
John Brown of Wamphray: A Provisional Bibliography

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John Brown of Wamphray (c. 1610–1679) came from the Kirkcudbright area in southwest Scotland, and his mother Jean Brown was a correspondent of Samuel Rutherford. Rutherford thought highly of him. ‘Remember my love to John Brown,’ he wrote to one correspondent; ‘I never could get my love off that man; I think Christ hath something to do with him.’¹ To his mother, Rutherford said that he ‘saw Christ in Him, more than in his brethren’.² Brown seems to have begun university about the time that Rutherford was still in Edinburgh.

After studying there, he was called in 1655 to the parish of Wamphray near Lockerbie in Dumfriesshire. He was a man of ‘very great learning, warm zeal, and remarkable piety’, but his faithful work in the parish would not last long. He writes himself of how the hopes concerning Charles II were quickly dashed when he came to the throne in 1660. Soon ‘faces were filled with confusion because of the sad disappointment which now the Scottish people did meet with’. For now, ‘the work of the Reformation which had been wonderfully carried on by glorious mighty power of the Most High and cemented with the blood of His Saints ... was razed to the very foundation ... all things growing daily worse and worse’.³

Brown was forced out of his charge by the government in September 1662. He probably carried on preaching because he is said to have preached against those local ministers who had complied with the government. In

¹ A. A. Bonar (ed.), *Letters of Samuel Rutherford* (Edinburgh, 1891), Letter CCXLIII.

² Ibid., Letter CXXXI.

³ *An Apologeticall Relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professors of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660* ([Rotterdam], 1665), p. 68.

private conversation with him, these ministers had promised to resist. It is said that he hid in a cave near the manse, but he was caught and mounted on horse-back with his legs tied beneath. The soldiers stopped at the Annandale Arms in Moffat and a local man took pity on him and put a hat on Brown's head to shield him from the cold.

He was kept prisoner for five weeks in the horrible conditions of the Tolbooth prison in Edinburgh and badly treated. But as he wrote himself, 'They may cast a man in prison, that neither wife nor any of his relations shall have access to him to be refreshing and comfortable to him. But neither lock nor key, nor strong walls nor doors can keep out his God from him'.¹ He was banished from 'the King's dominions' and went to Holland to become a minister in Rotterdam.²

Robert McWard said of his sermons that they breathed 'nothing but faith in Christ, and communion with Him'.³ Some of those sermons can still be heard in a measure in reading books such as *Treatise on Prayer* and *Christ the Way*.⁴ It is possible that Brown was more useful to Scotland out of the country rather than in it. He produced nineteen volumes of writings, some of which are still in print. He earnestly supported the persecuted Church in Scotland, writing a defence of it and its principles in the *Apologeticall Relation*. The government immediately condemned the book for treason and ordered the hangman to burn it at the Mercat Cross. There was a huge fine of 2000 pounds Scots for anyone who was found to possess it.

Brown also assisted in the ordination of Richard Cameron whilst in Holland and preached on Jeremiah 2:35, 'Behold I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned. Because I am innocent surely his anger shall turn from me.' He did not live much longer, dying in September 1679. His colleague Robert McWard wrote, 'I observed him (his chamber being just above mine) to be much in prayer and communion with God as ever I observed any ... There ... is no minister now alive in the Church or Scotland, in the same class as him for abilities, fixedness and pure zeal according to knowledge.'⁵ It was therefore the greatest possible loss. As

¹ *The life of faith in times of trial and affliction cleared up and explained from Heb. X:XXXVIII* (Rotterdam, 1679), Bk I, p. 70.

² Thomas Lockerby, *A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. John Brown, sometime minister of the Gospel in Wamphray* (Edinburgh: Thornton and Collie, 1839), p. 33.

³ Quoted in Lockerby, *Life of the Rev. John Brown*, p. 177.

⁴ *Christ: The Way, the Truth, and the Life* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016) and *Godly Prayer and its Answers* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016).

⁵ National Library of Scotland (NLS), Wodrow Folio III, No. 103.

James Walker has observed, Brown was ‘without doubt, the most important theologian’ of the later Covenanting period.⁶

I. Overview of the Works

If any have heard of John Brown of Wamphray, it will probably be in connection with his recently reprinted devotional and practical works already mentioned. His pen was equally active, however, in pressing matters of Church principles. John Brown wrote various polemical works defending reformed worship, government, and practice including *Quakerisme, the Pathway to Paganisme* (1678), and his massive treatment of the Fourth Commandment, which includes many other topics – *De Causa Dei contra Anti-Sabbatarios Tractatus* (1674–6). According to James Walker, this magnum opus, ‘belongs among books to the order of the mightiest: it is great in length, great in learning, great in patient lifting of the subject, and in meeting of assertions and marshalling of arguments’.⁷

Along with these were defences of the suffering Covenanters during the hottest times of persecution. These focus, as we might expect, on matters of Church-state relations. For example, *An Apology for or Vindication of the oppressed persecuted ministers and professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland* (1677) outlines the main points for which the Covenanters were contending. Christ was the only head of his Church, and his revealed will in Scripture was the only rule for what was appointed to be observed in it. No mere mortal, no king, could claim supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. Brown also prepared a Latin defence of the principles for which Scottish Presbyterians were suffering, presumably for an international audience, but his ‘*Apologia pro Ecclesia Scoticana*’ was never published and remains in manuscript.

As one who preached at Richard Cameron’s ordination, Brown, not surprisingly, maintained a steadfast opposition to the Indulgences. These were devices of the government of the day to divide the Presbyterians by offering some ministers to be restored to parishes under certain conditions. Brown’s *History of the Indulgence* (1678) gives a full history, as well as scathing criticism, of those involved. Those sad times occasioned questions of conscience that needed to be addressed and Brown set himself

⁶ James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, 1560–1750* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1888), p. 106.

⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

to counsel the faithful in Scotland at this time. In one unpublished paper, he sets himself to answer the following question: ‘Whether or not the people of Scotland may now lawfully go and hear such as have complied with Episcopacy or are now set over them by bishops.’⁸ Later the question became whether one could attend the preaching of those who had accepted the Indulgences.⁹

The government also sought to impose many oaths on the people and these had to be carefully weighed as to whether they were lawful and consistent with covenanted obligations.¹⁰ In a time when there were no functioning Presbyterian Church courts in Scotland, it was also necessary to consider whether ministers could be ordained abroad in the context of the Dutch Church without being called and assigned to a particular congregation.¹¹ This was the solution to commissioning men like Richard Cameron to preach in the fields across Scotland and to administer the sacraments. The principles that the Westminster Assembly and others had worked out patiently now had to be applied in new and unforeseen contexts. This was Brown’s achievement – to maintain the principles advocated by Rutherford, Gillespie and others in a time of repression and dislocation and to uphold the spirituality of a suffering remnant.

II. Published Works

1. *An Apologeticall Relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professours of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660* ([Rotterdam], 1665). This is an abbreviation of the unpublished ‘Apologia’. The relationship between the two is not that of direct translation – there are matters dealt with in each which are not included in the other – but for the most part the subject matter is the same, and the manner of dealing with it in each work is very alike.

⁸ NLS, Wod. Quarto CV, ff. 78-96, c. 1664.

⁹ ‘John Brown on hearing the indulged’, c. 1678. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 19, f. 229.

¹⁰ ‘Whether or not it be lawfull for the people of God in Scotland to subscribe a bond wherein they oblige themselves to live peaceable and not to lift armes etc under a pecuniall penalty’, 1668, NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 12., f. 169. ‘If the people of Scotland be now obliged in their owning and appearing for the interest of Christ to avouch and swear positively to maintain and defend the King’s person and authority by virtue of their former covenants and oaths’, NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 13, f. 173.

¹¹ ‘Whether it be lawful nou for ministers to ordain persons qualified to the ministry without affixing them to any particular congregation’, NLS, Wod. Qu. XXVI, No. 15, f. 188.

2. *Epistola ad celeberrimam A.M. a Schurman in quâ placide examinatur nova ejus Sententia de Sabbato ad Die Dominica* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1674).
3. *Libri Duo In priori, Wolzogium, in libellis duobus de interprete Scripturarum, causam orthodoxam prodidisse demonstratur* (Amsterdam: Henricus Aquisgrano, 1670).¹²
4. *De causa Dei contra antisabbatarios tractatus* (2 vols., Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1674–1676).
5. *An apology for, or vindication of the oppressed persecuted ministers & professors of the Presbyterian reformed religion, in the Church of Scotland* (n.p., 1677).
6. *The History of the Indulgence, shewing its rise, conveyance, progress and acceptance* (Rotterdam, 1678).
7. *Quakerisme. The path-way to paganisme or a view of the quakers religion; being an examination of the theses and apologie of Robert Barclay, one of their number, published lately in latine, to discover to the world, what that is, which they hold and owne for the only true Christian religion* (Edinburgh: John Cairns, 1678).
8. *Christ, the Way, and the Truth, and the Life, or, a pointing forth the way of making use of Christ for justification, and especiall and more particularly for sanctification* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1677); also (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1678), (Edinburgh: Lumisden and Robertson, 1740), and (Edinburgh, 1839).
9. *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1679).
10. *The Life of Faith in times of trial and affliction cleared up and explained from Heb. X:XXXVIII* (Rotterdam, 1679); also (Edinburgh: Heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, 1716), (Edinburgh: John Ross, 1726), and (Paisley, 1824).¹³
11. *The Swan-Song: or the second part of the Life of faith, in times of trial & affliction* (Rotterdam, 1680); also (Edinburgh: Heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, 1716).
12. *Christ in believers, the Hope of glory* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1694); also (London, 1837).

¹² Grange Press have recently published an English translation of the twenty-four theses on the nature of the Church from the beginning of this volume.

¹³ The 1824 edition contains a previously unpublished 'Letter to Jean Ker, 9 August 1677'.

13. *The Life of Justification Opened, or, a treatise grounded upon Gal. 2.11. Wherein the orthodox doctrine of justification by faith, & imputation of Christ's righteousness, is clearly expounded, solidly confirmed, & learnedly vindicated from the various objections of its adversaries. Whereunto are subjoined some arguments against universal redemption* (Utrecht, 1695).
14. *Catalogus variorum praestantium theologicorum, aliorumque miscellaneorum librorum, maximâ ex parte Anglicâ linguâ conscriptorum* (Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1713).
15. *A pious and elaborate treatise concerning prayer and the answer of prayer* (Glasgow: John Robertson, 1745); also (Glasgow, 1822).
16. *A vindication of fellowship meetings and of hearing faithful suffering ministers* (Belfast: William Murdoch, 1753).
17. *An exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: David Paterson, 1766).
18. *Enoch's testimony opened up: in a practical treatise upon Hebrews XI. 5, 6. Wherein the nature, necessity, utility, and rarity of saving faith is discovered* (Edinburgh: David Paterson, 1771).
19. *A mirror: or, looking-glass for saint and sinner. The important doctrines of the law and gospel, opened up in a practical essay, from Gal. II.19* (Glasgow: Peter M'Arthur, 1793).

III. Unpublished Works¹⁴

1. 'Propositions against B(isho)p Stillingfleet's Irenicum'. A treatise, in his own hand, by John Brown. From the names of other controversialists quoted from or referred to in the text, it would appear to have been written not long after the first publication of the *Irenicum* in 1659. The absence of a title page, the presence of a number of additions and deletions to the text, and of small groups of blank leaves at various places throughout the work, suggest that it may have reached an advanced, but not the final stage of composition. Two early eighteenth-century printed legal papers, unrelated either to the work or to each other, are bound in at ff. 1 and 263. NLS, Wod. Qu. LXII, 264ff.
2. An exchange of views on matters of faith between John Brown of Wamphray and a Roman Catholic laird, Robert Johnston of

¹⁴ I acknowledge the kind help of Dr Ulrike Hogg of the National Library of Scotland in obtaining information on the manuscripts in the Wodrow Collection. Much of the commentary on manuscripts is quoted from the National Library catalogues.

- Newton, in a series of letters, 1660–1. NLS, Wod. Qu. C, Nos. 9-16, ff. 137-268.
3. Copy in his own hand of John Brown's bond to go into exile, 15 December 1662. NLS, Wod. Qu. LXII, No. 5, f. 104.
 4. 'Apologia pro Ecclesia Scoticana a.d. 1660 misere afflicta'. Laing MSS 784, 4 vols. in University Library of Edinburgh; also 'Apologia pro Ecclesia Scoticana', NLS, Wod. Fol. LXXI.
 5. 'Whether or not the people of Scotland may now lawfully goe and hear such as have complied with Episcopacie or are now sett over them by bishops.' A tract by John Brown of Wamphray, probably c.1664. NLS, Wod. Qu. CV, No. 8, ff. 78-96; see also NLS, Wod. Qu. XXVI, ff. 164-8.
 6. Letter, 20 December? 1665, to the Rev. Robert McWard. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 9.
 7. A treatise, in his own hand, by John Brown, originally entitled 'Vindiciæ, or a Vindication of the Apologeticall Relation from the exceptiones lately made against it by the author of the second part of the Survey of Naphtali' (f. 1), and subsequently retitled 'Caesariopapatus or The Kings supremacy in & about church matters debated in answere to the Author of the second part of the Survey of Naphtali &c' (f. v verso). The treatise, which appears to be unpublished, was 'written in the year 1670' and is both a reply to part II of the *Survey of Naphtali* by Andrew Honeyman, (published anonymously at Edinburgh, 1669, as was part I the previous year) and an addition to Brown's own *Apologeticall Relation* (1665). It appears to be incomplete, lacking leaves after f. 147. Two early eighteenth-century printed legal papers, unrelated either to the treatise or to each other, are bound in at ff. i and viii. NLS, Wod. Qu. LXI, ix + 147ff.
 8. A copy in a late seventeenth-century hand, by Wodrow copyist (4), of part of 'Apologia pro Ecclesia Scoticana anno Dom. 1660, etc. misere affecta'. NLS, Wod. Qu. XII, 205 ff. Despite the date quoted in the title, the work records later events, including the scaffold speeches of those men who were executed in December 1666 (ff. 188v-204v). From comparison with another fair copy of the work, Wod. Fol. LXXI (item 4 above), it would appear that this copy contains approximately the first quarter of the original work.
 9. Letter containing a testimony after Pentland. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 44.
 10. Letter 13 July 1668 after Pentland. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 12.

11. Letter 16 July 1668 after Pentland. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 13.
12. 'Whether or not it be lawfull for the people of God in Scotland to subscribe a bond wherein they oblige themselves to live peaceable and not to lift armes etc under a pecuniall penalty'. A paper by John Brown, 1668. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 12, f. 169.
13. 'If the people of Scotland be now obliged in their owning and appearing for the interest of Christ to avouch and swear positively to maintain and defend the King's person and authority by virtue of their former covenants and oaths.' In John Brown's hand. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 13, f. 173.
14. 'Some remarks upon a paper called a narrative concerning the carriage of some ministers who appeared before the [Privy] Council in July last 1672 written in answer to a friend'. An attack on the second Indulgence of 1672 by John Brown in reply to a paper by John Baird, minister of Paisley, who had responded to Robert Fleming in 1669. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 15, f. 193.
15. 'Answer to objections in favour of the indulgence'. In John Brown's hand. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 17, f. 215.
16. 'Considerations on the Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy'. Mr J. Broun's hand prob. 1669. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 47.
17. 'Testimonium nostrorum adversus Wolzogeni Librum de Interp. Script.' Letter by John Brown. The reply of the exiled Scots ministers to the Classis of Leuwarden in Friesland concerning Ludwig Wolzogen's book, *De Scripturarum interprete adversus exercitatorum paradoxum libri duo* (Utrecht, 1668). Wolzogen was professor of Church History at Utrecht. See Brown's book in reply to this: *Libri duo in priori Wolzogium in libellus duobus de interprete Scripturarum... in posteriori Lamberti Velthusi sententi libertino* (Amsterdam, 1670). This probably places the letter c. 1669. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 9, f. 153.
18. John Brown's 'Epistola' against schism in the Dutch Church, 1669. This probably relates to the activities of the pastors of the 'Nadere Reformatie' (Further Reformation); for other documents relating to the 'Nadere Reformatie', especially to the activities of Jacob Koelman, see Wod. Oct. IX, Nos. 27-28. NLS, Wod. Qu. XXXI, No. 11, f. 135.
19. 'Paper on the accommodation' in Mr Brown's hand 1670. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 63.
20. 'Informatio de Statis et Conditione Joannis Brown'. Brown supplied to the States General a paper of information concerning himself in which

he denies that he or his colleague were ever convicted of treason. 1670. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 64.

21. Copy of a letter concerning the Indulgence, in John Brown's hand, c. 1670(?). This seems to be answering the set of defences of the Indulgence (f. 225) which are reproduced at the end of Brown's letter. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 18, f. 217.
22. 'Some observations on a paper, containing a vindication of the accepters of the Indulgence, AD 1672.' A reply by John Brown to an indulged minister defending the Indulgence. NLS, Wod. Qu. C, No. 20, f. 279v.
23. John Brown to Anna Maria van Schurman, an incomplete Latin letter, n.d., on the visible Church as discussed in chapter 5 of her *A.M. a Schurman Eukleria seu Melioris Partis electio: Tractatus brevem vitæ ejus delineationem exhibens* (Altona near Hamburg, 1673). NLS, Wod. Qu. C, No. 21, f. 291v.
24. 'The unlawfulness of taking the bond shewed', 18 June 1674, John Brown. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 11, f. 165.
25. John Brown's address to the ministers and professors in the United Provinces concerning Christ's kingly power and worship, ?1674. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 21, f. 255.
26. 'A Conference betwixt a Hollander and a Zealander concerning D. Koelman's business', in Brown's hand, ?1674. This concerns Jacob Koelman, minister of Sluis, part of the 'Nadere Reformatie' movement in the Dutch Church who rejected holy days and set liturgies. Disciplinary action was taken against him by the Lords of Zeeland in 1674 and 1684; see also Wod. Oct. IX, f. 143; Wod. Qu. XXXI, f. 135; and Wod. Qu. C, ff. 291-99. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 20, f. 234.
27. 'An answer to Mr Plantius' case proposed and resolved in reference to D. [Jacob] Koelman'. NLS, Wod. Qu. C, No. 22, f. 299.
28. 'Animadversion on the resolutions of the states of Zeeland, June 12, 1675.' NLS, Wod. Qu. C, No. 23.
29. 'Mr Jo. Brouns Testimoniall wt Zeal. States.' NLS, Wod. Fol. LX. No. 83.
30. A paper in support of Jacob Koelman and the 'Nadere Reformatie' movement in the Netherlands. Koelman was expelled from Zeeland in 1675. NLS, Wod. Qu. C, f. 303v.
31. 'Whether it be lawful nou for ministers to ordain persons qualified to the ministry without affixing them to any particular congregation', by

- John Brown, minister of Wamphray, probably c. 1675, when the issue was under discussion in Scotland. NLS, Wod. Qu. XXVI, No. 15, f. 188.
32. Last Will and Testament (original), April 1676. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 90.
 33. 'Mr Brouns petition & the Declaration of a physitian Feb. 1677'. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 65.
 34. Letter 7 October 1678 to the Rev. John Dickson. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 90.
 35. Letter 7 October 1678 to the Rev. John Welsh (of Irongray). NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 90.
 36. Letter 7 October 1678 to the Rev. Richard Cameron. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 90.
 37. Letter 7 October 1678 to Mr Thomas Hog, Younger. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 93.
 38. Letter 6 March 1679 to the Rev. John Dickson. NLS, Wod. Fol. LIX, No. 93.
 39. Letter of John Brown of Wamphray, 7 October 1678, against the Indulgence with an answer entitled 'Remarks on a decretal epistle sent over from Batavia' in favour of using the Indulgence. NLS, Wod. Qu. XXXIV, No. 20, f. 242.
 40. John Brown's defence (?1677) of the appendix to the third edition of Samuel Rutherford's *Letters*, ([Rotterdam], 1675). This was in answer to an attack on the appendix by George Keith, the Quaker polemicist: *The way cast up, and the stumbling-blockes removed from before the feet of those, who are seeking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. Containing an answere to a postscript, printed at the end of Sam Rutherford's letters, third edition, by a namelesse author, indeed not without cause, considering the many lyes and falshoods therein, against the people, called Quakers, which are here disproved, and refuted; and the truth of what we hold touching those particulars faithfully declared, according to the scriptures. By George Keith, prisoner in the tolbooth of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1677). The author of the disputed appendix attacking the Quakers was almost certainly Robert McWard (f. 109 and *Quakerisme, the Pathway to Paganisme*, p. 563). NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 8, the second part (f. 125).
 41. John Brown's testimony, May 1677, in response to Charles II's request, 1676, that he be banished. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 22, f. 276.

42. John Brown on hearing the indulged, c. 1678; see Wod. Qu. XXXV, passim. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 19, f. 229.
43. 'A Declaration expressing the grounds of our rising in armes at this time and our designs and true intentions in this undertaking.' A declaration by Brown intended for the Bothwell Bridge uprising of 1679, but in the event not sent. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 24, f. 306.
44. Letter of John Brown to J.S., 2 May 1679 – probably to Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 25, f. 314.
45. Exhortation by Brown on afflictions – perhaps a communion address. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 28, f. 321.
46. Note by John Brown in Latin on the Covenants. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 29, f. 330.
47. 'Questio Formata et proposita in Mr Brown's hand about outed ministers.' NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 41.
48. 'Rationis pro ministiris Scotice oblatie wt considerationes &c.' in Mr J. Brouns Hand. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 69.

IV. Published Works in Dutch Translation

1. *Getuygenis en verklaringe van eenighe predikanten uyt Schotlant, woonende hier te lande, tegen de opinien en pracktijcken van mr. Jean de Labadie en synen aenhangh: mitsgaders een kort en oprecht verhael van het danssen, kussen, en omhelsen van mr. Jean de Labadie en zijn geselschap geschiet binnen Erfort, na datse het heylige Avondmaal hadden gehouden en oock op andere tijden* (Rotterdam: Joannes Borstius, 1671).
2. *Christus de Hoop der heerlijkheyd in de geloovigen*, in convoluut met *Christus, de Wegh, de Waarheydt, ende het Leven* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1676).
3. *Christus de Hoop der heerlijkheidt in de geloovigen* (Amsterdam: Jan Bouman, 1679).
4. *Christus, de Wegh, de Waarheidt, ende het Leven* (Amsterdam: Jan Bouman, 1679).
5. *Christus de Hoop der heerlijkheidt in de geloovigen* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1680).
6. *Christus, de Wegh, de Waarheidt, ende het Leven* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1680).

7. *Christus de Hoop der heerlijkheid in de geloovigen*, in convoluut met *Christus, de Wegh, de Waarheid, ende het Leven* (Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1686).
8. *Christus de Hoop der heerlijkheid in de geloovigen*, in convoluut met *Christus, de Wegh, de Waarheid, ende het Leven* (Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1696).
9. *Het leeuen des geloofs ten tyde van beproevingen* (Leiden: Joh. Hasebroek, 1736).
10. *Een godtvrugtige en doorwrogte verhandelinghe over het gebedt* (Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt & Adrianus Douci, 1745).
11. *De toegang tot Gods genadetroon geopend door den godvrugten bidder* (Utrecht/Rotterdam: Abraham Bothall, Dirk Vis & Pit Holsteyn, 1767).

V. Unpublished Works written to or about John Brown

1. Letter, 8 May 1665, to John Brown, praising his *An apologeticall relation, of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professours of the Church of Scotland, since August. 1660*. There is a later pencil attribution to John Nevay, but the letter is not in his hand. NLS, Wod. Qu. CV, No. 9, ff. 97-100.
2. Brown allowed to settle in Utrecht. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 65.
3. Act of Privy Council, 23 December 1662, postponing John Brown of Wamphray's banishment. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 5, f. 103.
4. Recommendation from States General. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No 81.
5. 'Formulier van instructie voor den capiteyn generael', in Dutch, no date. Apparently a description of the powers of a captain-general, sent to Brown. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCVIII, No. 26, f. 318.
6. Letters between States General and English Government about Brown and his colleagues. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, Nos. 75, 77, 78, 81.

VI. Unpublished Works by others but in the hand of John Brown

1. 'Some instances of the oppressions of the honest people of Galloway and Nithsdale', 1663-4. A list of fines and bad behaviour by the occupying forces, including 'instances of the blasphemous carriage of the soldiers'. This paper (f. 276r) includes an account of a parody of divine worship which involved singing of Alexander Montgomery's 'The Cherry and the Slae' instead of the psalms. It is in John Brown's hand. NLS, Wod. Qu. C, No. 18, f. 275.

2. 'Vision of Robert Jamieson's wife in Glenluce', 5 October 1651, who prophesied that 'Ministers and their flock should not get liberty to meet except in mosses and brae sides', printed in J. Maidment (ed.), *Historical Fragments relative to Scottish affairs, from 1635 to 1664* (Edinburgh, 1833), item 4 (p. 12n). For another copy, see Wod. Oct. XV, f. 22. She recounted the vision to John Scott, minister of Glenluce, who was involved in the laying of the 'Glenluce Devil'. Copy of the vision in John Brown's hand. NLS, Wod. Qu. XCIX, No. 4, f. 52.
3. 'An account of the host from Glasgow', 1 February 1678. Copied in John Brown's hand, but apparently from a lowlander serving with the force. It contains a detailed description of the Highland troops, partly printed in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Transactions of the Iona Club, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh, 1839), Appendix, p. 41. With it is 'A relation of the practices of the host in the shire of Air from Feb. 3 or 9', NLS, Wod. Qu. XCIX, No. 29, f. 206.
4. 'Dom: Koolmans (sic) arguments agst Formularies vindicat. Mr J. Brouns hand & draught probly 1674'. NLS, Wod. Fol. LX, No. 69.