



From Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

COLONEL WILLIAM MAXWELL.

One of King William's Men :

Being Leaves from the
Diary of

Col. William Maxwell
of Cardoness :

1685 to 1697.

Edited, with Memoir and Notes,

BY THE

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With 10 Illustrations.

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The Memoir.

“He professed himself . . . a strong King William’s man.”

Thackeray’s *Esmond*, Book. I. chap. 10.

ON the 29th May, 1660, Charles II. entered London amid a scene of wild popular enthusiasm. His restoration was celebrated all over England and Scotland. In the latter country, the rejoicings sometimes took the form of a demonstration against the Covenants, which the restored king had himself signed some ten years before. At Linlithgow, for example, the National Covenant and the Solemn League were publicly burned on the second anniversary of the Restoration. While the mob made bonfires and kept holiday, many Scottish ministers had their fears for the future of the Church; and these fears soon grew into alarming certainties. The king's advisers were resolved to restore the Episcopal government. The Church was soothed at first by flattering promises made to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, but early in 1661 the scheme

for restoring Episcopacy began to develop itself. In the course of that year a number of ministers received appointments to Scottish sees. In 1662, they entered formally upon their offices; and incumbents were ordered to seek collation or induction from the new bishops, on pain of being deprived of their livings.

At this date, the minister at Minnigaff, in the Synod of Galloway, was William Maxwell, a Master of Arts of the University of Glasgow. He had been "laureated" there in 1631, and began his ministry in 1638, the year of the National Covenant. He was a member of the Commission of Assembly in 1649, when negotiations were begun with the second Charles after his father's tragic death. Whether he was in harmony with this policy, we do not know; but it is certain that the Restoration struck his death-knell. He was one of the band of Galloway ministers, including nearly the whole Synod, who firmly refused to conform. Accordingly, he was deprived of his living in 1662, and appears to have died almost immediately after. It is not recorded whether he

retired from Minnigaff peaceably, or was expelled by force. But the methods of the day in things ecclesiastical were rough and ready, and it is quite possible that his death was hastened by the loss of home and office among his people. He had ministered to them for twenty-five years, and at his death he probably had not reached the age of sixty.

Three weeks after his death (in 1663) the widow, a Murdoch of Cumloden, became the mother of William Maxwell, whose name is treasured and revered as the founder of the Cardoness family. In his Diary, Colonel Maxwell says—"I desire to bless the Lord who has been a Father unto me while wanting my natural parent. . . Has He not, since He brought me into the world, cared for me, has been a Father unto me who never saw my father on earth. . ."* He was evidently a posthumous child. The quaint sketch of his life reprinted in this volume says that he "came there in the year 1663, three weeks after the death of his father, who was grandson

* *Diary*, Oct. 8, 1691.

of William Maxwell of Newland, a second son of Sir Gavin Maxwell of Calderwood." The curious expression "came there" must refer to the birth. The coming of this child so soon after the heavy trials of leaving the manse and losing her husband, must have made the boy specially dear to his widowed mother. Regarding the date of birth, there have been discrepancies. In the *War Committee Minutes*, which were printed from a manuscript in the charter-chest at Cardoness, the editor states that Colonel Maxwell "died in June, 1752 at the very advanced age of 97."* This fixes his birth in 1655. The *Scots Magazine* of the date gives June 16, 1752, aged 95; which would mean that he was born in 1657. That the correct date is 1663 appears at once from the Diary, where he recalls the fact that "the Lord . . . has increased my desire from time to time, inclining my heart at several times since the year 1681 (at which time I was 18 years of age) to give myself up to Christ Jesus." †

*See *War Committee Minute-Book*, ed. 1855, p. 214.

†*Diary*, Nov. 23, 1691.

William Maxwell may fitly be described as a child of the Covenants, for he owed his natural being to a father who forsook all, rather than conform to an uncovenanted Church. And he drew his first breath almost as his martyred parent drew his last. The torch of covenanting testimony was, in a sense, handed on from father to son. Born in such circumstances, he was naturally destined for the Holy Ministry. There can be little doubt that his mother early set her heart on seeing him become a "preacher of the gospel," as the fine designation then ran. She made a considerable sacrifice in order to secure for him a thorough and suitable education, by leaving her home and friends in the South of Scotland and taking up her abode in Glasgow. There, she sent him to the High School at the age of twelve or thirteen, and in due time he entered his father's University. He spent in all about eight years in Glasgow. Revisiting his boyhood's scene in 1691, he writes of the "goodness of God to me in this place (where I spent eight or nine of my young years at school and college). . . . in straits

provided for, in sickness supported, from the company of the wicked and from being enticed with their snares wonderfully preserved, with gospel mercies trusted, yet in nothing that I, or the family I belonged to, stood in need of, but timely supply was given. . . ." This seems to hint at some degree of narrow means, the consequence partly of his mother's distance from her relatives. It suggests a pleasant picture of the lad and his mother living together, frugally and piously, in the University city, perhaps close to the old College precincts. They had "straits" and sickness, but they always received support and "timely supply." The day came when he revisited Glasgow in all the pomp and power of a great military command. But his mother was not there.

William Maxwell was a diligent scholar and an exemplary collegian. He improved his time "as well as part of my condisciples (but alas, not so as I ought to have done); but that I did not so misspend my time as many others did, in that I have peace." He did not confine his attention

to "humane learning," but gave his heart also to "duty as to prayer and reading the Scriptures." Of his instructors he speaks as "maisters who made conscience of educating youths." It seems probable that he took his degree in Arts in the usual manner. When the critical question arose as to a profession, he found himself at gentle variance with his beloved mother who, as he says, had taken "so much pains upon me." The unhappy times into which he had been born made it impossible for him to enter the Church. Since his father's death, the Church as established by law was Episcopal in government, and its ministry was hampered by terms which he could not accept.

The Diary, so far as extant, begins just immediately after he had finished his college course. He was then 22 years old, and the style and matter of his reflections recorded from day to day show that he already possessed a remarkably mature mind for his age. The year 1685 seems to have been spent in indecision. It is known especially in the South of Scotland as the "Killing Time," and many rough memorials in the

churchyards testify how men of varying ranks, from the ploughman to the laird, gave their lives for conscience sake. William Maxwell noted the abounding persecution, and the general decay of religion and morals. He had at least one narrow escape himself, riding from Haggis to Edinburgh, when "time-servers" interfered with him and seemed likely to do him some hurt.* These "time-servers" were most probably the men who traversed the country tendering oppressive oaths to all and sundry. Imprisonment, fines, transportation, and even death, were the penalties. Many of his own friends suffered one or other. He tells of one friend in prison who assured him that he found a prison "one of the best houses to him that ever he was in, for which he blessed God."† One gains a certain idea of the deplorable state of Scotland, in reading the passing references of the diarist to such things, and in realising that here was a young man of family and talent, fully trained at college, eager for work; and yet forced to stand inactive and even to bear insult

* See p. 57. † *Diary*, May 1, 1685.

silently, because his Church principles were distasteful to the ruling party.

As the year 1685 advanced, the sky grew darker. The hopes built on the simultaneous expeditions of Monmouth and Argyll were utterly and quickly blasted. Maxwell frankly reveals his bitter disappointment. He had regarded these distinguished men as divine "instruments" to set the nation free. He was himself in some measure a party to Argyll's ill-fated enterprise, and he did not shrink from standing beside the great Protestant leader on the scaffold. He records in a brief abstract the Earl's last utterances, and he accompanied his headless body to the Magdalen Chapel.

All prospect of a change in Church and State being dashed, he began to consider what his course should be. For some years, he had felt a strong vocation toward medicine as a profession, but with characteristic caution he spent the latter part of 1685 and the first weeks of 1686 in a regular debate with himself on the choice of a career. This private discussion is so interesting

and gives so full a view of his mind and nature, that it has been transcribed almost entire.* The young man passes in review Law, Divinity, and Medicine. Law, he rejects at once not as being in itself a bad thing, but as having in it such "temptations and snares" as precluded the possibility of his leading the "quiet life" that he desired. The Holy Ministry he owns to be "the most honourable employment in the world;" but he feels no true call to it at that time, and the way is closed in Scotland for those of his persuasion. He could not conscientiously enter the existing Church; and though he felt assured that "glorious days" were coming, yet "at present, to live an idle life is not what God calls me unto." He decides at last to study medicine, and that for three reasons. As a doctor, he could lead a quiet yet useful life, escaping the turmoil of politics. Then, it was the calling he really judged himself to be most fit for; little suspecting, as he wrote, that he would yet be found a born soldier. And thirdly, it was the calling he had been actually

* *Diary*, March 2-6, 1686.

bent upon for five or six years. So, he finished his careful analysis of his own abilities and tastes, and put his Diary away, having finally made his choice, as he supposed. Three weeks after, he began to study anatomy. In three weeks more, he was in Edinburgh, enrolled as a pupil under one "whose knowledge, experience, and good employment is said undoubtedly to be the best in this city." He seems to have boarded with this gentleman; at least, he says that he had "settled" with him. He was to receive instruction in "pharmacy, anatomy, and practice of chirurgery." My kind correspondent, Mr Alexander Anderson, of the Edinburgh University Library, thinks that this eminent teacher must have been Professor Robert Sibbald. A small manuscript volume, still at Cardoness, contains careful notes of instruction in pharmacy and materia medica, beginning with May 26, 1686.

It is not to be supposed that the young student neglected the private duties of religion because he could not conform to the existing Church, and had made choice of a secular profession.

From the age of twelve he had felt the movements of grace in his soul: his mother had brought him up to love the ordinances of worship; and at several times since his eighteenth year he had given himself up to Christ. "At length," he writes,* "in September, 1686, while trysted with a sermon at the Hags in the time of violent persecution, by Mr John Moncrieff from Hosea ii. 19—'I'll betroth ye unto me for ever'—I was led to covenant expressly with my God. ." From such entries it is clear that he was attending conventicles, and he did not escape the jealous observation of the authorities. On Jan. 23, 1687, he was suddenly arrested, and confined in the Edinburgh Tolbooth. His reflections during the brief imprisonment have been given fully. He was set at liberty about the end of February, after two interrogations before the Committee of the Privy Council. That his life was actually in danger is perfectly clear from the fact that one of his fellow-prisoners was condemned to death and executed,† and that he himself was

* *Diary*, Nov. 23, 1691. † *Diary*, Feb. 18, 1687.

threatened with the Court of Justiciary. But he declined steadfastly to reveal the names of those who frequented Mr Moncrieff's ministry along with him; and when he and others were set free, they celebrated their enlargement by hearing a discourse from that hunted divine, who had been successfully concealed from the persecutors. While in prison he heard the news of the Toleration proclaimed by James's government, in consequence of which the Presbyterians were enabled to meet for worship openly. But, like the nation generally, he regarded this act as a fresh move on the King's part toward the introduction of Popery. Many of his friends, however, pressed him now to enter the ministry; among those who urged him to do so were "Mr Moncrieff, Mr Gavinson, and Mr Crawford, ministers of the gospel." The way seemed open at last, and others were eagerly seeking it. Presbyteries were being formed, and meeting-houses built. But he still held back. He says—"If fitted and called of the Lord to such a great work, how happy shall I be." But he adds—"I

desire to hope it is the Lord who has called me . . . unto that study I have been and am now (through His strength) designing to prosecute. If the Lord have any further service to call me unto, I shall desire by His grace to submit.”*

In furtherance of his chosen studies in medicine, he resolved to go to Leyden. Taking leave of his mother and friends, he embarked at Leith, but a violent storm drove the vessel back into port. He spent seven days more with his mother, who was in very feeble health and much averse to his leaving her. Probably, also, she wished that he would now become a preacher. They parted once more, on her side with touching resignation : “She was pleased to express that she freely parted with me.” He had not been settled long at Leyden when news reached him of her death ; and he reproached himself for his obstinacy. But he comforted his soul by reflecting that she was “freed from all the troubles of this world, and taken up with the joys of heaven, where there is no trouble, no sorrow, no want, no more sinning,

* *Diary*, Nov. 21, 1687.

but an eternal enjoying of God." It was a fitting sequel to such sad bereavement, that he for the first time went to the Holy Communion a few weeks later, in April, 1688. He had hitherto been hindered owing to "the sad troubles of persecution." Now, he put himself with his usual care through a course of preparation, the minute record of which stands in the Diary. In future years, he repeated the same scrupulous exercise on many occasions. His reflections after Communion show a distinct element of religious ecstasy. The high and mystic tones of Rutherford echo in his pages. While at Leyden, he was asked to undertake the education of a young gentleman, "the head of an ancient family in that nation to which I belong, and who was sent over by his friends that he might not be educate popish by his father and uncle who caused search for him, but that he might be educate in this country in the Protestant religion." He spent nearly five months in a vain endeavour to fulfil his charge, but finding his pupil both idle and vicious he decided to resign the thankless office.

Moreover, at this time (Oct., 1688) great events were at hand.

The crisis long expected in English affairs had come. The Prince of Orange had decided to interfere for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion. Leyden was seething with excitement, and the young and earnest medical student yielded to an overpowering impulse, the true call of God having come to him at last. After many prayers and discussions, he resolved to join the expeditionary force of William. His services were accepted, and he sailed in the fleet which landed at Torbay on Monday, Nov. 5. His last entry before sailing is a prayer for "favourable wind and weather ; they are in His Hand."

The months that followed were too busy for keeping a diary. It is understood that William Maxwell served both in Scotland and Ireland. He was present both at Killiecrankie and at the Boyne. At the latter, his conduct was so gallant that he was promoted on the field. Starting as an ensign of the Earl of Leven's Regiment, he rose rapidly in rank until he became a Lieutenant-

Colonel. The Prince of Orange, now King, formed a marked attachment to him, and presented him with a ring containing his majesty's hair. This remarkable souvenir is still preserved at Cardoness. The portraits of William and Mary, reproduced in this volume, were also royal gifts. Colonel Maxwell saw service in Flanders, and had more than one narrow escape from death. At the battle of Landen he was taken prisoner by the French, after a hairbreadth escape from drowning.* His diary contains few particulars of his adventures, being mostly a record of religious feelings and exercises. We can see, however, that he fought as well as he prayed, and that in a soldier's life he had found his real vocation.

An element of romance was not wanting in this gallant and honourable career. In 1691, under Sept. 26, he speaks of "my present difficulty which these six months has surrounded me;" by which we find, later, that he intends to convey his warm attachment for the only daughter of the

**Diary*, Jan. 14, 1694. For another providential escape, see his notes at the Blockade of the Bass, *Diary*, Sept. 26, 1691.

house of Castle Stewart, whose father, William Stewart, was a son of the Earl of Galloway, while her mother was the heiress of the lands of Cardoness. What made such an attachment "difficult," was the high birth and great prospects of the young lady. Colonel Maxwell, though already a distinguished officer, was far from being a rich man. He felt the delicacy surrounding his position as an aspirant, "the undesirableness of my affection soaring so high (which I have all this time been endeavouring to hold out to myself)." But on Oct. 15 he speaks of "encouragement," and on Nov. 19 he is at Castle Stewart, and writes of "encouragement from a parent to follow out the same. So that now, after all my reasonings and debating with myself as to the unreasonableness of my affections, in attempting to aspire so high as to fix them on a person both for quality and natural accomplishments deserving the best of offers, I must of necessity conclude (considering the many remarkable circumstances in it from the beginning) that the hand of Providence is in it." Finally, on Nov. 23, he winds up



From Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

DAME NICOLAS STEWART, WIFE OF COLONEL WILLIAM
MAXWELL.

the debate by deciding that he "dare not any longer give resistance, lest I be found to tempt Providence, as it has been insinuated to me by one nearly concerned to that person, and who had ground to suspect what way my affections were running. Wherefore, I have this day expressed my thoughts in write. . ."

The proposal was accepted, to his great joy ; but a few days after, he was ordered to Flanders with his regiment. This was a heavy blow, and the record under Dec. 20 shows that his health suffered. He set out, at length, for active service, but an order of the Privy Council detained him in Edinburgh to give evidence in the trial of one of the daring band who surprised the Bass. After all, to his sincere relief, he was not called in the case. It was not till July, 1697, that he finally "parted for Flanders," arriving just too late to take part in the tremendous struggle near Enghien. He shared the disastrous rout of Landen, and was for some time a prisoner of war. After this long and adventurous episode, he renewed his courtship, and at length, on Feb. 13, 1696, he was married

to the object of his faithful attachment. At this date, he was 33 years old, and his bride had only reached her nineteenth year. If it be remembered that his attachment to her dated (as he himself records with characteristic exactness) from March 22, 1691, some notion will be gained of the romantic circumstances. The match was one of true and lasting affection on both sides. The portraits of Colonel Maxwell and Dame Nicolas Stewart show that they both possessed considerable personal attractions. In the Diary will be found some of his thoughts on the eve of marriage; and shortly after, on March 16, 1696, he writes . . . "If I should have sit down and thought for many years how to be happy in a wife, what could I have thought on that I have not got? . . ."

But a soldier must ever obey the call to arms, and on April 19, we find him *en route* for Flanders once more. It was not till the end of the year that he returned to his home, where he records "the comfortable, surprising, satisfactory meeting I had at my arrival . . . by my finding . . . the wife of my youth, my dearest wife, safely brought

to bed of a son, a living and perfect child, that morning 'twixt twelve and one, being wonderfully preserved, but then in a tolerable condition, and who recovered day from day to admiration."

Here, the extracts from the Diary given in the present volume come to an end, concluding a story which is full of dramatic turns, and reads almost like a work of the romancer. At the age of 34, Colonel Maxwell found himself in a position of distinction and comfort. Through his alliance with the Castle Stewart family, he became the owner of a good estate, built himself a manor-house, and employed his time zealously and diligently in the discharge of his duties as a landlord, a magistrate, and a country gentleman. The Baron-Bailie's Book, which is preserved at Cardoness, gives some glimpses of his activity. It is a curious record of rent audits, village feuds, petty crimes, and similar matters emerging in the management of an estate. Some light is thrown on the cause of Scotland's treelessness, of which Dr. Johnson made such mockery. The peasantry appear to have been in the way of cutting down

young trees for firewood, and even the bark gathered by the "pillers" or peelers was not always safe. The traces of the dyke-building movement may also be found: a movement which, as is well known, gave rise to formidable riots. Colonel Maxwell's "Day-books," or ledgers of income and expenditure, are also in existence, and would furnish much interesting matter for the antiquarian, and student of manners. These exact and full registers are occasionally interrupted by the writer's personal reflections and reminiscences. He never lost the early habit of keeping a methodical record.

It is nearly certain that his Diary was continued for many years after 1697, although no volume can be found of a later date, except one belonging to the year 1711, and containing chiefly religious reflections of the same cast as those now transcribed.

In the year 1702, Colonel Maxwell was returned as a member of the Scottish Parliament, and he sat during its last days, when the question of the

Union was hotly debated. Unlike the Castle Stewart family, who supported the Union, he stoutly voted against it on national grounds, and appears to have been deprived of his commission in consequence. But the disgrace was only temporary. He was too noted and trusty a soldier to be left in obscurity. When the crisis came in 1715, he was called to the command of the militia in the South of Scotland. At the same time, he received the appointment of Governor of Glasgow. In Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion*, published at Dumfries in 1718, the author says that the magistrates of Glasgow "fortified their city under the direction of Mr De Bourgh, whom his Grace the Duke of Argyle had sent thither for that purpose, by a large and deep ditch and rampart . . . with bastions and redoubts at convenient distance. . . And within these lines, they fortified their several avenues and mounted a good number of great guns at the most proper places; by advice of Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, whom, about the first of October, they had sent for to take the command of the city, at

that critical juncture, and who managed that place to the full satisfaction of all the inhabitants.”*

This satisfaction is reflected in a minute of the Town Council of Glasgow, dated 6th Dec., 1715, admitting Col. Maxwell a “burgess and gildbrother of this burgh.” Col. Blackader, of Stirling, whom they had chosen to command the Glasgow contingent in the Royal army, was made a burgess at the same meeting.† Still further to express their gratitude, the Council presented Col. Maxwell with a service of plate, consisting of a silver tankard, a “sett of suggar boxes,” and a “server” or salver. The total sum paid out of the town’s exchequer was £35, 1s 8d, equal to a much larger amount at the present time. This handsome gift is carefully treasured at Cardoness, and, according to a minute of the Town Council, was bestowed “as a mark of the town’s favour and respect towards him for his good service in taking upon him the regulation and management of all the Guards that

* See Rae, p. 314; cf. p. 204. Rae, however, mentions the Earl of Stair as commander of the Galloway militia. See p. 206.

† For an interesting letter of Blackader, see Rae, p. 312.

were kept in the city, quhich, during the rebellion and confusions in the neighbourhood, were judged necessary to be kept for the security thair of, and of the circumjacent country, both by the inhabitants and by the voluntiers fencible men and militia." It is added that Colonel Maxwell had "left his own family and countrey above seventy miles distant from this place at the desire of the Magistrates and Chiefs of the inhabitants . . . and continued here undergoing the said tryall and trouble from the second of October, at which time he came here, to the nynt of February last, that the rebellion was in part supprest and the rebells scatered and chased."†

It is stated, also, that the city of Edinburgh made him a presentation of silver plate at this time ; but no record of such an incident can be found in the city's registers. It does not appear that he took part in the military preparations there. Still, it is evident from the action taken by the Glasgow

† Minutes of Town Council of Glasgow, March 12, 1716, extracted by the kindness of Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D., to whom thanks are due.

Corporation, that he was a distinguished and well-known figure in the events of the '15. As an old soldier of the Revolution, he may well have been serviceable at Edinburgh too, and at all events he must have been a noted personage in the Scottish capital. For, he had stood beside Argyll on the scaffold: he had been the pupil of a famous physician in the city: he had suffered durance in the Tolbooth; and he had been a favourite soldier of King William.

After the commotions of 1715 had subsided, Col. Maxwell resumed his quiet country life. As we have seen, quietness and "retiredness" were his dearest aspiration. The Providence whose ways he noted so devoutly had chosen to lead him through battle and storm; but now, as he passed his "grand climacteric," he gained the peaceful course for which he had sighed as a young man. Not even the renewed troubles of the '45 appear to have disturbed him. Indeed, at eighty-two, it was hardly likely that he should take the field. He was now the "grand old man" of Scotland. It is recorded that when the Revolution Club was

instituted at Edinburgh about the year 1746, his health became a standing toast at its meetings, as "the only man then living in Scotland who came over from Holland with King William in the glorious year 1688."*

He was not spared long to enjoy this unique designation, dying in 1752 at the age of 89. His wife survived him 13 years, and died therefore in 1765 at the age of 88.† Their family had numbered five sons and nine daughters.

The carefully composed sketch of Colonel Maxwell's life,‡ which will be found appended to this brief notice, gives a full, and on the whole very true, description of his character. Its wealth of language, in doing so, is worthy of remark. "Exemplary piety, constant benevolence, and true patriotism;" "zeal, activity, and fidelity;" "highly respected and much beloved, in the most perfect health by the strictest temperance;" such are some

* See sketch of Col. Maxwell's life appended.

† So Dr Gartshore; but M'Kerlie (*Lands and their Owners*, III., 28) says that she "died at Dumfries, 30th September, 1766, having survived her husband upwards of fourteen years."

‡ Written by Dr Maxwell Gartshore, a nephew of Col. Maxwell, whose father was minister of Anwoth from 1714 to 1723.

of the phrases that occur. The most frequent attribute, however, is "fervent piety," and undoubtedly the journals give ample proof. It was a diary-keeping age, as the publications of the Scottish Text and Scottish History Societies show. And there was a narrower line then between the secular and the sacred. Colonel Maxwell uses the language of his time, and reflects the current modes of thought among people of his school. But his piety was no mere fashion of speech or pen; it influenced him in every important step. He sought divine guidance continually, and he firmly believed that it was granted. Prayer was a great feature of his life. The tradition is that he retired daily to a summer-house in his grounds for the purpose of devout exercise, and a small fragment of that pious retreat is still pointed out. Like all who were trained in the school of Rutherford and Guthrie, he repeatedly gave himself up by solemn covenant to Christ. One of these remarkable acts of self-dedication is recorded at length in the Diary.* For the rest, that record

* *Diary*, Oct. 27, 1695.

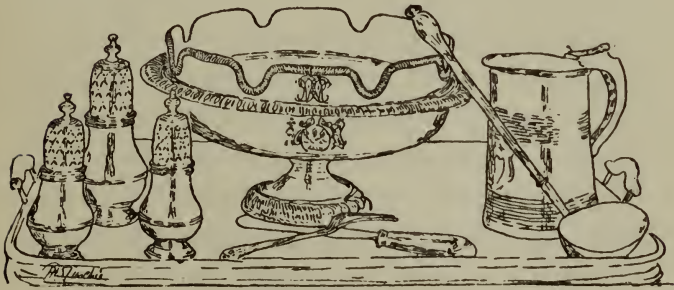
furnishes a very full induction as to his entire character. He was a typical Scotsman of the seventeenth century, in that important section of the people which clung to the Presbyterian polity, and regarded the National Covenants as the charter of their religion. A son of the manse, he inherited the memories of the Golden Age of Presbytery. He was bred up in his father's unflinching adherence to the covenanting Kirk. His relations and associates were of the Presbyterian opposition, which Middleton, Lauderdale, and their like strove in vain to crush by persecution. The strong hand of the old violent Privy Council was laid on him. He had no prospects, no career, in his native land. The path of preferment was closed against men who refused to own the King's supreme prerogative in Church and State. So, he took refuge, like so many of Scotland's best sons, in Holland, and there he found his work at last. His time came, and he showed his valour and promptitude in discerning it. The campaigns which ensued proved him to be no dreamy religionist, but a stout and daring

soldier. If any single proof of his unusual merit were required, we might find it in the fact that William of Orange delighted to honour him. That Prince had an eagle eye for men. We may believe that he saw in William Maxwell what he saw in Carstairs—"an honest man."

The publication of extracts from the Diary seems to need no justification. It speaks for itself. Doubtless, the record is meagre in historical and social details; but, on the other hand, it is rich in Scottish devotional feeling, and it gives the outlines of a career unusually interesting and even romantic. It brings before us the figure of a notable Revolution worthy. It shows us how men in 1685 were being trained by adversity and self-discipline to take their share in the coming settlement of Church and State. Perhaps, at the present juncture in Scotland, its special use may be to remind us that the Nonconformists of the reigns of Charles II. and James were not the ignorant and blinded fanatics sometimes pictured in partisan histories and pamphlets, but men both of birth and of parts, men of high views and

tender conscience, such as the writer of this Diary. Charles II. is reported to have said that Episcopacy was the only religion fit for a gentleman. The ensuing pages go far to prove that Presbytery had its gentlemen too.

It remains to be added, that only extracts are here given, the entire manuscript being much too bulky for the purpose in view. But a connected narrative is revealed, and no important or noteworthy passage has been omitted. The spelling has been modernised, except in cases where the older mode gave interest or value to the passage.



PRESENTATION PLATE.

Life of Colonel WM. MAXWELL of Cardoness.

[By Dr MAXWELL GARTSHORE, 1776.]

Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, North Brittain, was the only son of William Maxwell, minister of Minnigaff in that county, and came there in the year 1663, three weeks after the death of his father, who was grandson of William Maxwell of Newland, a second son of Sir Gavin Maxwell of Calderwood.

He was educated in his earliest years under a very pious mother, who was daughter to Murdoch of Cumloden, Esquire, and she carried him, when of a proper age, to the city of Glasgow, where he was educated at the High School and University, when, choosing to study Physick, he was removed to Edinburgh, and after some years to Leyden to finish his education in that science.

Whilst he studied there, the glorious Revolution was in agitation, and when that expedition was on foot he, being then 25 years of age, and bred up in strict Revolution principles, and a warm friend to the cause of Protestant liberty, offered voluntarily his service to the Prince of Orange, and was immediately appointed an ensign in a Scotch Regiment commanded by the then Earl of Leven, with which coming over to England and becoming a great favourite with his Colonel, his promotion was rapid, serving but seven months as an ensign, and by a series of honourable services in King William's wars in Ireland and Flanders arrived at the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the army.

In the year 1696, his thirty-third year, he married Nicolas, the only daughter of William Stewart of Castle Stewart, son to John Earl of Galloway, with whom he lived in the utmost harmony and happiness for 56 years to his death, in his 89th year, A.D. 1752, she bringing him 5 sons and 9 daughters, and surviving him 13 years.

In the year 1703* he was chosen member of the Scotch Parliament for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, where, from principle joining the party which at that time violently opposed the Union between the two kingdoms, the terms of which he thought neither honourable nor advantageous for Scotland, he had his commission taken from him by the then Duke of Argyle, who stood up in open Parliament and said there was a commission for somebody as soon as he has given his vote. After this dismissal, he built the house of Bardarroch in which he resided, much respected by his neighbours and friends for his exemplary piety, extensive benevolence, and true patriotism. Thus he lived a blessing to that country till the year 1715, when he was again called out in the service of his country upon that rebellion breaking out soon after the accession of the House of Hanover, and was invested with the command of the whole Militia of the South of

* The election actually took place in 1702, but the Queen's Letter accounts for delay in meeting by the "Great and Weighty Affairs wherein We have been engaged this Winter."—*See p. 28.*

Scotland. He acted also, during that period, as Governor of the City of Glasgow; and after that rebellion was quashed, received the most honourable testimonies of his zeal, activity, and fidelity from the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which yet remain in the possession of his grandson and representative.

He retired again to his seat at Bardarroch, where he devoted himself entirely for the remainder of his life to the duties of domestic life, and to those of a country magistrate, taking an active part in everything that could serve his friends, neighbours, and native country, living highly respected and much beloved, in the most perfect health, by the strictest temperance, to the year 1752, when he died of old age, universally regretted.

If a life of exemplary piety, inflexible integrity, true patriotism and active benevolence, deserves to be recorded, his certainly has an undoubted title. By the journals written in his own hand during both the active and retired periods of his life, it appears that his mind was early under the

most powerful influence of religious principles, that he was a strict observer of his own conduct and of the ways of Providence, and warmly interested in everything that concerned the religious liberties and prosperity of his country, and that he was an early sufferer by the tyranny that then prevailed, being imprisoned for some time, and examined before the Privy Council at Edinburgh for attending religious conventicles. In his other journals, many excellent observations appear on the conduct of the army, and his own shone in all King William's sieges and battles in Ireland and Flanders during that active period, and gave the strongest proofs of loyalty, courage, piety, and a constant equanimity and preparedness for death.

In his later journals, composed amidst the enjoyments and trials of domestic life, there appears a happy mixture of fervent piety with the warmest social affections for his wife, his children, and friends, and few publications have ever discovered higher or more animated strains of devotion, love, gratitude, and entire resignation to the divine Being. In short, the whole discovers a sound

head, and a heart glowing with the best and purest affections.

P.S.—It may be worth mentioning that, at the meetings of the great Revolution Club, instituted at Edinburgh soon after the year 1746, his health was always one of the standing toasts, as an honourable supporter of that cause, and the only man then living in Scotland who came over from Holland with King William in the glorious 1688. This, the writer of the above account has himself been witness to.

M. G.,
[MAXWELL GARTSHORE]. *

ST. MART.'S LANE,
28th Sept., 1776.

* A celebrated physician in London, a nephew of Col. Maxwell. See *Mackenzie's History of Galloway*, II. Appendix, p. 35, *note*.



COAT OF ARMS.

The Diary.

I.

1685.

Persecution abounding — Thoughts on prayer, temptation, religious experience—Virtues needed in time of revolution —The terrors of Satan—Questions for self-examination—Demoralised state of Scotland — Baptism — Sabbath observance—Argyle's arrest—Rumbold's execution—Argyle on the scaffold — Duty of praise — God independent of instruments—Prayer for the martyrs—Value of a godly magistracy—His plans for a profession — Soliloquy on death.

April 5, 1685. The great subject of the gospel insisted on to-day in the forenoon from Job xiv. 14 was death, asserting that to stop our going on in sin it were good to remember our mortality — how near death may be, and how terrible it is to die in sin (Job. xvii. 17). He minded death, and made ready for it. . . .

April 6, 1685. It should be my work in this sad day never to give myself rest until I have assurance of my interest secured in Christ ;

C

and then (I judge) I should be satisfied to commit myself to the guidance of so expert ane guide as Christ, who one day shall be able to give this account to the Father: "Behold, I and the children thou hast given me; of them all not one is lost whom I have not raised up at this last day." . . .

Resolved on some more diligence in rising betimes, and employing myself actively. As to the regulating my course of life more exactly, I cannot say but I have somewhat discovered the heart under indisposition and hardness as formerly.

Haggs, Tuesday,
April 7, 1685. Death never to be forgotten, but daily to be preparing and waiting for it. . . O, that the Lord would smite my heart, and help me to pour forth my spirit in His bosom, that so I may mourn for the sins of my youth, and those particularly thought upon this day. But I cannot but bless the Lord—as I desire ever to do—(1) that has kepted me from many gross abominations that are incident to youth, and palpably seen in this country, though, alas, many heinous sins I am guilty of, the least

whereof merits wrath. But the Lord, who out of free love sent a Saviour to perfect the work of redemption, can alone pardon; and on Him and His merits I desire to rely: (2) that He made me these many years in any measure to make conscience of duty, though, alas, attended with too much formality. . . .

April 8, 1685. Yesternight grief by tears prevailing occasioned (I judge) a moderate distemper in my head. O that, when mourning for the loss of my dear relation now in glory, I might think on my hard heart, and, mourning over it, be grieved for sin, which is the cause of our misery.

This forenoon, being in the north wood of Pollock, after reading a little in Mr Guthrie's "Great Interest,"* I was assisted in prayer to renew my former engagements and resolutions to be the Lord's; for the performance of which I beg strength from the Lord (for, if I rely on my own strength, how soon may I deny Him, which should

* By Rev. William Guthrie of Fenwick.

be to my eternal shame and dishonour), that I may walk on in ane covenant with God, acquiescing in Him who is the blessed party contractor, who asks but our consent, and He will set the seal to it. . . .

April 9, 1685. . . . Also, a great part of the Christian religion is in moderating cares and restraining affections about the things of this life: to be careful in nothing, yet not slothful in business, using the world, yet not abusing it—painful, yet weaned* from the world.

April 10, 1685. In all things I do, I have no satisfaction or clearness to think that any of them is done for God when the heart is not straight with Him; for I found prayer this day, both in private and when I joined in public, a work I cannot fold unto.

I would know what is the most effectual remedy of indisposition to prayer. Is not prayer ane

* Weaned.

help to prayer? If God give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him, importunate prayer is the most helpful mean to fervent prayer. . . .

* * *

April 2, *die dom**
mane, 1685.

Great has my offences been by my misspending the Sabbaths of the Lord; which makes me to be at such a distance from God. For what comfort do I find at any time from the ordinary appointed means—prayer, and reading the Word; which may make me condemn myself so quickly. For how formally is it gone about—little seriousness, zeal, and fervency in it, so that I may surely conclude myself under no very good condition. But what says my soul—Shall I leave off such holy duties and go back to the puddle of sin, and cast myself in hazard of eternal wrath and displeasure of God for ever? God forbid that I ever give way to the divell and my own lusts, to suggest these wicked devices to put me off the right way. But stay, my soul, though I be in a sad position at present, not

* *Die dominico*, on the Lord's Day. *Mane*, at early morning.

assisted sensibly oftentimes in duty, yet I must hold on and wait and expect until it be His time.

. . . .

[*Eodem die, ante mer.*] I have been at prayer, entreating God that He would discover unto me my heart-evils, and that He would make me to mourn and lament the distance betwixt God and my soul, and to mourn over these heart-alienations that I am so much taken up with. I have also entreated the Lord that He would make me mourn for the sad case that the Church and people of God are in; for now persecution abounds on every hand, Antichrist and his vassals doing what they can to ruin the Protestant interest, that so he may get his deadly wound cured again. And, alas, how many are conniving at this horrid wickedness, so that we have reason to be afraid that idolatry shall be our judgment, and that wherewith the Lord will chastise us for our breach of vows and contempt of the gospel salvation; for, as we were once famous for godliness and the work of Reformation, so now are we infamous for wickedness and apostacy.

April 13, 1685. I find it by experience very difficult to get my heart settled on good, where there is a *bensell** of spirit towards vain and sinful thoughts; it were to my advantage to spend much time in prayer. . . . Prayer is a thing few are acquainted with, and requires a huge composure of spirit. Ought a person's fancy to be roving (as, alas, too often mine is) while he is petitioning and speaking to the King of kings? O for a heart prepared to speak to Him about my soul's concernment; O for a humble heart to be weaned from all vanities here, and to take a loose grip of the comforts in the world. . . .

* * *

April 18, 1685. . . . The act of prayer is one thing, and the spirit of prayer is a far other thing. The first stands in a fitting and orderly disposal of words, sentences, and petitions; the other lies in the inward frame of the heart. The first is a very transient thing; though it remain as to the habit, it is not of a mortifying

* *Bensle*, a bleak, cold place. *Bensell of spirit*, a cold spot in the heart, lying exposed to vain thoughts.

quality. The other regulates the after-conversation, and acts before and after, sanctifying, mortifying, quieting, softening the heart. If I reckon myself only to pray where these effects are manifest, I shall hardly challenge the name of prayer at all.

April 19, 1685.
dies dom., mane.

I am confident there is no other way to make up my peace with God at all times, but by Christ. It were not ane covenant sure and well-ordered, Christ were not ane advocate sufficient, if, when any man sins, we should not be preserved by His power. If it be in ourselves to destroy ourselves, Christ doth wash at first, and continues still ane open fountain ; He renews repentance, as well as first infuses it, and repentance is not only for sins before conversion, but for the converted sinner's sins. I would therefore desire to sit down and wonder at that grace which angels find ane sufficient subject of eternal wonder, and which shall be the everlasting subject of the wonder of the glorified.

O that I could reflect (for many things give me warning to it) on my resolutions and engagements in this place and elsewhere, formerly and of late, that I might set forward to stir up my spirit to shake off negligence, and go on cheerfully in the progress of religion; and seriously to consider that the Sabbath of the Lord has been and is a day of much sin. I did not reach delight in it, neither did I reach preparation, nor attention, nor meditation. Some interrogators I have proposed to my own heart—What was my preparation? With what ear did I hear what the Spirit spoke? How I suffered the word of exhortation? How I received the word of conviction? How I entertained Christ, and the precious things spoken of Him? In all which, I find myself defective. . .

[*Eodem die, post mer.*] I read that an eminent Christian for piety and parts, in discourse with his own minister (a great man in the Church within these few years—now both in glory) what is the very return of prayer, from that which is only the result of God's common workings?—his answer was that, whatever be the prayer, when

accordingly the thing prayed for follows in the issue, it is to be held as the return of prayer, whether the person praying be a believer or not. Yea, he judged that God did by promise answer the prayer of wicked men, for encouragement to prayer, adducing the example of Ahab; though this hearing of prayer be not to an ungodly man the evidence of acceptance of prayer. Further, he added the consideration that, if the grant be in a spiritual thing—as mortification, increase of grace, &c.—it is very confirming experience; if otherwise it be in a matter separable from grace, as delivery from affliction and the like, the less weight is to be laid thereon. . . .

Prayer is a reviving thing, and not only maintains but increases the least beginnings of grace.
 . . .

Prayer would season the current of actions, and make unspiritual things become spiritual.

Calderwood, Monday,
 April 20, 1685. I do not find mortification in any progress, the root and stem of sin always fresh and vigorous. And if sin have

not had so gross outbreakings, yet grace is but upon the defensive hand. Corruption, when it can do no more, doth give a full charge with troops of vain, carnal, profane thoughts that are enough to move distempers and make preparation for more wounding assaults. Prayer suffers exceedingly in these conflicts, to the heightening of the iniquity of holy things.

O that I could be led to meditate (from Ps. 57) that admirable convey* of divine wisdom that leads all pilgrims to the same port of happiness, and yet in so various a manner that albeit all the flock go in the same way, yet few go in the same path; so much there is of unity and so much of difference, that all saints may be said to be led in one way, and yet not the same way: some whose way is strewed with roses, others with thorns. What a variety of experiences are among the saints militant! And, if in the general assembly of the firstborn and report were made on this subject, one should say—"My way through the wilderness was in famine, in perils, in nakedness,

* *i.e.* conveyance.

in reproach." Another would say—"And mine was as in a bed of delights and ease." Another would report the terrors of his spirit; another, the quick dispelling of these, with the succession of joy unspeakably in their room.

Haggs, *eodem die,*
noctu,
(during the night). An untender frame of mind doth still remain, so that great is its dulness about spiritual matters, and great indisposition in waiting on God. Oh, when will Christ help this, and how?

Haggs, April 22,
mane. I desire to commit myself unto God's guiding this day, to be counselled and directed of him, wherever I go and in all I go about. There is no affair of this life that does not require to be raised to a higher strain and pitch of sobriety, humility, wisdom, and discretion, than flesh and blood can reach; for so is the promise Prov. ii. 10. . . . O that I could take my light from the lamp of the Word, and resolve to stand to all that which truth and righteousness obliges the man to, that swears to his own hurt.

Edinburgh,
eodem.

I desire to bless my God who preserved from apparent hazard this day in my way here, of being called in question by time-servers of things that might have tended to my outward disadvantage. But I desire to eye the Lord in it, and to take it as a favour out of His hand, begging strength to be thankful for this and other mercies, and wishing mercy to those that go on in a course of wickedness and profanity. . . .

* * *

April 25, 1685.

I have desired of the Lord this day, that he would preserve me from the temptations of the time, and that no worldly honour or advantage may prevail with me to do anything against light, begging also a well-informed conscience, for which I desire to wait upon His time. . . .

There be so many sins this week as that I cannot draw them up in a roll.

April 26, *dies dom.*

In times of revolution, 5 virtues to be studied:—(1) Fixedness in religion; (2) faith in God, Ps. cxii. 7—“*he is not*

afraid of evil tidings"; (3) humility; (4) zeal, Gal. iv. 19, Rom. x. 4; (5) wisdom—"walk wisely to them that are without," (1) that the gospel be not ill spoken of, 1 Tim. vi. 1; (2) to keep faith and a good conscience; (3) to endure rather things grievous than unlawful.

* * *

Edinburgh,
Ap. 27, 1685.

Resolved in H[aggs] [Kirk]yard
to more seriousness and frequency
in minding death. . .

How, alas, is it that my heart is nothing taken with Christ's loveliness who is altogether lovely? Love is a passion that may be attracted by the excellency of the object, but it cannot be commanded. Indeed it may be sweetly bound and inclined by the delight of an attractive object. And is there such a one as Christ, fair and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand; the pearl of price, the Father's love, and the love and wonder of angels and saints? Surely, He hath a title of purchase to my affections; If He'll but add conquest to purchase, then shall there be constraint,

but it is a constraint of love. And that shall be a gentle violence, that shall so draw that I shall also run, and so command with power as that I also shall be willing. O when shall He so exalt His excellency as that I shall cast my idols to the moles and to the bats! It is not I that can first love Him; His love is without beginning, and so, like to Himself. . . . If He love me, I shall be made to love Him; and if I love Him, He will delight in me. O to rouse up my heart and move toward the sight of His comely face! It may be the Master will call me, and bid me be of good cheer. . . .

April 30, *post mer.* . . . If I could meditate how terrible the representation of Satan is even to some of the godly, how might I be led to think—If one divell be so terrible as that very representation thereof, what will myriads and thousands of them be, and what shall we judge to be the thoughts of the despisers and neglecters of this great salvation amidst the torments of that terrible fellowship?

If believers were under the domination of this prince of darkness, how stand they engaged to their Redeemer?

If believers shall one day judge angels, *i.e.* devils, what a change shall that be, when devils at whose remembrance or appearance we now tremble, shall then tremble before Christ the Judge of all, and before the holy patriarchs and apostles, and all the saints, assessors, witnesses, and approvers of the righteous sentence!

Prayer to be made to be delivered from his wiles, whom masked with specious colours we receive and embrace, when in his naked appearance we would hate.

To have the Word made effectual—the God of peace to bruise him under our feet.

Edinburgh, May 1, 1685.
mane.

. . . And although with outward loss to be trysted be my lot, not only of some of my dear relations (whose holy life and conversation I desire never to forget), but also of means formerly, and more by appearance now in hazard, yet I desire to trust

in God He will provide for me and the family wherein I am concerned (as He hath hitherto undeservedly, praise to His great name), and that He will keep me from using any unlawful way to preserve it; for it shall be seen what will become of the oppressors of the poor, of the widow and the fatherless, who raise their estates on the ruins of others. . . .

To-day, asking a friend in prison if he was heart-wearied—answer—“No, never wearied, for it had been one of the best houses to him that ever he was in, for which he blessed God.” And have not I great reason to bless His glorious name who supports those that suffer for righteousness’ sake even amidst all the threatenings of enemies, and who gives them new supply under all their afflictions, and makes them to wait patiently till the time of relief come?

May 2. . . . Great hath the unequalness
and unevenness of my Christian
walk been hitherto. O how doth these frequent
haltings of ours give sinful opportunities of the
D

knowledge of the wonderful paths of God's love, the depths of His wisdom, the perfection of His soul-hatred to sin—that if there be a detestable disorder in the sinful changes of our estate, yet is there a wise series and contexture of love in all the various accesses and recesses, ebbings and flowings of the love of Christ, keeping correspondence with our necessity and wants. How should it be also known what compassion and pity are in His rebukes, what tenderness in the restoring our feet from falling, what the loosing of bands, what the opening of the prison-door, what the raising of the lambs in His bosom and gently leading those that are with young, nor what the leaving ninety-nine sheep and seeking one straying in the mountains. . . .

* * *

May 6. . . . How can my heart but tremble when taking ane complexed look of the present juncture of affairs, as they stand in all aspects; it being such ane dangerous and critical hour and power of dark-

ness : every day almost producing more and more cause of mourning, and when hearing of such wicked acts established by law, who should not be concerned? And blessed be the Lord they are some that is so, as I find by D: Com:* in his line, shewing his heart to tremble in looking on this juncture of affairs. . . .

May 7. . . . The sad case of the Lord’s people not seriously laid to heart, notwithstanding of the daily evidences of ruin intended, if the Lord prevent not. . . . As it has been my request to God to fit me for trial (that I might choose to part with all earthly pleasures rather than a good conscience), death, and judgment—so I desire not to forget to renew my requests, being willing to put a blank in His hand concerning my lot in time—only that I may have my soul for a prey in the close of the day.

May 9. . . . Resolved this day to be one of the daily interrogators (to which, alas, I am a great stranger)—What grace is

* Dearest comrade : see *infra*, p. 65.

in exercise? What hath been faith's work to-day? What of repentance? What of meekness? What hath been the outgoings of God to my spirit to-day? Hath He commended Himself above all diligence, above prayer and all exercises of worship? Christ is more excellent than all His garments, than His own spices and perfumes—more excellent than the Word that testifies of Him, than all the soul's motions and breathings after Him. He is better than the kisses of His own lips. Wherefore this is the great design to be set on foot, to be my beloved's, and He to be mine. Whether hath God shewed Himself reconciled and friendly to-day? This depends on the resolution of that fundamental of my salvation, whether I be in a reconciled state or not? I cannot but assent to the gospel tender offer, but do but faintly lean over on Christ. And may be much puzzled as to evidences, the most being probabilities and not certainties.

What of the turbulent lusts have been mortified and heart-evils subdued, to-day? . . .

* * *

May 12. Daily more and more cause of mourning when all things look with a most formidable and portentous aspect. But this sure foundation of comfort may and ought to comfort our hearts (as my D.C.,* J.G., in his line), that God lives and reigns, and blessed be our rock. . .

May 13. On reflecting on what has passed at this present Parliament, how may I tremble and fear some sad judgment to come on this desolate land, once famous for godliness and for the gospel. But where is our piety and our zeal now gone, our fast-days, and preaching days, our Communion days and meetings amongst the godly — how are we deprived of them! Sin is the cause of all our misery, of our slavery, bondage we are reduced unto, and are like to be more if God prevent not, and allay not the fury of enemies which rages greatly, as may be seen by being the

* See above, p. 63.

instruments of such perjury as has abounded these many years, and now like more to abound, by enjoining heritors, wadsetters, &c., to take that dreadful oath that has been pressed in this kingdom these many years.* Being witness to this yesterday, and to the imposing of such a dreadful sum of money (viz., 200,060 lib. yearly)† on this poor harassed and oppressed kingdom, as also the ratification of Murthland, Jerviswood, Argyle, their forfeiture, to impoverish a poor persecuted land, how may it make me to mourn and sorrow. But I trust in God He will send a delivery to His Church and people; though enemies be at a great height of villany, yet God can give strength to His own to endure patiently.

* * *

May 17.
Dies Dom., mane. How shall I get my heart duly affected with the rich privileges of Baptism? May I believe that I am in the Church of Christ as a baptised member,

* The "Test."

† Equal to about £17,000 sterling.

and all the rest of the world that are not of this society to be under the deluge of the wrath of God? Oh, what ground of praise to free grace, what hope and comfort beyond doubting, of being safely carried to the last end and mark of our hope. We have for our guide that grand and first preacher of righteousness, nay He who is the Lord our righteousness, and for our fellow-companion all the blessed society of them whose garments are washed in the blood of the Lamb.

. . . .

Eodem die, vesp. It was once comfortable to see Lord's Day kept in Scotland, but alas, how is it now profaned by old and young, little vice being suppressed, and much encouraged, even by these that are called our teachers: being time-servers and temporisers. O that the Lord would now (when many are fainting and dying for food to their souls) root them out, and give us godly ministers, labourers to His vineyard, that may teach His people wisdom and knowledge! It is He that can do

this, and that can bring down the power of the wicked and send delivery even by a little handful, as well as by many. But alas, we are living at a distance from God, and are not fitted for it; but it were our wisdom to be at our duty, and to be frequently and seriously entreating God that, if it may consist with His holy purposes and design, He would countenance this little handful now appearing for His cause*, whom we trust has nothing before their eyes but God's glory, the good and advantage of His persecuted people. O that the Lord would be pleased to make their undertakings successful, that their enemies may flee before them! For if it be not, we may expect nothing but utter ruin and destruction to the Protestant interest here, and to these His poor remnant. . .

* * * *

May 22. Alas, how far short am I of the frame of spirit that this time calls for, and this day in particular, when being

* Referring to the ill-fated expeditions of Monmouth and Argyle.

witness to such horrible acts as certifying all subjects that refuse the oath of allegiance and to assert the prerogative, that they shall be imprisoned, banished, or what the Council pleases, except as to life and limb. As also, seeing Ochiltree forfaulted both as to life and fortune, accepting of Mr Carstairs' deposition as relevant against him, notwithstanding of his absence, of his being cruelly tortured, and of his having it under their hand, on their faith and honour, that what hé deponed should not militate against any. . . .

* * * * *

June 19. . . . Much cast down this day, hearing a report of Argyle's being apprehended, which I hear to be false, blessed be the Lord, who is the rock of His people. O that it might please God to send us comfortable news from them, being as we hear this day joined with the enemy, whom we desire to trust in the Lord he has or shall defeat. . . .

* * *

June 22. I cannot but bless the Lord, who
 trusted me this last day with such
 a great mercy (for which I longed)*, as hearing
 His Word preached in purity, and for such a
 seasonable word in this day of fainting and sad-
 ness, when God in His wisdom has been pleased
 to trust us with such an astonishing dispensation,
 even the scattering for the most part that poor
 handful who did appear for the work of God and
 Protestant interest, and delivering up to enemies
 him who we thought the Lord had made use of as
 His instrument in the present undertaking.

* * *

June 25. The sorrowful and surprising news
 I heard this night, of the Lord
 removing by death Caignell, my dear brother-in-
 law, does so seize upon me that I may say . . .
 "I have a load above a burden." . . .

June 26. That is daily made out to be true,
 that some has their path here
 through a bed of roses as it were, and some

* He had on the previous day attended a conventicle by
 Rev. John Moncrieff.



From Portrait by Sir George Chalmers.

SIR DAVID MAXWELL, 1ST BARONET.

through thorns and briars, even through great troubles and sorrow. I cannot say I have cause to complain of my lot, but from my heart I desire to bless the Lord for it, and hopes he will strengthen me so to do, whatever it may be. But I must say, many causes of grief and sorrow renewed to me, as yesterday hearing of the death of my dear relation, to-day being witness of the sufferings of [General] Rumbold, who was used as a heathen, and not as a Christian, for appearing for the Protestant interest with those who here lately appeared. Truly this cannot, on the one hand, but be ground of grief and sorrow, to see such a valiant and courageous man so used, but on the other, ground of comfort that the Lord did so wonderfully carry him through from fainting (notwithstanding of the sad sentence), giving him courage and cheerfulness in the cause: declaring he did not neither durst repent for it, but on the contrair that if all the hair of his head were men, he would venture them all for the cause; saying also that Christ would appear shortly (yea, some of us there should see it) against His enemies,

and rule the nations with a rod of iron. At which these cruel time-servers caused beat the drums : a thing abominable, not to suffer one who was on the brink of eternity to speak their mind. Then praying (being once stopped by the drums beating) with great assurance, forgiving all men, he was barbarously used according to his unjust sentence this same day, which also evidences their cruelty.*

* * * *

Edinburgh,
June 30, 1685.

This day spent with much grief, not wanting reason when the people of God has been trysted with so great a loss this day by the sufferings of Archibald Earl of Argyle (to which I was a witness, being with him all the time on the scaffold, thereafter accompanying his corpse to Madline cheapald†), one of the best, yea soundest, Protestants in Europe : being imprisoned in the year 1682, and sentenced to death for declaring that he took the Test Oath

* Rumbold was hanged and quartered near the City Cross, in the High Street.

† Magdalen Chapel.

with the reservation of liberty to propose or agree to Reformation in Church or State—a most unjust sentence indeed, which did appear to three of the Lords of Justiciary declining the relevancy after it was debated; which to any experience might have appeared if there had not been inveterate malice and some cruel spirit in them, stirring them up to murder. Afterwards, the Lord wonderfully delivered him, and also preserved him in other nations until his appearing here (with others of quality) for the interest and cause of Christ so much persecuted and borne down by the great ones of these nations; and was strangely apprehended. So, abiding to what he had by public declaration made known and continuing resolutely and firmly in the cause, yesterday has his former unjust sentence only intimat to him, and so this afternoon suffered publicly, Christianly and with courage (leaving his latter words in write); which may be great comfort to God's people (though their loss be sad and lamentable), that there has such ane one so chēerfully given his testimony for that cause of Christ which is so

vilipended and reproached by bloody enemies. But he is now beyond their reach, and what they have done to him is great gain, he giving great assurance of his peace with God, and an interest secured in a Redeemer.

Lamentable to hear of the sad usage the West has and is meeting with by that wicked crew now amongst them, by plundering, killing, and oppressing. O when will the Lord deliver this poor land from such cruelty?

* *

Edinburgh,
July 1, 1685.

O great, yea wonderful is the love of God to His poor people, who gives them so much sunshine amidst these dark clouds and great storms that is now on His Church: that with cheerfulness and great assurance they offer up their lives for His work and interest, dying in the faith that Christ will have a glorious Church yet in Scotland, and Antichrist shall fall, and all his underlings that are so much borne up by the great ones in Europe. . . .

* * * *

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*,
July 5, 1685.

The observation of the Lord's Day is pressed, Ps. 92, with the special work thereof, which is praise to God. And a copy and example drawn for the observation of the works of God (not neglecting these general, of the creation and redemption), and to prepare as it were a collection and compend of His works throughout the week against the Sabbath. And seeing the eternal Sabbath differs from this present but only in the degrees of its perfection, it were well to take ane essay of these divine praises. Before, we have the same matter and subject of praise as the glorified angels and spirits of men have, but not the same hearts nor harps; and our country cymbals sound not so high the Lord's praise as when they are tuned in that upper land. .

* * *

Calderwood,
July 8, 1685.

This day, some thoughts reflecting on my misspending this time by-past at Edinburgh; so much the more to be lamented and mourned for, that it was a time

that required more than ordinar seriousness upon several considerations : which grace was not so gone about, which we may be afraid is one of the causes of God's displeasure against His people, that they are now brought to such distress in this nation, by scattering and delivering many of them up to cruel enemies. But although things have ane formidable aspect, yet our God lives, and will bring all about to His own glory. And what do we know but the Lord minds to work a delivery to His people in their greatest strait as He did to His disciples on the sea?

* * * *

Ayr, Wednesday,
July 15, 1685. Every day yields new ground of sorrow, so that things have now a very formidable aspect—not the least ground of hope at present left by any outward means we can behold; so that now if our relief come, it must only be from God. For He has made us to see (at this time) that there is no trust to be put in the arm of flesh; for what greater instruments could have been desired to appear against popery and arbi-

trary government, and for the interest and work of Christ, so much despised and borne down by wicked persecutors, than has appeared at this time in this island of Britain, truly and Christianly declaring at large the cause and design of their appearing, a cause one of the most just that man could own. Notwithstanding we may now see how the Lord has delivered some of the chief instruments in this nation who appeared, some of whom has suffered already, and scattered the rest, and now I hear that some of these in the neighbouring nation are fallen among their hands, *sc.** D. Monmouth and Lord Gray; the rest fallen and scattered. . . .

Ayr, Thursday,
July 16, 1685. . . . Helped somewhat in prayer, renewing my resolutions to embrace Christ through weal and through woe upon whatsoever hazard, choosing to quit with all in the world rather than to quit with Him. He is all-sufficient rock to His own in a day of distress such as this. . . .

* *Scilicet*, namely.

* * * *
 Ayr, Saturday, . . . (1) *Orandum de publico*
 July 18, 1685. *reipublicae statu**. (2) The dis-

tresses that the poor people of God are now under, especially in thir lands, who has jeoparded their lives for the work and interest of Christ, and who are now (at least some of them who hitherto has endured fatigue, cruel and barbarous torture and sufferings) near the broken waters, even near to death and eternity, that God would give unto them for His Son's sake a double measure of support, that with courage they may cheerfully lay down their lives. (3) Unseasonable weather. (4) That God would pardon the sins of the week, and prepare me to serve Him in His own day.

* * *
 Ayr, Tuesday, . . . Trysted with more sad
 July 21, 1685. news . . . both relating to the immediate danger the Church of God is now in at this day, and to the sad sufferings of His poor people, of whom some are to suffer to-morrow; whom that the Lord may encourage, strengthen,

* Prayer to be made regarding public affairs.

grant the light of His reconciled countenance by carrying them through these short steps of time, and even through the valley of the shadow, to the terrifying of enemies and encouraging Christ's poor remnant their fellow-sufferers—shall be my earnest request with the Lord (who never leaves His own when in greatest strait), as I hope it is the desire of many of God's people the night.

* * * *

Haggs, Saturday,
Aug. 16, 1685.

This day, coming from Dalry to Paisley, somewhat sorrowful and afflicted in considering the sad condition of God's interest and people; especially about Elistone, where I viewed that place where the Lord delivered a poor handful of His own that jeopardded their lives for His interest, killing some of His avowed enemies, and causing them to retire, of which I received certain information.

. . .

* * *

Ayr, Thursday,
Aug. 27, 1685
(*mane*).

O but it is the great blessing of the Lord, when a land is trysted with a godly magistracy, in the ordering whereof

He exerciseth a most adorable providence. I judge it may be applied as a token of God's displeasure the removal of many of the godly who that wrestling with God may be said to have holden up the pillars of the land. So there being few now to stand in the way, the Lord's anger is hot, so that for the punishment of our sins we are like to be ruined or long, and scarce to have the name of a Protestant Church; which amongst all nations in the world was never any more reformed from idolatry, and none more famous and glorious for the light of the gospel than once Scotland was, but now it may be said we are degenerate.

* * * *

Ayr, Thursday,
Sept. 20.

Every week and every day yields more ground of sorrow and sympathy with God's distressed people. This day, these that are in opposition to His work and people are now gone forth to hunt His poor people and harass a distressed land. But though it be so, *satis est presidium in uno Deo*, refuge enough

in God alone. He is that stronghold to which all may freely come, He offering safety. *Pr. 4 tm.**

* * * * *

Ayr, Wednesday,
Dec. 16, 1885.

How to employ myself in my youth for being useful in my generation, is a matter of great concernment which ought not to be rashly but deliberately gone about . . . that I may venture to do nothing but what shall be unto Him well-pleasing—even not to aim any more at that which my inclination has led me to these several years, if it be not according to His divine will and pleasure. . . . At present, if the Lord prosper my way in receiving somewhat of my own in order to the falling about this science, I'll desire to take it as that He is favouring me in the same. But however, I'll commit all to Him who is the wise physician, not desiring to be too peremptor in any thing. . . .

* This entry, now frequent, means "*Prayed 4 times.*" Often it is—"Prayed 3 times alone, and twice in company or fellowship."

* * * *

Ayr, Saturday,
Dec. 26, 1685.

The Lord is at great pains, warning me I must flit and remove from this pilgrimage. Does not His dispensations cry—O vain world! O bitter sin! O short and uncertain time! O fair eternity that is above sickness and death! O kingly and princely bridegroom, hasten glorious marriage, shorten time's short-spun and soon-broken thread, and conquer sin! O happy and blessed death, that blessed bridge laid by Christ for passage to glory! . . .

II.

1686.

Tired of inaction—Choosing a calling—He reviews Law, Divinity, and Medicine—Decides to study Medicine—Begins Anatomy—Finds a teacher in Edinburgh—Contrasts of life—Unseasonable weather—Eternity.

* * *

Ayr, Tuesday,
March 2, 1686
(*mane*).

. . . This morning, after minding what petitions I did put up to the Lord yesterday (in some measure renewing them, desiring to renew my engagements to the Lord in covenant, viz., betrothed unto Him, taking Him for my portion, my husband and head, my leader and counsellor, my provider and preserver, desiring to give myself wholly to Him, and to take up the cross and follow Him), I did make it my work a little to mind my temporal condition. And being, as it were *in equilibrio*, willing to be at God's disposal in whatever He shall determine my heart,

did (as I have at some times done these several years) beg God's counsel and determination to that state of life which should be most for His glory and my soul's comfort, even to take myself to some employment wherein I might serve the Lord (and O that still I might eye that as my greatest business!) and be useful in my generation; for certainly the Lord calls that I should not live an idle life, but work wherein He calls me.

It's the Lord's call I desire chiefly to look to; for though I have had an inclination these several years to one science beyond all other, yea I may say to none other, yet if the Lord call me not to it, by inclining and determining my heart, by giving His counsel and direction, I shall not adventure to pursue it. . . .

Let the Lord dispose upon me as He pleases, so as that I may be most serviceable to Him. For it has been a quiet and private life wherein I might have access (and not such divertisements as many choice to themselves in time) to serve the Lord; for certainly to have such public employ in the world as many take delight in (even though lawful

in itself), proves hurtful to many, having many snares and temptations attending it which brings much guilt upon the soul. I say, it is a quiet life (and some edifying science) I have still desired, and which I think most agreeable to my nature. Wherefore it's the Lord's counsel I have been and do now beg, and that He may give light if that science, to which I have these 5 or 6 years inclined, be that which He is calling me to, or not. . . .

* *

Ayr, March 5, 1686. . . . I have this morning considered somewhat more seriously what I was formerly minding about the right choosing of a calling here, hoping in the Lord that what my inclination leads me to be that to which the Lord calls me, and that for these considerations following (however, I have been further calling that the Lord would give light), which I shall reduce to these:—

I. That seeing by the providence and fatherly care of God I was educate at the School and

University of Glasgow about 8 years (for which I desire to bless the Lord who has been a father unto me while wanting my natural parent; and did make my other parent inclined that I should be so educate, giving a good testimony of it by coming so far from her relations and what little interest we had, upon the same design, to whom I am obliged to be thankful)—there improving my time as well as part of my condisciples (but alas, not so as I ought to have done); but that I did not so mispend my time as many others then did, in that I have peace. Blessed be the Lord who made me not only to make some conscience in spending my time as to my humane learning, but also did incline my heart to duty as to prayer, and reading the Scriptures, though alas, neither as seriously or frequently as I ought to have done. I say, seeing I did so long spend my time (even under maisters who made conscience of educating youths, certainly as we expected), and seeing there was so much pains by my parent taken upon me, and seeing the Lord was pleased (who mindeth the widow and fatherless) to take such care of me, providing

for me wonderfully, and keeping me from many pollutions and gross outbreakings (though, alas, aggravations of sins within always abounds) that others were addicted unto—for all these and other reasons, I cannot but (as I have formerly) think that the Lord calls me to the study of some science which is proper for one so educate (though it is lamentable there is little encouragement for learning, Zion's distress being so great, the gospel so banished, and such horrid oaths so abounding, which stoppeth many for having access to be useful in their generation, at least of those who desire to look to God in what they go about, not to go over light and the belly of conscience, as alas, many do, to whom the Lord shew mercy) since I have always had an inclination to learning.

Of which Sciences, there are but three principally, Divinity, Physick, Law.

To speak of Law first, I desire to recollect what I have formerly said, that it has been a quiet life (free from such temptations and snares

with which many employments are attended), wherein I might live retiredly, serving God and being useful also in my generation, in what station the Lord should place me in. But Law, though in itself lawful, and many good men has and are therein employed, yet there are such temptations and snares attending it, I could never have thoughts of following that study, though by some desired. Wherefore as to this, I find no difficulty.

As for the other two, *hic labor, hoc opus est*. The first certainly is the most honourable employment in the world, to be ane ambassador for Jesus Christ. O how desirable, no honour in the world to be compared to this, no service or work like this, to be a servant, even if it were one of the meanest servants, of His house, is far beyond what I can speak or think of. But it is not every one, even of the learned, that has a call to such work, which is a great and difficult work and many things requisite (as in Paul's Epistle to Timothy) which are found wanting in many who, without a call, rush forward to this so

great a work, and to whom it shall be said one day, Who gave you commission to treat for Christ?

There are some things that in some measure demonstrateth such a call to this so great and honourable work. (1.) One's gift is the great differencing character of a call; for whom the Lord designs for an employment in His house, He someway fits them and makes them suitable to it; not that every one that hath a gift are called of the Lord, but certainly a gift is requisite. (2.) An authoritative mission and impulse of the Spirit to such a work, which is indeed hard to decide, the operations of the Lord's Spirit being mysterious. (3.) For a man's peace, singleness in himself is necessary, having a testimony in himself that conscience to duty, and obedience to God's call, made him yield. Where these are, there may be great peace, with a waiting for what God may further reveal. But where they are not, what peace can there be? And surely, those who without the same attempts to so great a work, they may be reckoned amongst

those in Jer. xxiii. 21, who do run, whereas the Lord does not send them.

Having considered these and committed all to God by prayer, I cannot find anything in myself that looks like a call to that so blessed work now at this time. Let the Lord work afterwards when a door (which these many years has been shut) shall be opened to His poor servants who are longing to labour in the Lord's vineyard, in which there are so many time-servers at this time; which though it be so, yet I desire (as I have often said) now to say it, that if I thought the Lord were calling me to this work, the gospel's being banished to the public altogether from this land, and very little of it to be had in private, and intruders endured, and now Antichrist's vassals like to overflow both, yet I say that should not (by the Lord's assistance) be a hindrance to me; for "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof;" though access to His work could not be had here, yet if He thought fit He could make me useful in some other place of the world. But to this, I have

not neither do think the Lord is calling me at present (or else for the world I should not resist); what He may do with me afterwards, He knows. If He think me fit for any service in His house, let Him call when He pleases; for surely there shall be glorious days yet in these lands. O the glory that shall yet shine in these lands, let enemies do what they please! However, at present, to live an idle life is not that which God calls me unto. Wherefore, seeing that to these of which I have been considering nothing can be found to be a proper call, there remains now to consider what call I have to the other. Pr. 8 tm.

Ayr, Saturday,
March 6, 1686.

Seeing that after often entreating and calling for counsel and direction from the Lord what calling to exercise myself in here, that might be for His glory, that I being useful in my generation might serve the Lord, and having considered these sciences of which most properly I esteemed myself to have a call to one; and having

found nothing in myself that could truly evince a call to that so honourable, so excellent and great work, to be a servant in the Lord's house—I do therefore turn to consider the other, that is Medicine, and what I have to evince a call thereto. To which, after many and reiterated requests, I would gladly think that it's to that work the Lord is calling me at present (having as I hope great clearness to go about that work, whatever I may meet with in it and however the Lord may dispose upon me in it. I leave that wholly to His blessed and holy will, waiting always for His blessing thereto), because (1) a calling wherein I might live quietly, serving the Lord, has been hitherto my chief desire, but in this it's that which I expect, and it's that which I desire in my choosing of it to look to as the chief end, even God's glory, then my soul's eternal advantage, and the good and advantage of others. (2) It's that to which I think myself upon rational grounds most fit, considering the parts I have, and considering my inclinations, which leads me to the (3), that it's that science to which my

inclinations these five or six years has led me and to no other; which I confess too much stress is not to be laid upon, for many do more affectionately incline to what they should not than to what they should. But where it's found to flow from or go along with rational grounds, may have its own weight. . . . (4), that I might be useful in my generation has been my desire, but here in this land I cannot see how any other way I can be so, for all doors for other callings are shut upon me, considering what horrid and cruel oaths are attending them. From which I hope by the Lord's strength to be wholly kepted, and not to bow the knee to the Baals of this generation and to sacrifice my conscience to the will of men for any worldly advantage. . . .

These reasons therefore giving me clearness to this work, I'll desire to embrace it, hoping that the Lord will give His assistance, for it's His glory I desire to aim at. . . .

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Ayr, Wednesday,
March 31, 1686.

. . . In order to the prosecuting
of this study, I desire next to

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ask that the Lord would sanctify my memory which hitherto has been always slippery, especially as to that which was good, either as to divine or humane learning. . .

Ayr, Thursday,
April 1, 1686,
mane. I have been seeking the Lord's blessing to this study in which I am now determined to employ myself, and of which this morning (through God's assistance) I design to make ane essay, by reading some Anatomy, in order to a preparative to a further study in this science. . . .

* * * *
Edinburgh, Friday,
April 16, 1686. . . . That the Lord may also assist me with His counsel and blessing (providing also ane outgate for the prosecuting of it) to that which has occasioned my coming to this place, shall be my request this night. . .

* * *
Edinburgh, Wednesday,
April 21, 1686,
mane. . . . Whatever be my condition, I desire not to distrust God, but beg, yea to hope, for His blessing, and that He

will open a door at present to what I am now to follow. . .

[*Vesp.*] . . Has not the love of God also evidently been seen this day in my settlement to this study, to which I have been seeking His blessing formerly, and also at this time; for amongst some discouragements, I have this day met with encouragement, the Lord of His goodness and free love being pleased so to order it that I have now settled with one whose discretion I have found already, and whose knowledge, experience, and good employment is said undoubtedly to be the best in this city. This (with what promises of kindness and pains of instruction in pharmacy, anatomy, and practice of chirurgery) yields me some comfort. . .

* * * *

Edinburgh, Thursday, June 24, 1686. The Lord's way of dealing with His own is wonderful. Some He makes to lead their life with pleasure, enjoying much of the comforts of this world. Others He

makes to lead their life through many difficulties and troubles, with many tossings and wanderings here and there in their pilgrimage, giving them much of His presence; and although they be deprived of many comforts others have, such as their estates and fortunes, the company of their relations, and many other things, yet does the Lord wonderfully provide for and preserve them. And though I have never been trysted with such wanderings and heavy troubles, yet this I may say from the knowledge of some who are thus trysted, and particularly my dear relation whom the Lord (blessed be His name) who is the guide of His own, has been pleased in His providence to tryst me with seeing him. O that I could praise the Lord for His love towards him these several years bypast and towards his family: that, though deprived of what they had in this world (even of ancient estate), and that for adhering to the interest of Christ, and though some relations has inhumanly forsaken them, yet blessed be the Lord who has been their provider and preserver. . .

* * * *

Edinburgh Tuesday,
August 31, 1886. It is sad, when the Lord strikes, no
to be mourning; when He is
angry, no to tremble. And is not this one of our
plagues, that we are so stupid and secure, that
even at this time when the Lord is threatening
wrath we are lying slumbering and not awakened?
Amongst other signs of His hot displeasure, does
not this sad judgment-like weather evidence it
also? O that all could mourn and humble
themselves in His presence, and who knows but
He might visit us with love, and give fair weather
for ripening and inbringing the fruits of the ground
without which we cannot subsist. . .

* * * *

Edinburgh, Friday,
Dec. 31, 1886. Notwithstanding of all the warnings
that I am receiving of my frailty,
yet alas, how unmindful I am of it, not preparing
(as I ought to do) for that time when this thread
of life shall be cut off, when I must go out of time
into eternity. O to think of entering into eternity,

even endless eternity! How may it make me to tremble, to think of my unpreparedness to meet with the Lord, in that day of the dissolution of all things!

III.

1687.

Apprehended Jan. 23.—In the Edinburgh Tolbooth—Appears before the Council—Questions put to him—He declines to answer—A night in the condemned cell—The Toleration proclaimed—Re-examined and discharged—Meeting with his fellow-prisoners for thanksgiving—Further Indulgence from King James—"A glorious day of the gospel"—Two narrow escapes—The ministers press him to become a preacher—Decides to continue his present "study."

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Edinburgh Tolbooth, It did please the Lord, of His holy Sabbath, Feb. 6, 1687.
and wise providence, to cast my lot here this day fifteen days, and that for adhering to a persecuted gospel: for which I desire to bless His holy name. O for strength to praise Him that ever He was pleased to draw such a poor undeserving sinner to seek after that way (even a preached gospel, though sadly broken down by men) these many years, wherein the Lord's presence was to be seen shining upon the spirits

of His poor people, giving their souls food, even light and direction how to walk as His redeemed children, and whereby I have profited sometimes (blessed be His name), yea my soul has been constrained to pant after God. And that now, for adhering to such a preached gospel, the Lord should be pleased to call me to suffer in any measure, how shall I be enabled to praise Him for this, that ever of His free love He should have thought upon such an unworthy sinner as I am, to call me to such an honour as in the least to give testimony for His truth. O how shall I bless Him! O that my soul and all that is within me were magnifying His holy name for this great token of His love He has carved out unto me!

How ought I to bless and praise the Lord, who ever since I was by cruel and raging men apprehended, has been pleased of His free love to beat down all slavish fear by giving me courage to own His truth, even while coming here, and ever since I came has been bearing up my spirit, not suffering me in the least to faint or weary under an imprisoned lot; yea, when called before



From Painting by Miss Maxwell.

OLD CARDONESS HOUSE.

a Committee of the Council the day after I was taken, that even the love and favour of God was much to be seen in strengthening me with courage not to yield to their sinful proposals, but to abide by that which was my duty, choosing suffering rather than in the least to offend God or give offence to any of His people. And shall I not, for all these expressions of love, praise the Lord; shall I not make it my work to be thankful while I breathe? But it is from Him alone that strength must come to the performance of both, as also of all other duties.

Surely then, seeing the Lord has dealt so kindly with me, shewing unto me so much love far beyond my deservings, it becomes me then to eye His providence not only in this my present lot (and surely many remarkable steps of His providence are seen in it), and with patience humbly to submit. For it is the Lord alone who has done it, a holy, just, and wise God who can do no wrong. What may be the event of it, He alone knows. I desire to hope that all shall terminate in His glory and my soul's comfort, seeing that while I have a

being in time I shall be constrained to bless Him that ever He trysted me with my present lot.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Feb. 9, 1687. As the love of God has been unspeakably great towards me throughout the whole course of my time, so it is not wanting in this my present lot every way: which if seriously pondered might constrain me to give up myself and all my concerns unto the Lord, to be at His disposal, who certainly will order all things well whatever be the event of the present trial—which will yield inward peace of conscience in all my straits through this pilgrimage. And the blessed fruit thereof I shall reap in the close, while beyond the power and cruelty of men.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Thursday, Feb. 10,
1687. When men is threatening very furiously, it is comfortable that I have One to look to who overrules all, even the Lord God of Hosts who is infinite in power and wisdom, and who is my covenanted God. Blessed be His glorious name who ever was pleased to own such a poor unworthy sinner as I am. O

what comfort does this yield unto me under my present lot while threatened by men, that the Lord has owned and is owning me by the intimation of His free love. O how shall I win to a right frame to praise Him? O shall I not still be more willing to suffer for Him, that, do what He pleases, I may cheerfully submit, not doubting but all shall terminate in His glory and my soul's eternal comfort.

To be exercising myself fervently in seeking strength from God for my support and through-bearing in my present trial, is certainly my duty. And O that I were about this work, and then I might expect ane comfortable issue out of all difficulties I am and may be trysted with in this perishing world. I might also expect to get the graces of the Spirit in a more lively exercise than ever they have been formerly with me, which would be very supporting and encouraging, especially in such a lot as this is.

I desire through the Lord's strength not to be discouraged this day, though men, yea our great ones have threatened to devolve me and others

upon the Justice Court;* for surely, without the Lord's absolute permission, that cannot be accomplished; and if the Lord has so determined my trial, I desire, throughout, strength to submit patiently, and bless His name for it, and that it is for adhering unto His truth, even for adhering to a persecuted gospel, and not for any evil.

Eidnburgh Tolbooth, To look unto all the steps of God's
Friday, Feb. 11, 1687.

Providence since the very first hour of my being apprehended, might stir me up to wonder and admiration at so great love. Has not the Lord been wonderfully supporting me, giving me zeal and courage to suffer for His persecuted truths that is so much borne down by the cruel ones of these lands, that have been and are endeavouring to raze to the foundation the Church of God which was once glorious in these lands, but now sadly ruined. O that God would appear against their cruel proceedings, and yet appear and make His Church again glorious, that

* Court of Justiciary.

His poor people may be delighting to go into the sanctuary, there to praise Him.

I desire to commit myself wholly to the Lord for strength and direction in this present dispensation, whatever may be the event of it.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Sabbath, Feb. 13,
1687.

It is comfortable at all times to have the presence of God, but most comfortable in a day of distress. O what more refreshing than God's countenance, what more refreshing than a blink of His love to a poor soul, what more satisfying than to be drawn with draughts of love towards matchless Christ, who is the fountain of all love, the well-spring of all blessedness, who is willing to distribute the same plentifully to all His followers.

To take up the cross and follow Christ is that which He himself has commanded all believers to do. And surely it is that which He has been desiring me to do, but more especially now while I am called to suffer for following His persecuted gospel. O for strength to do this so great a work, which is one of the terms of the

everlasting Covenant, and to which (through His strength) I have engaged myself again and again, praise be to His holy name.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Tuesday, Feb. 15,
1687.

The love and care of God towards me since I came to this place has been very great. O how has He been pleased to give me health and strength, keeping me from fainting or wearying, or being in the least cast down: all which are tokens of God's fatherly love much to be admired. And O that I could walk thankful of such great mercies while I have a being in time, that so I may be always blessing and praising His holy name who has esteemed me worthy of such ane honour as to suffer for Him, and that he has not left me to myself under my sufferings. O praise, praise, be unto Him!

If the Lord had left me to trust in my own strength, O how should I have fallen backward offending God, and proven a scandal to His blessed gospel. But blessed be His name who has not been absent from me even while called before

great ones ; so that though I may have given them offence (but without any just ground), yet I desire to hope in that I did not offend God, which is refreshing to me under my suffering lot. Now, as God has not been absent from me while called to give a testimony for His persecuted interest, so I desire to beg of Him, for His dear Son His sake, that He may not be absent from me in time coming (for I may lay my account to be again called before them ;) that so I may be directed by His holy Spirit how to answer and give a further testimony for His truth (not yielding to their sinful desires). And then let the Lord dispose of me as He please, whether to liberty or further trial. I desire strength to submit, and then let Him call for what He pleases, even if it were for the natural life ; I should heartily think myself willing to render it up, through His strength bearing me up. I desire to commit myself wholly, and those that are suffering with me, on His care, and desires to hope that He will work for us, that all may be for His glory and good of our souls and the comfort of His followers.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Wednesday, Feb. 16,
1687.

There can be nothing so comfortable to a believer as to have communion and fellowship at all times, but especially in a time of suffering. O if I could come at this through the Lord's strength, then happy should I be; a prison should rather prove a palace to me. Surely I have great reason to bless His holy name, that now He is not withdrawing Himself so as to leave me to myself, but is still continuing His free love towards me, giving me support under my present lot, yea such manifestations of His love that I can scarce call it a prison. Yea, I dare not call it a prison; for surely where the Lord gives His presence to any of His followers, in whatever place it be, even though it were a dungeon, that is more comfortable to the follower of Christ, yea he will find more real solace, joy, and satisfaction than in the best palaces of the world, however so gorgeously adorned.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Friday, Feb. 18, 1687.

I desire to bless the Lord, who moved me to spend all this last night with a poor condemned man that is now

gone to eternity. I have much peace in this, as all those who were with me, seeing by what we could apprehend the Lord was pleased to work upon him sensibly, he being greatly obdurate and grossly ignorant; yet I desire to hope that it's now well with him.

This day may be said to be one of the most remarkable days that has been in Scotland these many years, seeing this day has been openly by proclamation and Toleration declared to several sorts of people; and whatever of it may be granted to the poor persecuted people of God in this nation, yet it's to be feared that it's only for a snare to them (but God can disappoint them if He think fit, and that may be comfort), that so they may get Popery more and more advanced, seeing that by this also it is declared that the King, by virtue of his royal prerogative (as they call it) has suspended all the penal laws of the nation made by his predecessors against Popery, which the late Parliament would not consent unto, seeing it is contrair to all law, yea a destroying of the laudable laws of the land.

O lamentable to think that ever such a day should have been seen in Scotland, wherein the work of Reformation was so glorious, yea the blessed gospel in so great purity that it might have been said to have surpassed all nations in the world. O sad day of desolation, wherein the Lord seems to be departing, and that for our great sins, such as despising of the gospel, breach of vows, and innumerable other sins which are abounding even to this day as a plague from the Lord.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Sabbath, Feb. 20,
1687.

To spend a Sabbath aright unto the Lord is that which should be my great study, but alas, I have little exercised myself thereunto, otherwise Sabbath-days' breaches would have been more few, gospel-mercies would have been more refreshing and more improven, which would be satisfying now to think of when deprived of these blessed mercies by being shut up within bolted doors. O then that I could feed upon these blessed offers that has been many times offered unto me.

I desire to bless the Lord who does not withdraw Himself from me in my present lot, but is bestowing upon me many tokens of His love beyond what I can express. O that I were enough sensible of such great and free love that is bestowed upon me.

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Wednesday, Feb. 23,
1687.

Who would not be concerned, yea mourn and weep, to think of the desolate condition of this persecuted and bleeding Church—a Church which was once glorious, the Lord taking delight in her, blessing her with as many blessings as any Church in the world, even with many eminently faithful pastors, making their labours to prosper, so that godliness increased and was cherished, and sin and wickedness was borne down. But now what is to be seen but profanity and horrid abominations cherished these many years bypast, and those that seem to fear the Lord, by adhering to His truth and forsaking the abominations of the time, how are they broken down and persecuted; so that it's now to be seen what they have been

driving on and making way for, even the advancement of Antichrist's interest, which we would not believe (so as to return unto the Lord by repentance, and crying and wrestling with Him), though often told us by the faithful servants of the Lord.

What the enemies of the Lord has been secretly contriving these years bypast against His people (in this poor nation), that has been so many years under sad persecution, is now come to light ; they having by open proclamation given a full liberty to papists, and indemnifying them for all their former faults whatsoever, by cancelling and disabling all former wholesome laws of this nation made against such a bloody crew, as by cancelling and disabling all those horrid and cruel oaths (though not as to them) which have been made these 26 years bypast which stand in the way by hindering them to be employed in any public office in the kingdom. And now, instead of all these oaths, what a horrid, detestable and unheard of is invented (and to be pressed upon all whom the Council pleases), declaring it to be unlawful for subjects on any pretence, or for any cause

whatever, to rise in arms against the present King, or any commissioned by him, and that never to assist any who shall so do, nor never to resist his power or authority, nor ever oppose his authority to his person, but to the utmost power assist, defend, maintain him, his heirs and lawful successors, in the exercise of their absolute power and authority against all, deadly. Which oath, alas is to be feared (if the holy and wise God, of His free love and mercy and of His infinite power, do not disappoint, yea restrain the hands of furious men from imposing it) will bring a sad destruction on this poor land, I mean upon the consciences of men. But O that the Lord would be pleased to prevent this sad snare that is now laid in the way for debauching men's consciences, and rendering them unfit by binding up their hands from the least appearing for Christ and His interest.

O sad and lamentable to think that now such doors are opened to idolatry and superstition which has been so long shut, notwithstanding of all the cruel designs that has been set against

it. O that I had strength to mourn and weep for the distressed condition of this poor persecuted land, and seriously to mourn for sin that is the cause of all this anger and wrath from the Lord which we have justly deserved for our manifold backslidings, such as despising of the gospel, breach of vows, misimproving of means, and many other iniquities, which all the people of God ought to be regretting and mourning over this day. And O that it were their work so to be seriously and fervently employed, and then there might be some hope that the Lord would yet appear and work deliverance for His poor Church and people, by breaking down the strength and power of cruel and wicked men that are ruining His work and interest.

As I have formerly, so this day I desire to give up myself entirely unto the Lord (through His strength, for without it I can do nothing that is acceptable), to be guided and directed by Him not only in my present lot, but throughout all the steps of my time. It is He alone who knows my need at present, and this is my comfort that He

can, and I desire to hope He will own me accordingly. For I cannot, yea dare not, say that He has been wanting to me throughout all the steps of my time unto this very day (praise, praise be to His glorious name), notwithstanding of my manifold offences, for which I desire to beg and cry for pardon this morning, that so they may not stand in the way of a blessing from heaven this day.

It is strength from the Lord to stand out in the present trial, which I desire earnestly to cry for this day, for never more need nor* now, when it would seem I must be again called before great ones, to give further testimony for Christ and His truth. But this is my comfort, that the preparation of the heart and the answer of the tongue is of the Lord, and that Christ has promised that when His followers shall be called before great ones for His sake, that then it should be given them what to speak. I desire to rely wholly on the Lord for this (and not on any strength of my own), that so I may be helped cleanly through

* *i.e.* than.

(that so I may not offend God nor be a scandal to the people by giving offence to the generation of the godly, or by giving occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme). Whatever the event may be, it's only strength I desire, and then let the Lord call for what He in His holy wisdom shall think fit, whether liberty, further imprisonment, banishment, yea if it were even the natural life itself, I shall desire through His strength to be willing to embrace any of them with cheerfulness.

p. 8.*

Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Friday, Feb. 25, 1687.

Who has more reason to bless and praise the Lord for all His wonderful mercies and free love than I have this day? O that I could praise Him! O that my soul and all that is within me could bless and magnify His holy name. And O that I could invite others to bless and praise Him and to fall in love with Him, whose love is wonderful to all His followers. O how does He encourage them from time to time to draw near unto Him, for is

**i.e.* prayed 8 times.

He not with them in peace and in trouble, yea even in the furnace? And surely I have reason to say this, that He has done so with me a poor undeserving sinner. Has not He been comfortable and supporting unto me while at liberty; and O blessed be His name who has been refreshing and supporting unto me while under the present trial—yea throughout all the steps of it, His wonderful providence has been seen in carrying me through. And O has He not been with me wonderfully this day by supporting me even while before great ones, and who has been pleased to restrain them from their former malice.

Edinburgh [*Eodem*]. It is unto the Lord only I desire
to give praise, yea as I am able
I desire to bless His holy name for what he has
been pleased to tryst me with this day, by
bringing me cleanly through my trial, so that I
desire to hope that the Lord is not offended
thereby, and that I have given no offence to
His people, nor enemies occasion to blaspheme;
the Lord even binding up their tongues as it

were from asking any of those questions which I expected and which I declined to answer when I was last before them, such as these:—Whether or not there was a preaching, and who was minister (which I refused to them to prove); and if Bothwell Bridge was rebellion; and if it be lawful to rise in arms against the King upon any pretext whatsoever: which I refused to answer, and for which I have been threatened these weeks bypast to be tried for my life. But blessed be the Lord who has restrained enemies' fury, and has made them to deal favourably with me this day, and with those that were with me upon the same account, excepting one whom I hope the Lord will fairly carry through and deliver. O how shall I praise the Lord for all His mercies and wonderful love-tokens since I came to the world, but especially for all the favourable steps of His providence under my late suffering lot. I desire to bless His name for it, hoping that I shall have reason to bless Him for it while I live. *p.* 6.

* * *

Edinburgh, Thursday, . . . This morning I met with
 March 24, 1687. those who were fellow-prisoners
 with me, suffering upon the same account, to
 return thanks unto the Lord for His signal
 deliverance He wrought for us throughout all the
 steps of our trial, trysting us with many greater
 marks of His free love to us, if all seriously
 pondered; and surely, this was none of the least
 that the Lord in His holy and wise providence was
 pleased to be a hiding-place to His faithful servant
 (who was preaching the gospel to us then, and
 whom the Lord has in His providence assisted to
 preach to us this day a comfortable and upstirring
 word, yea a word of instruction and direction,
 how to walk upon the back of such ane eminent
 deliverance). * . .

* * *

Edinburgh, Wednes- The Lord's dealings with His
 day, July 7, 1687, poor Church and people has been
 very wonderful in all ages; sometimes trysting
 them with trials, suffering enemies to persecute

* This was Mr John Moncrieff.

them severely, and when they have been at the greatest extremity of distress, how has the Lord wonderfully appeared for them, sending them deliverance from airts† they could never have thought upon. His ways with His poor Church is also this day very wonderful. What He may bring out of the present calm and liberty, that is shewn by men, He alone knows. Our enemies may be designing by this liberty, that is this day published, to ruin the Protestant interest in Scotland, but it is the Lord who has often disappointed men and outshot them in their own bow. I desire to trust in the Lord that it shall be so now, and that this shall be the beginning of a door opened for the enlargement of a persecuted gospel. . . .

* * *

Edinburgh, Sabbath,
July 17, 1687.

As the Lord is, out of His free love, trysting His people in this land with unexpected and undeserved mercies, in having the gospel to be preached in public

**Airts*, quarters.

this day, O that He would also tryst His people with an unexpected meeting with their souls.

. . . .

[*Eodem die*]. What shall I render to the Lord that ever made me witness to such a glorious day of the gospel as this, wherein so many full offers of a crucified Saviour has been powerfully held out, invitations to come to Him and receive Him upon His own terms, all so held out by the servant of the Lord that His power in assisting him was evidently seen. . .

* * * *

Edinburgh, Wednesday, Oct. 12, 1687. What shall I render unto the Lord who has been preserving me in my late journeyings to the west and south of this nation and to the west of England, and has been pleased to return me here in safety? O for a heart, a broken and tender heart fitted for praising of the Lord for such a mercy, but especially for the remarkable deliverances I met with by the way—such as I met with going through the water at Gallowsands, where the Lord preserved me

from being destroyed. And upon my return, how was He pleased to manifest His love when almost swallowed up in quicksands at Cuple beyond Drumfries. . .

* * * *

Edinburgh, Tuesday, . . . I desire to wait on God
Nov. 21, 1887.

for being rightly determined in all that I go about, and that He would be with me where I am designing, and prosper my way . . . I desire not to be unmindful of what advice and counsel I have had from several these few months, but more pressingly from Mr Moncrieff, Mr Gavinson, and Mr Crawford, ministers of the gospel; if fitted and called of the Lord to such a great work (as they have been pressing, at least earnestly desiring, me to follow), how happy should I be. I desire to hope it is the Lord who has called me (and whose counsel I have formerly sought) unto that study I have been and am now (through His strength) designing to prosecute. If the Lord have any further service to call me unto, I shall desire by His grace to submit.

IV.

1688.

Leaves for Holland—Driven back by storm—Leyden his "desired port"—Hears Carstairs preach—Death of his mother—A retrospect—First Communion—At Targoos with a pupil—Loss of his "dearest comrade"—Prayer before Holy Communion—Resigns his tutorship—Preparing for invasion of England—Thoughts before embarking.

STARTING FOR HOLLAND.

Edinburgh, Friday,
Dec. 2, 1687, *mane*.

It would be very comfortable and soul-refreshing to have that promise made out, that the Lord made to Jacob at Haran, when he was going to Padan-aram: "and behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land." There is nothing can be more desirable than to have this promise fulfilled to one's experience: O that I had strength to rely on God; O for faith to trust in Him; O for love,

that my heart may be as it were burning within me with love to God, that my affections and the desires of my soul may go out after Him! And then I need not doubt but the Lord will make out that promise to my experience.

It is the making out of this promise I have been this morning seeking from God, though in great weakness. It's that which I desire yet to seek, even that He would be with me where I am going, upon the water and upon the land He would not withdraw Himself, but give His comfortable presence, that He would keep me from sin at all times, but especially in the company of the wicked, that He would provide for me and bless all my endeavours.

I have this morning been resigning myself again to the Lord, resolving to serve Him wherever I go, to be one of His children and servants, and have been taking the Lord to be my God and Guide, yea my all-in-all. O for strength to perform all such engagements and resolutions!

I desire to leave the Church and people of God everywhere, and even persecuted, upon the Lord,

that He would work deliverance for them ; and particularly the poor churches which were often engaged unto God, but more especially the Church of Scotland. And I desire to bless the Lord that made me to be born in this land and a member of this Church.

I leave all my relations on God that He would direct them and provide for them, and all my acquaintance and well-wishers and to whom I stand much obliged. And I desire to wait for the presence of the Lord to be with me.

Leith Road, Saturday,
Dec. 3, 1687. I desire to bless the Lord who has

brought me this length in safety.

It's He alone that can take me to my desired port, and it's in Him I desire only to trust, not doubting but He will be with me upon the deep waters, and seeing His wonderful works will make to ble^s and praise Him more and more.

I leave all that I am concerned into on God alone, who can, and I hope will, preserve them and provide for them ; my near and dear relations be upon Him, His Church and people be upon

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Him, but especially poor ruined Scotland! I'll wait on the Lord and commit myself and all that is with me unto His care and conduct.

Edinburgh, Monday,
Dec. 5, 1687.

What shall I render unto the Lord for all His mercies, but especially for the last day's preservation whilst in the deep waters and in so great a storm? Surely I may say by experience that "wonderful are His works and goodness to the children of men." O how shall I praise Him and magnify His name for all the expressions of His love, and for this in particular? O for strength to perform former engagements and resolutions to serve the Lord, and to perform late resolutions even while in the deep waters! O that all the Lord's dealings with me may, by His strength, have this effect with me as to bring me more and more nearer Himself—even to such a nearness that nothing I may meet with in the world may terrify or in the least discompose me, so as to quit hopes of heaven and eternal happiness.

Shall I ever but praise the Lord and bless His holy name, who is pleased from time to time to tryst me with so great love? O for strength to engage again and again to His service, that I may come to be fully and entirely giving up myself to the Lord!

Edinburgh, Wednesday,
Dec, 7, 1687.

To be in a spiritual frame is that which is acceptable to God. And surely, to be seriously minding that I must give an account unto God how I spend every moment of my time, could not but be a great help to come at such a frame. O to be earnest then with God, that He may put me in mind how I should spend my time, that I may never be out of a frame fitted for serving God! And then I may at all times make my supplication to Him with assurance of being heard.

Sin ought always to be minded so as to mourn for it, and make application for pardoning mercy through the blood of sprinkling.

That the Lord may yet go with me even through the deep waters preserving me, and may bring

me to my desired port, may provide for me and prosper my ways with a blessing upon all my endeavours, is that [for which] I desire to make my request unto the Lord, in whom only I desire to trust for the accomplishment of all this, and of every other thing I stand in need of in time, either as to my spiritual or bodily condition.

Camphyre * in Zee-land, Dec. 15, 1687.

How shall I ever be able to bless and praise the Lord, the great preserver of men, who has been pleased in His holy and wise providence to bring me through the boisterous and raging sea to this place in safety. O for strength to praise His name while I live for this great deliverance! Is not this a new tie and engagement upon me to serve the Lord? O for grace to improve it, that it may appear in my life and conversation that I am one of His children and servants!

Camphyre, Saturday, Dec. 17, 1687.

The Lord's goodness in His wonderful preserving me hitherto, not to be forgotten. But alas, how unfit am I to

* Campvere.

render thanks as I ought to do, and how straitened for a retired part to go about that duty, as the Lord should enable me. How may I recollect with grief upon former times, when I have had both time and retiredness, and yet have neglected that necessary duty as well as other duties. That God has brought me here in safety is no small mercy, especially considering that many who were also upon the deep waters at that time were nigh to have been swallowed, escaping only with their lives.

As the Lord has been pleased to bring me safe here, though not the place for which I designed (but I desire to reverence Providence in it), so I desire to hope that He will conduct me to my desired port, even to the end of my voyage, that He will provide for me, preserve me, and bless all my endeavours, keep me from the society of the wicked, and from being entangled in their snares.

I desire to beg of the Lord that he would prepare my heart for meeting with Him on His own day that is now approaching; and seeing that He has

been pleased to cast my lot in a corner where the gospel is preached in purity (as I am informed), O that He would for His own name sake dispose my heart aright for His service, that so I may profit, my heart may be touched so as to melt within me: which will further engage me to bless His name, that ever He was pleased to bring me hither to this corner of the world.

Camphyre, Sabbath,
Dec. 18, 1687.

What an unspeakable mercy is it to have the gospel in purity, as I have had this day! O for strength to improve such a mercy, that so it may not prove a curse but a blessing unto me, that I may be profiting thereby.

Sermon heard, by Mr Gordon* (a Scottish man and Presbyterian) from 2 Tim. iv. 2: insisted most on the duty of ministers, their preaching in season and out of season, and of their reprovng or convincing people of ignorance, impenitence, or error.

* Rev. Chas. Gordon, M.A., was minister at Campvere from 1686 to 1690: see "Steven's Scottish Church, Rotterdam," p. 294.

Rotterdam, Saturday,
Dec. 24, 1687. The Lord's mercies towards me
continue yet to be wonderful; O
how shall I praise Him who has preserved me
hitherto through the steps of my sojourning!
Are there not still more engagements upon me
to serve Him, trusting in Him wholly?

Leyden, Wednesday,
Dec. 28, 1687. O how shall I praise the Lord for
His continued love to such an
unworthy sinner as I am: O what am I that I
should be trysted with so great love from time
to time? I am now brought in safety to my
desired port; and does not this call for thank-
fulness? O for strength to praise the Lord, and
serve Him in sincerity while I live! As I am
able, I desire to cast myself entirely upon Him,
and embrace Him to be my God, my guide, and
all-in-all; desiring to wait for strength, direction,
and understanding, to perform everything that may
be for His glory and my soul's well-being, in time
and through eternity.

That the Lord would give me His presence and
blessing in a strange land, is that which I desire

to entreat so to hope for, that so my life may not prove a burden to me, but that in all I do I may have an eye to the glory of God. And then, I may the more expect and wait for His blessing.

I desire to seek direction from the Lord anent my study, and that all my endeavours may be attended with a blessing.

Leyden, Saturday,
Dec. 31, 1687.

The distressed case of the Protestants in France, Savoy, and Hungary, not to be forgotten. O how sad is it to hear of the persecution that is in Hungary at present, managed by the bloody Papists: O who will not be concerned for it? Surely, all that seek the Lord ought to mind it, and to be serious with God in their behalf. O that I could be more concerned for them than I have hitherto been; for besides that it is my duty so to be exercised, I know not when I may be trysted with the like trial. O to be preparing for it!

Preparation for the Sabbath I desire to entreat, that so I may lament misspending of the last Sabbaths, and entreat for a blessing that so I may

come to get more nearness with God, even the assurance of pardoning mercy.

Leyden, Sabbath,
Jan. 1, 1688.

What shall I render to the Lord for all His mercies which are wonderful and many? And surely this is none of the least, that my life is continued, and one day and month after another are given, yea year after year, so that I shall be inexcusable if I spend not time in serving the Lord.

I desire to beg strength from God to begin this year with His service, yea to serve Him with earnestness and fervency of spirit throughout all the years and days He shall be pleased to spare me in time; that so in the close (how soon soever it may be) I may win to enjoy Him for ever, to sing and praise Him without interruption through all the ages of eternity.

That I may spend this day in the fear of the Lord, is that which I desire to entreat, that so I may get a blessing from heaven, even a blink of the Lord's presence, which will be more desirable,

more comforting, and soul-refreshing than can be expressed. O for a tryst at heaven this day, that darkness and deadness may be removed, and distance betwixt God and my soul may be done away, that so I may win to fellowship and communion again after so long an absence.

Sermon heard, by Mr Wm. Carstairs from Gal. iii. 6, etc.—holding out faith to be that which is absolutely requisite in order to salvation: what faith is: and how to know if we have it; and that by coming unto Christ, looking unto Him, esteeming Him precious, and loving Him: with exhortations to this. And further, holding out what Christ has done for us by His satisfying divine justice.

Leyden, Tuesday,
Jan. 3, 1688.

Seeing time can never be recalled, how ought I to be earnest with the Lord for strength to spend every minute thereof aright, especially seeing it is uncertain when it may be at an end, and to all who make conscienee in spending it their reward shall be great.

Leyden, Friday,
Jan. 6, 1688. To spend time never so diligently,
even in performing that which is
lawful in itself, yet if God be not eyed in all that
I do, if His service be neglected, I cannot expect
to prosper. O that I could mind this seriously
and spend more time in the Lord's service! It's
He alone must help me to this, and it's on Him I
desire to rely for the performance of it, and for
everything I stand in need of in time.

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Leyden, *Dies Dom.*,
Jan. 15, 1688. The mercies I meet with in the
Lord's taking me out and bringing
in, in safety, ought not to be forgotten.

To have the gospel preached in purity is a
singular mercy, but to have a conversation suitable
thereunto is difficult and rare.

Sermon by Mr Wm. Carstairs from Eph. vi. 10—
“*be strong in the Lord and in the power of His
might.*”

Leyden, Monday,
Jan. 23, 1688. Every day provides new matter for
blessing and praising God, and
sure I am this day's mercy is so great that I cannot

express, yea not think, enough of it—even that which may be matter of praise while I live, that after being so much cast down through a heavy fit of sickness, that the Lord should again so suddenly raise me up to health and strength far beyond my expectation. O what great love is this! what undeserved love is this! Did I not deserve not only to be cast upon the bed of sickness, but to have been cast down into hell in the midst of my iniquities? O what wonderful love is this! Shall I ever be able to admire and wonder enough, that such a miserable wretch as I should have been trusted with such a dispensation?

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*, Afternoon by Mr Wm.
 Jan. 29, 1688.
*vesp.**

Carstairs from Eccles. vii. 14—

“*In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider.*” *Observation 1*, that thankfulness of heart for mercies is that which is called for: holding out what those mercies are which make days prosperous, such as the joyful

* *i.e. vesperi*, in the evening.

sound of the gospel, and that in purity, not mixed with the traditions of men, etc.

Obs. 2, that days even when prosperous may be days of adversity, as they are now at this present time; and that in respect of the affliction of our brethren about us, they may be called days of adversity. Is not that glorious Church of France now ruined, which was established upon a sure foundation, even the blood of many martyrs? Are they not scattered and made to wander, such of them as are left? Then, the deplorable state of the churches in the Valleys of Piedmont, who are thought to have retained the true doctrine of the gospel since the days of the Apostles; as also the sad case of other churches—which all makes the day to be a day of adversity. . . .

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*,
Feb. 5, 1688.

. . . . The case of the Protestant churches this day continues to be so deplorable, that all who have any love to God and His interest ought to be concerned for them by a frequent and serious wrestling with God in their behalf. O how sad is the present

state of the Church of France, that even while it seems there are a few left undestroyed there, yet those they are persecuting with the same severeness of wrath, as they have done these several years bygone. O that the Lord would arise for their help, and in the meantime give inward support that they may resist all the temptations of men, and give a cheerful testimony for Christ and His interest.

The ruined case of the churches in the Valleys of Piedmont ought not to be forgotten. How are they also destroyed, and some of them, even of their ministers, are under the servitude of the Algerines even unto this day, being taken by them while flying their native country through the raging persecution there! O that the Lord would appear and hasten salvation for them and for all His poor people everywhere; for the combination of the Popish Princes seems to be great for the ruin of the Protestant interest. But this is comfortable that our King rules for ever in Zion, and it's He that can bring about deliverance for all His churches. . . O that

the Lord would give strength to all Protestant Princes to unite themselves together for the extirpating and ruining Popery.

I desire that God would be pleased to direct the States of thir* United Provinces how to behave in the present affair with the King of Britain in his demanding the English and Scots regiments that are here, that so nothing may be done that may be hurtful to themselves or to the Protestant interest in Britain.

I desire to bless God who is pleased to make my lot so comfortable here as to give me the gospel preached in purity not only by one of the English nation,† but by adding this day one of our own countrymen, a worthy and pious man, a great and good man as is in our nation, to preach the gospel in this place. O for strength to be thankful for this choice mercy, which many that are more worthy are deprived of. I desire to entreat that the Lord may strengthen him more

* *Thir*, old Scottish for *these*.

† This refers to Rev. Henry Hickman, M.A., first minister of the Scots Church at Leyden, 1675-1691. See *Steven*, p. 315.

and more to this great work of preaching the gospel—even that utterance may be given him, that he may open his mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the gospel.

Sermon heard forenoon by Mr Hickman. . . .
 Afternoon by Mr Carstairs from Eph. xix. 20. *Obs.*, that it was the duty of people to be earnest with God in behalf of ministers (and more especially those to whom they have a more particular relation), that a door of utterance may be given them, etc. *

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*,
 Feb. 12, 1688.

Every day produces new matter of mourning, what from without, even the deplorable aspect that all the Protestant Churches have this day, and the great fears of some heavier stroke to fall upon them than hitherto have been; which if seriously thought upon by me could not but raise up within me a lively sympathy with a bleeding Church.

Then what is from within is no less deplorable—a hardened heart. . . .

* This was probably the day of Carstairs' admission as colleague to Hickman.



From Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

4. 1. 23

Leyden, Thursday,
Feb. 16, 1688.

The Lord's dealings with me throughout all the steps of my pilgrimage have been such as, if seriously pondered, might by the Lord's assistance prove mercies for stirring me up to my duty. . .

Has not the Lord, out of His free love and for no worth in me, trusted me with a continued tract of mercies, even mercies innumerable, mercies unexpected? Has He not, since He brought me into the world, cared for me, has been a Father unto me who never saw my father on earth, providing for me and the family in which I was most concerned, and that wonderfully: when in straits, the relief was at hand. . .? Has He not preserved me at all times? Even while in greatest hazard, He was ready to help me throughout every step of my pilgrimage, both upon the deep waters and upon dry land. And above all, did cast my lot in such a place of the world, where His gospel has brightly shined, and yet does shine though not of so great a measure: has made me to come of parents of the Reformed religion and

servants of the Lord; and did not leave me altogether to myself to be led by the carnal thoughts of a hardened heart, but was pleased, out of free love only, to make me in my younger years to fall in love with Him and His ways in some measure, and more and more has hitherto been educating me in these ways. . .

Has not the Lord also bestowed upon me this mercy (for which, as for all other mercies, I desire to bless His holy name) in not leaving me altogether without chastisements, sometimes outwardly as to the things of this world, sometimes by the death of near and dear relations who were very comfortable to me in time, sometimes by outward troubles from men* (from which he was pleased wonderfully to deliver me, and support me while under it), and then His dispensations of a long time which have been very afflicting to His churches everywhere, so that part of them are ruined, others of them near to ruin—yea, all the Protestant Churches in such a bleeding condition

* Probably referring to his brief imprisonment, terminated by the Indulgence. *See* p. 99.

at present, that if the Lord Himself prevent it not, it may be feared the event will be sad.

And what shall I say of the Lord's dispensation to me at present, which is one of the saddest I have been trysted with, even the sad news of the death of my nearest and dearest relation on earth, the death of my only parent?* Is not this afflicting and very heavy upon many accounts? Yet I dare not grudge or repine, for it is the Lord, the holy and wise God, that hath done it, who does all things well and for the advantage of His own, who gives life and takes it again. And why should I not bless His name for all that He does? The dispensation is indeed very sad, but O shall I quarrel with God and say, Why hast thou dealt so with me? Is not this to provoke Him to anger, and not to answer His call by the present rod?

Leyden, Friday,
Feb. 17, 1688.

There be many things in my present trial which make it heavy; as (1) the death of my nearest relation, the loss of

* His mother.

whom natural affection calls for sorrowfulness. But I desire to hope what is to my loss is her unspeakable gain. (2) The consideration of the great care she had of me from my infancy, especially as to my education. (3) My great unanswerableness to such kindness, yea my unanswerable walk to the duty of obedience that God enjoins children to exercise towards their parents; which, if seriously reflected upon, how afflicting may it be, that at any time I should have displeased a parent whose love and affection towards me and the rest of her children was so very great. How astonishing may it be, yea may it not be cause of mourning to us all, while we live, and ought we not to be serious with the Lord to get this sin amongst many others purged away? (4) That immediately after my parting with her, even within very few days, the Lord was pleased to call for her (not that I desire to repine at the Lord's dispensation; I desire rather to be helped to submit wholly unto Him who does all things well); but it may make me to question my seriousness as to my requests

relating to my coming from Scotland at that time, especially considering the season of the year,* and her former and continued unwellness, and the averseness of some to my voyage, even of those who were my constant well-wishers, and also the seeming averseness in some measure that she formerly had to my going abroad, though at parting she was pleased to express that she freely parted with me, which yields to me some satisfaction, though alas, there be many circumstances in it that may be afflicting unto me. (5) My being preserved wonderfully by the Lord while in the deep waters in a terrible storm after my first coming to sea, being safely put in again to Leith. And yet at our meeting in Edinburgh and the seven days I stayed there, her unwellness was rather increased than diminished. But (6) above all, that clearness as to peace with God she had not won to so as she desired; but I desire to hope that the Lord, for His dear Son's sake, has pardoned all her manifold and great sins,

* He sailed on Dec. 2, 1687, encountered a severe storm, and put back to Leith, Dec. 5: *see* p. 123 *sqq.*

has given her assurance of peace with Himself or* she went out of this world, and has taken her unto Himself to glory, there to sing praises of Hallelujah for ever, where she is freed from all the troubles of this world, and taken up with the joys of heaven, where there is no trouble, no sorrow, no want, no more sinning, but an eternal enjoying of God.

Leyden, Saturday,
Feb. 18, 1688.

Many things there be in my lot which may occasion sadness, not only the present outward trial that the Lord has thought fit to trust me with, which when I consider I cannot but be grieved; but also His afflicting hand is upon me inwardly. . . .

Feb. 19, 1688, *Dies*
Dom. mane.

. . . I desire to entreat that the Lord would assist His servants everywhere to preach His word this day, that there may be many souls brought in, that the harvest of the Lord may be great, and that Britain and

* *Or, ere.*

Scotland may share of such blessing; and that His servants that are to preach His word here to a poor handful of these nations may be assisted by His Holy Spirit. . . .

Ante merid. . . . I have heard this day that when sin abounds in the heart, there is no other way to get it done away but by the Holy Spirit—that who will forsake sin, they must not only forsake the least, but every sin. . . .

* * * * *

Leyden, Saturday,
Feb. 25, 1688. They that trust in the Lord are most happy, they that trust in the world and rely on the vanities of it for their support are most miserable. It will fail them when they most rely on it; but the Lord is that merciful one who will not be wanting to those that trust in Him; when they have most to do, then He is not far off from helping them. Who would not fall in love with this Glorious God, whose mercies and love to such as will fear Him, are

wonderful? Yea, that has been the wonder of the blessed Angels unto all eternity.

* * * * *

Leyden, Tuesday,
March 13, 1688. . . . It ought not to be forgotten what the Lord Stair was pleased to advise me anent my study, which several others had formerly done. Surely it is that study which is most desirable. I desire to depend on God for direction in everything I do. If He be calling me to such a work, I hope He will also give strength to embrace it. In the meantime, I desire that the Lord may bless my present study, that so I may profit and be made in some measure fit for serving God by being useful in my generation.

Leyden, Wednesday,
March 14, 1688. The news I have again had from Scotland this night, of my mother's death, cannot but yield matter of sorrow upon many considerations, she being so very affectionate a parent, whose care of me from my infancy, both as to my education and otherwise,

was very great. But as her death cannot but be matter of sorrow unto me, yet how refreshing and comfortable is it to me to hear of the great and comfortable evidences she gave of her dying in the Lord, which was very refreshing to all present. I desire to bless the Lord for such comfortable tidings, and that ever He was pleased to make me to be of the seed of the faithful, even of such parents, who I desire to hope are singing praises of Hallelujah in glory.

The sad dispensation the Lord was pleased to trust me with this day of the year 1685, not to be forgotten.

Leyden, Thursday,
March 15, 1688.

. . . . Some he leads through their pilgrimage as it were in a bed of roses, making them to see good days, giving them the blessed gospel together with refreshing blinks of His countenance, so that they know not what rods and chastisements are as others do, but enjoy much peace and quietness and outward comforts of the world as they would desire. Others He leads as it were through briars and

thorns, trysting them with many heavy and afflicting dispensations, as sad and lamentable days when the gospel is borne down, Christ's interest low upon earth, and His enemies very mighty and insulting; sometimes he trusts them with His absence, which is most afflicting, even withdrawing His comfortable presence from their souls, sometimes with the death of relations and dear friends who were very comfortable in tyme, sometimes with one rod, sometimes with another, so that all their days are mixed with sorrow. But yet they want not some matter of joy at some times intermixed; otherwise how could they subsist? *

* * * * *

Leyden, Monday,
April 3, 1688.

The more I think upon this holy ordinance† that is approaching, and of the want of preparation of which I think in

* Compare p. 55,96.

† The Holy Communion, "*ane solemn and most necessar ordinance,*" he writes under Ap. 2, "*of which I have never yet been a partaker, occasioned by the sad troubles of persecution that have been for several years in that nation to which I belong.*"

some measure I am sensible, it seems the more terrible unto me of thinking to approach it. . . .

[Here follows a careful abstract of catechetical instructions, founded upon the Shorter Catechism, *Question* 96, 97. The preparation required is either (a) habitual, or (b) actual. *Habitual* preparation includes such graces as knowledge, faith, repentance, charity, new obedience. *Actual* preparation is compassed thro' "a solemn sequestration of oneself," self-examination, &c.]

* * * * *

Leyden, Saturday,
April 8, 1688.

. . . O to get all the graces of the Spirit awakened and put in exercise to attend this great work: faith in exercise, laying hold on some of the promises, feeding on the promises, and going on hand in hand with the promises, pleading for the accomplishment of them to my soul's eternal comfort.

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*, . . . My soul desires to bless
 April 9, 1688. the Lord for what I have met
 with by being at His table. O magnify and
 adore Him, O my soul and all that is within
 me! O praise, praise, praise Him! . . . Have
 not I reason upon good grounds to say that this
 place has been a Bethel unto me?

Monday, Ap. 10,* 1688. . . The vows of God are now
 upon me. It becomes me to be
 humble, to have a watch over my heart, that
 so I may walk suitable to so great love and to
 such solemn engagements. Furniture from the
 Lord for this work, I desire to beg.

* * * * *

Rotterdam, Thursday, It may be the Lord's voice in
 May 12, 1688. the present dispensation of His
 providence. It's what I ought to be enquiring

*The date in the MS. is Ap. 9, but the previous dates shew this
 to be an error, the writer having used Ap. 8 *twice*. Similar
 errors occur here and there.

for. I desire to hope that I am called upon to embrace the present offer, being held out as a service done to the Protestant religion, which if it shall be the Lord's will to make the event so to be, is all I desire, that interest being more dear to me than all the interests of the world. I desire to entreat for conduct and direction from God, committing myself wholly to His disposal.

Targoes, Tuesday,
May 15, 1688.

To get the heart in a right frame at any time is no small condition, but especially while in a wandering position. I desire to bless the Lord who has brought me here in safety and those who are with me. I desire that the end of my coming may be blessed of Him in every way, both as to spiritual and to moral comfort: that the charge I have undertaken may tend to the glory of God, even of spiritual and temporal advantage to him with whom I am come here. I'll leave the event to the Lord only, that we may be disposed of by Him as He thinks fit, begging direction in the present circumstance

whether residing here or removing somewhere else may be most convenient.*

Targoes, *Dies Dom.*, . . . O for strength to feed
 May 23, 1688. upon the many gospel mercies
 I have been trysted with! And seeing my lot
 is at present cast in a retired corner of the world
 where the gospel is not in my native language, O
 that it would please the Lord to help to understand
 the gospel as it is here preached in purity, that
 so I may be always profiting. . . .

* * * * *

Targoes, Sabbath, . . . O that the Lord would
 June 6, 1688. give His gracious assistance to
 serve Him in this corner of the world, in that
 station wherein I am, and to which I would hope
 He has called me. It's His glory and the good
 of the Protestant interest that I would think I
 have chiefly aimed at in embracing it, as also
 the being useful of gaining a soul to Christ in

* Col. Maxwell had been asked to undertake the guardianship of a young Scottish gentleman of family, who had been sent over to Holland to escape the influence of R. Catholic relatives. For the "event," see *infra*, Sept. 27, 1688.

his younger years, if it please the Lord so to assist me. . . .

* * * * *

Targoes, *Dies Dom.*, That the Lord would
July 11, 1688.

make the end of my being in this corner blessed, that I may have comfort and other unspeakable advantages. It is the Lord Himself that can work. There is nothing impossible with Him; it is He that can break down the hardest of hearts, can bring out of a natural state, a state of sin, and make His ways known unto the soul of this youth with whom I am here. O that the Lord would have pity and compassion upon him, and bring him out of a natural state in unto Himself, that he may see his own iniquities and the need that he has of Christ, and so be made to flee for relief unto the blessed foundation of all consolation.

Targoes, Friday, All outward means fail;
July 16, 1688.

but this is comfortable, that God lives and is a present help in time of need; when

His time is come, there will not be instruments wanting. O to wait patiently!

* * *

Leyden, Thursday,
Sept. 9, 1688.

The Lord's dispensations towards me through the steps of my pilgrimage are such as call to walk always humbly before the Lord. And what dispensation doth speak more aloud than the present dispensation, when the Lord has been pleased in His holy and wise providence to remove from me by death one in whom I promised myself great satisfaction, we being joined together by so long continued affection that I think nothing in time could have broke it. . . O for strength to walk humbly under the present [rod], that I may now be setting about in earnest with due preparation for death, that I may go out of time with well-grounded hopes of going to glory (where I have not reason to doubt but he who is separated from me is gone), that so there may be a blessed meeting there with those who have gone before.

While going to the grave with ane so nearly tied unto me, it would be my wisdom to be minding my own frailty.

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*,
Sept. 12, 1688.

When the Lord smites, ought not I to tremble, especially when He sends His rod so near as to remove a friend, my dearest comrade,* yea who can I say was more dear unto me; in whom I had great satisfaction, and promised myself much more while in this place, and elsewhere, where it should have pleased the Lord to order our lot.

But now my expectations are cut off; and why should I promise myself any more satisfaction in any creature-comforts whatsoever? Are they not all vanity, and fadeth away daily? O to be weaned from all created enjoyments, never to be resting upon them, trusting in them, or promising myself so much comfort by them: but to forsake all, and flee to Christ Jesus only for true and real satisfaction that can never fade away. This

* See *supra*, p. 63, 65.

is that which surely I am called unto after so many afflicting dispensations of this sort these four years past. . . . I would desire that nothing that I am trysted with in the world, how sad and afflicting soever it may be, might divert me from a serious concern for the Church of God. The Protestant interest, which seems now to be very low and at a sad pass, calls for more than ordinary concern for it. O for strength to wrestle with God, crying out night and day that He may appear at this present time (when there is nothing but confusion promised in this part of the world) in defence of His own people against a company of bloodthirsty Papists who are doing what they can to root out the Protestant interest. .

* * * * *

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*, [Before Holy Communion]. .
 Sept. 26, 1688.

. . O holy Lord Jesus, who suffered on the cross for sinners, command my heart and thoughts this day, forgive all my iniquities, and give me strength to lay hold on

Thee by faith accompanied with unfeigned love, that so I may approach with confidence to Thy holy table, to eat of Thy body and drink of Thy precious blood, which were broken and shed for sinners; that so I may have Thy blessed purchase applied to my soul, I may feed spiritually upon Thee, getting the seal put to the everlasting Covenant, that all my sins may be done away and I may be made [ready] for enjoying of Thee for ever. In Thy strength I desire to go to Thy house, hear Thy Word, and sit down at Thy table. Thou art my God in Covenant; I'll wait for and expect Thy presence with me, that all may be performed aright to Thy glory and to my soul's advantage for ever.

[*After Communion, same day*]. . . Amongst other resolutions that I have engaged to this day, this was one—to be zealous for Christ and His interest, and more especially at such a time as this is, when great ones are setting themselves in opposition to Him and His interest, endeavouring to thrust out the Protestant interest even

in this part of the world, where it has been so glorious. . . .

Leyden, Monday,
Sept. 27, 1688.

. . . . I desire to think that I am called no longer to embrace this station wherein I have been near these five months, and that for several reasons. It is true that it was upon the account of the Protestant interest that is now so low, that I was moved at first chiefly to embrace it; the young gentleman being the head of an ancient family in that nation to which I belong, and who was sent over by his friends that he might not be educate popish by his father and uncle who caused search for him, but that he might be educate in this country in the Protestant religion. All which did much move to embrace the offer. But now, seeing that after I have tried all methods that I, or others concerned in him, could (for persuading him to follow schools, yea to instruct him in the principles of his religion, to give him reproof in season for his manifold gross enormities, and seasonable advice to follow the ways of the Lord, by seeking

Him and forsaking the company of the wicked)—and all has proven ineffectual; therefore, I judge it rational to part with him, recommending him to the Lord (as I have endeavoured to do hitherto), that He would work a change upon his heart, and make him one of His. I must say also, that many times I have had a grieved spirit for him, and did endeavour to wrestle with the Lord in some measure in his behalf, Whose time it seems is not yet come. O if it were His will to hasten it, how comfortable would it be unto me to hear it!

But though these reasons were not, yet I think the present juncture of affairs* gives me a sufficient call.

Leyden, *Dies Dom.*,
Oct. 3, 1688.

The work now in hand is certainly very great. Some of the princes of this part of the world are now setting themselves in opposition to the designs of these two

* The preparations for the invasion of Britain were complete, and the Prince of Orange only awaited the sanction of the States General. This was given on Oct. 14.

Kings, of England and France, brethren of the Jesuits' Society, who are confederate together for to ruin the Protestant interest in this part of the world. What the last has done already in extirpating (contrair to the most solemn engagements) the many hundreds and thousands of Protestants that were in France, and was likewise the instrument of extirpating all that were in the Valleys of Piedmont (a Church which has continued since Christ Jesus was in the world and the holy Apostles)—is known to the whole world. What the first has done is likewise evident—how by degrees he has introduced Popery into Britain, advanced Papists,* both contrair to all law: endeavoured and is yet still endeavouring to have all laws dissolved that stand for the security of the Protestant interest; and then, how he, wanting children of his own that would advance Popery, has, contrair to natural affection and all the principles of humanity, exposed himself to the shame of the world by bringing in a suppositious child to be

* *Scil.*, to offices of trust.



From Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

QUEEN MARY, WIFE OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

heir to so great a crown, and deprive his own lawful children, who are zealous Protestants. After all these endeavours and many more, if an appearing for the Protestant interest that is now so very low, and an endeavouring through the assistance of the Lord (without which nothing can be done, or nothing ought to be aimed at without the serious seeking after) to crush these designs, that are evident to the world, to ruin Protestants and set up Antichrist's throne in all the Protestant Church; if such an appearance upon so noble grounds be not lawful, what can be lawful? I desire to think that no sound and serious Protestant can, upon serious examination, think it to be otherwise. . . .

Leyden, Monday,
Oct. 4, 1688.

I desire to think this present resolution of the Prince of Orange, as to his appearing for the Protestant interest, is of the Lord, and that the event shall be comfortable. It is true the Lord may call His people to appear for His interest, and let them fall before His enemies, yet the call ought to

be embraced. What may be the event of this, the Lord only knows. I desire to hope it is of Him, and to entreat His blessing thereunto, assisting and directing great and small how to behave themselves as Protestants, casting themselves and the whole affair entirely on the Lord, not putting trust in the arm of flesh.

The call seems to be such that all Protestants have this day to appear for the Protestant religion in so great distress, that I dare not but embrace it, I esteeming myself engaged thereto by manifold engagements. Should I now neglect this opportunity, what peace could I have? What should I say? Would it not be a turning my back on the interest of Christ that seems now to be so as it were at the stake? For the world I could not adventure to do it, it being that which I am fully convinced in my conscience is duty and that which is called for from me. O to be helped of the Lord to be earnest with Him that all doubts of an interest in Himself may be cleared, that so I may go with courage, adventuring my life for His interest. . . .

Leyden, Saturday,
Oct. 9, 1688. The work in hand is great ; O that
my walk were suitable thereto!

A serious wrestling with God is that which is called for. There is much lying at the stake—no less than the advancing or ruining of the Protestant interest.

LEAVING HOLLAND.

Leyden, Thursday,
Oct. 14, 1688. I desire to bless God for what kindness He has showed unto me in this place, who has not only preserved me and provided for me, but showed unto me comfortable blinks of His ordinances.

I'll go from this place rejoicing that ever I have met with so great love, desiring to hope that the Lord is my God in Covenant, and that whatever may be His pleasure concerning me in the world, that the event will be comfortable to my soul. I go to venture my life for the relief of His broken-down interest, and not for any worldly advantage. I desire to entreat His presence with me and all others so resolved, that with zeal and courage we

may appear for the Lord. I desire to beg counsel and direction to the Prince of Orange, and others chiefly concerned in this great work, and that the Lord may favour us all with desirable wind and weather, and that all things may be ordered that the Lord may have the glory, and comfort may redound to a broken-down Church.

Leyden, Sabbath,
Oct. 17, 1688.

To trust in the arm of flesh is a vain thing; to trust in the Lord is the duty of every Christian, and O that it were the serious exercise of all God's people so to do at this time: committing the event of the present design wholly unto Him, entreating His favourable countenance in all the steps of His providence; that whatever aspect they may seem to have, it may be the work of all to wait upon Him, who I desire to hope will appear for His own name's sake, and look to the cruel designs of men, and send relief to His, that are in a most lamentable condition.

I desire to hope that the Lord will give favourable wind and weather; they are in His

hand. O that all were looking only to Him for these, and for direction and conduct through all the steps of this noble design ; and wherein they have hitherto been defective, that the Lord may pardon and give strength to be more in duty.*

* The diary abruptly stops here. William of Orange embarked at Helvoetsluys on Oct. 16. On Oct. 19, he set sail, but was driven back by a storm, reaching Helvoetsluys once more on Oct. 21. On Thursday, Nov. 1, the Prince's fleet again ventured out, and running before the wind, he reached the Straits on Nov. 3, and landed at Torbay on Monday, Nov. 5. Col. Maxwell had evidently penned the above reflections just before going on board, and probably the busy life into which he plunged forbade his keeping the record. At all events, the existing MS. has no entries from this date till May 23, 1691. The reader will again note the discrepancy in Col. Maxwell's dates. According to him, Nov. 5 was a *Friday*.

V.

1691.

Sermon by Fraser of Brea—At the blockade of the Bass—His
 “difficulty” (attachment to Miss Stewart of Castle Stewart)
 —Revisits Glasgow—At Castle Stewart—“Encouragement”
 —Retrospect: his conversion at Hags, 1686—Ordered to
 Flanders—Thoughts on leaving.

Edinburgh, Wednes-
 day, May 27, 1691.

. . . Sermon heard this day
 (being a national fast appointed
 for humiliation for national sins, and for pouring
 out desire to the Lord for success to the armies
 and fleets employed for the defence of the
 Reformed Religion abroad and at home, for a
 blessing to our King who is appearing at the
 head of one of them abroad, that he may be
 preserved and have success—the fast is to be
 observed the last Wednesday of every month
 while the armies are in the fields)—by Mr J.
 Wilkie from Zephan. ii. 1, 2, 3. His main

subject was repentance, which he pressed home with earnest desires.

* * * * *

Edinburgh, Friday, The present state of
June 22, 1691. the Reformed Churches surely ought to affect my heart this day. Now is much at the stake; that tyrant of France, that scourge of the Reformed Churches, is this day powerful in Flanders, Germany, and in Savoy, endeavouring to ruin these parts. And now are the confederate armies in the fields to oppose him: now is our Protestant king in Flanders ready to give him battle, to venture his life and all that is dear to him for the promoting of Christ's interest there and in other parts of the world. Now is our Protestant army taken the fields in Ireland, to oppose the cruel and bloodthirsty Irish and those of the perfidious French nation that are lately come to their assistance. Yea, now is the time when those that are for Christ and those that are for Antichrist are opposing themselves one to another. Alas, how sad it is to think of the

mixed multitude, yea the abounding sins that are raging in these armies that are for advancing the Protestant interest. O that it were my earnest work, and of all that desire to be concerned this day for advancing of Christ's bleeding Church, to be wrestling with God for all of them, both officers and soldiers, that he might purge and pardon their vile abominations, and give them zeal, courage, and resolution to appear as lovers of the truths of God in the day of battle; and that the Lord would not deal with them and His Church according to their sins, but according to the equity and justice of His own cause for which they appear; and that the Lord would own our King with His countenance, and conduct with His counsel from heaven in all that he goes about, that he may aim at nothing but what may be for the glory of God and well-being of His Church, and his soul's everlasting satisfaction, and that he may be preserved in the day of battle for a further blessing to these islands and to all the Reformed Churches: that if it be the Lord's will he may be yet an instrument of

carrying on this begun deliverance to a further perfection. But how sad is it, and what ground of sorrow doth it yield, to think upon the sins and horrid apostacies of the Reformed Churches both at home and abroad. How doth iniquity prevail on every hand and amongst all ranks, even to such a degree that, if the Lord out of His infinite mercy and compassion do appear at this time with further salvation to His Churches, how wonderful and astonishing may it be even to enemies as well as to His own!

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*,
June 21, 1691. Last Lord's Day sermon heard
in the Castle of Edinburgh by
ane Mr Boyd* from Gal. v. 6—“*For in Christ
Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor
uncircumcision, but a new creature.*”

This day, sermon heard before noon by Mr Fraser of Brea from Jer. ii. 19—“*Know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter*

* Perhaps William Boyd, minister of Dalry, Galloway, who was the first to proclaim the Prince of Orange as King, at Glasgow Cross.

that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God," holding out sin to be the worst of evils, which appears afterwards by its effects, and in nothing more than in the unparalleled sufferings of Christ, and all for sin.

Afternoon, by Mr Archibald Riddell (who in the late persecution went to America, and in his return, when the late revolutions in thir islands did begin, was taken by the French and there detained in prison, until of late that he was ransomed), from Psalm cxix. 59—" *I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies,*" from which words he delivered a most searching sermon, anent turning unto the Lord, pressing it much home in respect to the public interest of Christ, which calls for it everywhere at this time when all seems now to be at the stake. . . .

AT THE BLOCKADE OF THE BASS.

Calderwood, Saturday, Sept. 26, 1691. From the 23rd of June to the 7th of Sept. spent at the blockade of the Bass (since, to yesterday, at Leith and

Edinburgh) where new proofs of divine love, new experiences of the goodness of my God I met with in a great measure which ought never to be forgotten by me. From the raging and tempestuous waves of the sea, to which I was frequently exposed, I have been wonderfully preserved; when to most apparent danger ordered, wonderfully preserved; yea when landing on that Rock and assisting to bring off a boat from under the enemies' cannon, yet so ordered by many remarkable circumstances that none of us received damage, which could not rationally have been thought if the enemy had perceived us: when a bark with provisions and ten armed men got in, no less remarkable providence in my not having timeous notice that I could have reached them with a small boat, otherwise in all probability we could not have escaped being sunk: when exposed through the foolishness of a comrade and lightness of my own spirit to duelling, yet that the Lord (I desire to think) heard my request, by preventing the same with no less honour than if it had been done. All

these and many other expressions of love call for thankfulness. . . .

I desire to acknowledge the goodness of God to the Protestant army in Ireland this summer in their taking Athlone by storm, their fighting valiantly on the 12th of July at the battle of Aghrim and giving the Irish an entire defeat, their taking of Galloway* and other forts, and now being before Limerick, the only place of consideration that holds out for a popish party. . . .

The preservation of our king in Flanders this campaign no small blessing to the Reformed Churches, and though a battle has not offered, yet this seems to prognostic good that the French army has fled and retired before him, and would not adventure it. . . .

When I consider what the holy and wise God has done for me from my infancy until this very day, how I have been provided for, preserved not only from hazard but in the time of greatest danger, not only from many snares and temptations, but when in the company of the wicked

* *i.e.* Galway.

from being enticed to consent to their folly, and supported under difficulties, so that I may say no trouble, no difficulty sooner came my way but the Lord was at hand to give me an outgate one way or other, either by removing, or making me depend upon Himself; Have not I reason then to rely upon Him (who continues the same for ever to all who call upon Him) that He will do so relating to my present difficulty which these six months has surrounded me: that He will either remove it by convincing me of the great undesirableness of my affection soaring so high (of which I have all this time been endeavouring to hold out to myself), or that if it be His holy pleasure and what is appointed, He may accomplish it in His holy wisdom, when and in what way may seem most fit for His own glory and our souls' eternal comfort. . . .

* * * *

Glasgow, Thursday,
Oct. 8, 1691. To reflect on the goodness of
God to me in this place (where
I spent eight or nine of my young years at school

and college) could not but raise up thankfulness in me, even to praise Him with my whole heart for His wonderful love—in straits provided for, in sickness supported, from the company of the wicked and from being enticed with their snares wonderfully preserved, with gospel mercies trusted, yea in nothing that I or the family I belonged to stood in need of but timeous supply was given. . .

* * * * *

Calderwood, Oct. 15, 1691. . . . What encouragement I have received this day for prosecuting this my affection as it has been surrounding me these several months, I desire not to rely on, but to commit to the Most High as formerly. . . I desire to commit this affair wholly unto Him, to be accomplished or interrupted as in His holy wisdom shall seem fit. . .

Calderwood, Sabbath, Oct. 18, 1691. . . . difficulties occasioned by the violence of my passion, which has and doth surround me at all times; I desire to cast myself wholly on the Lord. . . .

* * * *

Risk, Thursday,
Oct. 29, 1691.

New proofs every day of the matchless love of precious Christ to all such as look after His kingdom. O that I could win to a frame of spirit fitted to join in praises to Him for merciful love to ane friend (whose company I am trysted with this night) in his sufferings for adhering to the cause of Christ these 24 years, in his banishment to America, in his falling amongst the French and cruel Irish in his return. . .

* * * * *

Ravenstone,* Wednes-
day, Nov. 4, 1691.

My thoughts in some measure employed this morning in considering my present difficulty to which I am led by the force of my affection, the unreasonableness of which I have again proposed to myself, what inconveniences may attend it, and what hindrances may in all probability fall in the way; but chiefly, how unsuitable it is considering my present circumstances. But as in all my former difficulties,

* Ravenstone.

I have in some measure endeavoured to depend on God for ane outgate, so in this I desire to rely on Him, to commit all wholly to Him, to be disposed of as He sees most for His glory and our mutual comfort here, and eternal comfort when time shall be no more. Helped to this in prayer.

Glastone, † Friday,
Nov. 6, 1691.

As the goodness of God to me in many things, yea I may say in all the steps of my pilgrimage, calls for serious thankfulness; so in this—that my credit and reputation everywhere is such as respect is not only shewn me by the mean, but also by those of the greatest quality both of the nobility and gentry, either where my business calls me or where my acquaintance is otherwise. . . .

Remstone, Sabbath,
Nov. 8, 1691.

This day, sermon heard at Whitehorn by Mr Sam. Kelso from Eph. ii. 14—“*for He is our peace.*”

† Glasserton.

* * * * *

Risk, Wednesday,
Nov. 11, 1691.

Outward favour and respect is a blessing in itself to be prized, but how ready is vain man to be too much taken! As the Lord has helped me to walk in an equal posture hitherto under such blessings, I desire to wait on Him for His continuing that same aid, whatever I be trysted with in time of that nature. What singular and undeserved expressions of favour I had yesterday from a person of good quality and great merit, I desire to look upon it as of the Lord, to whom I have made my request as to His providing an comfortable outgate under my present difficulties.

* * *

Castle Stewart, Thurs-
day, Nov. 19, 1691.

I desire to look to God under every difficulty He trysts me with in the world, and to acknowledge Him in all His dispensations to be love and mercy. Let Him do with me as He pleases in this or any other difficulty. This is my comfort—I know in whom I have believed and on whom I have laid hold for

my guide, yea for my all in all; and under my greatest disquietness and discomposure of mind to content myself in this, that the Lord, in His holy and wise providence, has determined whatever shall come to pass as to my lot in the world.

Risk, Friday, Nov. 20,
1691. What encouragement I have met with this day as to the prosecuting my affections, I desire to acknowledge God in it and to take it as the return of some of my desires to that effect, that if He had in His holy determination appointed the accomplishment of this for His glory and our mutual happiness, He would find out ways for effecting the same. And surely, what I can discern, this must be one—to have encouragement from a parent to follow out the same. So that now, after all my reasonings and debates with myself as to the unreasonableness of my affections, in attempting to aspire so high as to fix them on a person both for quality and natural accomplishments deserving the best of offers, I must of necessity conclude (considering the many remarkable circumstances in it from the

beginning) that the hand of Providence is in it. Whatever the event may be, I shall not take it upon me to determine, but continue to leave the matter before the Lord who orders all for the advantage of those who seek His face.

* * *

Risk, Monday,
Nov. 23, 1691.

. . . . How many great ones for birth, great for pairts, great for riches are left to continue in their wickedness, and yet that the Lord out of His free love should have looked upon poor me, miserable and sinful me, and in the days of my young years inclined my heart to look after Him in some measure since I was 12, 13 or 14 years of age (though I shall not say but much consisted then in ane outward appearance, but must say that love to the ordinances and to the godly was then in some measure); and has increased my desire from time to time, inclining my heart at several times since the year 1681 (at which time I was 18 years of age*) to give up myself to Christ Jesus,

* Therefore born in 1663.

engaging and resolving to be His and for Him (particularly at Calderwood), and taking Him for my portion. At length, in September 1686, while trysted with a sermon at the Hags in the time of violent persecution, by Mr John Moncrieff from Hosea ii. 19—“*I'll betroth ye unto me for ever*” —I was led to covenant expressly with my God, which I have by His help at several times, both abroad and at home, renewed; and had the blessed seal put to it at that soul-comforting ordinance, the table of the Lord — yea, His presence so wonderfully manifested to me there, both in and out of the nation, that the time of my dissolution I desire to think would not have been undesirable.

O what love is this—and yet not all. My desires in the days of persecution that I might be trysted with an opportunity to appear and venture my all for His cause, He in His holy wisdom accomplished in the year 1688, giving me full clearness to join with our King, then Prince of Orange, to come from Holland to Britain to venture myself in a Protestant quarrel,

to be freed from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, and to have the liberties of the nation restored, and that, since, He has wonderfully preserved me in the day of battle July 27th 1689,* when much blood was shed on both sides. . . .

. . . Led to consider what God may be calling me to by this my affection, which has continued without intermission since the 22nd of March last, being eight months, notwithstanding of all the reasonings and debating with myself as to its unreasonableness, considering the quality and singular merit of the object to deserve far greater things than what my station in the world calls for—yea notwithstanding the frequent reiterated desires that the Lord might put a stop to my inclinations, or if He called me thereto that He might accomplish it in His own time and way for our mutual comfort. And now, considering the many circumstances that have concurred, formerly and of late, that to the outward aspect seem to favour this my design, I dare not any longer give resistance, lest I be found to tempt Providence,

* Battle of Killiecrankie.

as it has been insinuated to me by one nearly concerned to that person, and who had ground to suspect what way my affections were running. Wherefore I have this day expressed my thoughts in write, and shall desire that the holy and wise God, who orders everything of that nature for mutual comfort and for His own glory, may give direction and counsel to that person how to receive such an offer, that she may commit all to Him, seek and wait for His conduct, seeing our greatest happiness or greatest misery in time depends on it if it shall be accomplished. Let the Lord do as He thinks fit either by forwarding or putting a stop to it; I'll commit all to Him, and wait for His answer in mercy and love to our souls. . . .

* * * * *

Remstone, Thursday, It cannot but yield to
 Dec. 3, 1691. me matter of admiration to think
 on what I have met with here as to singular and
 unexpected condescendency of a tender parent as
 to my prosecuting my present affection towards
 her beloved child. . . .

Remstone, Friday,
Dec. 4, 1691. I desire to recommend this family wholly to the protection of the Almighty, that He who has raised them up to honour in the world may preserve the same to future generations, as a token of His love, to engage the hearts of parents, children, and all the concerns of it to be more and more embracing Christ Jesus for their souls' everlasting portion, and to be for Him and His interests so much as their station in the world calls for, and what favour and love has been shown by any of them, in the days of cruel persecution amongst us, to any of the afflicted, be rewarded from heaven with the choicest blessings.

Risk, *vesp.* I desire to acknowledge God in all His providences I meet with in time, and what I have again met with this day, as to my being advertised to return for Edinburgh in order to go for Flanders (that regiment to which I belong being called there). . . I dare not question my call to go, seeing not without serious deliberation I engaged to appear

in a Protestast quarrel; and that now, there being present quiet in these islands (for which I thought myself first obliged to venture my all), and that the power of France is that which chiefly stands in opposition to the advancing of Christ's kingdom in these parts of the world—I'll therefore go with cheerfulness to jeopard my life for His interest. . . .

Risk, Thursday,
Dec. 20, 1691.

These bygone days being under indisposition of body, what a mercy is it to be restored to any measure of health, and that I have not been taken away in a sudden to eternity. My soul desires to bless the Lord for it, who has these 10 or 11 years given me a great plenty of health. . . . Threatenings from the wicked, as they are not to be altogether contemned, so they are not to be overmuch noticed, but by removing of the temptation, to leave the event to God. . . . However, experience shews that the wicked are ready many times to imbrue their hands in the blood of the godly, if divine mercy prevented it not. Whatever

threatenings I may be under by a wicked wretch, my own servant, for my not countenancing him in his wickedness, and to whom I have showed singular kindness these 18 or 20 months, I desire to look to God that He will prevent any cursed design may be in his head, and desiring that he may be reached with tender mercy, and his heart engaged to embrace Christ if possible. Whatever be in this, I desire to take it as a punishment for having entertained him so long when much of his wickedness was known unto me.

VI.

1692.

At Edinburgh, waiting for the *route*—Meeting of General Assembly—Detained as a witness in trial for treason—An incident at Leith Races—Thoughts on starting for Flanders—Itinerary to London—London to the camp near Halle—Arrives two days late for battle—Details of engagement—Carstairs preaches in the camp.

* * * *

Edinburgh, Wednesday, Jan. 6, 1692.

I desire to look to God as to what I am, or may be, trysted with in time. I cannot expect but to meet with disappointments in time; I'll wait for direction how to carry under them. And whatever I meet with as to my long-continued affection, I'll desire to take as from the Lord who knows what is most fit for me. In this I have peace, that in some measure (ever since I was engaged) I have aimed at seeking His counsel, and begged that if it was not for His glory and for our soul's comfort, a stop

might be put to it, which might evidence that it was not His pleasure. And if it be effectuate, I desire (notwithstanding of the many providences that concurred in it, and in which I must be silent, since dark they must be) to take it as the answer of my desires, to submit patiently, entreating that all happiness may attend that person both as to soul and body, and that my affections may be more and more weaned from the things of this world, even the most desirable objects, and fixed upon Himself. . . .

* * *

Edinburgh, Tuesday,
Jan. 19, 1692.

The present difficulties that this Assembly is brought to through the desires that are made by the importunity of the Episcopal clergy for receiving of a part of them to a share of the government of this Church, is such as calls for the fervent prayers of all Zion's well-wishers for conduct and direction unto them, so to acquit themselves that they may do nothing that may be displeasing unto Him who is the great Maister of His own house, and on the other hand

may be led to give such solid reasons for what they do that there be no just cause of offence to those who have the supreme rule over us.

* * * *

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*,
Feb. 14, 1692.

Blessed be His name for it that ever He has held out offers of Himself to me, and made me in any measure embrace them. As this has yielded me real comfort both abroad and in my native land, so at present it yields me no small comfort while going to a foreign land, to venture my all in defence of the Protestant interest against the power of ane Antichristian Party, who has rooted out glorious Churches, and yet continues the great enemy of the Reformed religion.

I desire to go in peace and quietness of mind and with all imaginable freedom, committing myself and all in whom I am concerned to the protection of the Almighty, who has and I desire to hope will care for us. If it shall be His pleasure to make me in the least instrumental in advancing

His work, that is all I desire. Let Him do with me what He pleases, either as to calling for me abroad or returning me to my native land. . . . A blessing from heaven on that person in whom I esteem myself most interested I'll entreat; let that holy and wise God do with us as seemeth most for His own glory and our soul's comfort, either by uniting us in His own time and way, or keeping us separate. . . .

The present dispensations as to this Church somewhat gloomy. The King's dissolving yesterday the National Assembly, since they could not comply with his desire as to receiving the Episcopal clergy upon such terms as they desired; and the Moderator and whole Assembly protesting for encroaching on the intrinsic power of the Church and appointing another Assembly in August, 1693, gives matter of mourning to all who are Zion's true wellwishers. It is the Lord who has raised up our King ane instrument for delivering this nation from the bondage we were under, and O that he may never be left to himself to give ear to the counsel of the wicked,

for to undo what he has been honoured to do for us.

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*, . . . My being stopped for some
Feb. 28, 1692. weeks from going along with that part of the army that has this day sailed for Flanders, contrair to my expectation, I desire likewise to observe; what the Lord may bring out of it is known only to Himself. . . . I dare not be peremptor as to any outward thing in time. Do with me, O Lord, as thou pleases, as to everything concerns me, either as to ane other state of life or as to promotion in this present state; what shall be most for Thy glory shall be to me most acceptable. Thou, O Lord, has done great things for me; I'll wait hoping that Thou will yet do for me, passing by my iniquities and transgressions which are of a deep dye, and come in a way of love and free mercy to my soul. . . .

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*, If it were His will
March 6, 1692. to prevent my being adduced as a witness to-morrow (for which I am by ane order

of Their Majesties' Privy Council detained from going to Flanders) against one who helped to surprise the Bass, and with whom I conversed there when ordered to go in to treat with them, it should be to me matter of praise. For though I dare not say it is in the least sinful, I being called thereto by the Civil Magistrate, and he* being ane declared enemy to our religion and liberty, yet I desire to be tender in matters of blood, and in so solemn work as that of giving ane *oath*; having never sworn in any cause nor to any prince, but† a promise given to be faithful to their present Majesties, which I esteem so binding upon me as if I had solemnly *sworn*. . .

Edinburgh, Wednesday, March 9, 1692.

. . . I desire to bless the Lord, who has ordered it so as it was my earnest desire, not to be adduced as a witness against him who was yesterday in the panel tried for his life, and this day to receive sentence. In this I have peace, not wishing to be further concerned in blood than in the open field. . . .

* *i.e.* the accused person. † *i.e.* except.

* * *

Edinburgh, Monday, . . . The goodness of God to
 March 21, 1692.

me on the 15th instant at Leith Race in preserving a man (who was accidentally trodden down by me while riding) from being destroyed or dangerously hurt, not to be forgotten. . . .

* * * * *

Edinburgh Castle, . . . What could be more
 Wednesday, July 6, 1692.

desirable than the manifestations of God's love this day to my soul, now while about to depart from my native land to join myself with that powerful army that is appearing against the tyranny of France (who no doubt are taking to themselves courage by their late gaining the town and fortress of Namur); there to venture my all for the interest of Christ's kingdom? Should I not then go rejoicing (reverencing the hand of Providence in the various steps of my being detained), and waiting for the presence of God to accompany me? . . . Let Him in His holy wisdom dispose of me as He will, and of those in whom I esteem myself most interested by the

strictest tie of affection. I desire to hope He will give strength to submit to His holy will and pleasure, that though a separation now should be attended with no more meeting together in time, each of us may have ground to solace himself in this, that reflecting upon the many dispensations of Providence which did as it were concur together to incite to a discovery of our affection to each other, we may have no ground of disquiet, but patiently submit to the Most High. . .

[A note follows here: "*This manual it appears was left at Edinburgh when I parted for Flanders two days after what is last writ in it, viz. the 8th July, 1692. A new one begun at London 17th of the month, and continued in Flanders. And this one filled up afterwards.*"]

The Journey to London,
July 8 to 13, 1692.

Edinburgh, Friday 8th July,
1692: at night at Haddington.
Morpeth 9th. Darntone 10th, having spent a
good part of the day at Newcastle, where I heard
preach Dr Gilpin and Mr Gill. Batry 11th.
Stiltone 12th. Wednesday 13th, London.

To the Camp.
 July 19 to 26, 1692. London, Monday 18th. Colchester, Tuesday 19th. Harwich, Wednesday 20th. Thursday 21st embarked at Harwich after midday, that night anchored off the coast of Sussex: Friday 22 sailed to Goree on the coast of Holland, and landed at Halfordsluce at 3 this morning. In our voyage hitherto the goodness of God manifested, that though pirates rage on this coast, and the day before one vessel fell into their hands, yet no trouble that way did attend us. . . Peter's Hook, 3 miles from Dort, Satur. 23 July, 10 at night. Journeyed hither this day from Halfordsluce to the Brill, thence to Maidensluce, Scidam, and Delphshaven, Rotterdam, by land. . . Antwerp, *Dies Dom.*, 24 July. Brussels, Tuesday at 5 in the morning, thence to the camp near Halle that evening.

Halle, Wednesday, . . . The engagement* last
 July 27, 1692. Lord's Day near Enghien, 2 hours
 from this, with these of the French army, or

*Known as the Battle of Steinkirk.

rather the attack made on their camp by a part of this confederate army, principally by the Scots and English (there being 7 Scots regiments engaged) merits serious observation both as to the public and as to myself. The design was very honourable, to force them to battle, but through the strength of the ground in which they were encamped, it being surrounded with many hedges, that could not be effectuate, which calls for this meditation, that whatever man may consult and propose even as to the great concerns of His Church, it's the Lord who disposeth as He pleaseth and as He sees most for His glory—even though it were by the shedding the blood of many who owned and adhered to His way. Also, the bravery and resolution of those who did attack them at the greatest disadvantage, they being posted behind the hedges, affords this thought, that a wicked army may fight valiantly for their king and country, and that to those who are lovers of the kingdom of Christ and long for the advancing of His interest, do desire to signalize themselves against His enemies, and when

occasion offers are often wonderfully trusted with courage and conduct. This in a singular manner was seen in the late engagement, and though many of them have left their carcase in the fields, yet that is no ground of discouragement to those spared, but rather should prove a motive to incite others to appear valiantly for that interest. As to myself, calls it not for serious observation of Providence to think how, contrair to my inclination, I was detained in Scotland, so that only 2 days or I came hither action should have been; yea that if the captain of the packet-boat had not detained the Earl of Leven, myself, and others at Harwich 20 hours beyond the time we should have sailed, all which time the wind was good, in all possibility we had arrived in the camp the night before the attack, or that morning.

. . .

* * *

Halle or Limbeck,*
Dies Dom., July 31, 1692.

To observe God's dealings with this army last Lord's Day ought to be my work—how that 20 or 24 battalions of

* Lambeque.



From Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

DAVID, EARL OF LEVEN.

infantry did with great courage and resolution attack the enemy's camp the space of 5 hours, once gaining 6 piece of cannon, and though repulsed with the loss of a great many brave officers and soldiers, yet retired in order to this camp, the enemy not daring to pursue, being in great consternation, and though posted on most advantageous ground, hedges abounding on every side, yet the number of their slain and wounded is acknowledged by themselves to be by far a greater number than those of ours. . . .

The number and quality of the slain amongst us calls for observation, and it may be feared that a holy and wise God contends for the crying abominations of this great army, but alas, a prophane and wicked army as is upon the earth.

Sermon heard in forenoon by Mr Wm. Carstairs, one of the King's chaplains for Scotland, from Heb. ix. 27—“*And as it is appointed unto men once to die. . . .*”

* * * * *

VII.

1694 to 1697.

Stationed at Bruges—Wickedness of army—A murderer confesses to Alexander Shields—Battle of Landen—Narrow escape from death—Taken prisoner—Prayer before Communion at Edinburgh—His signed Covenant with God—Courtship renewed—The marriage arranged—Description of his intended wife—Thoughts on the eve of marriage—After honeymoon—Returns home: brawl on the road—Prayer before returning to Flanders—Retrospect—A son born.

Bruges, Wednesday, . . . It is no wonder our
Jan. 4, 1693.

enemies prevail against us and have their design and enterprise accomplished . . . since our iniquities who appear against them are come to such a height that they call aloud for destruction and wrath to be poured forth upon us. And amongst other our wickedness, how do we spoil and rob the country, yea allow our violence to end in blood, even in crying murder;

which was committed by some who lay with me at Sudenburgh, who out of their fury killed a bower,* whose body I see'd while dead, and his poor wife and family mourning over it. . . .

Bruges, *Dies Dom.*, . . . How terrible is it to think
 Jan. 22, 1693. . . . of that terrible guilt which a poor ignorant one in this place has been tempted to commit, what by the temptations of Satan and persuasions of his master, even to join with him in his drunkenness at Ghent, to be guilty of blood by a private murder in the night-time upon the streets: which was never made known to any, until now that God, who hears the cry of blood, has brought that poor thing, what by some convictions of the same, and what by the Devil's appearing to him in his master's likeness discharging him to discover the same, to open his mind to Mr Shields,† whom I spoke to see him. . . .

* Bauer, *i.e.* peasant.

† Alexander Shields, chaplain to the Cameronian Regiment at this date: afterwards minister at St. Andrews, then with the Scots Colony at Darien; died at Jamaica in 1700.

Bruges, Wednesday, . . . Every day produceth new
 April 5, 1693. experiences of His love, some of
 which singularly remarkable, and surely that with
 which I was trysted the 25th of last month is none
 of the least. . . Whether this be the answer of
 prayer or not I shall not determine, but as I did
 plead my innocency before a holy and just God,
 with a desire that He might bring the same to ane
 comfortable issue, even with the preservation of my
 honour and reputation in the world, so out of His
 infinite love He has perfected the same, with ane
 conviction to the malicious offender of his malice,
 and all satisfaction that could be desired to be
 given by him, even while in the fields ready to
 determine the same by blood. . . .

[A blank from April 30 to the date following].

London, *Dies Dom.*, . . . For though I had no
 Jan. 14, 1694. mercies, no favours, no love, to
 reckon over but what I have met with since I
 parted from Bruges the 3rd of May until my return
 the 9th Octr., in my being preserved from many

temptations and snares that attend ane army, in my protection, provision, and other comforts of life, but especially for what I met with the 19th July in that famous battle of Landen in Brabant, famous for the number of the armies (the enemy's notwithstanding being 30,000 above ours), the renownedness of both generals, the length of the dispute before the victory was gained, the great number of the killed and wounded on the enemy's side (as I had from a particular list at Namur), and the smallness of ours in a proportion to theirs, the wonderful preservation of our King amidst many dangers, and the wonderful retreat of our army and their sudden gathering together at Mechlin with so small loss . . . I say, what I met with in being signally preserved not only in the heat of the action when our brigade was forced from their ground, where in our retreat I could not in all probability have escaped being thrust through by one of the Greder Suisse with his bayonet fixed upon his fusee, if it had not been so ordered that I had a small fusee in my hand, which I would not have had if I had not made my pike

useless the night before upon ane occasion which I have reason to regret, though I can freely say I gave no ground for it, but it was extorted from me so that I could not evite it for the preservation of my own honour and reputation ; but also in our attacking the Swiss afterwards and regaining our ground, but especially in my preservation in our retreat to the water twixt 2 and 3 in the afternoon (we with other two Scots regiments being the last of the infantry that came off the field), where not only of my own comrades but many others were hewn down by the enemy's surrounding us, my being preserved in the water where I was for some minutes, and wherein I had nigh sunk, the number being great that was there (of which many perished), and the way out of it inaccessible ; my being taken there (while destitute of all help and out of all hopes of escape) by a major of the enemy's horse with the greatest calmness that ever ane enemy in blood could show towards his prisoner : my being kept that night in the field of battle, and the following 4 nights in ane orchard at St. Gertrude in the middle of their army, amidst

all our prisoners both heal and wounded, extending to 140 officers with 1170 soldiers of foot and horse, where the heavens was our covert and the earth our pavilion ; then at some times bread and water were very acceptable — yet preserved in health, and strangely provided for as to money : my being transported to Haye, then to Namur, where I was detained until the 28th August, and where I had the freedom of the town and other comforts of life — even these and other remarkable circumstances of my lot during that time (particularly slavish fear wholly removed, and courage and resolution given) call for a constant frame of heart fit for thanksgiving. . . .

[A blank here from Jan. 21, 1694, to Oct. 26, 1695].

Edinburgh, Saturday, [Before Holy Communion]. . . .
Oct. 26, 1695.

I look to Thee, O Lord Jesus, come Thou with a glorious appearance to the souls of men in this place, prepare hearts to tryst with Thee, bring in souls from sin and guilt to see the way of salvation, beautify Thy house with salva-
N

tion, pour forth of Thy Spirit on Thy servants who are to dispense Thy ordinance, and let the work be crowned with the salvation of souls. I look to Thee for a rich supply of grace, even of repentance, faith, love, and obedience. I flee to Thy precious blood for pardon and acceptance, for the purchase of Thy death and sufferings to be applied to my soul. Let the blessed seal of the everlasting Covenant be again engraven on my soul. I flee to Thy merits and righteousness, which is that only can save me. . . .

[*After Holy Communion.*]

Edinburgh, *Dies*
Dom., Oct. 27, 1695.
 [In the evening.] . . . Has not Christ Jesus the
 blessed Master of the feast ap-
 peared gloriously this day in His sanctuary? Has
 He not moved the hearts of His people in this
 Church, where I was with ane more than ordinar
 commotion, to pant out after Him, both before and
 at the tables? O what a feast of love is this I
 have been partaker of, "a feast of fat things, of
 wines on the lees well refined!" . . . Engaging

solemnly with Him in the terms of the blessed Covenant, apprehending and taking hold of Him by faith to be my portion, my God and guide, my husband and head, yea my all in all, engaged and vowing to be His and for Him, to give up with the devil, the world, and the flesh, sorrowing for my sins, detesting and forsaking them, resolving against all temptations and snares whatsoever, yea giving up the heart to Him and its affections, promising to study holiness in heart, speech, and behaviour, and to take up the Cross and follow Him. These are the blessed terms of the everlasting Covenant I have been engaging to, and to which Christ Jesus has come in a glorious manner, displaying a banner of love, engaging me of new unto Himself, and setting to a new seal of the pardon of sin and guilt. So that on solid ground I may call this a Bethel, and as it were set up a stone of remembrance, that in this day of this year and month, and in the College Church of this city, Christ Jesus was pleased to meet with me, breathe on me wonderful love, draw forth my soul to covenant with Him on His own terms; and to

this blessed covenant I subscribe and set to my name, which shall be a witness against me if I forget His great goodness, and go on to break such solemn vows.

[Signed] W. MAXUELL.

My former covenanting with God since my young years, but especially these ten years bygone, is to me a matter of no small comfort this day. God has wonderfully owned me in that great work hitherto, both in private, at sermons, and at the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, both in Holland, England, and this land; but O how has He come this day with a fraught of love! . . .

Risk, *Dies Dom.*,
Nov. 10, 1695.

To be thus wandering on the face of this earth, how can it but affect my heart, considering what diversion it produceth from serving my God either by prayer, reading, or meditation. O when shall it please the Lord to give me rest and quiet even outwardly as to the body, by a retired life from the noise, confusion, snares, and temptations of this world, and inward.

rest and quiet of mind from being surrounded with disturbing thoughts, anxiety and disquiet which has attended me these four years and near eight months bygone, for which I am afraid God may contend. But my eyes are towards Him for ease and a comfortable outgate. I would gladly hope that I have looked unto Him in some measure through all the steps of this affair on which my future peace and comfort in the world depends. . . . O Lord, bring it to a comfortable issue by what means Thou pleaseth, and let the glory and praise redound to Thy holy name! This is the day of my straits and distress; O Lord hear, O Lord help! and give comfort, and let not the excess of my affection, and my anxiety and distrust provoke Thee to forsake and punish; but take glory to Thyself in doing us good.

*Kirroughtree, Dies
Dom., Nov. 24, 1695.*

If I could begin this night to wonder and admire that which God has done for me—praise and magnify His holy name for what He has done, and continue in so doing so long as I breathe, even without

intermission—surely all should be too little, considering His wonderful and inexpressible love. O the depth of this love, how unfathomable is it—love beyond what can be aright comprehended, love that cannot be measured, love that is wonderful in its beginning, in its continuance and end! O what am I, poor miserable ill-deserving creature, that I should meet with such love—I, who has walked unsuitable to all the mercies and goodness that I have received, unsuitable to all the vows and engagements that I have come under, unsuitable to gospel mercies and to these solemn seals that God has put to the Covenant? And yet, I am still pursued with love, not only in returning to do me good by renewing the Covenant, in trysting with Himself in these glorious blinks of His appearance in the everlasting gospel which is the chief of all blessings; but also in hearing and answering my long-continued requests and the requests of others put up to heaven in my behalf these four years bygone. Is not the return of these in a great measure to be seen

this bygone week, in inclining the hearts of those to be friends who I had great reason to expect should have been my enemies? O what wonderful condescension is this they have shewed me; is not the hand of God in it? . . . The prayers of several Christian friends have been put up of a long time in our behalf; who knows but God has heard and begins to answer? O if it be so, what comfort shall we have in a married state; how shall our souls be refreshed, and hearts be pouring forth praises! . . .

Risk, Wednesday, . . . Last evening, helped to
 Nov. 27, 1695. praise Him on this account in the
 fields where I was helped to hold out my supplica-
 tions unto Him on the of Dec., 1692. . .

* * *

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*, . . . That God may give a
 Dec., 22, 1695. blessing to the Assembly of His
 servants here, in giving them the spirit of the
 gospel mixed with moderation and zeal, ought also
 to be my work. . .

* * * * *

Carlops, *Dies Dom.*,
Jan. 26, 1696.

O how must I still admire and wonder at what God has done for me in this matter; has He not given me the desires of my heart in as full and free a measure as if I had racked my wits and continued my thoughts for many years to propose and set down what could be convenient for me for my further comfort and happiness in a married state? Yea, the wit of man could not have done it; the matter must be of God: glory, glory, glory and praise be to His name, who has given me all I could have wished for, and has made me eye Him in some measure in this matter from the beginning of my affection, as I have ground to hope she has done. O what comfort is it, that I can be joined to one not only of good quality as to birth, to one whose portion of this world is not mean, to one who is I hope of the seed of the faithful, and for whom many a prayer has been put up from her infancy, and especially of late, but to one who from her young years has aimed at walking in the ways of God and is in covenant with Him, and, though but 19 years, yet

has several times ratified that covenant by getting the seal put to it at the table of the Lord ; yea, to one whose natural humour and temper is not only most desirable to all her acquaintances, but most agreeable unto my own. . . .

* * * * *

Risk, Tuesday,
Feb. 11, 1696,

As the matter which most concerns me in the world draws nigh to be accomplished (the 13th), and which has been these years bygone the subject of my consideration at all times, minded by me in my addresses to God by prayer, so now it cannot but be my continued consideration. . . O what shall I say, or what can I say on this subject? Has not a holy and merciful God given me all that my heart could desire? Yea, if I had contrived and premeditated these twenty years how and what way to be most happy, could my ways ever have been directed and my affections fixed on one every way so desirable? O is not this the rejoicing of my soul, that from her infancy she has sought the Lord, that now but 19 years of

age yet has engaged with the Lord in covenant and got the seal put to it at His holy table. Her quality, knowledge, education, and means is also to be prized as blessings from the Lord, but especially her natnral wisdom and management of herself. . . .

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*, . . . Have I not got all that
 March 16, 1696. my heart could desire on earth
 to make my life comfortable in time? Yea, if I
 should have sit down and thought for many
 years how to be happy in a wife, what could I
 have thought on that I have not got? . . .

My not marking down some steps of God's goodness these weeks bygone, much occasioned through diversion by the society of that family to which I am now joined, and the desirable company that I have had there. . . .

Ravenstone, *Dies Dom.*, March 28, 1696. Every day produceth new marks
 and expressions of love. O the infinite goodness of God that I am constantly

meeting with! I have not only been preserved since I went from this, and returned in safety to the comfort of my friends and of her who is unite and most dear to me; but O how was I preserved the 25th in my return hither, from being guilty of blood, when my passion, incensed against one notoriously lying, moved to strokes, the consequence of which seemed to incur death itself! Was not that a day much to be remembered to the Lord? Ought I not to set up a stone of remembrance and say, "There the Lord helped;" yea, even in the wilderness He heard and answered, saving from crying guilt which might have drawn down eternal wrath, and from having my reputation ruined in the world, which is no small curse—yea, from having my conscience to tear me in the world, which could not but have followed. . .

Edinburgh, *Dies Dom.*, [En route to Flanders]. . . Do
 April 19, 1696. with us what Thou pleaseth, O
 holy Lord God. Let all be for Thy glory. If
 Thou preserve us in our wanderings and hazards

that any of us may be exposed to, let it be for Thy glory and our soul's comfort. If thou give us a meeting again on earth, let it be for Thy glory. If Thou give us a seed and posterity on earth, let it be for Thy glory. Yea, whatever Thou do with us, let all be for Thy glory. . . O Lord, do with us what Thou will; be Thou glorified and our souls comforted, then we shall be happy in time and to eternity.

[A blank here up to date following].

Edinburgh, *Dies*
Dominicus, Jan. 3,
1897.

Since my last parting from this the 14th May last, my arriving safely in Holland the 20th, and in Flanders the 23rd, my passing there the whole campaign, my parting from it the 8th of October unto Holland, and my safe arrival at Dover in England the 13th and at London next day, my continuing there until the 5th November, and my journey from that to Carlisle and thence to Ravenstone, my father-in-law's, the 13th, and now hither the 28th of last month;—I say, since that time unto

this day, what wonderful instances and experiences of God's love, kindness, and mercy may I remark.

. . .

1. Did He not safely take and return me through the deep waters, preserving me not only from the hazard of the sea, but also from enemies that abound on it during this war?

2. Did he not safely take me where my present worldly interest lies, and in ten or twelve days after provide a further advancement for me, not only advantageous but creditable and honourable?

3. By this advancement, has He not made me find favour in the eyes of all above me, and particularly of the Prince who commanded that army in which I served, yea to such a degree that he was pleased to recommend me most favourably to the King, my master, for his protection and further advancement?

4. The kindness I received while at London not only by the King his receiving me with a favourable eye, but others about Court and of

the army their countenancing and assisting me by their particular recommendations and promises of further kindness.

5. My being preserved in posting to Scotland from all danger and hazard.

6. The comfortable, surprising satisfactory meeting I had at my arrival to that family I am now united to, by my finding them all well, but especially the wife of my youth, my dearest wife, safely brought to bed of a son, a living and perfect child, that morning 'twixt twelve and one, being wonderfully preserved, but then in a tolerable condition, and who recovered day from day to admiration. . . .

END OF EXTRACTS.



REMAINS OF COL. MAXWELL'S SUMMER-HOUSE.



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