

## ANTIQUARY

### The James Durham MSS III: James Durham's 228 Sermons on Song of Solomon 2–8

In this space in previous issues of *The Confessional Presbyterian*, there have been examinations of the various surviving manuscripts of the sermons of James Durham, the mid-seventeenth century Scottish Presbyterian theologian (1622–1658).<sup>1</sup> In this third outing, details of manuscripts of material on the Song of Solomon are significantly augmented and corrected. Because these sermons mark the beginning of his main ministry years in Glasgow, we first give a recounting of Durham's life up to that point.

#### MINISTRY OF JAMES DURHAM

At the outbreak of the Second Reformation in Scotland, James Durham was a student at Saint Andrews University.<sup>2</sup> Laura A. M. Stewart gives the unfolding of “the standard political account” of the covenanted reform movement.<sup>3</sup>

On 23 July 1637, the new Scottish Prayer Book was publicly read for the first time in St Giles' Church in Edinburgh. The resulting riots precipitated a “crisis by monthly instalments” that culminated in mass signings of the National Covenant, initially in Edinburgh on 28 February 1638 and throughout the country thereafter. Around the same time, the Covenanter leadership formalized their organizational meetings into “Tables,” representing the parliamentary estates plus the clergy. As the authority of the king's Scottish privy council ebbed away, the Tables evolved into a provisional government. At the end of the year, the first general assembly of the church held since 1618 defied the king's commissioner, James, 3rd marquis of Hamilton, and declared that episcopacy had been abjured by the 1581 Confession on which the Covenant was based. War between the Covenanters and King Charles I was now more or less a certainty. Although the scuffle on the Borders known grandly as the First Bishops' War was inconclusive, the expectation that a king backed by an English army ought to pulverize a faction of rebellious Scots handed victory to the Covenanters. Charles entered into negotiations but did not concede defeat. The Second Bishops' War was disastrous for the king. A Scottish army crossed the border and occupied the north of England. As part of their demands for a peace settlement, the

Covenanters insisted that the English parliament be a party to the treaty. Protracted negotiations finally resulted in the convening of the Scottish parliament at Edinburgh, with Charles attending in person from 17 August.... By the time parliament dissolved on 17 November, it had, in practical terms, “deprived the king of all power” in the ecclesiastical and secular spheres. With the Irish rebellion already under way and the king's relationship with his English parliament under great strain, the scene was set for what Conrad Russell termed the fall of the British monarchies.

The goals of the Covenanter cause were reform of the church and establishment of a constitutional monarchy,<sup>4</sup> which had broad support amongst the clergy, nobility and populace.<sup>5</sup> Only the most open and ardent of supporters of episcopacy were deposed, and even most royalists initially supported the dual goals.<sup>6</sup> And thus in 1642, when a similar movement led in England by a Puritan “Long Parliament” called for Scotland to come to their aid, Durham, who had been born into a prominent royalist family amongst the landed gentry,<sup>7</sup> entered

THE AUTHORS: Chris Coldwell is the general editor and publisher of *The Confessional Presbyterian* journal and publishes Puritan era works via Naphtali Press. He recently completed editing an edition of the *Collected Sermons of James Durham*. Matthew Vogan is Media and Publications Manager at Reformation Scotland and lives near Edinburgh, Scotland where he attends the Edinburgh congregation of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. He is the author/editor of two volumes on Samuel Rutherford and contributes articles to a variety of different Reformed publications.

1. “The James Durham MSS held by Glasgow University Library,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 5 (2009): 305–307; “The James Durham MSS II,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 7 (2011): 230–231.

2. Durham, who did not complete his studies, likely attended Saint Andrews University in the years 1637–1640. Nathan Holsteen, “The Popularization of Federal Theology: Conscience and Covenant in the Theology of David Dickson (1583–1663) and James Durham (1622–1658),” Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Aberdeen (1996), 191.

3. Laura A. M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1651* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 29.

4. The Covenanters “clearly embraced two revolutionary causes, that of presbytery and that of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, by which the king's opponents probably meant that Charles should defer to the wishes of the estates of the realm.” I. B. Cowan, “The Covenanters: a revision article,” *The Scottish Historical Review*, 47, #143, part one (Apr., 1968): 40.

5. Cowan, 38, 40.

6. Even royalists such as James Graham, Earl of Montrose, no lover of bishops, embraced these two views, which at this juncture remained the ideals of the majority of a covenanted nation.” Cowan, 40. Early on Montrose was “a front-rank Covenanter,” raising money and forces for the cause. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution*, 188–189.

7. Durham's grandfather and father served the monarchy as Clerk of Exchequer. George Christie, D.D., “James Durham as Courtier and Preacher,” *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, IV, Part I (1930), 68.

the Scottish army and fought under his brother's command in several battles during the First English Civil War (1642–1646). It is at this time that his life took an unexpected turn.<sup>8</sup> George Christie<sup>9</sup> notes that Durham's

somewhat idyllic life of studious leisure and local respect was interrupted by the declaration of war. The difference between King and people had widened rapidly since the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, and when England subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant at London on September 22, 1643, Scottish troops moved southwards to aid those who had

8. Durham came to faith in Christ sometime after his first marriage in about 1640. The story of Durham's conversion, his escapes on the battlefield of Marston Moor, and encouragement by David Dickson to leave the life of a country gentleman and intend the ministry are all covered in the various writings that detail his life. See also, from which some of this background comes, Introduction, *Collected Sermons of James Durham: Sixty-one Sermons* (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, forthcoming 2017).

9. George Christie, 67.

10. Christie references, Scottish History Society, Second Series, vol. XVI, *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn league and covenant, 1643–1647*, edited with an introduction by Charles Sanford Terry, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1917), 2.368.

11. Howie gives Durham's affirmation as "I am one of God's priests." John Howie, *Lives of the Scottish Covenanters* (Greenville, SC: A Press, 1981), 212.

12. *Select Biographies*, edited by W. K. Tweedie (Wodrow Society, 1845), 332.

13. Durham was "presented by the town council on 22nd September, and ordained and admitted on 2nd December; had charge of the south quarter of the city from 1647–1648...." James D. Marwick, *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow: A.D. 1175–1649* (Glasgow, 1897), dcxxxii. Durham was licensed to preach in Irvine on May 18. Kyle D. Holfelder, "James Durham," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

14. Holfelder, DNB. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland holden in Edinburgh the Years 1648 and 1649*, edited by Alexander F. Mitchell and James Christie (1896), 299. Durham first appears in the minutes appointed to aid the church in Stirling in renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, pp. 178, 262, 321, 319.

15. "From 1639, the Scottish body politic was given voice by the three estates, which had been reconstituted after the expulsion of the clerical elite as the nobility, barons (or lairds), and burghesses. The estates met either in full parliament or in a smaller, theoretically less authoritative assembly, known as a convention. An executive council, called the committee of estates, made day-to-day decisions, effectively replacing the king's emasculated privy council. Although the bodies were unicameral, the estates also deliberated separately. A parallel set of structures, headed by the General Assembly, governed the remodelled presbyterian church or kirk." Laura A. M. Stewart, "Scottish Politics, 1644–1651," in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, edited by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford University Press, 2015), 115.

16. *Records of the Commission for 1648 and 1649*, 409. Durham appears to have been Dickson's handpicked successor. The two were

risen against the King. Durham received a commission, and saw service under [General] Leslie in the summer of 1644. In January of the following year the State borrowed from "James Durham of Powrie" "on publick surtie" the sum of 600 merks or £400 (Scots).<sup>10</sup>

It was while on military duty that he received what seemed to him direct guidance as to his future course of life. "He sometimes acted more like a Minister than a Captain, standing on the Head of his Company, and giving them many serious Exhortations, Advices and Counsels for their Souls, and prayed before them so powerfully and effectually, that not only all his Company, but Strangers who passed by and heard, were greatly affected and surprized, looking on him not only as a good Man, but a great Man, in whom much of the Spirit of God was."

Before going into action—probably at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644—he had called his men together for prayer, when David Dickson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, then with the troops, happened to ride past. Observing the act of devotion, Dickson dismounted and joined them, afterwards calling for this Cornelius-like officer and conversing with him for a little, with the result that he laid a solemn charge upon him to serve in the ministry as soon as his soldiering was finished. Durham himself was by no means clear as to doing this, but later events—"two remarkable Providences," a biographer terms them—removed his doubts. In the engagement he had his horse shot under him, while he was unhurt; and a little later a Royalist soldier, about to strike him down with his sword, held his hand for a moment to ask if he was a priest—Durham's grave carriage, his black clothes and band, then the fashion with gentlemen, had induced the question. The young Scottish officer said he was, and so his life was spared. In gratitude he vowed to devote himself to the ministry.<sup>11</sup>

Durham went on to pursue studies with Dickson at Glasgow, "where, in a short time, he profited so as he might have been a Professor of Divinity in any universitie in Europe."<sup>12</sup> Upon completion of his studies he was ordained on December 2, 1647 and first served as minister at the Blackfriars church in Glasgow.<sup>13</sup> He quickly rose to some prominence in the church and was appointed to the standing commission of the General Assembly in August of 1649.<sup>14</sup> This was a significant appointment. The Kirk's commission which Durham served was roughly parallel in function to the state's committee of estates, empowered to deal with kirk matters that came up in the period between General Assemblies.<sup>15</sup> In 1650, after only a few years of ministry in his first charge, Durham was looked upon as the best candidate to replace Dickson as divinity professor at Glasgow, since the latter had been called to the chair of divinity at Edinburgh.<sup>16</sup> However, Robert Ramsay

was chosen instead, and the Kirk fixed upon James Durham for his family's "hereditary connection with the Crown, his piety, his gravity, his prudence, and perhaps his youth (he was but 28) as eminently suited to be the Church's representative at the Court of the young King," and appointed him to that service in July, 1650.<sup>17</sup> Durham had "the chief duty of ministering to the Royal Household devolved upon him. He acted also as the constant channel of communication between the King and the Commission, met and consulted with frequent deputations from that body and with Committees of Parliament, carried letters from and to the King and joined in the discussions and orders of the Commission when meeting near the court or when he was sent to it."<sup>18</sup> As a member of the Assembly's standing commission, Durham had been intimately involved in the communications with and preparations for the coming of Charles II.<sup>19</sup>

As chaplain, Durham was thrust into the center of the cyclone of Scottish politics of the Interregnum. The nation was divided into factions, Royalist v. Covenanter, Engager v. Anti-Engager, and Resolutioner v. Protester. These divides had unfolded through the years Durham prepared for ministry up to the time of his appointment to the royal chaplaincy. Before detailing Durham's service to the king and his entry into his ministry back in Glasgow, these divisions require some explanation and context.

#### DIVISIONS IN SCOTLAND

*Royalist v. Covenanter.* Because of the intransigence of Charles' father, Charles I, the dual causes of a Presbyterian reformation and of a constitutional monarchy proved irreconcilable.<sup>20</sup> The subsequent agreement with England in the Solemn League and Covenant proved too much an attack on the monarchy for royalists.<sup>21</sup> A force fighting for the king was eventually crushed by Scottish forces,<sup>22</sup> and by an Act of Classes those who had taken up arms for the king against the Covenanter cause were banned as "malignants" from holding office or serving in the military.

*Engager v. Anti-Engager.* However, with the tide of events favoring Oliver Cromwell and the sectarians over the Presbyterians in England, the cause of both presbytery and monarchy were in peril. Still wishing to maintain both, many of the

close and worked together on the text of the Sum of Saving Knowledge, which early took its place amongst the standard contents of the Westminster Standards in 1650. For more information see Introduction, *Collected Sermons of James Durham: Sixty-one Sermons*, 12, 115; Coldwell, "The Development of the Traditional Form of The Westminster Standards," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 168ff; "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards & Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text," *ibid.*, 43–64.

17. "[A]ppointed chaplain to the king in July, 1650." *Charters and*

Scottish nobility sought an agreement with Charles I, known as the Engagement,<sup>23</sup> promising to restore him to the throne but not requiring him to subscribe to the covenants. This was unacceptable to a considerable segment of the Kirk, and by a narrow majority the General Assembly condemned the agreement. Nevertheless, the Engagers raised an army and invaded

*Other Documents*, dcxxxii. Robert Ramsay (c. 1595–1651) was minister in Glasgow from 1647. He was Rector of Glasgow University from 1648 to 1650 and Principal from the summer of 1651 until his death on September 4, 1652. Ramsay was prevented by the Town Council from accepting the Chair of Divinity at the University in 1650.

18. George Christie, 68, 70.

19. *Records of the Commission for 1648 and 1649*, 355, 405, 437, 439, 440. Amongst other appointments, Durham was also appointed to committees to present overtures to parliament and to confer with the army in communicating to the English enquiring after their intentions towards Scotland. *Ibid.*, 399, 419. The chaplaincy should have gone to Robert Blair, but he was in ill health, and he could not have withstood the frequent moving about of the king's court. He also had begun to have strong issues of conscience regarding ministers getting too involved in civil affairs. Christie, 69. See *Life of Mr. Robert Blair...*, ed. Thomas M'Creie (Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society, 1848), 233.

20. "These ideals proved to be incompatible, and most authorities are agreed that the prime cause of division lay in the basic inconsistency of the covenant whereby an attempt was made to defend the person and authority of the king while at the same time promoting policies contrary to his interest." Cowan, 40.

21. That there was strong opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant amongst many of the nobility is affirmed by Baillie who praised the Lord that the opposition had not been more severe. Cowan, 40. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, Robert Ogle, 1842), 2.102.

22. The king's man in Scotland, James Graham, Earl of Montrose, eventually raised an army and did significant damage to the Covenanters' military prestige in the eyes of the English, who lost multiple battles to Montrose in Scotland as Oliver Cromwell succeeded against the king's forces in England. Finally, almost too late, Scottish forces left England for Scotland and crushed the comparatively weak forces of Montrose.

23. "By terms of the Engagement, the Scots would provide an army to rescue Charles from his English captors and return him to his authority, in return he would institute a three-year Presbyterian trial period in England and 'endeavor a complete union of the kingdoms, so as they may be one.' Conspicuous in its absence was a clause guaranteeing Charles' personal adherence to the Covenant or the Solemn League and Covenant. The Engagement was quite clearly a compromise, and while it passed the Scottish Parliament easily, when it came to the General Assembly for approval, the deeply-split clergy narrowly defeated it." Robert Harris Landrum, *Vast Visions and Intransigent Realities: The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1851–60* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1999), 41. "More than any other legislation of the interregnum, the Engagement pitted the kirk against the state, striking at the distinction between the 'twa kingdoms.'" "Some of the ministers ... believed that 'we should not make so many scruples to settle the throne and pull down the sectaries.'" *Ibid.*, 41–42. Baillie had already come to Blair's feelings on the matter. "I am more and more in the mind that it were for the good of the world, that churchmen did meddle with ecclesiastic affairs only." Baillie, 3.38.

England, only to be quickly dispatched by Cromwell's forces.<sup>24</sup> Though a minority, the anti-Engagers, aided and supported by Cromwell, seized political power and passed a considerably broader second Act of Classes on January 23, 1649.<sup>25</sup> This act thrust out of any civil and ecclesiastical office for various terms those who took part in the Engagement, those who did not seriously oppose it, and anyone of questionable moral character.<sup>26</sup> Cromwell's blessing to the anti-Engager government came in October, 1648.<sup>27</sup> This comity ended with the execution of Charles I on January 30, 1649, and the negotiations to bring his son Charles to the throne continued the political struggles between Anti-Engagers and Engagers.<sup>28</sup>

*Protesters/Remonstrants v. Resolutioners.* After months of negotiation, in which Durham was involved as a member of the standing commission, the late king's son was persuaded to take the covenant on June 23, 1650. It was clear he was insincere, and that he did so only because he could not return to Scotland or have any chance of gaining the crown without

24. The Battle of Preston, August 17–19, 1648.

25. This is known as Whigamore's raid. Cf. James King Hewison, *The Covenanters*, 2 vols. (1908; Revised and Corrected Edition, Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1913), 1.448.

26. See the four classes given in Hewison, 1.452

27. Hewison, 1.448. Both parties, who would become known as Resolutioners and Protesters, apparently could 'look the other way' and work with enemies of the covenant, the king and Cromwell respectively.

28. There is continuity to these divisions, narrowly from the Engagement through the Remonstrance, and broadly from the founding of the Covenanter government, the main question ultimately revolving around whether and to what extent the ecclesiastical authorities could ultimately undermine the civil leadership when it disagreed with their decisions. Even at this time, as has been noted, both Blair and Baillie regretted ecclesiastical entanglement in the halls of government. "Those who implemented the orders of the Engager parliament and committee of estates were not necessarily active supporters of the lawfully constituted authorities. Many may have reluctantly concluded that whatever their misgivings both about the motivations of Engager politicians and the trustworthiness of the king, the Engagement offered the best chance, in the circumstances, of an archipelagic settlement on the basis of the Covenant [i.e. retaining the unity of the three covenanted kingdoms]. Anti-Engagers responded by asserting that it was the general assembly that possessed the right to judge 'matters ecclesiastical.' This statement implied that the assembly was entitled to a large say in diplomatic policy, thereby undermining the regime's pragmatic ambiguity about parliament's status as supreme legislator and setting limits on the freedom of the executive to make decisions." See Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution*, 20–22.

29. Hewison, 2.11–15. Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven (1582–1661), was Lord General of the Army of the Covenant.

30. This is known as The Start. "... [C]onfusion created by Charles's last minute indecision caused his royalist support to evaporate and the rising to be abortive." Covenanter forces found the king and convinced him to return. 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, University of Edinburgh (1998), 65–67.

doing so. The clear impiety and duplicity apparent in the king's taking the covenant further intensified the divide between parties. Meantime, the English Parliament preempted what they foresaw would be a Scottish invasion by ordering Cromwell's English army to invade Scotland, which it did on July 22, 1650. In September Cromwell and his forces managed to get cut off from supply lines and trapped at Dunbar by General Leslie's forces.<sup>29</sup> It should have been an easy victory. However, Leslie's forces had gone through yet another anti-Engager purge of malignants, and royalist traitors kept Cromwell informed of matters in the Scottish army. The troops were demoralized and filled with less seasoned men to make up for the purge. Leslie then made the tactical mistake of moving his forces; Cromwell made a surprise attack, catching Scottish forces asleep and unprepared to defend their position, and thus defeating the larger Scottish force on September 3, 1650. Charles II in a panic believed he was going to be turned over to Cromwell, and involved himself in an ill-conceived "royalist coup d'état" to take place on October 3, which was planned to raise troops and overthrow the government.<sup>30</sup> The Committee of Estates ordered commissioners, which included James Durham "the K[ing]'s minister,"<sup>31</sup> to find and entreat the king to come back. Covenanter forces soon found him hiding in some rough accommodations and convinced him to return with them.<sup>32</sup>

While those that would be known as the Resolutioners were dealing with a 'malignant' king in their midst, ministers and others of the army of the west, known as the Western Association and who would become known as the Remonstrants or Protesters, were meeting and trying to maintain the integrity of their own party. The Western Association was first set up

31. James Balfour, *The Historical Works* (Edinburgh, 1825), 115.

32. "When the Estates learned that the king had fled, they commissioned the moderates Lothian, Sir Charles Erskine of Scottiscraig, James Sword and the minister James Durham to find Charles and convince him to return. They were instructed to express the Estates' 'grief and amazement' at his sudden and unexpected behaviour and assure him of their 'constant loyalty, faithfulness, and affection.' They were also to inform him that if he returned quickly all would be forgiven and they would see to it that his influence in the government was increased." "Contrary to the expectations of many, this abortive coup, which became known as 'the Start,' proved to be extremely advantageous for Charles. The moderates realized that it was only the claim to be acting in the king's name which allowed them to remain in power. If they admitted that Charles's flight had been anything other than a good king led astray by evil counsel, they would implicitly be admitting the validity of the radicals' [i.e. Remonstrants'] charges concerning his malignancy and make their own position ideologically untenable. Accordingly, they moved quickly to placate him. On 10 October Charles was allowed to be present at the meeting of the Estates. The next day he officially apologized for his proceedings, and as was expected, claimed that he had been misled 'by the wicked counsel of some men quho had deludit him.' After making this submission Charles was 'kindly received' by the Estates and hereafter permitted to attend all governmental meetings." Holfelder, 660–67.

in 1648 and was revived by the Glasgow council after the defeat at Dunbar. The Resolutioners were deeply skeptical of the intentions behind this move, but could not afford to split the armed forces; so they had acquiesced in essentially granting the Protesters their own army.<sup>33</sup> Yet the Protesters were rent by their own serious divide, in that a minority, including one of the army's leaders, Archibald Strachan, was heavily influenced by English sectarianism. Holfelder writes,<sup>34</sup>

During the time that Cromwell occupied Glasgow, the [Western] Association made no attempt to resist him.<sup>35</sup> The leading radicals were otherwise engaged in a series of crucial meetings at Dumfries. In this convocation, Ker, Strachan and their officers were joined by Patrick Gillespie, representatives from the western presbyteries and certain radical lairds and burgesses. Wariston and Cheisly thought the meetings of such importance that they even hazarded a journey through enemy-held territory in order to attend. Cromwell's new overture to the radical colonels had brought to the fore an underlying dichotomy in the composition of the radical party—one that had been lurking thinly beneath the surface for some time: the inclination of the radical officers and certain western ministers to favour the English was inimical to the strongly antisectionarian sentiments of Wariston, Guthrie and their coterie. Although the Wariston-Guthrie wing of the party were supportive of the Western army, they were staunchly opposed to any conjunction with the English. They viewed the Western Association as both a powerful bargaining chip in their dealings with the regime and as a final radical stronghold in the event that the moderates made an open alliance with the malignants. They were even willing to countenance the widespread rumours of the Association's incipient sectarianism, if the fear of such would give them further leverage in the Estates and Commission. Up until this point they had been able to successfully manage the extremism of the westerners to their advantage. Now, however, with Cromwell's excursion into Glasgow, they were confronted with the imminent possibility that the separatist behaviour of the west would go beyond mere rhetoric and coalesce in an actual conjunction with the English. It was now incumbent on Wariston and Guthrie to devise a policy which would satisfy the different opinions and preserve the unity of the radical party. Failure to prevent a rift would completely undermine the authority of the radical party, irreparably damage their credibility and subvert whatever remaining ability they had to influence the agenda at Stirling. In an attempt to appease the more extreme westerners it was decided to resurrect and expand the "officers' declaration" which had been laid aside at the previous meeting of the Glasgow-Ayr synod.

From the outset there were sharp differences of opinion in these meetings. Baillie relates that "Strachan's axiome and

debates did put the whole armie and committee of the West in such confusion and discouragement that all acting against the enemy was made impossible." The western colonels and their officers urged an unequivocal break with the [king's] regime at Stirling; while Wariston, Cheisly and the ministers advocated working within the regime in order to influence the agenda and effect change. Strachan maintained that Charles had "so farr fallen from all his right to England, that, for his wrongs to Scotland, he aught at least to be banished ... or made an perpetuall prisoner." Wariston and the majority of ministers contended that, at least in principle, space should be left to Charles and the Estates for repentance and restoration. In the midst of their deliberations Ker and Strachan sent a message to Cromwell informing him that they were in favour of opening negotiations with him but Wariston and Cheisly would not give their consent.<sup>36</sup> Their debates on policy continued until 17 October, when the assembled radicals finally approved the declaration to the Estates which came to be known as the *Western Remonstrance*. The final document was a compromise; an attempt to preserve the unity of the radical party.

Even though the Western Remonstrance was a compromise document, it was not well received when submitted to the Estates on October 22 and later to the assembly's commission on October 24. Amongst other things it "complained of the hasty admission of Charles II to the Covenants," and of his conniving with malignants and of the toleration of malignants generally, and faulting specifically the treaty by which it had been agreed to bring Charles to Scotland.<sup>37</sup> Regarding the defeat at Dunbar, the Remonstrants "interpreted the disaster ... as a want of God's favour" for the "compromises" made since the king's insincere taking of the covenant,<sup>38</sup> while their opposites faulted the policy of the anti-Engagers of continually purging the army of malignants for the Scottish army's disastrous defeat, and considered their Remonstrance "high treason." The commission meeting on November 28 condemned the Remonstrance but stopped short of any discipline

33. Holfelder, 53–54.

34. Holfelder, 68–70. Strachan and others favored making an alliance with Cromwell against the Scottish forces under Leslie. Strachan's direct negotiations with Cromwell made him odious to the Protesters, and he defected to the English when deprived of command and was subsequently charged with treason and excommunicated. Durham attended the assembly commission meeting that issued the latter censure. See Coldwell, Introduction, *Sixty-one Sermons*, 35–36.

35. Holfelder cites Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 3.118.

36. Holfelder cites *Letters and Journals*, 3.113.

37. David Lachman, "Protesters," in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*, ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron (IVP, 1993), 681. Hewison, 1.22. "The Remonstrance identified the closing of the treaty with Charles as the iniquitous fount of all the land's grief and misery." Holfelder, 70.

38. Lachman, *ibid.*

at that time. The Protesters from that time stopped attending the commission, beginning the formal division of the kirk.

At this point a majority of civil and ecclesiastical leaders agreed to reverse course to rescind the Act of Classes. Upon queries from Parliament, the church's standing commission passed resolutions reversing the anti-Engager policies in December 1650,<sup>39</sup> and after much delay agreed with stipulations to the repeal of the Act of Classes in May 1651.<sup>40</sup> The General Assembly approved the resolutions in July, the Parliament having rescinded the Act of Classes on June 2.<sup>41</sup> Supporters of these actions were the Resolutioners, who believed the nation should unite, rescind the Act of Classes, and open up service in the army in order to have a force sufficient to repel

39. The first policy, which in response to a query from parliament, conceded that under "the great and evident necessitie," "a competent force" could not be raised to oppose the English unless there was "a more generall calling forth of the bodie of the people then heretofore hath been." This was the First Public Resolution. Holfelder, 85. The Second of May 24, repealed the Act of Classes.

40. The moderate Resolutioners on the commission, knowing parliament wanted full repeal of the Act of Classes, and knowing this would create a royalist government, dragged their feet for months. The Protesters tried to exploit this fear and proposed a union against the royalists, which in the end went nowhere. The commission finally gave the blessing the parliament wished on May 24, but with an attempted dodge, washing their hands of the consequences. "[I]t is not competent to us, but only to the King and Parliament, to make or repeal Acts of Parliament, and, therefore, that as the Commission of the Kirk had not hand in making of the Act of Classes, so neither doe we take upon us to determine the keeping up or rescinding or repealing of the same." See Holfelder, 119, and pp. 112–121.

41. The parliament repealed the Act of Classes on June 2, 1651. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1660*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), 1.392. With the repeal the royalists came back en masse and "now had control of parliament, the Committee of Estates and all the key parliamentary interval committees. The rule of the kirke regime had ended. Not surprisingly, this realignment of power resulted in a severe reduction in the kirk's influence over the government." Holfelder, *Factionalism*, 121.

42. The majority and larger party were the Resolutioners; "with the exception of the synod of Glasgow-Ayr and its respective presbyteries, virtually all of Scotland's church courts were under the control of the Resolutioners." Holfelder's *Factionalism*, 14.

43. Baillie writes of his service to the king as "that grievous burden." Baillie, 3.150.

44. "It is said Charles II. had a great veneration for him, and stood much in awe of him." Robert Wodrow, *Analec̄ta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, 4 vols. (Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842–43), 3.108.

45. Aye (always) glaiking. *Glaik*: light, giddy, foolish, sometimes with connotations of being flirtatious (See Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary). The king had already begun having affairs at a young age and would eventually lay claim to around a dozen illegitimate children by half a dozen mistresses.

46. Publications of the Scottish History Society, Second Series, vol. XVIII, *The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnson of Wariston, Volume 2, 1650–1654*, edited by David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh: March 1919), 137.

Cromwell's forces. The Remonstrants took the label of Protesters, who believed God would support, as with Gideon, a purified army of Covenanters purged of all malignants, but no other.<sup>42</sup>

#### DURHAM'S CHAPLAINCY SERVICE

No doubt this backdrop of internecine divisions made Durham's chaplaincy difficult service, but it was also soul-vexing work. From what is known of the character of Charles II, it is not hard to imagine why serving as king's chaplain proved exceedingly grievous service for Durham.<sup>43</sup> Even though it is said, the "duties of this office he discharged 'with such majesty and awe' as to inspire the court with much reverence for him,"<sup>44</sup> Durham is recorded as saying that the king was "simple and creuel [cruel], and that he was ay[e] glaiking<sup>45</sup> at sermons and prayers, in kirk and familie."<sup>46</sup> He served in this capacity for only a few months before the situation affected his health, while at the same time he was in financial straits due to Cromwell's occupation. Among other things, he apparently was suffering as much as any from the quarterings and plunderings by soldiers, a trial of the times which he notes in his sermons, and from the lack of a stipend from Glasgow.<sup>47</sup> We find the Commission of the General Assembly granting on November 23, 1650, a respite for a time starting that December first, due to his "present distemper and indisposition," and appointed several ministers to that duty for four months, swapping out teams at two months.<sup>48</sup> This plan initially may have been upended, at least for a time, by the king's request on November 28 that Durham return.<sup>49</sup> He may have returned, because rather than retiring for illness, he was active in the church's affairs through the end of the year. He appears before the commission on December 12, when letters from the king and Parliament are produced and read, though it is not clear if he was acting as courier; and he serves on a committee to consider the Parliament's letter. On December 13, Durham is

47. See *Collected Sermons of James Durham: Sixty-one Sermons*, 74, 516, 721. "I suspect, indeed, one of the grounds on which Mr. James hes reasone of malcontentment, is the neglect of his maintainance. I think he hes his owen burthens on his lands, besyde that the quarterings this yeare, and some yeares bygone, hath made his rent small in itself, neare to nothing; he hes a numerous familie, he hes no stipend from Glasgow: I see not how he must not be straitened. Therefore, in the midst of all the scarcitie that can be among yow, I advyse, that without more delay, in the first day of Exchequer, yow appoint him a stipend at least of two hundred pounds..." Baillie, 3.155. Durham's family was housing with the family of Patrick Gillespie. Christie, 77.

48. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland holden in Edinburgh in 1650, in St. Andrews and Dundee in 1651 and in Edinburgh in 1652*, volume 3, edited by James Christie (1909), 117, 133, 234, 253, 335, 405, 420, 443, 549.

49. November 28, 1650, was the same day of the commission's censure of the Remonstrants. *Records for 1650–52*, 420.

appointed to preach to the parliament the next Lord's Day.<sup>50</sup> He attended the meeting in the morning on December 14, but is not recorded attending in the afternoon. And he attended the commission on December 31 in Perth, as the king was to be crowned the next day at Scone.

This all took its toll, and after attending the commission on January 6, he likely made his condition known. The next day, January 7, when he was not in attendance, a replacement was appointed during his illness. On January 22 the commission promised an answer to Durham's request of a furlough at the next meeting, but did not answer until March. At the same time in late January (it is unclear which came first), the common session of Glasgow wrote in an undated letter asking that he might return to ministry there.<sup>51</sup> Durham's desire was to fill the chair of theology that had previously been offered him, and his friends believed he had been ill treated by denying it to him.

On March 18, the commission finally granted liberty to Durham "for his health and private affaires, to withdraw himself from his service and charge in attending the King and his familie" for six weeks. He attended no other meetings of the commission though he was appointed to various committees to answer this or that need or correspondence. By the beginning of April, Durham was back in Glasgow.<sup>52</sup> On April 19, Cromwell suddenly came to Glasgow and heard "Mr. John Carstairs lecture, and Mr. James Durhame preach, graciously and weell to the times as could have been desyred. Generallie all who preached that day in the Towne gave a fair enough testimony against the Sectaries." Old Ironsides got the message and in a meeting with the ministers the next day complained that the English were "condemned 1st, As unjust invaders", etc.<sup>53</sup>

On April 23, the commission appointed more ministers to "attend the Kings [*sic*] family by courses, and to be assisting to Mr. James Durhame for performing all ministeriall dueties to them." Whether at this time and since January, Durham returned sporadically to the king, assisted by these and others, or they simply stood in for him, is not clear.<sup>54</sup> And despite Durham and his friends writing letters and campaigning for the Glasgow university appointment, Baillie appears to have successfully blocked this effort, believing it would be a disservice to the king and not stand Durham or the church well.

Resigned for the time apparently, and his health recovered, Durham wrote to Robert Douglas on July 14, 1651, expressing his intent to take up again his charge as the King's chaplain. "I was once in doubt whither to have staid till the Assembly or not; but being recovered in my health, and not knowing quho may be with the King, I have resolved, upon Mr. Blair's advice, to goe immediatly to that charge, untill the Assembly dispose of me and it, as shall be thought best. I doubt not quhen men

are to be named, but yee will be carfull to see them such as that taske require, which I ingenoufly confesse does not only requir mor zeall faithfullnes and abilities then I have, but mor then I could have thought of before experience of the snares and discouragements which accompanie it."<sup>55</sup>

Given this letter of July 14, Durham does not appear to have attended the summer meeting of General Assembly slated to begin July 16 in St. Andrews, as he was attempting to return to the king's side. Parliament had already passed censures on lay persons who had supported the Remonstrance, and it became clear the assembly was intent on doing something as well. "Censured and barred from election ... twenty-two ministers including Samuel Rutherford and James Guthrie handed in a Protestation" which declared the assembly invalid for not being free and lawful.<sup>56</sup> The assembly upon hearing of the news of the defeat at Inverkeithing, moved to Dundee, but none of the Protesters attended and the assembly packed with royalists repealed the Act of Classes and deposed from the ministry James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie and several others that signed the Remonstrance.<sup>57</sup> If he had been free to attend, Durham may have followed Blair's example as to the Dundee meeting.<sup>58</sup>

50. I have not discovered any record noting the text of this sermon.

51. See the letter as given in the lengthy eighteenth-century "A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author's Life," affixed to various editions of Durham's works, and also with some additional material in notes in *Collected Sermons: Seventy-Two Sermons on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah* (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, forthcoming, 2017), 34. Hereafter, Life.

52. Life, 35–36.

53. *Records for 1650–52*, 420. Christie, 72, 73. Life, 36. Baillie, 3:165–166.

54. Christie writes that Durham returned to the king for two months in May (Christie, 73), apparently presuming he did so after the March 18 liberty expired. Durham appears to be in Sterling on May 16, where the king and the army were (*Records for 1650–52*, 335); but in a March 31 letter to Glasgow about taking up a position in the university, his language seems to indicate he was freed up until the meeting of the assembly at the end of July (Baillie, 3:148). Yet as Christie notes he continued "occupied with the business of the Commission of Assembly... met their deputation to his Majesty and discussed ... signing of the Covenant by his English friends, ... and conferring with those ministers who had been prisoners in the Tower of London ..." (Christie, 73). On May 24 he is listed as appointed to go to the king with others of the commission, though he is not noted as in attendance of the commission. By sometime in July when he wrote Douglas on July 14, it is clear he had not been with the king, and having recovered his health, had determined to return.

55. Baillie, *Letters & Journals*, 3:560.

56. Lachman, 681.

57. *Life of Robert Blair*, 278.

58. Durham's exact whereabouts between July 14 and the September–October meeting of the Protestors could not be specifically traced. However, it is said he offered to go with the king to England but he refused, and the armies departed on July 31; and then it is said that he

When the Assembly reconvened at Dundee on 22 July, it had lost approximately half its members. The Protesters were absent to a man and many moderates were prevented from attending because of English troop movements. Others, such as the centrist Robert Blair, appear to have withdrawn because they did not wish to be associated with the Assembly's proceedings. Many of those who remained were obscure royalist ministers from Fife and the north-east. Unlike their more moderate colleagues, these men had little respect for the Remonstrants. During the 1640s, such ministers had kept a low profile in order to escape the purges of zealous radicals. Now, with the situation reversed, they prepared to give full vent to their animosity towards the Remonstrants.<sup>59</sup>

In the defeat of the Scottish army at Inverkeithing on July 20, Charles saw in the English army advancing north an opportunity to invade England. He marched his royalist army south attempting to gather troops on the way. As noted Durham may have attempted to join the king between July 14 when he wrote to Douglas and the king's resolve to head toward England after July 20. It is said Durham offered to go with the king, but he refused.<sup>60</sup> By August 4 Durham had left the king and the assembly at Dundee ordered three other ministers to attend him.<sup>61</sup> Johnson writes, "I thought it strange to hear returned to Glasgow (*Select Biographies*, 332; Wariſton, *Diary*, II, 104). Wariſton records hearing about this on August 4 (*Diary*, 105), so it is impossible to proclaim with certainty he did not attend the Dundee assembly. Wariſton in reviewing the 1651 Dundee assembly's *Warning and Declaration*, tries to read who contributed what to it, and ſpied 'policy and prudentiality of Douglas, zeal in David Dickson, againſt separation, and sharpness of James Wood or James Durham.' *Diary*, II, 111. There is no indication Wariſton knew for ſure Durham was preſent and he ſuggests either Durham or Wood for the ſharpness. However, it would ſeem unlikely, if Blair had decided againſt attending the aſſembly, that Durham would not have done the ſame, ſo as not to be tied to any extreme action they took. But even if he was there, it hardly ſeems likely he would have contributed 'ſharpneſſ' to the document, if by that Wariſton meant ſeverity verſus intelligence. This is becauſe Durham in his July 14 letter to Douglas advised taking no cenſorious courſe with the Remonſtrants. "I can ſay little of the publike, being almoſt affraid of everie event I can think of; yet, if God wold bleſſe ſom overturs I heard from Mr. Blaire, of waving all bypaſt debates at this tyme, by entreing on a new ground, I thinke it the only way of healing; quheras, if things ſhall conclud by hotenes, after debat, it doth not cure y<sup>t</sup> evil, but will readily bring on acts and cenſurs on men, quhich will be of greater ſcandall to the Church, in my judgment, then the thing debated, and may probably draw more favourers, out of defire to ſuffer, with ſom, and by others, quhairby manie will be deimed to act by any other principle in that then the preſent contraverſie." Baillie, 1,560.

59. Holfelder, 127–128.

60. Chriſtie, 73. Durham "offered to goe with the king ... but not finding ſuiteable acceptance, he returned to Glasgow..." *Select Biographies*, 332.

61. Johnson's diary entry is dated Auguſt 4, 1651. *Diary*, volume 2, 105. The brief commiſſion records for the meetings at Dundee on

that their was not on[e] miniſter to goe on with the King or airmye, except depoſed miniſters, albeit the meiting at St. Jhonſton [in Perth] was moſt willing to ſend them, as their was non in 1648, when I heard that, even at Torwood, their was no evening nor morning prayers in the campe, and farre leſſ now."<sup>62</sup> On Auguſt 22, Charles' army arrived at Worceſter and was ſubſequenty routed on September 3, 1651. Charles managed to eſcape to Europe.

#### DURHAM'S RETURN TO MINISTRY IN GLASGOW

Relieved of his burden, and alſo having not been reappointed at the end of July to the Aſſembly's commiſſion, Durham was free of thoſe duties as well. While it is not clear there was any real place for him, John Carſtares as moderator of the Glasgow ſeſſion, wrote to Durham on Auguſt 28, 1651, imploring and practicaly ordering him to pleaſe come and ſerve the people there as one of their miniſters.<sup>63</sup> Then juſt a few days later on September 4, Robert Ramſay died, and that ſame day the ſeſſion iſſued a call to Durham to the inner kirk (of now Glasgow cathedral).<sup>64</sup> But it was not until September 13 that men were appointed to deliver that call. With Ramſey's death Durham preſſed a final time for the univerſity poſition, but even this time with Baillie's ſupport, he was denied it for good.<sup>65</sup> He Auguſt 1–12, 1651 do not mention this, ſo this may have been at the actual General Aſſembly at Dundee in late July, but it is not noted in Peterkin's record. The minutes for both were ſeized by the English and are miſſing. The perſonal account of ſome of the aſſembly's actions preſerved by Wodrow does not mention Durham. Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland containing Acts and Proceedings of the General Aſſemblies, from 1638...* (Edinburgh: Peter Brown, 1843) 631. *Records* 1650–52, 513.

62. *Diary*, II, 106.

63. William Ferrie, *Letters and correſpondence of John Carſtaires together with the letters of ſome of his contemporaries: To which is prefixed an account of his life* (Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846), 77–78. The need for Durham's ſervices may have ariſen in late July when "the Governors of the Univerſity agreed to relieve the Principal and Profeſſors from their parochial charges, and this ſeemed to offer an opening, but Durham's mind was intent upon a chair as his right. Unfortunately, when the chair fell vacant by Ramſay's death in the autumn, other influences, eſpecially the English, came into play, and he did not receive the appointment. A call of ſorts was preſented to him to ſerve in the Inner Kirk "from time to time, but in a louſe way." Chriſtie, 74.

64. Baillie, *Letters & Journals*, Memoir of Baillie, 1.lxvi. Scott gives the date of the call as September 4. Hew Scott, *Faſti Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ; The Succeſſion of Miniſters in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol. 3 (1920), 456. The Glasgow council approved the call on September 6, and appointed men to deliver the call on September 13. *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow: Selected from the Minute Books of the Burgh. MDLXXXVIII–MDCCL* (Printed for Private Circulation, 1835), 552.

65. Cf. *Letters & Journals*, 3,238. Wariſton records hearing of Ramſay's death on September 8, and while he likely would not have heard of Durham's call, his comment regarding Durham being deprived of

took the call to the inner kirk. His companion in ministry there would be John Carstares. Durham spent the rest of his few years of ministry and life in this service, where he did the work for which he is most known.

It is not clear when Durham accepted this call, and it also seems likely that he did not begin his new charge until mid-October. The Protester-Resolutioner controversy was in full swing, and Durham was heavily involved. “In mid-September, [Patrick Gillespie and the Glasgow Protesters], together with the centrist James Durham, wrote letters far and wide inviting all who were in known sympathy with their cause to a national meeting in Glasgow on 23–24 September.”<sup>66</sup> This meeting failed to attract the needed interest, but Gillespie immediately called for one to meet in Edinburgh, which was successful, gaining the attendance of 62 ministers by September 30, including Durham.<sup>67</sup> He attended the debates for much of the week, but by Saturday, October 11, Wariston notes that he had departed.<sup>68</sup> It seems unlikely that he was to preach on October 12 back in Glasgow. If he was, it may be he preached on some individual topic. We speculate this because we do know that according to the manuscripts detailed below, he preached his first sermon on Song of Solomon chapter two on October 19, 1651. It does not seem likely he preached some overview of the book the prior Lord’s Day (Oct. 11), because he does not make any allusion to such a sermon at the start of the first sermon, but begins, “[before] wee speak of this booke...”<sup>69</sup>

#### DURHAM’S PREACHING ON SONG OF SOLOMON

Why did James Durham start preaching on chapter two of Song of Solomon at the beginning of his ministry in Glasgow? It would appear that he was preaching from chapter one of Song of Solomon as his “ordinary text,” either from before he left his first pastorate, or as chaplain, when either preaching to all public ministry because he would not take sides, but strove to unite them, is in keeping with Wariston’s general tendency to read providence through the glasses of his own opinions and interests (such as his decision to seek employment in Cromwell’s government, which was no less abandoning the covenants than he believed the Resolutioners had done in throwing out the Act of Classes; cf. Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, vol. XXXIV, *The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnson of Wariston, Volume 3, 1655–1660*, edited by James D. Ogilvie [Edinburgh: 1940], xxxii). “I heard of M. R. Ramsey’s sudden death in Glasgow, which will help to settle that presbytery. He has not long brooked {brooked: enjoyed} M. J. Durham[s] place, whom he caused putt out, howbeit the Lord had a hand in it to cast M. J. D. loose of al charge for his politik halting betuixt tuo opinions.” *Diary*, II, 132.

66. Holfelder, 137.

67. “Extract from Mercurius Scoticus, Tuesday (Sept. 30). This day the Protesting Ministers of Scotland, and those that adhered to it, met at Edinburgh, and (as is supposed) intend to enter upon no Publick Businesse till the next Week, and to spend the remainder of this Week in Supplication and Fasting to the Lord, every man in particular

the king and his family or when in Glasgow in the time away from that duty. We know this from a record left of the topic on which he preached, when in April 1651, as noted previously, Cromwell appeared suddenly in Glasgow.

While I was at the college, the English army came to Glasgow, and King Charles was at Stirling with an army. Many of the army came to the church. General Cromwel came himself with his Lieutenant-General Lambert. They came into the outer church in the afternoon, very gravely and reverendy, and were set down in a seat opposite to the pulpit. I saw them all the time and they sat very reverendy. I heard Mr Durham who was then the king’s chaplain. He preached on his ordinary text. Song 1, last verse [1:17].<sup>70</sup>

From the published works, it is clear Durham preached multiple sermons on a single verse, and he likely completed preaching on chapter one either on that occasion or on whatever occasions he had to preach between then and taking the call to the inner kirk. When he began preaching regularly again, he picked up where he left off. The haphazard nature of the settings for these first sermons might explain why there is no manuscript for the chapter one sermons. At least at this writing no manuscript of them has been located. What we do know from the closer examination of the manuscripts described somewhat erroneously in the previous installment of this series, and of the others not noticed at that time, is that James Durham preached 228 sermons on at least Song of Solomon chapters 2–8. In addition, he lectured on the entire book more briefly, which is the matter that makes up the published commentary.<sup>71</sup> It is not known or at least confirmed at this

laying out his own guiltiness, in relation as wel to the Publick as his own private interest (Mr. James Durhame being the first man), that they may be able to read his will in all his dispensations towards this Land; and the next Week to proceed upon business of the Assembly (as is supposed) and other Publick business, in order to the department of the People in the midst of these troublous times.” Scottish History Society, volume 18, *Scotland and the Commonwealth. Letters and Papers relating to the Military Government of Scotland, from August 1651 to December 1653*, edited with introduction and notes by C. H. Firth (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895), 327. See also Holfelder, *Factionalism*, 137–138.

68. *Diary*, II, 149.

69. Sermons on the Song of Solomon: manuscript, MSS 01203, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto, Canada.

70. “Mr Gabriel Semple, ‘Life,’” Scottish History Society, Fifth Series, volume 15, *Protestant Piety in Early-Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants*, ed. David George Mullan (Edinburgh: Printed for the Scottish History Society, 2008), 143.

71. James Durham, *Clavis Cantici; Or, an Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (1668). “James Durham’s commentary, *Clavis Cantici* (1668), is by far the most significant literary contribution that Scotland ever made in this area.” Guy M. Richard, “Clavis Cantici: A ‘Key’ to the

point if the sermons preached on chapter 1 survive, though indications at least give hope these at one point survived.<sup>72</sup>

Why did Durham focus so much effort on this one book of the bible?<sup>73</sup> It is largely due to the long-held allegorical interpretation of the book. In understanding the Song of Solomon as an allegory of the relationship “between Christ, the great bridegroom” and His bride the church,<sup>74</sup> the Reformers and their heirs “saw a vivid depiction of what Reformed spirituality was all about.”<sup>75</sup> This view of the book received a prime place in the ‘affectionate theology’ of Puritanism.<sup>76</sup> For the teaching of scripture to have any lasting effect on the soul, it must stir the affections—“the affections were the ‘key’ to the Christian life for the Puritans.”<sup>77</sup> Personally and as a pastor, Durham keenly perceived the vital importance of this use of the Song of Solomon; he “clearly believed that the Song of Songs was intended by God and crafted in such a way so as to reach the affections. He plainly stated that the Song’s purpose was ‘to move ... and affect’ people, to ‘warm’ their hearts to Christ, and to ‘move [their] affections.’ The sensual imagery of the Song served to accomplish this feat.”<sup>78</sup> It drove home the Reformation in Early Modern Scotland?” in *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology 1560–1775*, ed. Aaron Clay Denlinger (Bloomsbury Publishing), 158.

72. The author of the 1740 biography of Durham makes notice of the sermons in a manner that indicates sermons on the whole book had survived in manuscript. “Besides his works in print, there are still preserved in the hands of the reverend Mr. Robert Wodrow, and some other private persons, his sermons upon the whole book of the Song of Solomon...” Life, 43. Until July 3, research stood with the discovery of sermons only for Song of Solomon 2–5. On the strength of this 1740 notice, Mr. Vogan made a trip that day to examine some unattributed MSS at the University of Glasgow, which turned out to be sermons on chapters 6–8. Durham’s traveling as king’s chaplain may mean there was no MS of sermons on chapter 1; but this discovery gives credibility to that 1740 testimony and hope a MS may yet survive.

73. Durham was not alone in giving attention to Song of Solomon. Unpublished research by Dr Jamie Reid-Baxter locates a significant number of verse paraphrases especially in the first half of the seventeenth century. Guy Richard notes there was a significant quantity of unpublished material on the book in seventeenth-century Scotland (158, 161). In the time around Durham’s sermons on the Song we can note other sermons. James Guthrie preached on Song 4:8 in July 1658. At a similar time Andrew Gray, Durham’s fellow minister in Glasgow, preached three sermons on the Song of Solomon and lectured on the book.\* A volume of 26 sermons preached between 1637 and 1647, mostly by David Dickson, contains two sermons by Samuel Rutherford and two possibly by Dickson (NLS, Wod.MSS.8). The two Rutherford are not noted by Coffey (*The Mind of Samuel Rutherford*, p. 272). One has never been published and the other appears in *Communion Sermons* (though not perhaps from this MS). William Guild published his commentary on the Song in 1658. In 1648 Adam Kae preached on Song 2:3. In 1661 Hugh McKail preached on Song 1:7. During the times of persecution we know of at least nine sermons preached by James Renwick on the Song. John Welwood and Richard Cameron also preached on it. Edinburgh University Library contains a volume of 76 sermons in manuscript preached on Song chapter 1 after 29 November 1669. It is likely that these were by an indulgent minister; perhaps

same doctrines taught elsewhere in Scripture with a special force and clarity.”<sup>79</sup> Margaret Durham herself makes note of this in her dedicatory letter to the commentary.

... sure[ly] the reading, writing, speaking, hearing, and meditating of this Song, treating of so transcendently excellent a theme, and in so spiritually sublime and lofty a strain, calls for a most spiritual and divine frame of heart; to the attaining whereof, that the author might help himself and others, he did, as from one principal motive, pitch on this book, and preach on it at great length to the people of his charge in Glasgow: (in which sermons, he went through pleasant variety of much choice and rich matter, wonderfully suited to the several cases of his hearers, especially of the most seriously and deeply exercised Christians;) and thereafter, lecture on it more shortly, only opening up the meaning of the text, and giving some succinct, but very sweet notes from it, designing, (at the urgent importunity of several friends, who had been much refreshed by his larger sermons) these lectures for the more public edification of the church; by which also he speaketh now the third time more particularly to the people of Glasgow, on this precious subject.<sup>80</sup>

George Hutcheson. \*A manuscript volume in New College, Edinburgh (MS GRA 3) contains notes of a series of 17 lectures given by Andrew Gray on Song of Solomon 1:1 to 2:11 (pages 35–40 are missing). Gray preached in the same building as Durham (now known as Glasgow Cathedral) as the minister of the Outer High Church from 3 Nov. 1653. It was a collegiate charge with Durham the minister of the Inner High Church. The first lecture in the volume is dated Sabbath March 26 1661 (sic). The year 1661 is impossible since Gray died in February 1656. The only possibility would have been March 26 1654. It is interesting that Gray took up lecturing on this book of Scripture at a similar time to Durham. The MS. volume belonged to Rev William Blair (1830–1916) minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Dunblane. There was an unrealised proposal to print Andrew Gray’s complete works and include a transcription of the lectures. Some selections were published in the *Christian Treasury* (July and August 1864).

74. Donald John MacLean, “So Great a Love”—James Durham on Christ and His Church in the Song of Solomon,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 5 (2009): 239. Guy M. Richard, “Rutherford’s ‘Affectionate’ Theology of Union with Christ in the Song of Songs,” in *Samuel Rutherford: An Introduction to his Theology*, ed. Matthew Vogan (Edinburgh: The Scottish Reformation Society, Academic Series, 2011), 77–110.

75. Guy M. Richard, “Clavis Cantici,” 159.

76. “... [Mark] Dever believes that it would be more helpful and more accurate to refer to the Puritans as ‘affectionate theologians,’ in the sense that they embrace a biblically-derived and internally-appropriated (by the whole soul — mind, will, and affections) theology.” Richard, “Rutherford’s ‘Affectionate’ Theology,” 81.

77. Richard, “Clavis Cantici,” 164.

78. It is interesting to contemplate that Durham may have preached on this book for the good of the king and his family, which might explain his particularly mentioning the king’s sporting, perhaps due to the imagery of the book.

79. Richard, “Clavis Cantici,” 165.

80. James Durham, *Clavis Cantici; Or, an Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (1668; Aberdeen: King, 1840; rpr. Banner of Truth, 1982), 16.

Durham explains his interest in giving attention to the book in the Key to the Song in his lectures.

This is a place of scripture, the exposition whereof many in all ages have shunned to adventure upon; and truly I have looked upon it of a long time as not convenient to be treated upon before all auditories, nor easy by many to be understood; especially because of the height of spiritual expressions, and mysterious raps of divine love, and the sublime and excellent expressions of the Bridegroom therein contained, which would require much liveliness of frame, and acquaintance in experience with the things here spoken of, and nearness in walking with God, as being necessary for finding out the mind and meaning of the Spirit of God therein: yet we are now brought by help of his grace to essay the interpretation of it, upon these following considerations. I. Because it is acknowledged by all, not only to be authentic scripture, but an excellent piece thereof; and therefore is to be made use of by the church, and not to lie hid, nor to be laid aside, as if the meaning thereof were not to be searched into, because it seems dark and obscure. II. Because the subject and matter of it is so divine, carrying along with it many various cases, both of particular souls, as also of the church, both visible and invisible, with many excellent commendations of Christ the Bridegroom, which ought to be the subject of his friends' meditations, and cannot but be profitable, if He bless them, there being here maps, almost for all conditions. III. Because the style and composition is so divine and excellent, carrying the affections along with it, and captivating them in the very reading; so that few can read this song, but they must fall in love with it; we would therefore see what is within it, if at least we may get a taste of that which doth so sweetly relish. IV. It seems the Holy Ghost, by putting it into such a mould, intended to commend it: and if it be true that all the poetical pieces of scripture ought especially to be learned and taken notice of; so should this, it being so commended to us in that frame. V. The strain and subject of it is so very spiritual, that it necessitates the students thereof to aim at some nearness with God; and ordinarily it leaves some stamp upon their affections, which is not the least cause, nor the smallest encouragement to me in this undertaking.<sup>81</sup>

#### THE MANUSCRIPT SERMONS ON SONG OF SOLOMON

One of the most obvious things previously overlooked or misunderstood about these sermons is their number and extent. It is not the case that the only difference between the sermons and the lectures are matters of expression.<sup>82</sup> What Margaret Durham noted is borne out in examining the manuscripts. The sermons contain a great deal more material, being similar in style to the sermons on Isaiah 53, in giving doctrines, uses

and applications, etc. These sermons on Song of Solomon 2–8 total 228, and if they were to ever be transcribed and published would nearly triple the current tally of 133 sermons that have appeared in print. If Durham had been preaching only once a week, that is over six years of sermons; but we know from the other manuscripts that he preached more frequently than that. Christie writes that in the inner kirk Durham “preached at least twice a week, often three times. Lectures before sermon were also given regularly, and every fifth week he took his turn of daily public lecturing.”<sup>83</sup> Whatever Robert Baillie meant by describing the terms of his call to Glasgow as “from time to time, but in a louse way,” Durham hardly seems to have been underutilized.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, it is very clear that James Durham worked himself into an early grave. “So weighty was the ministerial charge upon Mr. Durham’s spirit, that he used to say, that if he were to live ten years longer than he had done, he would choose to live nine years to study for preaching the tenth year. And it was thought his close study and thoughtfulness cast him into that decay whereof he died.”<sup>85</sup> Certainly, because his ministry was relatively brief, a good percentage of it was taken up in expounding upon the “two Mysterious Books of Scripture, Canticles and Revelation.” John Carstairs noted it was “highly commending of God’s goodness to,” not the hearers, but to Durham himself, “that he was led on this work of preaching, lecturing, and writing on this Song of Loves, those sweet concords and begun Music of Heaven between Christ and souls, and that in time of sad discords and very Immusical Jarrings in the church; an argument of an excellent soul-frame in a very evil time.”<sup>86</sup> So it would seem James Durham began his ministry in the high kirk in Glasgow preaching on the first of the two ‘mysterious books of Scripture,’ and ended it perfecting the manuscript of his lectures on the second.<sup>87</sup>

Shortly before taking sick Durham had decided his ministry in Glasgow was over with. It is recorded, “That a little before he sickned, ther came a call to him from Aberdeen; and, jesting with his wife, he sayes, ‘My dear, will you goe with me

81. *An Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, 23–24.

82. “Antiquary: The James Durham MSS Part II,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 7 (2011), 230.

83. Christie is drawing from Carstairs’ epistle to the reader affixed to the Commentary on Revelation. Christie, 76.

84. Christie, 76, 74.

85. Life, 39.

86. See Carstairs’ brief epistle to the 1668 first edition of the lectures, which was not included in the second edition of 1669, where an epistle from John Owen fills that spot. The 1840 edition, which is the edition available in reprints, follows the second edition, and consequently also omits the Carstairs epistle.

87. On his sickbed, Durham prepared the text of the Revelation lectures for the press and, shortly before he died, left a manuscript of his *Treatise Concerning Scandal* for Robert Blair to perfect for the press.

to Aberdeen? Shee surprised, and said he needed not to doubt she would goe where he went; but what meant he by that? ‘Treuly,’ said he, ‘I think I must goe either to Aberdeen or my grave: There is certainly somewhat before me; for my work is done in Glasgou; I can not get a text to preach to them.’ And with a litle time he sickned and died.”<sup>88</sup> While the call from Aberdeen (issued on December 23) was not objected to by the Glasgow assembly, it is not clear if Durham actually accepted or if the whole matter was rendered moot upon his taking ill.<sup>89</sup> He was still uncertain and considering it, even though he knew the seriousness of his condition and unsure he had “anie mor lyf,” in a February 15, 1658 letter to David Dickson, which he wrote seeking advice as to whether he should entertain accepting the call under the circumstances.<sup>90</sup> Dickson had been primarily responsible for Durham’s entering the ministry and we cite from this letter to close this survey of his life up to the start of his Glasgow ministry in the inner kirk.

“Right Reverend, I have beine put not manie Weeks since, to give my selfe to the Lord’s good will wether I should have anie mor lyf or not. now {he}{hath} tried {With} {ane} {other} {exer} {cise}, {whe}n yet I have not had accesse to be in publike {Its lyk} {you} {^heard} {of} it) its xxxx by a motion from Aberdeen.

88. *Analec̃ta*, 2.140. See also, *Analec̃ta*, 3.107.

89. *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, ed. John Stuart (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1846), 145, 247. Cf. *Diary of Alexander Jaffray* (1833; Aberdeen: G. & R. King, 1856), 118.

90. James Durham to David Dickson, February 15, 1658, NLS, Wodrow MSS Folio XV, #26. This letter has apparently never been transcribed and published. It is in the secretary hand, and is not as clear, perhaps due to his health, as the letter to Douglas noted above. This letter to Douglas and the transcription of it, given in Baillie’s Letters and Journals, aided the transcription of the Letter to Dickson. Insertions interline are noted with ^; braced words are given with less certainty; contractions are expanded in square brackets. Apostrophes are inserted without notice.

91. I only discovered this MS on January 19, 2017 in a search of Worldcat while re-checking the entry they had on the MS of the Durham sermon on Ephesians, which was noticed in the last issue of this journal. I was in contact with the Thomas Fisher Library the same day.

92. The secretary handwriting went out of use in English circa 1650.

93. Correspondence with Joan Pries, Chief Librarian, Caven Library, Knox College, January 20, 2017.

94. Douglas Macmillan, who also was a professor of church history at the Free Church College after Collins, wrote, “His knowledge of seventeenth century Scotland was, in the writer’s estimation, probably unrivalled in the present day and so historians of note in Britain and from overseas frequently sought his counsel and advice when working in this area of Scottish Church History.” See the biographical preface in G.N.M. Collins, *The Days of the Years of My Pilgrimage* (Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1991), 5.

95. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 4 vols. (National Foundation for Christian Education, Wilmington, 1972), 3.475–476.

I know ther is not much depending on my being or not being Anie {whe}re; yet ... [two difficult lines follow] {as} of the thing, and tyme {were} {not} casten in, I {thought} it dutie to commi[t] and cast it {With} you; you, {almost} all, have {had} a maine} hand in God’s providence, in ordering all my {stations} {hitherto}; yea, and in my first enterie to my ministerie. Therfor I {hop} you will not stand to helpe me {With} your advice in the Whole matter, and this, {as} a peece of} service to our common master, I begge from you....”

SERMONS ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON: MANUSCRIPT, MSS 01203, THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, TORONTO, CANADA.

The catalogue description of this item is full of information.<sup>91</sup> “Among the first sermons delivered by Durham after his translation to the Glasgow High Church, St Mungo’s west quarter, in September 1651, where he remained for the rest of his life. Formerly catalogued as Fisher Knox MSS 00007. His ‘An Exposition of the Song of Solomon’ was published at Edinburgh in 1668. Holograph in English in brown and black ink. Includes 44 sermons; the first sermon on Cant. II, 1 dated: Octob: 19, 1651. Leather-covered pasteboard binding with remains of clasps. Leaves [1–2], [361–363] blank; leaf [363] slightly mutilated. Secretary hand;<sup>92</sup> varying number of long lines per page.” The volume was deposited from Knox College, June 13, 1995. The college was given the volume in 1966, accession number 56217. Upon contacting Knox College this information lead to the record stating “the volume was given to Knox College as a gift from Prof G. N. M. Collins and accessioned on April 4, 1966, #56217.”<sup>93</sup>

The Reverend Professor George Norman MacLeod Collins D.D. (1901–1989) was a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, taught church history at the Free Church College, where he also served as librarian (1963–1982). During his ministry he was considered ‘the face’ of the Free Church and was well known internationally. He was good friends with Principal John Macleod, Professor John Murray and Dr. D. M. Lloyd-Jones. Dr. Collins is said to have had a fine library, and earlier in the century would have known people who had such things as this manuscript. He was considered an expert with what for the time was an unrivaled knowledge of seventeenth century Scotland.<sup>94</sup> He wrote the article on Durham for *Encyclopedia of Christianity*.<sup>95</sup> The connection to Knox College stems from serving pulpit supply for a Free Church plant in Toronto in 1927 and 1928 (now an RPCNA congregation), and from studying at the college in 1930–32 (Knox College is now University of Toronto). Aside from these facts we have not been able to determine how Professor Collins obtained this MS, why specifically he gave it to Knox College (and not the Free Church College, which also owns a Durham MS), or

any other provenance regarding the volume. As will be noted, Collins was associated or possibly connected with other MS volumes to be detailed below.

As for other details of this volume, the legend on the flyleaf reads “Durham on the Song of Solomon.” This volume is a full set of the 44 sermons on chapter two of Song of Solomon. That it is in the old secretary hand indicates it is the original of which the Laing MS, next to be noticed, is a copy, or at the very least predates it.<sup>96</sup> “The entire volume contains only his sermons on the second chapter of the Song of Solomon, the final sermon, on verse 17. Each sermon is numbered, the last being 44, preached in the afternoon. Each sermon begins in the same fashion: the biblical citation, and sermon number (according to his or someone’s reckoning). Not all are dated....”<sup>97</sup> Few of the sermons are dated (those dated are noted below). Importantly, one of those is the first sermon, dated October 19, 1651. Many do note forenoon or afternoon. A few of the sermons with dates are noted as follows:

#### Forty-Four Sermons on Chapter Two

Sermon 1.	Cant. 2:1.	October 19, 1651.
Sermon 3.	Cant. 2:2.	October 26, 1651.
Sermon 18.		January 18, 1652.
Sermon 25.	Cant. 2:10.	Forenoon.
Sermon 41.	Cant. 2:16–17.	
Sermon 42.	Cant. 2:16–17.	Afternoon.
Sermon 43.	Cant. 2:17.	
Sermon 44.	Cant. 2:17.	Afternoon.

#### MS LAING III.89 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY<sup>98</sup>

Laing III.89 is approximately 500 pages. There are the last 19 of what should have been 44 sermons on Song of Solomon chapter two, 11 sermons on chapter three, 20 on chapter four, and the first eight sermons on chapter five. There is a difficult to read inscription that appears to address the contents. The script is not in the old secretary hand but appears to have been copied out in normal script (normal h’s, for instance, instead of the old form), perhaps for the benefit of Margaret Durham whose inscription runs down the side of a page of the seventeenth sermon on chapter four. The text has also been edited with insertion notes that are not contained in the Fisher MS. This may indicate either Durham or later Mrs Durham or John Carstairs made these changes with the idea of publishing the sermons. Other than the missing sermons, it appears there is only one loss where a portion of a leaf in the nineteenth sermon on chapter four has been torn away. Few of the sermons are dated, some only saying “Afternoon.” Some details to note are as follows:

#### Nineteen (of 44) Sermons on Chapter Two

Sermon 25.	Cant. 2:10 (11pp.).	February 28, 1652.
Sermon 31.	Cant. 2:10.	March 14.
Sermon 36.	Cant. 2:14 (p. 86).	April 3, 1652.
Sermon 39.	Cant. 2:15.	April 18, 1652.
Sermon 40.	Cant. 2:15.	April 27, 1652.
Sermon 41.	Cant. 2:16–17.	May 2, 1652.
Sermon 44.	Cant. 2:17.	

#### Eleven Sermons on Chapter Three

Sermon 1.	Cant. 3:1 (p. 176).	May 30, 1652.
Sermon 9.	Cant. 3:9–10 (p. 256).	
Sermon 11.	Cant. 3:11 (p. 276).	

#### Twenty Sermons on Chapter Four

Sermon 1.	Cant. 4:1 (p. 290).	August 1, 1652.
Sermon 12.	Cant. 4:11.	Afternoon.
Sermon 16.	Cant. 4:15.	Afternoon.
Sermon 17.	Cant. 4:16. Mrs. Margret Durham’s signature.	
Sermon 19.	Cant. 4:16.	Torn page.
Sermon 20.	Cant. 4:16.	

#### Eight Sermons on Chapter Five

Sermon 8.	Cant. 5:2.	Concludes the volume
-----------	------------	----------------------

#### WOD.TH.MSS.17, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND.<sup>99</sup>

Contains 53 sermons. 283 leaves (566 pp.). Previous descriptions of this manuscript failed to note these sermons are only on the fifth chapter.<sup>100</sup> It begins with Sermon 9 and clearly is continuing the Laing MS just described. Between the two there are 62 sermons on chapter five of Song of Solomon. The formatting changes noted do not occur in the Laing MS; but otherwise, the two seem to form a set.

96. The authors were able to compare pages from both MSS of Sermon 25 and while the Fisher is in the old hand and the Laing not so much, the content was identical, except for the evidence of editing in the Laing.

97. Correspondence with (Dr) Pearce J. Carefoote, Interim Head of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, January 19–25, 2017. My thanks go to Dr. Carefoote for examining this volume.

98. The details of this and the subsequent MSS are provided by Matthew Vogan, who examined and obtain photos of a selection of pages. Notes are by one or other of the authors.

99. The Th. is an abbreviation for C. W. W. Thomson, who presented the volume to the library. Thomson also gave Wodrow MS including MS Gen 370 noticed at the end of this article, to the NLS.

100. Holsteen, 217. Cf. The James Durham MSS Part II, 230.

Fifty-Three Sermons on Chapter Five

Sermon 9.	Cant. 5:2 (p. 1).	
Sermon 10.	Cant. 5:2 (p. 5).	
Sermon 11.	Cant. 5:2 (p. 9).	
Sermon 12.	Cant. 5:2 (p. 14).	Afternoon.
Sermon 13.	Cant. 5:2-3 (p. 19). <sup>101</sup>	
Sermon 14.	Cant. 5:2-3 (p. 24). <sup>102</sup>	Afternoon/forenoon.
Sermon 15.	Cant. 5:2-3 (p. 29v). <sup>103</sup>	
Sermon 16.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 33v).	<sup>104</sup> Afternoon.
Sermon 17.	Cant. 5:3-4 (p. 37v). <sup>105</sup>	
Sermon 18.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 43v).	
Sermon 19.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 48).	<sup>106</sup> Format change.
Sermon 20.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 54).	Afternoon.
Sermon 21.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 61).	
Sermon 22.	Cant. 5:4 (p. 67).	Afternoon.
Sermon 23.	Cant. 5:5 (p. 73).	
Sermon 24.	Cant. 5:5 (p. 79).	Afternoon.
Sermon 25.	Cant. 5:6 (p. 84).	
Sermon 26.	Cant. 5:6 (P. 89).	<sup>107</sup> Afternoon.
Sermon 27.	Cant. 5:6 (p. 94). <sup>108</sup>	
Sermon 28.	Cant. 5:6 (p. 99).	Afternoon.

Sermon 29.	Cant. 5:6 (p. 105).	
Sermon 30.	Cant. 5:6. <sup>109</sup>	<sup>110</sup> Afternoon.
Sermon 31.	Cant. 5:6-7 (p. 118).	
Sermon 32.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 123v).	
Sermon 33.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 129).	<sup>111</sup> March 27, 1653.
Sermon 34.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 134v).	
Sermon 35.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 138).	April 10, 1653.
Sermon 36.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 143).	<sup>112</sup> April 17, 1653.
Sermon 37.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 150v).	<sup>113</sup> May 1, 1653.
Sermon 38.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 156).	
Sermon 39.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 160v).	
Sermon 40.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 166).	
Sermon 41.	Cant. 5:7 (p. 173).	May 22 1653.
Sermon 42.	Cant. 5:8 (p. 178v)	
Sermon 43.	Cant. 5:[8] (p. 182v).	
Sermon 44.	Cant. 5:[8] (p. 188v).	
Sermon 45.	Cant. 5:9 (p. 193).	July 10, 1653
Sermon 46.	Cant. 5:[9] (p. 197v).	July 24, 1653.
Sermon 47.	Cant. 5:10 (p. 202).	
Sermon 48.	Cant. 5:11 (p. 208v).	
Sermon 49.	Cant. 5:11-12 (p. 214v).	
Sermon 50.	Cant. 5:12-13 (p. 221v).	
Sermon 51.	Cant. 5:13 (p. 226v).	
Sermon 52.	Cant. 5:14 (p. 231v).	
Sermon 53.	Cant. 5:14 (p. 236).	
Sermon 54.	Cant. 5:15 (p. 242).	
Sermon 55.	Cant. 5:15 (p. 247v).	
Sermon 56.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 252v).	
Sermon 57.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 257v).	
Sermon 58.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 261).	
Sermon 59.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 264v).	
Sermon 60.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 269).	
Sermon 61.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 273v).	
Sermon 62.	Cant. 5:16 (p. 278v). <sup>114</sup>	

101. Marginal notes in different ink; possibly in different handwriting.  
 102. It is not clear if the text reads afternoon or forenoon. There are additions to the text in different ink and handwriting.  
 103. Marginal notes such as scripture references.  
 104. Additions to text.  
 105. Additions to text.  
 106. At this point there are fewer amendments to the text, and the verso page is left blank. In sermon 27 the writer adopts a two-column format, writing on both recto and verso, writing on the right half and leaving the left side of the page blank. This indicates an intent to work with the text, perhaps for publication?  
 107. Sermon 26 has amendments, and sometimes on the reverse blank page. The final sentence was added as an amendment.  
 108. As noted above with Sermon 27, the writer moves to a two-column format, leaving the left side free to make amendments. The writer adopts a neater style with special flourishes on some initial capitals.  
 109. A note reads "Because the coherence will not be clear to ever one, reid also Luk 13.24 Stryve etc."  
 110. This sermon was preached "in the barronne Kirk when ane English man would needs preach in the high kirk." Beginning in 1595, the Barony Church, or Low Church, met in the crypt. The parishioners of Barony Parish met there for 203 years. The parish was dissolved in 1985.  
 111. There are significant marginal text and interline amendments.  
 112. Marginal note, possibly about an Englishman? Marginal notes on various pages.  
 113. This sermon has marginal amendments.  
 114. Sermon 62 goes to page 283 and there is an index to the sermons concluding the MS.  
 115. Mure was the maiden name of Margaret Durham and her half sister Janet married to John Carstares. Their father, William Mure, was first married to Jean Blair (Margaret's mother, who died), and then married the mother of Janet Mure Carstares, Jean Hamilton (date of death unknown). Jean Mure could be Jean Hamilton Mure, Mrs. Carstares' mother, or a later Jean Mure, related or not.

NRA(S)2071, NRA CATALOGUE REFERENCE, NRA 23336, EDINBURGH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE FREE CHURCH COLLEGE).

This volume contains 62 sermons on Song of Solomon 5. It matches the contents spread between the Laing MS and NLS MS 17. While it may have some old style letters it does not seem to be of the same style and hand of the Knox MS, nor annotated like the other two. So rather than these several MSS representing two sets, they may suggest that multiple copies were made of each volume. It is not clear if the leather binding is seventeenth century. Embossed on the cover is MOWAT. This is presumably one of the owners of the MS. One of the inscriptions on the damaged flyleaf reads Carol. [presumably Charles] Mowat. Another faint inscription reads Jean Mure.<sup>115</sup> Another inscription running upward along the left edge (inside

margin), appears to be David Brown 1701 (the only date). There are other faint letters or marks but the page is severely damaged with a good third missing on the right leaving a ragged tear. The first three leaves are water damaged, which possibly obliterated some introductory text. But the first sermon is only slightly damaged on the first few pages, after which the spotting does not intrude on discerning the text. Despite the early damage the page quality is quite good; much better than the fragile pages of both the Laing and of MS. 17. The volume size is about the width of A5, but an inch shy of that height.<sup>116</sup> The approximately 1000+ pages are only numbered through 144.

As noted previously, Professor Collins served at the Free Church College at the time he donated the MS volume to Knox College. There is reason to speculate he may have owned this volume and donated it to the Free Church College. This is because he also owned two other manuscripts which he sold before his death to a book dealer in the 1980s. He may have held on to these volumes because there is no attribution to Durham, but he speculated or had reason to state that they may be his sermons. These volumes were detailed previously in *The Confessional Presbyterian*.<sup>117</sup> However, there is no accession record for this volume still held by the former Free Church College, and no one has been able to verify its origins or former ownership or if there was any connection to the professor.

An ode to Durham, which is not in the secretary hand and of undetermined date, is inscribed as follows:

Into this book, reader, thou'lt find,  
 If thou do ponder moest in mind  
 Many a precious heavenly word,  
 Many sweet lessons itt afford,  
 Unto a soul sick of true love  
 To Jesus the great king above.  
 Here is that precious Gospel light  
 Which comfort gives and true delight:  
 Here are the doctrines of Durham  
 Of noble spirit and holy frame,  
 Which he full of the holy-ghost  
 pressed home, without any vain boast,  
 upon the heart of his hearers  
 In mildness and in holy fears,  
 Whose faithfulness, love to his Lord  
 This following Treatise does record,  
 And many more which he compiled,  
 Aided by grace, and meekness mild.

3 water damaged leaves

Sixty-Two Sermons on Chapter Five

- Sermon 1. Cant. 5:1 (p. 1).<sup>118</sup>
- Sermon 2. Cant 5:1 (p. 19).

- Sermon 3. Cant 5:1 (p. 32).
- Sermon 4. Cant 5:1 (p. 48–69).
- Sermon 5. Cant. 5:2 (p.70).
- Sermon 6. Cant. 5:2 (p. 83).
- Sermon 7. Cant. 5:2 (p. 100–113). Nov.28,1652.
- Sermon 8. Cant. 5:2 (p. 113).<sup>119</sup>
- Sermon 9. Cant. 5:2 (p. 127). <sup>120</sup>[Dec] 19, 1652.
- Sermon 10. Cant. 5:2 (p.143).
- Sermon 11. Cant. 5:2 (p. 158).
- Sermon 12. Cant. 5:2 (p. 176). Afternoon.
- Sermon 13. Cant. 5:2–3 (p. 193).
- Sermon 14. Cant. 5:2–3 (p. 210). Afternoon.
- Sermon 15. Cant. 5:3 (p. 210).
- Sermon 16. Cant. 5:3 (p. 225–240). Afternoon.
- Sermon 17. Cant. 5:4 (p. 240–262).
- Sermon 18. Cant. 5:4 (p. 262–278).
- Sermon 19. Cant. 5:4 (pp. 278–294).
- Sermon 20. Cant. 5:4. Afternoon.
- Sermon 21. Cant. 5:4. Feb.6,1653.
- Sermon 22. Cant. 5:4. Afternoon.
- Sermon 23. Cant. 5:5. Afternoon.
- Sermon 24. Cant. 5:5. Afternoon.
- Sermon 25. Cant. 5:6. Afternoon.
- Sermon 26. Cant. 5:6. Afternoon.
- Sermon 27. Cant. 5:6. Afternoon.
- Sermon 28. Cant. 5:6. Afternoon.
- Sermon 29. Cant. 5:6.
- Sermon 30. Cant. 5:6. <sup>121</sup>Afternoon....
- Sermon 31. Cant. 5:6–7

116. A5 = 8.27 inches x 5.83 inches.

117. “The James Durham MSS held by Glasgow University Library,” 305. I spoke again to the owner of these volumes lacking attribution in February of this year. One of the volumes has a Free Church stamp but of a different style of the stamp in the volume still owned by Edinburgh Theological School. Both have the owner initials “A” “C” stamped into the leather covers but there are no identifying marks that would explain ownership otherwise or confirm who made the sermon notes and who the preacher was. The owner could see no connection between the volume, which contains sermons on some chapters of Isaiah, including the fifty-third, and Durham’s 72 sermons on the same. The sermons need to be examined to determine if there are “Durhamism,” uses of Scottish legal terms and other usage that might tie the sermons to him.

118. There is damage to corners pp 1–12, right bottom.

119. I was not able to determine why one week Durham did not preach on Song of Solomon, or if there is a missing sermon. This sermon likely was preached on either December 5 or December 12.

120. This is almost surely December 19, 1652, as that was a Sunday (using the Julian calendar, which Scotland still did largely follow, except as the legal beginning of the year, for which they had been using the Gregorian since 1600). The next Sunday to fall on a 19th did not occur until June.

121. “Afternoon in the barronne Kirk when ane English man would needs preach in the high kirk.” See note 110.

Sermon 32. Cant 5:7.	
Sermon 33. Cant 5:7.	March 27, 1653.
Sermon 34. Cant 5:7.	
Sermon 35. Cant 5:7.	April 10, 1653.
Sermon 36. Cant 5:7.	April 17, 1653.
Sermon 37. Cant 5:7.	May 1, 1653.
Sermon 38. Cant 5:7.	
Sermon 39. Cant 5:7.	
Sermon 40. Cant. 5:7.	
Sermon 41. Cant. 5:7.	<sup>122</sup> May 22, 1653.
Sermon 42. Cant. 5:8.	<sup>123</sup> [June] 12, 1653.
Sermon 43. Cant. 5:8.	
Sermon 44. Cant. 5:8.	
Sermon 45. Cant. 5:9.	July 10, 1653.
Sermon 46. Cant. 5:9.	<sup>124</sup> July 24, 1653.
Sermon 47. Cant. 5:10.	
Sermon 48. Cant. 5:11.	
Sermon 49. Cant. 5:11–12.	
Sermon 50. Cant. 5:12–13.	
Sermon 51. Cant. 5:13.	
Sermon 52. Cant. 5:14.	
Sermon 53. Cant. 5:14.	
Sermon 54. Cant. 5:15.	
Sermon 55. Cant. 5:15.	
Sermon 56. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 57. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 58. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 59. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 60. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 61. Cant. 5:16.	
Sermon 62. Cant. 5:16 (18pp.).	

MS 62 AND MS GEN 370, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,  
SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.

These two volumes are not associated and are in separate manuscript collections at the university and have not been attributed in the records as James Durham material. However, they clearly do contain more MSS of Durham's sermons on the Song of Solomon, covering chapters six through eight, with MS 62 containing a full set of sermons on chapter eight and MS Gen 370 containing sermons on six, seven, and only the first 18 sermons on chapter eight. So these volumes continue the pattern of multiple copies already noted, suggesting that there were various copies made for private benefit. Over the centuries the sets (if there were full sets) and volumes were eventually broken up and dispersed to different owners and institutions. Both these volumes appear to retain a use or mixed use at least of the old secretary hand. As with the previous volumes detailed, not many sermons are dated, though the dates given help to fit these sermons chronologically into the series.

MS GEN 370, SERMONS ON THE CANTICLES,  
1653–1655. UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, SPECIAL  
COLLECTIONS, MANUSCRIPTS. 63 SERMONS.

MS Gen 370 is Wodrow Thomson MS. 10. The volume was part of a collection "Presented by Charles W. Wodrow Thomson, C.A., Edinburgh, 8 July 1891," which were papers of Robert Wodrow (formerly Wodrow Thompson 1–59). This volume is almost exactly A5 in size. The binding is good having been rebound at some point from the original calf (possibly vellum), with a snippet of the original spine. The preservation is excellent in places, though there is some minor damp staining later in the volume. The MS has not been associated with James Durham in the cataloging even though the remains of the original spine and later writing on the bare spine name him. The handwriting, some bold and some faded, appears to read,<sup>125</sup> "D[ ]m / on / 6<sup>th</sup> 7[ ] chap.<sup>s</sup> / of [ ] Canticles /" with possibly "Mss" on the last line. Below that is the barest patch of leather spine which reads in gold stamping, "M.<sup>ss</sup>[ ]IXVI / DURHA[ ] ON / [ ]ANT[ ]". There are quite a number of blank pages which indicates copying was perhaps never completed. There are 27 sermons on chapter six, 18 sermons on chapter seven and only the first 18 sermons on chapter eight. The pages are numbered but very faint early on, growing more legible and then fading away again over the course of the volume. Some numbers are questionable in accuracy; but while the numbering isn't completely reliable, they do give a sense of sermon length. The notes are very full as with the volumes previously detailed. The volume opens with "Cant. 6.1 Sermon 1." Only the date of December

122. Baillie notes in a letter to David Dickson dated May 21, 1653, that Durham was traveling to see the latter in Edinburgh that following week, where the general assembly's (GA) commission was meeting, which would explain the several week gap until the next sermon. Baillie wanted Dickson and Douglas to persuade Durham against his neutral stance on the Protester-Resolutioner divide, because his influence was great ("the man is of exceeding great weight deservedly"). Baillie "desired him to write Case-Divinitie" [on cases of conscience] "wherein he is excellent, and daylie growes." Baillie, 3.222. This may explain Baillie's joining Durham in exhorting the commission to meet the Protesters before the July meeting of GA to attempt a union and avoid another disastrous meeting. Durham, Blair and Alexander Brodie meet with Wariston, Rutherford and the Protesters on May 27. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, MDCLII–MDCLXXX, and of his son...* (Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club, 1863), 43.

123. The nearest next Sunday on a 12th was in June.

124. The week gap may be because Durham attended the union meeting on July 18 noted in note 122 if not also one or both of the divided general assemblies. The English broke up the Resolutioner meeting of assembly on the first day of meeting (July 20) and prevented the Protesters from continuing to meet. Holfelder, *Factionalism*, 189–191.

125. Line breaks are denoted by a "/".

1653 is given or the day may have gone missing in trimming of the page edges at some point. Back dating from the next sermon that has a date of February 5, 1654, and assuming one Lord's Day sermon a week, that places sermon 1 at December 18, 1653. If there were no gaps after July 24, 1653, which is the last date given in the series on chapter five, that would place sermon 62 ending that series on November 13, 1653. This means no sermons on Solomon's Song were preached for four weeks, either in a row prior, or possibly Durham was off away from Glasgow or ill at various times over that period. There is not much on record of what took place after the 1653 General Assembly and mentions of Durham for that time are lacking in the various sources consulted for this overview of Durham's life and these sermons on Song of Solomon. As more research is done perhaps a reason for this gap or gaps will come to light.

- Sermon 3. Cant. 7:1–3 (447).
- Sermon 4. Cant. 7:4 (461).
- Sermon 5. Cant. 7:4 (p. 466?).
- Sermon 6. Cant. 7:5 (p. 481).
- Sermon 7. Cant. 7:5 (p. 498).
- Sermon 8. Cant. 7:6 (p. 514).
- Sermon 9. Cant. 7:7–9 (p. 528).
- Sermon 10. Cant. 7:10 (p. 543).
- Sermon 11. Cant. 7:10–11 (p. 558).
- Sermon 12. Cant. 7:11 (p. 572).
- Sermon 13. Cant. 7:11–12 (p. 587).
- Sermon 14. Cant. 7:12 (p. 600).
- Sermon 15. Cant. 7:12 (p. 617).
- Sermon 16. Cant. 7:13 (p. 638).
- Sermon 17. Cant. 7:13 (p. 645).
- Sermon 18. Cant. 7:13 (p. 658).

Twenty-Seven Sermons on Chapter Six

- Sermon 1. Cant. 6:1. December 1653.
- Sermon 2. Cant. 6:1.
- Sermon 3. Cant. 6:1.
- Sermon 4. Cant. 6:1.
- Sermon 5. Cant. 6:1–2.
- Sermon 6. Cant. 6:2.
- Sermon 7. Cant. 6:2.
- Sermon 8. Cant. 6:2–3 February 5, 1654.
- Sermon 9. Cant. 6:3.
- Sermon 10. Cant. 6:3.<sup>126</sup>
- Sermon 11. Cant. 6:3.<sup>127</sup>
- Sermon 12. Cant. 6:3.<sup>128</sup>
- Sermon 3. Cant. 6:3. [*sic* Sermon 13]
- Sermon 14. Cant. 6:4.
- Sermon (15) Cant. 6:4–5.
- Sermon 16. Cant. 6:5.
- Sermon 17. Cant. 6:5–6.
- Sermon 18. Cant. 6:8.
- Sermon 19. Cant. 6:9.
- Sermon 20. Cant. 6:9.<sup>129</sup>
- Sermon 21. Cant. 6:9.
- Sermon 22. Cant. 6:9 (p. 334).
- Sermon 23. Cant. 6:10 (p. 350) March 14, 1654.
- Sermon 24. Cant. 6:11 (p. 364).
- Sermon 25. Cant. 6:12 (p. 379).
- Sermon 26. Cant. 6:13 (p. 392).
- Sermon 27. Cant. 6:13 (p. 404).

Eighteen Sermons on Chapter Seven

- Sermon 1. Cant. 7:1 (p. 423). August 20, 1654.
- Sermon 2. Cant. 7:1 (p. 436). Afternoon.

Eighteen (of 46) Sermons on Chapter Eight

- Sermon 1. Cant. 8:1 (p. 677). December 31 1654.
- Sermon 2. Cant. 8:1 (p. 692).
- Sermon 3. Cant. 8:1 (p. 705).
- Sermon 4. Cant. 8:2 (p. 720).
- Sermon 5. Cant. 8:2 (p. 740).
- Sermon 6. Cant. 8:2–3 (p. 751).
- Sermon 7. Cant. 8:3–4 (p. 769).
- Sermon 8. Cant. 8:4.
- Sermon 9. Cant. 8:5.
- Sermon 10. Cant. 8:5.
- Sermon 11. Cant. 8:5. Afternoon.
- Sermon 12. Cant. 8:5.
- Sermon 13. Cant. 8:5–6.
- Sermon 14. Cant. 8:6.
- Sermon 15. Cant. 8:6.
- Sermon 16. Cant. 8:6.<sup>130</sup> March 11 1655.
- Sermon 17. Cant. 8:6–7.
- Sermon 18. Cant. 8:8.

126. There is a slight tear at the bottom of one page.

127. After reading his text Durham appears to have also read 2 Peter 2:10 and there is a running head of 2 Peter 2:10 as well. This was likely for NT context; see note 109 regarding Sermon 30 on chapter five.

128. Apparently here also after reading his sermon text, Durham read 2 Corinthians 13 on "examine yourselves".

129. A strip of paper is pasted over several words at the top of one page without overwriting anything.

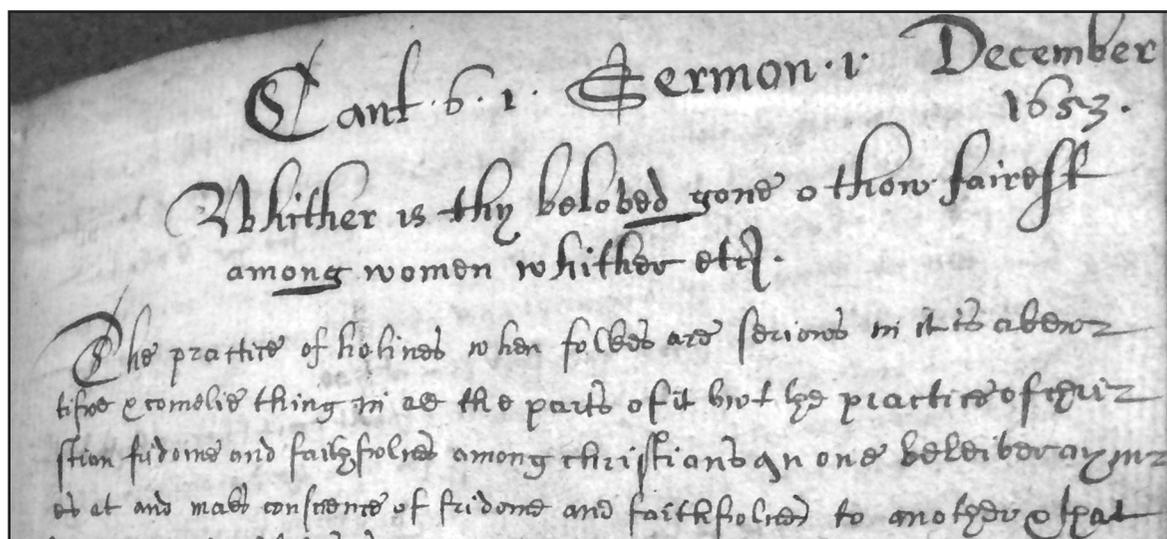
130. This may read June 11, 1655; however, that day was not a Lord's Day and March 11 was a Lord's Day. And instead of a large gap, it appears more likely that between December 31 and March 11, Durham was preaching twice on some Lord's Days, or twice a week, as there are more sermons than if he only were preaching once a week, but not quite enough that he was doing so every week.

MS 62, SERMONS ON ROMANS VIII; CANTICLES VIII.  
1-8:14. 1654. UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, SPECIAL  
COLLECTIONS, MANUSCRIPTS. 4TO. CALF.

MS Gen 62 (formerly MS 11-1942) is part of the five volume collection MS Gen 61-62, 70, 73, "Presented by Dr J. M. Cowan, Glasgow, 1 May 1942." The volume had a clasped binding at some point which has been removed or lost. It is in full blind tooled paneled calf, which is in good condition and is not fragile. There is splitting at the spine where one can see the stitching. There are a few pages in a different hand with some use of the old secretary style, which seem to be comments on Scripture. The first page heading seems to account for the description of the volume, which reads "8 romans 5 v" / "They that are after the flesh mynd the things of the flesh." Whether this is Durham material is not clear and would need examination for unique 'Durhamisms' to suggest that it is. That this volume likely is a later copy, since it lacks some of the additional dating of the other volume (which may be the source or both relied on yet another copy or original), may indicate the draftsmen simply started copying the Durham sermons in a blank volume or commonplace book that had been used for these notes; or perhaps the two bits were joined at some point in the binding of the pages. The first pages seemed looser but the whole volume is squared and tidy as opposed to a mix of discreet sections in different sized papers (not uncommon in volumes of MSS); so the relationship of the two sections remains an open question. After these first pages the material on the Song of Solomon commences, which is in the old secretary hand. This volume has the same first 18 sermons on chapter 8 as in the previous volume, but happily continues on with the full series of 46 sermons. Only the first sermon is

dated, the same date of December 31, 1654 given in MS 370. The detailing of the first 18 sermons is omitted.  
Forty-Six Sermons on Chapter Eight

- Sermon 19. Cant. 8:8.
- Sermon 20. Cant. 8:8.
- Sermon 21. Cant. 8:9.
- Sermon 22. Cant. 8:9.
- Sermon 23. Cant. 8:10.
- Sermon 24. Cant. 8:10.
- Sermon 25. Cant. 8:10.
- Sermon 26. Cant. 8:10
- Sermon 27. Cant. 8:11-12. Afternoon.
- Sermon 28. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 29. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 30. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 31. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 32. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 33. Cant. 8:11.
- Sermon 34. Cant. 8:12.
- Sermon 35. Cant. 8:12.
- Sermon 36. Cant. 8:12.
- Sermon 37. Cant. 8:12.
- Sermon 38. Cant. 8:12.
- Sermon 39. Cant. 8:13.
- Sermon 40. Cant. 8:13.
- Sermon 41. Cant. 8:14.
- Sermon 42. Cant. 8:14.
- Sermon 43. Cant. 8:14.
- Sermon 44. Cant. 8:14.
- Sermon 45. Cant. 8:14.
- Sermon 46. Cant. 8:14. ■



MS Gen 370 (detail), by Matthew Vogan. Reproduced by permission, University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.