

## ANTIQUARY

James Durham's 1652 Sermon on Ephesians 4:11–12  
Taught before the Synod of Glasgow:  
A Transcription from Manuscript

*And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.*

Scottish Presbyterianism in the Seventeenth Century had many bright and shining lights. Of these, James Durham (1622–1658), who shone brilliantly but briefly, ranks alongside the greatest of his generation, for his theological depth, faithful preaching, and particularly for his moderate spirit at a time when such was in scarce supply. Through several extraordinary providences the Lord called James Durham to Himself and His gospel ministry.<sup>1</sup> He first served as minister of Blackfriars in Glasgow for three years before taking up his main ministry that lasted not quite a decade, at Glasgow

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1. See various biographies of Durham: John Howie, *Lives of the Scottish Covenanters* (many editions); *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (IVP, 1993); "An Account of the Most Memorable Things in the Life of the Reverend Mr. James Durham of Easter Powrie, Minister of the Gospel at Glasgow," in *An Exposition of the Whole Book of Job* (1759); "A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author's Life," in *Commentary on Revelation* (1739 ed.) and also in *Christ Crucified: or, the Marrow of the Gospel in Seventy-Two Sermons on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah* (Naphtali Press, 2001; 2007). The account in the Job lectures is entirely different than the earlier Collection, and contains extracts from John Carstairs' sermons on the occasion of Durham's death.

2. David C. Lachman, "Introduction," in *A Treatise Concerning Scandal* (Naphtali Press, 1990). In his sermon upon Durham's death Carstairs described Durham thus: "And we may thankfully declare, as an eminent instance of God's goodness to this city of Glasgow, that we have been kept in the most wonderful calm, and lived in great amity and peace there eight years by-past, when he was with us, though we were as much predisposed, and in danger of being consumed by these woeful fires of division and strife that were burning our church, as any other Christians were. And if we can commend any proper mean of healing such distempers, or promoting peace and unity among all ranks, we cannot sufficiently extol and celebrate his incomparable moderation, prudence, meekness, lowliness, and integrity. It will be a signal mercy if we be kept so long again from some kind of reeling, confusion, and schism; and if ever we see again these woeful days, we will bemoan the want of one of his cementing, peaceable, and healing spirit. Was he not, in a word, a merchy [marrow; pithy] and substantial preacher, who gave us the marrow, yea, the very pith and kernel of the gospel; he delivered very much sound

cathedral, where he preached regularly to a congregation of fifteen hundred. John Carstairs, his colleague in the ministry at Glasgow, described Durham,

*as a very candid and searching preacher who in an instant was in the inmost corners of your bosoms, though with the utmost caution and meekness, without giving any of his hearers the smallest ground to fret and repine at his freedom in dealing with them.*<sup>2</sup>

It was said that if he had it to do over again, Durham would have studied for ten years for a ministry of one year, and it was thought that he poured so much of himself into his preparations for the pulpit that it brought about his early death at the age of thirty-six. According to George Christie:

His books were constantly read for almost two centuries. Twenty-six printing-presses in eight towns of Scotland, England, and Holland were occupied with them; in each decade between his death and the beginning of the nineteenth century at least one of his books was printed;... Not one of them, however, was published during his lifetime ... it was through the loving care of his widow and her brother-in-law, Mr. John Carstairs of Glasgow, that his Sermons and Expositions were edited and published.<sup>3</sup>

All these many sermons that were preserved and published came from Durham's pulpit ministry to his parishioners in Glasgow, save one. On October 5, 1652, James Durham preached a sermon on Ephesians 4:11–12 before the Synod of Glasgow of the Church of Scotland. We do not know who preserved it or if John Carstairs or Mrs. Durham knew it existed.

divinity in little bounds, and in few words. Ye that are the common people, are deprived by his death of a plain and easily understood preacher. Ye that are sore troubled in spirit, and exercised, ye want a very tender and sympathizing guide. Ye that are learned and wise, want a learned minister, who was well instructed in the mysteries and laws of Christianity, the most valuable learning I know. Ye that are proud, covetous, or wicked, now want a teacher that would have exposed your corruptions, and might have been a blessed mean of reforming you, and reclaiming you from your dangerous mistakes and errors, without fretting and irritating you." "Account," *Exposition of Job* (1759).

3. George Christie, B.D., "A Bibliography of James Durham: 1622–1658," *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* (1918), 35. Durham's works are: 1. *A Commentary upon the Book of the Revelation* (1658). 2. *A Treatise Concerning Scandal* (1659). 3. *Clavis Cantici: An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (1668). 4. *A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (1675). 5. *The Blessedness of the Death of those that Die in the Lord* (1681). 6. *Christ Crucified: or, The Marrow of the Gospel* (1683). 7. *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ* (1685). 8. *Heaven Upon Earth: the Joy of a Good Conscience* (1685). 9. *The Great Gain of Contenting Godliness* (1685). 10. *The Great Corruption of Subtile Self* (1686; but bound with the previous). 11. *An Exposition of the Book of Job* (1759).

The sermon survives in manuscript, paired with a sermon by James Fergusson preached before the General Assembly meeting in Glasgow a few years later on April 5, 1658.<sup>4</sup> Both sermons are on the subject of church unity and were preached during the Protester-Resolutioner division in the Church of Scotland, perhaps one of the most contentious of controversies in Presbyterian history. The controversy was an

internecine feud which divided the hitherto unified Covenanting movement during the Cromwellian invasion and occupation of Scotland, 1650–60. During the English invasion of Scotland in 1650, incipient divisions within the kirk erupted as the moderate and radical Covenanters divided over the reception of Charles II as king and the passing of the Public Resolutions, which allowed “malignant” royalists into the army and state. When the 1651 General Assembly approved the Resolutions, the schism was institutionalized and the kirk divided into two factions: the Resolutioners, who supported the king and government, and the Protesters, who disavowed the authority of both. After the English conquest in late 1651, these divisions were internalized as both factions engaged in numerous (albeit unsuccessful) attempts to gain ascendancy in the kirk. In 1654, the Protester Patrick Gillespie attempted to break the resultant stalemate when he sought and obtained an ordinance from the English government establishing a system of “triers,” which superseded the authority of the kirk’s presbyterian courts. In doing this, Gillespie broke the factions’ official policy of non-cooperation with the English and ushered in a period during which both factions courted the favour of the Cromwellian regime in an attempt to gain an advantage over their rival. From this point on, the fortunes of the factions became linked inextricably with the ebb and flow of English politics, the Protesters allying themselves with the radical officers of the English army and the Resolutioners with the conservative forces of parliament. The benefits of such alliances, however, proved transitory, serving only to intensify the factions’ animosity. By the eve of the Restoration in 1660, the schism had not been remedied and the divided kirk proved an easy prey to its adversaries.<sup>5</sup>

Until Kyle Holfelder’s 1998 thesis, there had not been a detailed history of this controversy. The early historians not only lacked access to records, but “there was something very repulsive to Scottish Presbyterians about the *prima facie* aspect of the 1650s regarding the kirk’s division,” and “Scots presbyterians of all persuasions laboured to draw a veil over what they regarded as the most unseemly period in the kirk’s history” (Holfelder, p. 4).

However, what was not veiled but clear even in the older brief treatments of those times, was that in this controversy James Durham was noted for taking a stand for the necessity

of healing schisms and uniting a divided church. He would eventually treat this subject in the posthumously published *Treatise Concerning Scandal*, one of the most significant Presbyterian works on the subject of private, public, and doctrinal offenses, and scandalous divisions in the church.<sup>6</sup> Durham along with Robert Blair was one of a few who remained neutral in the Protester-Resolutioner division and made attempts to get the two sides to come together. After the General Assembly’s approval of the resolutions in July 1651, the next April Durham drafted and presented to the Glasgow Synod some overtures for union.

BEING still more and more convinced of the necessitie of Union among the Ministers of this Church, be the many evils that accompanie these differences, [the Synod] doe therefore think it expedient, to endeavour some way of healing, at least of preventing the growing, of the same. And though they neither intend hereby judicillie to condemne or reflect on any acts or proceedings of any of them, either on the one side or the other, preceding this time, (bot to leave both sides without prejudice by this agreement,) yet for the ends foresaid, they doe voluntarlie condescend mutuallie in the things controverted, in als farr as concerns their praedice for the interim, as follows :

1. That they shall eschew all publick wakening or lengthening these debates by preaching or spreading papers, either in favours of the one side or the other.

4. Sermons preached before the Synodal Assembly in Glasgow [manuscript], 1652, 1658. Sermons on 1 Corinthians 1, v.10, by James Fergusson April 5, 1658, and on Ephesians 4, v.11 and 12, by Mr. James Durham, October 5, 1652. Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.424, MS Add. 257.

5. Kyle D. Holfelder, *Factionalism in the Kirk during the Cromwellian Invasion and Occupation of Scotland, 1650 to 1660: The Protester-Resolutioner Controversy*, Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Edinburgh (1998), Abstract.

6. *The Dying Man’s Testament to the Church of Scotland, or, A Treatise Concerning Scandal. Divided into Four Parts. 1. Concerning Scandal in the General. 2. Concerning Publick Scandals, or Scandals as they are the object of Church-censures, and more particularly as they are in practice. 3. Concerning Doctrinal Scandals, or scandalous errors. 4. Concerning Scandalous Divisions. In each of which there are not a few choice and useful Questions, very shortly and satisfyingly discussed and cleared. By that singularly faithfull and wise Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Durham, late Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow, Who being dead (by this) yet speaketh: and published by John Carstares, one of the Ministers in Glasgow. To which is prefixed an excellent Preface of famous Mr. Blair, Minister of the Gospel at St Andrews, (wherein he also vigorously driveth the main design of the blessed Author in this last Piece of his Labours) Together with a Table of Contents of the several Chapters of each Part* (Edinburgh: Christopher Higgins, 1659; London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1659). Last reprinted in 1740, a new edition was published in 1990 by Naphtali Press.

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

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

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

5. Likeas it is their purpose, if God shall give ane free General Assemblée, to indeavour for a full and judicial settling and oblivion of the foresaid differences, and all consequences that hes followed on them; and, in the meantime, to proceed in all affaires according to the uncontroverted rules and acts of our Church.

This Agreement may be drawne to the laying aside of all the present controversie, the matter being, for the particulars, removed but by the Assemblée itselfe and submission of men censured; elsse no Assemblée firme hereafter: And with cautions against feared domination, and a due processing of novelties

7. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie [1637–1662]*, edited by David Laing. 3 vols. (Edinburgh: [Bannatyne Club], 1841–1842), 3.185–186.

8. While clearly provoked by Durham's quest for unity, Baillie had this to say after Durham's death. "The Epistle [to the Reader] speaketh to the man, I shall add but this one word, That from the day I was employed by the Presbytery to preach and pray and to impose, with others, hands upon him for the Ministry at Glasgow, I did live to the very last with him in great and uninterrupted love, and in an high estimation of his egregious [remarkable] enduements [accomplishments], which made him to me precious among the most excellent Divines I have been acquainted with in the whole Isle." James Durham, *A Commentary on Revelation* (Old Paths Publications, 1658), xi. Durham had been intended to replace David Dickson as professor at Glasgow but he was appointed to serve as chaplain to Charles II, which turned out to be a grievous duty to him and upon leaving that post, the professorship never materialized.

9. *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Sessions, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: W. Bennett, Printed for the Spalding Club, [1846]), 213.

tending to separate congregations, Why should ane oblivion of Malignants, the King and they having satisfied, be granted also? Why not deposed ministers and elders, for no other scandall, on submission, made capable? What Union else firme?<sup>7</sup>

Robert Baillie was as keen a partisan on the Resolutioner side as men such as Samuel Rutherford were on the side of the Protesters. Baillie convinced the Synod to postpone consideration of Durham's overtures to the June meeting, but he had no intention in allowing them to ever come up again and was instrumental in raising opposition in other parts of the church against the plan (Baillie, 3.176ff). The Protesters were not supportive either and they were the majority in the Glasgow Synod, unlike elsewhere in the kirk (Holfelder, 106).

The minutes apparently do not exist from this period, but Baillie characterized the June meeting of the Glasgow Synod as two days of "bickering." After detailing some of the disputes over approving some ministers and other matters, he complains in a postscript to a letter to James Wood, "In the end of our Synod, Mr. Patrick with Sir John, with consent of our Moderator, obtained ane act for keeping our Synod book from going back to the next Assemblée; against which we protested" (Baillie, 3.187–188). In the letter he also warned Wood to "beware" the counsel of "neuters." This was Baillie's disparaging term for those striving for peace such as Durham.<sup>8</sup> The reference to the moderator is of interest. One must presume given the clear division that electing a moderator would be contentious. Apparently Durham was elected either from hopes he could aid getting the Synod's business done, or perhaps it was another way to ensure he was not on the floor and able to push for his overtures? We can surmise he was moderator because he preached this sermon at the October meeting. This is still done today, and the tradition has long roots. Take for example, the Synod of Aberdeen meeting in April of 1652,

Thee wilk day, after sermone hade by Jhone Paterson, last moderator, text, Act i. v. 6, 7, 8, and incalling on God's name, the ministerris and ruling elderris of this Assemblée, ar cited according to the order whose names doe follow...<sup>9</sup>

This was institutional practice as noted by Walter Stewart of Pardovan.

Title XIV. Of Provincial Synods. §2. The Moderator of the former Synod doth in the Morning before the Meeting, preach a Sermon suited to the Occasion, and after Sermon doth Intimate to the Members, that they immediately Repair to the Synod House; when they are met, He doth open the Meeting with Solemn Prayer; Then the Clerk having made up the Synod Roll from the Rolls of each Presbytery presented to him by their Respective Moderators, he is to call the same over and to mark

the Absents. In making up the Synod Roll it is usual to change the Order thereof every Synod, so that the Presbytery that was first called in the Roll of the former Synod is now called last. Then the Synod proceeds to the choise of a new Moderator, who first calls for the Correspondents from the Neighbouring Synods: and their Commissions being Read, they are Inrolled as Correspondents.

Title XV. Of Extraordinary Synods and General Assemblies. §19. The Moderator of the former Assembly opens it with a Sermon; but in case of his absence, his predecessor in that Chair hath the Sermon: and in absence of them both, the eldest Minister of the town where they meet preacheth, and openeth the Assembly by Prayer, and Moderates till a new Moderator be chosen. Thus it was done in the Assembly at Glasgow 1638.<sup>10</sup>

As with the other minutes for this period, those from October 1652 do not appear to be extant.<sup>11</sup> However that may be because it failed to do any business. Nicoll records the following entry in his diary.

The Synod of Glasgow haiffing met at thair ordiner tyme, the first Tysday of October 1652, thair rais much contraversie amongis thame, and with great difficultie could ane Moderator be chosin be ressoun of the differencis amongis thame; so that twa dayis and almoist a great pairt of the nycht wes spent in this electioun. So thair dissolvit the second day about xi houres at nicht, doing nothing saiff onlie that the Moderator wes chosin, callit Mr. James Fergusoun.<sup>12</sup>

That the Synod at least got to the point of electing a new moderator indicates this surviving sermon was actually preached by Durham before the Glasgow Synod. As noted, the sermon is of a similar strain to the *Treatise on Scandal* and the overtures for union. It clearly did not have any immediate effect given the contentious and drawn out election that followed its delivery. However, perhaps Durham sowed some seeds which had a short positive impact in November 1652.

In November, Robert Blair and a convocation of centrist ministers, met at Edinburgh and attempted to negotiate a union between the Protesters and Resolutioners, both of whom were about to meet in their respective Commissions. In an unprecedented turn of events, these centrists were able to persuade the Protesters to suspend all their polemical activities pending the outcome of a new attempt at union. Remarkably, they also prevailed upon the Protesters to write a letter to the Resolutioners in which they offered to forbear acting as the 1650 Commission “as long as endeavours and conferences for union shall continue,” providing the Resolutioners would agree to suspend their activities as the 1652 Commission and

refrain from executing the acts of the controverted General Assemblies (Holfelder, 179–180).

Sadly, as Holfelder goes on to note, the Resolutioners derailed the talks. “Unfortunately, the centrist’s mediatorial efforts with the Resolutioners were less effective and they responded to the Protesters’ overture for union with a strange mixture of contempt and compliance” (Holfelder, *ibid.*).

Durham and Blair made another attempt in June of 1655, but the Resolutioners were again unwilling to compromise (Holfelder, 212), and a more promising attempt in November the same year also failed. Durham would save any further pleas for his *Dying Testimony*, partially dictated from his deathbed. He died, June 25, 1658, at the age of thirty-six.

Previously two articles in this space have described surviving manuscript sermons of James Durham.<sup>13</sup> For the most part as the earlier research suggested, many of these sermons are not in very good shape or are material similar to that already in print in Durham’s known works, with one, or possibly two of passing interest to see in transcription. A year after the second piece ran, the existence of this sermon was made known to the writer.

Nicholas Davelaar, who was working on his Th.M. at Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, contacted me in late November, 2012. He was interested in researching Durham material and brought to my attention the existence of this manuscript in the collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC.<sup>14</sup> This sermon is a singular exception in many

10. Walter Steuart of Pardovan, *Collections and observations methodiz’d: concerning the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, 1709), 77.

11. Minutes do exist for the protester half of the Glasgow Synod for 1654–55 during the time the Synod actually divided into a Protester synod and a Resolutioner synod (Holfelder, 14); but Holfelder does not cite minutes for these earlier synod meetings. Given his extensive research this may indicate they do not exist. While the folios had not been physically checked at press time, a review of the National Library of Scotland finding aids and indices for the Wodrow collection seems to confirm this. My thanks to Matthew A. Vogan for aid in this regard.

12. John Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and other occurrences, chiefly in Scotland, From January 1650 to June 1667* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1836), 102.

13. “The James Durham MSS Held by Glasgow University Library,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 5 (2009); “The James Durham MSS Part II,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 7 (2011).

14. Rev. Davelaar (presently pastor of Covenant Presbyterian Church, Russellville, Ark.), eventually ordered black and white copies and spent four or five hours working on the first two pages before concluding it was not practical to pursue a full transcription. His thesis is “Life Together in the Light of the Covenant of Grace: The Relationship of James Durham’s *Concerning Scandal* to his Covenant Theology,” A thesis submitted to the faculty of Puritan Reformed

ways to other Durham MS. While it is of similar content as the later work on scandal, unlike the other sermon manuscripts, this one has historical importance as far as illustrating further Durham's role as a peace maker in the Protestant-Resolutioner schism. And this manuscript was quite accessible and through the helpful staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library, available to be photographed. While a few high resolution color photographs were needed, most of the sermon was largely legible in the black and white copies—legible that is, once one learns the old style secretary hand,<sup>15</sup> is cognizant of the old, odd and variable spellings, and the archaic Scottish vocabulary.

As to the origins of the MS, the only information stored with it was the purchase receipt stating the library had obtained the MS from W. A. Myers in 1960. Mrs. Winifred A. Myers was a well respected seller of autographs and other

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Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Theology, May 2013. Correspondence with Nicholas Davelaar, November 30, 2012, January 22 and May 10, 2013.

15. The author's previous experience with the old English secretary hand include creating full transcriptions of the two surviving MS of the Westminster Larger Catechism, a letter Thomas Rogers wrote to Nicholas Bownd, and an MS book list of volumes taken from Laud's library for use by the Westminster assembly, as well as work with the Westminster Abbey Library's Benefactor's book. Cf. "Anti-Sabbatarian Scold: Thomas Rogers' Letter to Nicholas Bownd, April 29, 1598," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 10 (2014); and *Antiquary*: "Westminster Abbey Library: And Other Theological Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643–1652)," vol. 6 (2010); *The Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly: A Transcription of the Surviving Manuscripts with Notes*, by Chris Coldwell; Forewords by J. Ligon Duncan, Ph.D. & Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, Ph.D. (Westminster Letter Press, 2009).

16. A collection of the Myers catalog for 1958–1974 is held at the Grolier Club library, in New York City, in offsite storage. Call number 04.42 M996 1958, *Catalogue of autograph letters: manuscripts, documents and some association books, selected from our large stock*, by Winifred A. Myers (Autographs) Ltd. As ephemeral items these pieces are rare, but at press time a smaller collection of ten catalogs including those for 1960 was listed by an English bookseller for £100.

17. Correspondence with Elizabeth DeBold, Curatorial Assistant, Folger Shakespeare Library, February 24, 2016. The letter from the then curator to Ms Myers and a response concerning the availability of three MS including item 247, only note the items by number and contain no further information about them. Item 247 was available, but the other two MS had already been sold. Miss E. Pritcher to Miss Winifred Myers, October 27, 1960; Winifred A. Myers to Miss E. Pritcher, 8 November, 1960. The Folger Shakespeare Library, correspondence files.

18. On the first page mid page it appears that "Phil." has been written rather than "Ephes." There is also at least one missing reference, and at least one rough transition that seems to lack some context. Also the doctrines are recorded out of order and simply renumbered in the margin. If these were Durham's notes those errors would seem less likely. However the numbering mistake and other errors may indicate this MS was copied from another, and one may not rule out entirely the possibility Durham had some hand in this MS. MS detail used with permission, see the notice attached to graphics at the end of this article.

19. The two manuscript copies of the Westminster Larger Catechism presented by the Westminster Assembly to the two houses

materials, and her catalogs are quite rare.<sup>16</sup> The curators were helpful and offered to look to see if they still had their copy of the catalog from those many years ago. Happily the library had retained it as well as some incidental correspondence regarding the entry.<sup>17</sup> The MS appeared as item 247 in catalog No. 3 for 1960, page 41.

247. MANUSCRIPT. 17th Century. 58½ pp., 4to. "A Sermon at the Generall Assemblie in Glasgow, 5 April 1659, by Mr. J. Ferguson," (Minister of Kilwinning, Ayrshire) & "A Sermon Taught Before the Generall Assemblie in Glasgow, 5 October, 1652, by Mr. James Durhame," (Minister of Barony, Glasgow [sic St. Mungo's, Glasgow High Church]). *Some leaves stained, sewn.* ¶ (Ferguson was author of a series of Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. Probably because of the Early [sic Earl of] Eglington's support he was not interfered with at the Restoration. Wing records a number of works by James Durham. The subject of both sermons is union. £7 10s

While the Myers catalogs were known to have entries embellished with information on items for sale, for item 247 no prior ownership information was given. The document is not clearly



signed and the origin of the MS and who previously owned it remains a mystery. As to its legitimacy, it hardly seems likely to be the kind of thing to be faked; and having transcribed it, there's no question it is Durham's. Much of the material is similar to *Concerning Scandal* and the phrasings and vocabulary ring true. Is it Durham's own MS? While there is an embellishment at the end of the sermon that may possibly be a stylized set of initials, it is unclear that they are letters or that they represent "JD". While it is not impossible the MS is Durham's, the notes rather seem to be by a hearer than notes from which one may have preached.<sup>18</sup> With the provenance unknown the scribe of the notes must remain an open question.

No matter who scribed them, these do not appear to be simply someone's private notes, because of the use of "catchwords." Catchwords date back to usage in some medieval manuscripts to ensure that pages intended to be bound were collated in the correct order, and also came to be thought of as an aid to the reader. They subsequently became a convention in book printing upon the invention of the printing press. The catchword is placed below the last line of text at the inside margin and duplicates the first word on the subsequent page. It is less likely that someone making private notes would take the time to use catchwords. While not likely, if the MS was drafted by the clerk of the synod for a record that might explain their use, as it would be a more formal undertaking.<sup>19</sup> Was the MS created for printing? The use of catchwords does not in itself indicate this MS was intended

for the press, though it is certainly possible that was in view. However, there are no printer's marks to indicate it was handled by a printer, and the text is not complete enough and one should think would have been refined far more before submission for printing.<sup>20</sup> Another possibility is that the MS was created with the intention of circulating it, perhaps with the intent of 'publishing' it via MS copy.<sup>21</sup> Given that Durham and the other peacemakers were actively seeking to bring the two sides together and had arranged significant meetings the next month, this MS of Durham's sermon may have been created believing it would prove of use some way. At this point it is all speculation beyond the indications that these notes were likely not just private notes, but created for some purpose.

The manuscript is not in the best shape and quite fragile.<sup>22</sup> The two sermons are bound together and consist of 31 leaves, with the older piece by Durham taking up the latter half, consisting of folios 15r through 31r. There is a significant amount of bleed through in the first quarter or so of the manuscript, and there are various defects and tears affecting the text in minor ways. The lower half of the final page is torn away and missing, without any apparent loss to the text, though one supposes some identifying information might possibly have been present at one time. There are corrections made at the time or later throughout the MS, via cross outs and interline and marginal insertions. It is clear in the color photographs that some of these are in a different apparently later ink, while others seem more likely to have been made as the notes were made.

The initial transcription was done from a black and white reproduction. The first page of the Durham sermon (15r) is highly affected by bleed through and required a high resolution color photograph. This opening page is presented on the inside cover of this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*. Eight other pages in color were necessary to try and clear up various issues with the text, but these were not sought for pages with minor difficulties where suppositions were sufficient or where they were not likely to shed any additional light.

For all the missing or undecipherable words and of course possible errors in the transcription, the text is quite intelligible. Insertions into the text where the scribe dropped letters or where it was difficult to discern the text, and other editorial adjustments, are denoted by square brackets [ ]. The "whe" contraction that is most commonly used in this manuscript is expanded with the supplied text in braces, with any others expanded 'silently'. Crossed out text is struck out, and insertions above line are in superscript. Readings to any degree uncertain are in italics. Marginal notations and other issues as well as commentary are placed in footnotes. There was little punctuation and that added to aid the reading has been inserted in square brackets. There were no apostrophes or quotation marks and these have been inserted without notice.

The folio notations are not recorded in the manuscript itself, and are numbered according to convention (r=recto; v=verso) in the footnotes along with the catchword that normally appears at the bottom of each page. The original line breaks are represented by the vertical bar (|), and discernible paragraph breaks have been retained. The scribe does not always denote an insertion with a caret (^).

As a good puritan preacher, Durham began his sermon by briefly 'opening up' the scope of the text, before adducing three doctrines which he planned to cover (15r-15v).<sup>23</sup> The 'scope' of the Apostle Paul in the passage is 'how precious a point unity is, and how it tends to the purpose of edifying the church' (22v). The sermon may be outlined as follows,

#### SERMON OUTLINE

The Scope of the text.

Doctrine I. The great purpose for which God has appointed a ministry, which is the edification of the body of Christ (15v-22r). Briefly in a short paragraph, the doctrine is proved by adducing 2 Corinthians 12:19 and 1 Corinthians 14:26 and edification defined (16r).

Use I. The ministry is 1. necessary, 2. precious, 3. and the work of it great, and 4. therefore how carefully and cheerfully

of Parliament make use of catchwords as they were not only formal copies but were presented to be read for consideration. At this writing no example of a sermon in synodical minutes of the period such as this one has come to light in various published minute books, and one would presume for such, the clerk would sign it in that capacity, as with the Catechism MS. Also this Durham MS does not make nearly as much use of contractions as one would expect a formal scribe to do, indicating not so much that it was created 'for the record,' but to be read.

20. It is not certain the peacemakers would have had easy access to publish this piece in print. By this meeting of synod, Cromwell had control of the country and the presses and access to publish divided with the fortunes of each side of the Protestant-Resolutioner divide, neither of which likely favored these pleas for union to be printed.

21. Correspondence with Chad Van Dixhoorn, February 2016.

22. Correspondence with Melanie Leung, Image Request Coordinator, Folger Shakespeare Library, February 2, 2016.

23. "The Puritan sermon quotes the text and 'opens' it as briefly as possible, expounding circumstances and context, explaining its grammatical meanings, reducing its tropes and schemata to prose, and setting forth its logical implications...." Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939), cited in Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans as They Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 100. The puritan preacher would then adduce doctrines for which he would provide proofs or reasons, and then adduce uses or application of the doctrine of which there might be 'use for exhortation,' 'use for conviction,' etc. The text book for puritan preaching was William Perkin's *The Art of Prophesying* (Latin, 1592; English, 1606). Not all the various divisions are articulated at length, or demarcated in these MS notes (doctrine 1, reason for doctrine 1, reason 2, etc). Those that are clear have been inserted editorially in square brackets.

ministers should go about the work of the ministry. The main use Durham then makes of the doctrine is, that since Christ has given the Christian ministry for edification of His body, ministers should base all that they do on what may gain and further love for Christ, which he instances in 1. the doctrine which they teach (16v–18v), 2. the discipline they exercise (18v–19v), 3. their manner of life (19v–20r), and 4. and not only their general manner in all these, but in all the circumstances surrounding them (20r).

Use II. When he gets to the fourth instance just noted, Durham recasts it as a second use for exhortation (20r–21v), speaking 1 in general via some rules how to discern edifying matter, and 2 to some means to promote edification.

Use III. For conviction, how far ministers have failed in this doctrine (21v–22v).

Doctrine II. In reference to the scope, ministers should study and promote unity as a main part of edifying the body of Christ, which he instances 1. in the frame of their spirits, 2. in respect to their fellowship, 3. in their doctrine and discipline, and 4. asks his audience to consider the bitter end of their divisions (22v–24r).

Doctrine III. Durham links unity and edification, which relate to and infer each other (24r–28v). He briefly states the doctrine, waives stating a question and accessory matters, and dismissing what their division was not about, states plainly wherein their division consisted. It was whether this particular assembly or another was the rightly constituted one whose determinations should have been followed. He applies the doctrine to this question, maintaining the whole matter should be waived for the sake of unity and edification. Durham's refusal to take a side, he clears from the appearance of 'lukewarmness.' He clears this, 1. from the greater consequences that follow upon their continued division (24v), 2. because of the clear exhortations in scripture to avoid strife and contention (24v), 3. the consistent opposition to schism and division by fathers of the faith, counsels and the practice in the scriptures, and law of nature (25r).

Durham then continues by dealing particularly with what may promote edification and union, drawing some rules from two points with regard to their division. 1. If union is the necessary step to edification, as dissension & strife are the avenue that led to division, separation cannot be the remedy (25v). 2. Union must be attained by that which edifies, not by that which destroys. 3. Durham draws rules from the second point, 1. the destruction of one side or the other will not be for the edification of the church. 2. No violent authoritative way will heal their division. 3. If edifying union is a necessity, then the kindest and quickest manner of healing is needed.

1. Fra: from (Sc. Jamieson).

2. *Sic* Ephes 4 1–7. The text possibly reads "1.7" but the chapter is a mistake as well as the book.

Question. The question is adduced and answered, wherein may they agree? He answers 1. as they have a difference of judgment, affection and practice, at least agree to not let things get worse. 2. Agree where they can, if they cannot have the same judgment, at least maintain affection and practice.

Objections. While he was not sanguine about the reception of his advice, Durham then addresses several questions that stood in the way of their union. It is questioned, shall they sin in order to have peace, by dismissing ordinances and papering over the controversy? This he answers in six considerations (27r–28r). He then answers two other questions together regarding practices which stood in the way of union, one side objecting that if they overlooked the question of the division, there would never be another assembly, and the other objecting, that if they overlooked faults, there would be no stemming of corruption (28r).

Durham closes the sermon with some words of direction to ministers and church members (28v–31r).

#### SERMON TRANSCRIPTION

5 October 1652 Ephes. 4 11. 12.

For the edefieing of the bodie of Christ  
A Sermon taught before the Synod assembled in  
Glasgow by Mr Ja: Durhame

We wold not be long in clearing the Scope[.] any that will | read from the beginning of the chapter will find it plain[.] | the Apostle in the former part of this Epistle hath laid | down the summe of saving doctrine fra<sup>1</sup> the beginning to this | chapter & in this and forward to the end hee sett down what concerns | our Christian practice in our Christian conversation[.] More especially | he begins the chapter with a pithie exhortation, "I therefore the prisoner | of the Lord besech you that yee walk worthie of the vocation | wherewith ye are called," and this general he enlarges in many | particulares following & begins with pressing them to unitie & | peace and as the main part of their dutie & <sup>a</sup>pryme part of | their walking worthie of this vocation & calling wherewith they were | called[.] *phil* 1 17[.]<sup>2</sup> and in the following verses he ushers in this | dutie of endeavouring to keep the unitie of the spirit in the bond | of peace as the thing he aymes at to have unitie in the | bondie of Christ[.] The unitie of the spirit kept in the bond | of peace[.] And because this is a maine duetie & yet a duetie | {whe}rin their harts are often deficient, therefore he presses it by many | arguments, which may be drawn to two sorts[:] 1 from some common | grounds to verse 7 which are taken from the manie bonds that are | among all Christians to bind them

up together[.] ther is one bodie and | spirit etc[.] 2. Fra v 7 to vers 17<sup>3</sup> he layeth down and followeth forth | a new argument bie way of preoccupation or anticipation of | ane objection, for it might be objected The church is ane | heterogenius bodie, all have not the same, nor lyke gifts, but | some one sort of gifts[.] some another sort[.] he answers that if they | consider the end {whe}rfor<sup>4</sup> Christi hath given such diversitie of gifts | they will find it a tye & bond to bind them together, for what<sup>5</sup> | ever gifts or graces men have gotten they ought to be sub- | servient to the unities of the bodie, for they are all given | for the good of the bodie[.] he hath given some to be apostles, | some prophets, & some evangelists & some pastor & teachers, for<sup>6</sup> [aims<sup>7</sup>] perfecting of the bodie saints[.] the word in the greeke is for the right | joynting of the bodie or that that the saints the members of | the bodie may be rightlie joynted, both for the work of the members | & for the edifying of the bodie of Christi[—]no[t] for this or that par- | ticular souls<sup>8</sup> good or benefit mainlie, but for edifying the whole | bodie, so ministers' work is to joynt above particular joynt in its | right place & then kepe all in and as one bodie[.] & that is furder<sup>9</sup> | confirmed in the next words[.] "till we all come in the unities of | the faith" etc[.] So long as folks are here in this life their will be | somme imperfection & weakness & need of all these bonds to bind | them together & he hes<sup>10</sup> appoynted them a mids<sup>11</sup> to furder the unities | of his church till the tyme come they be compleated[.]

We shall not stand in furder clearing of the words[.] some thing here | concerning the bodie of Christi were worthe to be spoken of, We | would exclud nether the invisible bodie of Christi, it being it | that mainelie & onlie hes ordinances apointed for their good | in a *sea?eing*<sup>12</sup> way[.] nor the visible bodie of Christi the catholic | visible church[.] for ministers have the elect to feed & edifie not | as they are member of the invisible but as they are members | of the visible church under their oversight & charge[.] & that visible | bodie being of extent to take in all the elect to be gathered[.] | it must not be any particular congregation, but the evangelicall | catholic church as the duetie pressed unto & as the tyes & | motives common to all people prove[.] but we shall live<sup>13</sup> this & severall | othere things & speak mainlie to 3;<sup>14</sup> [sic] things that aryse cleiarlie | from the words[.] or take them in this 3 fold consideration[.] | [Doctrine I] 1<sup>15</sup> Consider the words simplie in themselves and they hold out the great | end for which God<sup>16</sup> hes appointed ministers & that is for the edifying of the bodie of | Christi[.]

[Doctrine III] 3 Consider these two[.] unities & edification[.] & as the one of them | relaits to and infers the other & hold out this[.] That as | unities infers edification so edification follows fra unities that | edifies that unities, & that unities [e]s that edifies[.] They are linked | together[.]

[Doctrine II] 2 Consider in reference to the Scope & they hold out that | ministers so would<sup>17</sup> studie unities & so

promove unities as a maine | part of Edification /<sup>18</sup> [I.] for the scope of these it is a clear doctrine[.] That<sup>19</sup> | That it is the verie end wherfor God hath given a ministerie | to edefie this bodie of Christi, to build up his people[.] the building | up of the bodie[.] the perfecting of the saints[.] is the end of the | apostle's call, as all he goeth about[.] 2 Cor 12 19[.] "we doe all | things dearlie beloved for your edefieing[.]" 1 Cor 14 [26,] "Let all things be | done to edefieing[.]" we shall not here insiſt what edification is[.] | but **it** shortlie it [sic] comprehendeth these two, the bringing in of *new* | incomers,<sup>20</sup> the joyning of mo[r]e members to Christi, the weding of | more souls to the brydgrome, & the promoveing the faith of | them that are brought in,

[Use 1] We come to the use of the doctrine, & what precious use might | it yeald us as / The necesseties of a ministerie, it is needfull as | the edifying of Christi's bodie, if faith &

3. i.e. up until verse 17?

4. The contraction for "whe," (a "g" or a "q" which often looks like another form of "g") is replaced with the letters expanded in braces. While the scribe has often left space between the parts of words such as whereby, wherein, therfor, etc. these have not been retained. Other spacing is retained if conventional for the time ("some thing", etc.).

5. Hyphen breaks are inserted silently unless possibly original, which will be noted.

6. End of 15r. The first page of this sermon is folio 15r of the manuscript. Catchword: for.

7. In a darker ink the letters "aims" are at the bottom of the first page centered below "some evangelists".

8. The scribe made no use of the apostrophe and these have been added without editorial comment.

9. Furder. Obsolete form of further (OED).

10. Hes: has, and *pl.* have (Sc. Jamieson).

11. Mids: means (Sc. Jamieson).

12. Possibly "sealeing," "sealieing" or "seaveing," though it looks nothing like an "l" or "li" and while close to a filled in "v" which usually has a left-hand ascender, the writer never spells save or salvation beginning "sea." See the end of this article for an image of this text.

13. i.e. "leave."

14. Punctuation is scarce; semi-colons rare; this one is misplaced.

15. The numbers are in the left margin of this page and out of order as 1, 3, 2, with the 2 corrected to a 3. If not his MS, Durham may have made this mistake in the delivery; or this may indicate this MS was a copy of another, and the scribe inadvertently skipped the second point and simply corrected the numbering in the margin. The MS proceeds to take the doctrines in the correct numerical order.

16. Inconsistent capitalization has been retained except in the case of "God," "Christ" and "Christian," which are rendered here capitalized regardless of the use in the MS.

17. The word is blotched and page dark in the black and white copy, but "so would" fits the context.

18. The slash or virgula suspensiva had evolved into the comma long before this time and this seems to be the scribe's indication of a strong stop or transition between 'points,' but it is not used with any consistency. Here it marks the transition of the enumeration of the three doctrines to the handling of the first.

19. End of page 15v. Catchword: That.

20. Income: one who has recently come to a place (Sc. Jamieson).

salvation be needfull so | is it Rom 10. 14; 13 [*sic* 15?]; / 2 How precious a work the ministerie is, which | is a meddling with the bodie of Christ, the salvation of souls that | Christ hes bought & their edefieing depend upon it, which showes | the dignetie of the ministerie; sieng it is a work that is taken | up about the building of Christ's bodie, it is not employed about | gold, or silver, or precious stones, but about that which is more | precious to Christ, about souls that he hes bought with his blood[,] | Acts 20 28[.] / 3 The greatnesse of the work of the ministerie[.] | It is no small work to be taken up in the edifieing of Christ's | bodie, who is sufficient for such a work and therefore etc 4lie<sup>21</sup> if it be | so necessarie, so precious, so worthie, & great work, how carefullie & | cheirfullie should ministers go about it & tender & watchfull | should they be in the folowing forth of it, for if it be so preci- | ous, & so great a work *that*<sup>22</sup> a high trust it hes the greater | accompt folowing it hes o<sup>7</sup><sup>23</sup> what a work it is to have the | charge of souls, it is awork apains<sup>24</sup> & labour/labouer[,] therefore the | apostle sayest[,] 2 Cor 11 28, 29; "Besides the things that are | without that which cometh upon me daylie, the care of all |

21. This appears to be an "etc" with the "4" in "4lie" obscuring the letter "c".

22. The word is largely blotched or possibly struck out.

23. This looks like a lowercase "o" followed by a large serified "7" (the scribe's sevens lack serifs, i.e. 7 versus 7). The scribe may have written an old style lowercase c (more like an "f") and then drawn a slash downward. If the "o" is the exclamation "oh," it would seem to go with the following and thus the slash should have been placed before it. Durham uses this exclamation rather frequently in his sermons.

24. I have retained spellings where the article "a" is joined hard to the word following.

25. The middle letters could be "oi", "ei", or likely, "en." i.e. Meneſt, as perhaps in "insist". Mene/mean/meen: to take notice of, to mention, to hint upon (Sc. Jamieson).

26. End of page 16r. Catchword: right. The line appears to end with the letters "ri" with "right" below as the catchword.

27. Though the first word may be "low," another instance indicates this is "how" with a modern "h" which the scribe uses rarely as opposed to the old style "h." The "s" stands apart from the second word and while there is a lead into the "u" there is not a clear letter between them. The last letter or letters are like nothing else in the MS. The word "souls" does fit the context, as would possibly also "such," though there is no clear "c." The context calls for some sense of "lest some," "lest folks," etc.

28. Possibly "forrare"; farther (Sc. Jamieson); i.e. further that ardor.

29. Should. While an exception at this point the scribe more commonly drops the "h" as the sermon progresses.

30. The text runs into the binding.

31. Shall. The "h" is commonly dropped throughout the MS.

32. "Even now," i.e. during this time of the divisions between Resolutions and Protestors.

33. End of page 16v. Catchword: souls. Context implies the repeat is not simply a catchword but should have read "souls; souls, souls may..."

34. The page corner is torn affecting the last letter(s).

35. Wealt; misspelling of wailed (wait). To choose (Sc. Jamieson). Durham often uses 'conjoined synonyms' in a form of pleonasm. Durham often pairs English and Scottish terms.

the churches, who is weak & I am not weak, who is offended | & I burn not," when the care of souls comes upon him it | is beyond all his burdines, but on these we do not *menſt*[,]<sup>25</sup> | only it concernes ministers to walk soberlie, to have ri right<sup>26</sup> | right thoughts of the excellence of the work they are employed in | *how souls*<sup>27</sup> may be brought to the door of salvation & suffred to stay back | throu their toutlesnesse, Eſpeciallie let ministers beware of making them- | selves or thier ministrie contemptible, its not for nought said to ministers[,] | "Let no man deſpise thee[,]" 1 Tim 4 12[,] as if they had that in keeping[.] | But mainlie we would make this use of it, if Christ hes given his | mi<sup>ni</sup>sterie mainlie for edification of the bodie[,] It lets us see what minist- | eres should <sup>be</sup> mainlie aym<sup>in</sup>ge at, and where at they should lavell all their | actions of all sorts, & know what to caſt, & what to choise that comes | in their way, those things should be choisen that may gaine ardrau in | souls to Christ, or help any *foruar*<sup>28</sup> that ardrauon in to him, we shall | instance this in some few things[:] 1 in a minister's publick preaching & | praying, he sould<sup>29</sup> so carie himself in these as he may most ? edifie | the people in everie sentence, ayming at ther profiting & building up[,] | 1 Cor 14 12 17 19, etc[.] 2 in the exercise of discipline[,] 2 Cor 10 8[,] our athore- | tie is given us for edification, not for destruction[.] 3 in a minister's ordina<sup>[rie]</sup><sup>30</sup> | conversation[,] 1 Cor 9[:22,] he should be all things to all men, that he may | by al meanes gaine some[.] he should in his conversation be ane | example, tipe, or patern to the flock[.] altho edification of the peop- | le should sway him both in the mater & maner of doing of things | and 4 not onlie in the generall strain of their doctrine, praying, | discipline, & conversation[,] but in the particular steps of thes, in the | circumstances of doing things as well as the mater[.] But to in- | large these thre alittell[.]

[Instance 1.] For the edification of the bodie of Christ in the matter of doctrine | we sall<sup>31</sup> give a few ruelles which ye would walk by & learn to try | all things by lavelling all things in the mater of doctrine to this | end, the edification of our people. It is not enough **it is not** to | loke everi thing we preach be lawfull & truth except it may also | edefie, otherways though it were never so greate truth[,] if it | edifie not, a minister in- sofar shoots by his mark & misses the | maine end. To make this the more plain consider I say these few | rules[:] 1 that which is said even now<sup>32</sup> that not onlie the mater we | bring forth be lawfull[,] but also edefieng[,] 1 Cor 10 23[,] "all things | are lawfull but all things edefie not"[,] ther are many doctrines law- | full & have truth in them, but tend not to the edification of souls[:]<sup>33</sup> | souls may heare them long & not be fed by them[,] But re ma<sup>[?ne?]</sup><sup>34</sup> | hungrie or lean still[.] 2 we must not onlie look that they be posi- | tive truth & edifieng, but we must consider co<sup>m</sup>parative, what is | more or most edefieinge, ther is no point of truth but it is some | way edifieng, but when a minister is to choose or wealt<sup>35</sup> a text,

he | must make choice of it by this rule[:] which of these[,] this or that[,] | may tend to edifieng most[?] Therfor[,] 1 Tim 1 4[,] the apostle sayes | “neither giving heed to faubles or endlesse genealoges which minister | questions, rather than [godly] edifieng which is in faith[,]” sþeaking of the | doctrine he insisted in, & would have timothie insiſt in, he | dehorts from one doctrine not simplie as not edifieng[,] but as | ministering questions, & gendering strif & distinguishes betwin | a godlie edifieng, or edifieng in faith which mainelie concernes, | the salvation of people & some questions of the law that did | not tend to edifie & promote godlinesse as the other did[.] 3 We | would consider what may be most edifieng in resþect to the partie | or persons, or people we have to do with, and doctrine may be more | ?? edifieng in on[e] place to one person or people nor<sup>36</sup> another[.] hence | it is that theſe two words are put together[,] the word of wissdome | & the word of knowledge[.] 1 Cor 12 8[,] the one to be guided by | the other, which is to sþeak & give meate in season & great | point of learning[.] Isa 50 4[,] the wise & faithful stuart[,] Luk | 12 42[,] to tell that a minister is to sate<sup>37</sup> his doctrine to the people | & persons he hath to do with, & have asþeciall resþect to those | conditions what may most edifie them, informe the ignorant[,] | reclaime the prophane[,] strenthen the weak & tender[.] 4 We | would even have a resþect to people's in<sup>a</sup>firmities[,]<sup>38</sup> And bring forth | not simplie what may be for ther case & what they stand in | need of, but what will best digest with them & may do them | good, what m[a]y best probl<sup>a</sup>bilie work with them, for as some | f<sup>???</sup>s medicines are <sup>given</sup> for one person that are dangerous to be | given to another who is more infirme or subject to houmers | though labouring with the same disease, So some doctrine will | be good to one that will not diigest with another, and it is not | simplie the proponing of doctrine that edifies & feeds, but the | digesting of it, and the wise minister will have a resþect to | what may best take with<sup>39</sup> the people, and may most probablie | doe them good[.] Therfor[,] 1 Cor 3. 1. The Apostle sayes “And I | brethren could not sþeak unto you as unto sþirituall but | as unto carnell, even as unto babs in Christ, “I have feed you<sup>40</sup> | you with milk, & not with meat[,] for hitherto you were not able | to bear it”[.] He came not on with ever[i]e truth he might have pro- | pounded, & which he if they could have digested might have profited | them more than what he taught them[.] but he pressed his doctrine | in such a way as they might profit by it, and brought forth s<sup>???</sup>+such things as he knew would best digest & prove feeding to them | in the temper they were in, being carnall[,] & what is the car- | nallnesse he sþeaks of, a sort of sinfull distemper such as is | among our folkes[,] as is clear fra v. 3[,] “{whe}ras ther is among | you envyeing & stryf & divisions are ye no[t]<sup>41</sup> carnall & walk as | men”[.] & finding them to be in such a condition, he layes by any | thing they might skair at[,] he thinks it not wisdome to put new | wine

in old bottles because they dought<sup>42</sup> not contine<sup>??</sup>it, {whe} rfor | feed[s] them with milk[.] and the same is it otherwayes expressed[,] | 1 Thess 2.7. “we were gentile among you even as a nurse cherishes | hir childrene”[.] and that is not to sett meat before the childrine onlie | or such weake meat as is good & profitable in it self, but such meat & | in such a way as might best sute with them & win in upon them | as upon children & which they would degest & be feed by[.] & we | take this to be the meaning[,] 1 Cor 9 10 [sic 20] 22[,] “To the Jews I became | as a Jew that I might gaine the Jews[.] I am made all things to | all men that m<sup>??</sup> by any means I might save some”[—] no[t] that he did | anything which was in it self sinfull, but that he did sute his doc- | trine and conforme himself in his practice, so as he migh[t] most | edifie the bodie of Christ[.] He disþuted not the Serimones<sup>43</sup> with | the Jews, but suffered them to brook<sup>44</sup> them till they should see | ther Christian libertie[.] & he scared not the Gentiles but conversed with | them in such away as might be most gaining, & brought forth | in his doctrine things that mainelie concerned ther souls[.]

obj<sup>45</sup> But that is men's infirmetie, corruption & J<sup>46</sup> igno- rance that | makes them offend, Ans they are men with corruption we are to | preach unto & to win, we are debtors to the greeks & unwise as | well as the wise[,] Rom. [1:14,]<sup>47</sup> & should resþect ther geaning, [Obj]<sup>48</sup> But it<sup>49</sup> | may be asked how far sould this zael sway us in teaching or lay- | ing by doctrines[?] Answer In distinguishing the nature of things | or truths that ministers hes to bring forth to people[,] some | things are indifferent & may be done or forborne as may most | gaine this end of edification of the bodie, Therfore Paul cir- | cumcizes at one tyme & not at another[.] he is swayed with this | end in doing & for bearing, 2 if we look upon it in positive

36. Nor: than (Sc. Jamieson).

37. The letter is not closed on top but is not exactly the usual form of a “u” for the scribe. He does clearly use “sute” for “suit” on the next page. But this is possibly “sate.” Sat: *preterite*, suited, fitted (Sc. Jamieson).

38. The insertion of one letter, possibly an “a” above the “in” has been marked out.

39. Take with: admit, allow, own, to be pleased or satisfied with, take root (Sc. Jamieson).

40. End of page 17r. Catchword: you.

41. The word is “no” missing the “t” which is common throughout.

42. Dought, i.e. dow. Dare (Sc. Jamieson). Conten, *obs.* for contain (OED).

43. i.e. “Ceremonies.”

44. Brook: enjoy the use of (OED).

45. The word “obj” is also in the left margin.

46. What looks like a large capital J (i.e. “I”) is followed by a sþace and the word “ignorance” in lower case.

47. The text reads “Rom. & should,” with the chapter and verse omitted.

48. There is a squiggle, @ or similar mark to possibly indicate a second objection or question, the answer to which follows.

49. End of page 17v. Catchword: it.

| truths & in the point of scensure[.]<sup>50</sup> though edification will not warrant | ministers to do or teach any thing contrarie to these[,] yet to for- | bear for a tyme according to the nature of affirmative precepts[,] | or positive which tye semper but no[t] ad semper, as if such a | thing may stumble, or offend,<sup>51</sup> therefore the Apostle paul for- | bears some truths, for a tyme till the people he was to speak to | be fitt to receive them[,] as in the places cited before compared | with John 16 12[.] / 3 If they be things or truths necessary, edification | would warrant that the propounding of them be circumstantiated, | as they may best edifie, as at the tyme {whe}n, and the expressions {whe}rin, | and the manor how they may be best taken up, be wailed<sup>52</sup> & made | the use of. Because the circumstances fall in under that which | should be the maine end and<sup>53</sup> Mark 4 33[.] & if it be questioned | how can any truth be kept up, or any dutie forborne, should | not all sin be reprov'd & can we be truthfull to God & the people | & no[t] reprove sin or in forbearing any necessary dutie[,] suppose it | be to censure & maintaine authority of judgements[.] Ans The que- | sition is not whether dutie should be forborne or if all sin should be | reprov'd[.] But of the right minds how to get such a sin taken with | & how to get such dutie done rightlie[.] 2 the speaking of all | truth & doing of all dutie is not a dutie simple lying on minis- | ters at all tymes, for that which may not edifie is not a dutie[.] | Be`syd that all s?? ministers knowes not all truth[.] therefore speak- | ing of truth & doing of dutie, must be so

50. i.e. "censure."

51. affirmative or positive precepts. "(3.) In positive duties of worship and things that are necessary by affirmative precepts, scandal ought to have weight to time them so as not to give offense by them. For although a scandal cannot make duty to be no duty forever, yet it may for a time suspend one from the exercise of a lawful duty, although not always.... So preaching to a minister, and hearing to a professor, are commanded duties. Yet supposing that a particular man's preaching at such a time would stumble more than edify, it is to be forborne. So in giving of admonitions, or in [the] correcting of children, we are not to do these when we, or others, are in passion, although they are duties, but to take a fit time, lest more hurt follow than advantage; this being a rule [about] affirmative precepts, that they bind continually (*Semper*), but not always to the actual performing of them (or *ad Semper*).... (4.) In necessary things offense ought to have weight according to the circumstance of the case, to sway one in the manner and circumstances of that necessary duty." Durham, *Concerning Scandal* (Naphtali Press, 1990), 20–22; (2014), 59–60.

52. Wail: chosen (Sc. Jamieson).

53. End of 18r. Catchword: edifie. The "but to" confuses the sense, which is clearer if read without the "but"

54. Take in: bring into a state of subjection (Sc. Jamieson).

55. Skill: comprehend (OED).

56. Possibly but less likely, "finner": to make an end (Sc. Jamieson). A line continuing from the previous "e" crosses under the long "s." So the crossing that would distinguish an "f" from a long "s" is doubtful.

57. Stint: limit (OED).

58. Gate: way (Sc. Jamieson).

59. End of page 18v. Catchword: in.

gone about as they | preach such and such a particular truth, to convince of this or that | sin, or bring to the doing of such a dutie[,] principallie, but to edifie<sup>53</sup> | the bodie of Christ, the saving of people's souls, and if the forbear- | ing of such a truth or the not pressing such a dutie for a tyme gaine | the soull sooner, ?is he not bound to make his practice subservient to | that end, to clear it in a similitud[:] a man gets commission to take | in<sup>54</sup> a strong citie, but he is not obliged to take it in at such | a strong port that is stronglie fortified & at no other, but he is left | to skill<sup>55</sup> how to go about it or where to assault it, will not | wisdom say it were better to go to a part that is weaker or a part | {wher}e ther is more easie accesse & entrie to be had[,] his commission | being principallie to take in the town & not that port now. | a minister's work is to cast out Satan, & all lustes out of the | soul & to bring everie thought in subjection to Christ, & whither | is it wisdom to batter at one dore of the soule that is stronglie | fortified against such a truth, or to look to win in by another | {tha}t is lesse controverted, wisdom would say it is best to labour | to win in on the soule by a truth {tha}t is less controverted & then it is | farr more easie to win that sort the sinner,<sup>56</sup> keeps & gane the | citie[.] This was the way Paul took & directs ministers to use | this holy wisdom & prudence not stinting<sup>57</sup> them to one gate<sup>58</sup> | of pressing to dutie or proponing truths, or convincing of sin[,] but | leaving roome to them to follow that way which may most | edifie, and to choise matter & method of proceeding as may be | most subservient to that end[.] for when folks are confirmed | in a thing & have a prejudice at that [which] may be spoken against | it, it is a double work to a minister to sett on a sin that is both | in the affection & judgment, it is farr better going in at | another port nor {whe}r the prejudice is fixed[.] Hence Paul | leaves controverted questions of the law & are lese pre- | ching down thos but are more in positive truths & sinnes un- | questioned, even down principles acknowledged by those he | delt with & beginning with idolaters & superstitious *samaritans* | with preaching Christ, & not first falling on ther idols[,] which | might marr the other[.]

[Instance 2] The next instance proponed in the use was that this rule | would be followed in the exercise of discipline as well as in<sup>59</sup> | in doctrine, for the doctrine gives us the same rule in both, ther- | fore in censuring & purging the rule is not what such a person | or fault deserves, but whether it may be for the edifieng of the | bodie of Christ, or whether the forbearing of such a censure | may be more for edification than the inflicting of it, yee will | find those that have written on this subject hold this, that | though they count it never lawfull to pollute ordinances in ad- | mitting the profane to them, yet & count it lawfull to forbear | the drawing forth or executing censures against them, ther- | fore ye shall take thes rules to clear this case[:] 1 respect is to | be had not onlie to the person but to the whole bodie, than to the | person[.] it may be such a

person deserves such a censure, yet it | may be prejudice to the people of God & breid a shisme in the | bodie[,] & this of old hes bene counted a thing most to be shuned, | and we will find the apostle confirms this, 2 Cor 1 10:4 6[,] | “The weapons of our warefair ar not carnall, but mightie [...] in a reade- | ness to reveng all disobedience[,]” which is properlie is censure[;] | yet he ads this to mett one objection “when your obedience is fulfilled”[.]<sup>60</sup> | for it might be objected if he have a readi- nese to reveng all diso- | bedience[,] why then Paul doe ye not exerit censures[?] he answers[,] | it is not tyme yet, ther are many in the snair, but when your | obedience is fulfilled that sall be done, which will be the more | clear to be his meaning if ye compare with this chap 12 v 14[,]<sup>61</sup> “we | do all things” [( ) & consequentlie this forbearance) “for your edefieng”[.] | 2 we must have a respect to the ordinance itself, that it be not made | contemptible, That the discipline of Christi's house be not rendred | obnoxious to reproach & contempt & as in the first reformation of | religion when men were coming out of poprie & were readie fto fear | & spurn & <sup>at</sup> discipline, & knew not the difference betwixt the popish | yock & Christi's yock[,] in that case & in that tyme ther was forbear- | ance, even for the ordinance's sake[,] leaſt it should come under | reproach & so when ma<sup>n</sup> has been in the fault ther hes been a forbear- | ance on this account[.] Gal. 5:12: “I would <sup>they wer</sup> cut of[f] that trouble you<sup>62</sup> | you,” why then would he not cut them of[f], because ther was such a dis- | temper among the Galatians, they were so bewitched and laed | away after the false teachers[,] and Paul's athoretie was questioned[.] | Therefore he held himself at a wish and will not put forth the | authoretie he hade against those false & corrupt men[.] 3 We | would consider & have respect not onlie to the censure, but | the consequens & effects of such a censure as well as of a doctrine, | some consequens, scandals, may follow at such a censure w which may | be more hurtfull than the santonne<sup>63</sup> or censure can do go<sup>o</sup>d[.] | 2 Cor 12 19[,] he boasts of his athoretie[,] yet he layes on<sup>64</sup> littel | & gives this for a reson of it[,] “we do all things brethren for | your edifieng.” he spairs for ther edifieng at some tymes | as well as at other tymes he laid on for their edifieng[.] 4 | in the exerting of censures, a speciall r respect would be | had unto the natures of persons, for it may be the censure | irritat them more, then ??? do any<sup>65</sup> good, & ye know what | effects have followed such santannes of deposition & excommuni- | cation in the primitive tymes[,] eſpecialie when ther were many | | godlie engaged (which mad[e] the apostle Paull disput & | threaten much, but he layes little on when his athoretie | is questioned) wheras the forbearing of these censures might have | edified & advantaged the kirk<sup>kingdom</sup> of Christi, and furdred the | Goſpel more & that is thought to be on[e] of the resons why | Paul forbore some that preached out of invye & contention[,] Phil. | 1:15[,] for he saw the work was going on & he would do nothing | to stay it, and a censure that hinders

the work of God & maires | the reformation of religeon, if it were but occasionallie And ~~as that~~ | (as one sayes well)<sup>66</sup> that does more hurt to the weak good ones, than | humbles the obstinate wicked ones, Ought to be forborne[.]

[Instance 3] 3 for the 3 instance I forbear to s̄peak of it, much edification de- | pends upon the life and conversation of a minister[.] he should be | a patern of all gravetie, sobri- etie, humiletie, gentelnesse, meeknesse[.] | The grace of the s̄pirit within shining in his conversation[,] he | should have the summe of Christian dutie written one<sup>67</sup> his life[.] Onlie<sup>68</sup> | Onlie in reference to what is said before[,] I shall prop[ose]<sup>69</sup> | a few caveats[:] 1 That in seeking to shun one extremetie we rush not in | to another[,] that we make not our wisdome & prouidence eate up & undo | our faithfulness & zeal, even as we would not suffer our faithfulness & zeal | to undo our wisdome & prouidence,<sup>70</sup> 2 that we take good head what motive | we are swayd with, whither it be from a carnall principle or s̄piritually, | we act or forbear a thing, whither to be approven of men or to God[,] for | we often s̄poll our best duties by acting from carnall principles, or to carnall | ends[.] 3 that forbearance or censuring for sin, be to convince the partie | we forbear & so in subordination to the end of edification to gett him | to repentance for the same sins[;] That our forbearance or giving of | the more gentile Physik be a fitting of the person for taking of stronger | Physik, {whe}rby we would have the houmour he is sick of purged away[;] | for if we lay by we come short of our end, 4 that in all we be ministe- | rially, & turne not basse or servile in seking to win extreme in<sup>71</sup> {wha}t | we do or do not[.]

60. This is the only underlining in the original MS to denote a Scripture quotation. Quotation marks have been added throughout.

61. 2 Cor. 12:19.

62. 19r. Catchword: you.

63. i.e. “sanction.”

64. Lay on: literally to strike blows (Sc. Jamieson).

65. This may simply be ink blotching rather than an intentional strike out.

66. There is no indication of a reference but perhaps Durham had Augustine in mind? “For counsels of separation are vain, sacrilegious, and pernicious, because impious and proud, and do more to disturb the weak good than to correct the wicked proud.” “Nam consilia separationis et inania sunt et perniciosas atque sacrilega, quia et impia superbia fiunt et plus perturbant infirmos bonos quam corrigunt animos malos.” Cf. Augustine, *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, Book III, §14, PL 43, col. 93. In this sermon Durham does subsequently refer to Augustine against the Donatists.

67. i.e. “on.”

68. 19v. Catchword: Onlie

69. It appears the word propose runs into a torn crinkled corner of the page.

70. It appears that the errant “d” has been overwritten with a “c.” The final “e” is uncertain.

71. Win extreme in: “win, gain with much labor;” win into, “get the benefit of” (Sc. Jamieson); i.e. here in the sense of an over aggressive pressing of one's position.

Use 2. for exhortation, whither in doctrine discipline or carriage[.] And it is in the apostle's words[.] 1 Cor [1]4:12 "for as much as ye are zealous of spirit- | uall gifts seek that ye may excell to the edifieng of the church," for<sup>72</sup> we | hade need to take the exhortation in all things to ayme mainelie at | the edifieng of the bodie of Christ; in everie sermon[.] in everie exercise of discipline, in everie metting together, in everie word we speak | in our metting, in all the steps of our carriage[.] look to edifie[.] the Apostle | in the forecited place insinuates there was a fault among the corinthians | in ther being taken up with gifts[—]who should preach & pray best, and | upon this he finds his exhortation, I besech you ecell to the edifieng | of the church, to draw your gifts within the compasse of edification, | to have them visible for the good of God's people[.] & for clearing | of this use we shall speak a word to tuo things[.] 1 To some generalls, | how to dicerne edifieng mater [whe] rin take thes rules, 1 That seemes | edifieng that comes neir to Jesus Christ, the power of God & the | wisdom of God[.] 2 Cor 1 23 [sic 24.] and what commends him to heart & brings | them in love with him, the maine things of the gospeil, the founda- | tion of religeon & godlienesse, other truths, that comes comes not | neir the foundation are alyttel besyd the text, or at least xxx | least the maine thote of a minister's work, and may be found hay &<sup>73</sup> | & stuble when it is proved that will not byd the fyre[.] 2 That is | edifieng doctrine which comes neirest to the promoteing of holi- | nesse[.] Titus 3. 8. "these things I will that thou affirme constantlie that | they which have believed in God might be carefull to maintaine good | works, these things are good & profitable to men"[.] & this he

72. There are some letters or a short word blotched or crossed out; possibly "for" or "and".

73. 20r. Catchword: &.

74. Comes fardest ben: gains greatest access. *Win fardest benn*: or comes fardest bene. Fardest (i.e. farder, farrer), farther, further, far, etc. Ben—"inside; within, especially in or into the parlor" (Wright). "Win ben"—to be able to go to, or to obtain admittance into, the inner apartment" (Jamieson). "Win farrer, or farther ben"—to be advanced to greater honour, to be further advanced" (Jamieson). "Win far ben"—"(1) to be, become intimate or on good terms with." Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Volume 1 (London, 1898) 240.

75. The letter "e" or some other is blotched out or smudged.

76. Wersh: insipid (Sc. Jamieson).

77. i.e. "by."

78. 20v. Catchword: &.

79. Inserted in the right margin: 2 Cor. i.e. 2 Cor. 6:7. From the color scan of this page it is clear that the cross out, insertion and reference in the margin are in a brighter brownish red ink. The original ink is black and it is clear from other pages checked in color, that other corrections are also in dark or black ink. Some variation is from how the page or ink caught the lighting for the camera.

80. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:4.

81. Lipping. Lippen: trust (Sc. Jamieson).

82. Miskening; misken: be ignorant of; neglect; refuse to acknowledge (Sc. Jamieson).

opposes | unto contentious strivings about the law which were unprofitable | & vaine[.] but the doctrine of holiness served to mortifie sin & furder us | in conformetie, <sup>to</sup> Christ[.] 3 That is edifieng doctrine, that comes | fardest ben<sup>74</sup> on the heart & consciene of the hearer, whither it be | in searching[.] convinc- ceing or comforting, the doctrine theat<sup>75</sup> is com- | mended to everie man's conscience in the sight of God, as the | apostle speaks[.] 2 Cor. 4:2[.] that doctrine that puts not onlie the | word as bread upon the table, but dividis <sup>it</sup> to everie on[e]'s mouth[.] | 2 Tim 2 15, "Studie to show thy self approved unto God a work- | man that needs not to be ashamed, rightlie divyding the word | of truth," a Generall doctrine will prove wersh<sup>76</sup> if it come not | in upon the conscience in a convinc- ing way; 4 that is edifieng | doctrine which is most plain, & folks hes fewest prejudices against, | doctrine which is most powerfull & plain, the door of the judgement is | open & the conscience convinces, that such a sin is sin & such a thyng is | duetie & ther is no prejudice against that which is prest, The truth is | uncon- <sup>tro</sup>verted, & ther is nothing but <sup>the</sup> af- fection to work upon[.] this is the | readiest way to promote edification & it is upon this ground that | the apostle <sup>willeth</sup> rather to follow that doctrine that is acknowledged | be<sup>77</sup> all and to presse that on hearers & to leave other things that | breids ~~other things~~ janglings & stryving about words which is still | opposed to edifieng[.] @ And it is God's goodnesse to Scotland | that "the misterie of godlienesse[.]" 1 Tim 3 ult[.] is without all controversie[.] | that the misterie of salvation & saveing doctrine is kept uncontroverted | among us, The Apostle's practice confirms all this which is, deal- | ing with Jewes & others he layes down the principles they them- | selves did not controvert in as meetest purpose for them, | 2 a word to some means how to attine the end or which ought to be | followed to promote edification, ministers sould follow all means &<sup>78</sup> | & wayes which may promote the edifieng of the bodie, & that they | were more diligentlie studied & sincerlie followed, onlie take some | few Generals for the tyme[.] And 1 much dependence on our Lord | Jesus Christ, to help us forward, going about our work in hes strenth | who hes given us commission & not in our own, not coming out in | the power of humman gyfts, but as the word is, <sup>Æ6,7;</sup><sup>79</sup> "By the word | of truth, by the power of God[.] by the armour of righteousnesse, | on the right hand & on the left" in the evi- dence & demonstration | of the spirit,<sup>80</sup> lipping<sup>81</sup> more to that, nor to what we have received, | & to the presence & spirit of Christ going alongest with it, Jer 23, 22[.] | "If they had stod in my cou<sup>n</sup>sell & had caused my people to heare my | words[.] then they sould have turned souls from ther evell way & the evel | of their doings," But the reson why these prophets did no good[.] they | stode at a distance with God, & steeled the word one frau another[.] be- | ing content to get the word of a prophet to fill up ther preaching[.] but | miskening<sup>82</sup> God,

And if it were fitt to mention a passage of a | faithfull man\* of God<sup>83</sup> speaking of the ministers of his tyme[,] | he said they were lyk servants, <sup>who</sup> ~~{whe}~~<sup>r</sup><sup>84</sup> going about being serving a good master[,] | had gotten a good stock of ther own,<sup>85</sup> but they were so taken up in | trading with it, that they miskent their master, When ministers falls off | from respect to Christ & dependence on him, both for the exercise | of ther gifts & graces, and for the promovng of his work in their | hands, they cannot prosper in edifieng his people[.] 2. as ministers would lay | weight on the power of God and depend on Christ for succese, so they | would "siek to excell to the edifieng of the Church[.]" 1 Cor. 14 12. they would | 'stir up the gift that is in them,' 2 Tim 1, 6. Give themselves "to reading[.] | to exhortation[.] | to doctrine," 1 Tim 4, 13. & to meditation & prayer as the | words folowing direct, "give they self whollie to them, that thy proffi- | ting may appear to al," the neglect of these things makes us, that when | we are put to it our nakednesse is discovered[.] Therefore[.] 1 2 Cor 14<sup>86</sup> | 13[.] when he hes bidden them look to excell to the edifieng of the church, | he subjoynes "Let him that speaks in an unknowen tongue | pray that he may interpret," ther would be a wrestling with God | not onlie for gifts & mater,<sup>to bring forth</sup> but that we may profit & do good by<sup>87</sup> | [b]y<sup>88</sup> it, we would be more earnest with God, that people may | gett some benefit, by what is spoken, then for getting some thing to | bear us throu[.] 3 ministers would<sup>89</sup> be ministeriall in all ther cariage | as the ministers of righteousnesse, bearing some thing of their | master's authoretie & yet kynd[.] sobre[.] simpathizing with all sorts | under ther charge[.] 2 Cor. 6. 3, 4[.] "Giving offense in nothing that | the ministers be not blamed, but in all things approving our sel- | ves as the ministers of God," which by comparing with the | 1 verse and passing the parenthesis in the 2 v he makes a | working with God ane argument, not to receive the grace of | God in vaine, in a word it is not onlie to have a cariage which | non[e] can speak against[.] but to speak, preach, pray, confer, converse | with others & in all things to carie ourselves as the ministers | of Christ, & not as other men, this is much inlacking amongst | us, it may be prudeence, some tynepryd,<sup>90</sup> self seeking, or | some carnall end with a mixture of carnall affections, puts us to | speak or forbear speaking or acting in such a businesse, but to | speak & act as to be ashamed for the work sake[.] 1 Thess. 5:12, 13[.] | and as the ministers of Christ is another thing,

Use 3 for conviction, & to let us who are ministers see | how far we are behind in the great task committed to us, | how farr we ar from being in all things about the edifieng of | the bodie of Christ wherein, ye may<sup>not</sup> expect ane enumeration | of particulars[.] it would become one more qualedied for the purpose | than wee are, yet it will become us all to examine our cariage | & way especially since our lait diffirence[.]<sup>91</sup> if edification hath ben/bent | our scope in all our proceedings,

if we did that & forebore this | for that end; But oh how lytele of our preaching, exercise of | discipline, lyf, & conversation hes bene to this built & mark, | lytle gold & silver & much hay & stuble hes bene built on the | f<sup>o</sup>undation[—]who can say as Paul doeth[.] Philip 4.9[.] "Those things | which ye have both learned & received, & heard & sein in me, doe," it<sup>92</sup> | it were ane ill lesson, if wee held forth our cariage in things | as a patern to people to follow, or bade others do what they had sein | & heard in us[.] I sall onlie propone, tuo generals wherein we | would search[.]<sup>93</sup> 1 what hes mainlie swayed, & what does mainelie | sway us, whether it be to uphold such a thing wee are ingadged | in, or oppose another thing which is opposite to that[—]If ingadgement | in such a cou<sup>r</sup>se or way hes swayed us more than edification of | the the bodie of Christ, this would<sup>be</sup> examined by us, whither it be in | reference to asemblies & their censures and other proceedings, or wh- | ether whither in reference to testimonies & protestations, we would | look well what hes swayed us in that, for they sould all be made | subservient to the good of the bodie as a Reverend man writing | on this place sayes[.] 1 Cor 3 22[.] all things are yours, assemblies<sup>94</sup> | ordinances, ministers, or

83. This asterisk inserted above "man" seems to refer to two words in the right margin which are difficult to make out. Possibly, Gearsin/Gersum and "Pag" and possible a page number under that, "7?2." Durham references Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429) in his commentary on John's revelation. While this is not unlike something Gerson might have said, I was unable to trace this to anything specific in Gerson or some other author.

84. The word "who" has been inserted interline above in a different ink and the insertion and some commas and dots for i's also are in the brown ink.

85. The comma here, and at "it, that", "in, both" and "graces, and" as well as the "i," and period in the 2 Tim 1,6., the si in "siek" and the "13," in the 1 Tim 4, 13 reference, are all in the brownish color ink.

86. The "e" in "therefore", and the cross out are in the brown ink, and the 1 which is in the original ink is over inked by the brown ink to be an "i" with the dot added.

87. 21r. Catchword: by.

88. The page corner is damaged with possible loss to the word "by".

89. The "wo" in "would" has been gone over again in the brownish red ink.

90. Jamison has no such word. Possibly 'loſt pride'. Tyne: to lose (Sc. Jamieson).

91. Late difference: the Protester-Resolutioner division.

92. 21v. Catchword: it.

93. i.e. search ourselves; examine ourselves.

94. There is a series of three stacked short words in the margin lacking hyphens but spelling one word. "Tro oh rig". Robert Boyd of Trochrig (1578–1627) taught abroad before becoming principal at Glasgow in 1614 which he resigned from in 1621 due to James' liturgical innovations, becoming principal at Edinburgh University in October of 1622. He resigned soon after early in 1623 rather than conform to the articles of Perth. He designed his commentary on the book of Ephesians as a sort of systematic theology, or thesaurus. It was an unfortunate choice as the "huge indiscriminate mass" resulted in a great theologian "being buried under the weight of his own erudition." See

whatever things they be, they are & ought | to be made use of for the bodie[.] And when any of these are not so | used, it is ane interverting of them, contrarie to the right end[;] | yea ther will nothing abide that tryall, but that which levells at | this end, and even solid truths, & positive doctrine & dueties | when they come in tops<sup>95</sup> with this and, (for Christi's bodie is another | thing than either act or ordinance) ought to be forborne[.] 2 Which is | sibb<sup>96</sup> to the former[.] Examine it in everie thing if this hes bene your | rule, and what for the tyme sways you and if singlie ayimed at | & if it hes bene your ayme & intention and yet is in all your actings[.] | it becomes not me (yet it becomes a minister of Christi) to pose | you, and it becomes everie one of you to posse your own hearts, | what hes brought many of you to this Synod, whither or not this | is your end, the edification of the bodie of Christi[.] Though we | would be silent, the practice of many will not, Its evident edifi- | cation is not our maine end, but though it sould ruine thousands | of souls if it cross that we are ingadged in, we must be over it[.] | Ordinances & discipline[.] Assemblies & Synods, ministers & ruling | Elders, are excellent but take heed that we walk not as men in | them that some other thing shuffill not by the edification of Christi's | bodie, for if it doe, it will not prove byding {whe}n we come be-fore<sup>97</sup> | before our master, And to say I did so or spoke so for the best | or out of a good intention will not bear us throu,<sup>98</sup> it becomes us | to be tender of all the ordinances of Jesus Christi, but also to be | tender of soules and all the ordinances sould be exercissed with | tendernesse to soules[.] & edification of the bodie, all gifts & | & [sic] officers in Christi's house & discipline in the

the entry for Boyd in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (IVP, 1993) and James Walker's *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland: 1560–1750* (1888; repr. 1982), 5. *Roberti Bodii A Trochoregia Scoti ... In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli Ad Ephesios Praelectiones supra CC: Lectione varia, multifaria Eruditione, & Pietate singulari referatae...; Opus posthumum ...* (London: Stationers, 1652; Geneva: Chouët, 1661), 463. Durham is paraphrasing from Boyd and column 1E is apparently the place in view, continuing to 2A, where Boyd references 1 Corinthians 3:22. Durham references Boyd several times in his commentary on John's Revelation.

95. Come in tops with. To tope: to oppose (Sc. Jamieson). This is not an uncommon phrase in Durham and Jamieson cites him as an example. "And the nations were angry: The world was in tops with Christi's church, having hatred against his people." On Revelation 11:18.

96. Sib: akin; similar (Sc. Jamieson).

97. 22r. Catchword: fore.

98. Through bearing: means of extricating from a difficulty; or of doing some difficult work (Sc. Jamieson).

99. 22v. Catchword: such. But this is not repeated on the facing page.

100. The meaning seems to be they are worse for their meeting than if they had not met.

101. The letters are blotched or crossed out.

102. This appears to read as "as" or "is," given the form of the second letter, but from the context "at" would seem to be required.

church are given | for this end, to be a bond of unetie[.] as we showed from the con- | text[.] and call this gift of ministers which is given to be a bond | to keep us together, be a wedge to divyd & ryfe us asundere[?] | sall ministers come so far against the end that Jesus Christi | hes given them for, to his kirk, oh let it no longer be so[!]

[Doctrine II] 2 Reid from the beginning of the chapter to v. 7 & againe from | verse 7 to the words of the text & we will see how precious | a point unetie is, and how it tends to this end[.] the edification | of the bodie, for this is the Apostle's scope[.] as we marked in | the entrie, onlie observe this of it[.] That ministers sould studie unetie | as a maine part of edification, and to promove edification we sould | studie unetie especiallie among our all selves mainelie as ane edification | advantage to the edification of his people, because unetie among mi- | nisters & the edification of people are linked together[.] & looke | throu our congregations since these last distractions & differences, | the truth of this will be found, Is ther any mo[r]e souls win in, or | are ther any already brought in promoted by them or is grace in | them <sup>in</sup> better case by this means[?] I sall instance it in a few | things[:] 1 Looke to the frame of our hearts <sup>spirits</sup>, how are we betted | in that respect or rather how apt is stryf & contention to waken | carnellnesse & what a wasting & blasting of the grace of God | in many hearts hath come by our contending[.] How many carnall | words & expressions hath escaped folks[.] what a diversion from | what the maine dueties of our Christian calling & our particular | callings by this means, what a piece of work does it put such<sup>99</sup> | of us to, to mantaine our syd[?] & considerable to this purpose is that place[.] | 1 Cor 1 v 12[.] compared with chpter 3[.] I hear[.] says he[.] ther are contentions[.] | I am of Apollo[.] some I am of Cephas, others Christi[.] such it seemed | nether mantined nor syded with any errors, but they mantined truth | & chargeth them with carnallnesse, for their being for truth in a | carnall way, walking as men[.] 2 Look to edification in respect to | private felowshipe, how is it blasted, ether with folks no[t] metting at | all, or if they meet ether they sunder worse then they mett<sup>100</sup> or the tyme | is spent & taken up with that which does not edifie[.] And v. 3 of this | chapter tells that unetie cannot be kept but in the bond of peace, | & that edification that flows from charitie is so advanced[;] strain- | ing of wrath brings always forth bitternesse & stryf in end[.] 3 Looke | to the ordinances of doctrine & discipline, how is edification marred | in those throu the want of unetie, people now <sup>ar</sup> a ttepit<sup>101</sup> atheisime | to belive nothing[—] therefore[.] John 17:21[.] Christi prays for unetie for | this end that the world may know that the father hes sent him[.] | when ministers & people rent asunder, and one part of them is | against another, atheistis are readie to say at<sup>102</sup> you[.] the Gos- | pell that | such ministers preaches or such people professes[.] when sould we | hear or belive[;] & that is to say[.] is Christi

come[?] It is true this is | corruption in **the** heart of man but venting itself, but also that we | sould give occasion to corruption **to vent** & advantage to corruption | to so vent & expresse themselves[.] 4 Consider what we may come to er | it be long, if the bitter fruits of our division be to many, & if it | become to such ane height in so short a tyme[.] Look & see what | we may come to within a few years[.] where was ther ever a strif | we heard of that made such progresse in so short a tyme[—] ah for | alytele<sup>103</sup> of the apostle's care and simpatheie[.] “who is weak & | I am not weak[.] who is offended & I burne not”[.] 2 Cor 11 29[.] | oh for more pitie to weak ones! that we are to pytie skauldet &<sup>104</sup> | & burnt with the offences that many poor bodies may take by our | divisions & differences and that {whe}n ther are so many so in hazarde? & | destroyed & no confidence for all that though, though they sould | perist over againe, though congregations of souls be cast desolat | & wast & lye for never so long, though the childrine of Christ's | famelie sould be kepted from their bread till they famish for want[.] | though the ordinances sould be made vyle & contemptible & reproached | by enemies[.] yet we will on our own gate[.]<sup>105</sup> sall it never be considered | that the ministers is given for edification of the bodie of Christ, | and sall wee think that we will gett souls edified this way[?] or | rather is it not the neck breack of souls[?] The apostle[.] Rom | 14 19[.] sayes “Let us follow peace & those thing[s] {whe}rby we may edifie | one another”[.] & confusion & peace are opposed, as edification [and peace]<sup>106</sup> are | joyned[.] Jam 3 16[.] “where envying & strife is there is confusion & everie | evill work,” Let unities & peace be broken & what followes[?] | bitter envying, & stryfe[.] confusion & everie evill work, & it is not | a striving for outward things, that the apostle is speaking | of, but that which flowes from zeal among professeres bitterlie | vented out of Love to the masterie[.] as is cleir if we read from | the beginning of the chaptour and Gal 5 15[.] “if ye byt & devour | one another, take heed that ye be not consumed on[e] of another”[.] | & what was this byting & devouring that he speaks of[?] No[t] | that which is in outward feighting, but in judging on[e] another | & contending one with another (and (if sayes he) [sic] ye follow | that course ye sall be consumed one of another[.] that is ye | sall slay your spiritual condition & put away the face of | a church fra among you, ye sall by the means make your | selves no church, I say these things confusedlie but they con- | cerne us maiorlie, and what reck<sup>107</sup> of our concernment it is | of the common concernment of the Lord's people, and that<sup>108</sup> | that should weigh more with us no[r] your own, it was once that | holy men wer a gazing & reproach to the world by their suffer //<sup>109</sup> | ing for Christ, o if it wer so now rather than that we sould make | our selves & Christ's ordinances sinfullie so to others, and if we | durst hazard to speak a word or two to the thrid point (which | bounds edification & unities & sets their marches<sup>110</sup>) it is this[.]<sup>111</sup>

[Doctrine III] 3<sup>112</sup> Consider the words as they relate to one another, edification | to unities, & unities to edification that edifies that unites, & that | unities that edifies, observe that union makes way to edifica- | tion, & edification for unities,<sup>109</sup> or the right way to edification | is union, even as the way to union is edification & o but this | were worth our pains to studie[.] but who can do this till God do it, | yet we may say this as we conceive, if we were abstracted | from our selves, & our own intrests & if the matter about | which we contend were put in indifferant men's hands, they would | consider how such a thing sould bear contests, amongst sober & | conscencious men, I sall not take upon me to state a question | byt first laying asyd what is upon both syds granted 2 | what is mistaken by consequencis 3 Jealousies, suspicions[.] | particular practices of this & that man[.] having no doubt | but those with other accesorie things have a great hand in our | evill, the ryse of our difference about which all this contest | is will not be much, we have a larger confession of faith, | wherein we think the summe of saving knowledge<sup>113</sup> is contained | & we

103. i.e. “a little.”

104. 23r. Catchword: &., Skauldet: i.e. scalded.

105. Gait (Sc. way).

106. The supplied words would seem necessary to complete the sense.

107. Reck: possibly as in reach (Sc. Jamieson).

108. 23v. Catchword: that.

109. This seems to be a rare instance of indicating a hyphenation.

110. Marches: boarders (Sc. Jamieson).

111. It is not clear given the length of this sentence if there is a clear paragraph break before taking up the third doctrine.

112. The “3” was in the left-hand margin.

113. According to the Scottish Historian Robert Wodrow, *The Sum of Saving Knowledge* was born from conversations between David Dickson and James Durham, who “went sometimes to the Craigs, about the High Kirk of Glasgow,” being written down by their amanuensis Patrick Simson, George Gillespie's cousin (Robert Wodrow, *Analec̄ta: or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians* [Printed for the Maitland Club, M.DCCC.XLII] 1.166; 3.9–10). *The Sum* was first included with the Confession of Faith and Catechisms by the Edinburgh printer Lithgow in 1650 (David Hay Fleming, “The Sum of Saving Knowledge,” *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, vol. 10, no. 38 [1899]: 318–324; B. B. Warfield, “Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: I. Britain,” *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, vol. 12, no. 48 [1901] 626; B. B. Warfield, “The Printing of the Westminster Confession,” in *The Westminster Assembly and Its Work* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981], *Works*, 6.344). An assembly act of 1649, furthering concerns of an act ten years prior, called for ministers to catechize their congregations so that they would “have the chief heads of saving knowledge in a short view presented unto them” (Andrew Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on Kirk-session and Presbytery Records* [Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner, 1885] 93). It might be speculated that this sparked Dickson's and Durham's endeavor, or at least the result turned out to meet this catechetical need. Dickson was transferred to Edinburgh in 1650, and must have contacted Lithgow, and the *Sum* came to be included with the standards in the competition of printers to produce

agree in this, ther is also no difference amongst us | about the government simplie, so that if we look impartialie | upon the mater[,] it is not so much as folks would take it to | be[.] If it be about <sup>that</sup> who sould fight, ther is no great rea- | sion to differ or differ here upon that account for the tyme, that | not being for our practice[.] nether is the question about | assemblies[,] whither they be the ordinance of Jesus Christ[.] | Neither <sup>??s</sup><sup>114</sup> is it about the rule of constituting assemblies[,] | but whither <sup>this or</sup> that particular assemblie[,] synod or sesion be | constitut according to that rule, or how this or that as- | semblie is<sup>115</sup> | is constitute (this is it (as would) seeme that mainelie keeps us | at a distance[)], and if I might s<sup>pe</sup>ak it[.]

more and more full and elaborate collections. Durham is likely not self promoting this production as much as exhibiting the belief that the sum of the doctrines necessary for saving knowledge were in the confession of faith of which the *Sum* was an exposition.

114. This is not clear if it is crossed out but it could be “hes” i.e. has.

115. 24r. Catchword: is

116. The scribe begins a loop, possibly the makings of a capital B or W, but then writes a lower case “to.”

117. An “I” seems to have been overwritten by the “a.”

118. This is possibly or corrected to read “weightie”.

119. 24v. Catchword: &

120. The word is possibly “things,” as the text runs into the damaged corner of the page.

121. “It is marked by some that write church history, and Augustine is of that same mind, that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, did more hurt to the church by his too vehement opposing of Cyprian’s error (which was that those that were baptized by heretics, or schismatics, ought again to be baptized), because he thereby hazarded the dividing and renting of the church by refusing communion with such as were against him, than Cyprian did in his maintaining of his error, because though it was still his opinion, he meekly and condescendingly carried in it, with respect to the unity of the church.” (3) The question often is not among them, I mean as to the stick of the division; but often it is either, [1] upon some mistaken expression of another, or error in some lesser point of truth. And, in such a case, it is that great Augustine’s word: *Disputable errors, or uncertain faults, are not in their pursuit to be preferred to certain peace.* “In that difference that was between Cyprian and Stephen, and other Bishops of Rome, concerning the rebaptizing of such as had been baptized by heretics and schismatics, it is marked that Stephen did press the condemnation of it, [and] censured and refused communion with such as joined with Cyprian in his opinion. On the contrary, Cyprian indeed called synods and decided, but neither pressed any man to his opinion or practice, nor censured any that differed in such a matter. And because his carriage is so much commended by the Ancients, especially by Augustine against the Donatists, not because he counted Cyprian right on the matter, for he disclaimed that and owned the contrary opinion, but because he carried [himself] in his opinion so tenderly to the church’s union and peace.” (1) By pleading forbearance of awakening such contests, and exhorting rather to keep union, than to hazard to break it upon such grounds, and so (as Augustine says) *ut quaedam incerta crimina pro certa pace Deo dimitterentur* “Concerning Scandal” (1659; Naphtali Press, 1990; 2014) 235; 268; 281; 293. *That certain untrustworthy verdicts be dismissed in favor of resolved peace. Contra epistolam Parmeniani, PL 43, Contra epistolam Parmeniani. Caput III.—4, col. 37.*

I would trust in some | singelnesse & sobernesse to say it[.] I think it were better ser- | vice to Jesus Christ & of more concernment to his church, for | any of us in matter of practice in that particular (reserving | the forcing of our judgement, for that is not capable of for- | ceing) to choise any of the syds nor stand thus on both[,] & be- | cause this may look luke-warme like, I shall shortlie proponde | what moves to it, 1 Because the matter we contend for is | not so much <sup>to</sup><sup>116</sup> be weighed, as to be laid in the balance with | the consequents that followes our contending[.] Let us say it in our | consciences whither we think it will be more for the edification | of Christ’s bodie to keep up division upon this difference that is | or to take us to ether syd this or that, If it be said we have | done this & it is not our faults, we will not s<sup>pe</sup>ak to what hes bin | theirs, but what sould be our practice[.] & if it be said a practice will | not doe it though we would ced[e] in this or that[,] ther will be a new | starting, and going back againe; we answer in that case <sup>following have</sup> some- | thing in thaitg<sup>117</sup> case to answer, and they will have the cleir <sup>er</sup> conscience | before God & men[.] But when I consider so many thousands of souls | are perishing, so many congregations wants ministers what pre- | judice s<sup>pi</sup>rituall condition, & the work of God suffers, what | reproach lyes upon the ordinances etc, if it be asked whither | will ye have all these continued, or do this[.] I dar not in sober- | nesse, weigh the one with the other[.] 2 because of the maine | exhortations that are to ministers to eshew matters that breed | stryfe & contention & tends not to edification, And it is hard | to answer all these exhortations & weighting<sup>118</sup> charges standing | in the condition {whe}rin we are; we find nothing more frequent- | lie charged Timothie & Titus not onlie to shune profane & | unlawfull questions, but even stryveing about the Law & <sup>119</sup> & meats that have their own good in them and all such things<sup>120</sup> | as did not edifie, And the Charge is weightie[.] 1 Tim. 5:2[1.] “I | chearge before God & the Lord Jesus Christ & the elect Angels | that thou observe thes things with <sup>out</sup> prejudice or preferring one | before another doing nothing by partialitie[.] And the mater we | contend for m<sup>a</sup>y rather be forborne then hazard on such charges | with such consequen <sup>t</sup>s[.] 3 Because of the constant tract of all | that have been instrumentall in the house of God in the prevent- | ing | & in the taking up of schisms in the church at their verie rise[.] | They laboured to prevent them as the worst evils & above | any vyce in the church[.] I need not cite to you the ecclesiasticall | storie how some tymes they would not read but burne all papers | that came forth, some tymes say[.] as Augustin againste the | donatists[,] a uncertan or des<sup>pu</sup>table truth is not to be balanced | or compared with a certan peace[.] and how Cyprian<sup>121</sup> {whe}n he mainti- | ned ane errour[.] his moderation was more commended than the | contentious zeall of them that were for the truth, his calmnes | was such that it

contrubut more for the good of the kirk | than their zeall did who opposed it, we might instance many | more {whe}reafters writers<sup>122</sup> who would have ceded more for the out- | ward good & peace of the church, than any conde<sup>scen</sup> sion that is | now required[.] we might also give instances of counsellis {whe}rin men | have been condemned and yet for unitie in the church restored[.] | as in Osius bishipe of Cordaba[.] because many did cleave unto them[;] | and upon the other hand men unjustlie censured, yet submitting | for preservation of unitie & peace in the church[.] and heardlie | will we find many tyme[s] so many faithfull men in opposition | as now & if we will add to this the practice of the Scripture[—]is | everi sin in the old testament on any termes insisted on & yet | no question ther was even sinnes among them of the nature | of ours, now I mean both of sinful employing of men[.] | members of ther state & church[.] and wronging of authoretie as also<sup>123</sup> | [also]<sup>124</sup> & such things in controversie then as are yet & if we come | to<sup>125</sup> the new testament, The apostles way is to pray & besech | Christians to be of on[e] mind, & to lay by ther debates & janglings[.] | It is true he some tymes disputes them down, {whe}n they are matters | of greater consernment[.] as in the epiistle to the Gallatians[;] | but when they are lesser matters met<sup>126</sup> debait he follows | with a praying & beseching & when ther are two syds he would | have both ceding to one another[.] 1 Cor i. v 10[.] “I besech you brethren | by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye all sþeak the | same things, & that ther be no divisions among you”[.] Philip | 2.12. “If ther be any consolation in Christ & comfort of Love” | etc, “fullfill ye my joy that ye be lyke minded”[.] an[d] chap 4 2[.] “I | besech Eudias & besech Syntyche that they be of the same | mind in the Lord,” Telling us ther way to unitie & peace in | those things was rather by praying & beseching, & forbear- | ing & mikening<sup>127</sup> that {whe}rin we differ one from another[.] | then by following forth a condentious debait,<sup>128</sup> amnesties | or oblivion seemes to have been as old as the Law of | nature, sometymes heathens have been put to it as the onlie | waie of ending debaits. Ans[.] If we might sþeak a word | more particularlie from the words, in reference to the way of | healing, we trust it shall be the mind of Christ and not ours | and therfor consider | For the promoveing of edification & union ther are two things | which we may get some rules fra to make up abreach & stryff[.] | what may edifie & unite & what not[.] | 1. If union be the ?? great step to edification as discention & stryff | is the dore that lets in distraction, then divission & separation can | not be the cure[.] but union is the first and great step of edification[.] | therfor separation cannot be the cure, separation hes ever been | the greatest enemie of edification & reformation[.] God's way is<sup>129</sup> | the uniting way & not a separating way. If ministers could get<sup>130</sup> | get the whole bodie of Christ bruisset,<sup>131</sup> it sould be condescended to,<sup>132</sup> | such a thing were sþoken that everie on[e] sould sunder &

keep their mea[ns]<sup>133</sup> | with their own judgement, I will not say what comparativelie to the | condition we are in, it might be, but let me ask this, if ever we | will find such ?????? a mean as<sup>134</sup> division & separation commended & approven | of Christ for the edifieng of the bodie[?] the blessing is promised to | brethren that dwel together in unitie Psalm 133[.] ther the Lord com- | maended<sup>135</sup> the blesing[.] it were a cure to bring on the disease & for | fear of a schisme to make one, as for fear such a hand sould do | the arm wrong we sould cut the arme off & looks to<sup>be</sup> lyke the | word of the woman that was not the mother of the livving child for | dividit[—]yea by following this divyded way insted of having two | churches, we may put ourselves to have none[.] for lett us once divid | we will not hold ther, & when the bands of unitie are loused is | just with God it sould be so[.] therfore it is not Christ's way of | edification to divide[.] | 2 Upon the other syd[.] if we would attaine to union it must be by that | which edifies, or to attaine to union edification must be studied, & not that | which destruyes[.] & 3 Shall give a rule for<sup>136</sup> tuo for this also; 1 the break- | ing or undoing of any<sup>one</sup> syd, or partie will not be the way to the edification | of the church, ther being<sup>many</sup> faithfull & eminent men on both syds, ther- | fore nether the way to right union, I sþeak not onlie of breacking & undoing | by censures & the like, but whither it be by censures, or by bringing them | or their ministrie to<sup>in</sup> contempt, or any other way, it is all one[.] And by | the way ministers would be war of these things that Lead to this[.] And 2 | consequentlie

122. The word is blotched in the middle in the black and white copy and this is uncertain.

123. 25r. Catchword: also.

124. The corner is torn removing the area where the repeated “also” from the catchword would be.

125. The page is dark and the two letters somewhat obscured.

126. Letter blotched.

127. Misken: overlook (Sc. Jamieson).

128. This seems a rough transition but there may not be much if any thought missing as it seems to follow that after fathers, counsels and scriptures Durham would go to ‘even the law of nature...’ etc. The “Ans” does seem to lack a question and something may indeed have not been recorded by the scribe.

129. The word “is” in the text is obscured and written again out in the margin in darker ink.

130. 25v. The d is not complete in “could” and the c has an o under it. Catchword: get.

131. Bruise; Bruse; Broose (s). Metaph. to strive, to contend in whatever way (Sc. Jamieson).

132. The page corner is missing and a word is missing or obscured by the loss.

133. The page corner is lost with two or three letters of the text missing.

134. The long “s” in a darker ink overwrites something like “ad.”

135. There are two letters or the scribe tried to correct to “commended,” but whatever the case, “commended” fits the context better than “commanded.”

136. The “f” is overwritten by the “o” in a darker ink.

we think no violent way, nor solid<sup>137</sup> authoritative way | will do it, how many hes followed that gate that found it to<sup>to</sup> tend of | to union with edification[?] 3 If union be necessar & union with | edification[,] then the kyndlieest & spideest way is best, for if it be not | kyndlie, it cannot unite, and if it be not spidie it cannot but be worse | with us, That which I meane is a way that may not laye hard perso- | nall reflections<sup>138</sup> on men that have been instrumentall in the work of God<sup>139</sup> | [God ??]<sup>140</sup> or such things are not kyndlie that does reflect on such | & looks not to the maine end, but stand in the way rather both of | edification & union, its knowen among naturall men {whe}n they would | make upe firme union, the lesse remembrance of faul[t]s be | the better & it is the more conducing to that end, seing then | ther is a difference[,] a querie may be[,] {whe}rin may or can we agree, | Ans. Ther is a difference in judgement[,] affection & practice, & if | we cannot agree let us stand where wee ~~????~~ <sup>are</sup> and grow not worse | 2 if If we cannot agree in all these thrie, yet let us agree in some | of them, for this may be done if ther be <sup>not</sup> ane union in judgement, if it | cannot be in judgement & affection let it be in practice[.] 2 Cor | 13 11[,] The Apostle hes tuo words to this purpose, “Be of one mind[,] | Live in peace,” folks may live in peace tho they be not of one | mind[,] as also 1 Cor. 1.12: the new notes in the bible hes a word on this | place that is (say they) though they were differense in judgement | and had different doctrines[,]

137. Solid: perhaps as in ‘substantial’ rather than “sane” (Sc. Jamieson).

138. Cf. *Scandal* (2014), 32, 88, 95, 236, spec. 240, 276, 279.

139. 26r. Catchword: God.

140. The page corner is missing as previously, with the repeated catchword or whatever text that was there no longer present.

141. This is a reference to the ‘Westminster Annotations.’ “that ye all speak the same thing] That is, that ye agree in the doctrine of salvation, and though ye may deliver different points of doctrine, yet no way repugnant one to the other, or to the truth.” *Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (London: Legatt, 1645; 2nd ed. 1651).

142. 26v. Catchword: some.

143. Thir: these (Sc. Jamieson).

144. Scrufe. “3. To do anything superficially” (Sc. Jamieson).

145. A stray “4” has been written above and on top of the ampersand.

146. There is no indication who Durham is adducing and when he made the similar point later in his work on scandal, he omits the reference. “4. In the fourth place we permit, that for attaining of union there would be, and there ought to be, large mutual condescending. That is, that both sides ought to stretch themselves, not only to forbear what is sinful, nor only to condescend to what may be thought simply necessary and may be exhorted as duty in any case. Nor yet ought condescending to be upon one side leveled according to the length that another goes [to], but condescending would be leveled mutually as expediency calls, with respect to the edification of the church. For which end even many infirmities of others are to be forborne, and things otherways unreasonable in respect of these men we have to do with; yet respect to the church’s peace ought to make men cede in these. For if there ought to be condescending for private peace, much more ought it be for church peace and public edification.” *Scandal* (2014) 263–264.

yet they would not have doctrines | contrarie one to ~~??~~ <sup>an</sup> other or the truth,<sup>141</sup> and so they sould be of one | mind[,] and this chapter the rather seemes to be the way[.] Because[,] | Philip 3.15.16. The Apostle having to deall with <sup>a</sup> people among | whom were divisions, he sayes[,] “Let us therfore as many as be perf[ect] | be thus minded,” keep our judgement & goe not back[,] and what follows[,] | “if in any thing ye be other wayes minded God sall revall this unto you”[.] | and for practice[,] “neverthesse whereunto we have attained allredie, | Let us walk by the same rule[,] Let us minde the same things,” | if we cannot in all things aggrie, let us follow a common rule, | & agree in that[,] and thesse that cannot come up to us in some | things, if <sup>we</sup> may respect <sup>exspect</sup> God’s mind to be reveled to them, but in a way | of division & strife ther is not a promise that the mind of God sall | be revelled & who knowes but if we might come to this to forbear | some things {whe}rin we differ, and take on[e] common way in prac- | tice[,] God might revill some things to us and upon the one syd some<sup>142</sup> | some might be made to say wee have not myndit edification in | things, nor bene so tender of authoritie as was meet, and upon the other syd | others may be made to say, we have not bene tender to keepe the work | of God in clean hands, and the ordinances pure, and frome being wronged, | and I would have you to consider, what good hes all your debaits done[?] | how many have they changed, or mollified[?] they have imbittered spirits | more, but whosse condition have they bettered, And it cannot be otherwise | if edification & unities be linked together, and nothing will unite, but | that which is edifieng[,] & we cannot expect much fruit of speaking | thir<sup>143</sup> things to you, yet a word or tuo may be spoken to some or tuo | or thrie things that on both hands stands in the way of union: 1 | It may be objected, Sall wee lay by ordinances & scruff<sup>144</sup> over matters, | sall wee sin that wee may have peace[?] Ans. God forbid[;] that indeed | is not intended, but this rather, that we may have peace & be kepted | from sining & therfor besyd what hes ben said[;] 1 Consider if in the | case {whe}rin we stand, ther be anecessetie laid on the ministers of | Scotland, that they sall never unit[e] till they be one in judge- | ment[,] it would be hard to say so[.] Sall ther be never a church till | ther be union in all our debaits, ther is a subalternall union which | we sould keep {whe}n ther is difference in judgement[,] does not the text | say till we all come in the unities of the faith, & are ther not many | exhortations to unities & peace given to these among whom ther are | divisions & diffirence of judgement? & <sup>4</sup> <sup>145</sup> It wer hard to say we sould | be out a capacetie to practice these, til we be on[e] in judgement[.] | 2 consider we are not to tell at all tymes everie sin, nor at all tymes | to practice everie dutie[.] And as a learned man sayes, yt <sup>that</sup> a man will | keep up & for bear some things for his own private peace, and sall we | keep up nor forbear nothing for the publick peace of the church,<sup>146</sup> | 3 Consider what is a ministers

chiefe dutie, ??<sup>147</sup> is it not to edifie, and | if it be to edifie, then ye must keep up<sup>148</sup> what may not edifie[.] ye<sup>149</sup> | ye must choise & waill<sup>150</sup> what may most edifie, reprove sin & presse | dutie, as may most edifie & waill everie peace so as it may make for | the mouth & prove edifieing feeding & building up, and to this maine | end, which Christ & his apostles had respect unto, leiving us ane | example to follow their steps[.] 4 consider that this is not to strand | any truth, nor to condemne any practice, nether to straine any man's | judgement, but to forbear & forgive one another. And in all the apostle's | exhortations to unitie we will find forbearance put in with them[.] | Sall we then passe by such a sin[?] I answer[:] If it be ane union | with forbearance & forgiveness that is pressed, then it then it must be | such a union as consists with sinnes, and the peace that sould be kepted | being the public peace of the church, it must be publick forbearance | & forgiveness, els it cannot obtaine that end, yea it is by this we | must edifie & feid[.] 5 This is the way to make the thing effectually | which ye would be at, and we are not tyed to have it such a way | & no other way[.] Two may have authorietie established by ceding | to one another, his<sup>151</sup> ever Christ made it our commission to break | in on soules another or more violent way[?] Ther is agreat ods | betwixt the keeping up of a truth & the denying of truth, And | betwixt the keeping up that which being a sin preest may | prove the ferd<sup>152</sup> of sin & a snarr to sining[.] 6 & lastlie wee | would studie much thes exhortations thats given especially | to ministers to beware to ingadge in needlesse debaits, & tentations, | to jangling that breeds division[.] its agood word that one hes | on 2 Timothie 2 22[.] Flie youthfull lusts that are the lusts of | contending, called youthfull lusts because contending is most | proper to that age, its ane ordinar[y] pranck of youth to be con-<sup>153</sup> | contentious, And would to God this were onlie in youth, we | have it to regrait its not onlie in that age[.] | We sall speak a word to other tuo debaits doubts that stand | in the way of our union together, and they concerne practice | 1 It may be said, its ane evill preparative, the one syd will say | if we yeild in this we can never look for ane assemblie, & upon the | other syd it will be said, If we doe this ther is no force against | the carrieng on of corruption[.] And 2 though ther sould be con- | descendencie & ceding the one to the other, wee will not stick | together, thoug we sould unit[e] the day[.] wee will break the morrow[.] | or the one syd will shoot<sup>154</sup> out the other, so that wee will gett | no good done for all that[.] Ans. The question would be right-<sup>155</sup> | lie stated, for the question is not whither we sall unit[e], for we | are once in that case by our stating in our ministeriall | calling, but whither over these bands & relations that binds us | together we sall sepparat and adnd divyd & irritat & provok one | another[.] 2 whither ane uncertain fear sould be preferred to | ane present certain ill,

whither in maters of providence[.] | policie & sein hazard, sould not t sway us more than ane haza<sup>rd</sup> | that is not sein, but feared & is not certain[?] We sall be loath | to condemne, assemblies, they are they are [sic] the ordinance of | Jesus Christ, or to presse any thing that may weaken ther | authorietie, far lesse to undoe them, but may not our forbearing | to ced for unitie & peace undo them more than our ceding, If | we sall continue in this divided course, it may be we sall never | have assemblies, & will not that undoe them[?] 3 I would ask | how doe yo think to prevent these fears[?] is ther any other | way to purg the church, to hold up the authoretie of assemblies &<sup>156</sup> | and to keep it from being blasted but by ceding & uniting[?] | and therefore look to that which is Christ's ordinance to | carie on & promote edification, by union, We may expect a | blessing one<sup>157</sup> the one, when we can not expect it on the | on-whenever other[.] and will ye ever sie divyding approven | upon such differences as are amongst us[?] As for that part | of the question[.] fear of shooting out<sup>158</sup> or censure by union[.] | I can lesse answer to it, for I think it no wunder they | start too,<sup>159</sup> so hold up the difference that are swayed with | such a fear, & God may bring matters so about that this | ther fear may come, & they win nothing by it & er the | keeping in or casting out of twentie or thirtie etc of us | stod in the way of the edification of Christ's bodie, & hindred | that better that many of us went to the dore, God made | the mean the surese<sup>160</sup> used to sprevent<sup>161</sup> ther fear of ruine, | to bring distruction & ruine upon them, & so may he make | ther fear their ruine, who are swayed with this fear and | doe not ced for union & the edification of his people[.] | But what use serves all this for, we sall say nothing | to it but sall pray the Lord to make it usefull in his | own tyme, whither our union sall be this or any other way[.] | it sould content us & make us thankfull, If in any way | it migh[t] attaine its end[.]

147. Obscured: possibly "it" or "is". The writer may have begun again if this was ink blotched. It is not clear in the black and white copy.

148. Keep up: i.e. keep back, pen up.

149. 27r. Catchword: ye.

150. Wail: to choose, to select (Sc. Jamieson).

151. i.e. "has."

152. Ferd: Force or ardour (Sc. Jamieson).

153. 27v. Catchword: con. In the left margin above and to the left of "to jangling" is the word "Calvin." Cf. "Commentaries on The Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, in *Commentaries*, XXI (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983), 232.

154. Shoot: eject (chiefly Sc. OED).

155. The cross of the "t" extends out two letter spaces, but given the practice it is difficult to say this was an intended hyphen.

156. 28r. Catchword: &.

157. i.e. on.

158. Ejecting, casting out, banishing, etc. See note 154.

159. Or "soo".

160. Surese. Surse, as in "source"?

161. A stray letter "s" half blotched begins the word "prevent."

Therfor to close up all with two words of direction, 1 | what in the meane tyme sould we forbear[.] 2 what | sould we doe for the first in generall[.] 1 forbear what- | soever may foster & promove strife & contention[.] 2 more<sup>162</sup> | more particularelie forbear[.] 1 debatable things as well as | debaits, whither it be in asermon or Synod, or any other ju- | dicatorie, forbear that which will put us in a fyre & make | us a reproach for the Lord's sake[.] beware of everie thing of this | kind, we need not name things, but ye know ther are things that | being brought forth may put us into afyre[.] whither, it be act, | overture, or protestation, or any other thing debatable, or re- | member it may ly on our Score if we sall be accessorie to it | to make this synod sunder with shame[.] the apostle[.] 1 Tim. | 1.4. forbids giving heed to questions that minister stryf | rather nor "edifieng which is in faith," and subjoynes "the end | of the commandment is charetie out of a pure heart, a good | conscience & faith unfined"[.] Strive not to waken up on[e] ano- | ther's houmours[.] but to edifie in faith & love[.] 2 abstane from | a contentiuous way of disputing & debaiting things, for it is often | not so much the mater as the tyming & contentiuous way of dryving | things that waken up strife & division[.] We exhort you therfor | to humiletie, gravetie[.] meakness[.] prudence & expressions of kind- | nesse & brotherlie love, 3 beware of ingadging yourselves or | seeking to ingadge others in your debaits, If we were *selie/felie {whe} rin*<sup>163</sup> | to doe some things, better it wer to forbear them, for min- | isters go up & down the countrie seeking to make a partie | & causing stryf & division betwixt minister & people; I know not if | it be Christ's way to work his poynt, nor is it lyke causing of | division will heall it, Ye sould remember the work of Christ | is in our hands, & if it be marred by this or any other thing[.] | how will ye answer to him for it[?] 4 Bewar of any triviall | things, & of being so serious about these, though not in a con-<sup>164</sup> | tentiuous way, if it be not worth the stryving for[.] let | it passe[.] for it hath been often asserted that it hath ben the ryse | of many ills, for ministers & others to be zelous in triviall | things[.] If they be not much good insisting, or other things which | we need not name, forbear them[.] 5 beware of dryving on other | syd, it will be found these that drive most sall win leas[t.] | Its dryving breads fyre, {whe}n it forces & constrains even these | cruellie who would be silent as the churning of milk brings | forth butter, so doeth the forcing of stryf wrath[.] | 2 upon the other syd,

162. 28v. Catchwords: 2 more.

163. This is unclear and this reading is uncertain. Possibly "f" or "s". Feil; feillie: knowledgeable. Or, sellie: selfish (Sc. Jamieson).

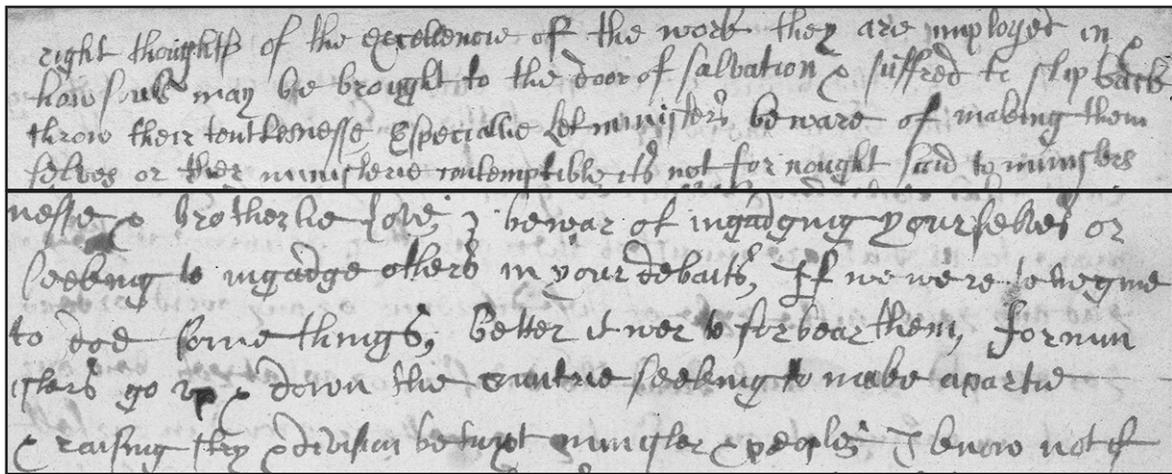
164. 29r. Catchword: con.

165. There is what looks to be an old style "h" followed by "we," which is either a stray letter or possibly "here" was intended.

166. 29v. Catchword: when.

167. The page corner is damaged and the text is faded in a discolored area affecting line endings. The faint letters may mostly be inferred.

in generall studie & follow all means | to promove peace & unities[.] Let the theorie & question how to | promove this be your work more, It is no new thing to see | divisions in the church of Christ, & the way to remove them is to | studie peace & unities[.] 2 particularlie we exhort ministers to be | much reflecting on themselves & their own way and to be im- | partiall herein[.] mark 9 ult[.] "have salt in yourselves & have | peace on[e] with another"[.] Be sharp on your own even & in particu- | lars that concerns yourselves[.] your self & your way, this is | more to us that are ministers then any other, examine if we have | had any hand in the ryse of these difirences or any word or deed | hes escaped us, which bread the divisions, or what hes bene our | part in car<sup>e</sup>ing it on, and if *h[ere]* *we*<sup>165</sup> gett no ground in our self[.] | {whe}rfor we ought to be humbled, Labour to be humbled for the | faults & failings of others, and when ther is so much depends on this | matter of union[.] if we have condenced for peace as | much as we ought, or gone the len[g]th we could to remove | differences, or if we have done as much as may exoner our selves when<sup>166</sup> | when we sall be called to a reckoning, not before me[n]<sup>167</sup> | but God; 2 Labour for a good & right frame of spirit, [be] | neir God[.] Jam 4. 1. "from whence come warress & figh[tings] a- | mong you, come they not from hence, even of your lusts | which war in your members" & it is a sore word[.] prov 13 | 10[.] | "onlie by pryde cometh contention." Hence are many jarres & | debaits, but they that walk humblie and at some neirnesse | with God are readilie best fenced against division, distance with | God fosters division, & breeds carnalnesse[.] neirnesse with God fosters | unities & peace and mortifies corruption[.] 3 wee exhort yee be | much about the maine thing of edifieng souls, for it is the cure of | division, the ryse of our divisions & differences is the postponing of edi- | fication to some other end[.] If edification in its maine task were studied[.] | I doubt that much tyme would be allowed about these thing[s]; ther- | fore the right cure must be following about the work of edifi- | cation in earnest, to bes lesse carnall & selfie & more spirituall and | taken up about the honour of God & the salvation of people & our own | souls[.] This is the apostle's cure which he gives to the corinthi- | ans when divisions are among ministers & Christians[.] 1 Cor 14 12[.] "seek | that ye may excell to the edifieng of the church," and vers 26[.] "Lett | all things be done to edifieng," he thought ther divisions would | soone be mastered & overcome if they would walk according to | this rule, & albet their be some difirence about the way of edi- | fieng, yet non[e] upon the maine mater & if we wer sett | about this work as our maine task, ththoug [*sic*] it wer hard to say | all our difirences & divisions would be packed up, ye[t] who | knowes but God might work another sort of unities, & harmonie | amongst us then now ther is[.] & it is he that must doe it[.] | Therefore think not a word of a Sermon enough but eye | him in this work; and to end with



Page samples showing difficult readings, second line, first two words, 16v, and second line, last two words, 29r. Sermons preached before the Synodal Assembly in Glasgow [manuscript], 1652, 1658. Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.424, MS Add. 257. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. See footnotes 27 and 163. See the reproduction of page 15r on the inside front cover.

a word to this<sup>168</sup> | ???ng,<sup>169</sup> what shall we say, it was a famous man's word, Nazzen<sup>170</sup> | when invited to a counsell, he excused because he never saw a | meeting of many bishops end well, & therfor never disyred them | meeting together[.] I shall not say never[,] but sure to[o] often with | us in this tyme[.] Its a truth which may be regraited the more, | that though all grant it, yet few sets to help it or prevent it, | Wee at this tyme would fear such asundreing[.] we will not say | by whom the offence is; it is not our intention to decid in | that[,] but certainlie wee have had a mainey and both in the | ryse & fostiring of it, and we are lyk to have a maine | shaire in the strife[,] & is ther any Synod in Scotland that | hes been more accessorie to the division that is, hes not our | hand been mainlie in this trespasse and is ther any Synod | Synod [sic] in Scotland that is more tortured with it; and lik | to be devoured with it[?] And hes any more cause to be humbled | before God for it; I s̄peak it without reflection[,] were it | for no more but because God hes made this the part where | the offence is, who ever or whatever be the cause of it, have | we not reason to be deeplie humbled before the Lord for | what is past and to sett to to steir another course for the | tyme to come[?] | And the last word shall be to all that hears me[,] people | as well as ministers, If a ministerie be given for their | edification let not people stumble at them, for any | fault or infirmetie they apprehend to be in them; but | seing instrumentallie their edification & salvation depends | [much]<sup>171</sup> on them, be earnest with God that they may be br- | ought to promote that end, and that all things may be laid<sup>172</sup> | laid asyd that may hinder it[.] the ministry is the [m???]<sup>173</sup> | {whe}rby Christ brings in & promotes these these that are brought | in in the faith; therefore stumble not to your own prejudice | for any thing that is among us, Ther is no expectation of your | being above ordinances as long as ye are in this life; and |

how tastelesse so ever ministers be[,] they are Christ's gifts that | he hes given to you for your edifieng & ye would pray that the | gift may be blest to you for that end, and who wots<sup>174</sup> ft but | the little praying that hes bene among people for ministers | may have had a hand in our emptines & other ills that are | amongst us; would to the Lord both yee & wee could be | humbled for these things: & Let us all & everi one not sett | our selves any longer to up hold division; but by earnest | prayer wrestle with God for removing of them; & to bestow | upon us unities & peace for the edific[ation]<sup>175</sup> of the bodie of | his Sonne.<sup>176</sup>

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168. 30r. The page bottom corner is damaged and the catchword is mostly missing. The corner is folded over covering the first part of the word on the next page. As the MS is brittle, the curators could not risk the paper breaking off and therefore could not expose the text to view.

169. Possibly, "meeting;" i.e. speaking to the meeting of this synod itself.

170. Gregory Nazianzen. "I am resolved to avoid every meeting of bishops, for I have never seen any synod end well, nor assuage rather than aggravate disorders." Epistle ad Precep, Letter 130, Cf. Migne, 37.225. Cited in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, Volume XIV, the Seven Ecumenical Councils, p. 13. Cf. *Scandal* (2014), 237. "There followed many divisions upon the back of the most famous Council (which made Gregory Nazianzen to say he never desired to see many Bishops together)...."

171. A piece of the corner of the page is folded up over this word, but in context "much" would fit.

172. 30v. Catchword: laid.

173. The page corner is torn and there are missing or obscured letters; but in context "mean" or "means" makes sense.

174. Wot: know.

175. There are several holes in the last page, but these letters are easily surmised.

176. End of 31r.