
Notes on some Scottish Covenanters and Ultra-Covenanters of the Eighteenth Century, II

D. W. B. SOMERSET

V. Some prominent Macmillanites

We now turn to the main Covenanting group, the Hamiltonians, who after 1706 can be called the Macmillanites, and after 1743 the Reformed Presbyterians.¹ The history of the Macmillanites is not the subject of this paper, having been covered in Hutchison's *Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* and Reid's *Cameronian Apostle*, but we do want to give short accounts of some prominent Hamiltonians and Macmillanites who have not been adequately treated elsewhere.

1. James Kid (1666–1744)

James Kid was born in 1666, probably in Borrowstounness. As a young man he acted as collector and treasurer for the general meetings of the United Societies. In 1690, as we have seen, he visited the Cotmuir Folk, apparently as a representative of the Societies.² They were unimpressed with his religious attainments, but perhaps he was equally so with theirs.³ About 1691 he was sent by the Societies to Utrecht to study

¹ Part I of this paper appeared in *SRSJ*, Vol. 6 (2016), pp. 87-130 (and is referenced below as 'Part I'). It was anticipated there that one further instalment would suffice, but the matter has expanded. In the numbering scheme of Part I, this present paper is Section V.

² Part I, p. 98.

³ [Andrew and John Harley], *The Ravished Maid in the Wilderness, or, A True Account of the Raise, Causes and Continuance of the Difference between a Suffering Party of Presbyterians, commonly called Cotmure Folk, and these that follows Mr John Mackmillan, commonly called Mountain Men* ([Edinburgh?], 1708), p. 14.

Philosophy and Divinity,⁴ and in 1692 they appointed him to arrange the printing of their Sanquhar Declaration of August 1692 and also Hugh Binning's *Case of Conscience*. Both works were printed in Utrecht the following year, but were regarded as seditious and Kid was apprehended and imprisoned.⁵ His imprisonment was referred to as something recent in a letter of 13th May 1693 by Sir Robert Hamilton, who himself had just been released from prison.⁶

Another covenanting work that was printed in 1693, evidently in Holland, was the third edition of *Naphtali*. This contained material additional to the editions of 1667 and 1680, especially on James Mitchell (who had attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharp in 1668), John Kid and John King (executed after the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679), and the five men executed on Magus Muir in 1679. James Kid may well have been involved in the reprinting of this too.⁷

About this time, Robert Smith was sent out by the United Societies to help Kid if possible, but he could do no more than transmit a packet of letters to him. Finding Utrecht to be too dangerous, Smith commenced arts studies in Groningen, but after one session Kid was released from prison and Smith returned to Utrecht so that they could study together. By this time, however, Kid was, according to

⁴ Charles Umpherston Aitchison (ed.), *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie* (Belfast, 1869), p. 54; J. Calderwood, *A Collection of the Dying Testimonies of Some Holy and Pious Christians* (Kilmarnock, 1806), p. 212. Accounts of Kid can be found in John Brown, *Gospel Truth Accurately Stated* (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1831), p. 81; D.C.A. Agnew, *Theology of Consolation* (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 304; and Hew Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae (Fasti)* (8 vols, 2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1915–1950), Vol. 1, p. 226, but very little is known about his early career.

⁵ John Howie, *Faithful Witness-Bearing Exemplified* (Kilmarnock, 1783), p. iv; M. Leishman (ed.), *The Works of Hugh Binning* (Edinburgh, 1858), p. xvi.

⁶ *The Christian's Conduct: or, a witness for truth against error* (Edinburgh, 1762), p. 46. Sir Robert was arrested on 10th September 1692 and imprisoned until 5th May 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 26–7. See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) entry for Sir Robert where the date of his release is incorrectly given as 15th May 1693.

⁷ Elaborate plans for a covenanting martyrology had been afoot since 1682, but this third edition of *Naphtali* was all that came of them at the time. The additional material, amounting to more than a third of the original edition, had probably been prepared by Alexander Shields in 1680. See Mark Jardine, 'The United Societies: Militancy, Martyrdom and the Presbyterian Movement in Late Restoration Scotland, 1679–1688' (University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis, 2009), Vol. 1, pp. 36, 217–221. Another English work, printed in 1695 and apparently in Utrecht, was John Brown of Wamphray's *Life of Justification*. The preface states that Brown had entrusted this to Jacobus Koelman, who died in Utrecht early in 1695, and the work was finally seen through the press by Melchior Leydecker. Possibly this also had some Hamiltonian funding.

Smith, 'losing his old ground, and slacking as to his old principles, and drinking but too well in the indulged, lax, Erastian principles', and thus 'he became a snare, burden, and trial rather than a comfort and help to me'.⁸ They both returned to Scotland, Kid being home by December 1697, if not earlier.⁹

It does not seem, however, that other prominent members of the United Societies shared Robert Smith's dissatisfaction with Kid,¹⁰ and on 25th October 1699, the United Societies resolved to send Kid back to Holland, together with Charles Umpherston, for licensing and ordination. Sir Robert Hamilton was supposed to go ahead to smooth the way, but his health made this impossible and the plan came to nothing.¹¹ In 1704, some issue (possibly simply a desire to be ordained and to preach the Gospel) arose between Kid and the United Societies and he left them and joined the Church of Scotland.¹² He was licensed by Presbytery of Dunfermline on 27th February 1706 and ordained to Queensferry on 28th September 1710. His subsequent career and his involvement with the Marrow controversy is part of another story. He died in 1744.

2. Hugh Clark (1688–1724)

Hugh Clark (or Clerk) was born about 1688, and he appears to have been from somewhere near Dunblane. He attended Edinburgh University, graduating on 13th June 1711.¹³ By this stage he was already writing for the Macmillanites. It has been suggested that he composed the poem on the Martyrs' Monument in Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh in 1706 but we have given our reasons elsewhere for thinking that William Swanstoun is more likely to have been the author.¹⁴

⁸ *Dying Testimonies*, pp. 212-3.

⁹ *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie*, p. 49. Hutchison says, erroneously, that Kid left the United Societies at this stage, M. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: its origin and history, 1680–1876* (Edinburgh, 1893), p. 131.

¹⁰ Two of Kid's letters to Helen Alexander, from March 1698 and March 1701, are in *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie*, pp. 54-57. They betray no sign of any strain between Kid and the United Societies.

¹¹ *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie*, p. 70.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 54; *Dying Testimonies*, p. 214.

¹³ D. Laing (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1858), p. 187.

¹⁴ *Cloud of Witnesses*, ed. J.H. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1871), p. xiii; J.H. Thomson, *Martyr Graves of Scotland* (2nd edn., Edinburgh, [1903]), p. 65; *The Bulwark*, April-June 2014, pp. 3-11.

(i) Apologist for the Macmillanites

We noticed under ‘Patrick Grant’ (in Part I) that Macmillan and Macneil’s *Protestation, Declinature, and Appeal* against the Commission of Assembly in September 1708 generated a pamphlet war.¹⁵ One reply came from Patrick Grant, condemning Macmillan from Grant’s more extreme perspective, but another reply, variously attributed either to the minister Thomas Linning alone or to Linning and James Webster, attacked Macmillan from a Church of Scotland position.¹⁶ The Cotmuir Folk replied to Linning’s pamphlet, as we have seen, mainly ignoring Macmillan and condemning Linning for his desertion of Cameronianism. Hugh Clark also responded with *A Modest Reply*, his earliest publication, which takes the form of a relatively calm defence of Macmillan together with an attack on the Church of Scotland.¹⁷

Clark’s pamphlet led to an indignant rejoinder from ‘One of the ministers of this present Church’, whom Couper identifies as ‘Mr A. Hamilton’, presumably Alexander Hamilton of Airth.¹⁸ Though written in May 1710, this rejoinder was not published until 1712, for some reason. The identification of the author as Hamilton of Airth receives

¹⁵ Part I, p. 95.

¹⁶ *A letter from a friend to Mr. John Mackmillan, wherein is demonstrate the contrariety of his principles, and practices, to the Scripture, our Covenants, Confession of Faith, and practice of Christ, and the primitive Christians: containing also remarks on his and Mr. John Mackniely’s printed Protestation, Declinature and Appeal, compared with what they [sic] gave in to the commission of the late General Assemblie, upon the 29th day of September 1708, the one vastly differing from the other* (n.p., [1709]), 17 pages. Couper attributes the pamphlet to Linning and Webster, and dates it to October 1709, based on a MS note; see W.J. Couper, ‘The literature of the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (RSCHS), Vol. 5 (1935), p. 230. Certainly, Linning seems to have been the main author. In his *Modest Reply*, Hugh Clark says that he had been ‘certainly informed’ that it was ‘the product of more pens than one’ (note on reverse of title-page).

¹⁷ [Hugh Clark], *A Modest Reply to a pamphlet, intituled; A letter from a friend to Mr. John McMillan, showing that his principles and practise, are consonant to the Word of God, our Confession of Faith and Covenants* (n.p., [1710]), 50 pages. Robert Wodrow attributes the pamphlet to a most unlikely ‘club’, *Analecta* (4 vols, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1842–3), Vol. 1, p. 278, but H.M.B. Reid, *A Cameronian Apostle: Being Some Account of John Macmillan of Balmaghie* (Paisley, 1896), p. x and Couper, ‘The literature of the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church’, RSCHS, Vol. 5, p. 230 to Hugh Clark.

¹⁸ *Just Reflections upon a pamphlet, entitled, A modest reply to a letter from a friend to Mr. John M’millan. Part I. Containing reflections on the reply to the preface ...* (n.p., 1712), 48 pages. *Just Reflections upon a pamphlet, entitled, A modest reply to a letter from a friend to Mr. John M’millan. Part II. Containing reflections on the reply to the letter it self. ... By the author of the former part. Written in May, Anno 1710* (Edinburgh, 1712). See Couper, ‘The literature of the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church’, RSCHS, Vol. 5, p. 231.

some confirmation from the pamphlet's defence of those who took the Indulgence.¹⁹ Hamilton's father-in-law was the covenanting minister Robert Steedman of Carriden who had accepted the Indulgence of 1687.²⁰

Meanwhile, in 1710 the United Societies resumed a project that had been exercising them intermittently for nearly thirty years. As already mentioned, the intention had been formed as early as 1682–3 of publishing a martyrology of the sufferings since 1660, but various things had hindered this.²¹ In October 1710 it was decided that the names and testimonies of the martyrs were to be gathered 'against the next General Meeting' and in February 1711 these were put into the hands of Hugh Clark and Alexander Marshall to be compared and transcribed by them.²² Clark and Marshall were also instructed to visit Linning to view the testimonies that he had received from Alexander Shields. One wonders what sort of reception Linning gave them.

From 1710 onwards, Clark was one of the principal writers for the Macmillanites, but he was not the only one publishing in their defence. In 1711 another tract against Macmillan appeared, entitled *The Friendly Conference*, and usually attributed to Thomas Linning.²³ An unidentified Macmillanite writer responded, but with an asperity that contrasted with the smooth manner of Clark.²⁴ Linning replied in turn with even greater asperity.²⁵

¹⁹ See *Just Reflections, Part I*, pp. 17–18.

²⁰ *Fasti*, Vol. 1, p. 198. Alexander Hamilton (1663–1738) was minister successively of Ecclesmachan, Airth, and Stirling. As a student at Edinburgh University, he had removed James Guthrie's head from the Netherbow Port. In 1714 he published a *Short Catechism*, on account of which he was examined for eight days by the Committee on Purity of Doctrine in 1720 during the Marrow Controversy. See his entry in N.M. de S. Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993).

²¹ See *Cloud of Witnesses* (1871 edn), pp. x–xiii; Jardine, 'The United Societies', pp. 217–221.

²² Clark was living in the parish of Kincardine-in-Menteith, to the west of Dunblane, as we shall see in a moment, and it is highly likely that Marshall was living in the same parish. He is recorded as being resident in that parish in 1723 and again in 1725; see H. Paton (ed.), *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies* (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 31, 33.

²³ *The friendly conference, or, a discourse between the country man and his nephew, who having fallen off from hearing; hath for some years been a follower of Mr. McMillan: Wherein his objections against the Church and State being proposed and answered ... The manifold difference between Mr. McMillan & Mr. James Renwick, with the worthies that went before him, is clearly (though briefly illustrated,) ...* (Edinburgh, 1711), 56 pages.

²⁴ *A short survey of a pamphlet entituled, A friendly conference betwixt a country-man and his nephew. Wherein is discovered the lameness and falsehood of the author's defences of the backslidings of this Church* (n.p., [1712]), 44+36 pages.

²⁵ *The survey of The Friendly Conference: Or The discourse between the countrie man and his nephew: breiflie examined, wherein the countrie-man assertions, and arguings*

In November 1712, Clark published a pamphlet opposing the Oath of Abjuration, with the title *The Oath of Abjuration Displayed*.²⁶ This was an open letter addressed to the minister of the parish in which he had been residing for some years, who was active on the jurors' side of the controversy.²⁷ According to a note of Wodrow's, this minister was Matthew Wallace of Kincardine-in-Menteith in the Presbytery of Dunblane. Clark's pamphlet, which makes some pertinent points against the Abjuration Oath, provoked two able replies, one from John M'Murdo, minister of Torthorwald in Dumfriesshire, entitled *An Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled The Oath of Abjuration Displayed*,²⁸ and the other by an unknown author with the title *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet Entituled The Oath of Abjuration Display'd*.²⁹ Both replies were substantially longer and warmer than the original. In their *Checklist* of Anglo-Scottish tracts of the period, McLeod and McLeod were critical of Clark, whose pamphlet, they say, 'proved him a man lacking toleration in such matters'. M'Murdo, on the other hand, they esteemed as 'a learned but moderate man who was unwilling to allow the religious extremists to prevail'; and his pamphlet 'was a "no nonsense" pamphlet by one who had suffered more than enough at the hands of extremists and was now ready to fight back with historical precedents,

are confirmed and vindicat, the surveyers lyes slanders, willful misrepresentations and inconsequential reasonings are detected... and the lamenose of his answers to the countreymans quuries clearly discovered (n.p., n.d), 32 pages.

²⁶ *The Oath of Abjuration Displayed: in its sinfull nature and tendency, in its inconsistency with Presbyterian principles and Covenants, the security it affords to the Church of England; together with some remarks upon the evasions and explications offered thereupon, by the ministers who took it, shewing them to be contradictory to the sense of the Oath and meaning of the imposers; being the copy of a letter sent to one of the jurant-ministers of the Presbytery of Dumblane [sic]* (n.p., 1712), 24 pages. A second edition was published the following year. Hutchison, in a surprising mistake, says that the author was 'a member of the Established Church', *Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, p. 160.

²⁷ *Oath of Abjuration Displayed*, p. 4.

²⁸ *An Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, The Oath of Abjuration Displayed; wherein all that is therein advanced to prove the sinful nature and tendency of the said oath, in its alledged inconsistency with Presbyterian principles and covenants... is fully obviated* (n.p., 1713), 58 pages. As Couper notes, there can be no doubt from the title-page and ornaments that it was printed by Peter Rae at Kirkbride near Enterkinfoot; see 'The literature of the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church', *RSCHS*, Vol. 5, p. 231. Strangely, though, it was omitted in G.W. Shirley, 'Dumfries Printers in the Eighteenth Century, with Handlists of their Books', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History Society*, Series III, Vol. 18 (1931-33), pp. 129-187.

²⁹ *Some Remarks on a Pamphlet, entituled, The Oath of Abjuration display'd in its sinful nature and tendency, etc. Wherein the queries in that pamphlet are considered; and some counter-queries are offered to the author* (Edinburgh, 1713), 52 pages.

with common sense, with logic, and with annoyance at the humourless, nit-picking, self-righteous work of Hepburnites and other extremists.³⁰

In point of fact, Clark's pamphlet was not humourless. In his opening remarks against the Abjuration Oath, he says: 'For albeit I be under no Tentation personally to take that Oath, as having neither any Post, Preferment, or fat Benefice to be deprived of which, I must own, are very weighty and prevailing Motives with many to embrace it, nor yet being in hazard of undergoing the Horrid Penalty of an insupportable fine, namely 500 Pound Sterling, whereby the Parliament makes men take it Heartily, willingly, ...' This jibe nettled M'Murdo and he certainly 'fought back with annoyance'. Indeed M'Murdo's assessment of Clark's pamphlet was 'that there is more spite and rancor, more immodesty and confidence, in his way of writing, and a design in it, of a more wicked and mischievous nature, than is to be found in all I have seen written against the Abjuration: unless it be *The Survey of a Conference betwixt the Uncle and Nephew*.'³¹

By March 1714, Hugh Clark was acting as Clerk to the General Meeting, and Hutchison quotes a remarkable letter which Clark wrote on behalf of the Meeting to John Kirkpatrick of Closeburn. In the 1680s, Kirkpatrick had betrayed the covenanter John Mathieson of Closeburn to the dragoons, and Mathieson had been banished to Carolina in 1684. After various wanderings he had returned to Scotland in 1687, subsequently dying in 1709.³² A gravestone had been set up recording his sufferings, and probably mentioning Kirkpatrick by name. Kirkpatrick had recently destroyed this.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, We have received Information from our friends in Nithsdale how you, retaining your old malignity and enmity against the people of God, have in pursuance thereof adventured to run the risque of meddling with the monument of the dead, demolishing and breaking the gravestone of a sufferer for the cause of Christ which is highly criminal in the eyes of the law, and is more than your neck is worth, and deserves just severity as bringing to remembrance your old hatred, and the hand you had in his sufferings. And now ye seem to be longing for a visit for your old murdering actions, which if you would evite, we straitly charge and command you, upon your perill to repair the stone, by laying one upon

³⁰ W. R. McLeod and V. B. McLeod, *Anglo-Scottish Tracts, 1701-1714* (Kansas, 1979), pp. 8, 164, 186.

³¹ *Oath of Abjuration Displayed*, p. 4; *An Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, The Oath of Abjuration Displayed*, pp. 8-9, 54.

³² For John Mathieson, see *Dying Testimonies*, pp. 176-188; *Martyr Graves*, pp. 432-435.

the grave, fully as good as the former with the same precise motto as well engraven, and that you perform the work with all expedition, and if it be not done against May day first, which is a sufficient time, we promise to pay you a visit, perhaps to your cost, and if you oblige us thereto, assure yourself that your old deeds will be remembered to purpose which, to assure you of, we have ordered this to be written in presence of our correspondence at Crawfordjohn, March 1, 1714, and subscribed in our name by Hu. Clark.³³

In the same year, Clark published his *Converse betwixt two Presbyterians*.³⁴ This was written in anticipation of the death of Queen Anne on 1st August 1714 but while she was still alive. It was a response to *Britain's Alarm*, by a minister of the Established Church, which had asserted that

It's astonishing to observe that some of these, who pretend to the greatest Strictness of Principle among Presbyterians, and who would be bought to be the only faithful Adherers to the covenanted Work of Reformation, in their Lands, yet have a great Aversation to the Protestant Successor, and a wonderful Fondness of the St. Germans Pretender.³⁵

Clark was seeking to explain the exact position of the Macmillanites. They had no 'fondness' for the Pretender, and their unhappiness over the Hanoverian succession was simply because it was 'loaded with unhappy limitations of English Laws'.³⁶ In 1714, Macmillan's 'Representation of Grievances', which he sent to the new king, gave great offence to his followers, and several of the Societies sent in papers of protest. That of the Tinwald Society was composed by Hugh Clark, who appears to have been living near Dumfries at the time. Probably Clark was among those

³³ Hutchison, *Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, p. 172. The inscription on the present gravestone, which is ancient, reads: 'Here lyeth the corpse of John Mathieson who was banished to foreign lands for adhering to the covenanted work of reformation, of which John Kilpatrick of Bridgeburghhead had on chief hand. He returned from hence and lived many years. He died in 1710 aged 69'.

³⁴ *A converse betwixt two Presbyterians of the Established Church: an elder and a preacher. Wherein, the Presbyterian dissenters from the Establish'd Church, are vindicate from the charge of Jacobitism; their principles anent civil government, are fairly stated, ... and several important objections thereanent, answered. For confirmation of the weak, and information of the misinformed in that matter* (n.p., 1714), 52 pages.

³⁵ *Britain's alarm to all true Protestants. Shewing the great danger we are in of a popish successor, and the inevitable ruin that will ensue ... By a sincere lover of the Protestant religion, and the Protestant succession in the illustrious family of Hanover* (London, 1714), 23 pages (see p. 4).

³⁶ *A converse betwixt two Presbyterians*, p. 52. This 'dialogue' of Clark's won the approval of John Calderwood of Clanfin, *Dying Testimonies*, p. 464.

who temporarily separated from Macmillan over this incident, but he was associating with him again by March 1718.³⁷

(ii) *Cloud of Witnesses*, 1714 and 1720

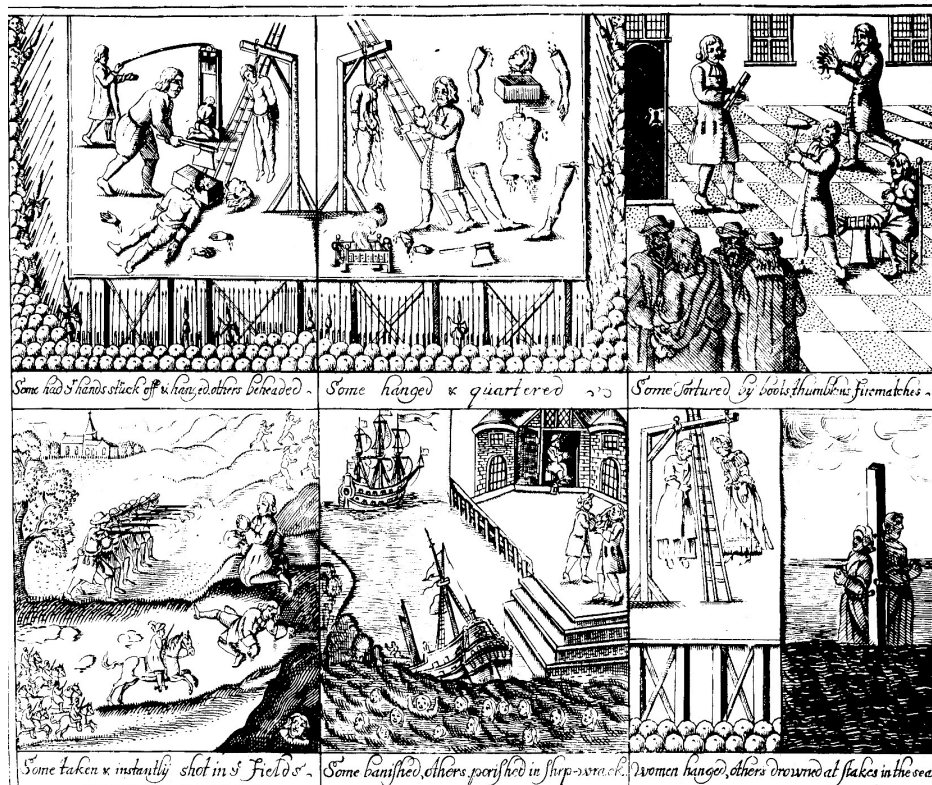
The main Macmillanite publication of 1714 was *Cloud of Witnesses*. This presumably involved a great deal of work for Clark and Alexander Marshall, though they may well have had the help of John Macneil and others. Clark probably contributed the poetic 'Encomium' and perhaps part or all of the Preface (although Thomson thinks that this was written by John M'Main, see below).³⁸ In addition to the speeches and testimonies of the martyrs, there was also the Appendix with a short account of Richard Cameron; a fuller account of Donald Cargill; a relation of Henry Hall of Haughhead and the Queensferry paper; a 'List of the banished'; a 'Short account of those who were killed in the open fields'; and a 'Short account of oppressive exactions'. Finally, there a description of the epitaphs and inscriptions on the gravestones of some of the martyrs. In addition, there was a folding engraved frontispiece with illustrations of covenanting sufferings, modelled on that in *Hind let Loose* (1687) but more crudely executed. Once the testimonies had been 'copied out fair for the press', they were to be sent to John M'Main in Edinburgh, so presumably it was there that the book was printed.³⁹

The second edition of *Cloud of Witnesses* was published in 1720. The title-page states that it was 'amended and enlarged, with the Testimonies of several others omitted in the former edition', but these intentions were not fulfilled, and the contents were just as before. Neither publisher nor place of printing is given. The first edition was almost devoid of ornaments, but this second edition has many, though poorly arranged. The folding frontispiece, with illustrations of the various sorts of suffering and martyrdom, was redrawn by 'A. Mcfarlane', but no more expertly than before. Presumably the volume was a Macmillanite publication rather than a commercial publishing venture, but it is difficult to be sure.

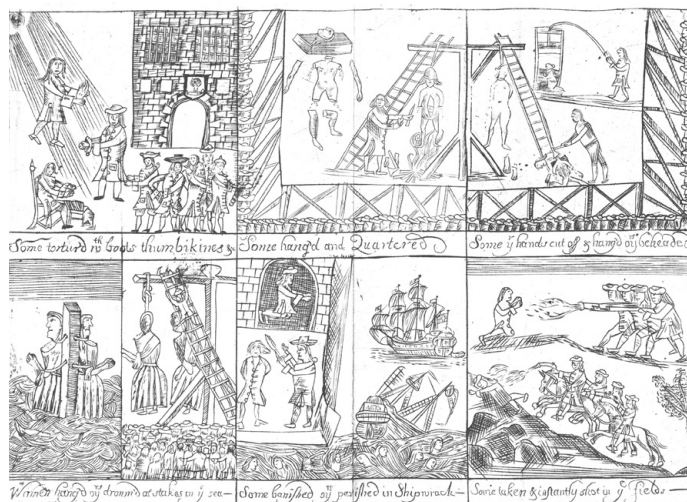
³⁷ Extracts from Clark's Tinwald paper are given in Robert Lawrie, *The Disingenuity or Ignorance of a Clergyman Detected by a Weaver* (Glasgow, 1774), pp. 28-29, 33-34; *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, p. 41.

³⁸ These suggestions are made by Thomson in *Cloud of Witnesses* (1871 edn.), pp. x-xiii.

³⁹ J. Thorburn, *Vindiciae Magistratus* (Edinburgh, 1773), p. 152; *Cloud of Witnesses* (1871 ed.), p. xiii.

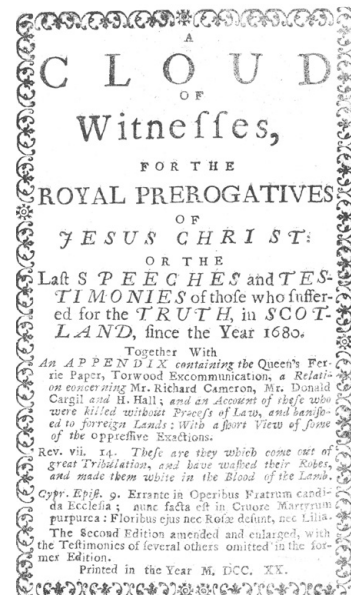


Frontispiece from Hind Let Loose (1687).



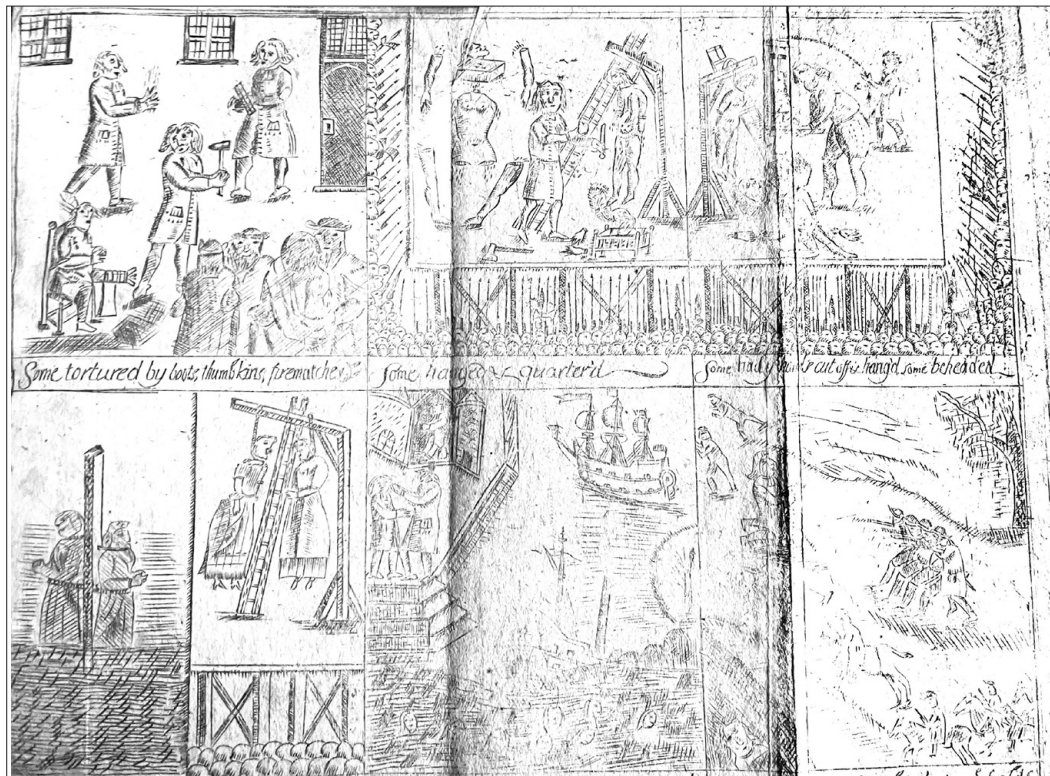
Cloud of Witnesses (1720), frontispiece.

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In 1721–22, Robert Wodrow published his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* in which he expressed criticism of the *Cloud*, and particularly regarding the testimony of John Wilson. Wodrow

had John Wilson's 'original papers' from Wilson's sons, and from these he noted that 'they differed in some things from what is published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*. ... Either their copy hath been very mank, incorrect,



Cloud of Witnesses (1730), frontispiece – identical to that in the 1714 edition.

or they [the editors of *Cloud of Witnesses*] have taken more liberty in the changes they have made, than can be justified.⁴⁰

Wodrow goes on to describe these changes.⁴¹ It would have been interesting to have known Hugh Clark's response, and whether he regarded these changes as adequately accounted for by the disclaimer in the preface to *Cloud of Witnesses*:

And if any shall find any alteration in any of them from their own manuscripts, (except it be in the grammar, wherein they took some little freedom, where necessity required it) they are to impute unto Variety of copies, whereof they had several, and chose that which they conceived most Genuine.⁴²

(iii) Death in 1724

In 1721, Hugh Clark is mentioned as a Macmillanite divinity student, along with Alexander Marshall. The General Meeting in that year agreed

⁴⁰ See Janette Currie, 'History, Hagiography, and Fakestory: Representations of the Scottish Covenanters in Non-Fictional and Fictional Texts from 1638 to 1835', (PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1999), pp. 76-78.

⁴¹ R. Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (4 vols., Glasgow, 1828), Vol. 3, pp. 457-462.

⁴² *Cloud of Witnesses* (1714 edn.), p. xxi.

unanimously that a formal call should be put into Macmillan's hands, in favour of Macneil and the two divinity students, asking him to ordain them to the ministry. Macmillan, however, refused to act.⁴³ The same year, the fourth edition of *Naphtali* appeared, printed by Thomas Crawford in Glasgow. This included all the extra material from the third edition, mentioned above, and it is likely that it was a Macmillanite publication. If so, it must have been one of the first Macmillanite publications to give the publisher's name. Hugh Clark probably lived nearer to Glasgow than other literary Macmillanites, and the work behind the publication may have devolved on him.

Hugh Clark died on 15th February 1724.⁴⁴ The date of his marriage and the name of his wife is unknown but she was the daughter of William Edminston of Dunblane. She lived in the parish of Kilmadock, and they had a daughter Dorothy who was baptised on 15th March 1724, after his death.⁴⁵ Her father died in or before 1730, by which time, she and the child were dead. Her father was a wealthy man, and she an only child, and the inheritance passed to her cousin, John Edminston, minister of Cardross.⁴⁶ After Hugh's death, an elegy that he had written, *Meditations upon the Love of Christ in the Redemption of Elect Sinners*, was published in 1727. This became popular later in the century and was republished in 1740, 1752, 1777, 1779, 1780, 1790, and 1799.

3. John M'Main (early 1680s–1736)

John M'Main was a schoolmaster who lived at the foot of Libberton's Wynd, almost on the Cowgate, in Edinburgh. He was the leading Macmillanite writer in the 1720s (although it is not certain how close his association with Macmillan was during that period).⁴⁷

⁴³ *Cameronian Apostle*, pp. 187-8. The *Historical Part of the Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1839) states that 'the high veneration which all parties entertained for the established order of Presbyterian government prevented any attempt to obtain ordination for Mr M'Neil in an irregular way' (p. 201), but it can be seen that this statement is not accurate.

⁴⁴ See note in *Meditations upon the Love of Christ* (1727). He was in his 36th year.

⁴⁵ *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Wodrow, *Analecta*, Vol. 4, pp. 108-9.

⁴⁷ Couper says that M'Main 'belonged to the strictest sect of those who opposed the Revolution Settlement, and who afterwards broke off from contact with the section that followed John Macmillan', 'Robert Wodrow and his critics', p. 241. M'Main's separation was only temporary, however, but exactly how long it lasted is hard to say.

The most detailed account of M'Main's life is that which he gave in response to the summons from the Presbytery of Edinburgh of 1721 (see below).⁴⁸ From this we learn that he was born, presumably in the early 1680s, in Ireland (Scoto-Hibernus) and that he attended Glasgow University, receiving a diploma in May 1701. He continues: 'I went then home, and taught school, near five years, till my parents (who had devoted me to the Lord, for the ministry) died: and then, ministers and friends advising me to prosecute my studies for the same end, I came to the Divinity hall in this city [Edinburgh], about fifteen years ago [1706], with sufficient testimonials, and epistles commendatory, to such as were of chief note in this town council'.⁴⁹ If he began his divinity studies, however, he never concluded them, but in May 1707 he became chaplain to Sir John Stewart of Blackhall for a year. He mentions that the following May he was taking the Lord's Supper in the Church of Scotland.

For the next thirteen years he lived mostly in Edinburgh, and he was teaching at his house in Libberton's Wynd-foot from 1711. He had joined the Macmillanites by 1710 or 1711.⁵⁰ On 12th November 1711 he was married by Macmillan to Annie Floyd in Edinburgh.⁵¹ It does not appear that they had any children. As we have mentioned, the testimonies for *Cloud of Witnesses* were to be forwarded to him once they had been prepared for the press. Thorburn suggests M'Main as the probable author of the preface to *Cloud of Witnesses*, while Thomson thinks that it bears 'evident traces' of his 'vigorous pen'.⁵² The *Cloud* was an important publication for the Cameronians, however, and it seems more likely that the preface would be entrusted to Hugh Clark, given the position that he then occupied. M'Main's literary career seems to have started somewhat later. Furthermore, M'Main left the Macmillanites in 1714 in protest over their acceptance of George I as king, and in 1715, he was involved in printing

⁴⁸ *The Summons Dismiss'd* (n.p., 1722), 40 pages. This is summarised in W.J. Couper, 'Robert Wodrow and his critics', *RSCHS*, Vol. 5 (1935), p. 241.

⁴⁹ *Summons Dismiss'd*, pp. 11-12; C. Innes (ed.), *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (4 vols., Maidment Club, Glasgow, 1854), Vol. 3, p. 17. M'Main must be distinguished from his near-contemporary John M'Minn from Belfast who was also a correspondent of Wodrow's; see *Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 166; *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, Vol. 3, p. 248; L.W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1937), p. 200n.

⁵⁰ Thorburn, *Vindiciae Magistratus*, pp. 152-153.

⁵¹ *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, p. 16.

⁵² Thorburn, *Vindiciae Magistratus*, p. 153; *Cloud of Witnesses* (1871 edn.), p. xiv.

the Howdenite 'Declaration' against George I.⁵³ It is possible that he was also behind the anonymous publishing of *A true and faithful relation of the sufferings of Alexander Shields* (1715).⁵⁴ His connection with Macmillan was suspended for a while, perhaps until the general reconciliation of 1718, or even longer.⁵⁵ In 1720, he may have been responsible for seeing the second edition of *Cloud of Witnesses* through the press.

In 1721, M'Main came into conflict with the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Established Church on account of his school. The Presbytery was concerned about the loyalty and orthodoxy of the private schoolteachers within its bounds. On 15th June he was summoned to appear before the New North Kirk Session to be examined, but he disowned their authority and declined to appear. On 3rd July, he was ordered to subscribe the Formula, which he refused to do. On 24th November, he received a citation to appear before the Edinburgh Presbytery on 29th November. Instead of appearing, however, he composed a response which forms the bulk of the *Summons Dismiss'd*, published in May 1722.⁵⁶ This purports to have been published by a friend but may well have been published by M'Main himself. The Presbytery cited him a second time on 27th December 1721, to which he also replied, and a third time on 31st January 1722, but thereafter the case seems to have lapsed.⁵⁷

(i) Conflict with Robert Wodrow

In the meantime, Robert Wodrow had published the first volume of his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, in May 1721, with the

⁵³ 'Mr. M'Mains and a society in Edinburgh, had protested and declined the year before'; Lawrie, *The Disingenuity or Ignorance of a Clergyman Detected by a Weaver*, p. 6; T. M'Crie (ed.), *Correspondence of Robert Wodrow* (3 vols, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842–3), Vol. 3 p. 227.

⁵⁴ *A true and faithful relation of the sufferings of the reverend and learned, Mr. Alexander Shields, minister of the Gospel, written with his own hand, containing an account of his examinations and imprisonment at London, his being sent down to Scotland ...; together with a large and elaborate defence of the doctrine of resistance, or defensive arms, of the Apologetical Declaration, and other heads of suffering, as likewise a clear and full confutation of the Oath of Abjuration. Never before published* (n.p., 1715), 140 pages. M'Main refers to this work in his edition of *Shields' Life and Death of James Renwick*, p. xiv (below).

⁵⁵ M'Main was not one of those appointed by the United Societies in June 1727 to answer Patrick Walker and others; see Patrick Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. D. Hay Fleming, (2 vols, London, 1901), Vol. 2, p. 175. But he was being used for such duties by 1733, *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, pp. 70–71.

⁵⁶ *Summons Dismiss'd*, pp. 8–30.

⁵⁷ Edinburgh Presbytery, Minutes (1721–1726), CH2/121/11, pp. 45–46 (18th October 1721), p. 60 (27th December 1721), p. 62 (31st January 1722); *Summons Dismiss'd*, pp. 30–38.

second volume following in 1722. The Macmillanites and others were unhappy with Wodrow's sympathies for the indulged ministers (his father James had taken the 1687 Indulgence) and with his treatment of Cargill, Cameron, and Renwick, and the Society People, and several counter-publications resulted.⁵⁸ Three of these were published by M'Main, each carrying a preface critical of Wodrow's work.⁵⁹

The first of these was Robert M'Ward's *Earnest Contendings* (1723), a previously unpublished response to Robert Fleming's *Church Wounded and Rent* (1681). To M'Main's annoyance, Wodrow had the original manuscript of this in his vast collection, and thought that it would be divisive to publish it.⁶⁰ M'Main, however, obtained a copy from the sons of the covenanter John Goodal (d. 1700) and was able to use that:

His [i.e., M'Ward's] Answers thou hast most genuine, and exactly agreeing to the Copy carefully written and diligently compared by zealous John Goodal and his Sons, there at that Time: And if any suspect one Word or Sentence to be adulterate, they may not only see that Copy and another; but the Original also is in the Hands of a certain Minister of this Church, who may detect the same, if he can.⁶¹

M'Main continues in his preface:

Such a Piece as this might had weight then [when it was written]; but seeing it came not for that that Season; This Seems to be the Season next to that most opportune: Because that now Mr Wodrow in his large, yet mank and partial *History* hath given the World to believe, that these who disowned those Tyrants' Authority, and withdrew from the Indulged and their Abettors, were not Presbyterians, but as a Sect of seditions Schismatics, &c. making their Actings and Sufferings to be a Reproach to Presbyterians: Tis published now, to the Glory of Christ our Head, and the Sole Head of his Church, and for the Vindication of Truth and Owners thereof, and Sufferers therefore, who loved not their Lives to the Death, not accepting Deliverance, for maintaining Presbyterian Principles, according to our Reformation and Covenants, as they were founded on the Scriptures of Truth (putting him to the Defiance to prove the contrary).⁶²

⁵⁸ See R. Wodrow, *Life of James Wodrow* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 66, 75-6; Couper, 'Robert Wodrow and his critics', pp. 240-4.

⁵⁹ See Wodrow, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 218- 221, 227.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, pp. 683-4; Vol. 3, p. 7.

⁶¹ R. M'Ward, *Earnest Contendings for the Faith* (1723), pp. x-xi.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. xii.

Further attacks on Wodrow from M'Main appeared in his 1723-republication of James Renwick's *Testimony against Toleration* (1688)⁶³ and in his Alexander Shields' *Life and Death of Renwick* (1724). The latter of these was apparently printed from a copy that had been provided by Wodrow – taken from the original in his possession – and it is strange in the circumstances that M'Main did not acknowledge this but instead devoted much of his preface to attacking Wodrow's *History*.⁶⁴ At the end of the work, M'Main stated that he had more than sixty letters by Renwick which he intended to publish if he had the 'capacity' to do so; but evidently this did not happen, and the letters were eventually published by John Macmillan, II, in 1764.⁶⁵

Another anonymous publication that may have been the work of John M'Main was the *Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet* (1724).⁶⁶ This was written in answer to Patrick Grant's *Manifesto* of November 1723 in which he and his followers declared 'War against the present Usurper on the Throne of Britain' (see Part I of this paper). The minute of the General Meeting of the United Societies at Crawfordjohn in March 1724 had noted an overture from the Linlithgow Correspondence: 'That there should be some Testimony of our dislike of that Edinburgh paper called a Manifesto'; with the decision: 'It was left to the discretion of any person to answer it, as they should see fit.' The *Confutation* was dated March 1724, and although privately composed, was issued in the name of the United Societies, 'representing some part of their sentiments thereanent.'

⁶³ *The testimony of some persecuted Presbyterian ministers of the Gospel, unto the covenanted reformation of the Church of Scotland: and to the present expediency of continuing to preach the Gospel in the fields, and against the present antichristian toleration in its nature and design, &c., given in to the ministers at Edinburgh by Mr. James Renwick upon the 17th January 1688; with a preface by Mr. Alexander Shields, preacher* (n.p., 1723), 80 pages [not seen]. This was republished by John Macmillan II in 1770.

⁶⁴ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, pp. 86-88; Alexander Shields, *Life and Death of James Renwick* (Edinburgh, 1724), pp. iii, iv-xiv. Wodrow complained in a letter to Lord Grange (1725) that those 'separate from us' had not been helpful when he had applied to them for materials for his *History of the Sufferings*; see his *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 232.

⁶⁵ Shields, *Life and Death of James Renwick*, p. 224; *A Collection of Letters, consisting of ninety-three: sixty-one of which wrote by the Rev. Mr. James Renwick; the remainder, by the Rev. Messrs. John Livingston, John Brown, John King, Donald Cargil, Richard Cameron, Alex. Pedan, and Alex. Shields. Also a few by Mr. Michael Shields, at the direction of the general correspondence: from the years 1663 to 1689 inclusive* (Edinburgh, 1764).

⁶⁶ *A Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet, intituled, a Manifesto, or the Standard of the Church of Scotland, in answer to a letter from a gentleman, By the United Societies, representing some part of their sentiments thereanent. To which is annexed, A pertinent letter of Mr. James Renwick's to Mr. Langlans* (n.p., 1724), 48 pages. https://www.truecovenanter.com/societies/societies_general_meeting_confutation_1724.html

The *Confutation* contains a complaint about Robert Wodrow,⁶⁷ is referred to in the *Life of Renwick*,⁶⁸ and has an original letter by Renwick as an appendix; all of which make it likely that M'Main was the author.

Two other publications in which M'Main may have been involved are the *Life of John Livingston*, first published in 1727,⁶⁹ and the third edition of *Cloud of Witnesses* in 1730. The former of these has no preface, however, so it is difficult to form any opinion. In September 1727, Robert Wodrow wrote to James Kirkpatrick, minister in Belfast, asking for information on Livingston, and mentioning his 'Life', but the reference seems rather to be to a manuscript copy of the 'Life' than to one recently published.⁷⁰ The 1730 edition of *Cloud of Witnesses* has various additions, including the testimony of John Richmond and the inscriptions on the graves of Margaret Wilson at Wigtown and the martyrs at Magus Muir.⁷¹ It also reverts to original frontispiece of 1714, and was presumably therefore a Macmillanite publication.

(ii) The 1725 edition of the Westminster standards

One project in which M'Main was almost certainly involved was the 1725 republication of the Westminster standards by those who favoured the 'Covenanted Reformation'.⁷² This was a response to an elaborate edition of the Westminster standards and other Church documents which was being produced by a committee – or rather by certain members of a committee – appointed by the Commission of the Church of Scotland General Assembly. The initial volume of this edition had been published in 1719; the second volume in 1722; with a projected third volume that never appeared at all.⁷³

The first volume in 1719 had a preface of 140 pages on the usefulness of creeds by the young William Dunlop (1692–1720), Professor of Divinity

⁶⁷ *Confutation*, p. 15. 'Thus Mr. Wodrow out of the general Meetings Records, which he unjustly detains from our Party.'

⁶⁸ Shields, *Life and Death of James Renwick*, p. 224.

⁶⁹ *A Brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr John Livingston* (1727), 48 pages.

⁷⁰ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 323.

⁷¹ *Cloud of Witnesses* (1730), pp. 335–343 (John Richmond).

⁷² *The Confessions of Faith: Catechisms, Directories, Form of Church-government, Discipline, &c. of public authority in the Church of Scotland: Together with The Acts of Assembly, concerning the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland. As also, A Collection of some principal Acts and Ordinances of the Parliaments of Scotland and England, and of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, In Favours of the Covenanted Reformation* (Edinburgh: Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1725).

⁷³ *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline, &c. Of public authority in the Church of Scotland* (2 vols., Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson, 1719–22). The items have individual title-pages, several of which are dated 1718.

and Church History in Edinburgh. This preface caused quite a stir, being greatly admired by some but severely criticised by others. It was reprinted separately in 1720, 1724, 1775, and again by James Buchanan in 1857.⁷⁴ Its critics, however, had many objections: it defended creeds on rational rather than biblical grounds; it favoured boundless religious toleration and opened the door to patronage; it diverted from its subject to attack the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*; and its author, although licensed in 1714, had never been ordained, so that the work of one private individual was occupying nearly quarter of the volume, and adding cost, to a supposedly standard edition of public documents.⁷⁵ A further objection to the whole publication, which particularly motivated the 1725 rival publication, was its several omissions: the 1647 Act of Assembly approving the Confession; the Solemn League and Covenant; and of the Sum of Saving Knowledge.

The edition of 1719–1722 is usually known as ‘Dunlop’s edition’, but it is highly unlikely that Dunlop contributed anything beyond the preface. The ‘Advertisement’ states that ‘The Commission of General Assembly ... did appoint a committee of ministers and ruling-elders, among whom the Gentlemen who undertook the publishing of this Edition were named.’⁷⁶ Wodrow mentions William Mitchell, Robert Millar, and Robert Stewart (1675–1758), Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, as members of the committee, but there were evidently many others. Stewart was the son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness and the nephew of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, and was the driving force behind the project.⁷⁷ Dunlop was probably not even on the committee, but had been invited to write the preface by some of the members.

Of the background to the 1725 edition, little is known beyond what can be gleaned from the volume itself and related publications. The six-page preface is restrained in tone but is critical of the 1719–22 edition and Dunlop’s preface, but especially of the omission of the

⁷⁴ *The uses of creeds and confessions of faith, by William Dunlop; edited, with preface and notes, by James Buchanan* (London, 1857).

⁷⁵ *Plain reasons against the adding of Mr Dunlop’s Preface unto the Westminster Confession of Faith, 1719* (n.p., 1722); *A letter to the Reverend Mr. Alan Logan, Minister of the Gospel at Culross. Containing some remarks on an anonymous Preface annex’d to the late edition of the Westminster Confession of Faith. By a member of the Church of Scotland* (n.p., 1722).

⁷⁶ *A Collection of Confessions of Faith* (1719–22), Vol. 1, pp. clvii–clxii.

⁷⁷ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, pp. 609–613; Vol. 3, pp. 202–3. Wodrow used to stay with Stewart when he was in Edinburgh. In 1724, Wodrow was invited to join a Society consisting of Stewart, Matthew Crawford, James Anderson and others for the ‘Vindication of the Reformation and the Reformers’, *Analecta*, Vol. 3, pp. 142–3.

Solemn League and Covenant – ‘that great Eye-sore to all Enemies of Reformation’. No hint is given as to who was behind the project, but a comparison with some other works, mentioned below, shows that M‘Main was almost certainly prominent, and – given his employment as schoolmaster and his location in Edinburgh – was probably its principal editor. Partly by coincidence, the first edition of the Westminster Confession in Gaelic appeared in the same year, also printed by Lumisden and Robertson.⁷⁸ The Synod of Argyll had been trying for several years to get its Gaelic translation printed, and Lumisden had agreed in 1724 to complete this work.⁷⁹

In 1725, there had been a fierce debate about the 1719–22 edition at the Committee of Instructions, immediately prior to the General Assembly. The third volume was in preparation, and the main question was whether a further statement should be made about the Preface being ‘the deed of a private person’. The matter was remitted to the Commission of Assembly. At the 1727 Assembly, the belated inclusion of the Solemn League and Covenant was still being discussed, without resolution.⁸⁰ What probably brought the Assembly project to an end was the appearance of another Lumisden and Robertson edition of the Westminster standards in 1728. This was an attractive single-volume edition, containing what have since become the usual items in the usual order, and giving the proof-texts in full (including the improvements from the 1719–22 edition) whereas the 1725 edition gave only the references for the proof-texts. Curiously, the text was that of the 1719–22 edition but with a few corrections from the 1725 edition.⁸¹ This soon became the standard format, and the 1719–22 edition was never completed, nor reprinted.

The ‘Advertisement’ for the 1719–22 edition claimed, at some length, that

the copy which this edition was printed from was compared with the utmost care with all the authentic editions published by authority...The editors hereby discovered many errors and defects in former impressions,

⁷⁸ *The Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms... Translated into the Irish Language by the Synod of Argyle (Admhail an Chreidimh, etc.)* (Edinburgh: T. Lumisden & J. Robertson, 1725).

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, July 1724, p. 316 (on Scotlands People). The Larger Catechism has its own Gaelic title-page dated 1714, printed by ‘the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson’, while the Shorter Catechism has the same but dated 1725. Presumably these indicate complications in the printing history of the book.

⁸⁰ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 186-7; 200-203; 301; 316.

⁸¹ See C. Coldwell, ‘Examining the work of S. W. Carruthers’, *Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 1 (2005), pp. 43-64. (p. 52).

which are amended in this; particularly the text of the Confession and Catechisms is become much more correct.⁸²

This claim was accepted as valid until the twentieth century when it was exposed by the careful collation of S.W. Carruthers. To his surprise, Carruthers found that the 1719–22 edition corrected only nine of the sixty errors in the text of the Confession up to that time, while introducing a further fifty-two. The revision of the scripture proofs was more satisfactory, however. By contrast, the 1725 edition showed a much more thorough return to the text of the earlier editions. Carruthers concludes: ‘But the final result of the collation is a great respect for the accuracy of the [1725] editor, and for his modesty. He really did collate the original editions and said nothing about it. Dunlop [probably Robert Stewart, in fact] had said a great deal about it, but had done it very imperfectly.’⁸³

(iii) Controversy with John Glas on the Covenants

The year 1725 saw the start of another controversy in which M‘Main played a small part.⁸⁴ In the summer of that year, John Glas, minister of Tealing, set up an inner circle of ‘visible saints’ in his parish, a step which soon led towards independency. In December, he composed a reply to his colleague, Francis Archibald, minister of Guthrie, expressing opposition to the Covenants.⁸⁵ Archibald was strongly inclined to the position of Macmillan, performing Macmillan’s third marriage in Edinburgh in 1725, and in October and again in December he had consulted Glas on the subject of the Covenants.⁸⁶ Glas decided against sending his reply and spoke to Archibald instead, but in 1726 he distributed his reply to some friends and it soon leaked out to a wider circle.

⁸² *A Collection of Confessions of Faith* (1719–22), Vol. 1, p. clviii–clix.

⁸³ S. W. Carruthers, *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (Manchester, [1937]), pp. 78–80.

⁸⁴ For accounts of the controversy, see J.T. Hornsby, ‘John Glas (1695–1773)’ (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1936), pp. 1–65; David G. Mullan, ‘The royal law of liberty: a reassessment of the early career of John Glas’, *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, Vol. 6 (1997–2002), pp. 233–62; A. Raffe, ‘John Glas and the development of religious pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 70:3 (2019), pp. 527–545.

⁸⁵ The reply can be found in John Glas, *A Narrative of the rise and progress of the controversy about the National Covenants: and of the ways that have been taken about it on both sides* (Edinburgh, 1728), pp. 17–44.

⁸⁶ *Six Saints*, Vol. 1, p. 152; *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 189. Mullan mistakenly thinks that Macmillan performed Archibald’s marriage, ‘The royal law of liberty’, p. 241.

Various responses to Glas soon appeared. The first of these was by James Hog of Carnock who published a *Letter*, dated 27th April 1727, giving general arguments in favour of covenanting.⁸⁷ At the conclusion of this letter was a printer's advertisement for a proposed work, to be funded by subscription, and to be entitled *A Collection of very valuable Papers consisting of Letters, Warnings, Declarations: and Exhortations, with respect to the Reformation of Religion, in Scotland, England and Ireland; and particularly from the Year 1618 to the Year 1660*. Those who had papers suitable for inclusion were asked to send them to various men, mainly booksellers, who would copy and return them. M'Main was not among the men listed in this advertisement, but his name does appear in a nearly identical advertisement mentioned below.

The next month saw the first edition of John Willison's *Afflicted Man's Companion*, with the preface dated 27th May and containing a digression defending covenanting and lamenting the recent 'broaching of some sectarian notions' (i.e., the views of Glas). In July or August 1727, a further response appeared from James Gray, minister of Kettins, entitled *An Essay to Prove the Perpetual Obligation of the National Covenant of the Church of Scotland*.⁸⁸ M'Main was evidently following the controversy and was critical of Gray's pamphlet for, in his view, 'not *Essaying* to prove the perpetual Obligation of our Solemn League and Covenant but passing it *Sicco pede* [with dry foot] in deep Silence, which some may take for Consent, that it is not Obligatory, or may be buried in Oblivion.' Soon afterwards, M'Main published his own *Review* which consisted of a preface by himself; an abridgement, originally composed by Presbyterian ministers in Ireland in 1644, of the Solemn League and Covenant, together with answers to various objections; a letter by a unnamed minister of the Church of Scotland 'reviewing' Glas's letter (this was the main part of the publication); and pertinent extracts from various earlier writers on the

⁸⁷ [James Hog], *A letter, wherein the scriptural grounds and warrants for the Reformation of Churches by way of Covenant, are succinctly considered and cleared* (Edinburgh, 1727). Glas identified the author as Hog; see *Narrative*, p. 117.

⁸⁸ [James Gray], *An Essay to Prove the Perpetual Obligation of the National Covenant of the Church of Scotland: in a letter from a Lover of the Covenanted Work of Reformation, to his correspondent. ... Together with a postscript, containing remarks on three scandalous letters, subversive of all true religion in the church, and loyalty in the nation, by an anonymous author, industriously handed about, under the name of Answers to queries put by the Reverend Mr. Adams, to the Reverend Mr. G—s Minister at T—n* (n.p., 1727). See Glas, *Narrative*, p. 58; [John M'Main], *Review of a paper lately written against the being and binding of our sacred National Covenants ... by a lover of truth and peace* (Edinburgh, 1727), p. xv.

Covenants.⁸⁹ The 1644 abridgment and some of these extracts had probably been collected by M'Main in connection with the proposed *Collection of very valuable Papers* mentioned above.

Soon afterwards, a further publication appeared entitled *A letter to a minister in the country: asserting the National-Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, well warranted from the New Testament*. The author of this 'had no acquaintance' with the 'Reviewer' [i.e., with the minister who had written the main part of M'Main's *Review*].⁹⁰ He was presumably, therefore, not M'Main himself but he seems to have belonged to M'Main's circle. Further publications in the controversy included Glas's *Narrative of the rise and progress of the controversy about the national Covenants*, dated 26th January 1728, and *The Independent Ghost Conjur'd: being a review of three letters clandestinely sent to a minister in the presbytery of Dundee, in answer to his queries concerning the lawfulness of national covenanting* by John Adams, minister of Kinnaird, in April 1728.⁹¹ The dispute continued into the 1730s, but M'Main took no further part.

(iv) Covenanting materials

We have already seen that in the later 1720s M'Main was assembling a collection of covenanting material with a view to publication.⁹² His 1725 edition of the Westminster standards was related to this project, and he may also have been responsible for the pamphlet edition of the Westminster Confession, described on the title-page 'as part of the Covenanted Uniformity of Religion betwixt the Churches of Christ in the Three Kingdoms', published by Lumisden and Robertson in 1727. Alternatively, this may have been an SSPCK (Society in Scotland for

⁸⁹ The *Review* is attributed to M'Main by Couper, 'Robert Wodrow and his critics', p. 242. It refers to the 1721 edition of *Naphtali* (p. 118) and the 1725 *Westminster Confession* (pp. 34, 114, 128). In 1779 it was reprinted by 'Eb. W.' of the Secession Church in response to the anti-covenanting views of Patrick Hutchison.

⁹⁰ *A letter to a minister in the country: asserting the National-Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, well warranted from the New Testament, and therefore lawful and perpetually binding / by a Lover of the Covenanted Reformation as a happy mean of conservation of love and peace* (n.p., 1727), p. 72.

⁹¹ John Adams, *The independent ghost conjur'd: being a review of three letters clandestinely sent to a minister in the presbytery of Dundee, in answer to his queries concerning the lawfulness of national covenanting. Together with the Three Letters and Queries themselves* (Edinburgh, 1728). Raffe thought that the three letters to which Adams was responding were 'probably written by Glas', but Glas expressly denied this; see Hornsby, p. 23.

⁹² Wodrow refers to M'Main's project in a letter to Lord Grange of 11th November 1725, *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, pp. 231-232.

Propagating Christian Knowledge) initiative. It was intended for schools and the poor, and the proof-texts were omitted to reduce the cost.⁹³

In 1728, a modest *Collection of Some Causes of Fasts* was published, carrying the same advertisement as mentioned above in James Hog's *Letter* (1727), but with a slightly different list of persons to contact, in this case including 'John M'Main, Schoolmaster at the Foot of Libberton's Wynd'.⁹⁴ The eight-page preface to *A Collection of Some Causes of Fasts* was distinctly Macmillanite in tone and may have been written by M'Main.⁹⁵ The proposed *Collection of very valuable Papers consisting of Letters, Warnings, Declarations: and Exhortations, with respect to the Reformation of Religion, in Scotland, England and Ireland; and particularly from the Year 1618 to the Year 1660* seems, however, never to have appeared.

Along with M'Main, another central figure in this collecting of materials was 'George Paton, bookseller in Linlithgow'. Paton did not print books, but he was active as a publisher between 1728 and 1753.⁹⁶ In the 1720s he was a 'zealous Macmillanite', and in 1727 he was appointed to the committee to 'give a short answer' to the *Memoirs* of Carnwath and of Kersland and to 'Patrick Walker's scandalous pamphlets'.⁹⁷ In 1729, he republished *A testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, or, to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the kirk of Scotland, and To the National Covenant of Scotland, and To the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Nations of Scotland, England, and Ireland ... By sundry ministers of the gospel in the provinces of Perth and Fife* (previously published in 1660, 1700, and 1703). Sometime in the 1730s, however, he left the Macmillanites, transferring his allegiance to the Associate Presbytery, and becoming active in defence of the Secession ministers in their controversy with John Currie of Kinglassie.⁹⁸

⁹³ Curiously, the text of this 1727 edition was different again from those of the 1719–22 edition, the 1725 edition, and the 1728 edition.

⁹⁴ *A Collection of Some Causes of Fasts ... reprinted at the desire of Some Welwishers to the Covenanted Work of Reformation* (1728), 40 pages.

⁹⁵ The preface refers to the burning of the covenants (p. vi), and the 1730 edition of *Cloud of Witnesses* concludes with 'A Dismal Account of the Form of Burning the Solemn League and National Covenant with God and one another at Linlithgow, May 29, 1661, being the Birth-day of King Charles the Second', so this may have been one of the papers that had come to M'Main's hand.

⁹⁶ The books often carried a Glasgow or Edinburgh imprint, so George Paton sometimes has duplicate entries in bibliographic reference works.

⁹⁷ *Six Saints*, Vol. 2, p. 175.

⁹⁸ J. Currie, *Plain Reasons for a new Secession* (1747), Part II, p. 45.

Although the original proposal was never carried through, Paton published or republished various historic items over the next twenty years, including two works by James Fraser of Brea, *Prelacy an Idol* (1742) and *The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from corrupt ministers and churches explained and vindicated* (1744). In 1741, he published *A Collection of several remarkable and valuable sermons, speeches and exhortations, at renewing and subscribing the National Covenant of Scotland: and at entering into and subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland* – presumably with material gathered since the 1720s. He may have been the George Paton who was buried in Linlithgow in 1767.⁹⁹

In 1863, David Laing published a manuscript ‘Account of the Names of some of the Persons who have original Coppies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League.’¹⁰⁰ The manuscript dated to the early eighteenth century, and Laing suggested that it was connected it with the two-volume edition of the Westminster standards published in 1719–1722. It seems, instead, to have been compiled for M‘Main’s project. References to the 1725 edition of the Westminster Confession, and to a copy of the National Covenant in the possession of James Hart, minister of Edinburgh (who died on 10th June 1729), date the manuscript to the years 1725–1729; but a more precise estimate can be obtained from a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant listed as belonging to John Macmillan ‘minister of the Gospel at Balmaghie, living at the Forth’. Macmillan left Balmaghie sometime between May and July 1727, moving to the parish of Carnwath, living first at Eastshield where his daughter Kathren was born on 19th December 1727, then at East Forth where his son John was born on 4th July 1729.¹⁰¹ Thus the ‘Account’ was probably compiled in 1728, when M‘Main was collecting covenanting material. Other covenant-owners mentioned in the ‘Account’ include James Kid, George Paton, William Hogg, Joseph Francis in Irvin,¹⁰² and James Wilson.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Scotlands People website.

¹⁰⁰ D. Laing, ‘The names of some of the persons who have original copies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League (about 1720)’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 4 (1863), pp. 238–250.

¹⁰¹ *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 190 and picture opposite p. 205

¹⁰² *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, pp. 12, 16.

¹⁰³ James Wilson’s copy of the National Covenant had the signatures of a number of Hammermen and had been donated by him to the Magdalen Chapel. It is now in New College Library, Edinburgh.

In the 1730s, the United Societies continued or resumed laying work on M'Main. In August 1733, he, Charles Umpherston, and others were instructed to 'prepare a draft of the steps of defection from the Covenanted work of reformation by both Church and State, to be laid before the four Associate ministers, Messrs. Ebenezer Erskine, Wilson, Moncrieff, and Fisher.' In November 1733, he and Umpherston were to revise Sir Robert Hamilton's 'Dying Testimony' and some other documents with a view to publication.¹⁰⁴ In October 1734, he, Macmillan, and Umpherston were appointed to 'draw up a paper ... showing the difference and inconsistency between their [i.e., the Associate ministers] Public Testimony and our last conference with them at Dunfermline, and the reasons why we cannot join with them'. At the same time, he, Umpherston, and Alexander Marshall were appointed to visit and examine the various praying societies.¹⁰⁵ M'Main must have been in good health for such work, but within two years he was dead. He was buried in Greyfriars, Edinburgh on 9th September 1736, with his grave – appropriately enough – 'closs to the N. Corner, Martyrs Tomb'.¹⁰⁶

4. Charles Umpherston (1678–1758)

Charles Umpherston was baptised on 15th November 1678 in Lasswade.¹⁰⁷ His parents, Charles Umpherston and Helen Alexander, had been married in West Linton on 11th July 1672. His mother Helen (1654–1729) is well-known for her brief account of her spiritual and covenanting experience, eventually published in 1869.¹⁰⁸ There were three children of the marriage. The eldest, Beatrix, was born on 22nd August 1673 and was the first signatory to the 'Children's Covenant' in 1683.¹⁰⁹ She married John Macneil (1666–1732), Macmillan's righthand man, and died on 27th February 1763 aged nearly ninety. The next child, James (1676–1756),

¹⁰⁴ The collection finally appeared as *The Christian's Conduct: or, a witness for truth against error* (1762).

¹⁰⁵ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, pp. 70-71.

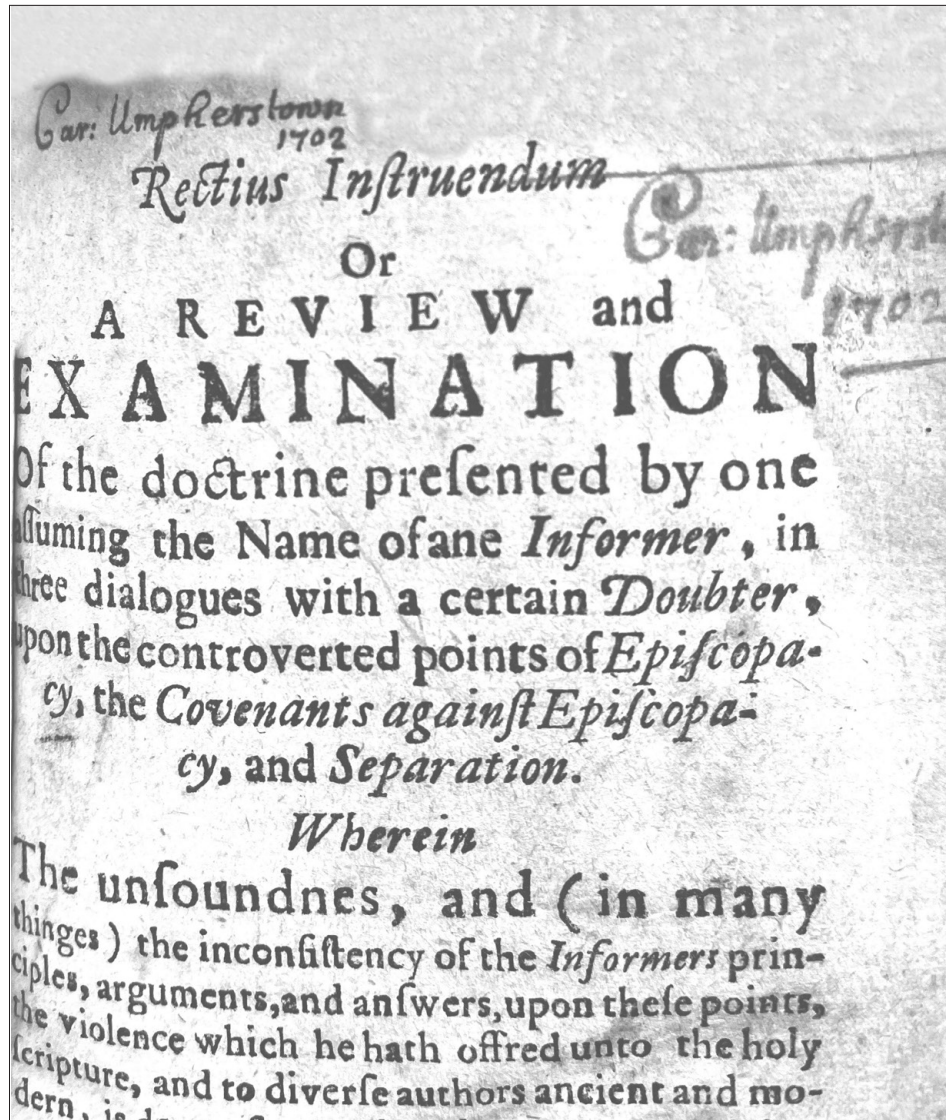
¹⁰⁶ Burial entry on Scotlands People.

¹⁰⁷ See *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, p. 62; Baptism entry on Scotlands People (Umpherston(e), Humpherston).

¹⁰⁸ A fuller version of her account was published in 1856; see R. Simpson, *Covenanters from the South, or, The Church in the wilderness* (Aberdeen, 1856), pp. 340-65. As the publisher of the 1869 account observes, however, the fuller account 'bears internal evidence of having been written after [her] death, and is most probably an enlarged version intended for the press', *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland* (1869), pp. iii-iv.

¹⁰⁹ *Dying Testimonies*, pp. 188-190.

married Marion Brown and was also a Macmillanite, leaving a very brief account of his spiritual experience.¹¹⁰ Charles was the youngest child, with the father dying aged thirty-five in 1681.



Charles Umpherston's inscription, 1702.

In 1687, Helen was remarried to the Pentland merchant James Currie (1656–1736), the marriage being performed by James Renwick. At Renwick's execution three months later, Helen Alexander prepared his body for burial while James Currie was involved in the publication of Renwick's *Antipas, or the Dying Testimony of Mr James Renwick* (1688). They had four children, all of whom died young (in contrast to the Umpherston children): William aged one in 1694; Thomas aged eight in

¹¹⁰ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, pp. 72–73.

1698; James aged 13 in 1701; and Robert aged 10 in 1706. An elegy, 'Death to Believers a Passage to Glory', by William Swanstoun on the decease of James was published by popular request in 1704. James Currie was the leading figure in the setting up of the original martyrs' monument in Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh, in 1706 and, as we mentioned before, the poetic inscription on the monument may have been composed by William Swanstoun.

Charles Umpherston took his degree at Edinburgh University in 1695 and became a surgeon.¹¹¹ He had joined the United Societies in the early 1690s and was a member of the tenth General Meeting of 20th May 1696 and the sixteenth General Meeting at Friarminnan on 29th July 1698.¹¹² In 1699, he was chosen for the proposed trip to Holland for licensing and ordination (see on James Kid, above), which never materialised. In April 1704, he was on a committee appointed by the United Societies to confer with John Macmillan over becoming their minister, and in October 1705, he was one of the thirty-two signatories to the call to Macmillan.¹¹³

In July 1705, the United Societies had appointed a committee 'to draw up a vindication of our Public Testimonies since the Revolution, with Scriptural Probation, approven Divines, and Records of Parliaments and Assemblies.'¹¹⁴ Umpherston and some others were chosen for the work; and the result was the second edition of *Informatory Vindication* in 1707, *Eschol Grapes* in 1708, and an undated edition of the *National Covenant*. These three works are usually found bound together.

This second edition of *Informatory Vindication* is particularly useful because it includes, not only the various declarations and protests adhered to by the United Societies which were emitted prior to the death of Renwick in 1687, but also those subsequent to his death. These were the Sanquhar Declaration of 1692; the Protestation, and Apologetick Declaration, and Admonitory Vindication of 1695; the Protestation, and Apologetick Declaration, and Admonitory Vindication of 1703; and the Protestation and Declaration against the Union of 1707. The last of these had been composed by Umpherston and accepted by the General Meeting

¹¹¹ *Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 150.

¹¹² See Mark Jardine's blog: <https://drmarkjardine.wordpress.com/2016/05/27/tenth-general-meeting-of-the-merionians-in-1696-history-scotland/> and <https://drmarkjardine.wordpress.com/2016/06/06/sixteenth-general-meeting-of-the-merionians-in-1698/> [accessed 15 November 2024].

¹¹³ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, p. 70; *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 145.

¹¹⁴ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, p. 70.

of the United Societies in October 1707;¹¹⁵ and the historical preface to these subsequent declarations,¹¹⁶ and the preface to *Eschol Grapes*, were probably also his work.

In January 1709, Umpherston was appointed by the United Societies to write a letter to ‘the North’ [i.e., probably Perthshire] to warn the Society People there against the errors of Andrew Harlaw or Harley.¹¹⁷ On 10th April 1712, Umpherston was married at Crawfordjohn by Macmillan to Elizabeth Bailie of Pentland.¹¹⁸ This must have been a second marriage, because a daughter of his, Helene, was baptised at the same time. His third marriage, to Elizabeth Steele (d. 1743), must have been in the early 1720s, judging by the dates of their children. A son John (d. 1748) was baptised on 1st September 1723 and a daughter Elizabeth was born on 31st January and baptised on 22nd April 1728. Elizabeth became the wife of John Macmillan II in 1749, dying in 1765.¹¹⁹

Umpherston seems to have receded into the background while Hugh Clark was active for the United Societies – perhaps Umpherston had no wish for a position of prominence – but he reappears after the death of Clark in 1724. In August 1727, he, John Macneil, Alexander Marshall, Andrew Clarkson, and George Paton were appointed to consider ‘Carnwath’s and Carsland’s Memoirs, together with Patrick Walker’s Scandalous Pamphlets &c. and to give a short answer thereto in order to wipe off their false aspersions.’¹²⁰

Several of the subsequent duties laid on Umpherston by the General Meeting of United Societies have already been mentioned in the account of John M’Main. In August 1733, M’Main, Charles Umpherston, Gilbert Melvil, and James Umpherston were appointed ‘to prepare a draft of the steps of defection from the covenanted work of Reformation by both Church and State, to be laid before the four Associate Ministers, Messrs. Ebenezer Erskine, Wilson, Moncrieff, and Fisher.’ In November 1733,

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 70; D. Hay Fleming, *Critical Reviews relating chiefly to Scotland* (London, 1912), p. 584 (corrects the date of 2nd October given in *Informatory Vindication* to 22nd October).

¹¹⁶ *Informatory Vindication* (1707), pp. 205-232.

¹¹⁷ See Part I, p. 100.

¹¹⁸ *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, pp. 16-17.

¹¹⁹ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, p. 67; *Register of the Rev. John Macmillan: being a record of the Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by him among the Cameronian Societies*, pp. 31, 33-34.

¹²⁰ *Six Saints*, Vol. 2, p. 175.

There came a letter from our worthy friend, James Currie, in Pentland, concerning the publishing the Dying Testimony of Sir Robert Hamilton, with his other public papers relating to the Testimony. The General Meeting desire the foresaid James Currie to give three papers he hath by him to Mr McMain's and Mr Charles Umpherston's hand, that they may revise and make remarks on them against the next meeting in order to publishing.

In March 1734,

The General Meeting, being constitute by prayer by the Rev. John McMillan, Mr Charles Umpherston was chosen preses. The General Meeting, having got a full account of the Committee's diligence with the four [Associate] Ministers at Dumfermline, did unanimously approve of the whole thereof, and also did appoint Mr Charles Umpherston to attend Messrs Ebenezer Erskine and Moncrieff at Edinburgh the second Wednesday of this instant, farther to converse with them, and to show our sympathy and concern with them.

In October of that year,

The General Meeting, having considered the whole of that affair of the four [Associate] Brethren, thought it expedient to appoint Mr Charles Umpherston and Mr John McMain, &c., to draw up a paper against the next meeting, showing the difference and inconsistency between their Public Testimony and our last Conference with them at Dumfermline, and the reasons why we cannot join with them.

At the same meeting,

Applications were made by the several Correspondences to have fit persons to visit and examine Fellowships; whereupon the Rev. Mr McMillan, the elders, and the General Meeting do appoint and commissionate Mr John McMain, Mr Charles Umpherston, and Mr Alexander Marshall to go through and visit the Societies, and in their examination to be agreeable to the Scriptures, our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms.¹²¹

In May 1737, the General Meeting reiterated its longstanding and unanimous desire that Umpherston, along with Alexander Marshall, should be ordained to the ministry.

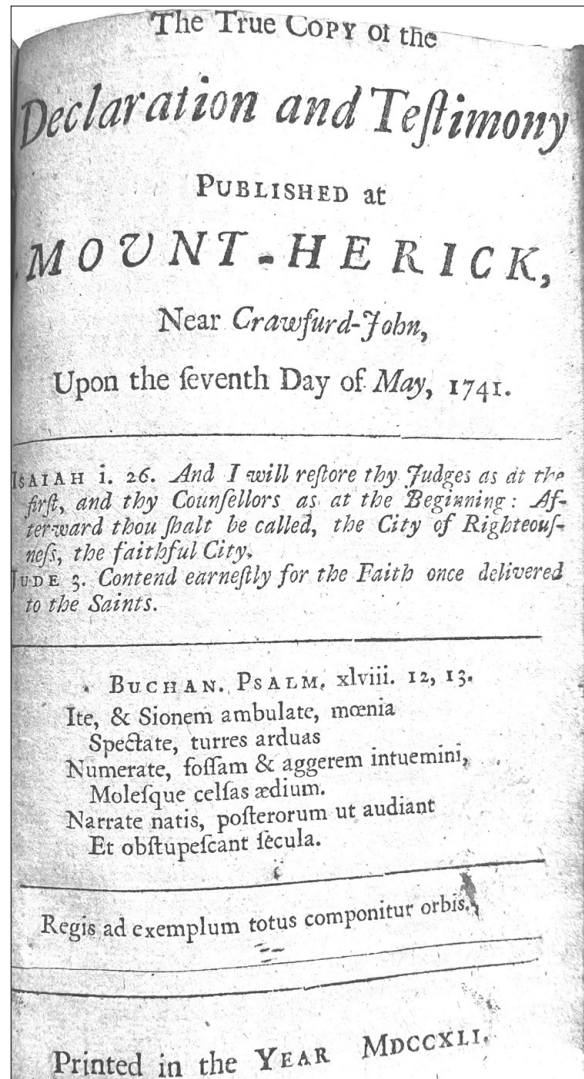
Mr Charles Umpherston was appointed preses of the meeting. The General Meeting, taking into consideration that important affair of

¹²¹ All these extracts are given in *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, pp. 70-71.

the succession of a Gospel Ministry, the means used hitherto proving ineffectual, our destitute and extraordinary case still continuing, not knowing how soon we may be deprived of the light we yet enjoy, give it as their unanimous mind that our reverend pastor call forth to the office of the holy ministry Messrs. Charles Umpherston and Alexander Marshall, whom we judge the most fit and qualified among us, being already teaching elders, and of known integrity.

Once again, Macmillan must have refused. In August 1743, a Presbytery was eventually constituted, with Umpherston as one of the four members, and the following year, Marshall was ordained, but not Umpherston.¹²² The latter was in his mid-sixties by then and was presumably considered – by himself or others – to be too old.

In 1740, Umpherston, Marshall, and another were appointed to draw up the *Mount Herick Declaration* which was published in May 1741.¹²³ In this, the Macmillanites distanced themselves from recent ‘Declarations’ by the Associate Presbytery (the Secession), by William Wilson, and by the Howdenites, and issued a testimony against Popery, Erastianism, Independency, and all departures from true biblical and Presbyterian principles.¹²⁴



Mount Herick Testimony title-page.

¹²² Ibid., p. 72.

¹²³ See ibid., p. 71; W.J. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: Its Congregations, Ministers, and Students* (Edinburgh, 1925), p. 79.

¹²⁴ *The True Copy of the Declaration and Testimony published at Mount-Herick, near Crawford-John, upon the seventh day of May, 1741* (n.p., 1741), 40 pages.

In 1753, the Reformed Presbyterian Church had a split – ‘the Breach’ – over the attempted introduction of Amyraldian doctrine by James Hall and others (see Part I).¹²⁵ Umpherston took Macmillan’s side in the dispute and, in response to an Amyraldian document that was circulating, he wrote *Observations on a Wolf in a Sheepskin: or, Remarks on a Paper from Societies in and about Edinburgh, wherein pretending to be true Sheep, yet appear as Wolves to tear and devour others, who see remarkable Danger to follow them* (1753).¹²⁶ The death of Macmillan followed within a few days, and as an appendix, Umpherston added an account of Macmillan’s deathbed, at which he had been present.¹²⁷

Umpherston himself died in 1758. He had been a central figure among the Society People for over sixty years. He was buried in the Old Pentland cemetery, where there used to be a number of important family gravestones.¹²⁸ Few of these seem to have survived.

¹²⁵ Part I, pp. 126-7.

¹²⁶ A Lover of the good old Way, *Observations on a Wolf in a Sheepskin: or, Remarks on a Paper from Societies in and about Edinburgh, wherein pretending to be true Sheep, yet appear as Wolves to tear and devour others, who see remarkable Danger to follow them. For some Information to honest and ingenuous Persons, in this Matter, till they be provided with better* (n.p., 1753), 46 pages.

¹²⁷ See *Cameronian Apostle*, pp. 19-204 for a summary.

¹²⁸ *Passages in the lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie of Pentland*, pp. 64-67.