

ANTIQUARY

A Transcription from Manuscript of a Sermon on
Psalm 2:10–12 by George Gillespie

INTRODUCTION

When the ailing George Gillespie preached before the Scottish Parliament on 2 March, 1648, the Covenanters were facing some of their most difficult and testing days. Not so long before it had seemed very different. Although the Westminster Assembly continued to meet in London until 1649, in August 1647 Gillespie and Robert Baillie had appeared before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to present the confessional documents produced by the Westminster Assembly, for approval by the Scots. The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Directory for the Public Worship of God and the Form of Presbyterian Church Government would together provide the constitutional foundations and framework for the Church of Scotland with the approval of the General Assembly and of the Scottish Parliament. Dark clouds, however, were gathering.

Charles I, having been handed over by the Scots, was a prisoner of the English Parliament. Having fled from Hampton Court on 11 November, 1647, the King ended up in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight. His aim during this period was to foment division among his enemies and to garner enough support for a renewed campaign to restore him to his throne. The Scots were strongly wedded to monarchy, despite Charles' past actions, and in his view offered the most likely source of support if an agreement could be reached with at least some of the political leaders in Scotland.

It was out of this complex background that the notorious Engagement emerged. Many Scots, still loyal to the King and wary of Cromwell and the Parliamentarians, were willing to do what they could for Charles, short of an actual breach of the Solemn League and Covenant. This bond, signed in 1643, committed the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland to political alliance and religious reformation and had been the warrant for the Scots sending troops to support the English Parliament in the First Civil War. It would be within the bounds of that covenant that Scottish help would be offered.

Three of the leading Scots royalist nobles, Loudon, Lauderdale and Lanark, were able to visit Charles at Carisbrooke Castle: the 'Engagement' was the result of their negotiations

with the wily and unscrupulous monarch. Acting on behalf of the Marquis of Hamilton and his royalist faction in Scotland, the three commissioners reached an agreement with Charles which would lead to practical military support from Scotland for the King's restoration. For his part Charles agreed to have the Solemn League and Covenant confirmed by the English Parliament, although it would not be imposed on anyone, including the King. Presbyterian church government would be implemented in England for a period of three years, after which the matter would be settled by an assembly of divines, members of parliament and royal representatives. The King would also suppress sectaries, heretics and schismatics.

Taken as a whole, the Engagement was a far cry from the original vision of the Covenanters for 'covenanted uniformity'. Although Charles had at first been told that he would have no Scottish assistance without making concessions on religion, in the end it was the 'Engagers' who made concessions without the sanction of Parliament or General Assembly. On 26 December, 1647, the Engagement was signed and the commissioners returned to Edinburgh to seek the approval of Parliament.

The Estates—the Scottish Parliament—met on 2 March and it was on this occasion that Gillespie preached his sermon on Psalm 2:10–12. The reaction of strict Covenanters to the Engagement was, as we would expect, one of vigorous opposition. The agreement was a betrayal of what they had fought for. As James King Hewison vividly puts it, 'The preachers generally, and George Gillespie in particular, stormed in every pulpit and hurled imprecations at the King and the Hamiltonians.'¹ This is the immediate context for Gillespie's sermon on Psalm 2.

We might note that the recorder of this sermon was Sir George Maxwell of Auldhouse and Pollock, a staunch Covenanter from the late 1640s until his death in 1677. He was actively involved in the Courts of the church and in the business

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1. James King Hewison, *The Covenanters. A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1908; Revised and Corrected, 1913), 1.445.

of Parliament, and was Rector of Glasgow University from 1654 to 1660. Not only did he oppose the Engagement, but he was to be found among the 'Protestors' in the controversy with the Resolutioners in the early 1650s, and he was the victim of heavy fines after the Restoration.

This, sadly incomplete, sermon from 1648 is of particular significance because only two other sermons by Gillespie have survived.² Both were fast day sermons preached during Gillespie's time at the Westminster Assembly. The first, on Ezekiel 43:11, was preached before the House of Commons on 27 March, 1644, and the second, on Malachi 3:2, was preached before the House of Lords on 27 August, 1645. Although searching in their exposure of the sins of both church and nation

2. *Sermons Preached before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines 1643–1645*, ed. Chris Coldwell (Dallas, Naphtali Press, 2011), pages 289–384. Hereafter *Sermons*.

3. *Sermons*, p. 338.

4. *Sermons*, p. 348.

5. W. D. J. McKay, *An Ecclesiastical Republic. Church Government in the Writings of George Gillespie* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 1997), chapter 2.

6. *A sermon preached before the right honourable the House of Lords in the Abbey Church at Westminster, upon the 27th of August, 1645 being the day appointed for solemn and publique humiliation: whereunto is added a Brotherly Examination of some passages of Mr. Colemans late printed sermon upon Job 11.20, in which he hath endeavoured to strike at the root of all church-government* (London: Printed for Robert Boſtock, 1645), p. 31ff; another ed. (Printed by F. Neile for Robert Boſtock, 1646), p. 28ff. *Nihil respondes: or, A discovery of the extream unsatisfactoriness of Maſter Colemans peece, published laſt weeke under the title of A brotherly examination re-examined. Wherein, his self-contradictions: his yeelding of some things, and not answering to other things objected against him: his abusing of Scripture: his errors in divinity: his abusing of the Parliament, and indangering their authority: his abusing of the Assembly: his calumnies, and namely against the Church of Scotland, and against my selfe: the repugnancy of his doctrin to the ſolemne League and Covenant, are plainly demonſtrated* (Printed at London for Robert Boſtock, 1645). *Male audis or An answer to Mr. Coleman his Malè dicis. Wherein the repugnancy of his Eraſtian doctrine to the word of God, to the ſolemne League and Covenant, and to the ordinances of Parliament: also his contradictions, tergiversations, heterodoxies, calumnies, and perverting of testimonies, are made more apparent then formerly. Together with some animadverſions upon Maſter Huſſey his Plea for Chriſtian magiſtracy: ſhewing, that in divers of the afore mentioned particulars he hath miſcarried as much, and in some particulars more then Mr Coleman* (Printed for Robert Boſtocke, 1646). *Aarons rod bloſſoming, or, The divine ordinance of church-government vindicated ſo as the preſent Eraſtian controverſie concerning the diſtinction of civil and eccleſiaſtical government, excommunication, and ſuſpenſion, is fully debated and diſcuſſed, from the holy ſcripture, from the Jewiſh and Chriſtian antiquities, from the conſent of latter writers, from the true nature and rights of magiſtracy, and from the groundleſſneſſe of the chief objections made againſt the Preſbyteriall government in point of a domineering arbitrary unlimited power* (London: Printed by E. G. for Richard Whitaker, 1646). These all are available in 'The Works of Mr George Gillespie' in *The Presbyterian's Armoury*, 2 volumes (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846).

which aroused the wrath of God, both also look to glorious days ahead for both England and Scotland. In expounding Ezekiel's vision of the New Temple Gillespie states, 'There are very good grounds for hope to make us think that this new temple is not far off. And (for your part) that Christ is to make a new face of a church in this kingdom, a fair and beautiful temple for his glory to dwell in. And he is even now about the work.'³ Similarly, in introducing his sermon on Malachi 3:2 he says 'Scotland shall yet be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God (Isa 62:3,4); and shall be called Hephzi-bah and Beulah.'⁴

Of particular significance for understanding Gillespie's sermons, especially this fragment on a 'royal' psalm, Psalm 2, is Gillespie's doctrine of the Kingship of Christ. Much could be said on this crucial doctrine,⁵ but a few comments may be made to highlight the central elements of Gillespie's approach.

Gillespie set out his view of the Kingship of Christ in a number of his published works. In 1645–46 he engaged in an exchange of polemical pamphlets with the Eraſtian theologian Thomas Coleman which produced three works from Gillespie's pen: *A Brotherly Examination*, *Nihil Respondes*, and *Male Audis*. He also deals with the subject in his great work of 1646 *Aaron's Rod Blossoming*.⁶ His formulation of the doctrine of Christ's Kingship is neatly summed up in the title of chapter five of Book 2 of the latter work:

Of a twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ: a general Kingdom, as he is the eternal Son of God, the head of all principalities and powers, reigning over all creatures; and a particular Kingdom, as he is Mediator reigning over the church only.

In no way is Gillespie seeking to deny that Christ is supreme over all things, nations included, but his concern is to make what he considers to be a scriptural distinction between the ways in which He reigns over nations and over the church. Civil rulers are not under Christ as Mediator but under Christ as the eternal Son (along with the Father and the Holy Spirit). They have nevertheless a duty to promote the welfare of the church, Christ's mediatorial kingdom. These distinctions are clearly evident in Gillespie's exposition of Psalm 2:10–12.

Despite Gillespie's warnings and exhortations to the Parliament, the Engagement was approved and Scotland was set on a road leading to warfare, suffering and further division. By this time Gillespie's fragile health was broken, yet he continued to pour his remaining energy into opposing the Engagers. He was appointed Moderator of the 1648 General Assembly which sat from 12 July until 12 August. Afterwards he went to Kirkcaldy to seek relief from the consumption (tuberculosis) which was ravaging his body. The hope was unfulfilled. In his final hours, as death approached, his wife said to him, 'The time of your relief is now near, and hard at hand'. His final

words were, 'I long for that time. O, happy they that are there.' Shortly afterwards he went to meet his King. When he died on 17 December, 1648, he was a month short of his thirty-sixth birthday, having made in those years a profound contribution to Scottish Presbyterianism of abiding significance.

DAVID MCKAY■

THE SERMON MANUSCRIPT

It is truly a notable find to have discovered even an incomplete manuscript of notes of a sermon preached by George Gillespie, and even more significant that the sermon was preached at such a key point in Scottish history and on such a text as the last portion of Psalm 2. It is unfortunate that it is half or less of a full sermon, and not Gillespie's own manuscript. However, because all his sermons delivered while in London that were left in manuscript there to be published about this same time were destroyed by malicious Sectaries, and because until now the only known examples were the two sermons before the English Houses of Parliament, one must appreciate finding even a portion of another example of his preaching. It is generally known that George Gillespie prayed, preached and advocated keenly against the Engagement (see the prior introduction by Dr. McKay),¹ but it seems to have been largely unknown and omitted from the history books that Gillespie preached before the meeting of the parliament that would approve it.² One can find the fact that he was appointed to preach on this occasion buried in the records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies edited by Mitchell and Christie, which were not transcribed and published until 1892. And since that time, it still seems to have escaped notice. This record, and the provenance of the note taker, confirm that the sermon is genuine. "Edinburgh, 25 Februarij 1648." "The Comission appoints Mr. George Gillespie to preach before the Parliament the day of their first meeting."³

This sermon appears in a manuscript notebook belonging to George Maxwell.⁴ The volume is a small leather bound notebook in good condition, with four raised bands on the spine, simple double blind tooling in double fillets, with two clasps, size 17 cm x 13 cm. The pages are not numbered.⁵ The length is approximately 390 leaves pages, with a considerable blank section from f.268 to the Genesis material in the back which is in reverse order. There is a wide margin generally and there are not the same amount of contractions, cross-outs and general scrappiness that would reflect notes taken at the time of delivery. Sermons by or presumably by John Carstares at Cathcart most frequently appear. Carstares was minister at the time for that parish. In addition to the sermon preached by George Gillespie before the parliament, there are notes of sermons by David Dickson, James Durham, Patrick Gillespie

and others.⁶ The Genesis notes are by Maxwell himself and are mathematical calculations on the genealogies.

Sir George Maxwell (1622–1677) was of the Scottish gentry at the time of the Engagement and a Protester in the subsequent Protester-Resolutioner division in the Kirk. He was also one of the leading figures that drafted the Remonstrance "which pledged that they would not fight for the king [Charles II] until he had supplied concrete (sic) evidence of genuine repentance for his past sins and until he abandoned the company and councils of malignants."⁷ In February of 1648, he inherited his grandfather's estate in Nether Pollock, three miles from the parish church in Cathcart. He was advanced to heir by his aged grandfather, George Maxwell (d. 1648), over

1. February 15, 1648. "The clergy of this town continue to preach against the intention that they think the Scots have of invading England and of joining with the friends of their king. Gillespie, who has had seven or eight sermons on this subject, prayed God last Sunday that he would preserve them from the latest surprises of the King of England, and filled his prayer with sundry imprecations against his prince." *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean De Montreuil and the Brothers De Bellière: French Ambassadors in England and Scotland, 1645–48*, edited with an English translation, introduction and notes by J. G. Fotheringham. Publications of the Scottish History Society, volume 29 and 30 (Edinburgh: Printed ... by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1898–99), 2.402.

2. The parliament record merely states, "After divine service." *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007–2018), 1648/3/1. Date accessed: 19 March 2018, <http://rps.ac.uk/trans/1648/3/1>.

3. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland holden in Edinburgh the Years 1646 and 1647*, edited by Alexander F. Mitchell and James Christie (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1892), 367. Wodrow also mentions it. "When Mr Gillespie was bussey studying his sermon that he was to preach before Parliament to-morrow" *Analecta*, vol. 3 (1843), 111.

4. Collection, Maxwells of Pollok, Glasgow and Renfrew, 16 items/notebooks; T-PM 114/1, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Sir George Maxwell, Summaries of sermons at Cathcart, Glasgow and elsewhere, 10 Aug. 1647(?)–31 Dec. 1648;* in reverse, notes on Genesis, c.i.–xxxi. *The year is supplied by the Mitchell Library from the contents and the question mark is theirs.

5. The pagination given in the outline was derived by a manual inspection of the volume by Matthew Vogan.

6. Durham was licensed to preach in Irvine on May 18, 1647 and ordained and admitted minister of Blackfriars on December 2, 1647. James D. Marwick, *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow: A.D. 1175–1649* (Glasgow, 1897), dcxxxii. Kyle D. Holfelder, "James Durham," in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

7. John Roach Young, *The Scottish Parliament, 1639–1661: a political and constitutional analysis*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow (October, 1993), p. 429. With others, he later felt compelled to renounce the Remonstrance. Cf. Kyle D. Holfelder, *Factionalism in the Kirk during the Cromwellian Invasion and Occupation of Scotland, 1650 to 1660: The Protester-Resolutioner Controversy*, Ph.D. thesis, The University of Edinburgh (December 31, 1998), p. 71, 122. See his life in William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, 2 volumes (Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1863), 1.61–77.

his father, John (d. 1666), because both were clergymen and the elder George believed his grandson had the business acumen the two lacked. Maxwell “was young, highly educated, an active man of business, and well qualified to represent the ancient house of Pollok.” He maintained personal diaries in small palm-sized notebooks, as well as notebooks of sermons and lectures he attended.⁸ Maxwell had a distant relationship through marriage to two famous ministers of the time. Maxwell’s grandmother’s brother’s daughters married John Carstares, his parish minister, and James Durham.⁹

George Maxwell, who was knighted in 1649, sat as a member of part of the 1648–1649 meeting of the Scottish Parliament, attending sessions 2–5 representing the shire of Renfrewshire (“Maxuell of Nethir Pollock, Renfrewshire”).¹⁰ However, given the great importance of the opening session and the issue at stake (approving or not approving the Engagement), he must have been in attendance when parliament opened for the first session on March 2, 1648,¹¹ along with others such as Robert Baillie.¹² He presumably was in attendance for the worship service appointed prior to the opening of Parliament and took these notes of Gillespie’s sermon.¹³ It seems less likely he copied the sermon from another’s notes, but took them himself. The notes record some use by Gillespie of Greek and Hebrew, and it is clear from his other notes and books

8. Diaries do not survive in the collection for the same period as this notebook.

9. George Maxwell the elder married Jean Mure, the daughter of William Mure of Glanderstone. Jean’s brother, also William Mure, had through two marriages a number of children including half-sisters Jean and Elizabeth Mure, who became, respectively, Mrs. Carstares and Mrs. Durham. Cf. *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland Enjoying Territorial Possessions or High Official Rank*, volume 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1834), 455.

10. “Pollok is a well-known area on the south side of Glasgow. The lands are now Pollok Country Park where the Burrell Collection is located, the estate was given to the City of Glasgow in 1966. The present Pollok House dates from 1752 but Haggis Castle is still standing.” Cited from a draft life of Sir. George Maxwell, by Matthew Vogan.

11. March 2 through 10 June 10, 1648.

12. Baillie was in Edinburgh for some eight weeks and during that time attended the Parliament meetings with others such as Dickson and Gillespie, until he needed to return to Glasgow for meeting of synod and other matters in late March. Letter to William Spang, March 27, 1648, in *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Ogle, 1841–42), 35ff.

13. *Members of Parliament: Return of the Names of Every Member Returned to Serve in Each Parliament from the Year 1696 Up to 1876, Specifying the Names of the County, City, University, Borough or Place for Which Returned: Also Return from so Remote a Period As Can Be Obtained Up to Year 1696, of the Surnames, Christian Names, and Titles of All Members of the Lower House of Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, with the Name of the Constituency Represented and Date of Return of Each*, 2 volumes (London: Ordered by The House of Commons to be Printed, 1878–79), volume 2, “Parliaments and conventions of the Estates of Scotland,” 1357–1707, p. 571.

that Maxwell had some familiarity with these languages. It is most likely he took draft notes as Gillespie preached, either in pencil or with ink and quill on a portable writing desk, which may have been in shorthand or abbreviated or ‘scrappy’ with cross outs as would be usual for such notes. He then would have put these notes in finer form as he copied them into his notebook. For some reason he stopped copying, leaving blank pages to apparently come back later to fill in and complete the sermon. There is no clue as to why he never did. Presumably the six leaves (f89–f94) were enough space for the remainder, but if not, perhaps this was a factor? The pages left blank do suggest he had more of the sermon he could fill in, rather than that his original notes were incomplete.

The following is an outline of the contents of the notebook containing the Sermon on Psalm 2:10–12 by George Gillespie. If place, date, text or attribution are missing from the outline, none was immediately discernible. This is followed by the transcript and a modernized text presented in parallel columns.

Outline of T-PM 114/1

- f1. Paisley, August 10, first sermon, Mr. A. Dunlop.
- f10. August 15, 1647.
- f21. Cathcart, Jan. 9, 1648, John Carstares, Isaiah 45:22–24.
- f25. Cathcart, Jan. 16, 1648, “at ane fast for compliance with the enemie,” Carstares, Psalm 51:6–13.
- f32. Cathcart, Jan. 17, 1648.
- f36. Glasgow, Jan. 22, “David Dick[son] expunded for the preparation sermon,” 1 Corinthians 11:23.
- f39. Carstares’ sermon was followed by one by Patrick Gillespie.
- f44. Sunday, Jan. 22, Patrick Gillespie, Psalm 42.
- f46v. Sunday, Jan. 22, 1648, ‘being the communion day,’ David Dickson, Isaiah 12:1.
- f53. Jan. 22, afternoon, Robert Ramsay.
- f57. Matthew 26:40.
- f62. Glasgow, James Durham, Psalm 3.
- f65. Joshua 24:19.
- f70. Psalm 4.
- f73. Joshua 24:19.
- f78. Ezekiel 10:9.
- f80. Hebrews 8:10.
- f82–88. Edinburgh, Before Parliament, March 2, 1648, George Gillespie, Psalm 2.
- f89–f94. 6 blank pages.
- f95. Psalm 57.
- f97. Jeremiah 4:14, sermon, before noon.
- f100v. March 5, 1648, afternoon, Colossians 4:2, sermon.
- f104. Cathcart, Sunday, March 20 1648, Carstares, Psalm 42.
- f132. Fenwick, May 8, Isaiah 44, John Neave, Newmilne.
- f142. Glasgow, May 15, R. Ramsay.

- f144–47. Glasgow, May 15, Dickson, Lamentations 3:30.
- 147v. Eastwood, May 21.
- 167v. Lamentations 3:41.
- 171–3. Lamentations 3:41–42.
- 173v. Cathcart, July 9.
- 212v–219. At the renewing of the covenant, last day of December, 1648, Mearns (in Renfrewshire).
- 220–268. blank.
- f4–22. Reverse from back, notes on Genesis 1–31.

Transcription Conventions

A question mark (?) denotes some level of uncertainty in a word or letter or takes the place of illegible letters.

By Mr Geo. | Gillespie |

at the par |liament sit |ting down |
march 2. | 1648.¹

Ps. 2. v. 10 ¶¶¶ 11. 12.

10. Be wise now therefore O yee | kings, be instructed yee judges | of the earth. | 11. Serve the lord with feare | and rejoice with trembling. | 12. Kiss the Son leaſt he bee | Angrie and yee perish from the | way when his wrath is kin- | dled but a litle. |

This psalme is ane evangelicall | psalme concerning Christ Jesus | & his kingdome. Ther be three | paralell places [^]thereof in the new Testa- | ment **answering** applied to Ch. [Christ] | the first two verses: Act. 4.25: | *who by the mouth of thy serv- | vant David haſt ſayd, why did the | heathen rage and the people | imagine vaine things?* [v. 26] *The kings | of the earth ſtood up and the rulers | were gathered together againſt | the lord & againſt his Chriſt.* ↓
[v. 27] *for of a truth againſt thy holy | child Jesus whom thou haſt an- | onited, both Herod & pontius Pi- | late with the gentiles & the | people of Israell wer gather- | ed together.* And another plac | v. 7 [Ps. 2], *thou art my son this day |*

Hyphens and apostrophes are inserted without notice. Common contractions such as *yt* for *that*, are expanded without notice.

The caret symbol (^) denotes an interline insertion above the line in question unless otherwise noted (i.e. marginal or below line). The inserted text will be underlined.

Insertions of missing letters, etc., are in square brackets [].

The downwards two-headed arrow (‡) marks an original page break.

The vertical bar (|) denotes original line breaks.

All paragraph breaks are original unless otherwise noted.

Scripture quotations were not denoted in the original, but are set in italics in the transcription. Latin or any other quotations are set off by quotation marks inserted without notice.

Sermon on Psalm 2:10–12

At Divine Service Prior to the Opening of Parliament,
March 2, 1648.

By George Gillespie.

Psalm 2:10. *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth.* 11. *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.* 12. *Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little....*

This psalm is an evangelical psalm concerning Christ Jesus and His kingdom. There are three parallel places [to this Psalm] in the New Testament applied to Christ. 1. The first two verses [in] Acts 4.25–26: *who by the mouth of thy servant David haſt ſayd, why did the heathen rage and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth ſtood up and the rulers were gathered together againſt the lord and againſt his Chriſt. For of a truth againſt thy holy child Jesus whom thou haſt anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together, and another place, verse 7, thou art my son this day*

1. This is a side-heading in the right margin.

have I begotten the[e] is also |
 applied to Christ heb. 1. 10. And |
 a third place v. 9. *Thou shalt |*
break them with a rod of iron |
thou shalt dash them in pieces |
as like a potter's vessels [sic]. Christ |
 speaks it of himselfe rev. 2. |
 27. (and he shall rule them with |
 a rod of iron: as the vessels of |
 a potter shall they be broken |
 to shivers) even as I received of |
 my father. And rev. 19.15 *And out |*
of his mouth goeth a sharpe |
sword, that with it he should |
smite the nations: and he shall |
rule them with a rod of iron. |
 And now the prophet after he |
 hath shew layd open the attempt |
 of the wicked world, and of the |
 kings and princes of the earth |
 against the kingdome and governe- |
 ment of the Son of god in the three |
 first verses, he shewes then ↓
 how god laughs all ther desins to |
 scorne, and how in despite of all |
 ther malice god will establish |
 the kingdom of Christ, he conclud- |
 es with this exhortation *be wise |*
now therfor o yee kings, be instruc- |
ted yee judges of the earthe which |
 is not so much spoken to these mad |
 counsellors and wicked conspirers |
 against Christ. Ther was less hope |
 of these, but bee wise o kings |
 saith, bee instructed all yee judges |
 of the earthe as the septuagint read- |
 es it, take example from Christes |
 opposers, and see ther tragicall end |
 how god speaks to them in his |
 wrath and vexes them in his sore |
 displeasure. And this is the scope |
 of the text. Foure particulars |
 ar in it considerable. 1. [I.] the per- |
 son exhorted the kings & judges |
 of the earth. 2. [II.] the thing exhorted |
 to be wise, be instructed.² 3. the rea- |
 son of the exhortation, be wise |
 therfor, be instructed therfor, |

have I begotten thee, is also applied to Christ [in] Hebrews
 1:10. And a third place, verse 9, *Thou shalt break them with
 a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces as like a potter's
 vessel.* Christ speaks it of Himself [in] Revelation 2:27, *And
 he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter
 shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.*
 And [also in] Revelation 19:15, *And out of his mouth goeth a
 sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he
 shall rule them with a rod of iron.*

And now the prophet after he has laid open the attempt of
 the wicked world, and of the kings and princes of the earth
 against the kingdom and government of the Son of God in
 the three first verses, he shows then how God laughs all their
 designs to scorn, and how in despite of all their malice God
 will establish the kingdom of Christ, he concludes with this
 exhortation, *be wise now therefore o ye kings, be instructed ye
 judges of the earth*, which is not so much spoken to these mad
 counselors and wicked conspirers against Christ, [as] there
 was less hope of these, but “be wise O kings,” “be instructed
 all ye judges of the earth,” as the Septuagint reads it, [says to]
 take example from Christ's opposers and see their tragic end,
 how God *speaks to them in His wrath and vexes them in His
 sore displeasure.* And this is the scope of the text.

Four particulars are [here] considerable. I. The person ex-
 horted, *the kings and judges of the earth.* II. The thing exhorted,
to be wise, be instructed. III. The reason of the exhortation, *be
 wise therefore, be instructed therefore.*

2. The notes end abruptly before the third and fourth points are
 reached.

the originall is rendered by Tremelli[us] “nunc ergo:”³ now therfor |
 4. the opportunitie of the exhorta- |
 tion, now. be wise now, bee in- ↓⁴
 structed now leaſt otherwiſe ther- |
 after it be too late. |
 [I.] The exhortation is ſpoken |
 to the kings and judges of the |
 earth, the holy ghoſt gives ma- |
 giſtrates the titles & dignities |
 don to ther places. Therfor the |
 holy ghoſt is no leveller. I ſay |
 the holy ghoſt is no leveller |
 either if wee compare magis- |
 trates with god, or with the |
 mediator or with their ſubjects |
 ^or with the ſaints⁵ in all of theſe appears no le- |
 vellin. [1.] In regard of god, magiſtrates⁶ |
 ar god’s miniſtery & deputies. They |
 ar the miniſtery of god for good |
 rom. 13. 2. If we compare them |
 with Jeſus the mediator, though |
 magiſtrates indeed be not pro- |
 perlie the vicegerents of Chriſt |
 as mediator, yet they ar not |
 coordinat[e] but subordinat[e], Chriſt |
 is the only king of his Church |
 and they ar his Servant. So ther |
 is no levelling, for if they re- |
 bell, if⁷ he will ſett his feet |
 upon ther necks, *bring hither* |
 theſe *mine enemies*, that *would* |
not that I ſhould reigne over them ↓
 4. [*sic* 3.] compare kings with ther ſubjects |
 ther ar higher & lower powers, and |
 wher ther be ſom higher & ſom |
 lower ther is no levelling. 4. com- |
 pare kings with the Saints, and that |
 either as they ar inhabitants of the |
 world, and ſo they muſt be ſubject |
 as weell as other; Chriſtian li- |
 bertie doth not exeeem them from |
 ſubjection to magiſtracie. but doth |

The original is rendered by Tremellius, “nunc ergo:”¹ *now therefore*. IV. The opportunity of the exhortation, now, be wise now, bee instructed now, leſt otherwiſe thereafter it be too late.

I. The exhortation is ſpoken to the kings and judges of the earth. The Holy Ghoſt gives magiſtrates the titles and dignities done to their places; therefore, the Holy Ghoſt is no Level-ler.² I ſay the Holy Ghoſt is no Leveler, either if we compare magiſtrates with God, or with the Mediator, or with their ſubjects or with the ſaints. In all of theſe appears no leveling. 1. In regard of God, magiſtrates are God’s miniſtery and deputies. They are the miniſtery of God for good (Rom. 13:4).

2. If we compare them with Jeſus the Mediator, though magiſtrates indeed be not properly the vicegerents of Chriſt as mediator, yet they are not coordinate, but subordinate. Chriſt is the only king of His Church and they are his ſervant.³ So there is no leveling. For if they rebel, He will ſet His feet upon their necks—*bring hither* theſe *mine enemies*, that *would not that I ſhould reign over them* (Luke 19:27).

3. Compare kings with their ſubjects, there are higher and lower powers, and where there be ſome higher and ſome lower there is no leveling.

4. Compare kings with the ſaints, and that either as they are inhabitants of the world, and ſo they muſt be ſubject as well as others; Chriſtian liberty does not exeeem⁴ them from ſubjection to magiſtracy, but

3. The text appears to read “Tremelli g” for “Tremellius.” The contraction or letter pair looks like a “g.” The same appears in the word “Jeſus” on page 4 of the manuſcript.

4. “bee in” is ſignificantly ſmeared/obſcured.

5. This laſt clause is inserted in the left margin.

6. Maxwell begins to write an “le” (perhaps ſtarting to write level-lers?) then draws a line downwards (/) and writes “magiſtrates under-neath the “le” extending further than normal into the right margin.

7. This ſecond “if” may be ſtruck through.

1. See Emmanuel Tremellius, Franciscus Junius, and Théodore de Bèze, *Teſtamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (1579; Hanover: 1602), 475.

2. *Leveler*: Advocates for removing ſocial and other societal diſtinctions, and for popular ſovereignty.

3. See the introduction regarding this diſtinction, and page 262.

4. Exeeem: To exempt from an obligation, duty, jurisdiction, puniſhment, etc. (Dictionary of the Scottish Language, www.dsl.ac.uk).

lay ^{on} firmer ties and bands, or if |
 wee look on the saints as they ar |
 “municcepes cælorum,”⁸ burgesses of |
 heaven, ther is yet no levelling. |
 when it comes to ther eternall pri- |
 vilege they shall judge the world |
 & kings amongst the rest. *doe yee* |
not know saith the apostle⁹ *but the* |
saints shall judge the earthe. |
 So the holy ghost therfor is no |
 leveller. And kings ar heer the |
 They are heer exhort. judges |
 of the earth, understand earth |
 in ane 3fold notion it. 1. “terra |
 quam terimus” the earth wee tread |
 on. 2. “terra quam gerimus” the |
 earth wee carie about us and that |
 is our bodies, both those ar sub- |
 ject to the magistrate even |
 as weell in regard of the saints. ↓
 as weell as other men that is, the |
 lands goods & bodies of the saints |
 ar subject to kings though not |
 in ane arbitrarie way. 3. Ther |
 is “terra quam querimus,” the |
 earth wee seek after. our hea- |
 venlie inheritance and in that |
 respect the saints shall be Christi’s |
 assessors, and kings shall be |
 judged by them. they shall bind |
 ther nobles with chaines and |
 ther princes with fetters of |
 iron. |

I will mak no farder use |
 of this then to tak away that |
 old calumnie, which was the |
 calumnie of the prophetes and |
 apostles¹⁰ and of Christ himselve |
 and no wonder if it be also |
 the calumnie of godly minis- |
 tery now a dayes that they ar |
 unfriends to magistrates but |
 wee have not so learned Christ |
 those ar best subjects to the king |
 that ar best subjects to god. and |
 let profaine men say what they |
 please when a temptation & ther |
 interest meet together they |

lays on firmer ties and bands; or, if we look on the saints as they are *municcepes cælorum*, burgesses of heaven, there is yet no leveling. When it comes to their eternal privilege, they shall judge the world and kings amongst the rest. *Doe ye not know*, says the apostle, *but the saints shall judge the earth* (1 Cor. 6:2). And kings are here the judges of the earth. Understand earth in a threefold notion. (1) “Terra quam terimus,” the earth we tread upon. (2) “Terra quam gerimus,” the earth we carry about us, and that is our bodies. Both these are subject to the magistrate, even as well in regard of the saints as well as other men; that is, the lands, goods and bodies of the saints are subject to kings, though not in an arbitrary way. (3) There is “terra quam querimus,” the earth we seek after; our heavenly inheritance; and in that respect the saints shall be Christ’s assessors, and kings shall be judged by them. They shall bind their nobles *with chains* and their princes *with fetters of iron*. (Psalm 149:8).

I will make no further use of this than to take away that old calumny, which was the calumny of the prophets and apostles, and of Christ himself, and no wonder if it be also the calumny of godly ministry nowadays, that they are unfriends to magistrates. But we have not so learned Christ (cf. Eph. 4:20). Those are best subjects to the king that are best subjects to God. And let profane men say what they please, when a temptation and their interest meet together, they

8. Municeps cælorum.

9. Expanded from the contraction “apsle”.

10. Expanded from the contraction “apsles”.

shall be found but rebels to kings |
 who are rebels to god. Let it not |
 be started at when religion is ↓
 made use of to say it is ane way not |
 to give Cesar his own. |
 [II.] The 2^d particuler wee promised |
 to speake of was the deutie exhorted |
 unto *be wise, be instructed*. And |
 from this I observe 3 things. 1. |
 ther is heer a paritie and a kynd |
 of levelling. And in this sence |
 the holy ghoſt is a leveller |
 though in the sence now laſt ſpoke |
 of the holy ghoſt is no leveller. |
 Ther is a levelling albeit not |
 of places & powers yet ther is a |
 levelling of hearts & ſpirits, which |
 even in kings and judges muſt |
 be as much brought in ſubjection |
 under the yoke of Chriſt. for theſe |
 words *be instructed be wise* is ap- |
 plied to magiſtrates as weell as |
 others, becauſe they ſtand as much in |
 need of wiſdom as other, but that |
 they ſtand as much in need of in- |
 ſtruction would be furder choſen. |
 The ſeptuagint uſes a word παδει |
 ρα¹¹ which is a disciplinarie word |
 be nurtured, be disciplined, and the |
 hebrew word comes from a root |
 rſy yasar which ſignifies binding |
 ezeck 3. 25. *but thou o ſon of |*
man behold they ſhall putt bands |
upon thee, & ſhall bind the[e] with them ↓
 ps. 149. 8. *to bind ther kings with |*
chaines & ther nobles with |
fetters of iron. And by a meta- |
 phor it is drawn to ſignifie |
 reproofes & rebukes prov. 9. 7. *he |*
that reprooves a ſcorner getteth |
to himſelfe ſhame, & he that re- |
buketh a wicked man getteth him- |
ſelfe a blot. uſuallie it ſignifies |
 chaſtiſing ps. 6 at the beginning |
lord in thy wrath reprove me |
not, neither chaſten me in thy |
hote diſpleaſure. ps 49 10: ps 118. |
 18. *the lord hath chaſtened me |*
sore, but he hath not given me |

shall be found but rebels to kings who are rebels to God. Let it not be started (i.e. startled) at when religion is made use of to say it is a way not to give Cæsar his own.

II. The second particuler we promised to speak of was the duty exhorted unto, *be wise, be instructed*. And from this I OBSERVE three things.

OBSERVATION ONE. There is here a parity and a kind of leveling, and in this sense the Holy Ghost is a leveler, though in the sense now last spoken of the Holy Ghost is no leveler. There is a leveling, albeit not of places and powers, yet there is a leveling of hearts and spirits, which even in kings and judges must be as much brought in subjection under the yoke of Christ. For these words, *be instructed, be wise*, are applied to magistrates as well as others, because they stand as much in need of wisdom as others, but that they stand as much in need of instruction would be further chosen. The septuagint uses a word παδει ρα (*sic παιδεύθητε*), which is a disciplinary word, “be nurtured, be disciplined,” and the Hebrew word comes from a root rſy (yasar), which signifies binding: *but thou O son of man behold they shall put bands upon thee, and shall bind thee with them* (Ezk. 3:25); *to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron* (Ps. 149:8). And by a metaphor it is drawn to signify reproofs and rebukes. *He that reprooves a scorner getteth to himselfe shame: and he that rebuketh a wicked man getteth himselfe a blot* (Prov. 9:7). Usually it signifies chaſtiſing, Psalm 6 at the beginning, *Lord in thy wrath reprove me not, neither chaſten me in thy hot displeaſure*; Psalm 118. 18, *The Lord hath chaſtened me sore: but he hath not given me*

11. Sic παιδεύθητε.

over to death. Therefore in a word |
 kings & judges must be content to |
 subject themselves to discipline as |
 weell others & had need of it as |
 weell as others. And there is a |
 laying low of great spirits, when |
 the mightie potentates & rulers |
 of the earth must lay down ther |
 neck to the yoke of Christ as |
 much as the meanest underling |
 in Christ's kingdom. The gates of |
 heaven ar not layd wyder open |
 for kings & for parliament men |
 nor¹² it is for others, but they must |
 be emptied of themselves and must ↓
 stoop as low as Lazarus. otherwise |
 no enterie. And so ther is heer a |
 levelling of hearts & spirits for |
whosoever will not receive the |
kingdom of god as a litle child shall |
not enter therein.

[Obs. 2.] The 2d point observeable is the |
 pertinence of this exhortation *be |*
wise o yee kings, bee instructed o |
yee judges. Surelie if such another |
 as this had come from us & not |
 from the holy ghost it should have |
 been esteemed verie impertinent |
 “ar wee foolles that thou bid us be |
 wise, or bairnes¹³ that wee had need |
 of instruction,” this is a part of |
 the language of the tyme, but the |
 holy ghost saith be wise now |
 o yee kings, “Et nunc Reges ad |
 mentem redite,” turne to your wits |
 againe, as if they had been out of |
 ther wittes, and so they wer when |
 They though[t] to shake the coords |
 of Christ from of[f] ther shoulders |
 Job 32. 9. *great men ar not all |*
wayes wise and no mor ar kings |
neither doe the aged understand |
judgement. And rev. 17. 15 [sic 17]. it was no |
 great peice of wisdom when the ↓
 kings choose rather to give ther |
 crownes to the beast then to Jesus |
 rev. 17 [sic], but 1 Cor 3. 15 [sic 18]. *if any man |*
among you seemeth to be wise |

over to death. Therefore in a word, kings and judges must be content to subject themselves to discipline as well [as] others and had need of it as well as others. And there is a laying low of great spirits when the mighty potentates and rulers of the earth must lay down their neck to the yoke of Christ as much as the meanest underling in Christ's kingdom. The gates of heaven are not laid wider open for kings and for parliament men than it is for others, but they must be emptied of themselves and must stoop as low as Lazarus. Otherwise, no entry. And so there is here a leveling of hearts and spirits, for *whosoever will not receive the kingdom of God as a little child [he] shall not enter therein* (Mark 10:15).

OBSERVATION TWO. The second point observable is the pertinence of this exhortation, *be wise O ye kings, be instructed O ye judges.* Surely if such another as this had come from us⁵ and not from the Holy Ghost, it should have been esteemed very impertinent. “Are we fools that you bid us be wise, or children that we had need of instruction?” This is a part of the language of the time, but the Holy Ghost says *be wise now O ye kings.* “Et nunc Reges ad mentem redite.”⁶ Turn to your wits again, as if they had been out of their wits, and so they were when they thought to shake the cords of Christ from off their shoulders. Job 32:9. *Great men are not always wise,* and no more are kings, *neither do the aged understand judgement.* And, Revelation 17:17, it was no great piece of wisdom when the kings choose rather to give their crowns to the beast than to Jesus, but, 1 Corinthians 3:18, *if any man among you seemeth to be wise*

5. In other words, “if such words like this had come from us...”

6. This is the Latin of verse 10 as Calvin renders it. Cf. “Commentarium in librum Psalmorum, in *Johannis Calvini Operum Omnium Theologicorum, Tomus Tertius* (Geneva: Johannem Vignon, Petrum and Jacobum Chouët, 1617), 7.

12. Nor: “than”; i.e. “than it is for others.”

13. Bairnes: children.

in this world, let him become a
fooll that he may be wise; for the
wisdom of the [sic] world is foolish-
nes with god. And therfor this exhorta-
tion is so much the moe pertinent |
as kings & great men think them-
selves less to stand in need of it. |
But yet they ought to think them-
selves foolles till they tak the testi-
monies of the lord for ther coun-
sell. If it had been sayd, be re-
ligious, or sober or temperat many |
would have thought the exhorta-
tion the mor pertinent, yet the |
spirit of god lightes on that ex-
hortation wherin kings think |
themselves learned enough.
Obs. 3. religion is no enemy |
to wisdom, only it disinguishes true |
spirituall wisdom from carnall |
& sensuall understanding. Sum of |
all wisdom is Job 28 at the end |
after he hath sayd wisdom is not |
to be found in the earth, nor in the |
depth of the floods nor in the land |
of the living he concludeth unto |
man he sayd, behold the feare of |
the lord, that is wisdom, & to depart ↓
from evill is understanding. Many |
pitch upon that place mat. 10. 16. be |
wise as serpents, and does heerby allow |
unto themselves a great deall of la-
titude in policie, and extend it even |
to dissimulation. And therfor I will |
tak the moe paines to open up the |
true meaning. Ther is one part of |
the serpent's wisdom wherby it pre-
serves itselfe, and this is imitable |
and another part of its wisdom |

in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. And therefore, this exhortation is so much the more pertinent, as kings and great men think themselves less to stand in need of it. But yet they ought to think themselves fools, till they take the testimonies of the Lord for their counsel.⁷ If it had been said, “be religious,” or sober or temperate, many would have thought the exhortation the more pertinent; yet the Spirit of God lights on that wherein kings think themselves learned enough.

OBSERVATION THREE. Religion is no enemy to wisdom, only it distinguishes true spiritual wisdom from carnal and sensual understanding. [The] sum of all wisdom is [in] Job 28 at the end, after he has said wisdom is not to be found in the earth, nor in the depth of the floods, nor in the land of the living, he concludes, unto man he said, behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding. Many pitch upon that place, Matthew 10:16, be wise as serpents, and do hereby allow unto themselves a great deal of latitude in policy, and extend it even to dissimulation.⁸ And therefore, I will take the more pains to open up the true meaning. There is one part of the serpent's wisdom whereby it preserves itself, and this is imitable; and another part of its wisdom

7. Cf. Psalm 119:24.

8. It is not clear if Gillespie has in view Scottish politicians with which he and other ministers had many conversations about the Engagement leading up to the opening of Parliament, or particular books advocating for this policy of dissimulation, or both. Machiavelli's idea that the prince must be “a great pretender and dissembler” had been in print for more than a century (1532; cf. *The Prince*, trans. W. K. Marriott [1908], chapter 18, p. 143). Saavedra has three essays on the prince's use of dissimulation. This work appeared in Spanish in 1640 and in Latin in 1643. Published in Amsterdam, the work would have been available in London at the time of the Westminster Assembly (cf. *The Grand Debate* [Naphtali Press, 2014], Appendix: Westminster Abbey Library: And Other Theological Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643–1652) 402). Saavedra alludes to some of the same actions of the serpent but not with the detail that Gillespie does. “... Serpents, the emblem of carefull and prudent Majesty, and in the sacred Writs the Hieroglyssick of Prudence, for their cunning in defending their heads, in stopping their Ears against all Inchantments...” And he alludes to Matthew 10:16, “The greater the Prince is, the greater care he ought to be crown'd with, not the Sincerity of Innocent Doves, but the prudence of subtle Serpents.” Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea principis christiano-politici symbolis* (Amstelodami: apud Joannem Jacobi fil. Schipper, 1659), Essays 43–45, 324–343; English: *The Royal Politician represented in one hundred emblems*, trans. Sir James Astry, 2 vols. (1700), 1.305, 317. Bacon was comfortable with some “seasonable use” of dissimulation in his *Essays* (1597). “Of Simulation and Dissimulation,” in *The Essays: Or, Counsels Civil and Moral of Francis Bacon*, ed. Fred Allison Howe 1908), 18. Daniel Tuvill (Toutevill, Tutevl) wrote under D.T., *The Dove and the Serpent* (1614), expanding upon “Bacon's own combination of 'serpentine wisdom with the columbine innocency;...” *Essays Politic and Moral and Essays Moral and Theological*, ed. John L. Lievsay (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library [by] the University Press of Virginia, 1971), xi.

wherby it layes snares against man |
 to doe him evill and this is not to |
 be imitate, therfor it is expresslie |
 added in that sam place *be simple* |
as doves. The imitable part of the |
 serpent's wisdom hath been pointed |
 out in 5 particulars by antient |
 wryters. The first 2 ar expressed |
 by Epiphanius her. 27. and the 1. |
 is, which Jerome also observes |
 when the serpent is persued, saith |
 he know that his life is in his |
 head, therfor he wrappes his who[le]¹⁴ |
 body about his heade, and so exposes |
 his hail body to a stroake rathe[r] |
 than the head. Therfor if wee |
 will follow this peece of serpen[t] |
 wisdom, let our choise care be for |
 the fame of Jesus Christ & his truth |
 & his honor, for he is our heade |
 & rather let us expose kings & king- ↓
 domes and lives & estates to the |
 hazard, befor wee putt one point |
 of his glorie or interest to hazard |
 and if this were respected it might |
 soon end most of our present |
 differences. Doe for your honor, |
 for your lands and for any thing |
 else you please, so be the honor |
 of Jesus have the first roome. |
 2. It is added ther also by the sam |
 Epiph. that neither the serpent cometh |
 out of his holes to the water |
 least he should poison the water |
 he leives his poison behind him |
 so before wee come to hearing or |
 prayers or any other exercise of
 religion let us leive our profa-
 nitie & wickednes behind us. 3. |
 Augustine on ps. 58 telles us of |
 a 3^d point of the serpent's wisdom |
 that fering enchantments, he |
 layes the one eare to a stone or |
 to the ground & stoppes the other |
 with his taill. The holy ghost pointes |
 at it in these words. Like the deafe |
 adder which will not heare the |
 voice of the charmer, *charming* |
never so wiselie. would god wee |

14. The text here runs to the edge of the page.

wherby it lays snares against man to do him evil, and this is not to be imitated. Therefore, it is expressly added in that same place, *be simple as doves*.

The imitable part of the serpent's wisdom has been pointed out in five particulars by ancient writers. The first two are expressed by Epiphanius (Her. 27).⁹ 1. And the first is, which Jerome also observes, when the serpent is pursued, saith, he knows that his life is in his head, therefore he wraps his whole body about his head, and so exposes his hail body to a stroke rather than the head. Therefore, if we will follow this piece of serpent wisdom, let our choice care be for the fame of Jesus Christ and His truth and His honor, for He is our head, and rather let us expose kings and kingdoms, and lives and estates to the hazard, before we put one point of His glory or interest to hazard. And if this were respected it might soon end most of our present differences.¹⁰ Do for your honor, for your lands and for anything else you please, so be the honor of Jesus has the first room.

2. It is added there also by the same Epiphanius,¹¹ that neither the serpent comes out of his holes to the water, lest he should poison the water, he leaves his poison behind him, so before we come to hearing or prayers or any other exercise of religion, let us leave our profanity and wickedness behind us.

3. Augustine on Psalm 58 tells us of a third point of the serpent's wisdom, that fearing enchantments, he lays the one ear to a stone or to the ground and stops the other with his tail.¹² The Holy Ghost points at it in these words: like the *deaf adder* which will not hear the voice of the charmer, *charming never so wisely* (Ps. 58:4–5). Would [to] God we

9. *Sic. 37*. See "37. Against Ophites," in *The Panarion of Ephanius of Salamis, Book I Sects 1–46*, translated by Frank Williams (2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2009), 267–268. See *The Homilies of Saint Jerome, Volume 1, 1–59 On the Psalms*, translated by Sister Marie Liguori Ewald, Fathers of the Church (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964; 1981; 2001), 363–364. "Just as a serpent that sees someone coming to strike it instinctively makes a coil of its entire body and protects its head, even so these heretics hide themselves in the winding utterances of Aristotle and the other philosophers and so shield and defend themselves."

10. This is a reference to the difference over what would be called the Engagement which was subsequently approved by the majority of the parliament, though it would be opposed by a majority of the Kirk's General Assembly.

11. Epiphanius, p. 268.

12. Cf. *Works of St. Augustine: A Translation for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by J. E. Rotelle, 42 volumes (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 1995), volume 3/17. "Just as snakes, you see, in order to avoid bursting out and leaving their dens when they are being charmed, are said to press one ear to the ground and block the other with their tails." Cited from *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, edited by Thomas C. Oden, *Old Testament VIII, Psalms 51–150*, edited by Quentin F. Wesselschmidt, (IVP, 2007), 35.

could stop our eares at the voyce |
of the charmers. For ther be char- |
mers that charme indeed verie |
wyselie, but look who amongst |
you all is wysest if you mak ↓
no conscience to avoyd the compa- |
nie of men who are not for god & re- |
ligion but walkes by the ruelles of |
crooked carnall policie. you shall |
be stolen off[f] your feet, & leadd off[f] |
forth with the workers of iniqui- |
tie. 4. Augustine in another place |
telles us also of a 4th particular |
of the serpent's wisdom: he thruſtes |
himselves through a hole or clift |
of a rock and by this meanes rubbes |
off[f] his old skin & gettes a new one. |
he applies it to our enterie in at |
the ſtraite & narrow gate. Plin. |
lib. 3. cap. 27. ſayes that he scratch- |
es himself amongst the juniper |
trees bushes. wee muſt goe tho- |
rou the breirs of mortification. |
5. Plinius in that ſame place addes |
that wither the ſerpent hath con- |
tracted a dimnes of ſight, he doth |
anoint his eyes with ane herbe |
which he calles "marara," and this |
recovers the cleerenes of his ſight. |
Let us of our blindneſſe ſeeke of Jeſus |
that eye ſalve wherby wee may |
be cured that they that ſee not may |
ſee & they that ſee may be made |
blind. |

Another branche of the exhorta.^o15 ↓
is *be instructed*, or diſciplinat |
This points at 5 things in the |
context. 1. *be instructed*. ſay not |
as Chriſt's rebells v. 3. *Let us |*
breake ther bands aſunder & |
caſt ther coards from off[f] us, but |
ſerve the lord with feare, it is god |
& not man you have to doe with |

could stop our ears at the voice of the charmers. For there
are charmers that charm indeed very wisely, but look who
amongst you all is wisest if you make no conscience to avoid
the company of men who are not for God and religion, but
walks by the rules of crooked carnal policy.¹³ You shall be
stolen off your feet, and lead off forth with the workers of
iniquity.¹⁴

4. Augustine in another place tells of a fourth particular
of the serpent's wisdom: he thrusts himself through a hole
or cleft of a rock and by this means rubs off his old skin and
gets a new one.¹⁵ He applies it to our entering in at the strait
and narrow gate. Pliny (lib. 3. cap. 27),¹⁶ says that he scratches
himself amongst the juniper bushes. We must go through the
briers of mortification.

5. Plinius in that same place adds that wither the serpent
has contracted a dimness of sight, he anoints his eyes with an
herb, which he calls "marara," and this recovers the clearness
of his sight. Let us of our blindness seek of Jesus, that eye salve
whereby we may be cured, that they that see not may see and
they that see may be made blind.

Another branch of the exhortation is *be instructed*, or disci-
plined. This points at five things in the context. 1. *Be instructed*.
Say not as Christ's rebels (v. 3), *Let us break their bands asunder*
and cast their cords from off us, but *serve the Lord with fear*.
It is God and not man you have to do with. Either you must

13. This carnal policy was noted in the 1648 renewal of the cov-
enant and confession of sins, some months after this sermon. "... we
have followed, for the most part, the counsels of flesh and blood, and
walked more by the rules of policy than piety, and have hearkened
more unto men than unto God." ("A Solemn Acknowledgment of
Publick Sins, and Breaches of the Covenant," October 6, 1648, in *The*
Confession of Faith, etc. {Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855},
366). Archibald Johnson, Lord Wariston later condemned it at length
in *Causes of the Lord's Wrath* (.).

14. "As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the LORD
shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity..." Psalm 125:5.

15. Cf. Augustine, *Christian Instruction*, translated by John J. Gavi-
gan, in *The Fathers of the Church*, volume 2 (Washington, D.C.: The
Catholic University of America Press, 1947; 2002), 82–83. "It is well
known that a serpent exposes its whole body, rather than its head,
to those attacking it, and how clearly that explains the Lord's mean-
ing when He directed us to be 'wise as serpents.' We should, there-
fore, expose our body to persecutors, rather than our head, which
is Christ. Thus, the Christian faith, the head so to speak, may not be
killed in us, as it would be if, preserving our body, we were to reject
God! There is also the belief that, having forced itself through a small
opening in disposing of its old skin, the serpent gains renewed vigor.
How well this agrees with imitating the wisdom of the serpent and
stripping off the 'old man' that we may put on the new, as the Apostle
expresses it; and we must strip it off passing through narrow places,
since the Lord says: 'Enter by the narrow gate.'"

16. Pliny, *Natural History, Volume III: Books 8–11*, translated by H.
Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press, 1940;
1983), 73.

15. Rather than finish the word it appears Maxwell strikes out and
adds a period, apparently to note the abbreviation of "exhortation."