholas, *A Little Stone out of the Mountain: Church-Order briefly opened* (Leith: Evan Tyler, 1652). He gives the date as April the 20th. It is dedicated by English ministers, Carlyll, Oxenbridge, and Sidenham, April 22nd at Dalkeith. It was not until two years afterwards that Wood replied in what appears to be the only important stand taken against Sectarians by a Resolutioner. Cf. Walker, Jas., *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872); p. 174.; *Ballie, op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 214 and n.
4. They are not named.
Lockyer's labours.

On May the 29th a new separatist congregation was formed in the home of Col. Wm. Lockhart, one of the newly appointed judges for Scotland.

About the same time Cant appealed to Wariston to write to Aberdeen to prevent the same thing there. On June the 3rd the latter is in conference with Jaffray. Wariston opposes Jaffray's idea of a separated congregation as well as the private matter of his acceptance of a position from the English and their Engagement. He urges Jaffray to delay action regarding religion until after the next meeting in July.

After considering the matter a few days Wariston determines to write to Aberdeen. Before he had finished his letter he received a letter from Jaffray, and another (dated May the 24th) from Row, Menzies and Muir (or Moore), the latter of which was also addressed to Guthrie and others. They express their dissatisfaction with the constitution and government of the Kirk and their intention to rid themselves of sinful snares. Wariston in his

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2. Ibid., p. 173. This is doubtless the same letter as that which also includes the name of Andrew Birnie. Vide, CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS. I. 6. 8. No. 24. or Jaffray, Diary, App. pp. 193-198. Wood prints his answer in the appendix of The Little Stone..Refutation, pp. 360 ff. two years later.
letter again asks that action be delayed until the July meeting. He thinks that this letter will be borne North by Jaffray on the morrow. He inquires concerning to what tenets they are adhering, viz., the Brownists, the New England Puritans, the English dissenters, or Lockyer and his latest book. He shows a knowledge of and recommends remedial authors for each. He proposes and discusses sixteen considerations for his recipients. Near the conclusion of his letter he tells of the rumour emanating from the English to the effect that two of the Aberdeen ministers have a book in the press against Presbyterian Government. He encloses a tractate by Rutherfurd. In spite of these measures Cant, Menzies and Row preached against each other. But as requested a delegation composed of Menzies and Jaffray appeared for the July meeting in Edinburgh, which met just prior to the General Assembly. On Monday July the 19th a conference was held among Wariston, Gillespie, Rutherfurd, Menzies and Jaffray. Jaffray says, "We...met with them...publicly in Warristoun's chamber, for several days together; but in the end came to no other conclusion than formerly,..." 2

The Protesters were unwilling to discontinue their

1. CSJ, MSS, Wed. Col., IS. I. 6. 8. No. 24. This letter follows the one mentioned on previous page. It is dated June 9, 1652 and is sent from Riverton. Cf. Wariston, Diary, Vol. II, pp. 173-175. A copy was sent to Guthrie. Ibid., p. 177.
2. Jaffray, Diary, p. 49. He speaks of Cant having attended and leaving with passion.
efforts. According to Jaffray they "...resolved that four of their number, namely, Mr Samuel Rutherfurd, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Patrick Gillespie, and Mr John Carstairs should come to Aberdeen, and there confer with us together; pressing us much to delay any public appearing until then." 1

After that agreement Jaffray and Menzies returned to Aberdeen.

The Scottish Sectarians did not fare as well in the Resolutioners' Assembly, which met on July the 21st. They suspended four ministers, two in New Aberdeen, one in Old Aberdeen and Mr Thomas Charteris, Minister at Stonehouse, for being led away into separation. These ministers had striven to erect independent congregations without success. At the same time the Assembly appointed ministers to attempt to reclaim those at Aberdeen.

On September the 6th Wariston sends another letter to the Aberdeen group in which he refers to Rutherfurd's tractate previously sent and of Rutherfurd's latest letter to them, "...and if these satisfie you not He is going to visit you and I hope with his colleagues will help to


2. Cf. Row, Blair, p. 297. M'Crie, the editor, thinks the ministers of Aberdeen were Row, Menzies, and Moor. (The last is variously spelled.) Alexander, at Linlithgow, had been reported as practising adult baptism.
He speaks of their preaching on the constitution of the church which was one of the vital issues. He asks "the Lord to bless the conferences which I hope will shortly be betwixt these four & worthie brethren who are appointed to goe to Aberdeen..."

Several weeks later when the four appointed ministers arrived in Aberdeen, Menzies, the leader, and Wm. Moor were ill so that little could be done. The deputation remained about eight days, conferring with two of the ministers "...and some regents, in the college, in the hearing of many that hankered after that way." Jaffray says that they met "...but to no purpose for the errand they came about; all of us being rather more confirmed to our former grounds..." About this time Row was established as the Principal of the college at Aberdeen.

By the close of the year the biased journals report that "The Gathered Church in Scotland go on so successfully, that many who derided them, begin to admire them, and love them." One of the diurnals states that the

1. CSL, MSS, Wod. Col., LS, I. 6. 8. No. 26, (undated). Wariston in his Diary, Vol. II, p. 192 mentions writing such a letter on the 6th. This letter mentions a prolonged trip to the west and Wariston actually made such a trip the week following the 6th.
4. Row, Blair, p. 300.
5. Jaffray, Diary, p. 50.
people fear excommunication if they join the churches. According to him this censure has already been imposed on some.

Cromwell's Army at this time was full of Anabaptists. One writer describes Lilburne as a "...fanatic anabaptist, who had been left in command there." The first recorded dispute held between the Army and the Scottish ministry occurred between James Brown, a chaplain in Fairfax's Regiment, and James Wood on October the 12th, and 14th, in "Cuper kirke". The debate centered around the doctrine of original sin, infant baptism, and the limited atonement. Lamont considered that "Mr Wood had the far best of both dayes, bot Browne wold not be convinced." During this same month Brown rebaptized by immersion in the water of the Eden some of the members of his regiment.

In 1653 the Anabaptist movement reached its peak in Scotland. Nicoll records,

"This yeir Anabaptistes daylie increst in this natcoun, quhair nevir name was of befoir, at leist durst not avow thamselfis; bot now many made oppin professioun thatrof, and avowit the same; sa that thryse in the oulk, viz. on Monday, Wedinsday, and Fryday, thair wer sum dipit at Bonyngtoun myyne betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, both men and women of guid rank. Sum dayis thair wald be sundrie hundreth persons attending that

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4. Lamont, Diary, p. 49.
Douglas says that there were diverse honest Scots who longed for a church but needed a pastor. Mr Thomas Stackhouse was sent and a church formed at Leith, which maintained fraternal relations with the Anabaptist church at Hexham, Northumberland. The Hexham Church had learned of the Leith Church through one of the members who had been ordained and sent to Scotland to preach, Edward Hickhorn-gill, who was pastor at Leith for a short time before the arrival of Stackhouse. In March the Leith Church re-published the Confession of Faith of the severall Congregations or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists etc. The work is signed by Leith Baptists including Thomas Spenser, Abram Holmes, Thomas Powell, and John Brady.

The Protesters continue to deal with the Aberdeen brethren. On March the 17th they send from their meeting in Edinburgh a Declaration or Exhortation to the Separat-

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3. Confession of Faith etc. (Leith: n.p., 1653). It was originally published in London in 1644. This copy is marked the fourth impression. Published and bound with the Confession was another London publication Heart Bleedings for Professors Abominations, in 1651.
ists in Aberdeen. In it they admit that the composition of the churches is not as pure as it should be because of weak ecclesiastical power. They assert that no harm can be done by communion with any members of the Church of Scotland and they beseech them that they remain true to the Church. Failure to do so will reflect upon the Protesters. The Sectaries do not offer a better way as evil will be found there also.

Previous to April the 28th of the same year John Beverley was settled at the parish of Lenzie at the desire of only twenty-seven parishioners. A Diurnal calls it a gathered congregation. After his return to England Beverley, in a book published in 1659, refers to Religion in Scotland saying,

"...we cannot but observe it is this day in Scotland; most of the godly ministry there called Protestours, being more strict in such cases of proceeding against scandal than the other Assembly (so call'd party:) how do the profane multitudes in Stirling, Linlithgow, Kirkintilloch and abundance more, yea, generally all over Scotland, they oppose the other to the utmost, who for strictness, yea, even cast off such famous godly Ministers, as Mr Ja. Gutry, chusing others that will comply in a Laxness of Church-censures with them: can this be denied? Nay, it's most undeniably true de facto:..." 3

The Army continued its religious campaign. Fairfax's

3. Beverley, John, Unio Reformantium (London: J. A. C., 1659) pp. 24-25. From this book we learn that he had been a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also familiar with Wood's A Little Stone.
regiment broke up at least one church court and continued to interrupt church worship. They stopped the sermon of Geo. Hamilton at Pittenweem because Hamilton had refused to answer them publicly. That autumn the regiment moved from Fife to Stirling. Chaplain Brown was eager for another debate. Guthrie was destined to be his next opponent.

James Brown was the son of James Brown of Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, where he was born in 1616. He matriculated at Oxford, attending Oriel College, and took his B.A. Degree in 1638. From his own account he became a parish priest, and while serving in that capacity a change came over him. He says that when he was a Minister of "AntiChrist" i.e., a parish minister, he was willing to dispute with any one. He challenged an Anabaptist one day. Concerning the result Brown says,

"And the Lord made that man an instrument to reveal to me the principles of the doctrine of Christ; and the beginning of that blessed Gospel-light, which I now through grace walk in..."

2. Also spelled "Browne".
3. Brown, James, Scripture Redemption Freed from Mans Restrictions (London: Francis Smith, 1673) Introduction. This is the book whose title page Bishop Kennet read in writing Brown's biographical sketch. Kennet incorrectly has him return to the Episcopal fold. Vide, Kennet, White, A Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil (London: R. Williamson, 1728), Vol. I, p. 925, who calls him "...a great Rambler in the Time of the Rebellion as well in Mind as in Body, was a Chaplain, as I have heard, in the Parliament Army, and took all occasions to disturb orthodox men with his Disputes. But after the return of King Charles II he changed his Mind, and became Orthodox, and so continued, as I persuade, to the Time of his Death. In/
After this 'conversion' he entered zealously into the advancement of the Anabaptist cause. Just before coming to Scotland he managed to bring the wrath of William Troughton, Minister of Wanlip in Leicestershire, upon him. Troughton not only opposed Brown's doctrine but he was incensed at Brown's activity in his shire. He accuses Brown of crying "...down Infant-Baptism, as an Antichristian Idol...", of caviling against conscientious preachers whom he calls Antichristian priests, persecutors and open enemies of the Lord Jesus, and of opposing the desires of Troughton's church to have civil magistrates to keep order in the congregation during services and thus prevent tumults and combustions. He accused Brown and his group of using lay preachers, and invading pulpits appointed to others. He specifically charges Brown and his followers at Mount Sorrel and at Odeby of "...putting on their hats in prayer time, and laughing in the faces one of another; and withal procuring some of the common Souldiery to guard them with their swords in their hands."

In the title of a Book printed by him in 1673 he says that he was 'now a Preacher of the Faith which he once destroyed!" Had the bishop read further than the title page of Brown's book he would not have thought Brown had returned to the 'faith'. C. Wood, Anthony, (ed. Bliss) Athenae Oxonienses (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1813-20) Vol. IV, p. 500 or Athenae Oxonienses (London: Knaplock, Midwinter & Tonson, 1721) 2 Vols., Vol. I, p. 963. Troughton may be found on p. 966.

2. Troughton, op. cit., Intro. In his answer, Brown explains that Troughton was not a New Testament minister, nor his congregation/
Brown was not unknown to Guthrie. The latter says,
"...I have heard it to be your way in Ingland, and have
knowne it to be your way in Scotland to goe about from
place to place provoking to public disputes.". And again,
"You travell from place to place venting your opin-
iones and intruding yourself into pulpits in a disorder-
ly and sometimes violent way crying downe ministers and
ghospel ordinances and the grace of the ghospel and
crying up the power of nature." 2

In his book Brown speaks of several conferences held in
England, Wales and Scotland and for the latter he claims
as his disputants, besides Wood, Rutherfurd "...and many
others..." Guthrie had also heard of Brown's sermons.
It may have been through James Cowie, his servant. Wodrow
records,

congregation, saints. The soldiery, he affirms, were
only visiting men of the units of Captains Glyns and
John Brown. Vide, Brown, Jas., Scripture Redemption
Freed, Intro.
1. EUL, MSS, L. Col. III. 368, 2nd. Letters, p. 4. The MSS
of the dispute consists of nine preparatory letters, the
debate, and over twenty subsequent letters each section
of which is numbered separately. In all there are 114
pages. A transcribed copy is found in NL, MSS, Wod. Col.
4to. Vol. XVII following "The Waters". The Edinburgh
University copy appears to be in the handwriting of
Guthrie.
3. Scripture Redemption Freed, title page. It reads "Being
an answer to a Book published by Mr William Troughton,
intitled, Scripture-Redemption restrained, and limited
as also the Substance of several conferences and disputes
had in England, Wales & Scotland, with Mr Heath, Mr Bart-
ley, Mr Powell, Mr Sa. Rutherfurd and Mr James Wood, two
Rectors of The University of St. Andrews, and many others
about the Death of our most dear Redeemer, and the con-
roversies which are the constant concomitants of it.
By Ja. Brown, sometimes of Oriel College in Oxford; and
now (through mercy) a Preacher of the Faith which once he
destroyed."
"James Couie went one evening and heard one of the Sectaries' Ministers preach in Stirling. Mr Guthrie missed James out of the house, and he very narrowly enquired where he had been? James did a while conceal where he was, but at length Mr Guthrie importuning him to tell, he at length told that he was hearing one of the English Ministers preach; at which Mr Guthrie seemed to be very displeased, and said, 'James, go not to Gilgal nor to Bethaven! Whatever these men be, they have nothing to do here!"

Brown appears to have entered Stirling in a very triumphant manner. He had just received copies of his book from England which related his debating triumphs. He showed it to everyone he met. He preached in Stirling opposing Guthrie's Calvinistic theology. When Guthrie and Bennet preached they were interrupted by Fairfax's soldiers and, most of all, by Chaplain Brown. About October the 15th, Brown wrote to Guthrie insisting on a debate. Guthrie suggested that a debate be carried on in writing and that it be published, but this did not satisfy Brown's desire to appear in public so reluctantly Guthrie agreed to the date and listed the points that he would defend,

"That the baptizing of some infants under the gospell is allowed of God. That a national church under the Gospell has a foundation in the Scriptures; & ... that your doctrine upon the death of Christ, & orginall-sinne, and Freewill, is a doctrine of error and not of truth; and that the Toleration, that is generally contenanced and pleased for by thes of your way in things religious is not agreeable to the rule of Scripture;..."  

Guthrie familiar with the Wood debate insisted on a

3. Lamont, Diary, p. 48. Other accounts do not contain the method used by Brown. Cf. A Perfect Account, Oct. 20-27, 1652, No. 95, p. 754; Firth, C. M., Scotland and the/
written statement from Brown that he would debate

"...formally and syllogistically upon these things: ... will hold close to the points of which we speake without digressing ... forbear passiones, and reproachfull reviling expressiones managing your pointes soberly by the strength of Scripture & Reasone only..." 1

and that he nor any preacher in Stirling would not henceforth be interrupted at church services.

Brown answers that he will defend the following:

"1. That Christ dyed for all. 2. That the offence of Adam brought only the first death no his prosterity. 3. That God of his rich mercy hath given to all men at some tymse or other ability to doe what he requires of them,..." 2

Guthrie in a later letter again insists on a promise from Brown of correct procedure in the dispute. Guthrie suggests that an hour be devoted to each question in which he will prove his assertion in the first half hour and Brown will prove the contrary in the remaining half hour. Guthrie had not yet seen a copy of Brown's book to which Brown had referred him. He did get a copy from Brown before the debate. Later he said that it was composed of stuff borrowed from Arminius and Palagius and set in bad form. 3

3. From Guthrie's description of the contents, the book referred to had to be Brown's Scriptural Redemption, which would mean that it was printed after October 1652 and before October 1653. This first edition is not extant.
None of the following topics were discussed at the debate as had been planned: the doctrine of the Trinity, the doctrine of Free Will, the scriptural validity of a national church, the maintenance of ministers, the money received in lieu of censures, and the restraint of heretics by the civil magistrate.

The main topic of the debate was the Doctrine of the Atonement. Brown's theology was diametrically opposed to Calvinism. For Total Depravity Brown had man with the ability to achieve salvation, for Unconditional Election, non-election, for Limited Atonement, unlimited atonement, for Irresistible Grace, resistible grace, for Perseverance of the Saints, the ability to fall from grace. Of course, Free Will replaced Predestination, and the Sovereignty of God was lost in the maze of innovations.

The actual debate began in the Stirling Kirk at 10 o'clock on the morning of Friday the 21st, and lasted until about sunset. It was a pathetic defeat for Brown. Even his own officers admitted it. Later Major Cloberry in a letter to Guthrie about still another debate says that he told Brown "...the tyme would be vaynely spent as it was in the last..." if it was allowed to proceed in the same manner. Guthrie says afterwards to Brown that the debate "...beares me record that my spirit was voyd of bitterness

1. This appears in his book, not the Guthrie Debate.
and passion and that though I express much dislyke of your opinions yett it was without heat and with moderations of mynde,..."

The major portion of the debate concerned the Doctrine of the Limited Atonement. Guthrie in its defense begins by presenting four points in syllogistic form. They were, that all are not given to Christ therefore Christ did not die for all, Christ was not delivered to death for all, Christ died only for those to whom sin is not imputed, and God did not reconcile those whom he hated eternally. Brown immediately presents his dualistic theology. All men are given unto the power of Christ by his death, but not unto his redemption. The Power of Christ calls all to Him in Judgment, and the Redemption, to Him in Faith. Brown reveals his queer view on the Atonement as related to Original Sin. He states more clearly in his book that mankind is redeemed from the suffering of the first death through Adam's sin, "...so that punishment did not seize upon all mankind and send them to the grave, in one who had sinned...." He seems to hold that mankind exists today, because Adam did not "surely die", on the basis that the pre-existent atonement forgave mankind original sin. It also forgave the sin of ignorance and, for Brown, abolished the law. In the debate he says "...through him all live on earth."

2. Scripture Redemption, p. 31.
Guthrie shows the injustice of incomplete atonement. Guthrie would appear today to have the weakest point in his last argument viz., God hated Essau for all eternity. This is advanced for the affirmation of unconditional election. Even here Brown fails to launch an effective attack, instead he eagerly turns away to present his own arguments. During Guthrie's presentation, Brown had denied continually the use of reasoning from Scripture. His cry of "Scripture, Mr Guthrie, Scripture" resounded throughout the Kirk. For Brown the Bible must say literally "Christ did not die for all mankind." It was different when Brown took the floor, his very first argument, after Guthrie asserted that none of the texts cited by Brown "...say that Chryst dyed for all and every man without exception...", is that "If ther be some in the world for whom Chryst did not dye, then God would have more men to be saved then Chryst dyed for: but not so Therfor." When Guthrie interprets "all" as "all sorts of men" and "all the elect" and shows that it can be used in a limited sense, Brown is robbed of his attack. The only place where Guthrie comes close to a difficulty is in Brown's presentation of Hebrews 10:29, with the one who "...hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing,..." Guthrie wisely says it was an ex-

1. Debate, p. 18.
ternal sanctification and then proceeds to attack by saying it would be a curious Father would damn someone for whom His Son had shed His blood. Brown retreated from one argument to another until Guthrie said, "Sir you start many things and prove nothings; What a way is this?" This was followed by Guthrie changing the subject to Infant Baptism since it was reaching late afternoon. Unfortunately, two pages of the record is missing, but what remains shows that Guthrie completely dominated this part of the debate. He showed that children received the first seal of the covenant in the Old Testament, and that they should receive more instead of less in the New Testament. Brown denied that it was an ordinance of Christ, and that all in the covenant have a right to baptism. He asserted that God made a covenant with the child but not the child with God. Guthrie said that it would be difficult for Him to be a Father, and the children not to belong to Him. The debate ends abruptly without a summary, and with Guthrie never having retreated from his doctrine, always giving an answer. The same can not be said of Brown.

In the course of the debate the doctrine of Original Sin was involved. To Brown the infant was born without sin; therefore needed no baptism. The seed of evil which Guth-

1. Debate, pp. 25f.
2. Debate, p. 29.
3. Brown says in Scripture Redemption, p. 76, that he never read Arminius. It is possible that his arguments might have been better had he done so.
rie insisted upon, to Brown, was the allurement of evil. The innocent child could, like Adam, choose evil or good. Brown condemns the idea that some are unable to believe in Christ and are condemned for their unbelief. This is one of his strongest points, but he makes little use of it. Guthrie fails to see why if children are so innocent and sinless at birth they could not be baptized. He also thinks that unlimited atonement is inconsistent with antipaedobaptism. Guthrie later writes an excellent paper on Infant Baptism and sends it to Brown but it is not answered.

Craufurd writes concerning the debate, "...Mr James Guthrie in a public disputation in the Church at Stirvling did to the conviction of all overthrow one of the chief ring leaders of the Anabaptists..."

Guthrie shows a knowledge of the Anabaptist Confession, the doctrine of Goodwin and Cotton and asserts that Brown's theology is contrary to that of any protestant church in the world. After the debate he states that if Brown's doctrine is true "...that churches of Chryst and Saints of God that ar upon earth must seeke another Bible then the tuo Testaments that are give to us by the Holy Ghost..."

On the 27th Brown is ready for another debate insisting that the soldiers are eager to continue. Guthrie

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1. This is contained in Debate, 2nd Letters, pp. 34-56.
finally agrees if two impartial referees are appointed to 
inese and govern the debate along mutually agreed proced-
ure. He even suggests Major John Clobery and Samuell 
Bryan. Brown replies that these men resent the appoint-
ment. Guthrie writes them directly to which they reply 
that they would be willing to do so, but they do not know 
of any desire for such a conference to be held. They both 
show in their letters an appreciation of Guthrie appointing 
them. In view of their position it was an interesting 
move on his part. It seems to have ruined Brown's military 
status as he afterwards was kept on the move from Stirling 
to Perth, to Burntisland, and to Leith rather than settled 
in the garrison. The letters continue, however. In one 
Guthrie heard that Brown had said he "...would rather be 
1 burnt to ashes then to quit..." his judgment. In another 
Guthrie attacks, by questions, Brown's idea of Atonement 
for original sin. Is the death in Gen. 2:17 eternal or 
temporal? If Adam for his sin did not receive eternal 
death, what sin is worse which does receive it? If God 
2 pardons man for some of his sins, does he damn him for the 
rest?

On December the 21st Guthrie sends Brown his paper on 
Infant Baptism. He uses the Commission of Matthew 28:19

2. Ibid., pp. 28f. The answers had they been given would 
have proved interesting. 
3. The text is found in Debate, 2nd Letters, pp. 34f.
as his text and shows that baptism was practised under Jesus' direction, that from the beginning infants had a part in God's Kingdom, they partook of the seal of the covenant, that baptism became the equivalent of circumcision, and that God's dispensations were enlarged instead of being decreased at the coming of Christ. He says without Infant Baptism there is no parental obligation to train the child as a Christian, nor to restrain him from evil. No one can show why or how the covenant relation with children was broken. What have they done to deserve the withdrawal of the seal of the covenant? Who authorized it? Why is not such a change recorded in the Scriptures? The Commission says to teach all the elect and therefore it includes children. Like the children of slaves, the children of the servants of God are also His property and His servants. He cites the dedication of Samuel, the first born who is God's possession, and the baptism of households in the New Testament. Concerning children, Guthrie writes, "...the sparkes of the light of heaven and of the worke of God upon their hearts doe break out very early even with the first buddinges of resonce and understanding..."  

The month previous to this, Brown seems to have been stationed at Burntisland. On January the 17th he writes a short letter from Leith, in which he states that he has been

called to England. It is not until August that the correspondence is resumed. Guthrie concludes the correspondence with a letter against the method of Brown used in the debate at Stirling. This letter is dated August the 10th. Alexander Parker, the Quaker, in his book A Discovery of Satans Wiles..lately printed and published in a Booke entitled, Antichrist (in spirit) unmasked, etc., put forth by one James Brown... says concerning Brown,

"I verily believe the just hand of God was turned against him, and cut him off, that before this monstrous birth was brought forth to public view, his life was taken from him, which may strike terror into the hearts of the contenders and wranglers and fighters against truth; and I desire that all (especially those of Brown's Society) may lay it to heart..." 2

It was about the time of the debate that Guthrie

"...was one day going to the Church in Stirling, on a Sabbath, and the Malignant party joined with the Sectarian party and stopped him from going, so he was forced to preach in his own house; and when he had done, he said to his wife, 'Give me my dinner; for I hope, for all that I have met with this day, that my Master has accepted of me, and is well pleased with me.'" 3

The Anabaptist cause received a mortal blow when a "plot" was uncovered in January 1656 in which they were alleged to be the leaders. One writer records,

1. Parker, Alexander, A Discovery of Satans Wiles.. (London: Thos. Simmons, 1657). Brown's book is not extant but it was an anti-Quaker book which Parker quotes so profusely that it can be reconstructed. George Fox in his The Great Mistery.. (London: Thos. Simmons, 1659) also refutes Brown's work and numerous others.
"Yr was a plot discovered there was some cheife officers of the English armie had devised the destruction of the cittie of Edr they had appointed 2000 horsemen to melt at Newhaven neir Leith, and in the nyt, to have entered the cittie over the north loch on the ice, to have set it on fire in many places, and keeping the Ports to have killed the people as they fled out of the Toun, and so to have killed all, but God prevented it. Colonel Overton was sent for to London for this plot, and imprisoned. It was imputed to the Cavel sect of Ana-baptists." 1

Major Read of Col. Fenwick's Regiment sent to Gen. Monck: "The Humble Address of the Baptized Churches, consisting of Officers, Soldiers and others walking together in Gospel order, at St. Johnston's, Leith and Edinburgh". By 1657 the Kirk of Scotland was imposing excommunication upon those who became Anabaptists.

Difficulties continued in Aberdeen. The major issue in 1654 was The Lord's Supper. By this time Baillie reports that most of those in the colleges at Aberdeen have been won over to Independency. Jaffray continued to be an important figure in the movement.

5. Cf. Jaffray, Diary, pp. 97f, 118, 123.
Another threat from a different source was Roman Catholicism. Under Cromwell's toleration the Catholics were coming back to Scotland in increasing numbers. Baillie says in 1655 that they "...grow much in the North of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any control."

The final group was a greater threat. In 1653 a long procession of Quaker preachers began to come into Scotland from the north of England. Alexander Parker visited numerous places in the country in that year. Early the following year two others came followed by Burroughs, the ablest of Fox's helpers. Still later in that year about five more came, including two women. Wm. Osborne is the first officer known to adhere to the sect. He set up a meeting in his house in Edinburgh in 1653. By 1659 Nicoll says that they go through the country "...without controlment, having libertie so to do..." The Edinburgh group was reported to be meeting twice a week and holding meetings in the streets. The writings of John Stalham "Preacher of the Gospel at Edinburgh for the present", of Parker

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2. Diary, p. 250. For other references to Quakers vide, Ibid., pp. 147f., 177.
and others give an idea of the strength of the movement. Guthrie seems not to have been concerned personally with the group. Fox did visit Stirling

"And from thence wee past to Sterlinge where they souldyres tooke us uppe & had us before ye main guarde: & After a few wordes with there officers wee was sett att liberty & ye Lords power came over ym but noe meetinge coulde wee gett amongst ym in the tounde they were soo closed uppe in darknesse. But ye next morninge there was a man was to runn a race with a horse & most of ye touends people and officers went to see it; and so as they came back againe (from the race) I had a brave opportunity to declare ye day of ye Lord & his works of life amongst ym & some confest & some opposed; but ye Lords truth & power came over ym all." 2

From his visit in Scotland Fox wrote on the Doctrines and Principles of Scottish Priests. Little progress was made by them with the Presbyterians, but some of the Anabaptists left the fold for the "inner light".

According to Wodrow it was reported that Guthrie had a debate with one of the leading Sectarians in England, Hugh Peters. If so, it occurred while Guthrie was in London in 1657. Wodrow says "...Mr Guthrie defended the king's right in a public debate with Hugh Peters...and from


the pulpit he asserted the king's title, in the hearing of
the English officers..."

All through this period the kirk of Scotland was fighting against Toleration. Guthrie received a letter and a paper which seems to have come from an Englishman in which Guthrie finds no exception but questions its generalities. One comment he makes is that in it

"...the lordy power of Presbyterie be expresslie mentioned as a thing not to be tolerated, yet nothing is spokin of the not tolerations of arminianisme, antinomianisme, anabaptisme and such lyke ..." 2

Dickson and Rutherford both wrote against the Sects.

Prior to October 1658 there had been "...lately framed into a Law, and proclaimed throughout this Nation..." an act in favour of Toleration. The Protesters wrote A Testimony against it. In this they traced the history of religion in Scotland and showed how there had always been opposition to heresy. In their description of the Sects that trouble the land, no heresy seems to have been overlooked. Concerning the law in question, which appears

1. Wodrow, History, Vol. I, p. 163. There is no evidence that Peters was ever in Scotland.
2. NL, M35, Wod. Col., Fol. 66 No. 17. The letter is incomplete with no date, or addressee. Sharp thought that Guthrie used Anabaptists to help the Protester cause in London vide, Consultations, Vol. II, p. 30. (Mar. 19, 1657). He also claimed that some of the Protesters became Quakers, Ibid., p. 77.
4. Ibid. It was signed by Rutherford, Wedderburn, Crookshank, Guthrie, Moncrief, Murray, Campbell, and Pierson, Oct. 1658.
5. Ibid., p. 21. For the names of the Sects vide, p. 22.
to have said that true Protestant Religion will be maintained, they asked what is meant by true Protestant Religion. They stated that the law had been passed without the consultation or consent of the Church. Concerning the result of toleration it is predicted that "...our Candlestick should be removed, and our Sun set in a sad night of obscure darknesse..." Roman Catholicism is feared, the "...sea of Rome these hundred years past, hath always had an eye upon Britain..." In spite of all the dangers they admit,

"It is a mercy...that Errors and Heresies, notwithstanding all the advantages they have had these seven years past in Scotland, have taken hold but of few Professors, formerly noted for the knowledge and love of the Truth;..." 3

In July 1659 there was a move on the part of the Sects in Scotland to obtain Toleration in the new Act of Union. For this purpose they drew up a Petition, and on July the 4 27th they presented it to the House of Commons. This petition brought an answer from both the Resolutioners and the Protesters. The Resolutioner paper was by the Presby-

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1. A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, p. 31.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
4. Journal of the House of Commons, Vol. VII, p. 736. It was presented by Col. Cobbet. Baillie says that Gartland and Dundas had a part in the affair. A Testimony says that Thomas Ireland seems to have been party to it, p. 46. Ireland had been before the Synod for anabaptist activity. "Collection by a Private Hand" in Maidment, Hist. Frag., p. 53, says that it was a petition for toleration of all but prelacy and popery, and was by those in and about Edinburgh. Cf. Baillie, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 430.
tery of Edinburgh entitled *A Testimony and Warning* which attacked the doctrine of the sects, dealing mainly with the Quakers. The final doctrine has a modern Barthian ring viz., "...the Scriptures are not the word of God but the declaration of the word, and the words."

The Protesters' *Testimony* had been sent to both the Councils at Edinburgh and London, but now to counteract the Petition they have it printed. They print with it Guthrie's final work, *Some Considerations Contributing unto the Discoverie.* These do not reach the hands of the public until 1660.

In 1659 Robert Pittillock issued in London *The Hammer of Persecution*, in which he attacks a list of public offices alleged to have been transmitted to London by Robert Andrew. The list excluded all but Presbyterians from the important posts in Scotland. He appeals to the English on the basis of the Army Declaration of August 1, 1650 and the Covenants that all offices be open to the Scottish Sectaries. The book is primarily useful for the inform-

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1. *A Testimony and Warning of the Presbyterie of Edinburgh against a Late Petition* (n.p.: n.p., 1659) dated Oct. 5th. This work mentions a Sectarian "Proviso" which is not extant, but seems to be more important than the petition.


ation it gives of the sects at this time.

Guthrie's *Some Considerations* is a revealing book. In it he points out the dangers to religion in the land. He writes in such a conciliatory tone concerning the Resolutioners that one would think that Blair was the author. In his preface he speaks of the Church of Scotland as the pearl of great price which may be lost before the onslights of the Sectarian Movement. His purpose in writing is that he

"...might contribute and concur with more faithful and able ministers...for informing...rebukeing...awakening...warning...stirring up...persuading unto...repentance and faith...and...duty, and unto cordial and wellgrounded union in the Lord, that we may all of us, in subordination to him, with one shoulder, to the utmost of our power,...faithfully endeavour the preservation of religion and the work of reformation..."¹

The body of the book concerns ten considerations, or dangers. The first is the possibility of infection from Sectarian England. The second concerns the footing the sects have in Scotland; some of the Scots have been infected. The Resolutioners and Protesters, though differing in other matters, have "...kept sound and unanimous in their judgments against the Errors of the Time..."² He says that the growth has been small. "The Quakers (besides many others of several sorts) do boast themselves to be for

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¹ Guthrie, *Some Considerations*, pp. 54f. He hopes that some one else will be led to write a better work on the subject.
² Ibid., p. 65.
number sundry ten thousands..."; yet Guthrie says that there are scarce one in a thousand. He shows, however, that the growth has been rapid and is dangerous. The third consideration is Toleration. He assumes it is an agreed fact that magistrates should suppress error. He approves of both the Protesters' and the Resolutioners' testimonies. He puts non-toleration on a par with the moral law, and says that no one would advocate freedom from the latter. His fourth danger is the ignorance of people, of those who have inherited their religion, of those who are shaken with the winds and of those who change their religious garments with the times. He asserts that "...every man [is] in some sense naturally a Heretic..." and must, therefore, be restrained by law. The fifth danger is the decay of public spirit, which is shown in the failure to make religion the primary concern of the nation instead of politics. The sixth danger is from the division in the Church. This has brought slanders from adversaries, stumbling to the people, strengthened opponents to Reformation, diverted church courts from their opposition to joint adversaries, caused censures to be disregarded, interfered with planting churches, excluded some expectants, allowed people to set up their own church, retarded purging, and brought forth dangerous seeds by debates. The seventh con-

1. Guthrie, Some Considerations, p. 67. Guthrie errs in this section concerning the origin of the Quakers in saying they existed 16 years before.
2. Ibid., p. 77.
sideration is the assault made upon the ordinances of the Church. The Familists claim saints do not need ordinances. The Roman Catholics oppose the use of the vernacular Bible. The Quakers oppose both the Scriptures and ordinances. The Anabaptists unbaptize many, and fail to observe the Sabbath. The office of the ministry is in danger. The eighth danger is Popery which is permitted to hold services and distribute pamphlets in Scotland. The ninth danger concerns "Our Guiltiness" of ignorance, formality, unfruitfulness, slighting God e.g., "How many weary of the Lord's day, and half it between God and the world?", unfaithfulness to the Covenants, and forsaking our love of God and the Church. In his last consideration Guthrie shows that God has already largely departed from Scotland as is indicated by its subjection to strangers and by its ecclesiastical divisions. Concerning the latter he admits that there is "...much bitter contention and strife in many of our meetings..." and that the gospel does not seem to be as fruitful as it should. He deplores "...our sitting, almost satisfied, and silent under His withdrawals..." Appended to this work, but definitely part of it, is an article intended to shock the reader from the complacent feeling that God will not desert Scotland because of God's Love, the Reformation, the prayers of the people, the

2. Ibid., p. 109. This is taken from a rhetorical question.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
remnant in the land, and the group of godly ministers in the land. Guthrie shows that these reasons are not historically valid.

The Sectarian danger was soon removed. Honck discovered the Anabaptist intrigue against the government and seized all the leaders of the Sect in the army and imprisoned them. Then he marched into England.

In January 1661 one reads concerning the Quakers,

"It being signified to the Parliament that neer 30 Quakers were taken (by the Town-Guards of Edinburgh) meeting together. The Men were ordered to be secured in the Toll-Booth, and the Women to be sent to the House of Correction." ¹

by then all opposition to Charles is being proceeded against.

Guthrie, up until the time that it appeared that Charles would be restored, appears to have remained in the background. When the restoration actually took place he felt compelled to call the Protesters together and to ask the Resolutioners to join him in a united action, which was directed not against the Sects but for the preservation of the cherished national Church.

CHAPTER NINE

FROM STIRLING TO MARTYRDOM
Monck, having received the encouragement of Douglas and other ministers together with a promise of support from leading men in Scotland, marched into England and after a very short time gained control of the government at London and dismissed the Rump Parliament. Shortly afterwards Sharp was sent to be Monck's adviser. To all appearances the Resolutioners had won the day.

There was a strong move for union at this time. The only stumbling block was that the Resolutioners would not take off the censures of the Protesters before their reception.¹ The situation seems to be more complicated at Stirling. Geo. Bennet writes,

"We find the main stick to be heir at Sterlinge Bothe in takeinge off of the censure without the least acknowledgment of a fault. The policy thereof (for they alledge we walk be principle of policy as they doe of conscience) is not bone sein. Since therby virtually the churchie must acknowledge a fault, since they will non, desyds how dangerous this may prove to the present age, and how bad a preparative to the future is obvious to ordinary understandings. As also and especially grauit that the sentence wer taken off ...what shall become of the burghe of Sterlinge? who have so deeply rooted prejudice by crimainall letters and other magisteriall behaviours that they are fixed resolved never to avir him for ther minister. Whom

1. NB, MSS. Mod. Col., fol. 27 No. 42. Rutherford to Murray. No. 43 is a later letter also by Rutherford which shows his decline in health.
they have industriously studies to have been rid off Long or now if they had not been hindered by the iniquity of the tymas. They ar our most stead-fast freinds who appeared very seasonable and courageouslie for the publack good and do expect of you Sr (whom they honour) and all who are for the publack, that in any transaction for Unione, ther concernment shall be specially mynded. My humble opinion is, that the way to please then best will be, if a transportatione can be tryated wt the taking off the censures, for it is never to be expected yt he and they will waal, or yt his ministerie will be successful amongst them. A sad matter! And much to be adverted to, I thought fitt to acquaint you wt so much and not to trouble you further...1

Guthrie's own position in the matter was that though he was abused at Stirling "...he would never hear of going from it, nor leaving it; but said, he would die Minister of Stirling,..."2

A conference for union was scheduled by the Presbytery, which met on Tuesday, April the 3rd in Stirling Kirk. After waiting for the Protesters they dissolved. They were asked by the Protesters to meet again which they did. Again they waited,

"They were told by the beddell that there were some of them in the hospital yeard & since none of them offerit to come in the prbrie The Prbrie did therefore resolve and accordinglie did all of them goe out to the hospital yeard where were together Mr. Tho: Hog Minister at Larbar
Mr. Ro: Guthrie Mr. James Symson & Mr. Not. Rule and the prbrie having declarit to them that they haid beine here in the morning and haid now mett agayne this afternoon to hear what they haid to offer to the prbrie..for union, they ansrit That they haid grounds to expect offers from us and eftir some exchange of words they

offer it to confer with us upon the papers past betwixt them and the correspondents from presbyteries..."1

This, the Presbytery declined and postponed action until the meeting of Synod.

The Town Council of Stirling disturbed by the situation sent representatives to the meeting of Synod to present their interests.2 Robert Russell, Stirling elder, asked to be heard by the Synod before union was undertaken and was placed on the committee for union. Nothing was done except to appoint a committee to confer with the Protesters in Stirling the last Tuesday in June. The Town Council appointed a delegation to visit the meeting.3 The meeting was held on the 26th. of June, but after conference the Resolutioners, not satisfied with the Protesters' reply, called another meeting for the second Tuesday of August.4

Meanwhile Guthrie, learning of the situation in London, wrote to Mariston pointing out how Mariston had been wrong in his acceptance of power but also expressing his sympathy for him. Mariston says "...no difference of judgment hath estranged his heart from myn..."5 Although Sharp was representing the Resolutioners in London the Protesters sent no representative because of the trend

1. BSD, MSS., Minutes, April 3, 1660.
2. S, MSS., Council Minutes, April 7, 1660. For action in the Synod vide, SPS, MSS., Minutes, April 10, 12.
4. CSL, MSS., LS. I. 6. 8. No. 52. This document includes the offers of both parties.
towards monarchy. Douglas says "...the king's return is a matter of terror..." for them. In fact Marston felt it advisable to leave London for Edinburgh on March the 27th. Concerning Guthrie and Gillespie, Douglas states,

"If Mrs. Guthrie and Gillespie and others were not so cheerfully looked upon it was no wonder considering they were using their utmost endeavours to draw people away from following the public resolutions of the Kirk and Kingdom, for the defence of Religion, King and Country." 2

Sharp on the other hand advises Douglas not to come to London, reporting that the republication of Douglas' coronation sermon has given the people in London an adverse opinion of him. Thus, the Resolutioner cause was to rest in the hands of Sharp. 3 The Protesters held a meeting in March but it was poorly attended. They were reported to have written a letter to Gen. Monck on behalf of Marston. About this time a work was published in London, which Douglas condemns as a forgery, as it had claimed to be a Resolutioner paper. 4 There was talk of both union and


3. Because Wood had advocated that Sharp be sent to London on this occasion Samuel Colville is reputed to have said later "A sharp thing in a good man's hand brought great trouble to this land." CSL, M83, Craufurd History, Book V, Sect. 2.

divisions in Church and State. 1

The King was proclaimed in London on May the 8th. without conditions. Scotland followed a week later where it was accompanied with an order requiring bonfires.

Guthrie

"...was most loyal to his King; for when the rest were setting on their bonfires for the King's Restoration, he caused his to be set on also at Stirling; and he said, 'We should render to all their dues, custom to whom custom, tribute to whom tribute, honour to whom honour.'" 2

Sharp went to Breda and conferred with the King. The King landed at Dover on May the 25th.

Baillie is very critical of the Protesters in their failure to unite with the Resolutioners. He says

"This spirit is now aloft more than ever, stirred up lately in their Edinburgh meeting, from Wariston. Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Gillespie, and Mr. Rutherford's commission, by Mr. B'guard: advert to it, lest it goe to a new mischief." 3

The Resolutioners had every hope of consideration from the King. They wrote a letter to him. They continued to keep up a constant correspondence with Sharp, in whom they implicitly relied. They wrote condescendingly that they did not mind if the King used moderation in dealing with the Protesters but that he should not give them

any power which would "...breed continual distempers and disorders."¹ From his conference with the King Sharp reports that the King bears no good will towards the Protesters. "I had it over and over from the King, that none of that stamp would ever be employed in any place of trust and I apprehend the parliament will handle them but too soberly."²

At his last Communion in June Guthrie sees nothing but trials ahead. He deplores the way the Public Thanksgiving³ of the last week had been celebrated. Preaching before his own congregation and visiting worshippers, he speaks of the possibility of one being a Judas at the Table, but he also presents a forgiving and suffering Christ. He welcomes those who desire to eat the Supper but forbids those who desire earthly things. He deplores the natural man who "...is not so much led forth with desire of salvation, as his desire is led forth not to go to hell..."⁴ He speaks of the desire of Christ to commune before His death and compares that with contemporary believers

"When folks are highest unto suffering, then they should most mind those matters, and when they are nigh to the end of their race, they have the more need to lay hold on the crown... to summon their faith and patience, that they

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². GSL, MSS, mod. Col. LS I. 6 - 5, No. 105. The date is presumably June 2nd.
³. Apparently for the arrival of the King.
may be strengthened to hold out to the end. the Lord knows if we may not be near to death also, and our church may be near such too. We know not how great the journey is that we may have to go in the strength of this meat, or whether it may be the last that some of us may eat in this place."¹

William Guthrie, as he visited James about this time, told James "...the Malignants will be your death..."²

Douglas writes to Sharp on June the 21st concerning the Protesters then meeting in Edinburgh saying,

"The Protesters has a meeting, some of them have been dealing for union and some for a joint address, but they are disappointed of both. We have refuse any meddling, I perceive that they are perplexed and knows not how to certify his maj of their reall and cordiall affection to him,..."³

According to Douglas the Protesters had even asked if Sharp would convey their felicitations to the King. He thinks that they may send their own representative since this request was refused. Sharp reports that many fear that the General Assembly will be too lenient with

3. CSL, MSS, Mod. Col., LS. I. 6 - 9, No. 106. This seems to be the mission mentioned by Douglas in which Stirling and Gillespie came to him. Vide, Wodrow, History, Vol. I, p. 47. The Parl. Intel reports about this time that Dickson and Douglas were going to the King. June 1-3. The main argument used for joining together was the possible threat of episcopacy but Douglas was not alarmed, and thought the Protesters would stand against it. For Douglas' view on the settlement of religion vide, HL, MSS, Mod. Col., hto. 35 No. 1; Vol. 32, No. 3. Cf. fol. 27, No. 41 For protester reference to the meeting.
the Protesters and that Parliament may deal with them. He also plans to have the King recognize the pretended assemblies. 1 On June the 28th, he states that the Protester's "doom is right" and that "The committee of estates and parliament will exercise severity against the protesters." 2

A meeting of the Protesters was held in July. During the meeting Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chiesley, strong Protesters were arrested and placed in the Castle. Gillespie left the meeting. This meeting was poorly attended so that they only sent another representation to the Resolutioners requesting joint action "...but did not find them inclinable to hearken thereunto..." 3, and wrote a letter to the absentees to come on August the 21st. for another meeting. In this letter they indicate that they desire to meet

"...for considering of the excellencies of an address to his majestic for expressing our welcoming of his person and submission in the Lord to his Government and for representing the dangers that threaten Religion, and desiring that the work of God may be carried on according to the covenant etc...it is our humble judgment that the fittest season for moving in these things is very much slighted...we...thought it necessary once more to intreat to take to heart the exceeding great and growing hazard that Religion and the work of the Reformation among us is now...exposed unto..." 4

1. CSL, MSS, Mod. Col., LS. I. 6 - 9, No. 107.
3. NL, MSS, Mod. Col., Fol. 27 No. 41. July 19, 1660 signed Traill, Guthrie, Moncreif, Nairne, and Buglos.
4. Ibid.
Sharp writes on July the 28th. that "No petition from the protesters will be acceptable to the king."[^1] About the first of July Argyll went to see the King and was imprisoned. William Giffen was placed in irons in the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, July the 26th.\[^2\]

In spite of these arrests the Protesters called their own meeting to be held at Edinburgh, Thursday, August the 23rd.

On Sunday, August the 19th., Guthrie preached his last sermon at Stirling.\[^3\] He chooses the storm recorded in the Gospel comparing it with the coming storm in Scotland. He tells why he thinks a storm is coming, saying God sends it to chasten, purge, and try His people. He says "...several who were eminent in the work of the Lord are imprisoned; several ambassadors of the Lord's house cast out..." already.\[^4\] He calls upon the people to prepare, making their ship light by casting earthly things overboard, making friends with the Pilot, using the low

[^1]: Ibid. p. 23.
[^2]: Ibid., op. cit., Vol. III, p. 447. His name also appears as "Govan". He was supposed to have attended Charles I on the scaffold. He did fight against Cromwell and with him. Mer. Pol., Aug. 8 - 15, p. 436 says that he was "Late Collector of the shire of Aire."
[^3]: Thomson, J., op. cit., p. 212. This time is based upon the testimony of Ebenezer Erskine. According to Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. I, p. 63 his nose bled so violently on the last Sunday when he read Hebrews 11 that he was unable to preach - it being an omen of his martyrdom. Cp. Ibid., pp. 106ff.
[^4]: Thomson, J., op. cit., p. 222. The sermon is commonly called "A Cry from the Dead".
sail of humility, and being sure of their knowledge of the cause.

About this time Guthrie told a friend, "This is a terrible and most fearfull time; for some men's heads will not stand long on their shoulders." To his wife he said "Whither desire ye the Castle of Stirling or of Edinburgh to be my prison?" And she answered, 'I desire non of them.' But he said, he behoved to have one of these two to be his prison very shortly..."

The Protesters gathered on Thursday August the 23rd - the same day that the Committee of Estates held their opening meeting - in the house of Robert Simpson, the Collector, near the Parliament house where the Committee was in session. They were drawing up a paper to the King when the Committee of Estates hearing of it sent Captain Newman with twenty "...masquestiers to Symson's house, who found the Ministers subscribing a Paper tending to the disturbance of this Kingdom." Traill, who was present, records the story,

"But while some 10 or 12 of us were met in Ro: Simpson's house and were about the penning of our Supplication, The Committee of Estates, getting knowledge of our being there sent some of their number unto us, Cardeane, the young Laird of Newarke, and Archibald Sydserf one of the bailies of the town, who coming to the door of our chamber where we were opened it,

2. Ibid.
null
In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. The parishioners of the church of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ in the town of Edinburgh, being assembled together by common consent and agreement, do hereby alter, ordain, and establish an amendment of the rules and customs of the said church, according to the doctrine of the same, as follows.

1. The churchwardens shall have the power to receive and accept donations for the support of the church and its minister.
2. The minister shall have the authority to preach and teach the word of God in the church, and to administer the sacraments.
3. The churchwardens shall have the duty of maintaining the church property and ensuring its proper use.
4. The congregation shall have the right to elect the churchwardens and to participate in church affairs.
5. The church shall observe the traditions and customs established by its predecessors.

In witness whereof, the churchwardens and the minister have subscribed their names.

[Signatures]

[Churchwardens' Names]

[Minister's Name]
made a solemn lait to go to bed to walke after the laste of the mass. and observing with all the great Commendation and Joy and Dightfulness of the great work of the Preist, and the great joy that they had in the Judge and the Lord. And observing with all the great Commendation of the great procession of the great Judge, and great knowledge and love of the great Judge. And the great joy and love of the great Judge. And the great joy and love of the great Judge.
it not being bolted within, we being secure and without all fear of anie to trouble us. They found our paper lying before us and instantly seized upon them, carrying them to the Committee, leaving Newark with us in our chamber till they should return: At their return they declared to us, that our Supplication was found treasonable by the Committee and that therefore they had appointed us to be sent prisoners to the Castle. And so about 8 o'clock the Capt. of the Castle came and with a Guard of Soldiars carried us to the Castle. Ag. 23 just a Hundredth since and in the same month when reformation was established in Scotland by Law 1560. Ag. the very evening of St. Bartholomews Day the day of the fearfull massacre of Paris 1572. We had some good and comfortable hours that night in our Society Blessed be the Lord who regards the prisoners.

On the morrow we were put by two or three in several chambers and were visited by many friends in the town."1

Those at the meeting included Guthrie, Traill, Stirling, Moncrieff, Mairne, Hall, Murray, Scot, Semple, Ramsay, Kirko, Row, and Wishart. The latter two had signed the petition and had departed and so were not apprehended with the others. Kirko was a ruling Elder of Dunscore.2

The petition condemned the Cromwellian regime and

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2. All but two of these signed the extant petition, viz., Stirling and Kirko. A photostat of NL, MSS, 1369 No. 153 is included in this work. Nodrow includes Andrew Hay of Craignethan in the group, but later says that he escaped. Vide, History, Vol. I, p. 67, op. Kirkton, History, p. 72.
asserted their loyalty to the King. They warn the King of a malignant party that desires to bring in episcopacy, and call upon him to suppress error and heresy and to fill all places of trust with godly men who have taken the Covenant. They ask him to preserve the Kirk of Scotland and the Reformation in England and Ireland and to attempt to bring the three together. They ask for his adherence to the Covenants.

Among the papers taken were drafts of letters, which were to be sent to others calling a meeting in Glasgow for September, and instructions for those going to this meeting.¹

The Petition was sent to the King, concerning which Kirkton says,

"This designed paper of the ministers was presented to his majesty, than which nothing could have been less acceptable. But it was not presented as a humble petition of the poor ministers, but alace! as their lýbell and accusation, or as a testimony of the diligence of our new statesmen, and was entertained by him only with disdain and laughter; the terror of which made divers of the addressers to waver and faint in their adherence to their designed testimony..."²

Guthrie's opposition was not slow in taking advantage of his imprisonment. The very next day a petition is presented,

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¹ They say that this is the third meeting for the drawing up of an address to the King. MS, MSS, vol. Col. Ato. 42 No. 1. Cf. The Register of the Privy Council, Vol. VIII, pp. 464ff.
"To the right honourable the Committee of Estates
The humble petition of Duncan Nairne Provost of
Sterling for himself and in behalf of the said
burgh.

Sheweth

That James Guthrie was in the year 1651
lawfully deposed from his ministrie by the General
Assembly at Dundee, not withstanding whereof,
he has in contempt of the authority of the said
assembly, and by the assistance of the late
powers Intruded himself in the exercise of his
ministrie at the said Burgh and possessed the
church thereof wch properly belongs to yor ho/
suplicants. And trow it is that we have
patiently this while bygone satisfied ourselves
to heare the ordinances in a throng place, till
God in his due time should establish that lawful
authoritie from wch wee might expect an order
for repossessing ourselves in the said Church
And seeing it has pleased God to establish yor
ho/ in that power.

May it therefore please yor ho/ to grant
an order to yor suppliants for repossessing
themselves in their own church, wth all
possible diligence, And that all persons
may be discharged to make opposition yrto,
And yor ho/ ansr

Edr 24 Agst 1660."

The Committee on the same day

"...doe ordaine the suppliants to repossess
themselves in their owne Church with all
possible diligence, and in the same forme
and maner as formerlie... Heirby discharging
all persons of whatsoever qualitie or degree
from making any opposition therto."2

They also instructed Maj. Gen. Morgan to order his

"...officers and sojrs in Stirling that they nowayes hinder
or molest the ministers of the said place in the exercise

1. RH, MSS, CE Records, s.v. 24 August. Nairne also
sent a letter of congratulations to the King upon
his restoration dated Sept. 17th. vide, RM, MSS 23114,
No. 22.
2. RH, MSS, CE Minutes, s.v.
of their ministerie and repossessing them in their kirk."

The Committee, also on this day, belatedly issued an order against unauthorized meetings and seditious petitions. 2

Shortly after their confinement the prisoners ask for a copy of their petition which being refused

"...they collationed their memories and wrote down their petition; which offended the Committee, for immediately their petition was dispersed through the town, agreeing in every word with the petition that was taken from them when they were apprehended; which made the Committee suspect that they prevaricated when they affirmed that they had no copy of it. These things occasioned them to be kept more closely in the Castle than at their first commitment." 3

The Stirling Kirk Session Minutes for Monday, August 27th, are self explanatory;

"The said day compeired James Cowie pndit Session clerk to Mr. Jas Guthrie who being cited upon publict order was requyrit to exhibite and produce such books and papers as he haid wrt, relating to the Session and congregatioun since the yeire 1655 To the 4 of Januarij 1658 And the minutes of yr proceedings since yt tyme with some books of Collections & distributions for the poore & reparatioun etc. which were receavit from him And appoyntit to be kepit by Mr. Meiklejon Sess: Clerk."

"And lykewyse Johne Hendirseone merchand being also cited by publict order compeired. He being for the tymes pretendit boxm for the poore of Mr Ja: Guthries pndit Sessionoun who being requyrit to deliever to this lawfull Sessionoun these bands accounts & moneyes which are in his custodie be-

1. RH, MSS, CE Minutes, s.v.
3. Row, Blair, p. 358.
longing to the Sess: He did delyver the same to the proveist who receaved them after perusuall thereof with the box who was desyrit to helpe them untill they scould be furder perusit & examinid with former compts and that the said, Jon Hendirsone might have a ticket or recept thereof which he earnestlie desyrit to have."

On August the 28th. Guthrie, Semple and others petition for the release of Kirko but the Committee replies that it must first hear from the King.

On the first of September Sharp arrived bearing the King's letter, dated August the 10th. Many thought it authorized the establishment of Presbyterianism and called it a letter worthy to be engraved in marble or gold, others affirmed that Charles was "...inferior to none but God, who is his only judge." The Resolutioners were overjoyed and the Presbytery of Edinburgh enshrined it in a silver casket. The persecution of the Protesters continued; Graham, and Spruel of Glasgow were placed in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, Gillespie was placed in the Castle, Row, and

1. CHR, MSS, Minutes, s.v. The Session had difficulty with some of Guthrie's members who did not desire to join with Simson. On Sept. 13 Cowie is ordered to hand over the pretended Presbytery records. PBD, MSS, Minutes, s.v. and also on Oct. 4th when notice is made that Simson has received them from Cowie. Rule repents of his activity in Stirling on the same date, for which he received a testimonial on Oct. 8th. With reference to the books, it is wondered just what was done with them. The Resolutioner books were preserved but none of the Protestant books are extant.


3. GDL, MSS, M. Crawford's History Bk. V, Sect. 2, no pagination. Kirkton says the letter reopened the division between the two groups, vide, History, p. 74ff.
Wishart were confined to their quarters in Edinburgh and Simpson was captured on his way to Ireland and imprisoned first in Glasgow and then in Edinburgh.

The prisoners addressed a second supplication to the Committee of Estates

"Unto the right honorable his Maties Comitie of estates of the Kingdome of Scotland The Humble Supplication of the Ministers underscreebing

whereas in the sense dutie, we did intend and subscribe one humble address and supplication unto the Kings most excellent majestie upon which with the begunne scrollies of a letter and some instructiones to on of our number, for no other purpose then the communicating of that supplication unto the Ministers of our judgement in severall presbyteries wth the Synod of Glasgow and for desiring their approbation thereof and concurrence therin; your Lordships, were pleased to committ us prisoners to the Castle of Edinb. until his Majestyes pleasure should be further made knowne. Under this restraint it hath been no small addition to our greife that we should ly under so sad misconstructions wt your Lordships (to whom we desire to pay all due honour and respect) and have our proceedings in that bussines so represented to the world, as if our meeting had been unlawfull and our papers did containe many things reflecting upon his Maj: the civil government of the Kingdome of England, and the constitution of the present Comitie of Estates and many other things directly tending to seditious raising of new tumults and rekindling a civill warre amongst his Majesties good subjects. Whereas our witness is in heaven that the simplicite of our hearts, neither wt multitude nor wt tumult (as the Apostle speakesth) but in a most peaceable manner we were following these duties which as subjects as Christians and as Ministers of the Gospell, we are bound unto befor the Lord by the word of God, the National Covenant, and Solemnne League and Covenant; and as nothing was further from our thoughts, and we trust also from our actings, then the raising

1. He had accepted an invitation to a charge there, vide, GSL, MSS, Mod. Col., Ls. 1. 6. y No. 51.
of sedition or tumults or re-kindling of a new warre; so we can trule say, that next unto the
glorie of God and the good of religion in pre-
serving and carrying on the work of reformation
and uniformity; we had no greater motive in the
exoneration of our consciences to his Maj: by
that humble address and supplication, then the
preservation of his Majesties honour and happy-
ness, the peaceable establishment of his govern-
ment and that the blessing of the Lord may be
the more upon the right exercise thereof by
instruments qualified according to the word of
God and the Covenant, that all the Lords people
may live under him a quiet and peaceable life
in all godliness and honesty. And as these
things are heavie upon our spirits, so the
condition of the flockes which God hath commet

to our care doth exceedinglie weight us; they
being (all this tyme) left desolate as sheep
without a shepherd unto the exposing of them to
manyfold hazards and tentationes: and (as we
are informed) on of our number Mr. James Guthrie
by your Lo/ ordour totalie seclud from the
exercise of his ministerie at Sterline, and
another possessed in the church wherein he
preached.

Therefore being conscious to our owne innocencie,
it is our humble desire and earnest supplication
to your Los that we may be released from our
imprisonment, and permitted to goe to our owne
homes for dischargeing of these duties which as
Ministers of the Gospel we owe unto our flockes:
and that our brother Mr. James Guthrie; againe
may be putt in the peaceable possession of the
Church of Sterline, and permitted the free
exercise of his ministerie in that congregation
and have things relateing to that Church and
Session, putt in the same condition in which
they wer before his imprisonment. And your
Los favourable answer humble is expected By

Your Los humble servants and supplicants under-
scribinc

Ro: Traill
J Stirling
M Alxrn Moncreife
M.G. Nairne
M.J. Moray
James Guthrie
M Ol Hall
Jo: Sempill
Mr. John Scott
We doe also humblie desire that according to our former petition the Gentleman James Kirko may be released."

Rutharfund writes to Traill and Guthrie to encourage them to stand fast. He is persuaded "...that it is the cause of Christ which ye now suffer for, and not men's interest." And "Let us pray more, and look less to men."  

Instead of releasing the prisoners the following record is found concerning Guthrie's transfer to the Tolbooth, Dundee,

"My Lord

According to your desire and the Com. of Estates here I have appointed a party of Horse to convoy Mr. James Guthry in safety to Dundee to be delivered to the magistrates of that place. Likewise I have granted an order to the Depty Comdr of Sterling Castle to receive into his custody the body of Mr. Patrick Gillespie and him in safety to keep till further order from the Comtee of Estates as yet the sd order is in my hand till Bailly Chirtelay calls for it. My Lord also according to your desire I have put a stop to the quartering of any soldiers on Mr. Dunkutt at Musselbrough till further order or that I speake with your Lopp whose debt I finde to bee just and due wch is all at present from

1. RH, MS CE Papers, s.v. (The date is circa. 11 Sept. 1660). On the back of the paper is found "Elevent Sepr 1660. This petition being read in hearing of the Comittee They refused to give answ there to and ordaine the same to be kept in retentia in the clerks hands." Op. NL, MSS, Wod. Col., fol. 32 No. 6.
3. Ibid., p. 694. For Rutherford vide also, NL, MSS, Wod. Col. fol. 69 No. 6.
About this time Robert Ramsay broke under the mental strain and was released. Traill says that he later recovered.

On the 19th. of September a proclamation was published against *Lex Rex* and *The Causes of God's Wrath*. This was followed the next day by a proclamation against Remonstrants. Ker of Greenhead and Walter Pringle were imprisoned on the 26th. A bond was offered some of the Remonstrants, who were called before the Committee. This is the matter mentioned in the following,

"Edr 25 Septr. 1660

The Committee of Estates now presently convened by the Kings Majesties speciall warranct and authoritie considering that Master James Guthrie, Robert Traill, Jon Stirling, Alexander Moncreiffe, John Semple, Thomas Ramsay, Gilbert Hall, John Scott, George Hainne and John Murray ministers have subscribed ane dangerous and seditious paper tending to the disturbance of the peace of this Kingdome And that Mrs. Patrick Gillespie, James Gumsone, Robert Hew and Mr. Wishart ministers have refused to subscriie the band for keipin peace and disowning the remonstrance and otherwise are guilite of seditious and dangerous practises. The said Committee doe therefore hereby sequestrate all the said ministers ther Stipends for bygones resting preceeding the intimation of this order and in tyme coming ay and while the said comitie of estates of parliat give further order theranent. And to that effect doe hereby give warrand to and messinger of

1. RH, NS, CK Papers, s.v.; Ibid. CK Minutes, Sept. 17. The day before the Committee granted Mrs. Guthrie and her son permission to visit Guthrie. Vide Ibid. Sept. 15th. There seems to be no extant records concerning Guthrie's stay in Dundee.
3. Ibid. pp. 76f and note.
armes to passe and intimate the foirsd sequestration to the said ministers personally or at their duelling houses...

Few ministers prayed for the prisoners. About the middle of October Lex Rex was burned at the Crosses of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Rutherford was arrested and confined to his room. On the 12th. Mrs. Guthrie and Cowie were granted permission to see Guthrie without official request but no one else. Guthrie’s former Synod of Merse and Teviotdale acted against the Protesters and deposed several of them. On December the 5th.

"The Comitie of Estates recomends to the Provest of Stirling to make intimation to Mr. James Guthrie to remove his goods out of the house which is the Minister of Stirling manse betwixt and this day moneth wherein if he fails ordaines the Magistrates of Sterline after the expyreing of the moneth to remove and sequestrat the goods upon inventar...."

On the 8th. they allowed Mrs. Guthrie, on the basis of a supplication, to have Guthrie’s past stipend.

Some of the ministers were removed from the Castle to confinement in the town of Edinburgh. Baillie prepared a work against the Protesters to be issued after the meeting of Parliament. Argyll, who was brought from London, arrived at Edinburgh on December the 21st. By this time Episcopacy had been established in England.

The fact that the Commissioner appointed for the new

1. RH, MS, CE Papers, s.v.; Ibid. Minutes, s.v.
2. Nicoll gives the date as Wednesday, the 17th., for Edinburgh and includes the Gauges of God’s wrath, vide, Diary, p. 304.
3. RH, MSS, Minutes, s.v.
4. Ibid., s.v.
Parliament was Middleton portended nothing good for Guthrie. Parliament immediately began to restrict the Protesters even more, not allowing them to come within 10 miles of Edinburgh, disfiguring G. Gillespie's tombstone, and restoring Montrose's son.

On February the 6th. Mercurius Caledonius reports from Dundee,

"Mr. James Guthery (who is here prisoner as a seditious minister) this day, or to-morrow is to be conveyed to answer before Parliament; be he being to cross the river, and the country hearing the same, does vehemently desire, that he go about by St. Johnstoun, fearing least these little fishes should forsake their haunt, if the river should be guilty of so much treason as to waste him over."  

In a subsequent issue of the same diurnal one reads,

"...who can forget Mr. James Guthery, minister of Sterling (whose name in English is Hugh Peters) who on Friday last was cited by a Trumpeter and three Heraldis to answer before the Parliament. He said, He blessed God that this was not the last Trumpet..."

By this time the Resolutioners had begun to look away from the silver casketed letter and to become apprehensive of the direction which Parliament was taking. They suggested that the Church's Confession and the Directory be approved and that an act be passed against popery. The Presbytery of Edinburgh hearing of the Act of Recissory tried to hinder its passage, but they had too long been elated at the

1. The editor was Thomas Sydserff, son of Thomas Sydserff, the Bishop of Galloway and the only prelate who was ousted in 1638 that was restored in 1661.  
2. Mer. Cal., Feb. 1-6, 1661. The communique was signed "A.B."  
defeat of the Protesters and their apparent success with the King. Soon Parliament was to dictate to them and to attempt to direct their courts.

Sharp claims, that concerning the Protesters, "...I endeavoured to prevent...severity towards them..."[1] Naismith and Jas. Hamilton do not help Guthrie's cause in writing Lauderdale on the 14th. of December,

"We can not but beare testimonie of the Kind respects of our Reverend Brother Mr. Mathias Simson Minister at Sterline towards us when we were prisoners in the Tower, and of his faithfull constancie and courage in opposing Mr. Guthrie and his complices in their irregular courses...[2]"

Sharp writes a revealing letter to Lauderdale in which he says

"I fear there can be no remedy against this malady without severity upon the leading imparters, Guthrie, Gillespy, Rutherford, which will demit the rest of the hotheards who in time may be beat into sound minds and sober practises."

He speaks of "shutting up the chief sticklers," of eliminating anything in the church that is against the King, of not calling a General Assembly before the meeting of Parliament.

"The Protesters though they cannot except against the Kings letter, yet maliciously give out that it is not to be trusted, and whatever is professed by it, the design is to bring in prelacy into this church... Mr. Gillespay hath sayed to diverse persons that of late he hath been dealt with to offer his services for introducing prelacy,..." Sharp wants action taken "in time" against the Protesters.[3]

1. BM, MSS, 23114, No. 90.
2. Ibid. p. 98 from Edinburgh.
3. Ibid. No. 126.
Guthrie's indictment was drawn up on February the 7th. It included the drafting, presenting or causing to be presented the Remonstrance, writing and printing the Causes of God's Wrath, and The Humble Petition of 1662, attempting to call together meetings, and asserting in a meeting at Stirling 1650-1 that the King should be imprisoned. He was called to appear on the 19th. Sharp writes "...poor Mr. J., Guthrie is to appear on tuesday nixt, and, though less criminious that others, is lyke to be the only sacrifice of those of our coat..." 2

Guthrie appeared before Parliament on the 20th. his indictment was read and he was permitted to speak. He spoke in general terms concerning the indictment and showed how he had continually opposed the Cromwellian regime. With reference to the Remonstrance his only admission is, that he opposed the Commission's action concerning it. He asserts that the Causes of God's Wrath conforms to the doctrine and practice of the Kirk, that the Humble Petition is simply a reminder to the King of his former obligation, that the meetings were allowable, and closes by saying that he had

2. The Lauderdale Papers, ed. Osmand Airy (Westminster: Camden Society, 1884) p. 74. It is reported that at first Sharp favoured Guthrie but when the latter gave an excellent defense he changed, and gave as his reason Guthrie's pertinaciousness.
no intention to be disloyal; that he did all according to
the Word of God, the Kirk and the Covenants, and "...if
those foundations fall, I must fall with them..."1 At his
request he was granted until the 29th. to consult with his
lawyers for the preparation of his defence.

Wodrow says that in the legal consultations his law¬
yers were surprised at his exactness of Scots law, and that
he suggested several things to be added, which had escaped
them. Sir John Cunningham of Lamrochtoun said "...that in
the very point of law and acts of parliament, Mr. Guthrie
was more capable...to instruct them than they were capable
to instruct him. He said, he never knew one of his profession
like Mr. Guthrie..."2 Judge Carr upon reading one of
Guthrie's papers which he had composed in his defence sent
word to Guthrie "...that though all the advocates and lawyers
in Edinburgh had met together to frame a defence for him,
they would not have said better..."3 Guthrie pleaded his
own case which some thought was presumptuous, but Guthrie

was a most excellent orator." in his History, p. 110.
yers were Robert Burnet, Andrew Birnie, and Geo.
of Scotland (Edinburgh: Gen. Reg. House, 1821) p. 70
says "...much pains was taken to make him disclaim his
opinions, yet he would not desert them..." This may
explain why Guthrie did his own pleading if Mackenzie
was one of his lawyers. For a defence of Guthrie at
this time vide, [Brown, J.], An Apolegetical Relation
correctly made the case a religious one more than one of law.

Guthrie had numerous visitors during his imprisonment. Jaffray came and spoke about his own "Causes of the Lords Controversy" and said that now the national church was being overturned, and the idols, the Covenants, were being laid aside. On the other hand Rutherford wrote to Guthrie in February telling him not to mind the way he will suffer as long as

"...His precious truth be owned with all heavenly boldness and reason of our hope given in weakness and fear and that the royal crown and supremacy of our Lord Jesus Christ the prince of the kings of the earth be stood above all the yesterday glory of the kings of the earth. Christ will reign...his sworn covenant will not thus be buried...Think it not strange that men devise against you...hither it be...violent and publick death, for the kingdom of heaven...is made up of a fair company of glorified Martyrs and witnesses who was born for this cause. Be not terrified fret not. Forgive your enemies..."²

It was not until April the 10th. that Guthrie again appeared before Parliament. On that date his Indictment was read and his defenses³ were presented. In the latter ambiguity is cited in the Indictment; no malice is shown that would constitute a crime; treason is not composed of slander and lies. He insists that the matter is ecclesiastical

1. Jaffray, Diary, pp. 159ff.
2. UEL, MSB, L. Col., 111, p. 450. This letter is incomplete but a different version is printed in Bonar, Letters, pp. 701f. Other letters to the prisoners are in Letters, pp. 693ff. In MS 111 is also a letter from Mr. Guthrie who says "we are loth to quite you, but loather to match your steadfastnesse." pp. 452f.
"...as the church cannot lay hold upon the sword of the magistrate, so neither can the magistrate take the keys of the church."¹ He makes a special defense for the Causes of God's Wrath on the basis of former ecclesiastical and civil acts.

On the following day the libel and defenses were read and replies and duplies presented.²

It is on this day that Guthrie makes his most famous speech.³ With Bible in hand he says that his actions have been prompted "...from a principle of true piety towards God, and true loyalty towards his majesty:..."⁴

If "...I shall be judged a seditious person and traitor, not only shall the whole church and kingdom of Scotland be involved in the guilt of sedition and treason, and few or none have any security for their lives, honours, and estates further than the king's mercy doth give, also a very dangerous foundation shall be laid..."⁵

He affirms,

"...throughout the whole course of my life, I have studies to be serious, and not to deal with a slack hand in what I did look upon as my duty;..."⁶

He asks that,

"...being already cast out of ministry, out from my dwelling and maintenance, myself and family put to

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1. Ibid., p. 185.
2. For these documents vide, Acts of Parl., Vol. VII, app. pp. 46ff; NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to. 42. The latter is at variance from the former.
4. Ibid., p. 171.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. Compare with Kirkton who speaks in his History of the "...constancy of mind which he had shewed through the whole course of his life." p. 110.
live on the charity of others, having now suffered eight months' imprisonment, your lordships would put no further burden upon me."  

And again

"...ponder well what profit there is in my blood: it is not the extinguishing of me or many others that will extinguish the covenant and the work of reformation since the year 1633. My blood, bondage, or banishment will contribute more for the propagation of those things than my life or liberty could do, though I should live many years."  

Wodrow says that many left Parliament after this speech and would have nothing further to do with the trial.

On the next day the four items of the accusation are found still in force, and subject to the jurisdiction of the court.

On the 15th, the lord advocate says that "...the Remonstrance, Causes of Wrath, Petition, Instructions, Declinators, and others produced, [were] all acknowledged written or subscribed by the petitioner's own hand,..."  

Parliament finds all five articles proven.

Baillie writes to Lauderdale three days later saying,

"Mr. Guthrie, I ever opposed his way, but see that none get the King persuaded to take ministers heads: banishment will be worse for them than death: how shall they get bread if put without the bounds of the English language? Send them to Orkney, or any other place where they may preach and live: yow may obtain this, I think, if ye will."
There are many stories concerning Guthrie's last days in prison. He had a number of visitors. John Guthrie, William's brother, brought in Mr. Hugh Walker, minister at Neilstoun, saying that an honest minister from the West country was there to see him. Guthrie replied "I know there are many honest West country Ministers; but the day is coming, when it shall be crime enough to be a West country man." Guthrie also predicted to Wodrow's father,

"There is a dark cloud coming on, and the Lord is about to sweep this land with the besom of destruction; but Jacob, be not discouraged from following your books; you may live to see the cloud over, and may be afterward usefull." Another recorded visitor was Robert Douglas, who said of Guthrie, "...though I and that man have differed in several things, yet I can truely say, I dearly love that man as mine own soul." According to Blair the King wrote to Parliament requesting that action be taken concerning the prisoners, as a result sentences were passed on Argyle, Guthrie and Govan. Guthrie is said to have told his wife that "...he was more conform to Christ his Master in his death then the Marquise of Argyle, for my Lord Argyle was to be beheaded, but he was to be hanged on a tree, as Christ was!"

On the day of Argyll's decellation, Monday the 27th,

Argyll stopped at Guthrie's room as he was on his way to the scaffold to take his farewell. Guthrie took him by the hand and said,

"My Lord, God has been with your Lordship, he is now with your Lordship, and will be with your Lordship; and such is my love to your Lordship, that if I were not under a sentence of death myself, I would very willingly die to save your Lordship's life!"

On May the 28th. Guthrie's sentence was passed with only the Earl of Tweedale dissenting and being punished for his dissent. While Guthrie awaited the verdict outside Parliament House it was reported that

"...while he was among the crowd of macers, soldiers, and others of that kind, who were cursing and swearing about him, he declared...he had never nearer communion with God, and sweeter raptures upon his spirit, than at that very time, when he knew they were debating where to place his head, and the quarters of his body: his countenance seemed shining when he came out after the sentence, and he was in the greatest composure and sedateness that could be..."4

Row says that when he was sentenced to death,

"...he began to speak some things, - wishing 'that his innocent blood might not be charged on the throne, and hoping that his head would preach more on the Port than ever in the pulpit,' - but was interrupted, and carried away violently from the bar to prison."5

About this time Gillespie, fearing for his life, re-

3. He was imprisoned in the Castle shortly afterwards.
5. Row, Blair, p. 386.
canted. Some spoke of it as his coming under civil guilt. Guthrie commented, "Hath he suffered soe many things in vain, if it be vain?"¹

Toward the last Guthrie called in his son, William, and spoke to him concerning the future, telling him that he should be a serious person and owne the cause of his father. Concerning possible ridicule from his associates Guthrie said, "Will, they will tell you that your father was hanged; but think not shame of it; it is upon a good cause!"²

During these days he received and wrote letters. Few have survived. One written from a person whom Wodrow describes as a very eminent minister assures Guthrie that, "The healing and reparation of all their breaches shall begin at your ashes, who in your days have been esteemed a man of strife and contention."³ Another, apparently from a close friend, reminds him of a familiar passage in Jeremiah, and tells him he has had very great and undeniable performances of God's promises. He assures him that "Within a little while it shall be said, they have got the foil, and you the victory;..."⁴ He trusts that Guthrie will be the

⁴ Ibid., p. 191. The passage referred to is Jer. 1:18-19.
seed from which "...the brethren in the Lord may wax bold through resisting unto blood;..." 1

On the night before he was to be executed after his friends had gone he dictated some letters to Christian friends. He subscribed and sealed them himself, his seal bearing the coat of arms. After he had first stamped it upon the wax, he turned about the seal, and stamped it crossways, so marring and confusing the impression. Being asked why he did so: he answered, he had now nothing to do with coats of arms.

James Couie, who stayed with Guthrie his last night before his death, reported that Guthrie

"...slept as sweetly and clamly as ever he did in his life. When wakned, he heard him pour out his soul to the Lord in his bed, with a flood of tears. He helped him on with his cloathes; and when he sate doun, he asked him, 'Hou he was? 'Very weel, James,' said he; 'this is the day God hath made, let us be glade and rejoice in it!'" 2

There had been a rumour that Guthrie had been encouraged not to recant by some of the women. There was also the story that Guthrie had been offered a bishopric if he would deny the cause. 3 Because of these rumours Guthrie on the day of

3. GSL, MSS, Craufurd, History, Sect. II, Craufurd also affirms that people wondered at accusations made against him which were ten years old, and that a man so opposed to sectaries should be killed. He affirms that the reason was that it would make it easier for Middleton to re-establish Prelacy. The evidence is accepted that Middleton had Guthrie executed to revenge his excommunication at Guthrie's hands.
his death draws up a testimony that he owns the 'Causes of God's Wrath, the petition (August 166) ...and any accession I had to the 'Remonstrance;'..."1

He also writes letters on this day,

"Immediately before his death, he caused James Couie to write several letters to some of his choice Christian friends. At length he writes one letter to a Christian friend; and for some time he did not know the person to whom he was writing it, till at length he made James Couie to know it was himself and his wife he was writing the letter to."2

There are two letters known to have been written to his wife. In one he speaks of the unfeigned and spotless affection he has for her, of their bond in Christ, he says, "To me, you have been a very kind and faithful yoke-fellow. Decline not the cross but embrace it as your own. Value your conscience above your skin. Be not solicitous, although you know not wherewith to clothe you and your children, or wherewith to dine. My heart! I recommend you to the eternal love of Jesus Christ - I am helped of God, and hope I shall be helped to the end. Pray for me while I am here, and praise with me hereafter."3

Guthrie is reported to have taken his dinner as composedly and to have eaten as much as he did normally although

3. The Last Words and Dying Testimonies, pp. 66f; CSL, Wod. Col. L. I. 6. 10 pp. 573f. There is also an imperfect copy in the BUL, MSS, L. Col. No. 111, pp. 455-7. The letter seems difficult to obtain so
he was to die at two in the afternoon. Having been forbidden to eat cheese because of his health he said, "Ye may give me a good peace of cheese this day, for it will not now be my death..." and took and ate heartily "...for he loved it."¹

A little before he came out of the Tolbooth his wife said to him, "'Now, my heart, your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you!' 'Ay, you must,' says he, 'for henceforth I know no man after the flesh.'"²

The authorities wanted him to go to the Cross bareheaded and with his hands bound behind him.

"He told them, that he was not a thief to be so treated; and if they did not give him the benefite of his hands to go and walk with the help of a staff, he could not walk at all, so that they behoved to bear or carry him to the scaffold, for he had the gout so that he could not walk without the help of a staff, so that they caused lighter his hands a little, and let him have the benefite of his staff."³

William Guthrie wanted to go with James on this final walk, but he was persuaded not to do so.⁴ James Couie, his

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servant and friend, accompanied him on his journey, and Robert Traill's son was with him on the scaffold. Upon his arrival Guthrie instructed them to give his staff to Mr. Wishart; he then mounted the scaffold and prayed for a little while. After this he climbed a few steps up the ladder, "...because of the weakness of his head he was afraid to goe any further or higher; and being well enough seen and heard, he delivered his speech to the people, ..." He told them that he might have recanted and not only saved his life but "...also had much favour and countenance by complying with the courses of the time, but I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my integrity..." God never "...suffered me to bring it in debate in my inward thoughts,... I have a good conscience, as having walked therein according to the light and rule of God's word, and as did become a minister of the gospel." "It hath been my lot to have been a man of contention and sorrow..."

He has not contended for his own interest "...but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateth to his interest and work, and the wellbeing of his people." He says that he

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1. Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. I, pp. 108f. Copies of his speech are quite numerous both MSS and printed. For MSS: BM, MS 2215 f. 344; CHR, MS.; NL, MSS Wod. Col. fol. 60 No. 18. Kirkton, in his History says that he was interrupted and gave out a paper with his speech, p. 110. On the other hand Burnet who saw him die says, "I saw him suffer. He was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of a man delivering a sermon rather than his last words." History, Vol. I, p. 127.
2. Wodrow, History, Vol. I, p. 192. This and subsequent quotations are taken from this source due to its ready availability.
3. Ibid., p. 193.
used some poor endeavours to purge the church of "...insufficient and scandalous and corrupt ministers and elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some, and hated by others." He speaks of the wrath of God against Scotland, for their profanity and for the destruction of the Covenant and the Cause. Concerning their allegiance to the King he says,

"...we have changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost all their salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a blessing unto us...into an idol of jealousy..."¹

He calls on the ministers to testify to the people. "Let my death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous, both for me and for you, and for the church of God, and for Christ's interest and honour than my life could have been."² He then bears witness to all those things he has held dear, the Covenants, the views he has displayed in his writings, and finally of the cross saying that he has never had occasion to repent of anything he has done for Christ. "I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain."

He thanks God for the people under his ministry especially in Stirling. He quotes scriptures closing with "Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation."³

It was reported that the speech was delivered with

2. Ibid., p. 194.
3. Ibid., p. 195.
such a heavenly air

"...and majesty appearing in his countenance, which did shine as if he had been half in heaven already, as some...then present thought; which left such impressions on them, that they thought they never saw more of God at the most solemn Communions they ever were at!

When he went farther up the ladder, and the executioner was ready to doe his office, his last words which he uttered, with a cheerful countenance and elevated voice, were those of the prophet Habakkuck, i.ch. 12 verse, 'Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One, I shall not die, but live!'"!

Howie states that "When on the scaffold he lifted the napkin off his face, just before he was turned over, and cried, 'The Covenants, the Covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving.'"

There is a less tolerant account,

"Just now I came from the execution of Mr. James Guthrey Minister of Sterling and Captain Giffen. Guthery made a long speech or rather a Sermon upon himself, the substance whereof was. That he dyed for the Remonstrance, for the Solemn League and Covenant, and for his book, all which he own'd (which seemed very strange to all that had read either his Book or the Remonstrance) He denied that he was against Kingly Government, but said he was for it according to the Covenant. That Presbytery was not so inconsistent with Monarchy as was pretended. He much magnified himself what a painfull Preacher he had been in which kind of language he spent most of his time. When the Hangman came to bind his arms, the poor fellow knowing what a firebrand Guthry had been, was afraid to come near him till he made him promise he would forgive him for doing his duty; but when Guthrey perceived the Executioner made use of a silken Garter to tye his arms, he said scoffingly, Behold I am now a Knight of the Garter;

some men do wear it for Honorable causes, but I have both a Riband and a Rope, which are both an honour to me, for I wear them both for the Cause of God. Still all along blanching his seditious and bloodthirstiness with the cause of God; for this was the man, who when the Scaffold at Edin- burgh Crosse for six weeks together was daily drencht with the blood of Loyal Subjects, said, Now the work of the Kirk goes bonily on."

Even some of Guthrie's critics said that he showed, "...much courageous obstinacy, and gained by his death the name of martyr..." Baillie asserts, "Though few approved his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely used." The eyes of many were being opened.

Dickson, who when prelacy came into England said there was no fear of it coming into Scotland, about two months later, feared that it was coming to Scotland, "...but he blessed the Lord he was as ready and willing to suffer as he was 36 yrs. since." This may have been one of the motives prompting him to minister to Argyll in his last hours. When Dickson was dying he confessed "...the Protesters have been

1. Kingdomes Intelligencer, June 3-10, 1661, dated June 1, Edinburgh. The journalist is incorrect in two points, first concerning the 62 victims at Edinburgh when there were several victims, and secondly, for ascribing an expression to Guthrie which up until this time had been calumniously assigned to David Dickson concerning the executions at Glasgow. There was a work published at this time entitled "The Work Goes Bonnily On." There were a number of satirical works in reference to the executions, and against presbyterianism, e.g. Variety of News for all Pallates, The Prince of Tartaria his voyage to Cowper in Fire, and Manes Presbyterian which contains "A Dialogue between Mr. Guthrey and Mr. Gifan."
4. E, MSS, R. Traill Diary, s.v.
much truer Prophets than we were!"¹

Others came to see that the Protesters had had the wisdom of foresight. James Wood later said "I see, now, that the Protesters had the right end of the string..."² It was said that Douglas should have said "...the Protesters were men that had eyes in their head, but the Public Resolutioners were really pore-blind."³ Much of this change of attitude came not only because of the execution of a Presbyterian clergyman but because within a few months episcopacy was established. By the time Guthrie was executed the church courts had been closed at numerous places. With the coming of episcopacy hundreds of ministers, the greatest part being Protesters, were turned out because they would not conform. Many looked back on the courage of Guthrie facing death to face their own adversity.

There was little to be done now. Guthrie’s body was taken down, his head severed from his body. His body was placed in a coffin and taken to the Old Kirk where it was dressed by ladies of quality. Some dipped their handkerchiefs into the blood. Sir Archibald Primrose, the Register, challenged one of them, Mrs. Janet Breckin, saying that it was a popish practice to save relics of the saints. The reply was to the effect that they were not procuring relics, but that they intended to hold the bloody clothes up to

³. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 10.
heaven in their addresses to remind God that innocent blood had been spilt.1 One young man, George Stirling, came and poured out a bottle of rich ointment on Guthrie's body.2 His body was then buried at Greyfriars3 with "...a very inconsiderable company at the funeral."4 His head was placed on a spike on the Netherbow Port,5 where it remained for twenty-seven years after which it was removed by Alexander Hamilton at the risk of his life.6 The heads of Wariston, King and Kidd were later to be placed beside Guthrie's.

When Middleton went to court at London Charles asked him what had happened to Gillespie. When Middleton replied that he was spared because he had so many friends the King answered "If I had known you would have spared Gillespie, I should have spared Mr James Guthery, who was the better man."7 It was reported that Middleton drove his coach under Guthrie's head and Guthrie's blood fell upon the coach and could not be removed.8

The lot of Guthrie's family was not an easy one. Without any visible means of livelihood Mrs. Guthrie took up

3. Paton, Henry, Register of Interment in the Greyfriars Buriling-Ground (Edinburgh: James Skinner, 1902) SNS, s.v.
residence in Edinburgh. In one of Carstairs' letters we find that ministers were assisting her. Another source reports the assistance of Sir Geo. Maxwell of Pollock. Later in Edinburgh houses were searched for books defending the Covenanters. Copies of the Apologeticall Relation were found in the houses of Mrs. Robert Traill and Mrs. Guthrie on December the 15th, 1663. Mrs. Guthrie was imprisoned that night; Mrs. Traill fled. Mrs. Guthrie was liberated on the 1st of January but was secured again on February the 1st. On Thursday the 8th.

"Mrs. Guthry and her daughter Sophia were sentenced to banishment to Shetland: but this sentence was afterwards mitigated, and she and her family sent to Brechin; and there confined; because she would neither tell (her daughter especially refuted this) who gave her the 'Apologetick Relations' nor would she promise not to keep conventicles in her house; nay she had offer of her liberty if she would only promise this; the business of the book had been and was overlooked in her: and only, conventicles insisted on: for they knew they frequent in her house, and still would be while she stayed in Edinburgh."1

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY
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With the exception of the Stewarts there was not a more controversial figure of the Early Covenanting Period than James Guthrie. At first he was a fervent Episcopalian, but while serving as Regent at St. Andrews University, as a result of the Covenanting Movement which swept the nation, he was converted to Presbyterianism. This conversion appears to have been abrupt and of such a nature that he became one of the most zealous of the Covenanters.

He left his academic surroundings where he had been successful as a teacher and went to serve in a small parish. Soon after his arrival he became an adherent to the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1644 his ecclesiastical career began at the General Assembly when he was appointed to the General Assembly Commission. During the course of his activity on the Commission he served with the army as chaplain, was sent on missions to the Kings, and was a participant in every important issue brought before the body. By the time Guthrie had become a member of the Commission, its policy had already been set for the implementation of the two Covenants in a stern and uncompromising manner. The advisability of such a policy though questioned by many, is not a matter of consideration in relation to Guthrie. Rightly or wrongly, he accepted the established policy and served faithfully and
unstintingly on committees, in conference and in the drafting of documents. Upon the death of George Gillespie, Guthrie became not only the inheritor of Gillespie's pen, but also the promulgator of Gillespie's views. The mantle of Gillespie had fallen on him. He moved to Stirling.

With the coming of Charles into Scotland differences began to arise in the Movement. Guthrie and Rutherford wished to retain the old views of Henderson and Gillespie, while Douglas and Wood, enamoured by the glitter of the court, were charmed into holding the view that 'The King can do no wrong.' Neither group were diplomatic. Had the 'King's Men' even taken the advice of their politicians and called a General Assembly to settle the differences, things might well have been different. As it was, completely disregarding the opposition, they drove towards a victory in the Commission. After gaining his victory Douglas took every means at his disposal to gain approval for his action. The Assembly at St. Andrews was a far cry from the 1638 Assembly. From then on Guthrie attempted to lead the opposition party, the Protesters. He had difficulty in the maintenance of unity, for first Patrick Gillespie, and then Wariston, became entranced by the Cromwellian regime. Guthrie seems then to have gone into semi-retirement from which he emerged upon the return of Charles for one final effort to champion the old Covenanting Cause. This cost him his life.

Guthrie was a thoroughgoing Calvinist, and was in
complete unanimity with his opponents, the Resolutioners, in his thought and action against the Sects. It might be said that had the Sects been more successful in Scotland the two divisions would have been perforce united by a common cause against the intruder.

Nothing but praise is found for Guthrie's personal and pastoral life. His sermons are indicative of a rich and devout Christian character. In his wider activity he is highly praised for his perseverance and devotion to the Cause by his associates, but greatly condemned for his pertinacity and intolerance by his opponents. It is this same trait, variously described, that can be accounted as his greatest asset and at the same time his greatest liability. It kept him in an intolerable local situation where some of his congregation stood by him, but where others deserted, hated and opposed him. It gave him glory and honour; for when many of his colleagues were leaving the Cause in the face of adversity, he stood above all indomitable in his allegiance to what he knew was right, and by his example gave courage to many in the trying days after his death.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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first was enlarged by Guthrie and there is very slight
evidence for his authorship of the latter. The Nullity
is also omitted which seems to be largely the work of
Warriston. Guthrie contributed to numerous papers and
works.
2. This book also includes "A Bundle of Myrrh" and a "Protestant's Resolution". The authorship has been assigned
to Guthrie purely on the location of these works after
his. By reading the preface and internal evidence the
latter is definitely not Guthrie. It quotes from a work
much later than Guthrie's period. The "A Bundle of Myrrh"
is more difficult to assign, but sometime later the title
was used for several works e.g., A Bundle of Myrrh, and
Samson's Riddle which was subtitled A Bundle of Sweet
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NL, MSS, Wod. Col., 4to 17.
The Last Petition. NL, MSS, 588.

4. Items of Guthrie which are preserved

A Contemporary painting of Guthrie located at Smith Institute, Stirling.
A Chair located at Smith Institute.
A Clock located at New College, Edinburgh.
A Statue by M. Handyside Ritchie located in the Stirling Cemetery.

General Works


1. The frontispiece is a copy of this painting made about a century ago. More appealing engravings have been made with apparent artistic licence by Mr Freeman and Mr R. Scott. The Smith Institute is reported to contain a part of Guthrie's bookcase but that is not now on display. This is also true of books borrowed by Guthrie from the town.

2. For an account concerning the clock vide, Drysdale, Wm., Old Faces, Old Places and Old Stories of Stirling, second series. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1899, p. 103.


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University of Edinburgh Library.
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APPENDICES

A. James Guthrie and the Records at St. Andrews.
B. Letter to Guthrie from Strachan.
C. The Leslie Inquiry.
D. One of Guthrie's Sermons.
E. Charles's Letter to the General Assembly.
F. The Causes of God's Wrath.
G. Protesters' Testimony.
H. Guthrie's Letter to his Wife.
I. Letter concerning Middleton's Excommunication.
APPENDIX A

JAMES GUTHRIE AND THE RECORDS AT ST. ANDREWS

1. The following information has been supplied by Dr. Bushnell, the University Librarian.

James Guthrie

Student of St. Leonard's College.
Matriculated in February 1629, which means that he probably went into residence for the first time at the beginning of November, 1629.

Graduated M.A. 1632.

1632-35. Probably a student of divinity in St. Mary's College, while awaiting a vacancy as a Regent.

1635-42. Regent in Philosophy.

1642. Minister of Lauder.

There is no information regarding the period 1632-35, but as he was found qualified to take a charge at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, it is very probable that the period referred to was spent in St. Mary's.

2. Dr. R. G. Cant furnished the following concerning the regents at St. Andrews:

"I think that Sharp succeeded Guthrie as Regent at St. Leonard's College and that Sinclair succeeded Comrie. The "rotating regency" was remarkably fixed in its sequence, and Sharp certainly follows in Guthrie's place and Sinclair follows in Comrie's. The alternative would be that Sharp succeeded Comrie, which is quite impossible, and there was certainly no other vacancy at St. Leonard's at this time... I have no doubt that Sharp and Sinclair disputed for the first vacancy and that Sinclair was eventually rewarded with the post resulting from a later vacancy, but I cannot see how one can avoid the conclusion that the first vacancy was caused by Guthrie's departure to Lauder in 1642 and the second by Comrie's appointment to be Minister of St. Leonard's Church in 1644."
He also submitted the following list:

3. Regents at St. Andrews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bajans</th>
<th>Semis</th>
<th>Bachelors</th>
<th>Magistrands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1637-8 Jas. Guthrie</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Jas. Guthrie</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-1 David Nevay</td>
<td>Geo. Wemyss</td>
<td>Jas. Guthrie</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641-2 Walter Comrie</td>
<td>David Nevay</td>
<td>Geo. Wemyss</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642-3 Geo. Wemyss</td>
<td>James Sharp</td>
<td>Walter Comrie</td>
<td>David Nevay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names underlined are definitely correct; the others are reasonably correct conjecture. One can usually be certain of a regent's place only when he presented the first-year students for their matriculation and the fourth year for graduation (M.A.).

Attention should be called to the projected publication of the Matriculation and Graduation Rolls for the period 1579-1747 which will be exceedingly useful for researchers in the period.

4. Rolls of Classes taught by James Guthrie.

1635-1638:

Lord James Murray    James Ogilvie
Alexander Lindsay   Andrew Wedderburn
Charles Murray      George Logan
Henry Maule         James Cockburn
Robert Maitland    David Erskine
Thomas Hamilton    Ludovic Maitland
Andrew Arbunot     Richard Cairns
William Hay         John Hamilton

1638-1642:


Alexander Ramsey      Jacobus Alanus.
Thomas Ramsey         David Murray
George Bruce          Patricius Duncan
Gulielmus Lyon        Joannes Greig
David Dunmuir         Robertus Campbell
Robert Mowatt  J. Levingstoune
Rogerus Mowatt  Rob. Levingstone
Alexander Wedderburne  Joannes Kellie
Andreas Oliphant  Gulielmus Layng
Joannes Balvaird  Robertus Roull
APPENDIX B

LETTER TO GUTHRIE FROM STRACHAN

Inverness, 3 Jan, 1650

Richt Reverend

I am with much unwillingnes now constrained to present these broken and rude lyne craving your pardone for my former unkyndnes and ungratitualnes. But I dare boldly saySr though it did not appear in paper it was in affections in some measure, knowing you will fairly construct and hold me excused, I need not make anie other apologie then my weaknes to plead for me, But the cheif thing I desyre may be taken notice of by you, is the small returnes ar made by those in authoritie in the land unto the Lord for his matchless kyndnes and severall deliverances, which ar not only meanly acknowledged and not laboured by us to walk through the power of his grace worthie of But have [contian] to that called by him from us in his dispensation, badly answered his majestie, by continuing such wicked malignant instruments in his work, which obscureth the Glorie and Grace therof unto the simple and ignorant. Had undesly Greivett his majestie, to behold not only in the state such contrair returns from these that will not richtly know him, But the deadnes of those that pro¬fesseth his name may justly be much complained of. Ther is ground of exceeding Great thanksgiving and praises to be as¬cribed to the most high, In what he hath enabled you of your calling to doe, In purging that lenths you have gone, but certainly much is yet undone especially in state and armes, I cannot but acquaint you with the lait act issued for maner of quarterings which holdeth out and layeth one oppressing burden on the comunaltie who ar in manie places neiir alreadie sorted, but also injoyneth the scoldlery to live on such mentinances as cannot be subsisted with, the act being by printed will further clear the thing unto you, and shew the unjustnes thereof, some considerable things you will be pleased to take notice of for pressing a reduction of the forces, First the unsupportable burdens the kingdom lyeth under es¬pecially the comunaltie, 2ly. the gross prophane and mal¬lignanice of the armie ly. unreconcillable differences amongst the forces who can nor dar not joyne togethier against anither comon enemie being as much in edg against one another as anie other enemie whatsoever, and last without additional pay to the scoldlery they cannot subsist on what is for present apoynted if they live honestly, you will probably goe neiir to lose manie if not most part of honest men out of the service if present course be not [taken] for preventing the falling out of appearant inconsistencies, it is of great concernment,
therefor requireth much diligence and latly a remedy to be sekin for. I know not if orders hath been given in these places for ordering the rest of the levies to be in redines but we straung of such order hear, And also secretly informed that a pressing order is to follow for putting the former in execution, such fears of James Grame mendeth not, And I know not what call they have for thuse doing such designs must be stoped for certainly what ever threatning ayseth from what place soever wiked instruments neither that ar or may be raised ar to be made use of. The Lord hath shown what he can doe by a few, undoubtedly much more he will yet doe for himself by us. If aright we trust in him therafor way must not be given to such unlawfull courses. [I close] I in the Lords most holy name intreat you to awake and raise uppe all the Lord his friends to be stout haired and oppose and rebuke evill doers be they of what qualitie so ever, least by neglect and more slothfulness our burden be mad more then it is. The Lord is strong and mightie and as he hath done will doe valiantly by weak means and in small appearnaces or assure yourself In the Lord his streth which I know he will grant, If James Grahame land neir this quarter, he will suddenly be discussed And ther shalbe no need of the levy of knavis to the work, tho they should be willing.

I am your

Archd. Strahan.
Leslie to the Committee of States:

For the King Most excell: Majst and the Committee of Estates.

Whras it hethe plesid god (who is Just in all his wayis) to bring this Kingdom varie low be the defett of the Armie hier Dumbar whrof altho I had not the absolut comand, yet the full bleam of that unhappie day is layd upon me. I do acknouilig I have my avin infirmitis yit I do with a clier conscient evow behor God and the wholi world that I did sincerlie according to the licht & knowilig god had conferrid upon me, indevor the suddoing of that enimie not withstanding many expressions ar cast upun me which the Lord heaththe inablid me with sum measur of patienc to bear and truly I was offtymes resolvit to have layd down my commissione, seing what had fallin out, was constructed, both by my enimis and sum good people as an call to me to denyd myself of all publick employment. but seing that could lykwyse admit sum making constuctione as if I had desertid the cause in suche an exigenc. I resolvid still to suffer untill notwithstanding so may, then even my best frindis dissatisfied with my deportmentis in the conduct of that Armie. I can not bothe for removell of any accesisone in your lo: to that inustic of continuing any in your servis: who had betrayd ther trust or not obviating the unjust calumis and imputations cast upon your faithful servant. But in all humilitie besiche your lo: to tack an mor just tryell of my cariag in pent Armie, that so I may receav ather censor or vindications as your Lo: finds just.

This is the desyr and humbold suit of
My Lordis
Your Lo: most faithfoull
Servant David Leslie

1. This document is found in GSL, MSS, Mod.Col., LS. I. 6. 9. No. 33. The date on the back is 20 November 1650. The following note is attached to the letter: Perth 20 November Read in the presence of the Kings Majesty and the Committee of Estates and committed to the ad who are upon the conference.
(2) Perth 27 November 1650

It is the opinion of the Committee for Military Affairs, to whom the General Lieut. desyres were remitted to be considered, that he sould set down a particular relation of his deportments anent the conduct of the army, and sending out of parties, and every circumstance that may last clear the business at Dunbar, and that such persons as were with the Army and best knowes the passages may be enqueried & examined.

That the E. Lothian examin the troopers.

(3)

The questioning:

Interrogatoris propoundid to the Lieut. gen: Leslie by the Comitie of Militarie affairs apoyntid to consider his desyr.

When the enemie was retiring from the trincha at Lithe and sum of our forces vent out tvardis them and retirid disorderly what order did he give therenant and what vas the cause of that disorderly retret and why ther sum vas not callid in questions.

It is anwered that the gear only order for sy trupis which he vent out himself not doubting by godis strenthe with them to have mad an save retret and he conceavis the cause of that disorderly retreat because not orderly commandid out with the insufficiencie of the officiers nevir heveing sein an enimie before that day in plassing of whom he had no consent at all tho often desyrit he thinks also that the committie of var who had the full command of the Armie sould have callid that retret to question.

When the partie vas sent out with Coll Mongomerie & Coll Strachin whay it vas not of that strenthe which is allegid vas concludid at the counsell of var and why the partie vas not secundid to mack good ther retret according to that resolulion;

It is anssuerid that it vas propunid and desyrid by sum that it sould have been strengthen. but vas concludid accordingly as it vas comandid all vrettina in Coll: Strachin his [shyr] boock befor parting; and Sir John Brunn commandid to secund them as vas resolvid which he did accordingly for heveing visitid the gardis myselff that morning I did meet Sir Johne.

Whom the marche tvardis dunbar when he vas hier to

the enimie upon the rier why upon the suddin he marchid upe the hill and after the armie vas upon the hill why did he draw doun to a fild so disadvantagius, where that enimie feull doun upon them:

And why the armie vent not back again by day as was resolvid.

It is ansurid that Coll: Carr who had the for trupe marching towardis the hill and the enimis advancing towardis him he was obligid to secund him. The resoun of marching doun first becaus vottid in comittie that the enimie could not be sufferid to march estward then being conclusid to act sum thing against Broxmun ho[se] and muche pressid the holl day about the evening I gatting his hc: the gen: of artilerie, gen: Maiur and Sir James Lumsdain in the classe of my Lord Roxbruchis lodging at whom I demandid if [we] could march doun after so much pressing to which it was answerid we micht be doing ther- upon the gen: major or gen: artilleri & we went and viewed the grund and agridi therupon. And accordingly as was resolvid that micht leat the trumpet was blovin by day that morning for marcheing back again witnes Lieut. Coll Carmichell altho muche more micht be sad why the wholl blem and falt could not be chargid upon me.

David Leslie.
APPENDIX D
ONE OF GUTHRIE’S SERMONS

April 20, 1651. Isaiah 30. 18. A lecture by Mr. James Guthrie the tymth L. Generall Cromwell and his army wer in Toun.

Some think the purpose contained in this chapter was delyvered in the dyes of Hezekiah when Senacherb invaded the land of Juda but it is not lyk that so good a man is Hezekiah was would have bene accesorrie to so grosse a thing as complying with Egypt wes, and which is threatened in the beginning of this chapter. Therefore we take it rather to relate to the dyes of Ahaz who was guilty of such a thing.

The next chapter in two partes 1. There is a reproof of the people for their grosse sinnes to witt Their making use of unlawfull means for their helpe in the day of their distresse for their delyverance from the enemie and their dispensing of the word of the Lord in the mouthes of his servants for both which they are threatened with the continuance and ennosse of judgment fra the beginning to v. 18.

The second part from v. 18 to the end holds forth grounds of consolation to thes who wer the Lords people indeed in that day of their affliction and thes grounds are of tue sorts. The first forthold forth the salvation and delyverance of Gods people themselfe, from v. 18 to v. 27. The second part concernes the destination of thes enemies who had the instruments of their meseries and calamities from v. 27 to the end. The name of the Lord is brought in and laid upon them that they call come from farr who shall avenge his people of their oppressiones. In this portion we have red in the 18 v. the prophet propone in generall the summe of the grounds of their salvation and delyverance wherewith God should lift his people and therefore will the Lord wait that hee may be gracious unto you, and therefor will he be exalted that hee may have mercie upon you, was somemartin In having mercie upon you for the Lord is a God of judgment hono. The wayes is God said to be a God of judgment 1. as hee is righteous judge of the world who will take vengeance one all the oppressours of his people, but so is hee not takin here. 2. It holds forth that moderation wherewith hee doeth dispence afflictions and judgments to his people hee corrects them in measure and in moderation. He temps them not above their strength, or what they are able to bear but with the
temptation gives one outgate and from this there is a
collection drawn blessed are all they that wait for him.
Hence observe two doctrines. 1. That in the most deplor-
able and desperate condition of a land, whether in regard
to sin or judgment their death remains grounds of hope to
the Lords people from that that is in God himself there-
fore will the Lord wait to be gracious, that is, because
the land is full of sin and full of judgment therein and
of sin hee will wait to be gracious and there are several
things in the verse that gives ground of hope to Gods
people when both sin and judgment abound. 1. The Lords
longsuffering patience therefore will he wait or forbear
2. his free grace, he will wait that hee may be gracious
no that hee may dispense according to your deserving, but
according to the riches and fridoms of his grace; The
desire and deley which the lord hath to exalt himself in
hauing mericie one his people Therefore will hee be exalted
that he may have mericie or in shewing mericie for in shaw-
ing mericie hee desires and delytes to be glorified And that
hee is a God of judgment such a God as dispence correction
with a deale of moderation, corrects not above that
wee are able to bear, but with much tenderness and dis-
cretion, weighing the quantitie and the qualitie and endur-
ance of his peoples affliction in the balance of judgment
in the schuliers of wisdome and love and all these four give
ground of hope it shall be well with the people of God
notwithstanding of the abounding both of sin and the
punishment of sin. 2. Observe that the Lords holic and
gracious nature together with the many great and precious
promises that issue and flow from the same and the manie
gracious dispenseations that flow from them doe undenyable
hold forth the hoppes of all them that put their trust
in him. Blist are all they (sayeth hee) that put their
trust in him though ther be many things to speak the
contraire Though guiltinesse plead against them and though
groose [rancouris] of sad dispenseations say they are
cursed yet that that God is and promises and doe to his
people ever contiglie prove and demonstrate it all that
trust in him are blisse.

V. 19. For the people shall dwell in Zion] In the
nixt place hee lays down promises to them more particular-
lie and 1. hee speaks of their preservation and of the
preservation of the citie Jerusalem wherein they dwell and
then hee falls one the holding forth blessings and mericies
both spirituall to their souls and spirituall condition and
also temporall, concerning their bodies and nationall lyf.

1. lyee speaks of the preservation of Jerusalem and
the inhabitants thereof. The people shall dwell in Zion and
Jerusalem we its kowne observe. The Lord knows how to
preserve a remnant of his people when they are at their
lowest eb and then ther enemies in the hight of their
strength for all accord that this prophesie and promise
does relate to such a period of tyme wherein most of all the cities of Judah were destroyed and the most part of the land laid waste, and lytle or nothing was untouched but Jerusalem and that it also exposed to eminent hazard, yet notwithstanding herof the Lord bids tell them the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem God is mightie in power and excellent in wisdom and it has always bene his way to preserve a remnant and it is not the hight and power of enemies that can hinder that hee hee all that they can doe to dispose upon according to the pleasure of his own will Senacherib brought Judah low and hee threatens also to destroy Jerusalem and all within it is contemptible in his eyes, but the Lord smot him, and delivered them when their power was gone.

2. thou shall weipe no more] a promise of a change of their afflicted condition.

3. lyee will be verie gracious to thee at the voice of thy cry, not onlie will hee be gracious but verie gracious in the original, In being gracious hee will be gracious, by shewing mercie hee will show mercie that is certainlie hee will be gracious and mercifull, or verie gracious and mercifull. Observe that the Lord hee applyes himself by all means in the day of his peoples affliction to perswad them of his good will hee waill all his words (as it wer) to bear in upon the fainting hearts of his poor people the persuasion and assurance of his love Therefore let us not for any outward dispensation be jealous of it as if his mercie wer, clean gone forever ainge hee speaks so compassionatlie to make out his mercie more convincinglie to them hee shewes some particulars wherein hee will be gracious the 1 is the end of this verse at the voice of thy cry when hee hears it, hee will answere the. That is thou sall pray to him and hee will hear thy prayer, give thee access to his throne and answere thee observe here two things, 1. that prayer is the duetie and exercise of the Lords people especiallie in the day of their affliction. Wee cannot stay here to speake of prayer in the generall. To us it is a wonder and almost impossible to believe that any within the compass of tyme could put themself without the reach of tyme and speake off this duetie surelie thes who doe, so may delude themself with their own fancies, but they reject their duetie and refuse their own mercie. 2. Observe That its one of those things that is most refreshful and comforting to the Lords people when his mercie and grace in ane eminent way appears to them in this that they get access to his throne and get a hearing and are answered in the day of their affliction. The world knows not what it is to have a prayer pour'd out, or to have it taken in, because they know not the things of God But these who indeid know God and believe ther is happines In access to him and are braithing for communion with him Esteem it a mercie. v. 20, 24.
The next thing promised in these two verses is the blessing of a faithfull teaching ministerie amongst the people of God. The Lord tells them that though their condition be hard things hee give them the bread of adversity and water of affliction yet their teachers shall not be removed. etc. Who are removed sometyme by the violence and persecution of enemies sometyme by their own unfaithfulness, but the Lord promises such teachers as shall be faithfull and boldlie make manifest his will and such as their eyes shall see not onlie with their bodilie eyes, but with their soules eyes that is, they shall discerne them, and they shall not be dumb dogs that cannot bark, but such as shall have a voice, their ears shall hear a word behind them, etc. a similitud for shee pleads observe 1. that the lords granting of excellent and spiritual blessings may well stand with hardships in outward things, or the promises of spiritual things do not hold fort immititie from temporall crosses neither doeth temporall crosses hinder spiritual blessings. 2. observe That a faithfull teaching ministerie is one of the mercies of the Lord hee engaged himselfe for to his kirk and people. It is somewhat strange to us that their shoul be some who put themselves above all means and ordinances and that ther should be some who doe not acknowledge the necessitie of ministerie. God hee allowed to christians as christians to admonish and exhorte and reprove and comfort and edifie one another in love, but hee hee also withal appointed and ordained a teaching ministerie amonge his people to the end of the world 1 Thess. 5. 11, 12. In the same place when hee bids christians comfort one another, hee also directs them to know them which labour among them and are over them in the Lord and to have them highly in estimation for their workes sake. God hee thought it necessarie for the perfecting of the Saints for the work of the ministerie for the edifying of the body of Christ Ephes. 4, 12, to appoynte such one ordinance and thees that will destroy or cast at such one ordinance must be under the Guilt of destroying the house of God. 3. This is the way walk yee in it; observe That the wisdome of God hee not left the children of men to walk at random but hee prescribed to them a way wherein hee will have them to walk and this is the way which is holden out in the scripture of truth and 1. it is the way of truth, and not of error. 2. Its the way of holiness, and not of profaneness, malignancie nor hypocrisy. 3. Its the way of righteousness and not of iniquitie and oppression and therefore all who are taintt with error, profanitie, malignancie injustice or oppression, all these they are in so farre out of this way. 4. observe That though the Lord prescribes the way wherein hee will have us walk yet than is in all, even in the best a great deal of prouess to start aside either to right hand or the left and it is one this ground that the Lord hee providde a faithfull ministerie, that 1. they may give faithfull and sure warning to people not
to turne asyd to the right hand nor to the left. 2. Ther
is turnings asyd to the right and as well as to the left,
and the one as well as the other is alwayes of the hie
way and to turne either to the right hand or the left take
along with them a great deal of danger and commonlie wee
will find those three in turning asyd either to the right
or left hand 1. They seperat somethings that God has con-
joined they seperat one piece of the Lorda way from
another, some seperat, truth from holiness, some holines
from faith, some the things of the first table from the
things of the second table, and some the things of the
second table from the things of the first table. 2. By
wayes leads not the to right end and lyes that walk in
them ayne not at the right end. The end of the hieway is
God himself his exaltation and the exaltation of his truth
and glorie, but the end of by wayes is man himself, or
some thing tending to sett upe man. 3. Ther is such
antipathie betwixt all by wayes and the hie ways that all
that turns asyd to by wayes are persecuters and opposours
of all that keepe Gods hie way.
APPENDIX E

CHARLES'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Charles R.

As we are very well satisfied with that good providence of your meeting at this time, when the distractions in the Kingdom, the invasion of a perfidious enemy, and the withdrawing of too many from publick duties, do require the Ecclesiasticall as well as the Civill Authority, for encouraging our good subjects in the defence of Religion, of Us, and the Liberty of this Kingdom, and the reclaiming and punishing those that are contrariwise minded. So we are very sore, that we cannot be present with you in person, which nothing but such unavoidable necessity could have kept us from. But seeing the command of the same, for repressing those enemies of God, of Religion, of the Covenant, and of all Government, Civil and Ecclesiasticall, doth necessarily keep us from the satisfaction of sitting in this Generall Assembly we must by these, with thankfulness to God, acknowledge how great a blessing we esteem it, That we are joined in Covenant with him, and with our people. And we do assure you, it shall be our constant and reall endeavour, through the Lord's strength, to maintain and preserve the true Reformed Religion, according to the Covenant, as it is now settled in this Kingdom, and the Freedom and Libertie of this Church; As also in our station to promote the Work of Reformation in our other Dominions, as we are bound by Covenant and Oath: And we do confidently expect, That as the Late Commission of the General Assembly have by their pious and prudent advice, contributed much for the union of this Kingdom and opposition of the common enemie; So you will perfect that they have so well begun, encourage honest men in their duties, and suppress and punish such as continue obstinate in their opposition of the Publick Resolutions of Kirk and state, and do not disclaim and renounce that Western Remonstrance, against which we trust you will also declare your selves. It hath been the glory of this Kirk to have continued so long without any Schismes; and the most powerful remedies against them, have been Generall Assemblies. We hope we shall see the same good fruities of this Generall Assembly, that by your vigorous withstanding of evil ways, and prudent reclaiming such as do not continue obstinate in them, all shadow of division shall be taken out of this Church, and the Civil and Ecclesiasticall Judicatories settled in that good correspondence, which, we shall ever strive to preserve. These times do not admiit of long consultations and we do much desire the presence of some of your number, that this Army may have comfort of the Ordinances by them,
and we the benefit of their advice in what may concern Religion and the Work of the Reformation. Therefore we shall wish you would dissolve your meeting as soon as conveniently you may. We shall remit all other particulars to our trustie and wellbeloved Councillor Alexander Lord Saltarres our Commissionar, whom we have fully entrusted; to whom we desire you to give trust in what he shall impart in our name, as if we were present ourselves. So praying to God for a blessing to your proceedings, and expecting your prayers for us, and for this Army, we bid you heartily fare well. Given at our Campe at Kilkyth, the 12th. day of July, 1651 and in the third year of Our Reigne.

Direct
To Our Very Reverend, Right Trustie and Wellbeloved
The Moderator and the Ministers and Elders of the
Generall Assembly of the Kirk of our Kingdom of
Scotland, convened at St. Andrews.
APPENDIX F

THE CAUSES OF GOD'S WRATH

Causes of the Lords Wrath against Scotland

The terms "the causes of the Lord's wrath", "the causes of God's Wrath", or "the Lord's controversy" were all in common parlance in Guthrie's time. They were used extensively in sermons and ecclesiastical papers. Every national calamity, whether by disease, warfare, or poverty caused by crop failure, all were the result of God's punishment of sin. Aside from the fasts and humiliations there are certain documents given this title which must be noted.

The first document for consideration is that of the Leith Declaration of August the 5th, which called for a solemn humiliation on the part of the Committee of Estates, an earnest dealing with the King to emit his Declaration, and a zeal on the part of the ministry. This document was rejected by the Committee of Estates.

The next document to assume this name was the Stirling "Causes of Humiliation on the defeat of the Army", Sept. 11, 1650.

The actual document, with which this paper is concerned, has been assigned to various authors, namely, James Guthrie, Hugh Kennedy. It was in the publication of Wariston's Diary that Fleming finds that Wariston says, "...I drew up the causes of God's wrath..." This paper was presented to the

Protesters' meeting at Edinburgh, Oct. 16, 1651. In this connection John Hamilton's testimony seems to bear out the facts, "They were condescended upon by the Commission of the General Assembly, 1651, with the advice of many Ministers and Elders from several parts of the Countrey, as title of them bears." 1

Confusion may arise concerning a paper given in by Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, who had just been released by Cromwell. During his captivity he had been given reasons for the Lord's controversy against Scotland by the English. These he compiled into a large document and tried to convince the clergy in Aberdeen of their validity. He came to this meeting with this document. He first spoke with Hariston, Guthrie and Livingstone but received no satisfaction so he presented to the meeting "...a paper containing my thoughts of the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land." 2 Balfour describes the presentation of the paper:

"Thir westland renters of the churche held a meetting at Edinburghe, about the letter end of this same mounthe, by the name of the Comission of the Kirke; the pryme actors in it wer the two lyrebranda, Mr James Guthrie and Mr Patrick Gillespie, both of them deprived by the late General Assembly at Dundie; to quhorn, amongst manye other of the lyke nature, was presented by a godly brother, (as they name him,) this famous paper, consisting of 12 heads:..." 3

The paper that follows is not, as Ogilvie mistakenly asserts, 4 a Discovery After some Search of the Sinnes of the Ministers - a paper which incidentally would be considered an excellent prescription for twentieth century ministers - but rather, Jaffray's causes of the Lord's controversy. Balfour seems to confuse it with the official Causes, calling it a famous paper. The Vindicator indicates that Jaffray's paper was later printed, thus adding to the

confusion. The official Causes was published the following week in the Diurnals.

The Protesters were not satisfied with the bare outline of the Causes but, according to Traill, they "... thought it expedient to leave it with some of our number to be as a part of the materials of some short treatise upon the subject." Craufurd declares that the causes "...were enlarged and published by Mr. James Guthrie, and several times printed." Guthrie, at his trial, only claims to have had a share in its preparation, and from his conduct at the trial it would be extremely difficult to question his testimony.

The purpose of the Causes was to enlighten the people as to the reasons of their affliction and to call them to repentance. The resolutions agreed with some of the material in the Causes but never adopted, nor in conference presented a compromise paper although urged to do so by the Protesters. Parliament, when re-established in 1661, was only concerned about the articles dealing with the King. This article, though it told the truth concerning the negotiations, was forthright in condemning the actions of both King and Parliament.

The enlarged work was published in two editions in 1655, both of which appended A Humble Acknowledgment of the Sins of the Ministry of Scotland, which had also been originally drawn up in the Oct. 1651 meeting.

1. A Vindication Review, pp. 36, 37, 60 or The Vindication (London ed.) p. 5.
2. GSL, MSS, Mod. Col., LS. I. 5. 9. No. 55 ltr.
5. It is actually the 5th step under Article 9, The Causes, pp. 55ff.
6. This should not be confused with A Discovery after Some Search of the Sins of the Ministers which deserves to be reprinted. This latter work was composed by a meeting of ministers in the Presbytery of Kilmarnock, which was attended by Livingstone and others.
APPENDIX G

PROTESTERS’ TESTIMONY

TESTIMONIE against the ENGLISH by the REMONSTRATORS 21 July 1653. For raising the Generall Assembly of the Publick Resolutioners which they deny to be a lawfull Generall Assembly, And also for raising themselves wherein they make mention of King James the Sixth his usurpaion on their kirk and asserts that in civill power ought to have any power over the same.

Whereas not only the meeting of our brethren professing to assemble themselves in a General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was yesterday dissolved by one of the officers of the English army ve vertue of ane order from the commander in chief of the English forces within this nation. But we also meeting together in peacable way of Jesus Christ were this day interrupted by a proclamation comanding us to repair to the citie, under paine of Imprisonament and proceeding against us as enemies of the peace of the commonwealth and restraints being layed upon some of our number therefore conceaving these interests of Jesus Christ, and the liberties and priviledges of his church, And our own Christian liberty and freedome to be therin concerned we hold ourselves bound in conscience to testify our sense of these things It is farr from our meaning to think or to assert that the meeting of our brethren would have been a LAWFULL FRIE GENERAL ASSEMBLE of the Church of Scotland they being of no better constitution than the (ones) former precarious assemblies, at Dundie, and Edin, Against which we did protest, there be convincing reasons which bring furth a well grounded persuasion in us, That if they had procedit to constitute themselves in ane assemble, And to act in things relating to the church that their constitution would have been corrupt and their works such as in many things would not have tendid to the edifying of the body of Jesus Christ in this land which would have necessitated us (as we had formerly in private pressed upon sundrie of them in conference) so to press upon all of them in publick ane adjournment of that meeting before constitute, And in caise of their refusall to have appeared against them in a new protestation, therefor are we farr from owning or pleading for either of their authority or their work, we wish and pray that they may be taught of God, what they know not. And the iniquitie that they have done, that they may doe it no more, But seeing the Gentlemen who did interrupt them was pleased after demanding of them by what authority they sat is eads to intimate to them that they could not be ignorant of that declaration discharging all

meetings etc. (which is the declaration at Dalkeith, January 31, 1652. By which it was declared that no power, jurisdiction, or authority any otherways deryved, nor from the parliament of the comonwealth of England be used, exercised, or enjoyed within Scotland. And by which all power etc: is annulled, and made void, in the use and exercise thereof, And did declare unto them that if they had any warrant from the parliament, Generall, or judges that he would submit unto it but if they had non that they behooved to doe agyns with him, And using such a principal reacheth all the lawfull Generall Assembly of this Church whither suprem or subordinat, to take them away or bring them in bondage therefore as we were all indeid groived to hear THAT OUR BREITHEREN SHOULD HAVE BEEN LED IN SUCH A MANNER THRO THE STREETS, And to the open fieldes with a guard of soundiers, And doe attest him who is the Searcer of hearts that we were not privie unto, much less procurers of the Interrupting, and of raising of them, which vindications we conceive necessarie, Because of the many Asperaiones are cast upon us in this particular. So we cannot but profess our dislikey of and testifie our great dissatisfaction with the ground upon which these things are professed to be done. We have not now tyme to set down at any length the motives and reasons of this our Testimony and need to be the less solicitous about it Because many of these have been formerly represented both while the Commissioners for the settling the affairs of this nation were at Dalkeith, and in our Testimony sent into England, And unto the English Judges, As will appear by a true copy of the Representation made unto you herewith communicated, only we say that it is not any discontented, or turbulent, or seditious spirit that doeth here unto move us. But (as wee trust, the good spirite of the lord persuading us through the seal of Christ, And for exorneration of our own consciences to plead and bear witnes, for his soveraigne, unitie over his own house without dependence upon powers of the world in the exercise there of, and for our own liberty, and freedome as officers in his house, and as Christians.

THAT no assemblies of this Church shoul meet or exercises power and jurisdictions, in things belonging to the house of God but such derive their power and authentie FROM THE CIVILL POWERS EVEN UPON SUPPOSSALL OF THE LAWFULLNESS OF THESE POWERS, or that they should exercise the same with a dependence upon them, Is contrarie to the law and to the Testimony, of that most high God, who as king of nations Hath appointed a Spiritual Government in his house, without dependence upon, or subordinations unto civill powers; a doctrine that been alwayes thought and receaved as in other of the Churches of Christ, so also in this Church in which it hath been also sealled and confirmed with the sufferings of many of his precious servants in Scotland who did herein wrestle unto Imprisonment, and Banishment, and sentences of Death against KING JAMES HIS USURPATIONES UPON THE CHURCH
and did at last by the good hand of the Lord so far prevail, that the liberty, and freedome of the authority and jurisdiction of Generall Assemblies, Synods and Presbyteries, and church sessions, without dependance upon, and subordination unto the civill judicatures, not only condescended upon in the discipline and acts of his church, but also established by the laws of the land, and sworne unto, and covenanted before the Lord to be maintained first by our national covenant, and afterward by the Solemne League, and Covenant. Between these nations: Yes this is a doctrine taught and receaved (for ought wee know) BY THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES THEMSELVES, which as they doe hold the independence of congregations upon any superior ecclesiasticke assemblies, so doe they also hold the independence of the Churches of Christ in their ecclesiasticke powers, upon the powers of the world, which makes us the more to wonder that men who are of that way, should make such encroachments upon us in these things. Therefore least our silence should seem to import our consent unto, our approbation of a principle so dangerous and destructive unto the liberties of the house of God, and unto the taking away of the lawfull Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries and Church Sessions, of this Church at least unto the subjecting thereof unto the civill powers, and unto the will of men, which we have the more reason to fear because of the foundations that have been else where laid in order to things religious in this land, and because of the great encroachments that are made from day to day upon presbyteries, and the officers of the Lords house in the things committed unto them by Jesus Christ, we doe bear Testimony against the same desiring that it may be recorded in heaven, And that we may therein be accepted of Jesus Christ, upon whose shoulders the Government is, and that under his shadow and protection (if so it seem good in his eyes) we may enjoy these liberties of his church, which he hath purchased with his own blood, AND because it is of the native liberty of the officers of the Lords house and of Christians to meet together in a peaceable way, especially in a day of temptations and tryall, for seeking of the Lords food and for exhorting and comforting one another And for considering what is fitt for them to doe, That they may hold fast faith and a good conscience and keep themselves unsploted of the world, And in regard such seatings are not only warranted by many many uncontrverted presidents, and examples in the word of God, which to men professing Christian religion will (we trust be acknowledged to be a binding rule, But also by the acts of His church, and laws of this land By which it is professed, wee are to be governed. And in regard such of our number, who were sent by us to the meeting of our brethren, to desyre one adjournment before proceeding, to CONSTITUTE THEMSELVES IN AN ASSEMBLY; otherways to protest against the same were first detained by that Gentleman and put under the hand of the Lieutenant, and afterwards being called for by himselfe, were prest to deliver such papers as they intended to have presented against the constitutions of the assemblie: which being done
he would have engaged some of them to return the same, Together with the Rolls of the names of all the members of our meeting though they gave the Roll yet were loath to condescend to give the papers relating to the assembly In respect they contained nothing concerning the present powers, But meirlic things relating to differences betwixt us and our brethren, and were not delivered to the meeting of our Brethren, That being prevented by the Interruption that was made unto them, therefore some of our number having been kept under arrest since that time until now, that we have been necessitated to deliver the papers for redeeming or them, and our whole meeting being now interrupted by that proclamation therefore wee having met for the ends expressed and noe other cannot but also bear Testimony against such usage, and against the Interrupting of our meeting, and desire that the Lord may look upon our affliction that the fruit thereof may be to take away our sins and to purge us from our dross. That we may become a people fitted for himself that if so be he will yet delight in us, He may again build the ruins of this tabernacle amongst us and make his glory to dwell in our land.

Subscribed in the name and by the warrant of many ministers, Elders, and professors met at Edinburgh the 24 of July 1655 By.
My heart,

Being within a few hours to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, I do send these few lines as the last obedience of unfeigned and spotless affection which I bear unto you, not only as one flesh, but as a member with me of that blessed mystical body of the Lord; for I trust you are, and that God who hath begun his good work in you, will also perfect it and bring it to an end, and give you life and salvation. Whatever may be your infirmities and weakness, yet the grace of God shall be sufficient for you, and his strength shall be perfected in your weakness. To me you have been a very kind and faithful yoke-fellow, and not a hinderer but a helper in the work of the Lord. I do bear you this testimony as all the recompense I can now leave you with: — In all the trials I have met with in the work of the ministry, these twenty years past, which have not been few, and that from aggressors of many sorts, upon the right hand and upon the left, you were never a tempter of me to depart away from the living God, and from the way of my duty, to comply with an evil course, or to hearken to the counsels of flesh and blood, for avoiding the cross and for gaining the profit and preferment of a present world. You have wrought much with your hands for furnishing bread to me and to my children, and was always willing that I should show hospitality, especially to those that bore the image of God. These things I mention not to puff you up, but to encourage you under your present affliction and distress, being persuaded that God will have regard unto you and unto the children of my body, which I leave unto your care, that they may be bred up in the knowledge of the Lord. Let not your wants and weaknesses discourage you: there is power, riches, and abundance with God, both as to the things of the body and things of the soul; and he will supply all your wants, and carry you through. It is like to be a most trying time, but cleave you to God and keep his way, without casting away your confidence; fear not to be drowned in the depths of the troubles that may attend this land, God will hide you under his shadow, and keep you in the hollow of his hand. Be sober and of a meek spirit; strive not with providence, but be subject to him who is the Father of Spirits. Decline not the cross, but embrace it as your own. Love all that love the Lord, and delight in
their fellowship. Give yourself unto prayer, and be
diligent in reading the holy scriptures. Wait on the
ordinances, and have them in great esteem as the appoint-
ed means, of God, for your salvation. Join the exercise
of piety and repentance together, and manifest your faith
in the fruits of sincere obedience and of a gospel
conversation. Value your conscience above your skin. Be
not solicitous, although you know not wherewith to clothe
you and your children, or wherewith to dine; God's provi-
dences and promises are a true, rich, and never-failing
portion. Jesus Christ be all your salvation and all your
desire! You, I recommend unto Him, and Him unto you:
My heart! I recommend you to the eternal love of Jesus
Christ - I am helped of God, and hope I shall be helped
to the end. Pray for me while I am here, and praise with
me hereafter. God be with you - I am your's,

Edinburgh Tolbooth,                James Guthrie.
June 1st, 1661.
APPENDIX I

LETTER CONCERNING MIDDLETON'S EXCOMMUNICATION

Chancellor to Gage

Whereas the King's Majesty and the Committee of Estates, for preventing the evils that might ensue upon the present Insurrection in the north, and least the forces of the Kingdom should be thereby diverted and hindered, from pursuing the Common Enemy, have thought it necessary to grant an act of Indemnity, to those that are in arms, and commanded the Lieut. General to those that are in arms, and commanded the Lieut. General to make offer thereof, and in case of their refusal, to reduce them into obedience, and being informed that the Sentence of Excommunication is to be pronounced against some of the Commanders of these forces, who were heard are Inclining to give obedience, and Lay down arms if that Sentence do not go forth against them and obstruct their Resolutions.

We have thereupon thought good, earnestly to desyne that the sentence might be superseeded until the Meeting of the Commission of the Church, or that it be known if they doe accept or respect the offer. It is farr from our thoughts to trench upon the Liberties, and proceedings of that judicators or to Interpose in favor of any person disobedient to Church ordinances but that we thought we would to represent this to you, as a matter wherein the public good and peace may be much concurred. And this we desyre you with all speed to signify to Mr. De Guthrie as we have lykewyse written to him for that effect. So we rest

Yor affectionat Freends

Perth
26 Oct. 1659.

Houdouin Camille
J H P. Com.