

! corrections nombreuses sur la compilation Correspondances de direction II

d'où 17 Hendersonodt sans .pdf etc.

Je souligne :

1. entre crochets : mes ajouts, soit des incipit de lettres non titrées, des références à mon éditions Madame Guyon *Correspondance I Directions spirituelles* [CG I],...

2. quelques passages de Keith et autres qui me paraissent notables du point de vue de l'école Bernières-Bertot-Guyon-Fénelon... ou qui portent sur la vie intérieure (choix réduit).

Mystics of the North-East

G. D. HENDERSON

MYSTICS OF THE NORTH-EAST

INCLUDING

I. LETTERS OF JAMES KEITH, M.D., AND OTHERS
TO LORD DESKFORD

II. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DR. GEORGE
GARDEN AND JAMES CUNNINGHAM

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY G.
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ABERDEEN PRINTED FOR THE THIRD SPALDING CLUB MCMXXXIV

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PREFACE

THE Charter Room of Cullen House, Banffshire, is rich in letters of historical interest. Many of these have already been published. /1/ The present volume contains another selection of the Cullen House Letters, consisting chiefly of those which reached Lord Deskford from his friend James Keith, M.D., in the period 1713-23.

The interest of these documents is varied. They shed some new light upon the biography and character of a number of prominent men in the North-East of Scotland who were involved in the 'Fifteen, and elucidate the extent and nature of their concern with a curious religious movement. They were good Scots and good Episcopalians, but they engaged in a correspondence with certain French Roman Catholic mystics, especially the celebrated Madame Guyon, and eagerly studied mystical literature, in particular the books edited by Pierre Poiret, a French Protestant mystic residing in Holland. The letters to and from Madame Guyon and the books issued by Poiret passed through the hands of an Aberdeen medical man in London, Dr. James Keith, and his Letters provide us with entirely new information regarding these remarkable foreign influences, revealing some of the Jacobite sympathisers in a new light, and showing a side of the Scottish political situation to which little attention has been directed. In addition the letters offer incidental information on many events of the day, and reflect the social conditions of the period.

An attempt has been made to bring out in the footnotes the significance of any references in the text which might not be obvious, and also to identify the many personages mentioned. The process of identification was not always easy, and was not made easier by the practice of using mere initials. In a few cases no certainty was reached, and in some the attempt at identification has meantime

/1/ Hist. MSS. Corn., Rep. XIV, App. III (1894) ; Scot. Hist. Soc., Seafield Correspondence (1912) ; Scot. Hist. Soc., Lord Seafield's Letters (1915).

been definitely unsuccessful/¹. The Editor would welcome evidence which readers may be able to provide towards clarifying any points or correcting any misunderstandings.

The Correspondence between Dr. George Garden and James Cunningham of Barns is published from a manuscript copy in the Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh. The opportunity is taken to publish the correspondence in this volume, because it shows the profound interest which certain of the Episcopalian landed gentry of Scotland were taking in religious matters, and how earnestly they were seeking escape from the unsatisfactory outward Church conditions of their time, and because it makes plain the extraordinary length to which such honest interest may drive pious souls unless very wisely directed, and because it reveals the sanity of judgment of Dr. George Garden in the matter of religious enthusiasm, offering a full refutation of the popular opinion of him in the Church of his day as a dangerous heretic and a "raving enthusiast." The phenomenon of the French prophets has recently been studied with reference to their English adventures. These Letters give us new knowledge of their influence and are an important addition to our information regarding their invasion of Scotland.

Acknowledgment is most gratefully made of the kindness of the Seafield Trustees in allowing the Letters from James Keith, M.D., to be published, and of David T. Samson, Esq., Seafield Estates Office, Cullen, in granting every facility to the Editor. Similar thanks are offered to the Principal of the Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh, for permission to publish the Correspondence between Dr. George Garden and James Cunningham of Barns ; and to Miss Isabel Grieve, Edinburgh, the Librarian of the College, for her help in the matter. The Editor wishes also to express his indebtedness to all who have rendered assistance in the progress of this work, and especially to Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, Editorial Secretary of the Third Spalding Club ;

1 Cette lecture-édition de l'ouvrage corrige une reconnaissance de caractères sous Omnipage en limitant le travail au respect du texte : nous reprenons les notes (en leur attribuant un corps réduit pour mieux les distinguer du texte principal). Nous signalons la pagination d'origine dans la ligne précédant la reprise du texte en haut de page de l'imprimé primitif. Nous omettons ses hauts et bas de pages.

G. D. HENDERSON

to M. l'Abbé E. Levesque, Seminaire de S. Sulpice, Paris ; the Librarian, Faculté de Theol. libre de Lausanne ; the authorities of the University Library, Amsterdam ; and those of other Libraries and similar institutions in this country ; to Alistair N. Tayler, Esq. ; the Rt. Hon. Lord Forbes ; the late Professor A. Eekhof, University of Leyden ; and many others who kindly answered enquiries or aided research.

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2 Numéros de pages de l'imprimé primitif que l'on retrouvera souvent mis en ligne entre // au sein du texte (ces numéros n'ont pas tous été saisis dans la présente table).

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INTRODUCTION.

I. FORERUNNERS.

THE North-East of Scotland has made a number of contributions to the literature of Mystical Religion. Three of these may be specially mentioned here—*The Spiritual Exercises* of John Forbes of Corse, Henry Scougall's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and James Garden's *Comparative Theology*.

It happens that the authors all occupied the position of Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen. This is not the only link that unites them. George Garden, who will figure largely in this volume as the soul of the Mystical Movement in the North-East, translated into Latin the *Spiritual Exercises* of John Forbes of Corse and published them in the collected edition of Forbes's works /1/ which he issued in 1702-3 through the Wetstein³ Press in Amsterdam. He was an ardent admirer of Forbes and remains the chief authority on his life and character. The same George Garden was the intimate personal friend of Henry Scougall, and when that young divine died in 1678 it was Garden who preached his funeral sermon. /2/ Again, George Garden was most closely associated with the third work on our list, for its author was his elder brother, and the two men were one in outlook.

The *Spiritual Exercises* of John Forbes of Corse, which he noted down at irregular intervals between February, 1624, and July, 1647, a few months before his death, is a somewhat formless document, part diary, part exegetical study, part collection of private meditations. It has never been published /3/ as a whole save in Garden's Latin version ; but it is a living document of religion and the work of one whose faith and humility and earnestness made a deep impression upon all who knew him, and whose childlikeness and simplicity, whose charity and gentleness,

3 Un ami de Pierre Poiret (Nous introduirons à la lecture quelques précisions : /DI)/

whose joy and peace, whose devotion to truth and concern for the things of eternity reveal

/1/ *Opera Johannis Forbesii*, 2 vols., 1702-3.

/2/ Printed in Scougall, *Works*, 1726, and other editions.

/3/ See article by present writer on *A Scottish Diary of the Seventeenth Century*, "London Quarterly Review," Jan. 1929. Extracts from the Exercises will be found in Macmillan, *Aberdeen Doctors*, and in the Spalding Club edition of Spalding's *Troubles*. The original seems to be lost. There are two transcripts in the University Library, Aberdeen, and one in the library of the Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh.

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themselves from page to page of this manuscript. Forbes was troubled on every side yet not distressed, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed, always sustained by his trust in a very present God. He was amongst the most learned men of his time and wrote one of the few imposing works of historical theology produced in Scotland. His own generation knew him as a determined though peace-loving opponent of the Covenanters, and as a renowned champion of Episcopacy. But the doctrinal and ecclesiastical controversy in which he played his part so ably took with him no more than a secondary place. There came first, personal communion with a faithful and loving God. It is perhaps only by using the word mysticism in a loose sense that he can be termed a mystic at all. He was devoted to Theology and to the external practices of the Church. The document contains no technical terms of mystical language. Forbes had no acquaintance with expressions such as "introversion," "recollection," "purgation," "quiescence," "non-desire," nor the more difficult phrases used by mystics to attempt the expression of the inexpressible — "the dark night," "the great desolation," "the approach to Jerusalem,"—nor again was he learned in medieval mystical literature. There is, however, the language of the Bible and the thought of S. Augustine, and above all evidence of genuine mystical intercommunion with God, direct personal converse with the Almighty, and a life which consisted in seeking His presence. And there is that particular sense of proportion in the religious life which has been the source of so much true mysticism in the

Church in days of formalism and externalism and institutionalism and controversy, a sense of proportion which John Forbes was a means of passing on to some who came after him in Aberdeen, bringing them to a more thorough study of the mystics than had been possible for him, and to a more self-conscious mystical outlook.

One extract from the *Exercises* of John Forbes of Corse may be quoted as showing the spirit of the man, and as indicating how his influence worked long after his own day upon such pious souls as Henry Scougall and the Gardens.

" He led me to his holy table where He fed me and refreshed and strengthened my soul with his own precious body which was broken for me and with his own precious blood which was shed for me to the remission of all my sins. . . . When the minister delivered unto me the bread, repeating the words of the Institution, as he came to speak those words of our Saviour, Do this in remembrance of Me, I yet holding that Holy Sacrament in my hand found my heart lifted up to Christ unto Heaven, and saying to Him with all my heart, Lord, I remember Thee, remember Thou me in mercy ; and so I eat the bread and drink of that blessed cup with so heavenly and abundant consolation through the mercy of my God upon me as neither can my mouth utter nor my pen express ; yea, neither could my heart comprehend it, but it comprehended and filled my heart with peace." /1/

Henry Scougall, /2/ whose promising career as writer and teacher was cut short at the age of 28, was the author of perhaps the best known Scottish contribution to devotional literature, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, first published in 1677 /3/ with a preface by Bishop Gilbert Burnet. The little book is the work of a lover of Thomas à Kempis and S. Teresa, a great admirer of M. de Renty, a friend of Bishop Leighton, a disciple of the Cambridge Platonists. Amongst those avowedly influenced by Scougall have been the Wesleys and George Whitefield. He writes in a simple straightforward style, sympathetically, persuasively, and as one who has himself found in communion with God the peace that passeth understanding. There is a quiet confidence about the book

that is reassuring and uplifting. One finds no trace of morbidity or fanaticism. The teaching is sane and healthy practical idealism. Union of the soul with God he contrasts with the sectarianism which produced so much bitterness in his day and with externalism on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other, which, in all ages, have been the " shadows and false imitations " of religion.

James Garden, /4/ as his son is reported to have said, was " vastly fond " of mystical Divinity, and with his younger brother George, became a follower of Madame Bourignon and later of Madame Guyon.

His *Comparative Theology* (1699) /5/ was in its earliest form a lecture delivered to his students at King's College at the beginning of a session. Judging from the number of editions produced, and also from the ardour of the attacks made upon it this little volume had notable influence. Garden belonged to the circle with which we are specially concerned in our

/1/ Folios 31, 32.

/2/ V. D. Butler, Henry Scougal (1899) ; D.N.B. ; Preface to Cooper's edition of *Life of God in Soul of Man*.

/3/ Other editions (e.g. 1770, 1818). The best is that of Dr. Cooper in 1892. Sermons and other works have also been published at different dates. See further short article by present writer on *The Life of God in Me Soul of Man* in " Student Movement," Jan. 1932 ; also lecture by present writer on Leighton and his Friends in *Friends of Dunblane*, 1932.

/4/ D.N.B. ; *Remains of John Byrom* (Chetham Society) ; Preface to Bristol Edition (1756) of Garden's *Comparative Theology* ; note by present writer on James Garden's Ministerial Career in " Scottish Notes and Queries," Feb. 1933 ; etc.

/5/ The original was in Latin, *Discursum academicum de Theologia Comparativa*, 1699 (Maidment, *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, p. 66). The first English edition was published in London in 1700, another at Glasgow in 1752, and an important one at Bristol in 1756. In a Latin form it appeared at Amsterdam under Poiret's editorship in 1702 as *Theologiae Aurae ac pacificae vera ac sonda fundamenta, sive theologia comparativa*, and likewise in 1708 as the first part of Poiret's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*. Poiret in his *Posthuma* (1721), p. 648, mentions a German edition, *Gemma Theologica*. See also J. G. Walchius, *Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta* (1757), I, p. 231 ; II, pp. 65 f.

present study, and his name occurs at intervals in the letters here published. He is always mentioned with affection and respect. Pierre Poiret, in a learned defence /1/ of Garden's *Comparative Theology*, describes him as "vir doctrina solida, ejusque distincte ac Clare exponendae peritia singulari conspicuus, vir integer, pius, pacificus," etc., and again calls him "auctorem innocentissimum, admirabilemque et amabilem." He seems to have been a retiring man, but at the same time intrepid and determined, enduring sacrifice for his religious, ecclesiastical and political convictions.

The *Comparative Theology* attempts to introduce some sense of proportion into the religious outlook, distinguishing carefully the essence of Christianity, which is to be found in the love of God, from all means and ministers of greater or less importance, in doctrine, government, worship or discipline, wherein men may differ, the highest attainment being the enjoyment of the immediate presence of God. through penitence, self-denial, renunciation of the world, crucifixion of the flesh, cross-bearing, and the putting off of the old man. The influence of Madame Bourignon is clearly reflected, but the *Comparative Theology* is free from the eccentricities which were largely responsible for the condemnation of her teaching.

The mystical religion in the North-East which showed itself increasingly in these three documents developed to considerable importance early in the 18th century ; and the Letters of James Keith, M.D., are published as offering for the first time authentic evidence regarding the extent and the nature of the movement.

It flourished under foreign influences, and most of the authors whose works became popular belonged either to pre-Reformation or to Roman Catholic Christianity. A surprising interest in mystical books manifested itself. Enthusiasm for the writings of Madame Bourignon first attracted attention to the movement, but, by the date of our Letters, this phase had practically passed, and the group in the North-East had become devout disciples of a leader of higher type, Madame Guyon.

II. MADAME GUYON, PIERRE POIRET, ETC.

MADAME GUYON, the fascinating Quietist, is much too famous to require detailed introduction here ; /2/ but as hers is the ruling influence in the whole movement with which we are concerned and in the correspondence here published, a brief reminder of the main features of her extraordinary career

/1/ Poiret, *Posthuma*.

/2/ Vie de madame Guyon, écrite par elle-même ; E. K. Sanders, Fénelon, his Friends and his Enemies ; R. A. Vaughan, Hours With the Mystics, Book X ; Paul Janet, Fénelon ; M. Masson, Fénelon et Mme. Guyon ; St. Cyres, Francois de Fénelon ; Jules Lemaitre, Fénelon ; Bossuet, Relation sur le Quiétisme ; Ramsay, Vie de Fénelon.

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may be permitted. Mysticism was very prominent in 17th century France, /1/ inspired largely by the Spanish S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross, and guided (to mention only names which occur in the Letters) by the life or writings of such religious geniuses as S. Francis de Sales (1567-1622), Brother Lawrence (1610-91), J. J. Olier (1608-57), J. J. Surin (1600-45), Baron de Renty (1612-49). The Quietism of Molinos /2/ was more extreme, and roused general opposition in a Church which called S. Teresa blessed. It was Madame Guyon's inclination to Quietism which made her public career so troubled and her influence so much the object of suspicion.

Born in France in 1648 of a good family she was already as a child nervous and imaginative, religiously inclined, and greatly affected by religious reading. She grew to be a very attractive girl, and was early married, but the union proved a most unhappy one for her. Home conditions were particularly cruel. Then smallpox destroyed her beauty. Life as a whole was suffering. She was driven in upon herself and to morbidity and mortification. It was an unnatural existence, and it is not surprising that the views it induced were unusual and extreme. Her attitude became one of passivity. Her husband died, and thereafter the influence of La Combe and later, the encouragement of Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai, led her to theorise upon her religious experiences. She wrote her *Short Method of Prayer* and *Torrents*, and gradually became

the centre of a fashionable group of those who were bored by the meaningless life of the times, and uninspired by the outward religion of the day. Her most distinguished disciple was Madame Maintenon, who was then all powerful at the court of Louis XIV. Persecution set in, and there followed the investigation by Bossuet, the famous defence by Fénelon, the quarrel between those great ecclesiastics, the imprisonment of Madame Guyon in the Bastille, and the disgrace of her celebrated champion first by the court of enquiry and finally by the Pope himself. It was one of the great scandals of an age of scandal.

Madame Guyon was a strange and abnormal woman, and in those days before psychology her very strangeness and abnormality gave her power over persons of much sounder mind than herself. Her teaching was in some points dangerous and eccentric. She was far from being a systematic thinker, and much that she says might have been said by any of the mystics. Many of her utterances and expressions were indeed echoes of earlier writers venerated by the Church. There was, however, an over-emphasis of passivity which was apt to mean a fading of the sense of moral responsibility, an independence of institutional and sacramental observances, and a failure to leave room for doctrines of the incarnation and atonement. On

/1/ Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du Sentiment religieux* ; E. Underhill, *Mystics of the Church*, ch. x.

/2/ V. his *Spiritual Guide* (Eng. trans., 1928).

the negative side her teachings attracted because of the protest they offered to mere theological arguing and ecclesiastical bickering, and magical or formal religion. But "naked faith," "pure and disinterested love," "nothingness," the silent prayer of mere surrender, perfection by union with God, were ideas which, while they might induce in the troubled mind and conscience calm, and peace and inward joy, and might lead almost to an ecstatic condition, were inclined to produce rather an abnormal, self-centred, individualistic, morbid state and involved much vague and confused philosophy and theology, and little sound practical and moral inspiration. It cannot be said that her Scottish

adherents were carried away by any exact form of Quietism, but it is clear that they caught something of her spirit, took phrases and suggestions from her, and were directed by her in their religious attitude, and through her escaped from outward dispeace to peace within. It must be admitted that Madame Guyon was herself a person of charm, with a gift of sympathy, and a great deal of common sense. In her last years, after her release from the Bastille, the years in which we are concerned with her in these Letters, she seems to have been perfectly discreet and unsensational, a pious observer of Catholic practice, living quietly and exerting by her personality, correspondence and many writings a deep spiritual influence in France, Germany, England, Scotland and elsewhere.

She died in 1717 ; and the Letters contain interesting information regarding her last illness and death, and occasional allusions which add to our knowledge of her habits and teaching, and are evidence of the great veneration in which she was held by persons who knew her well and were capable of appreciating spiritual qualities. Some of her own letters appear for the first time in print in the present volume. /1/

The mediator of Madame Guyon's remarkable foreign influence was Pierre Poiret, /2/ a most interesting character who appears from time to time in the Letters of James Keith, and who was very obviously regarded by all the Scottish circle with the utmost respect.

He was a Frenchman⁴, born in 1646 of humble parents. His grandfather had suffered for his pioneer Protestantism, and with such a religious family background it is not surprising that Pierre turned from the sculpture and painting to which he was apprenticed to study for the ministry of the French Protestant Church. When a student at Basel he tutored Heinrich Wetstein, later his sympathetic publisher. Presently we find him at Heidelberg, and in the good graces of Prince Karl Ludwig, through whom he entered into the active ministry amongst

4 Voir Marjolaine Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret 1646-1719 Du Protestantisme à la mystique*, Labor et Fides, 1994. /DT/

French-speaking people who were then numerous in the Rhine valley.

His mind was receptive rather than original, and it was with character-

/1/E.g. (*M.N.E.*), pp. 100, 111, 121, 142.

/2/Max Wieser, *Peter Poiret* (1932).

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-istic enthusiasm that he early absorbed the new Cartesian philosophy. Under religious influences he later developed into an ardent critic of Descartes, and as such made more than one serious contribution to the philosophical literature of his time, these works of his going through several editions and finding their way into many libraries even in this country.

There came a growing interest in mystical literature, notably the *Theologia Germanica*, and the writings of Tauler, and he developed into the Apostle of Mysticism. In later life he was said to read part of the *Imitation of Christ* every day. Presently he came across Antoinette Bourignon's *La lumière née ténèbres*, and soon afterwards her *Le tombeau de la fausse théologie*. He became her most enthusiastic disciple, sought her out personally, and became ultimately her general agent. He wrote her life and edited her voluminous outpourings, and has been largely responsible for her reputation.

Through him her works were introduced to persons who were interested in mystical literature. Thus Dr. George Garden and Dr. James Keith came to make their English translations, and Quietism made its entry into the North-East of Scotland.

Madame Bourignon died in 1680 ; and then after a few years at Amsterdam, Poiret betook himself to Rhijnsburg, a little village a few miles from Leyden, where he remained in comparative solitude till his death in 1719.

He had acquired an unrivalled knowledge of mystical literature and devoutly set himself to propagate mystical divinity by publishing new editions of mystical works, mediaeval and modern. The service he thus rendered to religion has been of

permanent importance. The various works mentioned in the letters as produced by him and distributed to the group in the North-East were almost all reissues of more or less forgotten works which his devotion had unearthed. One of the most interesting points about these letters of James Keith is the new light they shed upon the influence of Poiret's activities in England and Scotland, and the extent to which his publications immediately found their way into so many libraries in the North-East. One little work which Poiret twice reprinted (1702 and 1708) was the *Comparative Theology* of Professor James Garden.

Most important of all was Poiret's service in arranging for the publication of the works of Madame Guyon. But for him many of these would certainly never have appeared in print. He furthered their effectiveness also by the occasional prefaces and explanations which he wrote. Practically all the works he thus issued passed through the hands of Dr. James Keith and are mentioned in the Letters.

We know that Poiret was consulted on religious matters by persons who wrote to him from various lands, or paid him visits at Rhijnsburg. More than one of these acquaintances has left an account of Poiret himself.

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He appears before us as a small man, full of life and energy, with a prominent nose, and dark eyes peering out from under heavy brows, polite and pleasant to meet, rather hard of hearing, but himself gentle spoken. To his tastefully furnished home he welcomed visitors, talked to them in Latin or French, knowing, but not readily speaking, German. We hear of his knowledge of Scripture, his excellent memory and vivid imagination, his clear-headedness and understanding. At one stage he seems to have had a kind of community-house, where all shared the housework and the dish-washing, but where all observed what religious habits they pleased, theological differences being put aside while all applied themselves to love God and practice self-denial. He disliked extreme enthusiasms, but most of all the strife of the sects. For many years he was so much of a recluse that Bayle

could describe him as "un homme d'une probité reconnue et qui de grand Cartésien est devenu si dévot, que pour songer mieux aux choses du ciel, il a presque rompu tout commerce avec la terre." /1/ Haag's account of him seems to be entirely justified : "Tous ceux qui le connurent s'accordent à louer son humilité et sa modestie, la pureté de ses moeurs, l'excellence de son coeur, sa bienveillance envers tous les hommes, sa modération, dont il ne s'écarta que dans sa polémique."/2/

Very closely associated with Madame Guyon in all her influences was, of course, Fénelon,/3/ Archbishop of Cambrai. His name finds place occasionally in the Letters, and we see that he too was a force in Scottish religious life. His death occurred early in 1715 and the references to it in the Letters /4/ show how deeply his loss was felt by the group in whom we are interested. Andrew Michael Ramsay,/5/a Scot whose name will frequently occur in this volume, was for some years his secretary and became the editor of his works, and wrote his life. Lord Forbes, of Pitsligo,/6/ the well-known Jacobite, had early in life come under the influence of Fénelon. In the Letters we hear of the publication of a new edition of his works /7/ and the despatch of the volumes to the members of the group. Several /8/ of his books are specially referred to and commended, and copies of letters by him seem also to have circulated in Scotland./9/ It is easy to realise the reverence with which he and his utterances were regarded. The Life written by Ramsay is an idealised picture, a stained glass representation, but it shows the attitude of the disciples both in France and in this country.

The very high place occupied by Fénelon amongst religious writers and ecclesiastical dignitaries makes it unnecessary to do more than call attention

/1/ Contemporary accounts quoted in Wieser, Peter Poiret ; Bayle, OEuvres diverses (1725), I, p. 269.

/2/ France protestante, quoted P. Janet, Fénelon (Eng. trans.), p. 281.

/3/ V. works mentioned, M.N.E., p. 14 n

/4/ Ibid., pp. 94 ff.

/5/ Ibid., p. 51.

/6/ Ibid., p. 44.

/7/ Ibid., pp. 148, 153, 162, 165.

/8/Ibid. pp. 151, 162. 9

/9/ Several at Cullen House.

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to the numerous accounts of him which have appeared, and very briefly to remind ourselves of the outstanding features of his notable career. Belonging to an old French noble family, he was born in 1651, was a student of the Seminary of S. Sulpice in Paris which had been founded by the mystic Olier, and upon entering the Church soon made a reputation as a preacher. He came to know everybody and was much about Court. A treatise on the *Education of Girls* showed his interest in education, and his independence of judgment. He became tutor to the heir to the throne ; and some of his most famous writings were connected with this employment, in particular his *Télémaque* which eventually proved one of the most popular books ever printed. It was only natural that such a position as that of Archbishop of Cambrai should soon be reached. Fénelon was now one of the greatest of spiritual directors, as well as one of the most versatile and intellectual men of that brilliant period. His deep interest in religion, his training at S. Sulpice, his acquaintance with early mystical writings, made him interested in Madame Guyon and he became her ally, according to some, her devoted disciple, according to others, a healthy moderating influence upon her. When Madame Guyon was attacked by Bossuet, Fénelon was her greatest supporter, and in order to defend her doctrine of disinterested love, issued his *Maxims of the Saints*. Bitter controversy ensued, and the book was ultimately condemned by the Pope. Fénelon submitted and devoted himself for the last fifteen years of his life to the work of his vast and important diocese. For his day he was a remarkably broad-minded man, and he remains one of the most attractive personalities of the distinguished reign of Louis XIV. It is interesting to find Protestants in Aberdeenshire studying his writings so soon after their publication and acknowledging a spiritual debt to this French prelate.

No one was more zealous to maintain and extend the influence of Fénelon after his death than his grand-nephew, the

Marquis de Fénelon,/1/ who is another of the characters who appear in our collection of Letters. As a youth he lived much with the archbishop. Fighting against Marlborough he was badly lamed, but he continued his Military career and died on the field of battle in 1746. He was of a religious disposition, a devoted disciple of his uncle, and a warm admirer of Madame Guyon, with whom he was in constant correspondence for some years before her death. With Andrew Ramsay, the Marquis de Fénelon shares the credit for much that was done to render enduring the reputation of the Archbishop. His interest for us is chiefly that he had come personally into touch with several of the Scottish friends of Madame Guyon. A few of his letters /2/ to Lord Deskford have been preserved and are published for the first time in this collection, and other letters /3/ and greetings /4/ passed between the two noblemen.

/1/Cherel, *Fénelon au xviiiè siècle*, chs. viii and ix, etc.

/2/M.N.E., pp. 125, 147, 153, 165.

/3/Ibid., pp. 136, 564.

/4/Ibid., pp. 95, 137.

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Ramsay draws an interesting comparison between the Marquis and Lord Deskford./1/He was closely connected with Ramsay in the opposition he made to Poiret's publication of Madame Guyon's Autobiography ; and the letters have something to say about this. /2/

Our group was thus indebted to two contemporary French mystics, Fénelon and his grand-nephew, but our interest is mainly in the part played by Madame Guyon and M. Poiret. Madame Guyon, by her correspondence, direct and indirect, and Pierre Poiret by his systematic distribution of mystical literature, obtained the spiritual direction of a group of interesting men in Scotland and especially in the North-East of Scotland and it is with these influences and the group influenced that we are concerned in the Letters.

The Scot who seems to have been more than any other the originator of this tendency in the North-East was Dr. George

Garden, an Aberdeen clergyman. He had the support of his elder brother, Professor James Garden, also of Aberdeen. The most popular figure in the group was Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. There was also Lord Deskford, to whom the letters of Dr. James Keith here published were originally directed. There was James Keith himself, an Aberdeen medical man practising in London, the agent through whom Madame Guyon sent her letters and Pierre Poiret his mystical publications. Along with him was his medical friend George Cheyne, likewise of Aberdeen, the friend of Pope and Richardson. We have also William Forbes, afterwards 14th Lord Forbes, and his brother James, afterwards 16th Lord Forbes. There was, further, that enigmatic figure the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, secretary to Fénelon and M. Guyon, who had intimate associations with the men of the North-East of Scotland, though he lived mostly in France. Other names which appear in the correspondence as those of persons interested in the movement in one degree or another include Sir James Dunbar of Durn (a near relative of Lord Deskford), Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre (one of the most earnest men of his time), Lord Dupplin (rather on the fringe of the movement), James Cunningham, laird of Barns at Crail in Fife, and others.

The men involved are obviously not negligible characters from any point of view. None of them was a S. Francis de Sales or a John of the Cross. None of them was in any interesting way abnormal or eccentric. They were simply intelligent men of good social position, who had seen something of life at home and abroad, had had some experience of the political and ecclesiastical conflicts of a difficult period of history, and had been led from dissatisfaction with the outward state of things to seek and to find peace within.

/1/ M.N.E., p. 95. /2/ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, etc.

III. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE NORTH-EAST AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

IT is very remarkable to find such influences as those of Madame Guyon and Pierre Poiret at work in the North-East of Scotland. Those who were involved in the movement were all, it should be noted, Episcopalians. Further, from the date of the

Revolution they had been more or less persecuted Episcopalians. At the same time they formed locally a strong party, and they developed marked independence in more than one direction. The growth of the interest in mysticism which remained from the Scougall tradition was at least to some extent due to these special local circumstances in the matter of religion ; and before going further it will be useful to explore the religious conditions prevailing in the North-East at this period, and to discover what relation to the general situation those individuals occupied who were concerned in the mystical movement.

For some time after the Revolution Presbyterianism had only the slenderest hold upon the North-East of Scotland. South of the Tay closer acquaintance with the representatives of England and with the horrors of their administration, experience of the " Killing Time," intenser dread of Romanism, the weight of official opinion, and the sagacity of William Carstares combined to establish very firmly the Presbyterian rule. But Aberdeen and the North-East stood out,^{/1/} as it has so often done, in considerable contrast to the rest of the country. The clergy and the people in this whole district were so unanimous that the Church went on very much as before, and paid little attention to Parliament or General Assembly. The Bishop of Aberdeen continued formally to act.^{/2/} Episcopalian clergy met as Synod and as Presbytery.^{/3/} Episcopal ministers preached in the city churches.^{/4/} The incumbent of S. Clement's escaped notice till after the 'Fifteen.^{/5/} The church of Old Machar was in Episcopal hands till April, 1694, after which there were no services of any kind in the church for some months, " the doores being shut and consequently no collections for the poor." ^{/6/} In the district round about similar conditions prevailed. Even in 1701 the minutes of the Presbytery of Turriff refer to " all the Episcopall

^{/1/} Lawson, *History of the Scot. Episc. Church from the Rev's.*, p. 139 ; Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, II, p. 592 ; Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, II, pp. 49 f.

^{/2/}Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 403 ; but v. Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

^{/3/}Miscellany of Spalding Club, II, pp. 163 ff. In Old Machar Kirk Session Records, July 23, 1693, we read : " The minister reported that he spake to the Presbiterie anent..."

/4/*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, new edit., VI, pp. 2, 15, 38.

/5/*Ibid.*, p. 27.

/6/ Old Machar Kirk Session Records, July, 1694 ; Old Machar Collection Book, 1694.

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incumbents within the bounds," /1/ and no fewer than ten of these are mentioned. Indeed as far as Presbyterians were concerned, for years neither Synod nor Presbytery existed. After the Revolution the Synod did not meet till May 18, 1697./2/ No Presbytery was in being until in 1694 five ministers from Aberdeenshire and one from Banff constituted themselves such./3 In 1697 there were at last three Presbyteries in the North-East where formerly there had been eight./4 The united Presbyteries of Turriff, Alford and Fordyce began with only five ministers (including two from without the bounds), and two elders./5 Only three were present at the first meeting of the combined Presbyteries of Garioch, Ellon and Deer./6 The Presbyteries of Aberdeen and Kincardine O'Neil were once more separated in 1700. /7 In the following year the Presbytery of Ellon was set up again with four ministers,/8 and that of Deer with six./9 Garioch and Alford were combined for a time, but separated in 1708,/10 while Turriff and Fordyce were finally disjoined in 1707./11

The General Assembly of 1690 saw only two representatives of the whole Synod of Aberdeen, and that of 1692 only one./12 An interesting letter dated just after the close of the March April Assembly of 1694 shows the general position : " Our Assembly went off easily enough ; for the brethren willingly agreed to take no advantage of the late Act of Parliament for settling the Church, and the Commissions they have given are mostly for planting and assuming, and restricted enough in the matter of censure. Yet I see the northern ministers take the alarm at the Commission for the North, and Aberdeen minded to be the metropolis of the Episcopal party ; but I believe the Commission shall be eerie moderat, and therefore I would have your country folks wise ; for if they make any bussell agt such just and moderat things, it will wily serve for a discoverie of their to much suspected disaffection." /13 When this Commission did visit Aberdeen they

were met with a protestation from a meeting of the Episcopalian clergy assembled in King's College Kirk.¹⁴ The Commission accepted

1 Minutes of united Presbyteries of Turriff, Alford and Fordyce, Nov. 12, 17or.

2 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen.

3 Miscellany of Spalding Club, II, p. 170 ; Minutes of united Presbyteries of Turriff, Alford and Fordyce, May 6, 1697.

4 Miscellany of Spalding Club, II, p. 172.

5 Minutes of united Presbyteries of Turriff, Alford and Fordyce, May 6, 1697.

6 Minutes of united Presbyteries of Garioch, Ellon and Deer, April 28, 1697.

7 Minutes of Presbytery of Kincardine, April 17, 1700.

8 Minutes of Presbytery of Ellon, Nov. 12. 17or.

9 Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, April 16, 17or.

10 Minutes of Presbytery of Garioch, Dec. r, 1708.

11 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff.

12 Misc. of Sp. Cl., II, pp. lxiii f. : cf. Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly held in Edinburgh in 1690 (1691), p. 22.

13 Seafield Correspondence (S.H.S.), p. 142. 14 Misc. of Sp. Cl., II, p. 163.

applications from ministers to be received into ministerial communion. A typical case is that of George Anderson, minister at Tarves, regarding whom the Commission recorded that " having heard a savourie report of him from several of the brethren who now in this place have conversed with him and they having also heard a good report of him from godlie and judicious persons in this countrie who know him, and he having declared himself willing to comply with the terms of communion agreed upon by the last Assemblie, and subscribe the Confession of Faith and acknowledgement enjoyed, do therfor resolve to receive him and hereby receive him."/1

At this period throughout the district everything went on as before under Episcopalian clergymen, services being regularly conducted and communion celebrated, kirk sessions exercising discipline, electing elders, appointing precentors, attending to the poor, observing national thanksgivings./2 On the other hand there was no Presbyterian Communion in Aberdeen from 1690 till 1704,/3 and a similar situation occurred elsewhere./4 Few congregations had a Presbyterian Kirk Session./5 Churches fell into disrepair./6 In some places there were long vacancies./7 " Supply ministers " had to be brought from the south to fill the

pulpits./⁸ The available probationers were on constant duty,/⁹ and were speedily ordained to parishes./¹⁰

One schoolmaster was licensed though " he did profess that he had not any skill in the Hebrew." /¹¹ Occasionally the attempt to induct a Presbyterian minister caused serious rioting. Thus in 1707 members of the Presbytery of Deer on such an errand at Fraserburgh " were assaulted on the high streete with a rabble of people who threw stones and dub or mire upon them, pursuing them into the church with the same weapons so that they wer forced to retire to a corner under a loft that they might think on an answer." /¹² As late as 1717 we hear of a minister and the clerk of the

1 Extract of Proceedings, July 2, 1694, in Minutes of Presbytery of Aberdeen.

2 Old Machar Session Records, 1690-94, Massing.

3 Kirk Session Register of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen (2nd series), III ; Case of Episcopal Clergy (1703), P. 34.

4 Mair, Records of Presbytery of Ellon, p. 303.

5 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, Aug. 18, 1702 ; Dec. 3, 1718 ; Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, June 24, 1707.

6 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, June 3, 1699 ; Cooper, Cartul. Eccles. S. Nich., II, p. xlv.

7 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, May G, 1697 ; Wodrow, Correspondence, II, p. 210, etc.

8 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April 7, 1698.

9 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, April 20, 1698 ; Minutes of Presbyter- of Deer. July 16, Aug. 20, 1706, etc.

10 Ibid., Feb. 8, 1703 (two Presbyteries seeking to place the same man) ; Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, April 20, 1698, etc.

11 Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, Jan. 4, 1704 ; cf. May 4, 1703, June 6 and Sept. 3, 1704

12 Ibid., Feb. 4, 1707.

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Presbytery of Garioch being chased by a rabble "upwards of a mile." Sometimes visiting Presbyterian ministers found themselves without an audience—" not so much as one to ring the bell." /² Where the church was claimed for the Presbyterians, heritors would refuse access to the building, keeping possession of communion vessels and session records, and the people would assemble at the Episcopalian intruder's house or arrange for a meeting-house of their own./³ There was no Presbyterian

minister at Gamrie or Forglen till 1717, at Fyvie and Alvah till 1718, or at Monquhitter till the end of 1727./4

Most of the Episcopalian clergy in the North-East had qualified themselves according to law./5 This excluded, however, those who were conducting worship in meeting-houses./6 In some cases men who were not qualified continued for years to act as minister. In this connection George Garden, of whom we shall hear so much in this volume, must be mentioned. He continued to preach regularly in S. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, after the Revolution just as if nothing whatever had happened ; but he declined to pray for William and Mary as King and Queen of the Realm, and he would read no proclamations which referred to them. This the Government declared was stirring up and fermenting political disaffection. It was even stated to the Privy Council that he prayed for King James "aither expressly or in ambiguous and circumstantial terms." He was summoned to Edinburgh, and on refusing to submit to the conditions required of him by the Privy Council, was deprived of his benefice and discharged from exercising any ministerial function in Scotland./7 He was not, however, prevented by this from preaching and conducting services for his followers and friends in Aberdeen, and later had a meeting-house of his own and even a curate to assist him./8

We may notice also the case of another minister whose name occurs in the Letters of James Keith, M.D., and who was in fact himself a nephew of Dr. Keith.

Francis Ross had been minister at Renfrew, but immediately after the Revolution a previous incumbent of the parish returned and established

1 Minutes of Presbytery of Garioch, Nov. 20, 1717.

2 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, March 16, 1698 ; cf. Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, May 4 and 11, 1707 ; June 3, 1707.

3 Ibid., May 12 and Nov. 2, 1708 ; Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, March 16, 1698 ; Representations by the Commission of the General Assembly for the North in Miscellany of Spalding Club, II, pp. lxxvi f.

4 New Statistical Account, XII, p. 607 note.

5 J. Anderson, A Defence of Presbyterians (1714), p. 7 ; A Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain (1718), p. 17.

6 Ibid., p. 22.

7 MSS. Proceedings of the Privy Council, Register House, Edin., Feb. 28, 1693 ; Aberdeen Town Council Minutes, March 8, 1693. M.N.E., p. 33.

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Presbyterian services. A rabbling assault /1 was made upon the manse, although the minister's wife was not yet recovered after the birth of a child, and the furniture was actually removed, though the persuasive efforts of some in the place presently secured its return, and the family continued to be tolerated until the Act of 1690 definitely reponed the old minister and deprived the Episcopalian " intruder." Ross went /2 to Aberdeen and for " two or three years " lived with his father-in-law, Dr. John Keith of Old Machar. Dr. Keith had been staunchly Episcopalian, but had offered no public opposition to the new government, having its proclamations duly read from the lectern. He died in March, 1694, and, patronage having been abolished by the Revolution Settlement, the heritors and elders met, qualified themselves by a loyal oath, and unanimously elected Francis Ross to be their minister. The magistrates lodged a protest stating that he was " disaffected to the government " ; but the call was duly subscribed and the members of the congregation signified their hearty approval, declaring that " the whole people of the parish to the number of upwards of two thousand communicants " were willing and ready to accept him. Ross preached in Old Machar Church on April 8 and April 15, but being called before the Commission of the General Assembly at Aberdeen he declined to apply to them to be received into ministerial communion or to conform to Presbyterianism as now established, and his call was declared null and void. The doors of the church were locked by his friends, and only a repeated injunction from the Privy Council compelled them to hand over the keys so that at last a Presbyterian preacher occupied the pulpit on July 1./3

Enough has been said to show that Episcopacy, though, as it were, driven underground, remained strong in the North-East of Scotland, and at the time to which the Letters of James Keith belong this was still the case. The interests of the Episcopalians were partly, as has already been noted, political, and this will have

to be considered more fully in discussing presently their relation to the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 ; but antipathy to the ecclesiastical conditions in which they found themselves turned their attention to two lines of development by which they might be markedly distinguished from the despised Presbyterians who had law on their side and who, in practically every other part of the country, were also almost completely victorious. These two directions of development were Liturgy and Mysticism.

It must be remembered that 17th century Episcopacy in Scotland had

1 Descriptions which differ somewhat as to details are given in *Account of the Present Persecution of the Church of Scotland* (1690) ; *Rule, Second Vindication, and other contemporary pamphlets.*

2 The remainder of this account is from the Kirk Session Records of Old Machar Church.

3 V. also *Misc. of Sp. Cl.*, II, p. 170.

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little association with Liturgy. After Laud's unsuccessful effort in 1637 we find practically none of it. Bishop Mitchell of Aberdeen in 1662 recommended the use of Knox's Book of Common Order for morning and evening prayers ; /1 but in the regular services the prayers were extemporaneous. Perhaps the clearest account is that by Bishop Rattray, /2 which shows that even after the Revolution Settlement the Episcopalian order of worship could only be distinguished from the Presbyterian by the inclusion /3 in the former of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Doxology, with use of the Creed in the Baptismal service. Gilbert Burnet /4 says he employed the English Prayer Book at Saltoun, but in this he was practically unique, although it was used at times in private families /5 and later Principal Munro of Edinburgh University read it in the College. /6 This was likewise done in King's College, /7 Aberdeen, by Principal George Middleton until the Lord Advocate closed the College Chapel to prevent the practice.

The union of the Parliaments in 1707 seems to have brought the Scottish Episcopalians to look more towards English sympathy ; /8 and after the Toleration Act of 1712, which

authorised their separate meetings, we find the English Prayer Book coming into fairly general use. This happened at Banchory-Devenick in 1712, copies of the "excellent liturgy of the Church of England" being provided for the people and the "dasks" in the church made "fitt for kneeling." /9 Amongst those who seem to have been energetic in encouraging the introduction of the Prayer Book in the North-East were the brothers James and George Garden already mentioned. Dr. George Garden is particularly scathing in the criticism of Presbyterian forms of worship in his *Dedication of the Works of John Forbes of Corse*, and the brothers were leaders in the movement in 1713 which, according to Wodrow, set up the English service in all the corners of the Church./10

But a further step in the development of liturgical practice followed. The Gardens with their cousin Principal George Middleton became the leading supporters of the Usages in the North-East, preferring Laud's Prayer Book to that of the Church of England, adding water to the wine in the

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celebration of the Eucharist, and introducing other High Church practices regarded as apostolic. At the same time it is clear from their correspondence that something interested them much more than the Usages and that was the peace and unity of the Church which these threatened completely to destroy. "Schism," wrote George Garden, "is a matter of far more dangerous consequence to the good of the Church than is the difference of usages." 1

Here we have an indication of what drove those men to their particular interest in Mysticism. It was disgust at the controversy which turned men's attention from essentials in religion to unessentials. It is this point which is to be our main concern in the present volume.

The situation in the North-East, then, so far as described is this: The gentry of the area were on the whole definitely opposed to abandoning the Episcopacy in which they had been brought up, and disliked Presbyterianism, a system which they associated with scholastic dogmatism and ecclesiastical tyranny and social

puritanism. They were encouraged by their family chaplains and tutors, and the clergy whom they had themselves presented, usually men of good family, men who had travelled, men who in many cases had none of the old taste for theological controversy, and did not care for the authority of rigid system, but felt strongly the fundamental importance of that personal religion which the struggles of the 17th century had tended to obscure. This emphasis upon religion as contrasted with dogmatic theology, this stress upon worship as distinct from preaching and lecturing drew them more and more away from the Church as now established, and into closer relations with the Church of England. The deepest need, however, was that of a personal faith such as they found in Mysticism. The common people were perhaps not much drawn to this. Its appeal was rather to the educated and the leisured. But in the North-East many were inclined to follow the minister and the laird in opposition to distant Assemblies and Parliaments, and to continue the system of Church government to which they had grown accustomed, which differed marvellously little in practice from the rival system, at least until the introduction of the English Prayer Book, and which in no other part of the country had been seen to greater or so great advantage throughout almost the whole of the past century.

¹ This whole matter may be studied in the MSS. Letters of G. and J. Garden, Archibald Campbell, Dumbreck, Gadderer, etc., in the Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh. V. also the narratives of Lawson, Stephen, Skinner, Struthers, Grub, etc.

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IV. JACOBITE SYMPATHIES.

AT the Revolution religion and politics were inseparably associated. Episcopacy lost its opportunity because of the Jacobite sympathies of its supporters, and the Revolution involved a restoration of Presbyterianism. In the North-East Episcopacy remained in favour. It is therefore natural to look there for a considerable amount of political discontent, and one is not surprised to find that the members of our group were not only Episcopalians but Jacobites. When Dr. George Garden was ejected from his charge in S. Nicholas Church it was quite as much on political as on ecclesiastical grounds. The obligations

which were imposed by oath upon ministers were equally civil and religious.

When new favour began to be shown to the Scottish Episcopalians in 1711 and the succeeding years, Scottish Presbyterians were quick to draw attention to the real political sympathies of their rivals. And when at last rebellion did break out it is perfectly clear that Presbyterians and Episcopalians were ranged upon opposite sides.

The Presbyterian stoutly supported the Hannoverian interest. Typical illustration of the attitude may be taken from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Deer in Aberdeenshire. Already in August, 1715, this Presbytery had warned its faithful people of the dreadful consequences of a popish pretender attempting to mount the throne./1 At the end of November we find that the Presbytery " did exhort the bretheren present to use all proper methods for discountenancing the present rebellion, particularly that they should adhere to the Protestant religion and to the interest of His Majestie King George whom they should pray for nc inatim so long as they should have access to preach in publick." /2 The Minutes in January of the next year record that most of the members of the Presbytery had been driven from their churches by the rebels, and Episcopalian preachers intruded in their stead./3 Things looked serious, but by the middle of February we have the Presbytery offering thanks to God " for the comfortable news of the rebels running from Perth," and further exhorting one another " that they should carry very humbly under such smiling Providence, for if the Lord should sent a deliverance att this time it would be ane act of wonderful sovereignty." /4 In the following month /5 it is reported that the rebels are scattered, and that the Presbyterian ministers " returned all to their charges on the twelfth day of February last without any lett or molestation," and it is specially noted that all the brethren " had behaved themselves faithfully during the whole time of their tryalls, severales of them being abused and plundered of their goods by the rebels."

1 Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, Aug. 23, 1715.

2November 29, 1715.

3 January 24, 1716.

4 February 14, 1716.

5 March 6, 1716.

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A similar story might be told of other Presbyteries in the county./1 Throughout the district no time was lost before turning upon the humiliated Episcopalians, when the Rebellion had collapsed. The extent to which these were definitely involved in the Rebellion is clear from the minute studies of Stephen and Lawson./2 Clergymen had already been deposed for not observing the thanksgiving for the Hanovarian accession in 1714./3 When the rising took place men such as George Garden returned to the pulpits from which they had been expelled, and made it plain that amongst the chief benefits of Stuart victory would be the re-establishment of Episcopacy. The Earl of Mar sought by such a promise to encourage Episcopalians to join him, and amongst his troops only the English Liturgy was in use./4 Mar's proclamations were publicly read in church, and assistance thus given in raising men and money and providing arms and plaids.

The Pretender arrived at Peterhead in December, 1715, and after a night in a house of the Earl Marischal at Newburgh passed on to Fetteresso, where, on the 29th, a deputation of clergy, headed by James and George Garden, presented an address of undoubted loyalty and definite adhesion./5 A day of public thanksgiving was observed /6 by the Episcopalians for the Pretender's safe arrival in Scotland.

In Fraserburgh Alexander Moore, an ardent Episcopalian, whom Bishop Robert Keith describes as " the best of men I ever saw," had intruded into the parish./7 He was a friend of the Gardens, and to him the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, whom we shall often meet in these pages, affectionately avowed his particular spiritual indebtedness./8 Moore observed the thanksgiving on February 2 for the safe arrival of the Pretender, and told the congregation " it was a great mercy the King was landed, considering the season of the year, and there being a price sett on his head by his enemies, that he ova's endued with

excellent qualities, and told them likewise that he who now possesses the throne was called to it by a law contrary to all equity and justice." After the sermon he prayed explicitly for James the Eighth./9

This is typical of what went on amongst the Episcopalians of the North-East. Wodrow declared that " the whole liturgy men in Scotland,

1 V. e.g. Records of the Presbytery of Ellon (hair), pp. 314 f.

2 T. Stephen, History of the Church of Scotland (1844), IV, pp. III ff. ; Lawson, History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution.

3 Rae, History of the Rebellion, 2nd edit., pp. 352, 476.

4 Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain, p. 22.

5 Rae, loc. cit.

6 Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, April 6, 1716.

7 Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, new edit., VI, p. 222.

8 J. P. Lawson, Preface to R. Keith, Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, p. vii. 9 Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, August 6, 1716 ; v. also May 30, 1716, and following entries.

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I think almost without exception, are joined with Mar. /1 Rae in his History of the Rebellion says exactly the same./2 Even at the time of the Forty-Five nearly all the Episcopalians of the district were " confessed Jacobites or active sympathisers." /3 Lawson /4 is quite emphatic about the general attachment of the clergy to the Pretender, and the Presbytery Records do not leave us in any doubts in the matter. Episcopacy was for the Pretender.

Moore and many others in the North-East were deposed when the Rebellion had been suppressed. Full advantage was taken by the Presbyterian Church courts of this opportunity of ridding their territories of men who had ever since the Revolution been a perpetual obstacle to their ecclesiastical supremacy. Each Presbytery in the North-East had its share in the work of persecution. Wodrow records that he was told of a full three dozen Episcopalians driven out for Jacobitism./5 " There is now," he says, " an open door for planting the North more wide than we have had since the Revolution. The bulk of the intruders and incumbents there joined openly with the Pretender, and kept his fasts and thanksgivings, and are skulking up and down, and a

good many of the gentlemen who stood in the way of planting churches are now retired or feigning subjection." The *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* and Stephen and Lawson record the particular cases.

Amongst these we have that of George Garden, who declined to go into hiding and suffered imprisonment for a time. We hear of him being Marched south with other captives./6 Stephen records that at Cupar he and his companions were " thrust into the filthy dungeon where the greatest criminals were kept." /7 After some months in prison in Edinburgh he escaped to Holland./8 Some interest in his well-being was expressed by the Pretender himself ./9 He enrolled as &. medical student at the University of Leyden,/10 and it was not apparently until 1720 that he ventured back to the North-East. Particulars of his movements in those years may be gathered from incidental references in the Letters.

Like Garden, most of the group with whom we are concerned in this volume were Episcopalians and Jacobites. Prominent amongst the noblemen who were " out " and whose names figure in the Letters was Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, who after the Rebellion spent some years on the Continent, but later returned to Scotland and lived to join gallantly in the 'Forty-Five. Another ardent Jacobite whom we find among the mystics

1 Correspondence, II, p. 92. ,

2 2nd edit., p. 205.

3 A. and H. Tayler, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the 'Forty-Five.*

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

5 Correspondence, II, p. 210 and footnote.

6 *Ibid.*, II, p. 144. ,

7 *op. cit.*, IV, p. 121.

8 *Stuart Papers*, III, p. 23.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

10. V. Article by present writer, " S.N. and Q.," Sept. 1932.

was James Forbes, afterwards 16th Lord Forbes, a brother-in-law of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. James Forbes's brother William, then Master of Forbes, afterwards 14.th Lord Forbes, was, as our

Letters show, abroad all the time of the Rebellion. Evidence is wanting to show how his sympathies stood. On the one hand, it is to be remembered that his father remained staunchly and actively Hanovarian./1 On the other hand, he was on friendly terms with the Earl of Mar /2 and in religious matters was entirely at one with his brother. Lord Deskford, to whom the Letters are directed, is usually regarded as having been Hanovarian like his father and as thus mistakenly arrested at the beginning of the Rebellion ; /3 but a letter of his own to Madame Guyon, which is printed for the first time in this volume, shows him to have been at heart a Jacobite./4 Lady Deskford's father, Lord Kinnoull, and her brother, Lord Dupplin, whose names appear in the Letters, both suffered imprisonment for their Jacobite sympathies./5 Another brother was one of the leading rebels, John Hay, made Earl of Inverness by the Pretender./6 James Cunningham, Laird of Barns, whom we shall find to have been keenly interested in mysticism and allied religious enthusiasms, died as a prisoner after the Battle of Preston./7 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre was only just restrained from active rebellion. He was one of those who surrendered to the Government when commanded to do so in September, 1715./8 His son was " out " and suffered considerably. Other Jacobites whose names appear less prominently in the Letters include Sir James Dunbar of Durn, Alexander Davidson of Newtoun, and Principal George Middleton of King's College, Aberdeen. Andrew Michael Ramsay was not indeed personally involved in the Rebellion, but his sympathies are not in doubt, and in later years we find him occupying the post of tutor in the Pretender's family,/9 Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, and Henry, afterwards Cardinal of York, being both under his care as little children.

The outstanding exception in our group is Dr. James Keith himself. He wrote very cautiously where politics were concerned, and succeeded in keeping clear of the conflict.

The Letters of James Keith add something in the way of small details to the information already available regarding the First Jacobite Rebellion, but more important is the witness they

offer as to how completely the group whose mystical tastes these letters display were involved in that exciting political episode.

There were many Episcopalians in the Jacobite forces who would have had no sympathy with such religious ideas as those to which this particular group were devoted. But here we do have a not entirely negligible number

1 G.E.C., Complete Peerage.

2 Stuart Papers, III, pp. 229 f.

3 M.N.E., p. 107.

4 *Ibid.*, p. go.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 123.

6 D.N.B.

7 M.N.E., p. 139.

8 Rae, History of the Rebellion, 2nd edit., p. 211.

9 V. M.N.E., p. 54.

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of intelligent men of good position hoping for better days for true inward personal religion associated with Episcopal forms of government and worship, under Stuart rule. It may be suggested that in the case of some at least the religious interest was of decisive importance in determining their political preference. Perhaps this is a point to which insufficient attention has generally been drawn in connection with the study of this most interesting chapter in Scottish history.

V. DR. GEORGE GARDEN.

THE name of Dr. George Garden does not bulk largely in the Letters of James Keith, but it seems nevertheless desirable to speak of him at some length and with some emphasis at this stage, for his was the personality which inspired the mystical movement in the North-East. He learned mysticism in company with his friend Henry Scougall and from contact with the spirit of his master, John Forbes of Corse. He came to know Poiret and so developed into a missionary of mysticism, most notoriously a disciple of Antoinette Bourignon, but latterly with equal ardour a devotee of Madame Guyon and always an eager pupil of anyone, learned or unlearned, who could speak to the soul. This was not the only cause to which he was devoted. He was a student. He

was, as we have already seen, a keen Jacobite. He was a very ready and successful controversialist on the side of suffering Episcopacy. As a man he is also of outstanding interest, a leader, dignified, cultured, of strong will and great determination, and at the same time lovable, deeply religious, entirely humble, and with the heart of a little child.

His career may be briefly described. His father,¹ the scholarly parish minister of Forgue, belonged to the distinguished family of Leys.² His mother ³ was a near relative of the Earls of Middleton, so prominent in their connection with the House of Stuart. Born in 1649,⁴ George Garden entered King's College,⁵ Aberdeen, when about 13 years of age, four years after his brother James, and two years before his future soul-friend, Henry Scougall, Aberdeen's immortal mystic. After his graduation in 1666 ⁶ he disappears from view. He must have studied Divinity somewhere—perhaps in Aberdeen, as we know his brother did. / ⁷ Then it seems almost necessary to suppose

1 F.E.S., new edit., VI, p. 254 (not altogether accurate).

2 Nisbet, *Heraldry* (1804), II, p. 13 ; *Stoe.srt*, *Scottish Arms*, II, p. 343 (Jas. Garden wrongly described as of St. Andrews).

3 *Old Machar Marriage Register* ; *Register of Deeds, Durie*, July 21, 1664 ; A. C. Biscoe, *Earls of Middleton* (1876).

4 Tombstone in Old Machar church yard.

5 *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 473.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 521.

7 *Records of Exercise of Alford*, p. 68.

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he went abroad and in particular to Holland, as was the fashion with scholarly young men. Certainly he formed a strong connection with the Continent, and became familiar with foreign books and foreign speech. One may also presume that he acted for a time as chaplain, tutor and secretary in one of the great houses in the North-East, and began his intimacy with the Ogilvies and Forbeses and Dunbars and Bairds and Hays and the influence which made him ultimately to such an extent their spiritual director. He maintained his interest in learning, and in 1673, when Henry Scougall became Professor of Divinity, George Garden was recalled ¹ to his old college to succeed him in the

work of Regent. This meant he was responsible for giving dictates and guiding disputations on all the subjects of the Arts curriculum. He only remained in office long enough, however, to take his students through the first year of their course ; and in September, 1674,/2 we find him ordained minister at Forgue in succession to his father. In June, 1679,/3 he was translated to the Cathedral Church of Old Machar, and in November, 1683,/4 to the city charge of S. Nicholas in Aberdeen. Allusion has already been made to his interests in the introduction of the English Liturgy and later in the Usages and the problems they aroused,/5 his deprivation from his ministerial charge in 1693 for political reasons and his ardent adherence to the Jacobite cause in 1715. His later years saw him occasionally in London,/6 and on the Continent,/7 for a time in semi-monastic retirement at Roseheart,/8 but chiefly living quietly in Aberdeen ministering, with the help of a deacon, in his " small oratory." /9 He was a bachelor and his sister Margaret /10 kept house for him.

A letter /11 from Bishop Gadderer to Bishop Campbell on May 24, 1732, states that Dr. Garden is yet alive but his memory is quite gone, and on

1 Orem, Description, p. 160.

2 Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff. Not 1677 as stated in F.E.S., new edit.. VI, p. 254 ; Anderson, Officers and Graduates of King's College, p. 58 ; D. Macmillan, Aberdeen Doctors, p. 265 ; etc. According to the Presbytery records his presentation to Forgue was reported to that court on September 3, 1674, his trials for special reasons were taken all in one day, on the following Wednesday, and the induction followed immediately. Garden is mentioned in the Minutes of January 6, 1675, and frequently thereafter.

3 His presentation and collation are preserved in the Muniment Room at King's College. See also Old Machar Kirk Session Records.

4 Aberdeen Town Council Records, LVI, p. 659.

5 See his letters preserved in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh.

6 YI.N.E., pp. 80 ff.

7 Ibid., pp. 131, 151, 155, 160.

8 Remains of John Byrom, Vol. II, part ii, p. 472 ; Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, October 19, 1710.

9 Manuscript Letters in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh, 760 and 763.

10 Ibid., 760 ; Munro, Records of Old Aberdeen, II, p. 176.

11 Scottish Episc. Coll., Edinburgh.

January 31, 1733, he died,¹ being buried next his brother in the churchyard of Old Machar Cathedral.

An interesting glimpse of Garden's appearance is afforded by one of the books directed against him, which in more than one place seems to hint at his size and physique : " The Dr. has undertaken a Gigantick attempt worthy of himself, for as the proverb is, Aquila non captat muscas, so this mighty champion . . ." ; " there is a vast disproportion of human strength and furniture between the Dr. and the author of this essay who is but Nanus ad gigantem, like a Pismire in comparison of an Elephant." ² Evidently an impressive figure. As to Garden's high character there is universal agreement. Bishop Falconer speaks in a private letter of his " unquestionable abilities and probitie " ; ³ and Wetstein, the Amsterdam publisher, himself a man of piety, declares he has never known one gentler, more modest and with more brotherly kindness. ⁴ A hostile pamphlet in 1690 admits him to be " both a knowing man and an able preacher, one who teacheth the truth in sincerity, without respect of persons." ⁵ Honyman, his opponent in the Bourignonist controversy, says he is " a known pattern of piety and temperance, and deserves so well of the learn'd world," " admired as an oracle of learning and piety by all the neighbourhood," " a knowing and judicious person," " a learned and religious person," and refers to " all that reading and knowledge he is master of," and " his own smooth style," showing how in regard to certain teaching he " with his smooth tongue licked it into a taking English dress, set off with all the advantages of his learning, eloquence and citation of authors." ⁶ This is all very illuminating. That Garden was indeed learned is clear from the record of his early life of study, his call to be regent at King's College, the range of references in his many pamphlets and prefaces, his laborious editing of the works of John Forbes of Corse with the translation of the Diary into effective Latin, and also the evidence of his scientific interests afforded by his letters ⁷ published in the transactions of the Royal Society of London.

Bower in his History of the University of Edinburgh /8 gives a totally misleading idea of him when he calls him " a raving enthusiast who was a fitter subject for an hospital than an ecclesiastical court," but he was an en-

1 Old Machar Kirk Session Accounts, Nov. 24, 1733.

2 A. Honyman, *Bourignonism Displayed* (1710), xii, xx.

3 Letter to Bp. Campbell, *Scottish Episc. Coll.*, Edin.

4 *Opera Johannis Forbesii* (1703), Vol. I, pref.

5 *An Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly held at Edinburgh, 1690* (1691), p. 35.

6 Honyman, *op. cit.*

7 *Philosophical Transactions*, 1677, 1685, 1693 ; v. also correspondence in A. van Leeuwenhoek, *Vierde Verfolg der Brieven* (1694). c Vol. II, p. 283.

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thusiast, and a masterful enthusiast who infected others with his enthusiasm. At the same time we admire the moderation of his statements and his sympathy and charity to all men—except perhaps those dreadful Calvinists and Presbyterians of the Covenanter type ! He was a gentleman, restrained, cultured, a keen missionary, who was himself the best argument for his views.

It is as a Bourignonist that George Garden is known in Scottish Church history, but simply so to classify him is to misunderstand. The mystics did not devise rival systems, and Garden is as much a follower of S. Augustine and S. Bernard, Tauler and S. Teresa, de Renty and Pascal, Molinos and John of the Cross, Francis de Sales and Thomas à Kempis as he ever was of Madame Bourignon and latterly he was a devoted admirer of Madame Guyon. It was, however, for Bourignonism that he was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland, and he did more than anyone else to disseminate knowledge of Bourignonist ideas both by his famous *Apologeticon* 1 and by translating and arranging to have translated a number of Mme. Bourignon's works, and that at considerable financial risk./2 The Synod of Aberdeen complained in 1710 of " the great increase of Bourignonism in this province, especially by means of Dr. Garden " who " keeps up a settled society of unmarried men and women living together into the house of Roseheart for propagating the principles of A.B." /3 He was responsible for the interest taken in

such views by " some of the better sort, who have been reputed men of sense, learning and probity " as his brother-in-law declares./4 The influence he exerted was not limited to the North-East, but showed itself in Fife, where Halyburton found he had to preach against the movement in Ceres in 1707,/5 and where St. Andrews was said to be much affected,/6 and the ideas he advocated proved so attractive to earnest souls with whom he came into contact that the courts of the Church were obliged at an early stage to take notice. Garden was cited before the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1700,/7 but did not compear, and the matter went to the General Assembly, which declared his Apology for Mine. A. Bourignon to contain " a mass of dangerous, impious, blasphemous and damnable errors," confirmed an order of suspension against him by a visiting Commission

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of Assembly, and ultimately deposed him from the Ministry./1 Intimation of his deposition was ordered to be read in all churches, and there was a certain amount of trouble with sympathisers who refused to obey this instruction./2 The Assembly of 1709 /3 enjoined the suppression of the " dangerous errors " ; and an Act of 1710 /4 refers to " Societies of Bourignonists, avowedly professing these principles and dispensing the books containing the same," and urges the Professors of Divinity to confute the new teachings. In 1711 /5 the new set of questions to be put to ministers at Ordination required the explicit disowning of Bourignonism along with Popish, Arian, Socinian and Arminian heresies and this formula remained in use in the Church of Scotland until 1889. Various works /6 were published against Bourignonism or included attacks upon it and upon George Garden.

The official and literary attacks display much misunderstanding /7 of Garden and his views, and the general attitude was one of ignorance and the suspicion and fear which ignorance begets. Professor Anderson of Glasgow University declared that the movement was a " deep laid plot by the Jesuits," /8 although we know that the Romanists themselves were made anxious by the spread of Bourignonism in Scotland./9

George Garden was undoubtedly the chief propagator of this movement in Scotland, and even in 1720 we find him prevented by the taint of Bourignonism from being seriously considered by the Scottish Episcopalians for a bishopric."

1 Acts of Gen. Assembly, pp. 306 f. ; v. also Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, Aug. 20, Sept. 24, 1700, and Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April, 1701.

2 Minutes of Presbytery of Aberdeen, April 30, 1701 ; Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, Aug. 20, Nov. 11, Dec. 2, Dec. 23, 1701, and Jan. 27, 1702 ; Minutes of Presbytery of Garioch, Nov. 5, 1701, and Jan. 21, 1702 ; {Minutes of Presbytery of Turriff, Nov. 12, Dec. 10, 1701, and Jan. 13, Feb. 24, 1702.

3 Acts of Gen. Assembly, p. 436.

4 Ibid., pp. 443 f. ; cf. Minutes of Presbytery of Deer, Oct. 19, 1710, and T. Boston, *Jlernoirs* (edit., Morrison, p. 249).

5 Acts of Gen. Assembly, p. 455 ; cf. Struthers, *History of Relief Church*, p. 175.

6 The most important of these are George White, *Advertisement* (1700) ; Leslie, preface to *Snake in the Grass* (1696) ; J. Cockburn, *Bourignonism Detected* (1698) ; A. Honyman, *Bourignonism Displayed* (1710) ; J. Hog, *Notes about the Spirits' Operations* (1709) ; R. Barclay, *Modest and Serious Address* (1708) ; A. Jaffray, *Letter to Dr. G. G.* (1708).

7 The history of the movement is given, and the life and opinions of M. Bourignon fully discussed in A. R. MacEwen, *Antoinette Bourignon, Quietist* (1910). An interesting friendly account of Mme. Bourignon occurs in *Epistola de Principiis et Characteribus Mysticorum* (1702), pp. 230-56, with a criticism of Bayle's attack.

8 Wodrow, *Analecta*, II, p. 350 ; cf. III, pp. 472 f.

9 Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, Eng. Trans., IV, pp. 169, 200.

10 Lockhart Papers, Vol. II, p. 101 ; also letter from Bishop Falconer to Bishop Campbell, Jan. 10, 1721 (quoted *Epochs of Scottish Church History*, p. 87).

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Yet when all is said Garden was not a mere Bourignonist. There is a letter of Norman Macleod of the Barony, written in 1848, which sheds light on the position. " Unless," he says,¹ " the Church gets wholesome spiritual food given to it, its next development will be mysticism. Nothing outward in government, creed or mode of worship can satisfy the increasing hunger in the Church ; all are seeking something which they find not, yet know not hardly what they seek." This situation has often appeared in the history of the Church, and has given rise to movements of revolt, some of which the Church has crushed out as it did Montanism, some of which it has absorbed, as it did medieval

mysticism, some of which it has driven to separatism, as it did the Quakers and the Methodists. It is in the light of this explanation that we must view Garden and the whole group with which we are concerned in this volume. Garden and his friends were dissatisfied with organised Christianity in Scotland as they found it under established Presbyterianism. They intensely disliked the splitting and resplitting of hairs which characterised the theology of the Covenanters. Garden was always ready to pour out indignation upon the Westminster Confession of Faith,² not for the views it suggests, but for its dogmatism, and for the insistence that 171 articles of faith must all be accepted in the same sense by everybody. Children, he complains, were baptised into a narrow sect instead of into the Church of Christ. The catholicity of the Sacraments and the Creeds was forgotten, and the sense of proportion was thus lost. He wished to distinguish essentials and accidentals and to insist that everything must illustrate and inculcate Faith, Charity and Hope.³ Religion was the principal thing, and religion he found in Augustine and Thomas à Kempis, and Pascal and Henry Scougall. Then Poiret introduced him to the works of Madame Bourignon, and here he found the same thing. He was convinced that they would "revive the life and spirit of Christianity." ⁴ He was charmed to see here again the emphasis he knew so well from the older mystics upon the love of God as the essence of virtue. He declared that "upon the reading of her writings they have felt a deeper sense of divine things, and their hearts and consciences have been more touched than by most of other writings which they have seen. . . . There's a certain driness and deadness in most of writings and sermons nowadays about divine things, that they do not at all touch the heart ; and even the best of them savour more of the head than of the heart, ... There was never more preaching than in this age, yet never a greater spiritual famine."⁵ At the same time he was careful to explain that : " They esteem her writings

1 D. Macleod, *Memoir of N. Macleod*, Vol. I, pp. 289 f.

2 *Case of Episcopal Clergy* (1703), p. 14, etc. ; *Opera Joh. Forbesii*, Vol. I, pref.

3 *Primitive Church Government in the Practice of the Reformed in Bohemia* (1703), p. 3 ; v. also *Acts of General Assembly*, p. 307.

4 *Apology for Mme. Bourignon*, pref.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 31 f.

in so far as they are agreeable to the doctrine of Jesus Christ ; and as to her particular opinions, they suspend their judgment about them, since neither the belief nor disbelief of them is necessary to salvation ; for it is their earnest desire to become true followers of Jesus Xt and not of any particular person." " 'Tis true in her writings there are some singular sentiments, but such as she owns are not necessary to Salvation, and which people if they please may look upon as dreams, provided they take care to have their hearts and minds formed according to the spirit and doctrine of Jesus Xt." /1 Madame Bourignon was thus to George Garden what Tauler had been to Luther. Tauler appealed to the mystic in Luther who thereupon found in him " more solid and true theology than is to be or can be found in all the scholastic doctors." /2 Luther no doubt exaggerated and discovered much in Tauler which was due rather to the mind which read than to anything in the text, but the fact of the inspiration was undoubted. So Garden found his own thoughts so admirably echoed by Madame Bourignon that he became instantly blind to the crudities and absurdities /3 of her teaching and found in her the sum and substance of true Christianity. At the same time it was the spirit of her teaching and not the letter which he so powerfully and enthusiastically recommended.

As late as September, 1714, Wodrow records 3 that in the North there had been a considerable increase in " the enthusiastical foppery of Bourignianism " ; but in fact a new phase had by that time developed. In 1711 the Bourignonist movement was noted by the Aberdeen Synod 4 to be somewhat diminished, so much so that they felt there was now no call for special action. The translations of Madame Bourignon's Works ceased for no apparent reason in 1708. Then in 1710 George Garden went abroad, and this may 'mark the beginning of 3 new and very powerful influence in his life and in that of his friends. It is true that we have no writings from his pen after this date, no translations, no prefaces. But he was by no means inactive. His methods were now much more secret and have remained entirely

unnoticed. He retained his love of all the mystics, and his enthusiasm for A.B. was not dead, but he found a new and living anc. present source of revelation and inspiration in Madame Guyon. Poiret had by this time become intensely interested in the writings of Madame Guyon, and was giving to her that same Boswellian encouragement and worship which he had formerly offered to Madame Bourignon. Garden

1 A. Bourignon, *Renovation of the Gospel Spirit*, Eng. trans., 1707, preface. The copy in New College Library, Edinburgh, attributes this preface to Dr. G. G. and that in a contemporary hand. Some of the other volumes in the same collection have also notes regarding the authorship of the prefaces, and these show discrimination and seem accurate.

2 Mackinnon, *Luther*, I, p. 232 ; cf. p. 219.

3 Correspondence, I, p. S72 : other references in II, pp. 253, 307.

4 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April 3, 1711.

5 *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1710.

became also a close follower of Madame Guyon, and we discover from the Letters /1 that he was actually one of those present at Blois when she died in 1717. We learn also that he had been in correspondence /2 with her, and had received some of her poetical effusions, /3 and later we find him busily engaged /4 a in distributing copies of her different works to those who would buy them. He kept in close touch with the group, being in correspondence with Dr. Keith /5 and A. M. Ramsay, /6 and sharing exile with Lord Forbes of Pitsligo /7 and James Forbes. /8 Altogether it was largely the work he had done in rousing interest in foreign mystical writings and leaders that created this Scottish following for Madame Guyon, and that brought it about that her books and letters found their way to Cullen and to other Scottish castles where the mystics made their appeal and where spiritual direction was welcome.

VI. LORD DESKFORD.

ANOTHER very interesting member of the group who visited Madame Guyon at Blois and was in regular correspondence with her was the recipient of the letters of Dr. James Keith published in this volume. James Ogilvie, Lord Deskford, afterwards 5th Earl of Findlater and 2nd Earl of Seafield.

Lord Deskford was born in 1690,⁹ son of the Chancellor Earl who had so much of the responsibility of negotiating the Union with England in 1707. Affectionate relations with his father are indicated by the terms of some letters which have been preserved, though these deal chiefly with the price of grain and the health of the family. In writing to Madame Guyon in 1714 Lord Deskford stated¹⁰ that his inclination was to follow his father in ordinary matters, and he may therefore to some extent have resembled his father, who was not supposed to be a man of very strong personal convictions.¹¹ His mother ¹² was Anna, eldest daughter of Sir Wm. Dunbar of Durn and his wife, Janet Brodie, grandchild of the most celebrated Laird of Brodie.¹³ Lady Seafield died in 1708, aged only 36, but already she had given direction to the spiritual life of her son, and to her influence in this respect he remained true. She had been very religiously brought up, and had had a good education, so that she was able to compose religious meditations, of which

1 M.N.E., p. 543.

2 Ibid., p. 124.

3 Ibid., p. 97.

4 Ibid., p. 165 n.

5 Ibid., pp. 134, etc.

6 Ibid., p. 151.

7 Ibid., p. 155.

8 Ibid., p. 139.

9 Paul, Scots Peerage, IV, p. 39 ; died July 1764, in the 75th year of his age.

10 M.N.E., p. 90.

11 D.N.B.

12 Paul, Scots Peerage, IV, p. 38.

13 The details are from the manuscript *Life of Lady Seafield* by Mary Baird of Auchmedden, wife of Sir James Dunbar of Durn, brother of Lady Seafield ; and other papers in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh (Q. 12).

some are still extant. On her dying bed she declared that her one ambition was " to have her heart wholly moulded into the Love of God," and that she thought " that the Love of God was the essence of religion." This is of course entirely on the lines of George Garden. He was intimate with the family and after her death wrote for private circulation a *Life of Lady Seafield*. When she

was dying her son read her a letter concerning the Love of God, and we can see that he was already much interested in the mystical religion of the time.

Lord Deskford is said to have been a sickly child because of a bad nurse, and thus to have been a source of anxiety to his mother. As a young man he was also in poor health in London, and his life seems to have been in danger. His state of health gave him occasion for meditation and he said later that he had found much support in I Thess. v, 8-10. An anecdote of his childhood tells of severe chastisement from his mother when he was five or six years old for swearing, which he had learned from the servants, and of which he always afterwards had a particular dislike. When he was a few years older he was entrusted with alms for a beggar, but was induced by a companion to spend the money on figs. The incident was, of course, used to inculcate the proper moral. Childish thoughtlessness also caused him to utter what seemed a heartless remark when his brother William died. The Earl had promised William a large sum of money " for his portion." When James heard of the death he said, " Well, his father would not give him that money now."

Lord Deskford was educated by a tutor named Wm. Blake, of whom some particulars will be found in the letters of Dr. James Keith./1 Blake took him to Aberdeen, where he attended Marischal College from 1701,/2 and in 1705 they went to Utrecht, where the pupil is reported to have been /3 in good friendship and correspondence with the English and Germans here. He walks in the fields with them, converses in coffee-houses, receives and returns their visits, but never goes along to the tavern, nor ever makes a pair in their night caballs." He studied History and French and was preparing to follow the Law as his father had so successfully done, but his name does not appear in the university records./4 He was back in Scotland in the spring of 1707,/5 and it was during the following winter that he was so ill in London./6 Within the next year or two he must have been abroad again and met Madame Guyon, under whose influence he was long to remain. He kept up his studies. He was acquainted with foreign languages./7 We

1 M.N.E., pp. 93, 127, etc.

2 Records of Mar. Coll., II, p. 281 ; v. also Seafield Correspondence (S.H.S.), pp. 323 f., 338.

3 Ibid., pp. 417 f. ; v. also pp. 416 ff., 424.

4 Album Studiosorum.

5 Seafield Correspondence, p. 431.

6 Ibid., pp. 444, 451.

7 N.N.E., pp. 90, 104.

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hear of boxes of books arriving for him at Cullen House./1
History seems to have interested him particularly./2

At an early date, however, his interests had become strongly religious. One of the family retainers, writing in 1710, urges that Lord Deskford should be encouraged to marry not only for the sake of personal and family advancement but also because " if he gott a vertuous good woman she would keep him from his melancholy thoughts and the enthusiastick principles of religion."/3

It is not surprising then to find that his main reading was in Mystical Theology, and there are still in Cullen House Library many volumes of this type which were added in his day, and other books which are of interest as connected in some way with people mentioned in the Letters. Fénelon has a good place. There is a complete set of his works, with French and English versions of Ramsay's Life of Fénelon, copies of *Télémaque* in English, French and Italian, and separate editions of several of his other writings. Madame Guyon's Works are also very fully represented—her Autobiography, the Commentaries on the Old and New Testament, her Poems, Letters, and Discourses, the *Opuscules spirituels*, the *Justifications* (2 copies), etc. There are also a number of Poiret's works in English, Latin and French. To these must be added many of the best known mystical books—several editions of the *Imitation of Christ*, *Theologia Germanica*, Macarius, S. Teresa, Annelle Nicholas, Gregory Lopez, Olier, Surin, Angela de Foligni, S. Catherine of Genoa, Francis de Sales, *Les vies des saintes pères des deserts*, Hugo's *Emblems*, Henry Scougall. We find also the Cambridge Platonists, More and Cudworth, two copies of Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles of*

Natural Religion, George Cheyne's Philosophical Principles, Campbell's Middle State (2 copies), and works by Cumberland, James Knight, J. Heylin, S. Ockley, the last three of whom were personally known to Deskford.

This list witnesses to a real interest in spiritual literature and in inward religion of the type preached by Madame Guyon.

Of Lord Deskford's personal religion the Letters now published in this volume afford ample evidence. Also there are preserved at Cullen House a number of prayers in Lord Deskford's handwriting and apparently of his own composition, along with transcripts of spiritual letters, poems, etc. There are also larger works, including Olier's Catechism, and part of Baron de Metternich's "Treatise concerning the perfection of happiness that is to be attained in this life," which he seems to have had copied by his chaplain. He was personally known to Madame Guyon, and she appears

1 M.N.E., p. 109.

2 Letter from W. Monro, bookseller, Edin., Nov. 23, 1720 (Cullen House).

3 At Cullen House. Letter of March 14, 1710, to Wm. Lorimer, chamberlain to E. of Findlater, from a cousin in London.

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to have had an affectionate motherly interest in him. Some of her letters in the collection published in her lifetime were originally addressed to him. For example in Vol. IV, letter 90 is the reply Madame Guyon sent to Lord Deskford on receipt of his letter of October 24, 1714, which is printed in this present collection.¹ In Madame Guyon's published Letters dates and names are omitted, and in this case there is also omitted a little note which Ramsay, her amanuensis, had appended, wherein he calls Deskford one of Madame Guyon's dearest children and says she delights in his uprightness, candour and simplicity. There is a copy of the full letter at Cullen House, and there are two copies in the *Seminaire de S. Sulpice* in Paris.

Again, the letter numbered 53 in Vol. III was one of those sent to Lord Deskford. There is a copy at Cullen House. which, however, does not contain the part of the letter which begins at

line 6 on page 234. But the Cullen House copy has a few interesting lines added apparently by Madame Guyon herself as a postscript, and then a short letter from Ramsay which speaks of Deskford's letters to Madame Guyon. and gives the illuminating information that Ramsay thought Deskford a Scottish Marquis de Fénelon (the Archbishop's nephew) and the Marquis a French Lord Deskford. A still further example is letter 1o8 in Vol. I which has in the Cullen House copy an addition apparently in the hand of the Marquis de Fénelon, where a reference to the birth of another son to Lord Deskford fixes the date as 1716./2 A few other letters from Madame Guyon to Lord Deskford will be found in this present collection./3 These do not seem to have been hitherto published. Manuscript copies of some of her works seem also to have been transmitted. Thus at Cullen House there is a copy (in Dr. Keith's writing and addressed to Lord Deskford) of the discourse which appears as number XI in the first 'volume of the published *Discours chrétiens et spirituels* (1790 edition), and along with it is a song, *Dans ce vaste océan d'amour*.

An exciting episode in the life of Lord Deskford was his arrest in August, 1715, on suspicion of Jacobite conspiracy. He was confined for a short time in Edinburgh Castle, but released on making a declaration regarded by the Hanoverian Government as satisfactory. The charge was based upon a story of a French letter which he had received in London in January of that year and had transmitted to the Earl of Kinnoull at Dupplin. It was from the Earl's sister in France and concerned only family affairs. Reference to this incident is made in the Letters,/4 and a number of other letters which treat of it and are preserved at Cullen House have been printed in James Grant's *Records of the County of Banff*./5 Grant and others who mention the matter seem to take it as established that there was no

1 V. M.N.E. pp. 35 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 12r.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109.

5 New Spalding Club publication, pp. 302-7. V. also letter from Bp. Rose, MS. No. 1835 in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh.

ground for suspecting Jacobite sympathies in Lord Deskford, and certainly there seems to have been nothing in the charge actually made. A rather different light, however, is shed upon Lord Deskford's whole attitude by a letter which he wrote to Madame Guyon in November, 1714, which is printed for the first time in the present collection./1 Here he explains that his wife's family are Jacobites—and we remember that her brother, the Earl of Inverness,/2 was a very outstanding follower of the Stuarts. He goes on to say that his father is inclined to the Hannoverians, but not very enthusiastically, with the result that he has lost his place in the Government. He himself inclines to obey his father " dans toutes les choses indifferentes," and he has actually spoken to the King in loyal terms. On the other hand, he acknowledges to Madame Guyon a secret attraction to the Stuart cause, and says explicitly that if Providence should give it the victory he would be far from grieved. Had this letter of his come into the hands of the Government instead of that which actually caused his arrest. the result might have been very different. In any case we now know that he was a secret if somewhat timid Jacobite, and possibly his arrest saved him from a rebel's death.

If the arrest was intended to frighten him, it served its purpose. He did not go out in the 'Fifteen with so many of his circle ; and in the days of the 'Forty-Five he showed himself a thorough Hannoverian. His house at Cullen was plundered by the passing Jacobites,/3 and he himself distributed money to the troops of the pursuing Duke of Cumberland. He was reported to have " behaved with the greatest zeal and activity for the King's service." /4

Outside of the period of Madame Guyon's life and the correspondence with Dr. Keith, we know of Lord Deskford's long and useful and honourable career. He succeeded to the titles and estates in 1730, took a very active part in the local government of Cullen, introduced linen and damask manufacture into the neighbourhood, extended his authority under the new enclosure laws, became Vice-Admiral of Scotland, and died prosperous and respected in 1764./5 He was twice married. His first wife, Lady Elizabeth Hay, daughter of the Earl of Kinnoull, is repeatedly

mentioned in the documents of this collection. She was a most affectionate wife, as is evident from those tender letters to her husband which are preserved in Cullen House. They are most natural and unaffected letters and followed one another to London in quick succession. Lord Deskford's second wedding took place just outside the period of Keith's letters. Lady Sophia Hope, whom he married at the close of 1723, was of the Hopetoun

1 Pp. 88 ff.

2 D.N.B. (John Hay).

3 Cramond, *The Plundering of Cullen House*.

4 Quoted A. and H. Taylor, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, p. 71.

5 For particulars v. Cramond, *Annals of Cullen*. 2nd edit., 1888.

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family and was a great strength to him in all his domestic and social and financial concerns./1 It is quite conceivable that she had also some influence upon his political views. The story that she was actually a spectator of the Battle of Culloden /2 would seem to strengthen such an impression. There may also be grounds for suggesting that to some extent she cured him of " his melancholy thoughts and the enthusiastick principles of religion " as his friends had hoped his first marriage might do./3

VII. ALEXANDER, 4TH LORD FORBES OF PITSLIGO.

NONE of the group is so well known as Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, one of the most interesting of Jacobites and one of the most worthy characters in Scottish annals. He seems early to have become concerned about religion, and, while such movements were still popular in fashionable France, to have come into sympathetic relations with French mystical thought, and that apparently under the guidance of Fénelon. Sir Walter Scott says " he attracted the notice and obtained the friendship of the celebrated Fénelon, the rather that he coincided with that virtuous and benevolent prelate in certain warm and enthusiastic religious doctrines, approaching to that Quietism, as it was called, encouraged by the enthusiastic conceptions of Madame Guion." Lord Forbes of Pitsligo may well have had his mystical tendencies developed even before he went to France. His father, Alexander,

the 3rd Baron, was a student in residence at Marischal College, Aberdeen, for several sessions from 1671,/5 and there is evidence to indicate that one of his fellow students may have been the future Dr. James Keith./6 Keith's father/7 was then minister of Birse, and as such was chancellor of the diocese and so in close touch with the Bishop, Patrick Scougall. Scougall's son, Henry, had graduated in Arts at King's College in 1668 /8 and became a regent there in the following year, but he must for the next few sessions have also been studying Divinity, which he would do under Professor Menzeis at Marischal College, as no Divinity Professor had been appointed at King's since the death of Professor Douglas in 1666. Scougall's bosom friend was George Garden, a graduate in Arts of 1666, and probably not far away for some years from the College where he also became a regent in 1673. There is perhaps room to suppose that

1 Cramond, *Annals of Cullen* (2nd edit., 1888) ; also Cramond, *Church and Churchyard of Cullen*, p. 117.

2 R. Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, II, p. 25a.

3 *M.N.E.*, p. 41.

4 Sir W. Scott, review of Lord Medwyn's edition of Pitsligo's *Thoughts Concerning Man's Condition and Duties in this Life*, etc.

5 P. J. Anderson, *Records of Marischal College*, II, pp. 239 f.

6 *Ibid.*, II, p. 239.

7 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (new edit.), VI, p. 83.

8 *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 523 ; P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 316.

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the mystical spirit which showed itself then already strongly in the Scougalls and in Garden may at this period have influenced Dr. James Keith and Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, and borne fruit later when the son of this Lord Forbes of Pitsligo certainly showed himself a devoted friend both of Dr. Keith and of Dr. George Garden. Indeed Garden was able to make Rosehearty, which was the home of the Pitsligo family, the headquarters of his propaganda efforts in the days when he was spreading the tenets of Mme Bourignon, and later they remained in close intimacy. No one could have reflected more clearly than did Lord Forbes of Pitsligo the highest tone of the movement with which we are concerned. A contemporary records that he was a man to whom "

God was All, and the whole creation in itself and of itself considered, was nothing." Dr. King's account of him is famous : " Whoever is so happy either from his natural disposition, or his good judgment, substantially to observe St. Paul's precept, To speak evil of no one, will certainly acquire the love and esteem of the whole community of which he is a member. But such a man is a *rara avis in terris* ; and among all my acquaintance, I have known only one person to whom I can with truth assign this character. The person I mean is the present Lord Pitsligo of Scotland."/1

The Letters of Dr. James Keith while not discussing him anywhere or offering any revelations regarding his religious outlook, bring him before us as clearly one of the group. To Ramsay, Mme Guyon's secretary, he is " *notre très cher et très honoré amy.*" /2 He received both letters and verses from Mme Guyon, and would send them round the little circle of his fellow mystics./3 He was an exile abroad during most of the years covered by these letters,/4 but news comes of him /5 travelling in the company of his German friend, the Baron de Metternich, a profound student and ardent devotee of mysticism and himself a writer and propagator of mystical literature./6 When he returned to Scotland in 1720 after his European wanderings he brought /7 Lord Deskford a present from Ramsay of the edition of Fénelon which Ramsay was busy bringing out, and no doubt it was his own interest in the thought of Fénelon that made him read Ramond de Sabunde./8

A considerable number of letters from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo have been preserved, mostly in private collections./9 There we find mention of Poiret,

1 King, Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 143.

2 M.N.E., p. 97.

3 Ibid., p. 84.

4 For Chere's confusion of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo with Wm., 14th Lord Forbes, v. p. 48.

5 M.N.E., p. 160.

6 Ibid., p. 102, note.

7 Ibid., p. 165.

8 Ibid., p. 183.

9 At Cullen House, Crathes Castle, Fettercairn House, etc. Some have been published in the Stuart Papers ; in A. and H. Taylor's Letters from Lord Pittsligo ; etc. Hitherto unpublished letters appear in footnotes in present volume ; v. pp. 155, 165, 173.

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Madame Guyon, Fénelon and others, as well as of mystical books such as those of Macarius and of Pascal. Further, a collection of books and manuscripts which came from his family and are now in the Scottish Episcopal College in Edinburgh includes interesting mystical literature which had belonged to him personally or to his friends, George Cummin of Pitullie and James Ogilvie of Auchiries, and includes also careful transcripts of mystical works such as the Cantiques of Surin, various works of Poiret, the Life of Armelle Nicholas, Mme Guyon's Short and Easy Method of Prayer, the Life of Mme. Guyon, the Life of Mme. Bourignon, etc., which had been made at his instructions.

The details of his career are too well known from published accounts to require recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that he was an active participant in both the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-Five, and suffered accordingly. He lost his estates, had to spend years in exile on the Continent, and his marvellous adventures and escapes after the 'Forty-Five were stranger than fiction. A man of culture and breadth of education, he took life very philosophically and remained in all circumstances serenely calm. Religion was his support. He had a long life, for he was born in 1678 and survived till 1762, and to the end he maintained his piety and his nobility of character. Some writings which he left show him serious and meditative, without perhaps much originality or any great depth of thought or feeling. There is nothing to suggest the dangerous quietist ; but his self-control, his disinterestedness, his loving kindness, his trustful acceptance of ill fortune and good fortune, and his possession of a peace past understanding remained to prove him the follower of Mme Guyon and of greater mystics. His spiritual position may be summed up in his own words : " An absolute submission to the Divine Will both in ourselves and others is the only thing to be prayed for, as it is the only true essential religion."/2

VIII. WILLIAM, 14TH LORD FORBES, AND JAMES, 16TH LORD FORBES.

WE find in the Letters frequent mention of William Forbes who succeeded his father as 14th Lord Forbes in 1716./³ He married in the autumn of 1720 the daughter of a wealthy London merchant, but it is said that her family were at this very time ruined in the collapse of the South Sea scheme. A son was born in December, 1721, and succeeded, on the death of his father

1 Biographical Sketch by Lord Medwyn (1829 and 1854) ; D.N.B. ; Jas. Stark, Lord Pittsl'0 ; etc.

2 In his Apology (MSS. in possession of Dr. Leslie of Memsie) brought to the writer's notice by Alastair N. Taylor, Esq.

3 Particulars from G. E. C. Complete Peerage ; Paul, Scots Peerage.

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in 1730, but himself died in 1734, to be followed in the title by his uncle, James Forbes, of whom we shall presently speak.

William Forbes, Master of Forbes as he was when we first meet him in the Letters, was evidently very highly regarded /¹ by his friends. Dr. James Keith speaks of him with particular affection./² He seems to have spent a great part of his life abroad. Thus he came to have a somewhat different attitude from that which had characterised his family, who had been on the Covenanting side in Scotland, and who had a typical representative in his father, the 13th Lord Forbes, a Whig and a Hannoverian./³

William Forbes was abroad during the whole time /⁴ of the Jacobite intrigues and rebellion, and was quite definitely not implicated, but it would be surprising if his interests were not on the Jacobite side, as were those of his friends both Scottish and French. He was in friendly relations with the Earl of Mar, as we gather from a letter in the Stuart Papers ;/⁵ and his brother James was an avowed Jacobite.

His interest in mystical religion was outstanding. He is one of the leaders of our group. He enjoyed the hospitality of Mme Guyon at Blois, is mentioned in her letters, was in correspondence with her, was in close touch with Poiret, and Ramsay, and Dr.

James Keith. was familiar with the literature, and by no means abandoned his interest and enthusiasm at the death of Mme. Guyon./6

It was clearly interest in this type of religion as encouraged by George Garden and the Bourignonists that first took William Forbes to Blois. The romantic and exciting stages of Mme Guyon's career were now over. She no longer troubled the French King's court, and directed the spiritual life of the greatest in the land, and brought the highest ecclesiastics into immortal controversy and upset the peace of the Vatican. It had not been altogether surprising that she found herself in the Bastille, but at last in 1705 she had been released and presently took up residence at Blois. She was in declining health, but she was able to continue and to extend her influence, chiefly by correspondence ; and from various lands admirers who had been in communication with her used to make pilgrimage to her home.

Extremely interesting information of these last years of Mme Guyon's life comes to us through William Forbes. The Life of M. Guyon as published unfortunately stops short at December, 1709 ; but there are various manuscripts in the library of the Faculty of Free Theology at Lausanne which preserve many details regarding the later period, and amongst these

1 M.N.E., pp. 115, etc.

2 Ibid., pp. 132, 134, etc.

3 William, 13th Lord Forbes, had nevertheless been under the influence of George Garden, for he studied under him at King's College, Aberdeen, 1673-4 : *Fasti A be, donenses*, p. 493.

4 M.N.E., pp. 102, 118, 121.

5 III, pp. 229 f. : Nov. 17, 1716.

6 M.N.E., pp. 91, 121, 141, etc.

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is a Notice sur Mme. Guyon/1 recording what William Forbes (now Lord Forbes), when living at Aix la Chapelle between 1720 and 1730, recounted to Petronelle d' Eschweiler, afterwards the wife of Fleischbein, a well-known German quietist.

Cherel in his valuable *Fénelon au xviiiè siècle en France* (1917) /2 and in his *André-Michel Ramsay* (1926) /3 refers to this

evidence, but he has mistakenly supposed that not Lord Forbes, but Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, is the subject of the narrative. This serious confusion was perhaps one into which a foreign writer might easily fall, but no one acquainted with the careers of the two men can be in any doubt.

The Lausanne documents show that a number of English and Scottish visitors came to see Mme Guyon at Blois, mostly persons acquainted with Fénelon and Poiret and well read in French mysticism. In particular about half-a-dozen, including Lord Forbes, lived a good deal in her house at intervals between 1710 and her death in 1717, being treated by the semi-invalid lady as her spiritual children and hospitably entertained. Lord Forbes told how every morning when Mme Guyon communicated in her room, the Protestants retired behind a certain curtain, and there experienced " un délectable et profond recueillement de présence de Dieu," each according to the degree of his spiritual progress. When the priest entered Madame used to say, in words very characteristic, that he was bringing to her " mon divin petit maître."

Some of Mme. Guyon's Cantiques were composed in the presence of these English and Scottish protestants. Lord Forbes declared that she would ask them to sing an air to her, and promptly write a song /4 for which it would be suitable, with a message for their spiritual condition. Her " Cher et divin amour, dont mon âme est atteinte " /5 is said to be a prophecy regarding Scotland, to which country the majority of her English-speaking friends belonged. Certain words in one of her printed Discourses/6 are also said to refer to the Scots : " Je transporterai, dit le Seigneur, mon Sanctuaire. Ceux qui ne me connoissoient pas, recevront ma vérité." Likewise the Discourse " L'Intérieur rebuté et recherché," /7 which has special reference to the Samaritans, was intended for the Scots, and dictated in the presence of Lord Forbes./8 It was also to Lord Forbes that the incident occurred which is recorded in one of Mme. Guyon's printed letters

1 MSS. T.P. 1154 (Bib1., Fac. de Théol. libre de Lausanne) ; cf. also T.P. 1155, T.S. 5013, T.S. 1015, T.S. 1016, T.H., 244C.

2 P. 48.

3 P. 25.

4 Mme. Guyon, *Lettres* (1768 edit.), III, p. 170 ; also M.N.E., p. 97.

5 *Poésies spirituels*, Vol. IV, Sect. iv., pp 176 ff.

6 *Lettres*, V, p. 56.

7 *Lettres*, V, pp. 56-9.

8 That it was spoken in Lord Forbes's presence is stated in MSS. T.P. 1155, *Recueil de divers traits sur les dernières années de Madame Guyon*, p. 9. The heroic poem, No. 9, in Vol. IV, of the *Cantiques* was similarly composed.

(Vol. III, p. 182) : " une bonne ame a dit à une personne qui lui demandoit comme elle vivoit avec d'autres personnes qui étoient dans la même maison avec elle en une espèce de communauté : nous servons le bon Dieu, disoit elle, et nous nous crucifions les unes les autres." /1

The lady to whom Lord Forbes made his narration declares that he held Mme. Guyon in such veneration that even so many years after her death he was " comme hors de lui même " when he spoke of her. He had gone far himself in the interior life. It happened that he was not present at Mme. Guyon's deathbed. He is said to have been absent on a visit to one of the communities of the followers of Mme. Guyon in the neighbourhood, and to have much regretted that he had not been able " baiser les pieds de cette grande sainte " before she died.

We are further informed that Lord Forbes, under the influence of Fénelon, had thoughts of becoming a Roman Catholic. Ramsay and an Englishman named Hughes had done this. Lord Forbes even planned entering a monastery so as to be able to give himself completely to the service of God. Mme. Guyon was of a different mind and dissuaded him, predicting that he would soon marry. The narrative goes on to say that Lord Forbes did in fact some time later marry, his wife being a rich lady from London, who was also interested in religion, and their first child born at Aix la Chapelle was held up at baptism by Mlle. d'Eschweiler and was named Jean Marie after Madame Guyon./2 It is strange to think of this little daughter of an Aberdeenshire nobleman bearing the name of this French quietist.

Mme. Guyon's views as to conversion of Protestants in circumstances such as those of Lord Forbes are not in doubt ; /3

but they are confirmed in an interesting way by a document/4 which has come to the Scottish Episcopal College in Edinburgh through the Pitsligo family. It gives a copy of a letter which seems to be from Fénelon himself, urging the Scottish group to join the Roman Church, and also a copy of the Scottish reply, which lays particular stress on Mme. Guyon's definitely expressed teaching that this was not wise. " When any of her Protestant friends consulted he; about changing and going over to the Roman Church she dissuaded them, and advised them to remain where they were, and labour there to

1 For the connection with Forbes, v. MSS. at Lausanne, T.S. 1016 (March 26, 1773) ; T.S. io15 (Nov. 3, 1761), and T.P. 1155.

2 These details from T.P. 1154 and T.P. 1155 correspond closely to the facts. V. information in Burke, Landed Gentry, where Jean Maria, eldest daughter of William, Lord Forbes is mentioned as married to James Dundas of Dundas. In Paul, Scots Peerage, Jean is placed 4th among the children of Lord Forbes. The eldest child was in fact Francis, born at Chelsea, Dec. ig, 1721.

3 MSS. T.S. 1015, refers to her treatise on Cplossians, p. 74 ; v. also Mme. Guyon, Lettres, V. p. 57. Cf. Mme. Bourignon's similar attitude, Apology, p. 23. Ramsay in his Life of Fénelon gives a curious and not very convincing account of his own conversion.

4 Quarto MSS. No. 45 : Jan. 9, 1711.

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become true Christians, that it was no more ye will of God that such distinctions should subsist, which he was to remove, and unit all and govern them in the unity of his spirit. We look upon this counsell as from God, and therefor non but God can grant us a dispensation from it, by letting us know the time and circumstance of an exception as plainly as he has done the general rule, which has not yet happened to us."

Lord Forbes continued his interest in mysticism and this interest was strengthened by the fact that it was so fully shared by his brother James, afterwards 16th Lord Forbes. This younger brother, born about 1689,/1 succeeded to the title on the death of his nephew in 1734 and died in 1761. He was twice married, first in 1715 to a sister of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, widow of John Forbes of Monymusk, and then in 1741 to Elizabeth Gordon of Park. The universal respect in which he was held appears in the

notice published in the "Aberdeen Journal" /2 announcing his decease.

His direct concern in the Jacobite Rebellion is clear from references in the Stuart Papers, in A. and H. Tayler's Cess Roll of Aberdeenshire, 1715, and in the Letters now published. When the Rebellion was decided upon he slipped north by sea from London,/3 and we find him active as captain of an independent company of the rebels with headquarters at Aberdeen./4 When the rising collapsed it was necessary for him to disappear quietly to the Continent, and at last in October, 1716, he was able to do this./5 He crossed with his friend Dr. George Garden, and like him enrolled as a student in the University of Leyden. While Garden turned to Science, Forbes devoted himself to the study of Laws/6 The Earl of Mar soon afterwards wrote him from the Court at Avignon, sending the Pretender's felicitations upon his escape and safety./7 After the Indemnity was passed he procured a licence which allowed him to return quietly to Scotland./8

James Forbes took an active interest in the mystical movement./9 He was in steady correspondence with Dr. Keith, and is frequently mentioned in his Letters./10 He was personally acquainted with Mme. Guyon, possessed manuscript poems of her composition,/11 and was one of those present when she died at Blois in 1717./12 He and his brother were certainly of the innermost circle of those who found inspiration in the company, correspondence and published works of Mme. Guyon, and in the whole of that class of mystical literature in the spread of which Dr. Keith was engaged.

1 Paul, Scots Peerage, IV, p. 64.

2 A.J., Feb. 23, 1761.

3 M.N.E., p. 113.

4 Stuart Papers, I, p. 474 ; Cess Roll of Aberdeenshire, z715 (Third Spalding Club), pp. 27, 28.

5 Stuart Papers, III, p. 23.

6 Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, p. 85o. V. also article by present writer on An Aberdeen Student at Leyden in "S.N. & Q.," Sept. 1932.

7 Stuart Papers, III, pp. 229 f.

8 Ibid., V, p. ro8 (Oct. 7, 1717).

9 1 I. N.E., pp. 151, 154, 162.

10 Ibid., pp. 102, etc.

11 Ibid., p. 97.

12 Ibid., p. 150.

[PORTRAIT:] James, 16th Lord Forbes.

(From a painting at Castle Forbes.)

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In Castle Forbes there is still preserved the following curious receipt from the parish minister of Alford which shows the concern of James Forbes to spread piety among the people on the estates :

" Received from Mr. James Forbes sone to my Lord Forbes,

(1) A Short Catechisme and other tracts by Josiah Wodward,

(2) Two Letters concerning self-love and other tracts by D. Henrie More,

(3) The Spirituell Combat,

(4) A Present for servants,

(5) The whole duty of a Christian, and other tracts,

(6) Comparative Theologie,

(7) The husbandman's Manual', and other tracts,

all these being dedicat for the use of ye poor in the parish of Alford, all which books I, Mr Andrew Jaffrey, minr at Alford, oblidges me to distribute amongst the people of the sd parish, and give them to others as occasione offers, as witness my hand at Asloun the 25 day of Junii JMVII and twelve years. And. Jaffrey."

This minister was one of those deposed after the Rebellion.

In the Library at Castle Forbes there also remain a number of volumes of mystical literature and other books associated with the movement in which we are concerned, and added by James Forbes or his elder brother William, of whom we have already spoken. These include two copies of James Garden's Comparative Theology, Life of M. de Renty, Pascal's Thoughts, Hermann

Hugo's *Pia Desideria*, several copies in French and English of the *Life of Armelle Nicholas*, Poiret's edition of the *Imitation of Christ*, A. M. Ramsay's *Travels of Cyrus*, Ramsay's *Life of Fénelon*, George Garden's edition of the *Works of John Forbes of Corse*, Leighton's *Sermons*, and a goodly number of pious tracts.

IX. CHEVALIER RAMSAY.

THE letters from Madame Guyon to her Scottish followers were dictated to Andrew Michael Ramsay, and letters for her were sent to him and translated into French to be read to the Directress.

Ramsay thus appears often, both directly and indirectly, in the present Collection, and therefore, although published particulars regarding his strange character and romantic career are easily accessible,¹ something must be said about him here. In particular it is necessary to stress his intimacy

1 A. Cherel, *Un Aventurier religieux au xviiiè siècle*, André-Michel Ramsay (cf. *Cheres Fénelon au xviiiè siècle en France*, chs. ii ff.) ; A. M. Ramsay, *Life of Fénelon* ; Schiffmann, A. M. Ramsay ; Gould, *History of Freemasonry* ; D.N.B. ; P. Janet, *Fénelon* ; A. Shield and Andrew Lang, *The King over the Water* ; etc.

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with the whole of the group in the North-East with whom we are concerned, a matter not within the cognisance of his biographers.

He is said to have been a baker's son from the town of Ayr,¹ born about 1686,² and educated at Edinburgh University ³ with a view to the Presbyterian ministry of the Church of Scotland, to which his father belonged. His mother would appear to have preferred the Episcopacy of the Scotland she had known in her youth, and from this developed Ramsay's dislike of Calvinistic dogma. He found no attraction in the Rationalism which was becoming popular in the Universities, but at an early date was drawn towards Mysticism. There seems no room in his career for a supposed military adventure abroad in 1706 ⁴ and he did not require to go abroad for mystical influence. In 1708 we know he made the acquaintance ⁵ of

Robert Keith, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal Church. About that time he became tutors to the small sons of the Earl of Wemyss and in February, 1709, he was with them in the south of England and wrote to Keith in words that already echoed Madame Guyon—" I have nothing to write to thee, but only this, that if we continue to aspire unto our Almighty Original, we shall still be united however far separated in the world."

He goes on to add that " after twenty years absence our souls shall be as much united as ever, and I shall embrace you at meeting with all the freedom of a Philadelphian." The Philadelphians were well known to our Scottish group, and it was through them that Baron Metternich was led to interest himself in mysticism. Ramsay elsewhere records that before he went abroad to France he had come under the influence of a Scottish clergyman who was much attached to the writings of Fénelon, Francis de Sales, and other mystics of the day./8

Who this Scottish clergyman may have been we cannot ascertain, but it was clearly one of our North-Eastern group. Cuthbertson s says " there

1 The MSS. Anecdotes, quoted by Cherel, say " la ville de Daire en Ecosse," which is not very conclusive.

2 Cherel, Fénelon, p. 35 note.

3 A student of the name of Andrew Ramsay matriculated in 1704 and graduated in 1707 v. Scholarium Matricula ab anno MDCCIV and Laureations and Degrees, 1585-1809 (Edin. Univ.)

4 Cherel, André-Michel Ramsay, pp. II f.

5 Preface to Lawson's edition of Robert Keith's *Affairs of Church and State*.

6 Cherel, op. cit., p. 9 ; v. also letter in above-mentioned preface to Lawson's edition.

7 V. above-mentioned preface. The letter appears also in Hist. MSS. Corn., Report on Laing MSS., Vol. II, p. 156. Another interesting letter from Ramsay at a much later date is given in Vol. II, p. 330.

8 Cherel, op. cit., p. 15.

9 D. Cuthbertson, biographical memoir in translation of Ramsay's *Life of Fénelon* (1897), p. 2.

is a strong probability for believing that he imbibed mystical views ere leaving Edinburgh, heightened, doubtless, through the trial there of a northern clergyman for entertaining and upholding what were called the pernicious views and doctrine of Antoinette Bourignon."

From the letter already quoted and written to Robert Keith in February, 1709, we gather that Ramsay was acquainted with Alexander Moore, minister of Fraserburgh, whom Keith himself so enthusiastically admired. Moore was a mystic, an Episcopalian, and a Jacobite, one of George Garden's circle, specially mentioned along with him as a leading Bourignonist in an Aberdeen Synod 'Minute in April, 1710. Ramsay's letter should be more fully quoted at this point : " If after this you chance to see Sandy Strachan, Johnny Anderson, Davidson, and the lads about Roseheart, mind me to them ; but to Mr. Moor, your dear friend, in a particular manner." This familiar reference to people at Roseheart, the Bourignonist headquarters, where George Garden at this very time was living, is most interesting. Clearly he was in touch with the movement before he went abroad and attached himself, first to Poiret, the well-known adviser of the group, and then to Fénelon himself. Ramsay says he spent some time with Poiret in the summer of 1709 and was with Fénelon by the month of August./1 George Garden was reported by the Aberdeen Synod which met at the beginning of October, 1710, to have gone abroad, and no doubt he and Ramsay would meet and strengthen the latter's connection with the group in the North-East. Later they were certainly in correspondence./2

Under Fénelon's influence Ramsay became a Romanist. In his *Life of Fénelon* he gives a long account /3 of the arguments by which the Archbishop was supposed to have converted him. Ramsay was not distinguished for the accuracy of his narratives, and here perhaps is one of the places where his imagination was called in to assist his memory. He seems to have ingratiated himself with Fénelon in whose entourage he remained for some years, being entrusted at the end with his master's papers, and becoming his editor and biographer. Fénelon died in 1715, but before that Ramsay's close association with Madame Guyon had

begun./4 A letter of March 20, 1714, included in our Letters /5 shows him already with her at Blois, and he was certainly there until early in 1717, when he went to Paris to be tutor to the young son of the Comte de Sassenage. He did not lose touch, however, and our Letters seem to indicate that he was present at Madame Guyon's deathbed in June, 1717. He continued for some years his work as tutor,

1 Cherel, op. cit., p. 12.

2 There is further evidence in the Correspondence of Garden and Cunningham where Andrew Ramsay is occasionally mentioned with reference to his pursuit of mystical religion, and even interest in the French Prophets, and is named in association with the Master of Forbes and Dr. Keith as early as November, 1709: M.N.E., pp. 201, 207, 231.

3 Pp. 192 ff.

4 Cherel, op. cit., p. 23.

5 M. N.E., p. 78.

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travelling with his pupil and being much engaged in literary work. Frequent reference to his movements and his writings will be found in the Letters of James Keith. Important are the allusions to the strife raised by Poiret's pious endeavour to produce a worthy Life of Madame Guyon,/1 on the basis of her own account of her career. Ramsay's Life of Fénelon, first published in 1723, is really an attack upon this work of Poiret which had appeared in 1720./2

In 1723 Ramsay received the rank of Chevalier, and next year was in Rome as tutor in the Pretender's family. His celebrated Voyages de Cyrus appeared in 1727. He returned to England, and was honoured by the Royal Society and by the University of Oxford. The tutoring of young French nobles was resumed, and this and his literary work, and the masonic activities to which he had turned, kept him occupied until, after a period of ill-health, he died in 1743.

His services to Fénelon and to Madame Guyon call for praise, and his French style is said to have great merit, but he was a strange character and seems to have been particularly lacking in true sincerity, much given to display regarding his knowledge and adventures, and troubled with a somewhat perverted sense of

humour. He was not a great man, nor a man of any originality, but he made an ardent disciple, and a useful servant, and an eager friend to men of distinction. He uses the religious vocabulary of the group during the years covered by the present collection, but later he wandered into more speculative paths and aimed apparently at being regarded as a philosopher. Few careers, however, have been more romantic or have brought a man of apparently humble origin and mediocre gifts into intimate contact with so many outstanding personalities "both in politics and in religion. A friendly account of him appears by way of introduction in the 1751 edition of his *Philosophical Principles*. We are told of his " unaffected simplicity of heart," and " warmth of devotion," and informed that " being at last satisfied of the goodness and warmed with the love of the Deity, his benevolence to mankind prompted him to make it the chief aim of his life to lead others to the same knowledge and from them to the same temper ; to render God more adored and beloved and mankind more in friendship and charity with one another."

Both the references to Ramsay in the Letters of James Keith, and those of Ramsay's own letters here printed, add to our knowledge of the man and his career, but perhaps this introduction to him could not conclude better than with a letter originally addressed by him to Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and now preserved at Cullen House.

1 M. N.E., pp. 151 • 152, 159, 162, 164, 189.

2 V. discussion in Chérel, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff. ; y. also 111.N.E., p. 189.

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To M. L. P.

M. D. L.

Yours was very welcom especially by such a bearer. I'll take as good care of him as I can as long as he stays in this country, and if my mistress dy while he is there, and my male director doe not hinder me, I'll een come back with him for indeed I like you all unto well, and I have grutten very heartely sometimes when I thought on you 100 miles on t'other side the Bast : Tho the Fourmillante tête is still restless: yet I think it has gotten a gay

G. D. HENDERSON

keyvel cast so that I can not writ much of my own talk to you, but I thought you \you'd be content and perhaps edify'd with some rules that my mistress wrot a long time ago, and gave lately to me.

Adieu M. D. L. and believe that I can never forget you so long as I have any sincere desire to seek God in simplicity of heart. I hope he will still keep you very humble and very fear'd to doe anything that may call you from home, and imprint deeply in your heart that solid truth that since in the last times the elect are to be deceiv'd if possible, God will never send but regenerate persons to be the Guids of these little children to whom the Kingdom of God belongs. A: B: was of this mind and some others yet living have the same thought. However let us be very cautious in suffering charity to cool to those whom we may imagine deluded, or really are so. Ther is but one essential delusion, the separating the heart from the love of the truth ; now some say that wandring sometimes is the right way to the high road. God strengthen the honest upright hearts among these folks, and prepare 'em for the dreadful shock they will one day get, when their eyes are open'd, and their souls are truly enlightened non par les faux brillans et les vifs sentimens d'une sensibilité spirituelle, cachée et propriétaire, mnais par cette vérité qui ne luit que dans un fond calme et paisible. Some must pass through great tribulations and tryals ; 'tis good for us to think that the reason why we are not in the same case is becaus we ca'n't bear such temtations ; but it is contrary to my rule to prattle so much. I end with a thousand offers of my humble duty to your Lady and to the Lady Monimusk and to Mrs Jean if you see it proper. Tho it's not fit to speak much of me seeing if the Jews know of all our story, I may find a Galley, that's nothing, but a new persecution may be rais'd agst the honest woman I go to see. Adieu and pray for yours

A. R. Pax vobis

Ora pro nobis.

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X. JAMES KEITH, M.D.

No one seems to have been more zealously and successfully occupied in propagating the cause of mystical religion than James Keith, M.D. He belonged to Aberdeenshire, being the son of Dr. John Keith, /1 the successor of Dr. George Garden in the ministry at Old Machar, the cathedral church of Aberdeen. The father died in 1694, having quietly carried on worship till the end in the manner customary under the Episcopalian regime, and, beyond reading any proclamations sent down by Government, paid no attention to the Revolution. After he died the ecclesiastical situation in the parish was taken in hand, and the church was closed until a Presbyterian minister could eventually be inducted. /2 His widow only survived him a few months. She is mentioned several times along with her son in the Procuration accounts of King's College for 1693-4, but in the following years he alone is spoken of as executor. Dr. Keith had a daughter who married Francis Ross, minister of Renfrew, whose adventures at the Revolution have already been described. /3 Francis Ross and his son are mentioned in the Letters of James Keith. /4

James Keith had graduated in Arts. He is several times designated " ' jr " in records of King's College. Details of his early career are unfortunately lacking. Twice, however, his name appears in documents connected with the Parish of Birse where his father ministered before his call to Old Machar. Among the Deeds preserved in the Sheriff Clerk's office, Aberdeen, is a Minute of agreement of June 21, 1678, between Violet Strachan and Alexander Ross, witnessed by (amongst others) John Keith, parson of Birse, and " James Keith his sone." There is also a receipt from Wm. Turner dated January 27, 1682, in favour of Mr. Jn. Keith, parson of Birse in name of the Kirk Session witnessed by " Js Keith son lawful to sd Mr. Jn Keith." We have therefore evidence that as early as 1678 he was of age to act as witness to a legal document, but even in 1682 he is not called " Mr " although his father is so designated, and he may therefore not have been a

graduate until after that date. On the other hand, the only trace of a person of this name graduating at Aberdeen in the period is in the Records of Marischal College where we have James Keith paying chamber-mail for the year 1671-2./5 In the circumstances this date seems a little early, but it is interesting to note that another name on the list at this same

1 F.E.S., VI, pp. 20, 83, 95 ; Munro, Records of O. Aberdeen, II ; Orem, Description of O. Aberdeen, etc.

2 M.N.E., p. 25.

3 Ibid., pp. 24 f.

4 Ibid., pp. 135, 175. 179.

5 P. J. Anderson, Records of Marischal College, II, p. 239.

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period is that of Francis Ross, the laird's son from Birse parish, who afterwards married James Keith's sister. Still another inmate of Marischal College in those years was Alexander, 3rd Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, father of the Jacobite hero, who was later a close friend of Dr. James Keith.

J. T. Findlay in his History of Peterhead quotes town records which show that a graduate named James Keith, who had been chaplain to the Laird of Skene, became schoolmaster at Peterhead in May, 1679, and left in February, 1685, on being appointed chaplain to the Earl Marischal.

It was certainly at a much later date that James Keith turned to Medicine. No doubt the events of the Revolution finally closed for him any idea of the ministry as a profession. He may at this stage have studied abroad as was the general practice of medical students. In the Matriculation Album of Leyden University under date October 26, 1686, there is an entry " Jacobus Kiets, Scotus, 24, m," which may represent James Keith./1 The ages in this record, especially in the case of foreigners, are notoriously inaccurate, and a Dutch attempt to pronounce Keith generally results in a sound very like Kiets. He was certainly later well acquainted with Holland. His knowledge of French also was such as to enable him to engage in translation work, and it may be taken that he spent some time abroad before he finally settled in

London where so many Scottish medical men were making a name and a fortune.

In 1704 he received the degree of M.D. from King's College, Aberdeen,^{/2} and in 1706 he was admitted a licentiate of the London College of Physicians.^{/3} By this time he was married, for when he died in 1726 he had a daughter old enough to be his executor. In 1707-8 he evidently had Lord Deskford as a patient. Lady Seafield, writing in May, 1708, mentions " Doctor Kieths advice." ^{/4} We come across him again in 1712 when he made an attempt to be appointed physician to the Chelsea Hospital. There is a letter from Viscount Dupplin to his father-in-law, the Earl of Oxford,^{/5} regarding the situation. It appeared that the celebrated Dr. John Arbuthnot, the Queen's physician, himself a graduate of Aberdeen.^{/6} was anxious for the post. Dr. Keith had already secured the support of "a great many of the Commissioners," but would not have thought of it had he known of this rival. Dupplin says " Dr. Keith is a sincere honest man. Your daughter and I have been infinitely obliged to him, and this

1 Review by present writer of Dr. Innes Smith's *Students of Medicine at Leyden* in " *Aberdeen University Review*," July, 1932. Dr. Innes Smith identifies Kiets with Keill, a suggestion which can scarcely be taken seriously.

2 King's College Albums C. and E.

3 Munk, *Roll of R. C. of P. of London*, II, p. 18.

4 Seafield Correspondence, p. 478.

5 Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS., V, pp. 245

6 Records of Marischal College, II, pp. 252 f. ; D.V.B.

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place is the top of his ambition." We know that the position was finally given to Arbuthnot.^{/1}

Something of Keith's family life appears in the Letters and elsewhere. His two eldest boys, James and John, died of small-pox in the spring of 1717/² He lost his wife in 1721,^{/3} and he himself after some months of illness died on November 1, 1726.^{/4} Besides his grown-up daughter Elizabeth (named after her mother), he left two young children—Peter (perhaps called after his friend and correspondent and religious guide, Pierre Poiret), and Anne. The birth of Peter is recorded in a letter of June,

1717./5 There are various allusions in Keith's correspondence to illness of one kind and another which seem to indicate that he was not too robust.

Riding exercise, a remedy very strongly recommended by Keith's friend, Dr. Cheyne,/6 is mentioned, as well as visits to Tunbridge Wells./7

Keith's circle of friends was a very amazing one. Bishop Gadderer, writing to Bishop Campbell in 1724,/8 refers to the influence of " Dr. Keith, who has good acquaintances." These we know included the highest in the land, for we often find him in touch with Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, " good Lord Harley " as he calls him./9 Besides Harley he mentions in the Letters quite a number of Scottish noblemen whom he was evidently in a position to approach, such as the Earls of Mar and Kinnoull, Lord Forbes, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, Lord Haddo, Lord Dupplin. With Lord Deskford he was of course on terms of respectful intimacy.

He knew the Gardens well, and indeed belonged to their special circle, and no doubt owed to them his interest in mystical literature. He was also acquainted with their cousin, Principal George Middleton. Campbell of Monzie (afterwards Lord Monzie of the Court of Session), Sir Thomas Hope-Bruce, Bart. of Craighall, the Cunninghams of Caprington, James Cunningham (the Jacobite Laird of Barns in Fife), Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, are amongst those to whom frequent reference is made in his correspondence.

A number of letters by Dr. Keith and some other letters which mention him are preserved in the British Museum./10 They are not important, but

1 Munk, op. cit., II, p. 29.

2 M.N.E., p. 141 ; Registrum Sepulchorum in Coemeterio March 2 and 15, 1717.

3 Ibid. : buried June r, 1721.

4 Ibid. : buried November 4, 1726, from S. Margarets', yard of S. George the Martyr, now S. George's Gardens ; p. 18 ; Hist. Reg. (Chron. Reg.), 1726.

5 M.N.E., P. 144.

6 V. Aphorisms at end of Practical Essay on Regimen of

7 M.N.E., p. 126.

8 Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh, MS. 736.

9 Keith to Ockley, April 15 [1718].

10 MSS. 15911, ff. 1, 3o, 33 ; MSS. 23204, ff. 20, 26, 39

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they are interesting in that they reveal another circle of his acquaintances. The names include those of Ockley /1 (Professor of Arabic at Cambridge), the pious Robert Nelson, /2 Dr. Francis Lee /3 (head of the theosophical Philadelphians), Dr. James Knight /4 (vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, who became one of his trustees), Dr. Mlead, /5 Mr. Freke, /6 of whom Keith writes, "There are but few of Mr. Freke's disengaged spirit left in the world." /7

Another set of Keith's friends were medical men, and included the celebrated Dr. Keill, /8 Dr. George Cheyne, mentioned hereafter, and Mr. Charles Maitland, /9 another Aberdonian, the surgeon who introduced inoculation into England, and who was one of the trustees nominated by Keith in his will. /10

Dr. Keith lived first in Devonshire St. and then in Gloucester St. in the prosperous Holburn district of Theobald's Road, Gray's Inn Road, Red Lion Square, and Queen Square. Close by was the chapel of S. George the Martyr /11 which was one of the chief centres of the non-jurors and Jacobites of the Church of England, and of which Robert Nelson was a conspicuous member. Nelson lived at one time in Ormond St. but latterly in Gloucester St. Here also at No. /12 lived Nathaniel Hooke," the younger, the translator of Ramsay's *Life of Fénelon* and a member of the group interested in Mysticism.

London at the end of Queen Anne's reign and the beginning of that of George I was expanding in this area, and it was becoming the home of people who had made money in trade, and who had their negro servants and their Sedan chairs. Close by in the Lincoln's Inn Fields the gallants would fight their duels, and everywhere there was the gay coffee-house life. It was the London

of Swift and Defoe, Addison and Steele, Pope and Gay, and Arbuthnot and Sir Isaac Newton. The glory of Marlborough's campaigns, the intimate contacts with the Continent, the expansion of trade with the Indies and Africa and the East were making England prosperous and haughty. There was always the undercurrent of Jacobite intrigue, and political factions were at constant war. In the matter of religion

1 D.N.B. One of his works is in the Cullen House Library.

2 Secretan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the pious Robert Nelson*.

3 D.N.B.

4 M.N.E., p. 149, note.

5 D.N.B.

6 *Ibid*.

7 Keith to Ockley, August 19, 1716.

8 D.N.B. ; brother of John Keill, mathematician, also mentioned in the Letters ; v. pp. 149, 155 n.

9 J. M. Bulloch, " Aberdeen University Re view," XVII ; v. also " Scots Magazine." 1748, p. 102.

10. Will in Somerset House.

11 E. C. Bedford, *A Short History of the Church and Parish of St. George the Martyr* (revised by A. M. Ferguson) .

12 D.N.B. v. also M.N.E., p184

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and theology there was a drift to Rationalism, which was being countered by the Boyle lectures, by a desperate clinging to orthodoxy and respectability and even to strict Sabbatarianism, and alongside of this again there was that interest in mystical religion with which we are specially concerned, and such movements as those of Pordage and other more eccentric spiritual leaders.

Keith was a convinced follower of Madame Guyon, familiar with her ideas and writings, but also well read in the older mystics, and by the time of his death the owner of a valuable collection of spiritual literature in Dutch, German, Spanish, Polish, etc./1 He was clearly a versatile as well as a cultured man. His philosophic calm is evident in his letters. His character may be judged from the respect with which he is always mentioned by others, and the trust his many friends reposed in him. Lady Deskford, writing to her husband and mentioning Dr. Keith, says, " I am very fond of

his good opinion, for I believe him a very good man, and much your friend " ; /2 and Lord Deskford tells Madame Guyon how useful Keith's advice and kindness have been to him and how he can discuss serious matters so freely with him, man to man./3

Keith's religion, as we can gather from the Letters, was little concerned with dogma, and was, indeed, simply an attitude of complete passivity, abandonment, resignation, in meek submission and acquiescence in God's will and in the special guidance of Providence in whatever crosses and temptations might come, living in the presence of God, God being all while he is nothing, with the littleness of an infant, living by naked faith, in entire dependence, cultivating patience, in utter disappropriation and disengagement, free from the multiplicity of affairs, from concern about his faults and troubles, letting these drop and moving on as if they had not been, never discouraged, never reflecting, but turning inward to God his centre, and so reaching in complete union with Him, liberty, silence, joy, peace, pure love.

The work which Dr. Keith was able to accomplish in the cause of mystical religion was very considerable. In the first place, he collaborated with Dr. George Garden in the publication of an English translation of a number of the works of Madame Bourignon. Between 1696 and 1708 the Apology and seven volumes of translations were issued. James Garden, the professor's son, told John Byrom " that his uncle wrote the Apology, and that Dr. Keith and he translated." /4

But decidedly his most important work was that of a distributing agent, especially of the works issued under the direction of Poiret. The chief importance of his Letters lies in the entirely new light they shed upon this

1 Will in Somerset House. He desired his collection to be kept together even if sold.

2 Letter in Cullen House (September 19, 171.}).

3 M.N.E., p. 89.

4 Remains of John Byron, II, p. 130.

traffic in mystical literature, and upon the individuals interested. Keith arranged with the Wetsteins of Amsterdam as to the number of copies of the different books for which a market might be expected in England and Scotland. Most, though not all, of the books handled were new publications. The bales were directed to him, and he sent them out by carrier or by ship to their destinations. If the example he gives is typical, he could dispose of about a hundred, of which some forty-two came to readers in Scotland./1

XI. THE GARDEN CASE.

JAMES GARDEN,/2 elder brother of the more prominent Dr. George Garden, had, after short ministries in several parishes, been elected in 1681 to be Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen. He was a Mystic, an Episcopalian, and a Jacobite.

After the Revolution the Universities were "visited," and few teachers were found amenable to the new ways. Numbers of the disaffected were turned out, but in the case of Aberdeen a certain leniency was evidently exercised. The district was notoriously Episcopalian and Jacobite, and the practical difficulties of establishing the Revolution order of things were obvious. A contemporary pamphlet /3 refers in this connection to the remoteness of Aberdeen, and to the lack of Presbyterians suitable for University posts and "willing at that time to undergo the toil and pedantry of speaking Latin." It also hints that the masters were more ready to compromise than their predecessors, the Aberdeen doctors, had been in face of the somewhat similar Covenanting visitation. The Commissioners, however, found one teacher in King's College who was not prepared to yield, and this was James Garden. When they met on October 15, 1690, at the college, he did not compare, but next day he put in an appearance before them at Marischal College, and was requested to come again the following morning at 9 o'clock, which he did, giving in a paper wherein he claimed to be exempt from the Visitation altogether, in respect of the peculiar constitution of his Chair according to which he could only be "visited "

1 M.N.E., p. 13.

2 Born May 3, 1645, in the Castle of Frendraucht, where his mother had taken refuge, her home, the Manse of Forgue, having been burnt early in March by the troops of Montrose, who continued to maraud in the district : v. Preface to James Garden's Comparative Theology (Bristol edition, 1756). D.N.B. and F.E.S., new edit., VII, p. 371, are both mistaken as to the date of the birth.

3 Account of the late establishment of Pres. Govt. by the Parl. of Scotland, 1693.

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or dismissed by the Synod that had appointed him, he being under ecclesiastical and not University discipline, and not " incorporated into any college." /1 This turned out in after years to be a serious point of controversy and of some importance in the history of the Chair of Divinity.

The Commissioners demanded that Garden should subscribe the Confession of Faith, take the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, " subscribe the certificate and assurance," and declare his submission to Presbyterian Church Government. This combination of theological, political and ecclesiastical requirements was impossible for him in every detail, but meantime he appealed to the general Visitation Committee at Edinburgh on the question of jurisdiction. Decision was delayed, and the whole matter lay in abeyance till a further Visitation of Aberdeen took place in 1696 when he was summoned and appeared. He admitted " that he owes it only to the clemency and myldnes of the Government that he was continued so long in his place," and frankly stated his unwillingness to satisfy the demands of the Commissioners. He was ordered to make his appearance at Edinburgh on the third Monday of November, but on that day and at subsequent diets of the Commission he failed to compare, and as a result he was finally, on January 25, 1697, deprived of his Chair./2

He made no attempt to resist /3 this decision, but retired to the country and is said to have devoted himself to agriculture, managing somehow to provide for his large family, some of whom were at this stage still young children. Apparently he did not go very far away, for children who died in November and December, 1699, were buried in Old Machar churchyard./4

The Synod and University authorities experienced extraordinary difficulty in filling the Chair which Garden's deprivation rendered vacant, and it was not until December 14, 1704, that his successor was inducted.⁵ In 1703, however, while the Chair was still vacant, an Act of Indemnity was passed ; and Garden thereupon made a dramatic attempt to resume his position at King's College, declaring that in view of this Act of Indemnity he was now qualified according to law and was therefore ipso facto restored to his Professorship.⁶ His claim had apparently the support of the College, for when the electors attempted to meet in King's College Church (as according to the Foundation they were obliged to do) they found it closed, and they further failed to obtain access to the Principal, who was Garden's cousin and friend, and shared his views.

The Committee were threatened by students and others, and clods and

1 *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. 362 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 379 f.

3 V. Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April, 1698.

4 Burial Register of Old Machar.

5 Details are given in article by present writer, *A Professorship goes A-begging in "Aberdeen University Review,"* November, 1932.

6 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April 26, 1703.

mud as well as opprobrious language finally forced them to adjourn to the New Town. Later in the day they met in Old Machar Church, and here the proceedings were interrupted by an agent of James Garden who formally submitted his claim. The Committee, however, took the view that the Professor of Divinity was obliged by the Foundation to refute such views as " the vile and abominable tenets " of Bourignonism which Garden had taught, and that he was subject to their censure and always deprivable by them, and on doctrinal grounds unacceptable for the Chair. They therefore without hesitation proceeded to their business of finding a suitable candidate.¹ When in the following year the vacant position was at last filled it was by the election of George Anderson, minister at Tarves. He appears to have been a

brother-in-law of James Garden,^{/2} and it may have been on account of this relationship that Garden made no further move until after George Anderson's death. The next incumbent of the Chair was David Anderson, who was no relative, and now again James Garden put forward his claims. Better days had in any case apparently come for those of his Episcopalian and Jacobite persuasion, and he and his friends felt there was some chance of a successful case.

He raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session ^{/3} on the score " that her Majesty's Act of Indemnity in the year 1703 took off his incapacity to exerce the office, and virtually reponed him ; especially considering that there was no professor established before that time, when he qualified himself by taking the oaths." It was argued against him that the Indemnity could only free him from prosecution for not qualifying before, and recapitate him for a new position, but could not repone him to an office of which he had been deprived for disobedience to law. It was also pointed out that he had not yet subscribed the Confession of Faith, nor had he yet submitted to Presbyterian Church Government, both of which were necessary in order that he might be qualified to hold a professorship of Divinity. The Court decided against him.

James Garden appealed to the House of Lords, a course which the recent Union of the Parliaments had rendered possible. The Synod of Aberdeen, and even the General Assembly, showed interest.^{/4} Substantial grants were

1 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, October 5, 1703.

2 Article by present writer, *A Family Affair*, in " S.T. & Q.," May, 1932.

3 Forbes's Decisions, 1705-1713 (June 19, 1712 ; July 21, 1713), pp. 600, 705 f. v. *Index Materialium*, p. 54, and cf. W. M. Morison, *Dictionary of Decisions*, 683o. :

4 *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, I, p. 203 ; Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, April 8 and Oct. 7, 1713 ; April 6 and Oct. 5, 1714 ; Records of General Assembly ('ISS'), 1712-15, p. 223. Rather curiously the Assembly minute mistakenly speaks of the appeal as by " Dr. George Garden, sometime Professor." Doubtless the Bourignonist trouble had made George's name more familiar in Edinburgh. P. J. Anderson, in *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, p. 68, makes the opposite mistake in stating that the Works of John Forbes of Corse were edited " by his successor James Garden," when George was in fact the editor.

voted to David Anderson for his expenses. William Carstares wrote on March 25, 1714, to the Earl of Oxford, craving that Anderson might have an opportunity of putting his case before him in view of the forthcoming trial in the House of Peers. He referred to the great trouble and expense occasioned to Professor Anderson by this appeal, praised his work and candour and learning, pointing out that he had been a successful pastor and was now living peaceably with his colleagues and had been legally settled in his present position, and emphasising the fact that he was no meddler in politics.

On April 10 James Garden and his brother were, along with other Aberdeen Episcopalians, presented to Queen Anne by the Earl of Mar, and graciously received.^{/2} But the Church of Scotland was very restive under the favours which the Queen had been gradually extending to such men and the proposal to apply to the support of the Episcopalian clergy in Scotland the revenues of the Scots Bishopricks abolished in 1690 ; and steps were taken to throw out a polite warning. On May 17, 1714, the General Assembly passed a humble address to the Queen protesting against certain Episcopalian movements which they declared contrary to the Act of Union of 1707, pointing out that some Episcopalians might well be suspected of disloyalty towards her Majesty in the interests of the Pretender and expressing regret at " the disturbance Mr. David Anderson, Professor of Divinity in your College of Old Aberdeen, has met with in the peaceable possession of his office." ^{/3}

The friends of Garden were well informed as to the situation in Scotland, and they had already come to the conclusion that the Garden case would have to be abandoned, and the proposed bill in favour of the Episcopalian clergy dropped. The bill was in fact, abandoned on May 22. Garden's case was due to be heard in the House of Lords on May 13, 1714, but when the day came the appellant made no appearance and the case dropped.^{/4} The Letters of James Keith shed some additional light upon the whole situation,^{/5} for there we find clear evidence of the troubles of the Government and their anxiety to avoid delicate issues. Dr. Keith,

who in March had been quite hopeful, soon realised that the political situation had become unfavourable. He reports that he can persuade practically nobody to stand up for Garden in the special circumstances.

If L.M. and L.F. in the Letters represent (as would appear to be the case) Lord Mar and Lord Findlater, Garden had been deserted by some

1 Letter printed in Hist. MSS. Corn., Rep_ Portland MSS., X, p. 315.

2 Rae, *History of the Rebellion* (2nd edit.), p. 49.

3 Acts of General Assembly (Pitcairn), pp. 491 f. ; cf. Wodrow, *Correspondence*, I, pp. 549 §.

4 Journals of House of Lords, XIX, pp. 630, 647, 672, 688.

5 M.N.E., pp. 78 ff.

of his most likely supporters. Keith indicates that they were moved by the charge of Bourignonism, but put forward fear of Scottish trouble as responsible for their opposition. Keith explains that the very day before the trial James Garden was " most earnestly solicited and importun'd by some Bishops and others his good friends to desist, assuring him that if he did not, he would disoblige the Queen and the Ministry." It was on this account that Garden, on the advice of his brother and others, finally agreed to abandon his appeal. He stated that he gave up his claims, purely out of regard to the Queen's inclinations and at the desire of his superiors," and that " it griev'd him to give up what he took to be the common concern of the Church and of his friends."

The Synod of Aberdeen in October, 1714, noted that the process had " come to a desirable issue." /1 James Garden lived till 1726,/2 taking his share in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, and in the Usages dispute which later divided the Scottish Episcopalians, but he made no further attempt to interfere at King's College.

The case is an interesting example of the extent to which religion and politics have affected and confused one another in Scottish History.

XII. SOME MINOR CHARACTERS.

A CLOSE friend of Dr. James Keith to whom he often refers in the Letters was Dr. George Cheyne, a celebrated physician, and one of the most remarkable figures of the time. Much has been written about Cheyne./3 It will here suffice, therefore, to summarise the facts about him, and to show his connection with the mystical movement.

He belonged to an Aberdeenshire family, his arms showing relationship with the ancient but decayed house of the Cheynes of Esslemont. After a general education, he was induced by the celebrated Pitcairn to turn to medicine and may have been with him in Holland. King's College, Aberdeen, made him Doctor of Medicine in 1701, and a minute /4 is preserved

1 Minutes of Synod of Aberdeen, Oct. 5, 174.

2 He died on April 8, 1726, and was buried in Old Machar churchyard, where his flat tombstone has its lettering still well preserved. The year of death is wrongly given on the tombstone as 1725. The most interesting account of James Garden is in the Pref. to the Bristol edition (1756) of his Comparative Theology. - V. also D.N.B. and Orem, Description of Old Aberdeen, p. 191.

3 He is described in the D.N.B. A Life was issued by Dr. Greenhill in 1846, an interesting pamphlet of 1904 by T. McCrae gives a good account of him, and there is a careful study by J. M. Bulloch (An Aberdeen Falstaff) in "Aberdeen University Library Bulletin," June, 1930.

4 I.C. Mins., Sept. 8, 1701.

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which states that the degree was bestowed gratis, "because he's not onely our owne countreyman and at present not rich, but is recommended by the ablest and most learned physitians in Edinburgh as one of the best mathematicians in Europe, and for his skill in medecine he hath given a sufficient indication of that by his learned tractet de Febribus which hath made him famous abroad as well as at home, and he being just now goeing to England upon invitation from some of the members of the Royal Society, in all probability he may prove ane ornament to our nation as well as to our Society." Marischal College, Aberdeen, later also gave him a degree./1

He settled in London, became an F.R.S., and indulged in medical and mathematical controversy. At the same time he plunged into a gay life which by and by compelled a change to rigid temperance and led him to become the great authority of his time on diet. He had grown enormously fat and is said to have weighed at one time 32 stones.

His work for a time was divided between London and Bath, but latterly he confined himself to Bath. He published some popular medical treatises and philosophical disquisitions, and his striking appearance and outstanding personality as well as his intellectual accomplishments and success in his profession made him one of the best known characters of the period.

Perhaps the most interesting account of him is from the *Gold Headed Cane*,² " . . . Dr. Cheyne, a Scotchman, with an immense broad back, taking snuff incessantly out of a ponderous gold box, and thus ever and anon displaying to view his fat knuckles of a perfect Falstaff, for he was not only a good portly man and a corpulent, but was almost as witty as the knight himself, and his humour being heightened by his northern tongue, he was exceedingly mirthful. Indeed he was the most excellent wit of his time, a faculty he was often called upon to exercise, to repel the lampoons which were made by others upon his extraordinary personal appearance."

Dr. Cheyne was a friend of the poet Pope, who in one of his letters ³ says " there lives not an honester man nor a truer philosopher," and in another ⁴ declares he is " so very a child in true simplicity of heart that I love him as he loves Don Quixote for the most moral and reasoning madman in the world." Cheyne was also well acquainted with Samuel Richardson. His writings had the approval of Samuel Johnson, and exercised some influence upon the thought of A. M. Ramsay. Amongst religious leaders, William Law called him friend and Lady Huntingdon valued his opinions.

On his death in 1743 at the age of 70 a newspaper described him as "that learned physician, sound Christian, deep scholar and warm friend "

1 Rec. of Mar. Coll., II, p. 114.

2 1827

3 Pope, Works, VII, p. 382 (Croker and Elwin edition). Quoted, Rebecca Warner, *Original Letters* (1817).

4 *ibid* IX p172

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..." those who best knew him, most loved him." He is mentioned in Thackeray's *Esmond*.

His interest in mysticism was deep. Reference to his published works makes this clear ; and Wm. Law states /1 that " the Dr was always talking in coffee-houses about naked faith, pure love,"—typical phrases of Madame Guyon, and he credits Cheyne with having introduced him to Jacob Behmen's writings and to Brother Lawrence. In a letter /2 to Byrom Dr. Cheyne mentions Tauler, John of the Cross, Bernier, Bertot, Marsay, and Madame Guyon, and in another letter /3 we find him bestowing high praise upon Poiret's catalogue /4 of the mystic writers. Nathaniel Hooke, who has been described as a " mystic and a quietist and a warm disciple of Fénelon," is said by Nichols /5 to have translated A. M. Ramsay's *Travels of Cyrus* at Dr. Cheyne's house at Bath. Various references to Cheyne in Keith's letters likewise prove his close connection with the group.

Patrick Campbell of Monzie whose name occurs in a great many of the Letters of James Keith seems to have been one of his most obliging friends. He was not a Jacobite, but it is partly on that account that he was so often used as a safe medium of correspondence. An intimate friend of Lord Deskford, and a near neighbour of Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre and of the Kinnoull family, he sprang from an old branch of the Campbells,/6 and on the death of his brother in 1697 became heir to the estate of Monzie in Perthshire,/7 " a warm low seat near the great High Road." /8 With a view to the study of the Law he entered at Leyden University /9 in 1702, being a fellow student of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, who remained his friend. Their outstanding teacher was Vitrius whom Clerk calls a " corpus juris." /10 In 1709 Patrick Campbell was admitted to the Faculty

of Advocates in Edinburgh /11 and in 1715 we find him one of the cashiers of the " Equivalent," and in 1717 a Commissioner / 12 of the " Equivalent." /13

1 Remains of John Byrom, II, pt. ii, p. 363.

2 Ibid., II, pt. ii p. 330.

3 Warner, *loc. cit.*

4 V. Wieser, Peter Poiret, pp. 226 ff.

5 Nichols, Anecdotes of William Bowyer, p. 594.

6 Paton, The Clan Campbell, p. 104 ; Anderson, Scottish Nation, I, p. 570.

7 Retours, 1706.

8 Sir John Clerk, 2^{re}memoirs, p. 256 ; v. also Macfarlane, Geographical Collections, I, p. 137.

9 Album Studiosorum Acad. Lugd. Bat.

10 Memoirs, p. 15.

11 Brunton and Haig, Historical Account of Senators of College of Justice, p. 502 ; Chamberlayne, Present State of Great Britain, 1716, pp. 701 f.

12 Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, p. 738 ; Historical Register (Chron. Reg.), 1717, pp. 36, 46.

13 The sum of nearly L 400,000 granted to Scotland under the terms of the Act of Union, 1707. Mathieson, Scotland and the Union, p. 115, says : " The total ' Equivalent,' direct and indirect, was to be spent in paying off the public debt, in refunding to the African and Indian Company, which was to be dissolved, its capital and interest,

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Wodrow /1 mentions him in 1726 as a possible successor to Lord Cullen on the Scottish bench. Writing to his father, on March 16, 1727, from Edinburgh, Lord Deskford refers to the increasing weakness of Lord Forglan, another of the Judges, and says : /2 " The talk of this town is that Monzie will succeed him, which I shou'd be very glad of, because he is a man of great justice and every way fit for that office. As he has been long my particular friend, I hope he will allways have true good will to you and your family. It wou'd give me great pleasure if you cou'd be of use to him and coud make James Campbell at London sensible of your doing him service." Monzie was in fact raised to the bench in 1727,/3 and he also became one of the original Commissioners of the Board of Trustees for improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland./4 Lord Monzie was much interested in improvements, and Sir John Clerk, writing in 1749,/5 calls him " a great encourager of the Linnen manufactories," and says that by

his example the country people in his district " made a very great progress." He set up a lint-mill just about the same time as did his friend Lord Deskford (then Earl of Findlater and Seafield). Clerk also mentions his plan for a public library. His enterprise is further indicated by the fact that he became one of the early directors of the Royal Bank./6 He was a man of broad interests, sound ability, and kindly nature and one of the best type of landed proprietors. The " Scots Magazine " /7 reports his death on August 1, 1751, at Duns, where he was taking the waters for his health.

Sir John Clerk refers to Monzie's private library " where are many good books." In the Letters of James Keith we read of certain mystical works interesting him,/8 and Wodrow in 1730 reported /9 that " my Lord Monie was pretty far gone into the notions of the Pietists, and that he and Walter Pringle, my Lord--, read the books of the Count Metenish,1/0 particularly the Baron's book de Ratione Fidel." /11 We have thus the knowledge that Patrick Campbell of Monzie was one of those whose interest had been roused in this type of literature, and that he was in sympathy with the work of Dr. James Keith.

Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, 2nd Baronet (d. 1735), belonged to

in making good to individuals whatever loss they might incur through the reduction of the coin to the English standard, and in encouraging fisheries and manufactures." V. also Defoe, History of the Union (1786 edit.), Index.

1 Wodrow, *Analecta*, III, p. 290.

2 Letter in Cullen House.

3 Brunton and Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

4 Sir John Clerk, *Memoirs*, p. 256, note.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 256 ; v. also A. Porteous, *History of Criefff*, pp. 85, 89.

6 Chamberlayne, *Present State of Great Britain, 1745*: " List of Offices in North Britain," p. 42.

7 " Scots Magazine," XIII, p. 358.

8 V. p. 99.

9 *Analecta*, IV, p. 148.

10 Metternich . v. M.N.E., p. io2.

11 An interesting indication of the authorship of this work ; v. further, 102 n.

an old family to which royal descent has been attributed./1 As a member of the Scottish Parliament he steadily opposed the Union with England./2 He was a Jacobite, but surrendered to the crown on demand in 1715 and was secured for a time in Edinburgh Castle and took no part in the Rising./3 His son was an active rebel and taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir./4 Murray was a close neighbour of the Earl of Kinnoull, and was related by marriage/5 to the Campbells of Monzie, who also lived near him. He had made a fortune by provident economies, and had greatly extended his property. An interesting account of him is given by the son of the Earl of Oxford, who paid him a visit in 1725./6 Murray appears as a very worthy gentleman and a kindly host. Playfair describes him as of " great prudence and discretion," " great judgment and integrity." /7 The Ochtertyrc House Book, published by the Scottish History Society, refers to the life-time of his successor in the title, but gives a clear indication of the standard of living in his home.

Sir Patrick Murray was interested in the mystical movement, as may be seen from the references to him in the Letters of James Keith./8 He was one of those to whom Dr. Keith sent copies of mystical books as they reached him from Holland. Perhaps the most illuminating statement regarding him is that in a letter of Lord Deskford to Madame Guyon,/9 where we learn what a strong spiritual influence he had exerted upon Lord Dupplin, and how earnestly he used to speak of religious matters. Lord Deskford mentions his interest in the works of Madame Guyon so far as he had been able to obtain these in English, and also refers to the deeply religious life of Murray's late brother David. He emphasises the respect which members of his circle entertained for Sir Patrick Murray.

George Henry, Lord Dupplin, was the son and heir of the 6th Earl of Kinnoull./10 As a young man he was a member of the House of Commons, and in 1711 was one of Oxford's twelve specially created peers and became Baron Hay of Pedwardine and a member of the House of Lords. In 1718 he succeeded his father in the Scottish Earldom. He married a daughter

- 1 Marquis of Ruvoigny, Blood Royal of Britain ; v. also Playfair, *British Antiquity*, VIII, App., pp. 1 ff.
- 2 Defoe, *History of Union* (2786 edit.), App., pp. 664, 668, etc.
- 3 Rae, *History of the Rebellion* (2nd edit.), p. 211.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 309 Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
- 5 Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 146.
- 6 *Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS.*, Vol. VI, p. 119.
- 7 *British Antiquity*, VIII, App., p. ix.
- 8 *M.N.E.*, pp. 178, etc.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 10 For particulars v. Paul, *Scots Peerage* ; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* ; D.N.B. ; *Stuart Papers* ; *Portland MSS.*, V ; *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, II, V, and VI ; *Pope, Works* (v. Dupplin, Kinnoull, etc., in index).

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of the Earl of Oxford. They had a large family, but the marriage, especially in later years, was unhappy. Dupplin, like his father and brother, was on the Jacobite side and suffered imprisonment on suspicion from October, 1715, to May, 1716. He was not well off and this may (as was thought by some of his friends) have led him to accept a pension from the Hannoverian Government in 1724. His desertion of the Jacobite cause gave some anxiety, in case it should affect the fortunes of his brother, the Earl of Inverness, who was with the Pretender. From 1729 until 1734 he was Ambassador to Constantinople. Apparently he had some intellectual tastes, as notes in Nichols's *Literary History* suggest. He was also interested in music, and a patron of Handel. In earlier years he had been pious and read mystical literature, but a letter of Lord Deskford to Mme Guyon, published in this collection (p. 91), indicates that after he went to England to live he lost this serious religious interest. /1 Swift knew him intimately, having first met him and William Penn the Quaker at Lord Oxford's house in 1710. Dupplin and his wife are frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*, and in the *Correspondence*. In early years Swift had a high regard for him, but after the Constantinople period he changed his mind about him, and we find a correspondent writing him that young Lord Oxford would have to support his sister's family, " which has been brought to ruin by that unworthy man Lord Kinnoull." The poet Pope had evidently an equally poor opinion of him : there is more than one scornful reference to him in the poems. He is frequently mentioned in the *Letters of James*

Keith, which is natural, as he was a brother of the first Lady Deskford.

XIII. THE LETTERS.

LETTERS are of special value as historical documents. The references may sometimes be obscure, and there is always a certain amount of the material that is of no possible interest to any beyond the parties corresponding. But there is gold among the dross, and the search for it is usually well worth while. Letters generally tell us more than they were ever intended to convey to anyone. The historian often learns more from what the writer incidentally remarks or accidentally hints than from what he deliberately sets out to narrate, and certainly more than he gathers from formal utterances and official accounts. A great deal depends upon having the eyes

1 It is possible that a letter from Madame Guyon of which there are two copies in the *Seminaire de S. Sulpice*, Paris, along with copies of letters to and from Lord Deskford, was sent to Lord Dupplin. The copies are marked respectively, " pour milor du. p." and " milor Dup." The letter is undated and offers consolation for " le changement arrivé dans vostre maison."

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that can see the significant in what may appear to be entirely uninteresting statements. One must know the kind of thing to expect, and it is therefore important to take a good deal of trouble with the examination of such documents and with preparing oneself to examine them, so that their full meaning may be brought out for the ordinary reader.

The main reason for the publication of the Letters of James Keith is the biographical information which they supply regarding a number of prominent persons in the North-East, and the revelation they make of little suspected relations between these and certain famous exponents of French Mysticism. But they are of definite interest apart from this, and every here and there one comes across statements or allusions which cast additional light upon political and social conditions in the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I.

Thus we hear of Queen Anne's illnesses and the rumours and intrigues to which they gave rise, and the nervous tension in political circles in 1714. The Garden case is an example of how the political situation governed all interests. "God prepare us for the worst," says Dr. Keith. He prays for the Queen's preservation, feeling that the days of peace will pass with her. We hear the echoes of the disputes between Oxford and Bolingbroke which upset Tory unity when the succession problem was so urgent. Early in George I's reign came the triumph of the Whigs. We hear of Bolingbroke's flight to France. The impeachment of Lord Oxford by the Whigs is recorded, and we read of him weak and ill but patient and cheerful in the Tower and at last after nearly two years of captivity acquitted rather surprisingly before the House of Lords.

Rumours of a possible Jacobite invasion began early in the new reign. Small Government changes in Scotland are recorded which show the state of affairs. Then follow numerous guarded allusions to the Rebellion. We hear that James Forbes has slipped away north, that Lord Deskford and Dr. George Garden are in prison, that Lord Kinnoull and his son Lord Dupplin have likewise been arrested. There is anxiety expressed regarding the fate of Lord Pitsligo and James Forbes. The prisoners march through from Preston. Bad news comes of Cunningham of Barns, suffering and finally dying in captivity after the battle. Certain friends are released from the Tower and Newgate. Lord Pitsligo turns up quietly in London and at some risk stays there till there is an opportunity of going abroad. Dr. Garden is said to be in Holland, and then heard of definitely from there, with his companion in exile, James Forbes. Not much is said, but one realises that not much dared be said. Letters were known to be opened. Every one was suspected. We hear of various attempts to aid friends in difficulty, and there is much underlying anxiety to be felt in the Letters, but at last the Indemnity passes and the danger is more or less over, and the exiles one by one return.

At the close of 1716 a change of Government is reported. The King is in Hannover and has finally turned out Lord

Townsend, and with him goes his great subordinate, Walpole. Stanhope and Sunderland now lead the Government. The Whigs are divided. Changes follow in Scotland, where Argyll is in complete disgrace—an echo of the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales, to which there is more than one allusion. Early in 1717 we have word of the arrest of the Swedish ambassador in London and we are reminded of the threatened invasion from Sweden.

By and by comes the spirit of speculation. We are told of its development, and then of the inevitable bursting of the bubble in the autumn of 1720, a collapse which involved some of those whose names have been appearing in the Letters. Walpole becomes supreme and we have echoes of the General Election in the spring of 1722 which was to settle Whig power in Walpole's hands for long to come. There is mention of the public suspicions roused by the suddenness of Lord Sunderland's death, and then we hear of the death of Marlborough, and Cadogan's promotion in the army. There is an undercurrent of intrigue continuing in the interests of the Jacobite succession, and the Atterbury Plot receives passing mention.

Very often in the Letters we find references to travel. Lord Deskford and his lady move to Cullen, to Edinburgh, to Dupplin. A trip to London is no infrequent occurrence. Indeed one is struck by the obviously constant movements between Scotland and the Capital. We hear of the Edinburgh stage-coach, and the Newcastle carrier. A journey without bad accidents is matter for congratulation. More often we read of journeys by sea. The Garden brothers sail part of the way down to Scotland to avoid the discomforts of the road in the dry summer of 1714. James Forbes sets out from London to Aberdeen. The voyage will be far from comfortable. Dr. Keith prays he may be preserved. Families go off to visit their country homes in Yorkshire or Hereford, or to make holiday or recruit health at Bath or Tunbridge Wells. The roads are obviously dangerous from their unmade condition, unless perhaps to those on horseback, but these are the days of Beau Nash who has been doing something to make travelling easier for those who take the waters. In addition one comes across

much evidence of foreign travel and of relations with people abroad. Some of the Jacobites are in exile in Holland or travelling further afield. Ramsay has his secretarial and tutorial posts in French families. Lord Forbes of his own choice lives abroad for years.

There is apparently some difficulty, however, in keeping in touch with friends. A good deal appears in the Letters about the traffic in books, and we gather that there is often great trouble in having them safely transmitted. There are anxious enquiries about boxes and bales under way. Volumes are sent off under care of coach passengers or by ship from the Thames to the Forth, or to Cullen via the Advocates' Library or a bookseller

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in Edinburgh. We hear of parcels that are amissing, or lying unclaimed at the Hague. There is a lot of trouble about the delivery and payment of a watch.

Even letters are not so easy to send. The charge to the receiver is considerable, so that it is well to have some Member of Parliament or such friend to frank them. Several may be sent under one cover. Apparently letters occasionally go astray. One notices the hope expressed that the last arrived safely and a hint given as to its contents, to make sure. There is sometimes complaint about delay in delivery. The addresses of letters are interesting and strike us as very vague,—near a certain Coffee House, or care of some merchant. Correspondence with foreign countries is sometimes by the regular posts, but sometimes also through friends who are travelling, or by the hands of merchants.

The whole story which these Letters reveal regarding the publication of certain types of books in Holland, their despatch to London, and their distribution through the country is of interest. We come into touch with the celebrated Wetstein firm of Amsterdam, the successors of the Elzevirs. We learn something of the price of books in those days, and the conditions of publication.

As the Letters are those of a doctor, one is not surprised to find sundry references to medicine, though one realises that medicine is far from being the correspondent's main interest. One is introduced to medical circles in London and discovers that Scotland is well represented. One also picks up incidental information as to the Scottish student at Oxford. There is interesting evidence of the craze for opera which suddenly seized London in 1720 and apparently infected Scotland. And we come across the pathetic figure of Lord Deskford's old tutor and realise the conditions of those days with regard to the dispensing of patronage and the grovelling obsequiousness demanded of candidates for civil service positions. The very handwriting of the letters themselves, their style, the forms of address should not pass unnoticed. Indeed to those who have eyes to see the whole period lives again in such documents.

Nor must we entirely forget the timeless element in letters. They reveal character and bring us into very intimate relations with human minds and hearts. This is the case with the Letters here presented. Beneath the formal phrasing one is conscious of warm regards and prayerful remembrances and much sincere, unselfish consideration and kindly feeling. The religious utterances, too, although they may seem to us occasionally self-conscious and overwrought and even mistaken, are expressions of something fundamental in human nature and show a striking family resemblance to what falls from earnest religious lips in all the centuries from the Montanists to the Oxford Group.

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[Fin de l'introduction]

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LETTERS OF JAMES KEITH, M.D., AND
OTHERS, TO LORD DESKFORD.

I. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

[Except where otherwise stated the letters are preserved at Cullen House. Lord Deskford had been much in London since he first went there in 1707-8 and this correspondence begins at a date when he had but recently left the capital. Letters at Cullen House reveal his presence in London at various dates in this year, the last being one from himself dated September 19, 1713.]

LONDON, Oct. 10th, 1713.

My LORD,

I take this opportunity most affectionately to salute your Lo: and to repeat my most hearty wishes for your real happiness and prosperity. I am often sensible of your condition, and present as it were in converse with you. Your own experience convinces you that our Life is in all respects a continual warfare, that everywhere and in all estates we must be prov'd and tried both from without and within. This is the lot of a true disciple, and I'm sure 'tis a happy one when improv'd according to our Lord's intention. Nothing then that happens must disturb or disquiet us. He will do his own work, could we but simply attend and meekly submit to him. May it please him to encrease our Faith and strengthen our Dependence on him, that we may be introduc'd within the veil and made to tast and possess substance ! May he take you into his special protection and conduct, lead you in all your ways soberly,¹ and preserve you in his powerfull and holy Presence.

1 This passage gives a general indication of the type of religious thought to be found throughout Dr. Keith's Letters. A number of the phrases are common to many of the mystics and one fancies one hears occasional echoes of Thomas à Kempis, Olier, de Renty, Fénelon and others. Many of Keith's expressions are precisely in line with what we find everywhere in the writings of Madame Guyon, and the footnotes will frequently call attention to marked similarities to what is found in her Lettres and Discours chrétiens. The following selection of short passages will illustrate the general resemblance between the thought of Keith in such a letter as this, and the thought of his directress : " Je vous conjure de vous abandonner à Dieu sans réserve pour tout ce qu'il pourroit permettre vous arriver " (Lettres, I, p. 500) ; " pour votre trouble c'est une épreuve

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I have not heard from A.R./1 since your Lo: went from this,/2 neither have I yet written being enclin'd to send some Letters and other things by one who hopes to carry them next week, and then I shall remember your Lo: and yours. I shall be glad to hear of your health and success, and whether you have seen Ld. Had./3 and when we may hope to enjoy your good Cornpany here : And also whether anything be done below for Ld. Pit./4 If your Lo: go further Northward I presume to give my humble service to him and our other friends. Things and persons continue here as formerly. Dr. Ch./5 is expected about io or 12 days hence. And I am with the greatest esteem

My Lord

Your Lo:'s most humble

& most obedient servt. J.K./6

P.S.—I should be glad to know that the Div. Oeconomys /7 wch. were sent down and consign'd to John Strachan mert. at Leith are come safe, as also whether I may expect any subscriptions for the Corn. on the Old Test./8 from the North. It may be some of D.G.'s /9 correspondents can inform your Lo: of both.

To The Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford.

de Dieu " (I, p. 83) ; " abandonnez-vous à lui pour le dedans comme pour le dehors " (III, p. 371) ; " celui qui ne veut que la volonté de Dieu et ce qu'il nous donne à chaque instant tel qu'il soit, est heureux, content et paisible " (I, p. 274) ; " la paix du coeur et la résignation changent les tourmens en delices " (IV, p. 391) ; " il faut nous laisser en la main de Dieu afin qu'il nous mène à sa mode " (I, p. 190) ; " la dépendance où vous devez être de Dieu " (I, p. 407) ; " cette nourriture substantielle " (Disc., I, p. 465, cf. Lettres, II, p. 462) ; " laissez-vous conduire " (Lettres, I, p. 488) ; " il faut tâcher de conserver le plus que vous pourrez la présence de Dieu " (I, p. 235).

1 Andrew Michael Ramsay : v. Introduction.

2 Lord Deskford had recently returned to Scotland.

3 William, Lord Haddo, b. 1679, became 2nd Earl of Aberdeen on death of his aged father, 1720 : v. p. 175 (Paul, Scots Peerage.)

4 Alexander Forbes, 4th Baron Forbes of Pitsligo : v. Introduction.

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5 Dr. Cheyne : v. Introduction.

6 James Keith.

7 English translation (1713) of P. Poiret's *L'Oeconomie Divine* (Amsterdam, 1687) . For Poiret v. Introduction. Also Max Wieser, *Poiret* (1932).

8 Madame Guyon, *Commentaires sur le Vieux Testament*, 12 vols, pub. 1714-15. In 1713 her *Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament*, 8 vols., had appeared. Like Madame Guyon's other works of this period these were edited by P. Poiret. For other refs. to the *Com. sur le V. T.*, v. pp. 79, 82, 130. Both sets of volumes were procured by Lord Deskford, and are still in the Library of Cullen House.

9 Dr. George Garden : v. Introduction.

II. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

MY LORD,

This comes to acknowledge the honour of your Lo:'s two letters of the 1st and 9th inst. ; both of 'em gave me fresh occasions of thanksgiving to our blessed Lord and Savr. on your account. May it please him to en-crease our Faith, and to purifie and prepare our hearts for receiving and entertaining him /1 and walking continually in his holy Presence ! /2

Dr. C./3 tells me he writ a full Answer to your Lo:'s letter and has nothing to add to it. S.W./4 I understand is still in Town and will stay sometime longer in hope of concluding his son's marriage. 'Tis believ'd he will stiffly adhere to his first proposal without either abateing or recedeing from any part of it. Your F./5 will find it so, therefor it were to be wish'd he would come to a resolution either to comply entirely or to fix on somewhat else.

1 Lettres, IV, p. 229. Cf. Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love (Warrack), chap. lxvii ; Molinos, Spiritual Guide, chap. i ; and M.N.E., pp. 166, 133.

2 Life of Lady Guion (Eng. Trans., 1772, part ii, p. 270) : " The great means of becoming perfect is to walk in the presence of God " ; Lettres, IV, p. 316, quotes Gen. xvii, 1 : " Marchez en ma présence, et soyez parfait." Auth. Vers. reads : " Walk before me." Cf. Lettres, I, p. 25. Fénelon, Pious Thoughts (1720), p. 114, begins the chapter on " The Presence of God " by quoting : " Walk in my presence and be thou perfect." V. also Molinos, Spiritual Guide, ch. xv ; Brother Lawrence, Presence of God. The practice of the presence of God is characteristic of all mysticism : o. E. Underhill, Mysticism.

3 Dr. Cheyne ; v. next note.

4 S.W. is Sir William Ellys of Wyham and Nocton, whose wife was a granddaughter of the celebrated John Hampden. At Nocton in Lincolnshire he used to keep open house and a dozen dishes were in readiness each day in case guests might arrive. He is mentioned occasionally in letters preserved in Cullen House. These all refer to him as " Sir William," and his surname does not appear. One of a number of marriage proposals for Lord Deskford was that he should wed a daughter of this family, and Lord Deskford visited the Lincolnshire estate in the Spring of 1713. Later Dr. Cheyne was involved in the negotiations and his letters (Cullen House) give interesting glimpses of Sir William. One describes him as " a rigid Calvinist, tho' indifferent as to Whigry or Presbtry." Another says, " the knight is a formal, punctual, exact man, that uses few words and weighs every reply, that will lose his interest rather than risque his honour, but of great probity and candour." He died in 1727. V. further Lincolnshire Pedigrees (Harleian

Socy.), and Musgrave, Obituary. The son mentioned by Dr. Keith is Richard, who succeeded his father and who distinguished himself as a scholar and a patron of learning (v. Chalmers, Biographical Dict. and D.N.B.). He has an interesting association with Scotland in that it was through his generosity that Thomas Boston's extraordinary piece of misguided research *Tractatus Stigmologicus* (on the Hebrew accents) was finally published in Holland. V. many references in Boston's Memoirs. Sir Richard Ellys had been attracted by reading the Four-Fold State.

5 " Father " : 4th Earl of Findlater, the Chancellor Earl. V. p. go, note.

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But the Div. Providence I hope will conduct and overrule all for your good./1

We were strangely alarm'd /2 last Saturday and Sunday with reports from Windsor of the Q's being extremely ill, and so industrious were some to spread them that many were enclin'd to believe the worst. But God be thanked there was very little ground for all the noise, the case being only an aguish fit, wch return'd once and again but each time considerably lessen'd and without any bad symptom. Let us earnestly pray for her Maj'tie's health and preservation : for I cannot but fear that the period of our outward peace and tranquility will terminate with her. The Spirit of faction and violence seems rather to grow than decrease almost everywhere.

I han't heard from A.R./3 etc. since my last tho I have writ I think twice. I give my humble service to those worthy Gentlemen you are lately become acquainted with, as also to S. Th. H./4 and Mr. Bayne./5 I wish them all real happiness in their late nearer Relation,6 and at the same time pray God to preserve your Lo: from the evil of this wicked world, being always most dutifully and faithfully,

Yours.

To The Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford at Edinbr.

1 V. M.N.E., pp. 167, 168, etc. Cf. Madame Guyon, *Discours chrétiens et spirituels* (1790 edit.) , I, p. 429 : " Lorsque les choses sont passées, elle est ravie de voir . . . comment la sage Providence a conduit toutes choses ; elle s'écrie alors : Bene omnia fecit."

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2 V. Dr. Shadwell's letter quoted in Tindal, Continuation of Rapin's History of England (4th edit., 1758), Vol. KVIII, pp. 134 f. ; Mahon, History of England, (1836), Vol. I, pp. 84 f.

3 A. M. Ramsay.

4 Sir Thomas Hope, Bart. of Craighall (1685-1729) . His mother was Anne Bruce, d. of Sir Wm. B. of Kinross, the distinguished architect, a keen Episcopalian (v. D.N.B. ; Life of Sage ; Eminent Men of Fife) . She inherited his estate on the death of her brother John in 1711, and after her husband's death (1686) she married Sir John Carstairs of Kilconquhar. On her death (1715) her son succeeded to the Kinross estates and is sometimes called Sir Thomas Hope-Bruce. He had succeeded his brother Sir Wm. in 1706 (v. Inq. Spec. Fife ; Services of Heirs ; Commissariat of St. Andrews). V. pp. 116, 121, 123, 167, 202. The celebrated Lord Advocate was an ancestor (r. Diary of Sir T. H. ; Omond, Lord Advocates of Scotland).

5 Alexander Bayne of Rires, son of John Bayne of Logie, Fife (v. D.V.B.) . Of an old Fife family ; 1722, Curator of Advocates Library, Edinburgh, and first Professor of Scots Law in University of Edinburgh ; d. 1737.

6 Bayne married Mary Carstairs, half-sister of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, and granddaughter of Sir Wm. Bruce of Kinross. Allan Ramsay, the poet, married one of their daughters. V. D.N.B.

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Decr. 29th, 1713.

III. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

My LORD,

I have these several weeks past been impatiently expecting an account of your Lo:'s safe arrival at Cullen,/1 that I might do my self the honour to salute you and your dear Lady upon the late happy occasion./2 Now having had that agreeable account I most chearfully take this opportunity to congratulate with your Lo: and my Lady upon the felicities of your present condition, and with all to renew my Supplications to Almighty God to take You both into his holy protection and to multiply his blessings upon you. May it please him to send forth his H. Spirit of Love, Joy and Peace into tour hearts to direct and guide you in all your ways, and firmly to unite you to each other in him and in the obedience of his holy Will./3

I have been to wait on the EE. of Finlater and Kinnowl since they came to Town, and find them both exceedingly pleas'd with

their late alliance./4 I took occasion to recommend to them Dr. J. G.'s Case,/5 which we suppose may be heard at the bar of the House about a moneth hence. I am pretty well assur'd the last will appear a Friend, and the first no enemy. However, if your Lo: think it proper, you may likewise recommend it to both or either of 'em in your first Letters, as also to Mar /6 and Dup./7 but I leave it wholly to your self. The Drs./8 are well and give their most humble and affectionat duty to your Lo: and my Lady ; as does Dr. Ch./9 who bids me also tell your Lo: that he fully obeyed your last letter, and in the manner that was most consistent with your Lo's honour.

Our last from A.R./10 wch. was of thefist N.S./11 gave us a most melancholy account of the vener. M.S.M. /12 state of health, wch. indeed is so very bad

1 Lord Deskford lived at Cullen House, Banffshire, with his father. Defoe described Cullen in those days as " chiefly noted for its fruitful soil and salmon fishing, for having no port it has little trade, except for its corn and salmon."

2 Lord Deskford had married early in 1714 Elizabeth Hay, second daughter of Thomas, 6th Earl of Kinnoull, and sister of the Lord Dupplin mentioned in the Letters.

3 A favourite text of Madame Guyon was Ps. ciii, v. 3o : " Emitte spiritum tuum," etc., v. p. 158 note. " Soyons toujours unis en celui qui a lié nos coeurs pour son amour et pour sa gloire," Lettres, I, p. 230 ; " O Esprit Saint, Esprit d'Amour," Discours, II, P. 349. Cf. p. 133.

4 The marriage of Lord Deskford : v. above.

5 Dr. James Garden's Case against Professor David Anderson : v. Introduction.

6 Earl of Mar, afterwards leader of the 'Fifteen Rebellion.

7 Lord Dupplin, brother-in-law of Lord Deskford : v. Introduction.

8 Drs. James and George Garden.

9 Dr. Cheyne.

10 A. M. Ramsay.

11 New style.

12 " Venerable M.S.M." : Madame Guyon : v. Introduction. It was one of the harmless eccentricities of Madame Guyon and her followers to make much use of initials.

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that without the extraordinary interposal of the divine power, it is hardly possible for her to hold out many days. But may we all and in all things say, thy will be done. I believe the Comment : sur le v. Test./1 is by this time very near printed off, tho the subscription Money is not yet remitted from Scotld. : but Dr. G./2 expects it in a few days. Please to let me know to whom I shall give the bundle of books your Lo: left with me ; as also how I shall dispose of the Comment's /3 subscrib'd for, when they come. I recd. of your Lo: 6 lb, wch. at the rate of 12sh. each (prime cost) pays for ten setts. But the additional charge of 2sh. 3d. each comes to 22sh. 6d. more. Nov if your Lo: approve of it, I think it will do as well to bring the additional charge into the 6 lb already paid, and then (at 14sh. 3d. each) I have in full for 8 setts, which comes to 5 lb 14 sh, and 6sh over due to your Lo:

I take it for granted your Lo: has accounts of our publick affairs regularly sent you from hence, and therefore need not trouble you to repeat them. The party heats still continue, and wch. is most of all to be lamented, there's alas almost nothing of the Spirit of Truth, Love, Faith or Peace to be found among men.

Your Lo: I hope will have great comfort in your country retirement. I most heartily wish you and your dear Lady all the divine gifts and graces that are necessary or convenient for you, and remain with all possible respect, My Lord,

Your Lo:'s most humble and
most oblig'd faithfull servt.

Ja: Keith.

London, March 20th,

IV. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

Apr. 6th, 1714.

MY LORD,

This comes to acknowledge the honour of your Lo:'s most wellcome and agreeable letter of March 7 wch came to me last post but one. I can't imagine how it came to lie so long by the way except the sure hand your

[suite de la note 12 précédente:] M.S.M. is ma sainte mère. She is often referred to as N.M. (notre mère) or N.C.M. (notre chère mère). Fénelon is N.P. (notre père). Jesus is P.M. (petit maître) or L.M. (little master). In Madame Guyon's writings there are frequent contractions such as V.C.F. (votre cher frère), M.C.S. (ma chère sœur), etc.

1 V. p 75.

2 Dr. George Garden : he had evidently accepted responsibility in the matter. V. also p. 13o.

3 V. above.

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Lo: mentions has kept it till he came to Edr./1 The little paper of the Gentleman's Case /2 gave me some uneasiness, and would have answer'd it the moment it came had not I thought it much too late, and that the thing must be over and gone long before. Therefor I shall only refer your Lo: to the inclos'd note /3 to be communicated in case any such accident shou'd happen to him for the future.

It was with unspeakable joy that I read your Lo:'s account both of My Lady's good dispositions and your own, and may venture with confidence to bid you, in holy David's words, to wait continually on the Lord and to be of good courage, and He will strengthen and establish your hearts./4 He will strengthen and confirm what he hath wrought for you, and he will bless you with his Peace. Be not discourag'd /5 or cast down at any infirmity or failure, natural or casual that may befall you, for these will neither hurt you nor offend our L.M./6 but arise and go on in an humble

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and faithfull dependence upon him, and he will direct and guide your steps. New occurrences and circumstances bring always new temptations and tryals along with them. But then he giveth more Grace, and they that wait patiently for him shall renew their strength, and be fully taught what is the good and holy and perfect Will of God. I most fervently commit you, My Dear Lord, in all your difficulties to the unerring conduct of the Holy Spirit of Light and Truth, beseeching him to abide in you and to labour with you in the paths of Peace and Righteousness and to preserve you in his power.

I shall take care of your letter to A.R./7 and forward it next opportunity.

I wrote to him but last week in answer to one I recd. two days before with the joyful account of M.S.M.'s /8 being much recovered. May it please God according to his holy will to perfect what he hath so wonderfully wrought for her and for us and others in her. Amen !

The two D. G G.'s /9 are well and give their humble service to your lo: as do's D. Ch. who intends next week for the Bath./10
The Doctr's Cause /11

1 Edinburgh.

2 The reference is not clear.

3 The note is wanting.

4 Dr. Keith's letters show his close intimacy with the Bible. In this fairly typical passage, for example, there are echoes of Ps. xxvii, 14 ; Ps. xxix, I I ; Ps. xxiii, 3 ; Ps. xliii, 3 ; Prov. iii, 17 ; Prov. xvi, 9 (Jer. x, 23) ; Isaiah xl, 31 ; John xv, 4 ; Rom. xii, 2 ; Phil. iv, 3.

5 Lettres, IV, p. 71 : " Ne vous découragez pas néanmoins. Le plus grand des maux est le découragement. Il faut être humilié de nos défauts, et jamais découragé. Le vrai humble ne s'étonne point de ses fautes ; il en est rabaissé devant Dieu, et prend des forces toujours nouvelles pour recommencer à mieux faire."

6 " Little Master." For the cult of the Infant Jesus in French mysticism of the 17th century v. Bremond, Histoire littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France, III, pp. 511-82.

7 Lord Deskford in correspondence with A. M. Ramsay.

8 " Ma sainte mère."

9 Drs. James and George Garden.

10 Dr. Cheyne spent much of his time at Bath : v. Introduction.

11 Dr. Jas. Garden's Case : v. Introduction.

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is not yet come on, neither is there any day yet fix'd for it. They will meet with opposition and the event is doubtfull. Ld. Kin./1whom I saw yesterday was well baiting somewhat of the gout. The great people are in much confusion, and the issue is like to be the fall of some of 'em : /2 but the ferment is in a manner universal. God prepare us for the worst !

My humble duty and my wife's attends my Lady and your Lo: being always with the greatest respect

My Lord,

Your Lo:'s most obedient

humble servt.

To The Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford

at Cullen House

To the care of the Postmasters /3

of Aberdeen and Bamf p. Edinburgh.

V. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

May 15th, 1714.

MY LORD,

The last with wch. your Lo: was pleas'd to honour me was of Aprile 3d ; I also wrote to your Lo: much about that time, and since then having nothing material to communicate, and having often heard of your Lo:'s health by several, I designedly put off writing till now that I can give your Lo: an account of the issue of Dr. J. G.'s affair./4 His cause should have been heard before the H. of Lds./5 on Thursday the 13th, but the very day before when all was ready, and no unfavourable prospect of the event, he is most earnestly sollicit'd and importun'd by some Bps and others his good friends to desist, assuring him that if he did not, he would disoblige the Q./6 and the M-y,/7 and would certainly be cast if he suffer'd the Tryal to come on ; because there was a strong combination agt. him, but few friends to appear for him. Upon wch. the good Dr. by the advice of his br./8 and other friends very meekly gave up his pretensions, declaring he did it purely out of regard to the Q's Inclinations, and at the desire of his superiors, and tho' he did

1 Lord Kinnoull, 6th Earl, father of Lady Deskford. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MSS., VII, p. 71 : " It will cure ray Lord Kinnoull of the gout, if he should be in a fit, to hear of another boy."

2 Parliament had resumed on March 31. The confusions of these days as to the succession to the throne may be studied in Tindal, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.

3 The postal system of Scotland was still very undeveloped. Some particulars will be found in H. G. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century*, pp. 46 f.

4 *Dr. James Garden's Case : v. Introduction.*

5 House of Lords.

6 Queen Anne.

7 The Ministry.

8 His brother, Dr. George Garden.

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not consider his own Interest in the matter, yet that it griev'd him to give up what he took to be the common concern of the Church and of his friends particularly in ye North, who had enabled him to undertake both the journey and ye prosecution. To wch. they

replied that if his friends knew the present scituation of affairs here, they would certainly advise him to do what he did. L.M./1 and L.F./1 were the most active and vigorous against him, who were so free as to own to some, that they oppos'd him for being a B—st ; /2 tho' the specious pretext was, to prevent tumults and disturbance in the North. But in short this is no more than what I expected. Christ must always be revild and persecuted in his servants. The men of this world will still conspire and unite against the Truth, wch is so very grievous and intolerable to them : a certain mark it is not of the world, otherwise the world would love it. But as it was with Christianity at first so is it now. This sect (as they're pleas'd to call it) is everywhere spoken against. But wisdom will be justified in her children./3

I han't had any account of M.S.M. or A.R./4 since my last to your Lo: wch. I much wonder at. Two posts ago I had a letter from Holld. in wch. they said they had not heard either since Apr. 7 n.s. I have remitted all the money for the Comments sur le vieux Test./5 but they write it will not be quite finished till towards the end of August.

I shall take care to observe your Lo:'s directions about your copies of the Com., /6 as also to transmit the bundle of books in my custody to Abd./7 I do not hear of any safe occasion yet. Drs. GG.8 talk of going about 2 or 3 weeks, and I think of sending them with their things, if none offer sooner, as I shall also the other little pamphlets wch your Lo: desires.

When your Lo: writes next I shall be rejoiced to have an acct of your Lo: health and my Lady's. I give my humble duty to her, and wish all real happiness to you both. I think your Lo: had best write immediately to my self. I shall never grudge the charge of your dear letters. I beg leave to salute M.F./9 and our other friends as your Lo: shall see 'em, and remain with all possible sincerity and respect

My Lord

Your Lo:'s etc.

1 Probably the Earl of Mar and the Earl of Findlater. The initials do not seem capable of any other interpretation. It seems clear that Lord Findlater did not

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share his son's religious interests. There is no reference to such matters in any of their correspondence at Cullen House.

2 Bourignonist : v. Introduction.

3 Notice again the extent to which Keith employs Biblical language.

4 Madame Guyon and A. M. Ramsay.

5 V. p. 75.

6 Ibid.

7 Aberdeen. V. pp. 79, 83.

8 Drs. James and George Garden.

9 William, Master of Forbes, who succeeded his father as Ld. Forbes in July, 1716, and is thereafter frequently mentioned in these letters as Ld. F. His younger brother James, appears as J.F. : v. Introduction.

VI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

MY DEAR LORD,

This comes to own the honour of your Lordship's most acceptable letter of May 30th. It brought me the very comfortable acct. I long'd for both of your Lo: and my Lady. I pray God to continue you both in health and to encrease and confirm the Love of God in each of you and a mutual Love towards each other in him. Be not troubled at any of those motions of Fear, Anxiety, Melancholy, etc. wch may at any time arise in you ; nor give way to any grievous reflections upon 'em./1 Turn inward./2 and enter meekly into the Heart of L.M./3 and they will quickly disappear. These and greater tryals too sometimes must happen, but always for your benefit. *Qui enirn non est tentatus, quid scit ?* /4 In everything depend on God for Strength, Counsel and Direction, walk in his presence/5 and he will conduct and establish your ways.

I forwarded your Letter with several others to A.R./6 but have not yet had any return to them. My last from thence made mention of M.S.M.'s /7 health as better tho not quite well. The two Drs. G./8 are well and give their most humble duty and best wishes to your Lo:. They intend to leave this place in a few days, and to go down part of the way at least by sea, because of the extreme heat and drought wch would render a journey by land very difficult. I have given to them the parcel of books wch your Lo: left with me, and also a few more little Treatises wch I bought for you, a list of wch I shall here enclose.

1 Cf. Lettres, II, p. 186 : " Votre entortillement ne vient que de vos réflexions : il faut les laisser tomber." Cf. Vie de Renty (1664), P. 384, " sans réflexion " ; Olier (quoted Bremond, Histoire littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France, III, p. 481), " de ne point faire tant de réflexions sur vous." V. pp. 99, 163.

2 Cf. Short Method of Prayer and Spiritual Torrents (Eng. Trans. 1875), pp. 44, 120. Lettres, I, p. 2 ; etc. Introversion is one of the most important practices of the mystic : v. E. Underhill, Mysticism, Part II, chs. vi and vii. A very interesting account of Introversion appears in Father Baker, Holy Wisdom, pp. 151 f. V. M.N.E., pp. 107, 160.

3 " Little Master."

4 Cf. Lettres, III, p. 134 ; IV, p. 226 : " Celui qui n'est pas tenté, que fait-il ? " Ecclesiasticus xxxiv, 9. Cf. p. 130. Also quoted by Fénelon.

5 V. pp. 76, 93, 507, 116, 167, 174.

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6 A. M. Ramsay.

7 Madame Guyon.

8 Drs. James and George Garden.

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I am glad that L.P./1 has sent your Lo: some papers. M.F./2 and he have several that I han't yet seen. I give my most affectionat and cordial respects to 'em both. Please to tell L.P./1 when occasion offers that I shall expect a copy of the verses on Herm. Hug., *Pia desideria* /3 with his Lo:'s conveniency. A.R./4 has long since advis'd me of 'em.

Your Lo:'s Relations here for ought I know are all well. There was hardly any friend that would open a mouth in the good Dr.'s /5 behalf. I was once and again with L.D./6 etc. but to no purpose ; and could behold the Truth almost deserted and forsaken by all. Pater, ignosce illis./7

I shall conclude with my best and most cordial wishes for your Lo:'s real happiness and my good Lady's and remain

My Lord

Your Lo:'s most humble and obedient servt.

June 26th,

1714

VII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

July 10th, 1714.

MY DEAR LORD,

My last of June 26th, I hope by this time is come safe. Now the inclos'd/8 wch I receiv'd but some few hours ago is what gives occasion to this. I am sure it will be wellcome and refreshing to your Lop and do not doubt but God who has been so peculiarly gracious and mercifull to you in many instances of your Life, will signally bless it to your comfort, and all the other means wch in his wise Providence he affords you. If your Lo: has at any

1 Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, famous Jacobite and devoted follower of Madame Guyon : v. Introduction. His usual signature was Pitsligo, and in these letters he appears as L.P., but after the '45 he attempted (successfully in the Court of Session, unsuccessfully in the House of Lords) to escape on the technicality that he was charged as Lord Pitsligo instead of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. The papers alluded to would be religious documents : v. below.

2 Master of Forbes.

3 Hermannus Hugo, Pia Desideria (Antwerp, 1624) . See further pp. 117, 130. There were many editions published, including some in English. Madame Guyon writes (Lettres, IV, p. 235) : " Je crois que vous trouverez les vers sur les pia desideria à votre goût."

4 A. M. Ramsay.

5 Dr. James Garden : v. Introduction.

6 Lord Dupplin, who as Baron Hay had a seat of his own in the House of Lords, while his father was a member of the House as a representative Scottish peer.

7 Luke xxiii, v. 34.

8 Evidently a letter from Madame Guyon to Lord Deskford, which has not been preserved.

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time any reply or letter for the ven. M.S.M./1 I shall take all possible care to forward it./2

I give my most respectfull duty to My Lady, with my best wishes for her real felicity and yours.

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The two Drs./3 are still here but talk of going down by sea next week. Yesterday the Q./4 came to the House and after a gracious speech prorogu'd the Parl. till Aug. loth.

I am in hast

My Lord

Your Lo:'s most obedient humble servt.

VIII. [Ma chere et respectable M[ère] je vous rends graces
cordiale...]

[Publié en [CG I], pièce 439.]

[Lord Deskford was in London during the months of September, October, November and December, 1714, as is evident from letters written to him by his wife during that period and preserved at Cullen House. The following is a French translation (preserved in the Library of the Seminaire de S. Sulpice, Paris) of a letter from Lord Deskford to Madame Guyon. Such letters from foreign correspondents had naturally to be put into French (by Ramsay) for the benefit of Madame Guyon. There are two copies of this letter. One is in the collection of " Lettres diverses de Madame Guyon copiées. Copies de lettres de quelques Trans a la mere des enfants du p.m. avec des responses de cette bonne mere." The letter here printed is headed " Lettre de milor Exford a n.m. traduite de l'anglois." The corruption " milor Exford "—in another letter " M. d'Ex."—has hitherto successfully concealed the identity of Lord Deskford (v. for example Cherel, Fénelon au xviiiè siècle en France, p. 53 and note). The contents of the correspondence, however, leave no doubt whatever in the matter. An interesting example of a similar confusion is noted by Bp. Gilbert Burnet in his Reflections on Mr. Varilla's History (1686), p. 21 : " He gives his name Henry d'Arley ; this is a new proof how little he knows the books of the last age. This Henry whom he calls d'Arley was Henry Lord Darly, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox." The second copy of Lord Deskford's letter at the Seminaire de S. Sulpice is in the collection " Quelques copies de lettres détachées." The French, defective in accents and spelling, is left as in the copies which survive, and generally, as in the first-Mentioned copy.]

Ma chere et respectable M./5 je vous rends graces cordiales pour la lettre que vous m'avez envoyee la derniere. J'ai grande raison d'adorer

1 The venerable " ma sainte mère " : Madame Guyon.

2 Dr. Keith was intermediary in the correspondence of Scottish disciples with Madame Guyon at Blois.

3 Drs. James and George Garden.

4 V. Tindal, op. cit., pp. 219 f. The Queen died rather unexpectedly on Aug. 1. Caermarthen wrote to Oxford next day : " The confusion we are in here on the dismal news of her Majesty's death is not to be expressed " (Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MSS., V, p. 481).

5 Mère.

la bonté et la fidélité de mon cher p.m./1 qui attire et qui sollicite mon ame indigne et pauvre, par tants de moiens d'amour quoy que j'aie esté tous jours crasseux et infidelle, qu'il soit beni a jamais ; car c'est lui qui arrache les pecheurs de l'abisme, et qui nous donne a manger le pain de vie, afin que nous puissions retourner a lui qui est nostre seule paix et nostre seule force. Quoy qu'avant la reception de vostre lettre, il me parut que j'avois une grande tendance a cette methode que vous m'avez prescript, je sens cependant depuis vos derniers avis une plus grande serenité dans mon ame, et une plus grande facilité de pratiquer l'oraison de la maniere que vous m'ordonnez, et je sens que la presence divine pendant le jour loin de m'empescher de remplir les devoirs de monéstat qui sont de l'ordre de la providence, nous aide a les exécuter avec plus d'exactitude et de diligence. Je trouve aussi que la voye d'oraison dont vous parlez, j'entends celle d'une simple exposition de nos ames devant dieu, vide de tous desirs et de tous efforts, nous laissant a lui afin qu'il fasse en nous, et de nous, tout ce qu'il lui plait, communique cet esprit a nos emplois et même aux diversions auxquelles nous sommes assujettis a la cour, plus que la meditation, la lecture, ou toutte autre voie. J'ai par la grace de dieu un desir foncier et sincere d'estre fidelle /2 au p.m., et de lui sacrifier entierement mon coeur mon ame et mon moy même, en lui rendant le tribut du pur amour, et de l'humble adoration qui appartient a son excelence, et a sa perfection immense ; mais je sens un poids extreme de propriété et de vanité en moy dont le diable se sert pour me faire abuser des meilleures lumieres et des apels si engageants de la grace ; c'est la raison pour quoy je m'ennuie si aisement de l'oraison quand elle n'est pas accompagnée des douceurs et que la moindre petite chose me touche, et m'oste la tranquillité et serenité de mon ame. Je me trouve foible et rempant devant dieu, et l'esperance que j'ai de ma vanité, de ma molesse, -de mon inconstance, et de ce fonds de corruption qui est en moy me fait desesperer de mes propres forces, et me montre la necessité de dependre de dieu seul, et de lui donner toutte la gloire. Nourrissez moi par vostre charité, soutenez moy par vos prieres. Je m'immagine que j'en sens les effects comme aussi des prieres des austres saints. Le souvenir de vous m'attire doucement dans vostre coeur, et dans celui de vostre

p.m. pour y reposer, et adorer avec vous paisiblement l'enfant Jesus./3 J'ai souvent des lettres très tendres et très affectionnées de ma femme./4 Elle

1 " Petit maitre " : cf. p. 78 note. " Petit maître " or its equivalent is regularly used by Madame Guyon and her friends. One finds the expression frequently in Fénelon (e.g. Oeuvres (1861 edit.), I, pp. 634, 635, etc.).

2 This word is omitted in the copy in " Lettres diverses." There are occasional slight verbal differences in the copies, but none of consequence. The " Lettres diverses " copy has been followed except where it is obviously wrong and the other obviously right.

3 V. p. 80 note.

4 See further regarding these letters, p. 43.

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m'a écrit qu'elle est grosse. Puisse le p.m./1 former ce pauvre enfant a sa propre image, puisse-t-il estre son enfant, et son tabernacle. Tout l'interest que j'y ai je le donne au p.m./1 Priez le qu'il lui soit pliable, et souple, et qu'il detruise pendant qu'il est encore fleur en bouton tout ce qui est desagreable a lui. Depuis qu'elle m'a donné ces nouvelles, j'ai de tems en tems escrivé des petites sentences pieuses dans mes lettres, croiant qu'environ ce tems çy de ses douleurs son ame sera plus capable de recevoir ces impressions ; mais je tacherai de menager cecy avec. discretion, crainte par ma precipitation de gaster l'oeuvre de dieu qui connoit les tems et les moments pour toucher efficacement le coeur.

Tres venerable et bien aimée M./2 comme nostre ami D.K./3 n'a pas encore envoyé la lettre que je vous escravis il y a quelques jours, je prends occasion d'y adjoûter ce petit mot pour vous prier d'offrir mon coeur et mon ame a nostre aimable p.m. et d'obtenir pour moy la grace de la fidelité a lui. Mon inconstance et ma corruption sont effroyables que je n'oze rien promettre de moy. Toutte mon esperance est en lui a qui je m'abandonne a jamais sans reserve afin qu'il dispose de mon interieur et de mon extérieur entierement selon son bon plaisir. L'amour propre voudroit bien se reserver quelque chose icy, mais la justice et la venté n'en veulent rien permettre. Je vous prie aussi pour l'amour de nostre cher p.m./1 de m'escrire de tems en tems ce que vous croiez pour le service de dieu en mon ame car chaqu'une de vos lettres fait une impression très grande en mon coeur, et la grace

dont nostre Roy les accompagne me montrent evidamment qu'elles viennent de lui. Quand je vous écris, je tache de vous exposer sans aucun deguisement le veritable estat de mon ame, et de le faire tout simplement, et sans reflechir fort particulierement. Mais comme je ne connois point mon coeur, je suis persuadé que je ne dis point les choses avec autant d'exactitude, et de fidelité que je le souhaiterois, mais le p.m./1 supleera bien a cela. Mon pere aiant depuis peu perdu sa charge,/4 nous irons bientot en Ecosse, et je crois que nous demeurerons ensemble pendant quelque tems. Je tacherai avec l'aide du p.m. d'estre soumis comme il a été. Lorsque je me recueille pour prier, ou pour me souvenir de dieu je sens souvent un certain doux sentiment de la presence de l'etre incomprehensible. Cela se perd quelques fois par l'egarement de l'immagination ou par divers souhaits irreguliers qui s'attachent au fonds de mon coeur et se montrent aux occasions. Il se renouvelle par de petits souvenirs et par de courtes aspirations de louange. Quelques fois je me souviens que je dois outrepasser le sentiment pour jetter mon ame dans la supreme essence, et la parfaite et pure volonte du souverain bien. Souvent je ne puis demeurer ma demie heure entiere

1 " Petit maître."

2 Mère." This postscript is only in " Lettres diverses."

3 Dr. James Keith.

4 Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS., V, p. 496. \Writing on Sept. 13, 1714, the E. of Oxford says, " Annandale will succeed Findlater."

a genouil sans trouver grande difficulté, mais je tache de me faire une violence pour l'amour, et l'obeissance du p.m./1 Ordinairement dieu me fait souvenir de lui souvent pendant le jour, mais peu de chose me distrait, et j'ai peu de courage. Que le royaume de nostre maître s'establisse dans tous les coeurs. Amen.

du 24 Octre, 1714.

IX. Voila, mon cher Milor, ce que NM m'a dicté pour vous.
Votre droiture, candeur, et simplicité luy font grand
plaisir...]

[Madame Guyon's reply to the foregoing letter appears in her published *Lettres* (1767 edit.) Vol. IV, no. 90, but there is nothing in the letter as printed to indicate to whom it was written. Two manuscript copies of this reply are preserved in the *Seminaire de S. Sulpice*, Paris (in the above-mentioned collections), and one at Cullen House. All three have appended to them the following note by A. M. Ramsay, which is not in the printed copy, and is therefore here reproduced.]

Voila, mon cher Milor, ce que NM /2 m'a dicté pour vous. Votre droiture, candeur, et simplicité luy font grand plaisir et vous êtes un de ses plus chers enfans. Je vous prie de garder toujours une copie des lettres s que je vous écris de la part de N.M. Il faut en faire faire quelque jour un recueil et les envoyer à Dr. K./4 afin qu'il les envoie avec les autres écrites aux amis à Mr. P—t./5 Unissez vous à N.M. et à tous ses enfans répandus par le monde le jour et si vous pouvez la veille de Noël /6 qui est le 25 de décembre icy et à ce que je crois le 14 de décembre chez vous. On demande alors que le p.m./1 étend son règne par toute la terre et dépêche l'heureux temps quand tous les hommes l'adoreront en esprit et en vérité. J'espère que votre chère miladie accouchera d'un petit milor. J'auray l'honneur un jour peut-être d'être son gouverneur. Adieu, mon cher Milor. Personne ne vous aime et ne vous honore plus parfaitement que moy./7

ce 24 de Novre.

X. [Tres venerable et bien aimée mere. Je sens un penchant de vous appeller ainsi...]

[CG I p. 442]

[French translation (Seminaire de S. Sulpice, Paris) of letter from Lord Deskford to Madame Guyon. Headed " autre lettre de M. d'Ex." There are copies in different handwriting in both the formerly mentioned collections. The copy of the English note to Ramsay which is added appears only in the " Quelques copies de lettres detachées." Accents, etc., as in text.]

Tres venerable et bien aimée mere. Je sens un penchant de vous appeller ainsi à cause de la grande affection que vous montrez pour moi en Jesus

1 " Petit maître."

2 " Notre mère."

3 This is most interesting information, which shows how the large collection of Madame Guyon's letters was formed.

4 Dr. James Keith.

5 Pierre Poiret.

6 V.p.II5.

7 A. M. Ramsay.

Christ, et de l'autorité que vos paroles ont sur mon esprit. Je bénis Dieu de ce qu'il se sert de vous pour me donner le lait spirituel, qui est nécessaire pour entretenir mon ame. Quoique dans le général je ne trouve point de difficulté de m'abandonner à Dieu, cependant lorsque mon esprit envisage les croix, les traverses, les bouleversemens, les obscurités et les sécheresses par où il faut passer, pour être entierement à l'amour, ma nature frémit, et voudroit bien retourner sur ses pas, mais mon père céleste m'encourage, me soutient, me dit secrettement au cœur, qu'il est juste que je sois a lui, et que je ne dois point craindre puis qu'il sera avec moi. Depuis que j'ai reçu votre dernière lettre, j'ai trouvé une grande facilité de me recevoir pour écouter Dieu qui est partout, et qui veut regner en mon ame, mais mon oraison me semble quelquefois un peu bouillante, car comme Dieu me favorise d'un sentiment doux et simple, de sa sainte presence, souvent je fais trop grande attention à cette douceur, et je tache de le retenir par des efforts de tête, au lieu de cesser pour laisser agir Dieu dans mon cœur. Je fais ceci souvent naturellement et non de dessein prémédité, mais aussitôt que je l'apperçois je tache de rentrer dans le calme. Je ne sais si je m'exprime assez bien pour

me faire entendre, mais je ne doute pas que Dieu ne vous donne une connaissance suffisante pour me donner les directions nécessaires. Je ne me connois pas moi même et je ne saurois faire nul fondement sur mes propres idees. Quelques fois lorsque ma tête est affectée par ces douceurs sensibles je sens une crainte des esprits qui agitent les prophetes /1 de nos jours mais mon remede est de retourner à Dieu, et de tacher de me contenter de lui et de me rejouir en sa presence. Une autre question que je voudrois vous faire, c'est, comment ferai je pour m'oublier moi même en l'oraison, car les reflexions sur moi, et sur mon état, m'importunent souvent. Mon remede est de tacher de retourner à Dieu. Il y a en mon ame des monceaux de méchanceté qui ne se montrent pas a present mais ils s'exerceraient bien s'ils avoient des occasions. Je ne puis pas vous représenter mes défauts et mes imperfections. Dieu le fera s'il le trouve à propos. Les conseils et la charité de notre cher ami D. K./2 m'ont été de grande utilité. Je prie que le bon Dieu l'en recompense. Souvent je me sens attaqué par mille imaginations et soucis frivoles qui ne conviennent point aux associez à l'enfance. Aujourd'hui que je vous écris mon imagination a été remplie de beaucoup de petites craintes et fantaisies qui ne valent pas la peine d'être couchées par écrit, quoique je ne les cacherois pas, si j'étois auprès de vous. Je les raconte tout librement

1 A reference to the French prophets and their kind as discussed later in this volume : v. pp. 191 ff. In Madame Guyon's reply as printed (Lettres, Vol. III, p. 231) we find : " Ne craignez point de tomber dans l'état des (nouveaux prétendus) Prophètes." The Cullen House copy does not have the words " nouveaux prétendus." V. also Lettres, IV, PP. 479-96, and V, pp. 499 ff.

2 Dr. James Keith.

à D.K./1 lorsque nous sommes seuls. Une partie de ces choses c'est, que ma femme, et ce coté la de mes amis sont du parti qui ne s'avoue pas a présent. Mon pere /2 est d'une inclination contraire quoique non pas fort violent ni outré. La plus grande partie de ses dépendans et amis sont violens pour le parti présent. Pour moi, j'obéis à mon père dans toutes les choses indifferentes, ou pour le moins mon inclination est de le faire. Comme il ne sait pas parler françois, j'ai dit au Roi et a ses ministres allemans avec fidelité, ce

que mon père m'a ordonné./3 Non obstant cela, il a perdu sa charge /4 à cause qu'il a suivi les mesures de la feüe bonne Reine pendant les deux dernieres années. Je me soumetts avec joye à la providence. La politique ne trouble gueres mon esprit. Cependant il faut que j'avoue que j'ai une pente secrete pour le parti qui est dessous à present, tellement que si la providence favorisoit ce coté la, je serois bien éloigné d'en être fâché. Non obstant cela j'ai une certaine imagination que si il y avoit des guerres civiles, ce seroit une source de souffrance pour moi et pour notre famille, à cause de la part que mon pere a eü dans les mesures publiques. J'ai un sentiment que c'est mon devoir d'oublier tous ces soucis, de ne point entrer dans les intrigues, ni d'être aucunement actif pour les bouleversemens, de laisser agir la Providence, et dans les occasions de faire avec bonne foi ce que la Providence demande de moi selon mes devoirs particuliers en tâchant d'agir pour l'amour de Dieu dans l'état ou il m'a mis, me contentant et me jouissant perpétuellement devant lui, puisque sa volonté est bonne, parfaite, et adorable et mes idées sont frivoles, et méritent d'être négligées. Je n'aurois pas écrit tout ceci par la poste. Apres la mort de la bonne Reine /5 nous étions en crainte à tous momens d'être pillés, et encore plus maltraités par les montagnars /6 en cas de soulèvement, et

1 Dr. James Keith.

2 Chancellor Earl of Seafield, v. Macky (Characters, p. 182), " a gentleman of great knowledge in the civil law . . . understands perfectly how to manage the Scottish Parliament to the advantage of the Court " (this in the reign of William III) : " He affects plainness and familiarity in his conversation, but is not sincere ; is very beautiful in his person, with a graceful behaviour, a smiling countenance and a soft tongue." V. also Wodrow, *Analecta*, III, p. 147 ; IV, 175.

3 There is preserved at Cullen House an undated fragment of a note to Dr. Keith (addressed to him " at Mr. Dunlaps Spring Garden " : v. p. 108) apparently in the handwriting of Alex. Abercromby (v. p. 532), stating that " Findlater is most desyrous to have his son here for goeing to the King," and hinting at risk of ruin to the family " in some events," and suggesting that Dr. Keith as of himself should press for his return to town, and advising this " if he has not hopes of succeeding on the terms offered, whereof he will be at a certainty by this tyme." It is all a little obscure (intentionally so), but reveals the doubts and difficulties of political intrigue at this period.

4 V. p. 87.

5 Queen Anne.

6 Highlanders. V. Grant, Records of County of Banff (1922), pp. 291, 293 f., where (Aug. 13, 1714) we have evidence of anxiety in the Cullen neighbourhood and the people are recommended to arm for defence against depredations from the Highlands.

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il y avoient des intelligences qui nous faisoient croire que ces craintes n'étoient pas mal fondées. Les compagnies du monde ne m'atirent pas beaucoup, à cause que pendant quelque tems je n'avois pas cette gayeté et enjouement dans les conversations que j'aurois à présent, selon ce qu'il me semble, si je me laissois conduire entierement par l'enfance. Mais j'ai un naturel fort aise qui se laisse facilement entrainer dans des fautes, par la complaisance. Par exemple, le jour que M.F./1 est venu en ville, je me suis laissé persuader par le frere /2 de ma femme à demeurer avec lui plusieurs heures à boire. Lorsque je fis connoissance avec lui il avoit de l'inclination pour la piété. Pendant qu'il demouroit en Ecosse, ce penchant a été nourri par la grace de Dieu et par les bons conseils de mon cher ami le Chevalier P. Murray,/3 mais depuis ce tems la, les flatteurs, la prosperité et les attraits du monde l'ont beaucoup gaté, et lui ont fait perdre le gout de l'intérieur. Je prie que le bon Dieu aye pitié de lui, et se fasse justice en son ame. Lorsque je suis en Ecosse il n'y a personne à qui je parle tant d'affaires intérieures qu'au Chevalier Murray./4 M.F./5 vous dira son caractere. C'est un homme qui n'affecte rien d'extraordinaire mais qui est grande ;ent touché de Dieu, et qui temoigne grand respect pour vous. Il n'entend pas le Francois mais il souhaite beaucoup de voir quelques uns de vos livres en anglois. Son frère D.M./6 qui est mort a été un homme fort, craignant Dieu et addonné à l'intérieur. Quelques uns de mes amis ont grande vénération pour lui. J'écris tout ceci afin de m'exposer entierement devant vous. Je ne m'atens point a des reponses pas à propos. Pour ce qui regarde les réflexions pendant l'oraison dont j'ai parlé au commencement de la letre, elles sont quelquefois des retours pour voir si je suis dans l'état où je voudrois être, quelquefois ce sont des reflexions de vanité, suscitées sans doute par la nature et le démon. Je tache de n'y faire point d'attention, mais de m'occuper de Dieu, et de ces choses auxquelles il m'applique. Le souvenir de vous et de votre ceur me recueille

souvent. Je m'abandonne à Dieu, et je m'en vais me taire pour l'adorer et l'écouter. Je suis entièrement à vous dans le fond de mon cœur en Jesus Christ, qui est votre Maître, votre Roi et votre Epoux. Que son regne s'établisse en tous les cœurs. Priez Dieu pour moi. Envoyez moi les directions que vous me croyez propres. Je me soumetts à Dieu pour recevoir les influences de sa grace par votre moyen, et par aucun autre qu'il trouvera à propos. Que sa volonté soit faite. J'ai leû dans un livre depuis peu que Jesus Christ nous aime tant qu'il nous

1 William, Master of Forbes.

2 Lord Dupplin, an interesting and illuminating account of whom follows : v. also Introduction.

3 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre : v. Introduction.

4 Sir Patrick Murray.

5 Master of Forbes.

6 David Murray ; a younger brother of Sir Patrick : v. R. Douglas, Baronage of Scotland, p. 146.

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porte en ses entrailles. Je crois et j'admire son amour. Comment ferai je pour reconnaître un amour si grand, et que rendrai je à mon Seigneur pour tous ses bienfaits dont il me comble, à chaque moment.

MY DEAR FRIEND A.R./1

After the long letter I have writen above I have nothing to say to you, but only to give you thanks for your constant and affectionate friendship and to assure of my most sincere good wishes. If the worthy person who is with you, or you yourself has anything to write to me, let it be directed to the care of our dear friend D.K./2 What comes from that hand comes as I am convinced from a higher source, and has great influence on my spirit. Continue your love, remembrance and goodwill, for I can assure you, I am most cordially yours. Whether my desire of seeing such papers as you send may not have a great mixture of curiosity I can't tell, or rather I am sure that it has, but yet I am likewis convinced God makes very good use of 'em in my heart. May it and yours and all hearts be entirely his.

Novent. 17th.

XI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I hope this shall find your Lop. safely arriv'd at Edbur, and that it will come in good time to meet you there. The enclosed /3 I receiv'd two days after your Lof left this place, but in obedience to your commands delay'd transmitting it till now. I am sure it will be no less comfortable and edifying than the former have been ; and I most heartily pray our d. L.M./4 to second it with his gracious benediction. Your Lo/ will soon observe that it is in answer to that by M.F.S and not to the last wch was not then come to hand. When any other comes to me I shall not fail to forward it in due time.

I most humbly salute My Lady and wish your Lo: a joyfull meeting with her. Never doubt of the Divine Care and Conduct towards you and yours. Rejoyce always in the will of God manifested in all his providences about

1 Andrew Michael Ramsay. Deskford seems to be in most cordial relations with Ramsay.

2 Dr. James Keith.

3 V. p. 94.

4" Dear Little Master."

5 A letter from Lord Deskford to Madame Guyon had evidently been taken abroad by M. F., the Master of Forbes. V. p. 95. This would seem to refer to X of this collection.

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you. Meekly attend to L.M./1 and render his Presence familiar /2 to you ; and he will be your Joy, your Centre,/3 your Counsellr., your Guide and your All./4 Laisser tomber /5 and outre passer are most useful advice and never to be forgotten, especially in the troublesome occasions of life. I remain with the most tender respect.

My Lord

Your Lop's most obedient humble servant.

London, Janry. 25, 1714/15

(Address torn through.)

L.O./7 with his family and L.D. went last Wednesday into Herefdshire, and talk'd of returning within a month. His enemies boast loudly of their designs agt. him./8 I have recommended Mr. Blake's /9 affair more than once

1 " Little Master."

2 Lettres, IV, p. 108 : " Dieu nous rende sa présence familiere."

3 Discours, II, p. 389 " O centre divin " ; Discours, I, p. 158: " Dieu, centre de tout repos " ; *ibid.*, p. 260 : " Comme les choses tendent naturellement à leur centre . . . ce centre est Dieu " ; Discours, II, p. 393: " Dieu est tout en tout dans le centre de son amour " ; *ibid.*, p. 386 : " O centre de toute félicité " ; etc. Cf. expressions of Juan de los Angeles and Diego de Estella quoted E. A. Peers, *Spanish Mysticism*, pp. 133 ff., 138 ff., 241 ff., 245 ff. : y. also M.N.E., p. 113.

4 Discours, I, p. 162 : " Je dirai la vérité du Tout de Dieu . . . quittez-vous vous-même par hommage à ce grand Tout . . . O Tout, O Tout, demeurez Tout " ; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 261, 286, 378 ; Lettres, I, p. 598 : " Je vous suis plus unie que jamais en notre divin Tout " ; I, p. 450 : " nous serons unies à notre Tout " ; IV, p. 525 : " O mon Dieu, soyez moi Tout " ; cf. Olier, quoted Bremond, *op. cit.*, III, p. 481. " Deus meus et omnia " was a favourite expression with S. Francis of Assisi, S. Ignatius Loyola, M. de Renty, Henry Scougal.

5 A phrase which occurs countless times in Madame Guyon's writings : u. e.g. Lettres, I, pp. 41, 49, 52, 98, 103, 128, 149, 175, 199, etc. Dr. Keith used it in other letters, along with the following phrase : u. pp. 100, 133, 574.

6 Another favourite expression of Madame Guyon : u. e.g. Lettres, I, p. 301 ; II, p. 278 ; III, pp. 408, 598, 599 ; IV, p. 361 ; V, p. 521. Discours, II, p. 97 ; I, pp. 2, 3, 435.

7 Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, and his son-in-law, Lord Dupplin. The Harley home was Brampton Castle, Herefordshire.

8 Oxford was impeached in June, 1715, and sent to the Tower on July 16 : v. p. 104.

9 This is William Blake who was tutor to Lord Deskford, accompanying him to Aberdeen (1701) and then to Utrecht (1705) : v. some of his letters in *Seafield Correspondence* (S.H.S.), pp. 345, 346, 355, 416. Through the interest of Lord Deskford he became a land-waiter in connection with the Customs at Bristol, but in a letter at Cullen House addressed to the Earl of Findlater, Apr. 25, 1713, he complains that his employment is " but meane, precarious and slavish," and asks further assistance. Dr. Arbuthnot presented Blake's petition to the E. of Oxford in 1713 and Deskford strongly supported it, referring to the great care Blake had taken of him when a child (*Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS., X, pp. 211 f.*). In March, 1714, Blake tried to forward his interests by a piece of espionage and flattery, enclosing to Lord Oxford a letter which he says

Mystics of the North-East

to Dr. Ch./1 who promis'd to keep Mr. B—ly /2 in mind of him. I spoke also to Mr. Smith /3 of him. He said he had not yet deliver'd the letters but would do it.

XII. [the first few lines being from Madame Guyon and referring to the death of Fénelon, while the rest is a private note from A. M. Ramsay to Lord Deskford]

[CF I, fin de la pièce 443. À Lord Deskford. 12 janvier 1715.]

[The letter from Madame Guyon to Lord Deskford mentioned as enclosed in the foregoing letter of Dr. James Keith appears in Madame Guyon's *Lettres*, Vol. III, no. 53. Towards the close this differs slightly in arrangement from the copy preserved at Cullen House, and it has an additional paragraph (10) not in the Cullen House copy. On the other hand, the Cullen House copy concludes with a greeting which is lacking in the printed version, and has the following additions, the first few lines being from Madame Guyon and referring to the death of Fénelon, while the rest is a private note from A. M. Ramsay to Lord Deskford.]

Depuis /4 celle-cy écrite j'ay perdu mon vray père,/5 et mon plus cher enfant dans la personne de Mr. de St. François./6 Mais nous ne l'avons pas perdu. Il est dans le sein du p.m./7 Il est notre intercesseur dans le ciel.

Jusques /8 icy c'est NM qui m'a dicté mon cher milor. Permettez moy d'ajouter un petit mot. L'action de la pure flame quoi qu'elle paroisse

" contains malicious reflections on the greatest statesman and best patriot ... that ever England produced. With indignation I observed them suck in the poison and snatched the letter out of their hands as soon as possible " (Port. MSS., X, p. 313). In the Letters of James Keith there are further references to Blake, his troubles, illness and death, and to Lord Deskford's continued interest in this strange sycophant, a characteristic product of the times : v. pp. 127, etc.

1 Dr. Cheyne : v. Introduction. Dr. Ch. took an interest in Blake's troubles.

2 George Baillie of Jerviswood, son of the Baillie of Jerviswood martyred at the Restoration. He was educated in Holland, partly at Franeker (v. Franeker records at Leeuwarden), and returned at the Revolution, becoming M.P. for Berwickshire and obtaining a Government post as Commissioner to the Admiralty (Chamberlayne, *Present State of Great Britain*, 1716, p. 584). When he died in 1738 Dr. George Cheyne wrote a short *Historical Character* of high, where he states " I never knew his superior in solid virtue and just thinking," and further " Having been bred in the school of affliction, his compassion was never denied to those who were in distress even by their own indiscretion. He spent the last twelve years of his life in constant meditation, contemplation, and prayer. It was truly a life hid with Christ in God."

3 Not identified. The name is not uncommon

4 Madame Guyon to Lord Deskford ; Ramsay's handwriting.

5 The Archbishop of Cambrai died Jan. 7, 1715 v. P. Janet, Fénelon (Eng. Trans.), pp. 246 ff.

6 Fénelon both master and disciple.

7 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 511: " Vous avez sans doute appris la perte que nous venons de faire par la mort de xxx. Mais il est présentement dans le sein de Dieu. Il est plus que jamais avec nous."

8 A. M. Ramsay to Lord Deskford.

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fort tranquille est néanmoins infiniment plus vite que celle des eaux les plus rapides. C'est que nous mesurons la vitesse du mouvement selon que le changement successif des lieux est plus prompt et plus remarquable à nos sens, mais quand cette succession à cause de sa vitesse échappe le discernement de notre vue nous la croyons ou immobile ou lente. De même dans le monde intellectuel nous mesurons l'action de nos puissances selon la multiplicité et l'ardeur de nos actes successifs & distingués quoiqu'il y ait une action bien plus vitale, efficace, noble & intime qui paroît moins parce qu'elle est moins distincte & moins superficielle. De plus les idées vives de l'esprit & les émotions ardentes de la volonté ont une connexion naturelle avec le mouvement du sang & des esprits animaux & le branlement des fibres & des nerfs, mais quand l'opération de l'âme est plus concentrée elle n'influe pas tant sur la machine animale & par conséquent n'est pas si sensible quoiqu'elle soit beaucoup plus réelle & efficace.... Pardonnez moy si je mêle mes idées & explications imparfaites avec des vérités si pures. Je tâche de vous bégayer comme un simple enfant & de vous dire ce que je conçois de l'opération de notre père céleste. J'espère qu'il agréera ma simplicité. Nous sommes à présent doublement unis, la filiation spirituelle, & la fraternité divine qui nous rend les enfans de la même mère est encore plus forte que tous les liens d'une respectueuse amitié qui m'unissoit à vous auparavant. Puisse nous par le coeur de NM /1 nous perdre un jour entièrement dans le sein de notre père céleste. Amen & amen. M.F./2 qui est arrivé icy en bonne santé vous fait ses complimens & vous embrasse du meilleur de son coeur. Le neveu /3 de Mr St François vous fait bien des complimens. Il a vu quelquesunes de vos lettres à NM & il y a un grand rapport entre son naturel & le vôtre, car il a une grande candeur & simplicité. N'oubliez pas de le ressaluer dans

vos lettres, car il vous aime fort quoiqu'il ne vous ait jamais vû. Et je vous appelle souvent le Marquis de F. écossois, & luy Milor Desk. françois. Je vous prie de me faire savoir votre adresse en Ecosse afin que je vous écrive tout droit sans donner la peine à Notre Cher Dr K—/4 My dear father the A. of C./5 is dead. He left his blessing to all ye transmarin friends & loyers of ye L.M. You are of the number. Unite yourself to him in the presence of God & youl find the blessd effects of such an union. Our dear mo-/6 is equally afflicted & abandonnd to the divine will.

Janry. 12. N.S. 1715.

1 " Nôtre mère."

2 Master of Forbes.

3 Marquis de Fénelon, grand-nephew of the Archbishop.

4 Dr. James Keith.

5 Archbishop of Cambray : v. p. 94.

6 Mother—Madame Guyon.

XIII. The first part of this letter is from A. M. Ramsay to Lord Deskford, and the second is a short note dictated by Madame Guyon.

[CF I pièce 444]

ce 13 de Mars.

1715.

Voicy Mon Cher Milord une lettre de la part de NM /1 avec plusieurs jolis chansons /2 pour vous réjouir. J'y ay joint aussy la copie d'une letter de mon cher père a qui est à présent dans le sein de Dieu. Unissez vous à luy, il vous procurera de puissans secours. C'étoit le plus grand & le plus petit des hommes. Tout ce que le monde admiroit en luy n'étoit qu'un voile pour le cacher des yeux des hommes. Tout ce que les âmes pieuses condamnoit en luy étoit l'effet de la plus pure abnégation. De manière qu'il étoit également caché & des profanes & des dévots ; & encore plus de luy-même. Je sens à présent que pour un père que j'ay perdu sur terre j'ay gagné un protecteur dans le ciel. Les sens & l'imagination ont perdu leur objet, mais mon coeur le trouve dans notre centre commun. Il répand sur moy un rayon de cette paix céleste dont il jouit, quand je m'y unis en simplicité & sans détour. Il m'est un canal de grâce. Il vous le sera aussy si vous vous y unissez avec foy. Il a donné en mourant sa bénédiction à tous les enfans du p.m./4 Si vous en connoissez quelques uns près de vous dites le leur.

Je vous aurois écrit plutôt mais nous pensâmes être orfelins depuis peu & perdre NM /1 qui a été trois fois aux portes de la mort par un catarrhe qui luy tomba sur la poitrine & pensa l'étouffer. Mais le p.m./4 a eu pitié de nous & a fait ainsy que trois saignées l'ont beaucoup soulagée quoiqu'elle soit encore fort foible & allitée. C'est de son sang que j'ay écrit ces paroles qu'elle me dit de mander à tous les enfans du p.m./4 Dans le fort de sa maladie on me les dicta. Voicy la chose la plus précieuse que je saurois vous envoyer. Gardez la chèrement & accusez m'en la réception, comme aussy de cette lettre.

Comme NM /1 ne connoît pas l'air /5 dont vous parlez elle n'a pas pû

1 Madame Guyon.

2 These songs appear to be wanting.

3 Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray : the short description of him which follows is interesting.

4 " Petit maître."

5 Madame Guyon was in the habit of writing verses to suit airs which her followers brought to her notice : v. Introduction. V. also Lettres, III, p. 170 : " il est bien difficile de faire des chansons spirituelles sur l'air que vous m'envoyez. Il est trop court pour souffrir une certain majesté qu'il faut dans les choses spirituelles. Je vous envoie pourtant cinq ou six couplets qui ne valent pas grande chose. Je vous envoie aussi quelques autres chansons avec les notes."

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vous envoyer des chansons là-dessus, mais en voycy quatre admirables, le premier a été fait dans sa prison. Les autres depuis. Si vous souhaitez d'en voir d'autres M. F./1 qui vous salue cordialement me dit de vous dire que vous en trouverez entre les mains de Mr son frère,/2 de Mr le dr. G. G./3 & de Mr Alexr. Strachan./4 Je suis sûr que tous ces trois seront prêts à vous communiquer tout ce qu'ils ont.

Je vous prie Mon Cher Milord d'envoyer ce que je vous écris a Milor Pitsligo notre très cher & très honoré amy. NM /5 vous embrasse des bras du p.m./6 qui sont longs. Pour moy je vous trouve souvent auprès de nous & au milieu de nous, quand nous sommes devant ce cher p.m./6 Comtez sur ma tendresse, sur mon respect, sur mon attachement inviolable, & quand je peux vous servir je me sens toute âme & tout coeur. Enfin notre filiation demande que nous ne soyons que Cor unum & Anima una. Adieu.

Je /7 n'ay pas pû vous faire une chanson anglaise sur l'air que vous marquez car je ne la connois point, ni aucune air. N'ayant aucune connoissance de la musique je ne pourrois peut-être pas y ajouter ma poésie quoique je sçusse les paroles de l'air. D'ailleurs ma veine poétique se dessèche, je ne say si je pourrois présentement faire 4 vers de bon rhime. Mais je tacheray de servir Mon Cher Milor par des services plus essentiels que par mes activités stériles & infructueuses. Je tacheray de luy envoyer de

temps en temps les paroles de vie. Adieu. Osculo sancto vos amplector. Ora & ama.

1 Master of Forbes.

2 James Forbes, second son of 13th Lord Forbes, succeeded to title as 16th Baron in 1734. There are numerous references to him in the Letters : v. Introduction. Also Stuart Papers, III, pp. 23, 229, 428, 464. In the last two passages cited Lord Forbes of Pitsligo refers to James Forbes as " my brother." This is a little misleading, and has misled the Editor of the Stuart Papers, but is due to the fact that James Forbes had married a sister of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo : v. Paul, Scots Peerage.

3 Dr. George Garden.

4 V. also p. 53. There is nothing in the references on which to base an identification, but it may be noted that in a letter written in 1709 to Robert Keith, afterwards the well-known Scottish bishop, A. M. Ramsay mentions as an intimate " Sandy Strachan apparently belonging to somewhere in Aberdeenshire near Rosehearty, Dr. George Garden's Bourignonist headquarters (J. P. Lawson, Pref. to R. Keith, Affairs of Ch. and State in Scotland) . At Cullen House there is a letter from Alexander Strachan, Banff (May 23, 1723), in favour of leaving an Episcopalian minister unimpeded in his work. Ogilvie of Aucheries, a younger member of the group, married a daughter of an Alexander Strachan, merchant, Leith. Whoever is the Strachan referred to, he is not one of the Glenkindie family whose sympathies in religion and politics were on the other side (v. Allardyce, Strachans of Glenkindie (1899)).

5 Madame Guyon.

6 " Petit maitre."

7 At this point Madame Guyon's note begin.

XIV. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD

[FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD. This letter is undated, but the reference to Lord Bolingbroke's flight to France fixes the date at about April of 1715.]

MY DEAR LORD,

When I receiv'd your Lop's most acceptable letter I was preparing to write to your Lop, having heard but two days before of your arrival with your dear Lady at Dupplin./1 I rejoiced to hear that your journey and hers was safe and without any bad accidents. I am very hopefull the Divine Providence will continually watch over you both for good, and make you a mutual comfort and aid to each other.

My last from A.R./2 wch brought kind remembrance and salutations, to your Lop and those you know, made mention of M.S.M.'s /3 late illness wch in the opinion of all about her was like to have prov'd fatal, but was abated by frequent bleeding. It was an asthma attended with a sort of suffocation. Let us continually beseech our dear L.M./4 to prolong that precious life if it be his holy will for the glory of his Name and the advancement of his Kdom. I am expecting to hear again in a few posts, and if there be any thing material shall not fail to communicate it ; in the mean time I shall take care to forward your Lop's. The 7th of March we lost good Mr. Lister/5 who was taken ill but 5 or 6 days before, and to my great grief

1 Dupplin House near Perth, the home of Lady Deskford's family. Lady Deskford died and was buried here in 1722.

2 A. M. Ramsay.

3 " Ma sainte mère."

4 " Little Master."

5 One would like to know more of a man who seems to have taken such an interest in propagating the study of mystical literature. One can only guess his identity with John Lister, who was buried in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey on March 8, 1715 (v. Westminster Abbey Registers, p. 282). In the printed Register there is a footnote which says he was " only son of John Lister of Linton, co. York, Esq., by Jane, dau. and heir of Christopher Constable, of Great-Hatfield, in the same county. His age, according to the Funeral Book, was seventy-nine. His will, dated June 29, 1714, was proved 26 Apl., 1715, by his nephew Thomas Southby, of Birdsall, co. York, Esq., to whom he left his entire

estate, and who was his sister's son." His will is in Somerset House and expresses his desire to be buried in the Abbey. A curious clause states that his nephew is to receive the rents of Linton, etc., " during my life to save and prevent all designing persons from taking or causing to take away my life." There are many small bequests, including a guinea to the clergyman of Wintringham (the parish church of Linton) to preach his funeral sermon. There is no allusion to a brother, and the above quoted footnote calls him " only son," which seems to cast some shadow of doubt upon our identification. It might also be doubted whether a burial would be likely to take place the day after death, but it is possible that Dr. Keith was a day or so out in his dating of the death. A " Mr. Lister " well known in London at the time, who survived this date, was Thomas Lister, M.P. for Clitheroe, who was chosen a Commissioner of the Public Accounts in 1714 with the highest number of votes (v. Commons Journals, June 18, 1714, p. 689).

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died without my having had an opportunity to see him. They say he gave strict orders to let nobody come to him, for I call'd three times but was not admitted. He was a truly sincere man and the greatest collector and spreader of spir. books in the whole Island. Tho he sold off many not long before his death, yet he has left behind him some hundreds still. At his brother's /1 desire I have shewn the catalogue of 'em to some friends, and to Munzie /2 among the rest who is much enclin'd to purchase many of 'em. There's one that offers to buy 'em all, if he does we must be content to let them go ; but otherwise I will endeavour to secure some of the most proper for your Lop. Munzie /2 gives his humble service to your Lop and laments his not having seen you at Edbr./3 L.F./4 and Mrs. K./5 salute also your Lop as do R.C./6 and Dr. Ch./7 the last sets out for the Bath next Thursday.

Ld. D./8 and his family are well. L.O./9 has been long expected in Town, but I do not yet hear that he is come. The reports about him are various. Some will have him to be in extreme danger, and serve not. A little more time will shew it. My prayers and best wishes are for him, for he has few fd's /10 and powerful enemies. Ld B.ke is retir'd /11 into France, so some say not only by the connivance but advice of some of the greatest ; his flight has injur'd his cause and encourag'd his accusers, who will certainly proceed to an attainder agt him. Violence and party rage are come to a strange height : and great calamities seem to be threatened. May it please God to prepare and fit us for suffering

G. D. HENDERSON

with patience and chearfulness whatsoever may thro his providence befall us and ours. I give my most affectionat service to Sr P.M./12 and shall do my best to obey his commands, when any thing comes forth that may be acceptable to him : but at present there's nothing doing of that kind. We may humbly say with St. Paul, we would have come (forth) once and again, but Satan hath hindred us. Let us pray that God would rebuke that evil spirit, and bruise him under our feet suddenly.

My D. Lord my spirit is often present with you before our bl. L.M. in union with our d. Mr./13 etc. and in a manner so intimate as cannot be suppress'd. Let us then continually rejoyce together in his holy presence, for his joy must be ours. Let us never stop at the many rubs that are thrown in our way or so much as bestow a reflexion upon them, but taking as little

1 Perhaps the " Mr. Lister " mentioned p. 118 ; and see above note.

2 Patrick Campbell of Monzie.

3 Edinburgh.

4 Perhaps 13th Lord Forbes.

5 Mrs. Keith.

6 Apparently Robert Cunningham : v. pp. 105, 111, 13r.

7 Dr. George Cheyne.

8 Lord Dupplin.

9 Earl of Oxford.

10 " Friends."

11 Lord Bolingbroke fled to France March 26, 1715 v. Calamy, Hist. Account of my own Life, II, p. 311.

12 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

13 " Our blessed Little Master in union with our dear Mother " (Madame Guyon).

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notice of 'em as possible sink down into the Nothing,/1 where only our security lies, and there we shall be what He would have us. And as to melan./2 thoughts and pressures and multiplicities / 3 of all sorts, Laisser tomber et outre passer /4 are Rules never to be forgotten. May our Lord be your strength and your all. I am for ever

Yours in him.

My humble duty to my Lady as

Mystics of the North-East

also to L.k./5 and the Cols

This is in hast. Adieu soyez.

To the Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at Dupplin House
near Perth p. Edinburgh.

XV. Ce que j'ay prétendu, Mr. a été de vous inspirer une Oraison
Libres...

[CG I pièce 445]

[Copy of letter from Madame Guyon in the handwriting of Dr. James Keith, sent to Lord Deskford and preserved at Cullen House. There is nothing to indicate for whom the letter was originally intended. Some expressions very closely resemble what we find in Madame Guyon's printed letters.]

Apr. 15. 1715.

Mr. R./1 m'a lû la lettre que vous avez pris la peine d'écrire.
Ce que j'ay prétendu, Mr. a été de vous inspirer une Oraison
Libres dont l'amour

1 This whole passage reflects Madame Guyon's constant teaching not to think about troubles, but to ignore them, and abandon self in God. Lettres, I, p. 450 " Soyons unies dans la petitesse et dans le rien, et par là nous serons unies à nôtre Tout " ; cf. Lettres, I, p. 463 ; Disc. I, p. 231. Cf. Fénelon, Letters to Women (Eng. trans. 1887), p. 219: " I entreat you to make yourself so small that you may nowhere be found " ; G. Garden, Apol. for M. A. Bourignon, p. 124 : " How can a Nothing do anything that's good ? Man in his Nothing was Nothing " ; A. Baker, Holy Wisdom, 2nd Treatise, sect. II, ch. xiii.

2 " Melancholy."

3 A common expression with Keith, and often used by Madame Guyon : v. p. 15a. It occurs frequently in Baker's already mentioned Holy Wisdom, e.g. pp. 31, 77, 93, 225, 239, 253, 281, 323, etc. V. also John Smith, Select Discourses (1660), pp. 413, 421 ; Vie de M. Renty, p. 295. Still earlier it may frequently be found in the works of Tauler.

4 For this favourite expression of Madame Guyon and of Dr. James Keith v. p. 93 and note. The expression " laissez tomber " is common in Fénelon also, e.g. Spir. Lettres (Oeuvres, Paris, 1861), I, pp. 535, 540 543, 544, 547. 552, etc.

5 Lord Kinnoull, to whose house the letter is directed.

6 No doubt Colonel Hay, son of Lord Kinnoull and afterwards the Jacobite Earl of Inverness. He sailed for France in October, 1715. V. D.N.B., etc.

7 A. M. Ramsay.

8 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 100 : " Que votre Oraison soit libre, plutôt du coeur que de la tête, plus d'affection que de raisonnement. Acoutumez-vous à entremêler vos affections d'un peu de silence."

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soit le principe, et qui parte plus du coeur que de la tête ; quelques douces affections mêlées de silence./1 Car comme votre esprit est

accoutumé à agir, à philosopher & à raisonner, j'ay voulu faire tomber l'activité de l'esprit par une foy simple de Dieu présent, que vous devez aimer, et auquel vous devez vous unir par un amour pur & simple, conforme à la simplicité de votre foy. Cela ne se fait pas par une tension de l'esprit qui nuit à la santé, mais par un amour seul excitant la volonté, par une tendance de cette volonté vers son Divin Objet. On est bien loin de vouloir vous donner des méthodes. Il n'en est point question pour vous. Ce seroit la même chose que de vouloir qu'un enfant déjà né rentre dans le sein de sa mère. Tous les livres sont pleins de méthodes, et ces méthodes sont très peu fructueuses. Elles servent à nourrir l'activité de l'esprit que la foy doit surpasser. L'esprit de l'homme naturellement curieux voudroit voir un système clair & net de tout ce qu'il tâche de concevoir. Il n'en est pas de même de l'oraison que des sciences. Il faut icy que le St. Esprit soit le maître, & s'abandonner à luy. Moins nous agissons, plus il agit, mais comme il ne demande que notre coeur, c'est à dire notre volonté, c'est donc par là qu'il faut aller à luy. C'est le plus court chemin. Le traité de la Réunion /2 en dit quelque chose. Le commencement des Torrens /3 en parle aussi. Mais pour ce qui vous regarde il ne faut que vous abandonner à l'esprit de Dieu, vous mettre en sa présence & rappeler cette présence par une petite affection lorsqu'elle vous échappe ; des retours fréquens en vous-même durant le jour, & prendre quelque tems plus long & plus marqué pour vous tenir auprès de Dieu, comme un enfant auprès de son père qu'il aime. Plus nous agissons simplement avec Dieu plus il est content de nous, et plus nous sommes contents de luy. Quand on a un si bon Guide on n'a pas besoin de demander une route particulière. Il a tant été écrit sur ces matières qu'il est inutile d'en dire d'avantage. Je ne le fais que pour vous marquer combien je vous suis dévouée en J-Ch.

Plus nous agissons simplement avec Dieu plus il est content, et nous devons travailler à le contenter & non à nous satisfaire nous-mêmes. C'est pour celà que J-Ch. a dit, Si vous ne recevez le Royaume de Dieu /4 comme des enfans, vous n'y entrerez point. Ce royaume est l'Intérieur. L'expérience en apprend plus que toutes les théories du monde. Et j'ose même dire que sans expérience non seulement on ne peut écrire solidement de choses

intérieures, mais même les bien goûter & les bien comprendre en les lisant.

1 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 100.

2 Madame Guyon's *La voie et la réunion de lame it Dieu*, issued by P. Poiret in the second volume of *Les Opuscules spirituels*, 1712. Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 509.

3 Madame Guyon's *Les Torrens spirituels* reissued by P. Poiret in the first volume of *Les Opuscules spirituels*, 1704. The *Torrents and the Short Method of Prayer* are Madame Guyon's best known works.

4 Cf. Lettres, V, pp. 2, 49.

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Le Royaume de Dieu est au-dedans de nous, dit J-Ch. Il dit ensuite, Cherchez le Royaume de Dieu & sa justice./1 C'est donc en nous qu'il le faut chercher. Lorsqu'on l'a trouvé on trouve sa Justice. C'est qu'on voit les oeuvres de cette divine Justice comme elle fait tout en l'âme pour détruire l'amour-propre & restituer à Dieu nos usurpations, alors tout nous est donné par surcroît. Il faut renoncer à nous-mêmes, et c'est par là qu'on parvient à la bienheureuse pauvreté d'esprit.

XVI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

Aug. 41h, 1715.

MY LORD,

I had the honour of your Lop's of the 23d past and am this night to forward the annex'd. I could not do it last post because J.F./2 and Mr. R./3 who were to write to their Br./4 could not then and the delay was well enough for last night we had letters from M.F./5 with kind salutations to all friends. M.S.M./6 has been again tender of late, but is better at present. R./7 goes from thence next Octobr. to be tutor to a young Gentleman a friend of the B. of Metter's./8

1 Cf. Lettres, V, p. 20 : ". . . parce que c'est par elle qu'on apprend la véritable justice, qui arache tout à la créature pour restituer tout à Dieu. . . . C'est par elle qu'on obtient la pauvreté d'esprit, et qu'on parvient à cette sainte haine de nous-mêmes. . . ." (*Discours II*, "de la voie intérieure") : v. also *Discours Chrétiens*, I, p. 70.

2 James Forbes.

3 Not identified. Had A. M. Ramsay perhaps a brother in London ? In connection with his Will some one of the name of Michael Ramsay is

mentioned : v. Cherel, *Fénelon*, p. 75. A. M. Ramsay was not in the habit of using any middle name in his letters, and it seems unlikely that he had any right to it. Perhaps, however, Michael was one of the family names, and possibly that of a brother. David Hume, the philosopher, was acquainted with a Michael Ramsay, who was known to the Chevalier. Hume's correspondence includes several letters which show him to have been in Edinburgh in 1732, and in Paris in 1739 : v. Letters of David Hume (edit. Greig, 1933), I, pp. 12, 29.

4 " Brothers."

5 Master of Forbes : v. pp. 95, 97-

6 Madame Guyon.

7 A. M. Ramsay, who became tutor to the young lord de Sassenage, v. Cherel, *Fénelon*, p. 56.

8 Baron de Metternich, the leading German adherent of Madame Guyon. Died 1731. Mentioned pp. 141, 160, 222, etc. Many letters written to him by Madame Guyon are amongst those in the published collection : *Lettres*, V, Index, p. 629. A hand-written copy of part of B. de Metternich's own " treatise concerning the perfection of happiness that is to be attain'd in this life " is among the documents preserved at Cullen House from Lord Deskford's time. The German original, *Die stete Freude des Geistes* (1706) is characterised by Poiret in *Bibliotheca Mysticatorunz* (1708), pp. 295 f., 307, the author being named Hilarius Theomilus. The Baron had previously been a Philadelphian, and had translated into German the *Theologia Mystica* of Dr. Pordage. On Pordage and his associate Jane Leade, v. Poiret, op. cit., pp. 174 f., 186 ; also D.N.B. and Walton,

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I rejoice to hear of your Lo: and my Lady's welfare. I hope the child/1 is well also. I commit you all to the all-wise and all-powerfull influence and conduct of our dear L.M. Our lot is fain in very dangerous and trying times. But let us lift up our heads and rejoice, knowing that He in whom we have believed is faithfull and true, and will not suffer us to be tempted above what he gives us strength to bear. Let us labour to keep our Hearts clean and our hands and spirits pure and disengaged./2 Let us ever be found Watching in the way of our duty ; then let what will come and wellcome ; it can neither surprize nor hurt us. He that believeth sees within the vail and therefor shall not make haste. He lives and walks by Faith, and cheerfully submits to everything that happens. He will not enquire into the times and the seasons of executing Justice or bringing deliverance, but he sees that the cup is almost full, that men's hearts are hardned to a mighty degree, that they are bringing the scourge upon their own backs, and will be the instruments of their mutual destruction. When one considers those things his heart mourns and is ready to break. But what we

have to do is to look unto the Lord and wait from the God of our Salvation. He will hear and save us.

In a time of general perplexity and distress the sober, the pious and the good one way or the other must suffer also. Their principle is to submit to all Powers and Governments, as Chrt. and his dples./3 did, and to disturb none ; and yet they must be suspected and accounted enemies, persecuted and imprison'd it may be for not doing and saying as others do ; but let them rejoyce in this also, knowing that thus too they must fill up their share of the sufferings of Xt. in the flesh./4 May his H. Sp. of Faith, Love, Power and

Memorials of Wm. Law. Wodrow (Analecta, IV, p. 148) attributes to Metternich a book de Ratione Fidei, by which he means the Fides et Ratio collatae issued by Poiret in 1707. His view of the authorship is confirmed by the letter of Jas. Cunningham to Dr. George Garden (M.N.E., p. 222). This is interesting, as Poiret himself says nothing of it, and it is evidently unknown to Wieser (Peter Poiret, p. 105). Wodrow (Analecta, III, p. 473) says : "The Barron Metenish, or some such name, a counselour to the King of Prussia, who, by our publick prints, about a moneth ago was converted to Popery, was a notted disciple of Poiret's, and the step is certainly very easy from his opinions to Popery. The Papists designed by Burignion and Poieret secretly to insinuat the refined mysticall Divinity into Protestant countrys, where their emissarys had litle or [no] acces." Metternich was a friend of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. V. also Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, XXI.

1 A letter from Lord Deskford to Wm. Lorimer, May 2, 1715 (Cullen House), says : " On Saturday my wife was safely brought to bed of a daughter."

2 Lettres, IV, p. 139 : " la foi qui est toujours jointe à l'amour rend l'esprit simple, pur, net, dégagé d'espèces " ; Discours, II, p. 289 : " le pur amour est nud, dégagé de tout " ; cf. II, p. 363 ; Lettres, I, p. 471.

3 " Christ and his disciples."

4 Life of Lady Guion (by herself), 1772 edit., p. 32 : " Such are the souls destined to be victims hereof and to fill up what is behind of the sufferings of Christ." Cf. Lettres,

IV, p. 385.

a sound mind dwell in us and labour with us, that in all things and states we may be enabled to do and suffer according to his holy will !

My last to your Lop of July 26 was directed to the E. of Findl.'s /1 Lodgings, Edbr. I hope it came safe. In it I desir'd to know about what value the books I am to send should be; for I have the disposing of 'em all. Munzie /2 who returns his most humble service to your Lop has not yet sent off his books, but designs to do it as soon as he gets time, and has promis'd to give me timely notice. What I shall send to your Lop shall be Latin or French ; and with all an Italian Gram. and Dictionary with one or two little ones for exercise wch you have in other languages. L.D./3 with My Lady and family are going in a few days to their House near Doncaster. I can never find an opportunity of talking with him. L.O./4 continues still very ill and weak, and much emaciated by reason of the disorder of his stomach and frequent vomitings; but I'm told he has been easier these three or four last days. One you know was an hour with him last week and was rejoiced to hear him express himself with all possible Submission and Resignation /5 to the Divine Will, and declare that he would not change his present condition under all his sufferings with that of his greatest enemies, whom he heartily forgives. People's minds are still disturb'd and uneasy, hating and reviling one another. But no news of any real preparations for an Invasion, wch by some is counted absolutely impracticable as things stand, and that the danger is over. I say nothing.

My most humble service pray to my good Lady, as also to L.H./6 if still in Town. I shall be glad to have copies of the 2 good Letters./7 Mrs. T./8 who is this day gone with their family into the Country gives her most affectionat respects and good wishes to your Lop as J.F./9 also does. D.C./10

1 Earl of Findlater, Lord Deskford's father, the Chancellor Earl.

2 Campbell of Monzie.

3 Lord Dupplin. His country house was at Brodesworth, co. York.

4 Oxford had been sent to the Tower July 16, 1715, and remained there till July 1, 1717 : v. p. 145. His son-in-law Dupplin followed on Oct. 13, and was a prisoner till May 25, 1716: v. p. 123.

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5 Cf. Hist. MSS. Corn., Port. MSS., V, pp. 529 if. : a note of the letters written by E. of Oxford in the Tower, " filled chiefly with expressions of pious resignation to his state."

6 E Lord Haddo : v. pp. 75, 104, 119, 140, 175, 185.

7 We find many cases of religious letters copied and circulated amongst the group.

8 Not identified : cf. pp. III, 127.

9 James Forbes.

10 Dr. Cheyne : v. Introduction. Before finally settling at Bath Dr. Cheyne used to spend the summers there. In the present writer's copy of *Theologiae Pacificae* (1702) (including Poiret's Latin edition of Garden's *Comparative Theology*) there is written on the fly leaf in Cheyne's handwriting : " Direct for Dr. Cheyne at Bath till the end of Octr at Mr. Skine's apothecary, after that for him at London to be left at Old Man's Coffee House near Charing Cross. Westminster," the reference being to certain of Poiret's books and G. Garden's *Apology for M. A. Bourignon*.

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is still at Bath. His spouse came last week to Town. R.C./1 and Pell /2 also salute your Lo. and I am ever,

Your Lop's, etc.

I here send the little gold-beater's skin I have by me but shall get more by next time I write.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at Mr. Fraser's in Carubber's Close,

Edinburgh.

XVII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

Aug. 6th, 1715.

MY LORD,

Last night I had the honour of your Lop's of July 30th, and take this first opportunity to acknowledge it. My last to your Lop was of the 4th inst. two days ago, directed to Mr. Fraser's ; as a former therein mention'd was to the Earle's Lodgings. I hope both have come safe. I rejoyce to hear of your Lop's health, and that you are cheerful and easy. A total Resignation to the Divine Will /3 in all estates and circumstances outward and inward will certainly bring and preserve that solid Joy and Peace /4 wch the world neither knows nor can deprive us off. The Spirit of Faith in God and a continual attention of Love to him ministers also the truest prudence even in the most perillous times. Our Bl. Savr. who is our Life, our Wisdom and pattern did not commit himself to Man, because he knew

1 Perhaps Robert Cunningham whose name sometimes appears in association with that of the E. of Oxford. V. for example Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MSS., IV, pp. 64, 566, etc. ; X, p. 307 ; also *ibid.*, VIII, p. 299, where a letter from Professor Stirling of Glasgow to " Robert Cunningham in Wyan Court in Great Russell Street near S. Giles' Pound," entreats him to do the favour of waiting on Mr. Secretary Harley and making certain representations to him. " Robert Cunnyngnam, esq. Secretary to the Governor of Jamaica," is mentioned in Bowyer, *Lit. Anec.*, VI, p. 81, as a member of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding in 1726. V. pp. 99, 106, etc.

2 Not identified. There were several of this name in the period.

3 V. p. 161 n., pp. 107, 127, 142, etc. Cf. *Lettres*, IV, p. 84 : " Un abandon entier 5, la volonté de Dieu " ; *Discours*, II, p. 41 : " se résigner à la volonté de Dieu pour tout ce qu'il fait et qu'il permet " ; *Lettres* I, pp. 304 f. " ne vouloir agir que par la volonté de Dieu . . . pour le dedans . . . recevoir extérieurement tous les petits dégoûts . . . qui arrivent dans l'état où Dieu vous a mise."

4 Cf. *Lettres*, IV, p. 260 : " cette paix sera solide."

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what was in Man. A lesson never more necessary than now. He knew the world well who recommended these three words to his friends' practice, fuge, tace, quiesce./1

As to what passes here, the publick accounts will acquaint you. One cannot avoid hearing many private reports and publick clamours if he converses at all with them. But I never counted them either worth hearing or relating. I rarely write News wherein the publick is concerned and never desire to receive any. *Non loquatur os meum opera hominum.*^{/2} I have spoken to R.C.^{/3} to get Pell ^{/4} to write to your Lop for 'tis probable business will call me out of 'Town in a little time and for this reason J. F—s^{/5} who gives his humble service to your Lop desires that for 3 or 4 posts after this comes to hand any Letter for J.K.^{/6} may be directed to him at Mr. Moon's in Monmouth Court, Hedge Lane, near Charing Cross. Most Letters they say are opened,^{/7} as your last seem'd to have been.

I saw L.D.^{/8} yesterday. He goes into the Country he told me next Tuesday with the Children, but my Lady who is within 6 weeks of her time does not go. My humble service to L.K.^{/9} tell him what I long apprehended is come to pass, but people were too wise. L.O.^{/10} is still weak but easier. I'm told the D. of Montr — laid down yesterday, and that Ila is to succeed him.^{/11} Lord give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of Man.

I commit you and yours My Dear Lo: to the guidance and protection of L.M. May He be our strength and our all ! ^{/12} We are in perils of all kinds.

1 Arsenius, an anchorite in the desert of Scetis c. A.D. 440 (Cath. Ency., I, p. 754 Baring Gould, Lives of the Saints, July, part II, pp. 446 ff.). The expression here given is from the account in *de Vitis Patrum* (pub. 1628) ; v. Migne, L.P., LXXIII, p. 507. Madame Guyon quotes the Latin form in *Discours*, Vol. I, p. 264, and the whole discourse (no. 37) has this for text : v. also *Disc.*, I, p. 157.

2 Psalm xvi, v. 4 (Vulgate) : " ut non loquatur os meum opera hominum." The A.V. (Ps. xvii, vv. 3, 4) reads differently.

3 V. p. 105.

4 Ibid.

5 James Forbes. 8

6 Dr. James Keith.

7 A hint of the political suspicions of the times.

8 Lord Dupplin : the *Hist. Reg.*, 1715, notes the birth of a son on Sept. 14.

9 Lord Kinnoull. V. Tindal, *op. cit.*, p. 408 ; Rae, *Hist. of the Rebellion* (2nd edit.), p. 208. The allusion may be to the coming Rebellion. The Earl of Mar left London secretly on August 2. The Jacobite standard was raised on Sept. 6. Lord Kinnoull had Jacobite sympathies and was arrested.

Mystics of the North-East

10 The Earl of Oxford, now in the Tower.

11 The Duke of Montrose had become Secretary of State in place of the E. of Mar and he and the E. of Islay (afterwards 3rd Duke of Argyll), the Lord Justice General, had much responsibility as the Government's chief representatives during the Jacobite Rebellion. V. Campbell, *Life of Argyll*.

12 " *Que Dieu vous soit toutes choses* " : a common expression of Madame Guyon, v. *Lettres*, IV, pp. 54, 78, 182, 184, 191, 225, 350, 501, 506, etc

Let us remember one another in union with our Dear M.S.M. before him.' Come what will let us think, speak and walk in his spirit and in his presence.' Adieu.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at Mrs. Romes in the

Parliament Close, Edinburgh.

XVIII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

AUG. 30, 1715.

'Twas with uncommon concern My D./3 Lord that I heard last night the news of your confinement,/4 and therefor can't forbear taking this first opportunity to enquire after your health and circumstances, and withal to pray your Lop to be easy and chearfull under them. Nothing of this kind happens by chance. The Reason of the thing may I suppose be a mystery to yourself as well as to me, but I am confident our L.M./5 will support and comfort you at present, and work in you those salutary effects wch you will feel afterwards. Unite your self to him in the strongest ties of Faith, Love and Resignation, and he will be your Strength and your All./6 My Sp./7 is continually with you in union with our dear M./8 and I firmly believe that God will save his servant and strengthen the son of his handmaid. My last to your Lop was of the 18th with one enclosed from her./9 I hope it came safe tho directed to Mrs. Romes. I write to her next post and acqnt them with what has happen'd. The noise of company will be most of all disturbing, but be not troubled, a little Introversion /10 sets all right.

1 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 41 : " Croyez moi toute à vous dans notre cher et divin petit maitre " ; IV, p. 129 " Je ne vous oublierai pas auprès de lui " ; II, p. 290 ; IV, p. 306, 310, etc. M.S.M. is " ma sainte mère."

2 V. p. 76.

3 " Dear."

4 Lord Deskford was arrested on suspicion of complicity in the Jacobite plot : v. Introduction ; also pp. 90, 109. Interesting letters and documents referring to the matter and preserved at Cullen House are published in Grant, Records of County of Banff, pp. 302-7. Also Tindal, op. cit., p. 408 ; Rae, Hist. of the Rebellion (2nd edit.), p. 208 ; Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS., V, p. 518.

5 " Little Master."

6 A common expression of Dr. Keith : cf. pp. ioo, Loti, 129, etc.

7 " Spirit."

8 " Mother " (Madame Guyon) : cf. p. 28.

9 This letter and the enclosure appear to be missing. lo V. pp. 83, 160.

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Sr. Ja. Campbell of Arkindlass /1 about a fortnight ago recd. of Mr. Dunlop /2 gold watch for Dr. Geo. Garden, wch he

promis'd to deliver to Mr. Will Montgomery /3 Marshall to the Exchequer to be put into your Lop's hands in order to forward it by a safe bearer to the Dr. If your Lop has heard nothing of it, pray please to send one to Mr. Montgomery /3 about it. In hast I commit you my D. Lord to the protection and commerce /4 of L.M. My heart is with you. Let me have the comfort of hearing from your Lop thro' the same channel that this comes to you. Adieu. Adieu.

I am at present with Munzie /5 who salutes your Lop most affectionately as does J.F./6 etc.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford.

1 Head of an important family of the Clan Campbell. He died in 1752 aged 86. V. F. J. Grant, *Index to Genealogies*, etc., p. 8.

2 Andrew Dunlop, watchmaker, London. V. further references to this gold watch and others, pp. 109, 131, 141, 144, 165. Dunlop became a member of the Clockmakers Company of London in 1701 and his work is mentioned in Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and their makers* (2nd edit.), p. 598. A fine grandfather clock made by him with brass dial is still in the possession of the Tailor Incorporation, Trinity Hall, Aberdeen. Dunlop was a Guild Burgess of Aberdeen (*Misc. of New Spalding Club*, II, p. 481), having been admitted July 12, 1700, along with Mr. Alex. Dunlop, minister at N unnington, York (y. article by present writer in "S.N. & Q.," Jan., 1933), and Mr. John Dunlop, formerly minister at Skene, Aberdeenshire (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, new edit, VI, p. 74). The three were sons of Mr. Ludovic Dunlop, minister at Skene, who died 1691 (F.E.S., VI, p. 74). Their mother was a daughter of William Douglas, Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, 1643-66 (v. F.E.S., VII, p. 370, with many errors : v. also article by present writer in "S.N. & Q.," Apr. 1929). The Douglas pedigree is interesting and distinguished. The Dunlops were keen Episcopalians. Andrew Dunlop, the watchmaker, was College bred, being a fellow student and intimate friend of Thomas Ruddiman, the celebrated grammarian and librarian, Jacobite and Episcopalian, who is himself mentioned in these letters ; v. pp. 128, etc. (*Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman*, p. 15). In Chalmers's manuscript collections for this work (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) a somewhat fuller reference appears (several versions) in an account by G. Reid, Ruddiman's nephew : " He often mentioned several of his fellow students, but none is remembered by name but Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, who was then a full-grown man acid at the head of every mischief then going on, while he was but a boy ; and Mr. Dunlop, the famous watchmaker, who after a great many years' absence came to visit his native country, and made him a present of a silver watch, which after his death I got as a remembrance of my uncle from his worthy relict." An interesting manuscript in the hands of A. T. McRobert, Esq., describing a journey to London in 1729,

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mentions Dunlop the watchmaker, then living in Spring Garden, as the son of L. Dunlop and the brother of John Dunlop, ministers at Skene.

3 V. Chamberlayne, *Present State of Gt. Britain*, 1716, p. 698. "William Montgomery was a member of the Faculty of Advocates, having been admitted 1706. Omond, *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, II, pp. 73 ff., speaks of him and says that he, " coming to the bar with no fortune but his brains, had risen to a respectable rank in the profession. He claimed to be a cadet of the Ayrshire family of Macbie Hill." He was laird of Coldcoat, in the county of Peebles. His son William became a Baronet and an Irish M.P. A younger son, James, became Lord Advocate and later Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer.

4 *Lettres*, II, pp. 468 f.

5 Campbell of Monzie.

6 James Forbes.

XIX. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

Sept. 17th, 1715.

Two nights ago My Dear Lord, I had the honour of your most agreeable letter of the 8th. It was most refreshing and wellcome to me, and the more that it was so long and so earnestly expected. The news of your liberation /1 gave me fresh occasions of praise and thanksgiving ; as indeed in some respects that of your confinement did./2 He has promis'd to be with us in trouble, and to deliver us, that we may glorifie him. The Liberty He calls us to and that we groan after is that of the Sons of God ; a deliverance from all our bands and chains, and from every affection and defilement that is unworthy of his holy Presence, and that hinders him from living /3 and resting and enjoying himself in us./4 This also is his work, and we know he is faithfull and true and will do it. He will bring our souls out of prison that we may praise his Name, and will preserve our Life from death, our eyes from tears, and our feet from falling. I acquainted M.S.M./5 with what happen'd to your Lop and when the answer comes shall communicate it. In the meantime I here send you /6 a copy of the last to me, not doubting but it will be acceptable.

Munzie /7 has recd. the box of books for your Lop and will carefully transmitt it with his own. The Catalogue shall be sent by J. F. /8 who is going down in a few days. I had the letter wch was directed for him, and shall remember the 12 Copys of each vol. of the Discourses and Letters /9 (as they come out) for your Lop, but nothing is yet determin'd about sending them hither.

I am glad your Lop has recd. the watch : /10 both Dr. G./11 and I were in some concern about it. Please to let me know p. next how to direct, for Munz./12 by whose care this and the last went, talks of leaving this place

1 Lord Deskford was liberated from Edinburgh Castle early in September. A letter of Sept. 1, 1715, from the Bishop of Edinburgh to a friend in London (Lib. of Scot. Epis. Coll., Edin., 1835) mentions the order to set Lord Deskford free on bail and says " there are only now in prison the Earles of Wigton, Hume and Kinnowl."

2 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 391.

3 Lettres, IV, p. 229 : " afin que Dieu puisse faire sa demeure en votre âme."

4 Ibid., p. 391 : " pour prendre en vous ses délices."

5 Madame Guyon.

6 V. no. xx.

7 Campbell of Monzie.

8 James Forbes, leaving London for Aberdeen to join the rebels : v. p. 113.

9 Madame Guyon, Discours chrétiens et spirituels, 2 vols., 1716, and Lettres chrétiennes et spirituelles, 4 vols., 1717-18. Note the considerable number of copies which Lord Deskford proposes to distribute. Two copies of this edition of the Discourses and one of the Letters still remain in the Library at Cullen House.

10 V. p. io8.

11 Dr. George Garden.

12 Campbell of Monzie.

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next week. I give my most humble service to L. K./1 and S. P. M./2 My best wishes attend them. O/3 is pretty well as to his health but must keep his Lodgings all the winter. I saw D./4 yesterday and my Lady who expects her labour every hour. I give also my humble duty to my Lady and hope she bears every thing well. God help us all !

There was nothing of Surin /5 among those books but only the Catechism, nor a Rusbrochius ; /6 but there's Louis de Grenada's /7 works and Richd. de Ste Victore,/8 wch are sent. Most of the others are small and scarce. A few of the more common are added to be given away /9 as there shall be occasion, and of these some doubles. You have some of de Sales /10 Letters

1 Lord Kinnoull.

2 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre. V. Introduction.

3 Earl of Oxford.

4 Lord Dupplin : v. p. 106. Lord Dupplin was arrested and sent to the Tower on October 13.

5 J. J. Surin (1600-65), French mystical writer, a Jesuit whose strange career involved him in the exorcism of demons in the course of which he imagined himself to have become possessed. Bossuet calls him " un homme consommé dans la spiritualité " (Oeuvres, 1817, Vol. 28, p. 70z). The Catéchisme spirituel here mentioned was first published at Paris in 1661. His Cantiques spirituels de l'amour divin (1660) are mentioned p. 148 and were admired and quoted by Madame Guyon, v. Lettres, II, pp. 143, 332. Madame Guyon declares this book " m'a plus servi que tous les livres spirituels que j'aie jamais lûs." The library at

Mystics of the North-East

Cullen House has the Dialogues spirituels (3 vols.), Paris, 1719. A MS. copy of the Cantiques deriving from the N.E. of Scotland is in the Scottish Episc. Coll., Edinburgh. For Surin, v. further Bremond, op. cit., V, chs. iv-vi.

6 Jan van Ruysbroeck (1294-1381), Dutch mystic. His complete works were published at Cologne in 1552. A modern edition contains twelve treatises. He has been the subject of numerous studies. V. Bibliography in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge, Vol. X ; E. Underhill, Ruysbroeck (1914) and many refs. in E. Underhill, Mysticism (1911 and later editions) ; Vaughan, Hours with the Mystics (1856 and later editions) .

7 Louis of Granada (1505-88), Spanish mystic. A Dominican whose wide range of writings have been frequently republished. Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, says " Among the hundreds of eminent ascetical writers of Spain, L. of G. remains unsurpassed in the beauty and purity of his style, the solidity of his doctrine and the popularity and influence of his writings." V. Bibliography under L. of G. in C.E., Vol. IX. Peers in Spanish Mysticism, p. 4 note, mentions the large numbers of English translations of Louis of Granada about this period.

8 Richard of S. Victor (d. 1173), said to have been of Scottish birth. There are numerous editions of his mystical and other works. He was distinguished for an exaggerated allegoristic treatment of Scripture. V. Cath. Ency., Vol. XIII ; E. Underhill, Mysticism ; and Mystics of the Church (N.D.) ; Vaughan, op. cit. He is frequently quoted in A. Baker's Holy Wisdom (v. M.N.E., p. zoo).

9 Evidence of the propaganda work in which these mystics were engaged.

10 S. Francis of Sales (1567-1622), Savoyan noble, Bishop of Geneva, very popular devotional writer, his works including much essential Quietism. His Letters, says Fénelon, " are full of teaching and experience " (Fénelon, Letters to Women, Eng. trans. 1887, p. 79). Well known are also his Introduction à la vie dévôte, and his Traité de l'amour de Dieu. A complete edition of his works appeared (23 vols.) 1892-1928. V. Bibliography in New Schaff-Herzog Ency. of Rel. Kn., Vol. IV. V. also E. K. Sanders, S. Francois de Sales (1928).

in Italian, and a few more wth 2 Dictionaries and Gram. in that Language. The greater part is in Fr. and Lat. and 5 or 6 in English. Some indeed are but indifferently bound, but as they are they may be us'd. There are several among them of various characters, wch we sometimes find usefull according to the different circumstances for our selves and/or others. The whole comes to about L10 3sh. I wish they may come safe and that your Lop may be preserv'd in health and tranquillity to use them. Munz., J.F., L.T., M/8.K., and R.C./1 send their humble service to your Lop.

I continue ever Yours in L.M.

To the Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at Edinburgh.

XX. COPY OF LETTER FROM MADAME GUYON TO DR.
JAMES KEITH

[CG I pièce 448]

Inclosed in his letter of Sept. 17 to Lord Deskford. Text according to Keith.]

Aug. 22, N.S. 1715.

A—D. K./2

J'ay toujours bien de la Joye, Mon Cher F./3 d'apprendre de vos nouvelles, et de celles de la bonne Mdlle. Fis . . ./4 Elle est bienheureuse que Dieu l'ait rendue digne de participer à la Croix de Son Fils. Je ne suis gueres sans incommodité: Le Maitre nous sçait tailler des Croix de toute arbre. O ! qu'il sçait bien les choisir et n'en point laisser manquer. Cette Croix est scandale aux Juifs, & folie aux Gentiles, mais pour ceux qui croient, elle est le Vertu de Dieu. J. Ch. n'étoit il pas une pierre d'achoppement pour ceux qui ne croyaient pas ? Luy qui étoit une source de Vie et un fleuve jaillissant pr. ceux qui croyoient en luy. S. Paul ne dit il pas, Nous soies tous les jours pour l'Amour de vous comme des Agneaux qu'on mène à la boucherie ? Heureux ceux qui souffrent comme innocents & non pas comme coupables. Ceux qui savent se resigner avec joye à la Volonté de Dieu dans leurs peines sont heureux, quoique les hommes n'en jugent pas de la sorte, et lorsque la Conscience ne reproche rien, on a le Repos d'esprit dans les plus fortes attaques. Les hommes sont bien plus difficiles à contenter que Dieu, c'est que les hommes jugent sur des apparences souvent fausses, mais Dieu voit le fond du coeur.

1 Campbell of Monzie, James Forbes, Lady T. (cf. p. 127), Mrs. Keith, Robert Cunningham (cf. p. 105).

2 To Dr. Keith.

3 " Frère."

4 Mademoiselle Fissec, a correspondent, copies of some of whose letters are in the Library of the Seminaire de S. Sulpice, Paris : v. also Cherel, Fénelon au xviiiè siècle, pp. 53, 162. Cherel quotes her description of herself as " anglaise, religieuse du p.m. dans le convent de son coeur."

Il y a ici de deux sortes de Jans. . . /1 Les uns jurent tout ce qu'on veut, contre leur propre conscience, afin de se maintenir dans leurs benefices. Les autres au contraire ne veulent point jurer,

crainte de se parjurer ; et je les estime d'avantage. Les uns & les autres ne font que caballer, s'agiter, soulever tout le monde ; ennemis jurés de la paix & de la verité. Il faut comme dit S. Paul, se soumettre à toute puissance. Les bruits, les soulevemens ne font que tout gâter. Je me souviens d'un Saint Evêque en Perse qui par un faux zele abattit un temple d'idoles & causa une terrible persecution aux Chrétiens./2

Il semble que nous soyons dans le temps décrit par le Prophete (Ezec. viii, 14, 16), où les femmes pleuroient Adonis ; & les vieillards tournoient le dos à l'autel pour adorer le soleil levant. Quand on envisage d'un coup d'oeil le monde entier, on ne voit que discordes & divisions, les hommes qui se déchirent les uns les autres ; les Torrens de l'Iniquité sout débordés par tout. Il est certain que les vrais serviteurs de Dieu, qui n'aiment que la Paix, sont à plaindre. Mais disons avec Maccabée (1 Maccab. ii, 20, 37). Mourrons dans notre simplicité,' et ne violons pas la Loy du Seigneur.

Helas ! que la simplicité est loin, et que cette loy eternelle de la Charité et de la Volonté de Dieu est loin de nos coeurs ! On ne s'attache qu'à l'apparence, et Dieu permet que nous soyons seduits & trompés par cette même apparence. La simplicité meprisee nous enfonce de plus en plus en Dieu. L'ame se trouve en sa place, lorsqu'on se voit regardé avec des yeux qui jugent & veulent penetrer, & qui s'aveuglent eux mêmes. Soyons les heureuses victimes de l'Amour & de la Foy, et Dieu nous donnera ces yeux d'aigle qui découvrent la mouelle du cedre /4 au travers de son écorce grossiere & impenetrable aux yeux de la Raison. Je suis très unie à vous en J. Ch.

1 Jansenists : v. Gazier, *Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste* (1923), I, p. 240, etc. The Papal Bull *Unigenitus* was promulgated against later Jansenism in Sept. 1713 and after hesitation Louis XIV seemed at the date when this letter was written to be on the point of accepting it officially. The king died on August 30. Fénelon was a most determined opponent of Jansenism : v. St. Cyres, *Francois de Fénelon*, ch. xi.

2 Bishop Abdas, A.D. 420, whose story is narrated in Theodoret., V, ch. 39 ; v. also J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans L'Empire Perse*, pp. 105 if.

3 Simplicity (like littleness), one of the qualities most necessary in the mystic. V. pp. 88, 96 ; *Lettres*, I, pp. 145, 175, 291, 388, 438, etc. ; *Vie de M. Renty*, pp. 326, 384, 425, etc. ; *Fénelon, Oeuvres*, I, pp. 368 ff., etc. ; *Mirror of Simple Souls* ; etc.

4 From the Vulgate version of Ezekiel xvii, 3 : " tulit medullam cedri." The A.V. has " the highest branch of the cedar." Tremellius and Junius read " Calamum summum cedri." The modern French Bible has " la cime d'un cedre." With the whole passage cf. Mirror of Simple Souls (13th century), 1927 translation, pp. 65 f., where not only the point about the cedar occurs, but the more important comparison of love and reason. The eagle-eye is a favourite figure and is to be found in Dionysius the Areopagite (de Coelesti Hierarchia, XV, § 8 (ligne)) and in Ruysbroeck (v. E. Underhill, Ruysbroeck, p. 153). It derives from Aristotle and Pliny.

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La distance des Lieux ne fait rien aux Esprits./1 Je salue Md votre ep./2 et Mlle. Fiss . . ./3 ainsi que ceux qui appartiennent à J. Ch. Mais qu'ils sont rares. Tous veulent se posséder eux mêmes, c'est pourquoi il ne les possède pas.

XXI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

Nov. 5th, 1715.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your Last of the 27th past came safe to me and gave me a great deal of Joy. Thanks be to God for his great Mercies to you and to all his children. As troubles and confusions encrease so doth our Peace and Joy and Acquiescence in his holy will. Notwithstanding the interruption of our outward correspondence (wch thro various accidents may happen again) I have been favour'd with more of your Lop's agreeable company than before : so true is it that the distance /4 of places signifies little to Spirits united in the common Centre./5 Our ven. M./6 remembers you continually. I had a letter from R./7 of the 5th wch speaks of her health and M.F.'s./8 but none from either of them since that I sent by J. Forbes./9 who went from this Sept. 28th by sea for Abd./10 I hope God has preserv'd him and brought him safe to his own house. I shall rejoyce to hear of his safe arrival. I sent also the Catalogue of the books by him, and am glad to hear they are come to your Lops hands. The money may be remitted only with your conveniency. As for the postage of letters 'tis not worth mentioning. I remember but two that came

1 *Lettres*, IV, p. 499 : "Vous m'êtes très présent en lui. La distance des lieux n'interrompt ni cette union ni cette présence lorsque'elle est en celui en qui tout est présent" ; IV, p. 577 : "J'espère que ni distance de lieux ni nulle autre différence ne nous empêcheront pas d'être réunis dans ce divin objet, qui rend tous un en lui" ; cf. II, p. 52, etc. Cf. *Letters of James Keith*, letter of Nov. 5, 1715, immediately following. V. also *Fénelon, Lettres spir. (OEuvres)*, I, p. 519: "Soyons donc unis par n'être rien que dans notre centre commun, où tout est confondu sans ombre de distinction. C'est là que je vous donne rendez-vous, et que nous habiterons ensemble. C'est dans ce point indivisible que la Chine et la Canada se viennent joindre ; c'est ce qui aneantit toutes les distances." The same idea occurs elsewhere in Fénelon.

2 Mrs. Keith.

3 Mademoiselle Fissec : v. p. m.

4 V. letter of Madame Guyon printed above, and note I.

5 V. p. 93 ; cf. *Fénelon, Letters to Women*, p. 162 : " You will find her again in our common centre, the bosom of God." V. also *M.N.E.*, p. 158 n.

G. D. HENDERSON

6 Madame Guyon, our venerable mother.

7 A. M. Ramsay.

8 Master of Forbes, : v. pp. 95, etc.

9 James Forbes.

10 Aberdeen. Letters in the Stuart Papers, I, pp. 474, 475, show him in Aberdeen in December, 1715, active in the Jacobite interest.

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to me, and as to the 1st vol. of Discourses,/1 I have not yet receiv'd any of 'em. I have had no letter from Holland these 2 months. They think I suppose 'tis an improper time to send them ; /2 but when I have talk'd with our friends here about the Number I will write again. I wrote to Dr. G./3 by Mr. Ja. F./4 and long to hear from him. Some good occasions have been neglected of sending me up the Life./5 I wish if there be any commerce with these parts, he could find a safe hand to convey it to your Lop, for then I might hope your Lop would light of one to transmit it safely to me.

I mightily approve of your Lop's retir'd way of living, wch. I'm sure is in all respects the safest and best. 'Tis what I also chuse and practise,/6 knowing it to be my duty and the will of God concerning me. Let us leave others to think and act as they please. I lament and pity them with all my heart. The children of L.I./7 whose kingdom is not of this world, must continually attend to his still voice, and faithfully abide in his presence. Here they sink down, and rest and lose sight of themselves and the world. Here they are sometimes taken into the enlargements /8 of God and into the Liberty /9 of his Chosen ; then if they cast an Eye upon the world and what is doing in it, they cannot help despising it as a very poor worthless thing. Ah poor mortals ! what are they doing and whither are they hurried ? What are they disturbing and destroying one another for ? /10 They do not consider, nor will they understand what the end of those things shall be. Let the dead in the meantime bury their dead, and let us think as little of 'em as we can, and above all let us carefully avoid entering into their Spirit, least we be entangled and hurt by it.

I shall faithfully communicate to our Ven. M./11 that part of your last and whatever else your Lop shall signifie in any other letter. If any one expects to find News or Politicks /12 in any of

ours, he is mistaken : we leave all that to others whose business it is. Dr. Ch./13 and our friends are well and salute

1 V. p. log.

2 On account of the Jacobite disturbances, and no doubt the knowledge that some of the circle were involved.

3 Dr. George Garden.

4 James Forbes.

5 Possibly the manuscript of the Life of Madame Guyon by herself. In the Preface to the original French edition we are told that Madame Guyon " gave her manuscript to a nobleman amongst them who was returning to England." V. the later discussions regarding its publication, pp. 151, etc.

6 Dr. Keith goes out of his way to make it clear to any who may read his letter that this correspondence is not between Jacobites.

7 " Little Master."

8 Lettres, II, p. 518, 522, etc.

9 Lettres, IV, pp. 194 f., etc.

10 The 'Fifteen was now at its height, the rebels being in Kendal on the day when this letter was written. The surrender at Preston took place on the morning of the 14th. The disaster at Sheriffmuir took place practically at the same time, 13th November.

11 Madame Guyon.

12 Does he not protest overmuch ?

13 Dr. Cheyne.

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your Lop with all possible affection ; as I do S.P./1 and all others with you, especially my dear Lady. My poor prayers are always for you and yours. I lately saw the person who recd. the good advice, but had no opportunity of saying a word to him./2 May it please God to open his ears to the voice of the present rod, and to speak to his heart the words of Life ! I wish the same blessing to them all with all my heart.

This comes by Munzie's /3 care, who gives his most humble service to your Lop. I am ever with all possible esteem and sincere affection.

My Lord,

Your Lop's most humble & most obedient servt.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford.

XXII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

Includes an extract from a letter of Pierre Poiret.]

Deer. 13th, 1715.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since my last /4 of the 4th wch I sent by Munzie /3 I have had the honour of your Lop's of the 1st with a ad. Bill. But the first having come safe and being now paid there was no occasion for the other. In the mean time it shew'd your Lop's great care in case the 1st had miscarried. I have lately written to A.R./5 and M.F./6 and with your Lop's kind love to them faithfully communicated what you desir'd. I saluted also our ven. M./7 in your Lop's name and recommended you and yours with those you mention to her powerfull prayers. Do not question but she and others remember you and them in the best manner they are Able. As soon as any answer comes, wch if mine goes safe may be reasonably expected in 2 or 3 weeks hence, I shall carefully forward it to your Lop. This evening /8 they will certainly unite with the angelick choir in wellcoming our Blessed L.M./9 with Gloria in Excelsis

1 Sir Patrick Murray.

2 The reference is obscure.

3 Campbell of Monzie.

4 Awanting.

5 A. M. Ramsay.

6 Master of Forbes.

7 Madame Guyon.

8 Christmas Eve abroad : cf. pp. 88, 133. V. Lettres, IV, p. 577: " Je vous prie de vous souvenir tous les vingt-cinq des mois que c'est la fête du divin petit maitre, et je fais dire la messe ce jour-là pour tous ses enfans, dont vous êtes un des principaux " : cf. I. 455 f., II, p. 448 f., IV, p. 29. The special stress on Christmas was connected with the cult of the Infant Jesus : v. p. 80.

9 " Little Master."

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Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis! May our Hearts be truly prepar'd for receiving and entertaining/1 him for ever ! In pace factus est locus ejus./2 May He alone be our Love, our Joy and our All ! May his holy Presence be our continual

entertainment and delight. In the world, saith he, ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have Peace ; be of good Comfort, for I have overcome the World. He knows and thro' his Grace we know that we are nothing and can do nothing ; but we trust that He will be our King, our Strength, our Wisdom and Righteousness ; and that he will give us not only to believe in his name but to suffer for his Truth and thro' the power of his Holy spirit to rejoyce continually under all his providences concerning us. I have still a dreadfull prospect of judgments and sore plagues that are likely to fall on this sinfull people and nation, and blindness and hardness of heart is none of the least. When any people is rais'd up to scourge, to break down and to destroy, their work is not to shew Mercy, neither is there any such thing to be expected from them. There are Commissions given forth empowering certain persons to tender the publick oaths to all housekeepers and others in this city, and they say in the country too.

I was glad to hear of S.T.H.'s /3 health and tranquillity, pray please to give my humble service and best wishes to him and also to Ochertyre./4 My hearty prayers are for them and all in distress. The prisoners about 200 came last Friday to Town,/5 but I do not hear that Mr. C. of B./6 is among them

I have just now recd. letters from Holld. with most affectionat salutations to all our dear friends both here and with you. Mr. P. prays—Puissions nous tous être un jour du nombre des Anges et Esprits bienheureux qui beniront & loueront eternellement le Seigneur. Sa sainte grace, protection

benediction soient sur vous, sur tous les chers amis de vos quartiers, et particulièrement sur nos chers frères d'Ecosse, entre lesquels je mentionne

1 Cf. pp. 76, 133 : v. also T. à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ*, Part IV, chs. 1 and 3.

2 Psalm lxxv, verse 2 (Vulgate) : " Et factus est in pace locus ejus." Quoted also A. Baker, *Holy Wisdom*, 3rd Treatise, sect. iii, ch. vii, § II ; also Tauler, *Opera Omnia* (1615), pp. 228, 31S, 62o, etc. ; and v. Bremond, op. cit., VI, p. 221.

3 Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall : v. p. 77.

4 Sir Patrick Murray.

5 Cf. Calamy, Hist. Acc. II, pp. 331 f. ; Diary of Countess Cowper, pp. 61 f : Patten, History of the late Rebellion (1717), pp. 132 ff. These were some of the Jacobites captured at Preston (Nov. 14).

6 James Cunningham of Barns, Fife. His name occurs occasionally in these letters, but discussion is reserved till the French Prophets with whom he was deeply involved are treated at length with special reference to Cunningham's correspondence with Dr. George Garden ; v. pp. 191 ff. He was a Jacobite and actively involved in the 'Fifteen Rising. Certainly he was taken prisoner at Preston (Lancashire Memorials of 1715, p. 160). His name does not occur in the list of those sent to London (ibid., p. 186), and it would appear that he was sent to Chester and died there (v. M.N.E., pp. 134, 139).

7 P. Poiret : Introduction.

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notamment notre bien aimé M.G.G. and M. son frère./1 Le bon Ange du Seignr. soit à l'entour d'eux & les garantisse de tout mal en ces tems perilleux. Amen !

Mr. Homfeld /2 writes that the 2nd vol. of the Discours Spirituels /3 is also finished, and that the two vol. wch contain about 66 sheets will be sold to the subscribers for 33 dutch stuyvers or 1 guld. 13 styv.

The Instruction d'une Mère à sa fille /4 is printed by way of Preface to the 2d vol. and so order'd that it may also be sold apart at 2 styv. being about 4 sheets. He says the Letters 5 which are now revising will follow next, and will make several voll. but withall that Mr. `Vetst. s proposes to print the most excellent verses sur les Emblemes de l'Amour divin de Voenius, wch your Lop has, and also those sur les Emblemes de Herman Hugo ;/7 and in order to this, to have all the figures of both engraven anew. He guesses that these last wch contain 47 figg. will come at least to 2 Guld. and that the first wch has about 60 will come to more, and in fine desires to know whether this

1 Dr. George Garden and his brother the Professor : v. pp. 14, 17. An indication of the important position the Gardens held as leaders of the Quietist movement in Scotland.

2 Frequently mentioned in the Letters in connection with the dispatch of books from Holland. He was associated with the Wetsteins and shared their mystical religious outlook : v. pp. 124, 138, etc. V. T. L. Wetstein's letter quoted Remains of John Byrom, Vol. II, pt. ii, p. 473. He was a correspondent of Madame Guyon

and a number of her letters to him are in the published volumes : v. Lettres, Vol. V, p. 63o.

3 V. pp. 109, etc.

4 By Madame Guyon. A transcript of this work is among the manuscripts at Cullen House, and dates from Lord Deskford's time. An English translation was published in 1720: v. p. 167 n.

5-V. p. 109.

6 This most interesting man is Johan Heinrich Wetstein (1649-1726), scholar, publisher and printer at Amsterdam. For a full account of the firm and family v. Kleerkoooper en van Stockum, De Boekhandel te Amsterdam. V. also Biographic Universelle, Vol. 46, p. 694 ; Bayle, Oeuvres diverses, IV, p. 765 ; De Navorscher, 1866, pp. 97 f. ; Ledebœer, Alfabetische Lijst der Boekdrctckers ; M. Wieser, Peter Poiret, pp. 136, 325 ; etc. He belonged to an old Swiss family and was grandson, son and brother of distinguished theologians. Bayle says " un peu prévenu des opinions des mystiques." Poiret had been his French tutor and later wrote of him as " a friend of truth and at the sanie time my friend." He published a number of Poiret's works and the works of Mme. Bourignon as well as those mentioned in the Letters. He was well acquainted with Dr. George Garden and Dr. James Keith. He had been trained in the business of the Elzevirs and his firm really took the place of that famous house when it declined. The publishing establishment was in the Kalverstraat. V. also p. 124, etc.

7 Published Cologne 1717 : L'Amante de son Dieu, representee dans les Emblèmes de Hermannus Hugo sur ses Picux Désirs, et dans ceux d'Othon Vaenius sur l'Amour divin. A vec des figures nouvelles, accompagnées de Vers, qui en font l'application aux dispositions les plus essentielles de la Vie intérieure. V. pp. 134, etc. V. for Vaenius, p. 525 n. A curious English version by Arwaker, of which several editions appeared from 1702 onwards, has the 47 plates, but makes alterations in the text of the Pia Desideria, substituting, for example, King Charles I in place of Menelaus.

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undertaking will be acceptable to our friends here ; and particularly what number of the above mentioned 2 voll. shall be sent into Scotld, and to whom they shall be directed. I am to write next post but cannot advise anything as to this. But tho' we are at present in a very broken Condition, and may probably ere long be more so, I design to send at first for 50 setts of these ; and withal to encourage their going on with all the rest. Your Lop I remember mention'd a letter or two you have read wch I have not seen./1 Please to take Munzie's /2 advice about the way of sending them to me. My kind love to that worthy Gentleman and his Lady, to Mr. Falcr./3 etc. All your friends here salute your Lop with great affection and I am ever in the sincerest manner Your

G. D. HENDERSON

Lop's most obed. humble servt. My humble duty and best wishes
attend my dr. lady.

To the Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford

Edinburgh.

XXIII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

March 1./4

MY DEAR LORD,

I have just time to let your Lop know that I had the honr of your dear letter of the 17th past with the Bill of L 4 18sh. 6d. wch Mr. Lister /5 paid at sight. I hope by this time the box with the things is come safe to hand, and that they are such as My Lady desir'd. Last week I had a few lines from the M. of F./6 in wch he signifies his intention to return to Britain in the summer on acct. of his brother's /7 circumstances and yesterday his father /8 told me he had written to him two posts ago to come over presently.

1 Interesting letters from Madame Guyon, etc., were circulated. Of some several copies exist.

2 Campbell of Monzie.

3 Mr. Falconer. This seems most likely to refer to Alexander Falconer, advocate, second son of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lord President of the Court of Session. He married the Countess of Erroll and took her name of Hay, under which he may be mentioned pp. 175, 181. She was an extremely keen Jacobite. Of Falconer a friend wrote to the Earl of Mar in 1718 (Stuart Papers, VI, p. 356), " I know him well and am fulls' persuaded of his good intentions, capacity and great integrity." In the Letters both here and on p. 131 his name occurs in connection with that other advocate, Patrick Campbell of Monzie, who was apparently a friend.

4 No year is given, but the reference to George Garden's imprisonment shows that the letter belongs to 1716.

5 V. p. 99.

6 Master of Forbes.

7 James Forbes. The Rebellion having collapsed the situation of such as James Forbes was serious. In the autumn he escaped to Holland.

8 William, 13th Lord Forbes, then in London, where he seems to have remained till his death in July : v. p. 123. He had taken the side of the Hannoverians. V. G.E.C., Complete Peerage.

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The melancholy acct. of G.G.'s being imprison'd /1 was very afflicting to me, but I am hopefull that our good God whose he is will be with him in trouble and will graciously support and deliver him. I have a mind in a post or two to write to Ld. Haddo,/2 who I know will do his utmost. There's hardly any one here one can

speak to or trust. The great matter at first is to get any prosecution put off till a general course is taken with all in the like circumstances. No disposition to mercy appears yet, and all that seem enclin'd that way either are or will be disgraced. They will go on till their work is done, and all attempts to disturb or break them will come to nought. God governs the world : let us always rejoyce before him. Your Lop hinted to me that your head and stomach were out of order. A gentle vomit now in the spring may be proper. I pray God to preserve and support you outwardly and inwardly. My humble duty and wife's attends My Dear Lady and all yours. I salute Ld. K. who is now I hope at liberty /3 as also Sr P.M./4 not forgetting Mr. Ro. K./5

I remain always

Your Lop's most obedient humble servt.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford.

1 Dr. Garden imprisoned as a Jacobite : r. Introduction. A letter from Benholm near Montrose on April 11, 1716, reported that " on Friday last, passed by this place, under the guard of a party of horse and some Swiss foot about the number of twenty-eight prisoners, among whom was Doctor George Garden " (Wodrow, Correspondence, II, p• 144). V. pp. 120, 131.

2 F. P. 75.

3 Earl of Kinnoull was soon released.

4 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

5 Probably the future Bp. Robert Keith, one of the best known of the Scottish Episcopal leaders (1681-1756). He was connected with the family of the Earls Marischal. In 1712, when abroad as tutor to the Earl of Erroll, he met Pierre Poiret. From 1713 he was settled as an Episcopalian clergyman in Edinburgh. He had assisted George Garden with the translation of part of the Diary of John Forbes of Corse into Latin, and was well known to the whole group, including A. M. Ramsay who wrote familiar letters to him. Among his intimate friends was Thomas Ruddiman (y p. 128). His interest in mysticism is evidenced by the translations of Thomas à Kempis which he issued in Edinburgh : cf. p. 186. V. Biographical sketch by Lawson in R. Keith's Affairs of Church and State in Scotland (Sp. Socy), 1844 : also sketch of Keith's career by Bp. Russell in R. Keith's Hist. Catalogue of Scottish Bishops ; D.N.B. ; Scots Magazine. XIX, etc. V. article by present writer on Bishop Robert Keith and Thomas à Kempis in S.N. & Q., May, 1933.

XXIV. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

March 6th./1

MY DEAR LORD,

Since the few lines of the 1st wch I writ your Lop under Munzie's /2 cover, I have recd the inclosed wch I'm sure will be very wellcome and acceptable to you. The Ven. M.S.M./3 tells me her health is now better than it has been for some years past. May it please L.M./4 to continue it to us for the Glory of his name, and the good of his poor Children.

I beseech your Lop to take care of yours. To remove the heaviness and aching of your head a gentle vomit may be of use to you ; but if it is attended with thirst and feverish heats, be sure to take away first some 8 or 9 ounces of blood, and then if there be any disposition to costiveness purge once and again moderately : one ounce of Glauber's salt will do. Gentle exercise, especially rideing on horseback now in the Spring will do well. You know how to do all this by way of diversion before our bl. L.M./5 I most heartily recommend your Lop to His holy society and protection.

'Twas afflicting to me beyond expression to hear of our dear D.G's./6 confinement. He stay'd it seems in his sister's house, as if he had been determin'd to suffer. He was persuaded no doubt he did what he ought to do both first and last, and had his own reason for so doing, but I wish he had acted otherwise. In the meantime my poor prayers are continually for him, and I am hopefull God will graciously support and comfort him. He has a great deal to suffer. *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis eius* ; /7 various and manifold are his providences towards them and strange ways he takes to refine and purify them ; and all this to make us conformable to J. Ch. who was made perfect thro' sufferings. As soon as we hear of any orders for tryals and prosecutions we must do our utmost for him./8 Is there no way of getting a few lines to him, or of receiving a few from him ?

G. D. HENDERSON

1 No year mentioned, but quite obviously the same as that of the previous letter (1716)

2 Campbell of Monzie.

3 Madame Guyon.

4 " Little Master."

5 " Blessed Little Master."

6 V. p. 119. Dr. George Garden in a letter to Bishop Archibald Campbell in 1724 (MS. 760, Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh) mentions " my sister with whom I live." He lived in New Aberdeen, for in another letter (763) he speaks of going " over to the other town " to see his brother James and Principal George Middleton, who lived in Old Aberdeen.

7 Psalm lxxvii, v. 33 (Vulgate) : a verse more than once quoted by Madame Guyon, e.g. Lettres, II, p. 339 ; Discours, I, p. 398 : cf. Vie de M. Relay, p. 422.

8 The characteristic attitude of Dr. Keith.

120 [page of "Handwriting of Mme Guyon" : "Mon cher enfant je ne say..."]

XXV [Mon Cher Enfant ie ne scay si m f s qui va en vos cartiers
aura la ioye de vous voir...]

[This short letter without year or address or signature is in the handwriting of Madame Guyon and is preserved at Cullen House, being no doubt intended for Lord Deskford. The reference to the departure of M.F. (Master of Forbes) from France in the spring of 1716 (he was in London in May—v. next letter) suggests this placing of the letter. It is chiefly interesting as showing the difference between autograph letters of Madame Guyon and those dictated to Ramsay. A photograph of the original appears opposite p.]

ce 17 mars,

Mon Cher Enfant ie ne scay si m f s qui va en vos cartiers
aura la ioye de vous voir sy le p m permet quil vs voye il vous dira
mieux que moy combien ie vous ayme dans le petit m /4 et
combien ie minteresse a vostre bien spirituel Euittez toutes les
pensée qui peuuent vous chagriner tenez vostre coeur dans la ioye
mais ne manquez point a vôtre oraison /5 cest la nourriture de
lame /6 aussy bien que la presance de Dieu durant le four sans
quoy lame se deseche david disoit mon ame sest deséchée conne
laregnée parce que j'ay oublié de manger mon pain quel est se pain
dont la privation fait perir lame Cest le verbe ainsy quil est dit
ailleurs lhome ne vit pas seulement de pain mais de toute parolle
qui sort de la bouche de Dieu cest ce diuin verbe qui est sans fin
engendré de son pere qui est la seulle nourriture propre a lame et
nous ne profittons de cette nourriture que par le moyen de
l'oraison cest parla que cette nourriture substacielle sintroduit dans
lame donnez donc lieu a se diuin verbe de vous remplir de luy
meure il faut pour cela quil detruise en nous toutes les
contrarietes et les obstacles qui soppose a son empire cest 'article
le plus penible car il faut mourir auant destre reuivifies il faut estre
purifies de nos tenebres auant destre penetres de la vrais lumiere
ie vous envoie un petit ymage /7 et vous embrasse dans le p m./8

1 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

2 Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall.

3Monsieur Forbes (or Master of Forbes).

4 " Petit maitre."

5 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 52 : " ne manquez jamais à l'oraison."

6 Ibid., p. 35! : " L'oraison est la nourriture de laame."

7 Ibid., II, p. 327 : " Pourquoi me renvoiez-vous le divin petit maitre." The footnote states " c'etoit l'image de l'enfant Jesus."

8 Ibid., IV, p. 378 : " Je vous embrasse des bras du divin petit maitre."

XXVI. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

[A letter of April 24 is apparently missing.]

LONDON,

May 29th, 1716.

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honour of your Lop's last letter of Apr. 26 in due time ; but delay'd giving an answer to it till now, in hopes that this shall find you safely return'd to Edr. The included wch came to me above a fortnight ago, and wch I'm sure will be very acceptable to you, I have also detain'd in obedience to your Lop's commands, for the same reason. I believe I told your Lop in my last of the 24th past that I had forwarded yours to M.S.M/1 and likewise that I had receiv'd the Bill of L4.

I most heartily wish your Lop all possible Joy and felicity in the young son /2 with whom God has bless'd you, and most fervently unite with your Lop, our yen M./3 and all our other friends in offering him up to our dear L.M./4 humbly beseeching him for the Love he always bears to little ones, to take the child into his holy protection and guidance, to purifie, sanctifie, and renew the Whole Being he has given him, that in due time it may become a Temple of his presence and an habitation of his Peace ! I also wish my good Lady the same Joy in this and all the other children it shall please God to give her, with the encrease of all real Goodness. I rejoyce to hear of her speedy recovery and salute her Lap in the best manner I can, as my wife also does.

As to the difficulty she has about living at C—n,/5 I think it best for your Lop to comply with her at present ; for in a little time it may please the Div. Providence wch disposeth of all things wisely and sweetly either to make the circumstances easier or to reconcile her spirit to them.

Mr. Cun. of Caprington /6 to whom I long since gave the 6 Discours Spirituels /7 for your Lop has stay'd unaccountably beyond my expectation. I call'd several times to see him and still he told me he was going as next week. However, now, I'm assur'd

G. D. HENDERSON

he went the beginning of last week, and I hope will take care to deliver the books safe.

1 Madame Guyon.

2 James, born April 16, 1716 succeeded as 6th E. of Findlater and 3rd of Seafield in 1764.

3 Madame Guyon.

4 " Little Master."

5 " Cullen."

6 One of the three sons of Sir Wm. Cunningham, Bart., of Caprington, an old Scottish house. All three became themselves Baronets : r. Burke, Landed Gentry ; Playfair, British Family Antiquity, VIII, App. pp. ix o ff.

7 V. pp. 109, 114, etc.

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About 3 weeks ago I was taken with a violent pain in my left side, wch after bleeding ended in an aguish Indisposition, wch oblig'd me to go out of Town for a week or ten days ; there I us'd rideing on horseback pretty much wch did me a great deal of good, and tho I am now much better yet believe I must use it still.

I most affectionately salute all our dear Friends with you, particularly Sr. P.M./1 Sr. T.H./2 D.G./3 Will. M./4 and R.K./5 L.D./6 with my Lady came out of the T./7 Friday last the 25th being the first day the Habeas Corpus act took place. Mr. Baillie / 8 was My Ld's bail. I was then out of Town and have not seen them since I came. They have lodg'd at Mr. Andr. Haley's /9 where I call'd yesterday morn, but they were gone some hour before to spend three or four days at Ld Bathurst's /10 house near Windsor. The same day Lds Scaresdale /11 and Powis /12 also came out of the Tower, as did Mr. Ja. Murray /13 out of Newgate.

My humble service to L. K-1./14 If you have heard anything certain of L.P./15 and J.F./16 please to let me know it. Mr. F./17 is still here and very well, but his poor father is still much indispos'd.

I commit you my D. Ld /18 and all yours to the all powerfull grace and holy presence of our dear L.M. and ever remain

Yours in all faithfulness, J.K.

Mystics of the North-East

- 1 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.
- 2 Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall.
- 3 Dr. George Garden.
- 4 William Montgomery : v. p. 1 o8.
- 5 Probably Robert Keith : v. p. 119.
- 6 Lord Dupplin : v. Historical Register, 1716, under date May 19 (p. 224). On June 4 (p. 225) it is stated Lord D. and his bail were discharged from their recognisances.
- 7 The Tower.
- 8 H.R., loc. cit. : George Baillie, Esq., is mentioned amongst those who stood bail for the prisoners released on this occasion : cf. Stuart Papers, I, pp. 129, 260. V. p. 94.
- 9 Not identified.
- 10 Lord Bathurst is mentioned (H.R., loc. cit.) as standing bail on this occasion. He had been raised to the Peerage in 1711 along with Lord Dupplin (Baron Hay) and some others. The family seat was at Battlesden in Bedfordshire.
- 11 H.R., loc. cit., May 19 and June 4 : he had been in the Tower since Oct. 12, 1715 (H.R., 1715).
- 12 Hist. Reg., May 28, 1716 (p. 224).
- 13 H.R., loc. cit., 'the honourable Mr. Murray.'
- 14 Lord Kinnoull, father of Lady Deskford and of Lord Dupplin.
- 15 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, who had been engaged in the Rebellion.
- 16 James Forbes, also engaged in the Rebellion.
- 17 William, Master of Forbes, who had returned home to help to smooth over matters for his younger brother James, and who was now in London with his father Lord Forbes, who died there later in the year.
- 18 " my dear Lord."

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Please to tell Will. M./1 that I writ fully to Mr. Davidson /2 about him. Let D.G./3 see what concerns him in the inclos'd./4

To D.G.

XXVII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

June 131h, 1716.

MY DEAR LORD,

My last to your Lop with one from M.S.M./5 was of the 29th past. Now this comes to convey another from the same hand./6 I send it as I did the former in hopes that both shall meet you safely return'd from the North and that still tho you should not yet be come they will be kept safe.

I shall rejoyce to hear of your Lop's safe return and good health, as also that My Lady whom my spouse and I most humbly salute, and with your two little ones are well. My last had a few lines to our dear D.G./7 whom I always remember with the greatest esteem and affection. The ven. M.S.M. has written one to him /8 of the same date with yours. Munzie /9 will forward it with this under his own cover. I have taken a copy of both and wish you may be able to read them./10

I foresee that in about 10 days hence I shall be oblig'd to go into the Country with my family for their health sake and mine. Tunbridge Wells /11 is the place we have pitch'd upon. Any letter directed to my house will still come to me. But your Letters for M.S.M. or R. may be directed to Munzie (or M.F. whilst here) who has R's direction and will take care to transmit them./12 I shall mention it to him before I go. The letters for them may be seal'd with a wafer.

I hope I shall hear that the 6 Discours Spirituels sent by Mr. Cun. of Caprington are come safe./13 Mr. Homfeld /14 writes that Mr. Wetstein Junr./15

1 William Montgomery : v. p. 108.

2 Probably Alexander Davidson of Newtown in Culsalmond Parish : v. p. 141.

3Dr. George Garden.

4 V. p. 122 (beginning of this letter) : also v. next letter which shows that the enclosed (apparently missing) was a letter from Madame Guyon.

5 Madame Guyon : v. above.

6 This indicates the steady correspondence : v. letter following.

7 Dr. George Garden.

8 Garden in correspondence with Madame Guyon.

Mystics of the North-East

9 Campbell of Monzie.

10 Letters were frequently thus passed round several members of the group.

11 Next to Bath the most popular of health resorts. V. Thackeray, *Virginians*, ch. xxvi.

12 Madame Guyon, Ramsay, Campbell of Monzie, Master of Forbes.

13 V. p. 122.

14 V. p. 117.

15 *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. 46, p. 694, dealing with J. H. Wetstein (v. p. 117), quotes *Chaufepié*, *Dict. Hist.* : " ses deux fils Rodolphe et Gérard continuèrent." Poirer's

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has sent some of 'em to Mr. Stuart /1 his Correspondent at Edbr ; and further that the 2d vol. of Letters /2 was ready to be put to the press, after wch will follow the Hymns with the Emblemes of Voenius and Herm. Hugo./3

My D. Lord I must conclude, and have only time to add that my poor prayers are continually for you. My heart is most intimately united to yours in our dear L.M./4 to whose grace and holy presence I recommend you and remain, always

Your Lop's most obedient servt.

To The Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford.

XXVIII. short letter from the Marquis de Fénelon to Lord
Deskford.

[The letter from Madame Guyon which is referred to in the foregoing is apparently that which appears in the printed *Lettres*, Vol. I, no. 108. What seems to be the original of this is preserved at Cullen House. It is in the handwriting (and indifferent spelling) of Madame Guyon. To it is appended the following short letter from the Marquis de Fénelon to Lord Deskford.

The original letter from Madame Guyon does not give the year but is merely headed " M.L.D., ce 3 Juin." It is thus clearly to Lord Deskford, and from its contents, and from the reference in the Marquis's letter to the new 1717 edition of *Télémaque*, we seem to be tied down to the year 1716, especially when we remember that by June 3 of the next year Madame Guyon was already dead.]

R./5 mon cher milor passez ce terme à ce que sent mon
coeur pour vous m'exhorte à prendre la liberté d'ajouter un mot
de moy à la lettre de N.M./6 Je le fais pour vous dire que je veux
estre bien uni à vous. Je serai heureux si vous le voulez aussi. Ce
que vous escrit N.M. /6 est tellement

Theologiae Pac. itenaque Myst. (1702) bears that it was published at Amsterdam " apud Henricum Wetsteinum ut & Rod. & Gerh. Wetsteinos HFF." In 1735 T. L. Wetstein is found representing the firm (v. his letter in *Remains of John Byrom*, Vol. II, pt. ii, pp. 472-3) . His religious language is very similar to that of Dr. Keith, whom he mentions as friend and correspondent : e.g. " The duty of all Christians . . . is to walk in His presence . . . the surest way and means will be to cast ourselves entirely on the Lord's holy and all-wise Providence . . . when the Son makes us free we be free indeed. Thus let us be patient, waiting its own time. He will do it. He will certainly do it. In this expectation we greet you heartily in the love-embraces of our Lord and master . . . I remain yours in our Lord J. C." He mentions that his family are followers of Madame Bourignon.

1 Stuart evidently preceded William Monro in this capacity : v. p. 169, etc. Probably George Stewart, bookseller in Edinburgh, who sold books printed by Ruddiman, and also R. Keith's first edition of *Thomas à Kempis*. There was also a James Stewart a bookseller in Edinburgh at this time. V. Plomer, Bushnell and Dix, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, (5922 and 1932).

2 V. p. 109, etc.

3 V. p. 117, etc. Otto Vaenius (1558-1629), Dutch painter, older contemporary of Rubens. His *Emblemata Horatiana* were published in 1607.

4 Little Master."

5 Ramsay.

6 Notre mère."

tout pour moy que je serois tanté de croire quelque chose de la ressemblance dont on me flatte. Ce que vous mande N./1 sur la promptitude /2 je vous le montrerois dans les lettres que j'ai d'elle je crois en mêmes termes parce que j'auois, et bien dauantage encore, le même besoin. Je vous fais mon compliment Milor sur la naissance du nouveau fils /3 que le p.m./4 vous a donné. Puisqu'il vient de lui j'espère qu'il sera à lui. Je souhaite que vous ne soiez plus comme St Josef que son père présumé, et que ce soit le p.m./4 qui soit le véritable et que vous aiez la consolation de voir Mme vostre respectable épouse répondre à vos espérances en changeant aussi d'époux./5 Oue direz-vous de ma folie ; mais je vous assure que si je ne sais ce que je dis ce n'est pas merveilles car j'ai pris la plume sans dessein que de vous communiquer l'épanchement de mon coeur auquel je n'ai point de bornes. Ainsi excusez tout en faueur de la simplicité qui j'espère sera nostre union en cette vie, et en l'éternité. J'ai été obligé de quitter N.M./6 par des raisons de nécessité ! Un heureux hazard m'y remmènera dans peu pour quelques jours. Ce ne sera pas sans me perdre avec vous entre ses bras. On va imprimer un nouveau Thelemaque /7 où il se trouera plusieurs choses qui ne sont dans aucune autre édition. R./8 y a fait une préface /9 qui est un chef d'oeuvre de l'esprit, et du coeur, et qui sera un grand ornement pour Thelemaque. Dès qu'il sera imprimé j'aurai l'honneur de vous en enuoier. Permettez moy de manquer à tout, je me sens point de compliment pour vous quoyque je sache tout ce que je vous dois.

XXIX. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD,
with a postscript by Patrick Campbell of Monzie.]

TUNBRIDGE WELLS,

July 15.

My D

By our friend Munzie's /10 care I had the honour of your Lop's most acceptable letter of June 22d about a week after my arrival here and immediately return'd the inclosed for M.S.M. etc./11 to him begging the favour of him to put it into the hands of Mr. F./12 to be forwarded p next post. When

1 Notre mère."

2 Lettres, III, p. 155 ; IV, pp. 102, 107.

3 V. p.122

4 "petit maître"

5 A strange but characteristic utterance.

6 " Notre mère."

7 The reference is to the 1717 edition.

_ Ramsay.

9 Ramsay's Preface was an interesting Discourse on Epic Poetry.

10 Campbell of Monzie.

11 Madame Guyon.

12 Master of Forbes.

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I left London My Ld his father /1 was but in a bad way as to his health, and I han't heard from him since. I left also poor L.T./2 very weak and low, but did not apprehend that her deliverance was so near, for it pleased God to take her to himself and I humbly believe into his eternal Rest, the 6th of this instant about 12 at night. She was certainly a great example of patience under a long train of uncommon sufferings, and of perseverance in Faith and Resignation to the end. Had I knowen any thing of her approaching change I would have return'd to Town to be present at her last minutes, wch I have had no further account off than this that she continued speechless two days.

Mystics of the North-East

I return your Lop my most humble thanks for the kind concern you are pleas'd to express for my health. It is now much better than it has been of late. My wife and children are also here and all pretty well, but when we shall leave this place I can't yet tell.

I was very glad to hear of your Lop's safe return from the North, and of your success whilst in it. 'Tis very unaccountable to me that the 6 Discours Spirills /3 sent by Mr. Cunningham of Caprington /4 were not come to hand. I wish any one would enquire whether he is return'd to Scotia. or what is become of him. But if they are not deliver'd when this comes, I beg your Lop will let me know it, and I shall order six more to be forthwith sent by the carrier. This is what I ought to have done at first, but at a friend's desire I gave the books to that gentleman, and he has exceedingly disappointed me

I give my sincerest Love to dear D.G./5 I never cease to remember him, and do both rejoyce and suffer with him. I shall not fail in a very few days and recommend to Dr. Cheyne /6 what your Lop writes concerning Mr. Blake./7

I most dutifully salute My Lady and pray for all that's good in conformity to the Divine Will to your Lop, to her & the two babes. May the H. Sp. of our L.M./8 dwell in you and abide with you for ever !

I remain as formerly

Your Lop's most obedient humble servt.

MY D. LORD,

I take liberty to add this postscript to the Dr's and tell your Lop,' that I took care of yours which returnd from Tunbridge Wells and sent

1 Lord Forbes died in July, 1716 (v. Services of Heirs). He is described by J. Macky as " zealous for the Revolution . . . a good natured gentleman, very tall and black " (Characters, p. 253).

2 V. p. III.

3 Pp. 109, 122, etc.

4 p.122

G. D. HENDERSON

5 Dr. George Garden.

6 V. Introduction.

7 V. pp. 93, 131, etc.

8 " Holy Spirit of our Little Master."

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it under my cover to A R—y /1 whom I have occasion now and then to write and can take the liberty to make an occasion that is to wryte to him always when your Lop,' has a mind to write to that corner of the world. I'm exceedingly discourag'd and knows not what hand to apply to in behalf of Barnes./2

I'm my Ld.

Your Lops most humble serve. P.C./3

LOND. 17th July, 1716.

To the Right Honble.

My Lord Deskford to the care of

Mr. Thomas Rudiman a underkeeper of the

Advocats Libery,

Edinburgh

XXX. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

OctY. Is!, 1716.

MY DEAR LORD,

I was still at Tunbridge when I had the honour of your Lop's most acceptable letter of Aug. 20th. It was old ere it came to me, and not requiring a speedy answer, I've delayed acknowledging it till now. I rejoiced to hear

1 A. M. Ramsay. Notice that Campbell of Monzie, the writer of this postscript, is in correspondence with Ramsay.

2 James Cunningham of Barns. Campbell has been endeavouring to do something for the rebel laird : v. pp. 116, 134, 139.

3 Patrick Campbell of Monzie.

4 The famous grammarian : v. D.N.B. ; Chambers, Biog. Dice. of Eminent Scotsmen ; G. Chalmers, Life of T. Ruddiman (1794). Born in Banffshire 1674, educated at King's College, Aberdeen, where one of his intimates was Andrew Dunlop, the watchmaker, mentioned in these letters (v. p. 108), after tutoring and schoolmastering, R. began his long connection with Advocates' Library, Edinburgh (now the National Library of Scotland), where he was Assistant Librarian 1702-30 and thereafter Keeper till 1752, when he was succeeded by David Hume, the philosopher. James Ogilvy of Achiries, one of those interested in mystical writings, was tutored by him from 2709. A letter from Lord Deskford to his father, the E. of Findlater, in 1726 says " Mr. Rudiman's new grammar which they use is acknowledg'd to be the best that has been published " (Letter preserved at Cullen House) . This refers to the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, published 1714. Of it Chalmers says : " ` This work will transmit our grammarian's name with celebrity to every age as long as the language of Rome shall continue to be taught in the schools of Scotland." R. engaged extensively in literary work and also took up printing and newspaper publishing. He was a convinced and ardent Jacobite. Dr. Johnson praised him as an " excellent man and eminent scholar." His prudence and industry have also been deservedly commended. He died in 1757. V. pp. 139, 150.

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[“Handwriting of Lord Deskford”, une page]

that Providence has provided a house /1 for your Lop and family, but much more that his Divine Grace has inspir'd you with the holy resolution of employing it and your retirement in it to the best advantage. May it please our dear L.M./2 to fortify and confirm your pious intentions, and to be Himself your Guide and

your Counsellour, your Strength, your Life and your All. May that Holy One whose you are bless you and Yours with the Spirit of Faith and of Pure Love, and guide you in all your ways soberly and preserve you in his power ! He is faithfull and true and will certainly hear our prayer and grant our request. Temptations and tryals of various kinds, as your Lop well knows, must often be expected, and sometimes from occasions and things unforeseen and unprovided for : but nothing of all that must disquiet or disturb us. These are more or less unavoidable in every estate, and indeed

1 Lady Deskford's desire to be out of Cullen House (v. p. 122) was apparently met by establishment at the Castle of Boyne (v. p. 532) or Craig of Boyne as it is also called (pp. 152, 161). For a full account of this interesting old castle V. Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, *Three Banffshire Castles* (reprinted from the Transactions of the Banffshire Field Club, Oct. 1931). In connection with the settlement at Boyne may be noted the following letter from Lord Deskford preserved at Cullen House (recipient's name wanting). It contains some interesting details as to social conditions :

August 2d

I receiv'd your letter with one enclos'd to the taylor concerning my cloaths. In a very short time I now hope to be in the north. By this time I hope Lady Boyne: is out of the hous, and W.L. [William Lorimer, chamberlain to the E. of Findlater; has sent me the measure of the rooms, which is now the only thing I wait for. All our furniture save only stuf for hangings, which will soon be got, will be ready in the midle of next week, and is to go north in George Hay's ship, so that I expect to leave this place on the 1 ;th or 16th, you'll therfor remember to caul G.M. [George Mackie. v. p. 168) dispatch the two horses W.L. was to buy for me, so as to be at Edr against the 54th. He must send some carefull man along with them, who will walk at the side of a Sedan in returning north, for people generally think that a better way of carrying the children than in a Coach, and in that case my wife will ride. It seems ther are horse chairs in Edr, that can hold both the children's woemen, which makes this the easiest as well as the best way of transportation. Let GM. likeways send the work horse for the bagage, if he has found one fit for the purpos. Findlay carrys north a loading coal, which may either be cellar'd in Portsoi, or immediatly carry'd to the Boin. W.L. thinks it most convenient for the tennants to spare their horses now or afterward-. Tell GM. to take all care to prevent any of them being stolen in the livering at fortso: or transportation from it. It is now almost a fortnight since I syrot to my fati.r. I thought to have done it this night, but think it better to delay till Monday when I hop, to hear or my sister's being safely brought to bed. Tell G.M. I have feed his so:: \-4»'--brother Willy improves very well. I continue
Your affectionate friend
Deskfoord."

The reference to Lady Boynd, wife of James Ogilvie of Boyne, points to the Decreet of Removing and Letters of Ejection obtained by Lord Findlater in June-July. 1,-16. For these and other particulars about the family r. A. and H. Tayler, Ogilvies of Boyne.
2 " Little Master."

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as to us necessary for the greatest ends. *Qui non est tentatus quid scit* ? /1 Our Lord most wisely dispenses and overrules our crosses and afflictions as he sees them profitable and convenient for us ; and they who thro patience /2 and resignation come to be bless'd with the Spirit of his Cross are enabled not only to bear, but to rejoyce in them./3

I have had no letter from M.S.M. or A.R./4 these two moneths and more, but I hope they are all well. My last from Holld. dated Aug. 22 wch being sent by a merchant did not come to me till last Friday gives the following acct. of the books we are next to expect—Pour nos impressions on espere que les *Emblèmes* de Hugo & de Voenius /5 pourront être achevés en Octobre : Il y aura outre l'explication en vers franç. de ces Emblemes, que peut être vous avez déjà vû, encore un autre sur Voenius (ce sont les Embl. de l'Amour Divin) faite à la Bas /6—et retrovée depuis peu par hazard chez Md la fille de N.M./7 Les figures sont belles et iront jusqu'à 110. L'esperance que vous nous avez donnée de trouver autant de souscrivains entre les amis d'Angl./8 etc. pour cet ouvrage qu'il y en a eu pour le vieux Test./9 n'a pas peu contribué à en faire entreprendre l'impression : et puisqu. vous avez souhaité d'en savoir le prix pour cet effet, quand il pourroit être déterminé, je n'ai pas voulu differer de vous dire qu'il ira jusqu'a 4 fLor. 15 sts. d'Hollande comme on croit. On a aussi commencé l'impression du 2d volume des Lettres,/10 qui pourra aussi être achevé dans quelques mois, et alors ces 2 Tomes paroîtront en même tems ; et plut être on V joindra encore un troisième.

Now my Lord the number of the *Com. sur le v. Test.* /11 subscrib'd for was one hundred, 42 of wch were sent to Scotland./12 I do not know how many considering the scattered condition of persons and things at present I might reckon upon

for that Country, I mean of the *Emblemes* /13 above mention'd, wch he says will come to about 4 gld 15 st., in Engl. money about 9 sh. Prime cost. Did I know what number could be taken off in Scotld, I would order

1 V. p. 83. Pure Love was one of the chief matters of controversy in connection with the Quietist Movement. It involves disinterestedness in religion. V. Lettres, I, pp. 548, 471, etc. Cf. von Hugel, *Mystical Element of Religion*, II, pp. 152-181. M.N.E., pp. 133, 162.

2 V. p. 161 n.

3 Madame Guvon, *Short Method* (Eng. Trans.), p. 22 : " A heart which has learnt to love the Cross, finds sweetness, joy and pleasure even in the bitterest things " ; Lettres, IV, p. 88 : " l'esprit du Christianisme est un esprit d'abnégation, de croix, et de mort."

4 Madame Guyon or Andrew Ramsay.

5 V. pp. 117, 225, etc.

6 Bastille, where Madame Guvon was imprisoned.

7 Duchesse de Sully ; Chérel, André Michel Ramsay, p. 42 and note, p. 106 and note.

8 " Friends in England."

9 Madame Guyon's *Commentaires* : v. pp. 75, etc.

10 V. p. 109.

11 V. p. 79.

12 " These numbers are interesting as indicating roughly the size of the group interested in this kind of literature. V. pp. 134, 178, 188, etc.

13 V. pp. 117, 125, etc.

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them to be sent straight from Holland to Leith wch would save both trouble and charge. I think to get Mr. Camp. of Munz./1 to write to Mr. Falconer /2 about it.

I communicated to Dr. Cheyne /3 what your Lop wrote concerning Mr. Blake,/4 and have receiv'd this answer from him. " Mr. Blake is a dying much in debt, having for sometime been impair'd in his faculties by a palsy. I told him some part of what you wrote ; he seem'd thankful, but suggested as if it had been promised him before. His funeral (if it happen) cannot be taken care of but in expectation of my Ld. D.'s /5 charity. I confess I have promis'd to assist Mr. — the Scotch mercht (to whom he owes the most, if he take care of him in a sober manner and see him decently buried) with my Lord, as far as he intended otherwise." This is all the Dr. says of it and gives his best wishes

to your Lop. I have not yet mention'd the L 9 to him for the watch,/6 but shall do it in a few days. However, I think your Lop may take your own time and way of remitting it, since he writes it will be late in ye year before he comes to Town./7

I should be glad to hear that the 6 Disc. Spirituels /8 are come to hand. Greater care must be taken for the future.

Our friends here are all well and salute your Lop most affectionatly, L.P./9 in particular who was with me last night, also Munzie/10 Mr.Hayes /11 and R. Cun./12 D.G./13 is said to be in Holld. but I have no certain acct. of it yet. How does Dr. Ja./14 do and Dr. Midl. who they say is turn'd out./15 I pray God to comfort and support them and all others in distress.

1 Campbell of Monzie.

2 V. p. 118.

3 V. Introduction.

4 V. pp. 93, 127.

5 Lord Deskford.

6 V. p. 108.

7 From Bath.

8 V. pp. 122, 124, etc.

9 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, still in London at considerable risk. James Forbes, writing from Rotterdam to the Earl of Mar Oct. 5, 1716, says : " I left Lady P. in health, but my Lord is in London and is I hear not very safe " (Stuart Papers, III, p. 23).

10 Campbell of Monzie.

11 Not identified. May be for " Hay " as in Aberdeen Sasines, Oct. 1693, and elsewhere.

12 R. Cunningham, V. pp. 99, 105.

13 Dr. George Garden was in fact in Holland by this time. James Forbes in the letter quoted above says, " I have been obliged to come over here and Dr. Garden who was in prison is come over with me." V. pp. 139, etc. The pair seem to have enrolled as students at the Univ. of Leyden : v. article by present writer in " S. N. and Q.," Sept., 1932.

14 Professor James Garden : v. Introduction : also pp. 78 ff.

15 Principal George Middleton, King's College, Aberdeen, cousin of the Gardens, contrived to retain his position at the Revolution in spite of his Episcopacy and later in spite of charges of Bourignonism, and now despite his Jacobitism. He was not deprived until June, 1717 (Orem, Description of O. Aberdeen (1791 ed.), p. 180). Orem calls him (p. 156) " a great humanist and philosopher, a sound divine, and of a circumspect life and conversation." V. also Introduction.

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I shall direct this for Mr. Abercromby /1 as you order'd me ;
if your Lop shall think on any other way let me know it.

I give my most humble service to my Lady. My best wishes
continually

attend her with your Lop and dear little ones, and am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lops most obedient

& humble servt.

Your Lop will no doubt see Ld. F./2 who I'm told arriv'd
safely some weeks ago at Edr. I salute him in the tenderest and
best manner. Mr. Pt./3 also salutes him and has sent him his new
Edition of La vie de Greg. Lopez./4

When he calls any time at Abd./5 Mrs. Ped./6 may perhaps
help him to the Life of M.S.M./7

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford at Boin.W.

1 Mentioned frequently hereafter, chiefly as franking letters, as Campbell of Monzie had hitherto done. Capt. Alexander Abercromby of Glassaugh, M.P. for Banffshire, had been a member of the Scottish Parliament before the Union. In the Portland MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.) there are several letters regarding A.A. which shed light upon the political methods of the day. One from the E. of Seafield to the E. of Oxford recommends A.A. who " is very willing to attend the Queen's service in Parliament and observe your lordships directions in everything," and begs something to be given him for all his services in the past, for " he must return home unless your lordship do something for him " (Vol. X. pp. 192 f., y. also pp. 211, 309). Another letter of Oct. 1713 puts him at the service of the E. of Oxford (Vol. X, p. 305) and one in April, 1714, says " my straits at home and here being far greater than I am willing to express and almost irrecoverable." A few months later he is still begging and declares he will have to sail next week for Scotland if something does not turn up. An attempt had been made to have him presented with a property which had fallen into the hands of the Crown : v. Port. MSS., V, P. 351 ; X, pp. 461 f., 484 f. Writing in August, 1716, the E. of Mar calls A.A. " a creature of Seafield's." For the family v. C. D. Abercromby, Family of Abercromby (1927).

2 Lord Forbes, hitherto in these letters M.F. (Master of Forbes) , succeeded to the title in July, 1716.

Mystics of the North-East

3 Pierre Poiret : V. Introduction.

4 Poiret's edition appeared in 1717. A copy of it is in the Library of Cullen House, where there is also another French .edition of 1644. Madame Guyon expresses her admiration for this Life : v. Lettres, IV, p. 477 : Cf. Lettres, II, p. 247 note ; Disc., II, P. 396 note. V. further note, M.N.E. p. 134. We hear of the Earl of Perth recommending the Life to Sir R. Sibbald in 1685 (Nett, memoirs of Sir R. Sibbald, p. 88) . The Quietist Molinos (Spiritual Guide, p. 154) refers to "that profound and great mystick, the venerable Gregory Lopez, whose whole life was a continual prayer and a continued act of contemplation and of so pure and spiritual love of God that it never gave way to affections and sensible sentiments."

5 Aberdeen.

6 Mrs. Pedder was Dr. George Garden's sister, Susanna, who married John Pedder, writer, Old Aberdeen, in 1697 (Old Machar Marriage Register) and died in 1728 (Munro,

[See next page for notes 7 and 8.

G. D. HENDERSON

XXXI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

Decr. 13th, 1716.

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honour of your Lop's most agreeable letter of Novr. the 4th but not till full 3 weeks after the date, and forwarded the inclosed by the first opportunity. I delay'd writing till now in expectation of another from A.R./1 wch accordingly I recd. last night. He salutes your Lop most affectionatly, and tells me that our ven. M.S.M./2 God be thanked is recoverd of her last illness,/3 wch by his account was very grievous. He was to set out next morning to see her and would carry the letters with him.

They certainly remember us all this evening, being the Eve of our blessed L.M.'s /4 Nativity, as I do them and you with all our dear friends whersoever dispersed, desiring in Union with them and with all the children of our dear Lord to adore and laud and magnify his infinite Love to mankind, and humbly praying him to empty /5 and prepare our hearts for receiving and entertaining /6 him for ever. May it please him powerfully to shed forth the Spirit of Faith and pure Love into our hearts wch may render him continually present with us, and according to his holy will unite us essentially /7 with him for ever. I am very sensible of the many entanglements wch your present situation will, especially at first, unavoidably engage you in ; but while you are in the way of your duty nothing of all that must trouble you. A quiet and recollected S mind will in a little time overcome all. Laisser tomber &

[*Continuation of notes.*

Records of Old Aberdeen, II, p. 174). She is mentioned in her brother's will (Commissariot of Aberdeen, Feb. 16, 1733). V. also Reg. of Partic. Sasines, Aber., Aug. 7, 1713.

7 Madame Guyon. This must refer to the manuscript of the Life by Herself.² Note that many of the letters are thus addressed to Lord Deskford through Lady Deskford.

8 Note also the first mention that the Castle of Boyne is now their home : v. pp. 122, 129. A. and H. Tayler (Ogilvies of Boyne, p. 72) were in doubt as to whether

Lord Deskford and his family ever occupied the house, but these letters make it clear that they did.

1 A. M. Ramsay.

2 Madame Guyon.

3 V. p. 136.

4 " Little Master " : v. p. "5.

5 Cf. Short Method of Prayer (Eng. Trans. 1875), Ch. xv : " How can we be filled with God ? Only by being emptied of self " ; cf. Lettres, III, p. 137. V. also Olier in Bremond, op. cit., III, p. 479 : Meister Eckhart, Sermons (C. Field), p. 48 : A. Baker, Holy Wisdom, 496

6 V.. pp. 76, I 16.

7 " l'union essentielle " : Lettres, IV, p. 304.

8 Cf. Short Method of Prayer, p. 29. E. Underhill says Recollection is " the first drawing inwards of attention from the world of sense " (Ruysbroeck, p. 147). Again " Recollection begins in meditation and develops into the Orison of Inward Silence, which again melts into the true Quiet " (E. Underhill, Mysticism, 3rd edit., p. 370).

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outré passer /1 are usefull Rules in all inward and outward disturbances, and he that believes will not make hast.

Last night I had also a bill of lading from Holland with advice of the baill of books being shipt off at Amsterdam for us. It contains 60 of the Emblemes Spir./2 and 50 of the Lettres Spir./3 en 2 voll. with Gr. Lopez's Life a new Edit./4 20. This last is on Mr. Hen. Wetstein's /5 account. When they are all come and the charge of fraught and customs knowen, then we shall be able to fix the price and not before : but as for your Lop's share at present I believe the money you design to remit will be enough for all. There will be also a 3d and 4th vol. of Letters /6 publish'd more, besides several other things, as providence shall be pleas'd to favour them. They hope that in time our friends here and in Scotld. will take off the remaining 40 of the Enablemes to make up the ioo proposed./7

D.G./8 and J.F./9 are very well. The first has writ me two or three times an account of his business with Tr—p,/10 to whom I have also written expostulating with him about it. But I am hopefull (by Mr. Falc-r's /11 Letter to Munzie /12) the matter is or quickly will be accommodated. I long much to hear from Id. F./13 how he does, and when he thinks of coming hither.

I embrace him in the most affectionat manner. Munzie /12 (who salutes him with your Lop most kindly) thinks his Lop has the ABp of C's /14 papers sur L'Hierarchie /15 wch I had lent to him ; if My Ld has them not I doubt they are lost.

Dr. Ch./16 who also gives his most humble service to your Lop tells me that poor Mr. Blake /17 died last October very much in debt. The principal creditor is a Scotch merchant at Bristol (whose name he could not remember) to whom he owed 3o lb, who also at the Dr's desire was at the charge of burying him. He owed likewise in small sums about 12 or 15 lb more. The Dr. will if your Lop desire it get a particular and exact account of the whole. B—ns /18

1 V. pp. 93, 100.

2 V. pp. 117, etc.

3 V. pp. 109, 130, etc.

4 Gregorio Lopez ; v. p. 132 ; Spanish hermit in West Indies and Mexico (d. 1596) : V. Hauck-Herzog, *Real Encyclopaedia*, XIII, p. 263 : E. A. Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. II (1930), p. 36o : Baker, *Holy Wisdom*, p. 36r.

5 V. p. 117.

6 V. above.

7 V. p. 13o.

8 Dr. Garden.

9 James Forbes.

10 Garden of Troup in Banffshire. Alexander Garden, Elder, of Troup, a staunch Hannoverian, a Deputy Lieutenant of the County, founder of Gardenstown, 172o, father of Alexander, Younger, of Troup (Civilist at King's College 1717-24), and of Francis, afterwards the celebrated judge, Lord Gardenstown.

11 V. p. 118.

12 Campbell of Monzie.

13 Lord Forbes.

14 Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai.

15 Fénelon has no published work with this title, but it may refer to his *Lettres sur l'Eglise* (Oeuvres, IS61, I), where there is an explicit use of the word " l'hierarchie."

16 Dr. Cheyne

17 V. pp. 93, 127, 131.

18 V. pp. 116, 128, 139 : the Jacobite prisoners at Chester seem to have suffered very severely : v. Capt. Stratton's letter (Stuart Papers, II, p. 9, Feb. 28 (Mar. ro), 1716)

was extremely ill of a fever about 6 weeks ago, and when he was but beginning to recover fell back again by catching a great cold wch brought him so low that as his sister writ two posts ago, they look'd for his death every day. Their sufferings of all kinds have been very great. God grant them all Grace to make the right use of 'em. L.O./1 is still where he was, very patient and chearfull. 'Tis not known what they intend to do, nor do they know themselves. L.P./2 intends to go for Holl. in a few days, and is most heartily yours. I thank your Lop for the acct you're pleas'd to give me of Mr. Fr. Ross's /3 welfare. I'm sorry that I nor any of our friends know of nothing at present for Mr. P. Cook's /4 purpose here, and therefor I would not advise him to come at an uncertainty. But I will be sure to think of him. My wife joyns with me in most humble services to My Lady. Our best wishes ever attend you and your dear children and I am always

Your Lop's etc.

I suppose your Lop has recd. mine of Oct. 30 with the enclosd from M.S.M./1 Everyone was surpriz'd yesterday to hear that by an express from Han-ver (wch came in the night before) Ld. Townsend is turn'd out /6 and to be succeeded by Mr. Stanhop who is to be made a Peer,/7 Mr. Methuen /8 continuing the other Secretary. Duke of Roxburgh is made Secretary for Scotld,

and the letter of the " Duke " of Mar (*ibid.*, p. 57). The former says the prisoners " are in a most miserable condition, being crowded like beasts in a fold, having a raging fever amongst them, and daily dying with ill usage and want of necessaries, and little or no distinction made betwixt the best gentlemen and the meanest sort." V. also Stuart Papers, II, pp. 232-3 ; Tindal, *op. cit.*, p. J42.

1 Oxford still in the Tower.

2 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo not yet fled the country : v. p. 139.

3 Francis Ross was brother-in-law to Dr. James Keith : v. Introduction : also F.E.S. (new edit.), III, p. 186. He was a younger brother of Hugh, laird of Tulliesnacht in the parish of Birse. He studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen (Records, II, p. 238), and became minister at Renfrew, whence he was ejected at the Revolution. Latterly he acted as an episcopal " intruder " at Dunnottar and his name occurs in the Presbytery Records of Fordoun as late as Oct. 8, 1716. His son is mentioned PP. 175, 179.

4 Not identified : v. next letter. Lord Forbes of Pitsligo had as chaplain Mr. J. Cook, in whose handwriting are several of the transcriptions of mystical works in Scottish Episcopal College Library, Edinburgh : e.g. Q. 46.

5 " Ma sainte mère " : the letters mentioned do not seem to be extant.

6 For these changes v. Mahon, History of England, I, pp. 368 ff. On p. 377 Mahon says " The news of Lord Townshend's removal was received in London with almost universal disapprobation. No clear and definite cause being then assigned for that measure, and its advisers being absent from England, a large field was left open to conjecture, exaggeration and mistrust : cf. Brereton's letter, quoted pp. 377-8.

7 James Stanhope was raised to the peerage in July, 1717 Hist. Reg., Chron. Reg. p. 29.

8 Paul Methuen had become a Secretary of State in June, 1716, but did not continue in office as here suggested : Hist. Reg. 1716, p. 35o ; 1717, Chr. Reg., p. 17.

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D. of Montrose /1 to have the Seal, and Polwart /2 to succeed him. 'Tis believ'd that Mr. Walp./3 will also be out, and that this is a prelude to more alterations of that sort, but especially that the D. of Arg./4 is in greater disgrace and will be obliged to retire. This is but changing a coat or a pair of gloves./5 The body is the same still.

To The Right Honble. The Lady Deskford at Boyn.

XXXII. [FROM A. M. RAMSAY TO LORD DESKFORD.]

A Mylord

MON CHER MYLORD

J'ay reçu avec un plaisir indicible votre très aimable lettre du 3^{me} Novre avec celle qui étoit pour NM./8 Je vous rend mille & mille grâces de la bonté que vous avez eu pour moy. Je ne saurois comment la reconnoitre suffisamment. J'en ay tous les sentimens qu'elle mérite, & je ne souhaite qu'une occasion de m'acquitter envers vous.

J'ay envoyé votre lettre à NM /8 qui est si malade qu'elle n'a pas pû y répondre quoiqu'elle ait fait son possible de le faire. Mr le Marquis de F./9 qui est auprès d'elle présentement me mande qu'elle avoit commencé à luy dicter une lettre pour vous mais qu'elle n'a pas eu la force de l'achever après une longue suite de maladies, de fièvres, des insomnies, de dégoûts, de douleurs extrêmes, de maux d'estomac. Elle est enfin si épuisée que

1 V. Hist. Reg. 1716, p. 552. The Duke of Montrose had been Secretary for Scotland since the dismissal of the Earl of Mar after the accession of George I. He now became Keeper of the Great Seal and Roxburgh took his place. V. Mathieson, *Scotland and the Union*, p. 321.

2 V. Hist. Reg. 1716, p. 552.

3 Walpole did in fact resign with his chief in spite of the King's endeavour to retain him in office at the Treasury. He returned to the Government in 1720 and to his former posts in April, 1721, remaining thereafter in power till 1742. V. J. Morley, *Walpole*, pp. 52ff.

4 V. Mahon, *op. cit.*, pp. 364 ff. Argyll after his part in the suppression of the Rebellion lost favour at Court. Already in the summer of 1716 he and his brother had been removed from some of their offices (Hist. Reg. 1716, p. 354). Now the breach became more definite and until 1719 Argyll is found in the Opposition party which centred round the Prince of Wales. Thereafter he and his brother returned to power in Scotland. V. J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, VIII, pp. 345 ff.

5 Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., Portland MISS., VII (Stratford Letters), p. 295 : " I hear of a saying fathered on Lord Oxford that the removing S(underland) to take in W(alpole) would be like a man's putting off one dirty shirt to put on another dirty shirt."

6 V. p. 133 n.

7 Deskford.

8 " Notre mère."

9 Marquis de Fénelon : v. Introduction.

ce cher Marquis craint pour sa vie. J'en ay quelque appréhension moy-même. Si Dieu la retire je vous le manderay sur-le-champs, si elle se rétablit mon silence sera une marque de sa convalescence. Comptez là-dessus. Vous voyez qu'il n'est pas possible que Mr Cook /1 songe à venir icy. Cela est impraticable en tout sens car outre que nous craignons chaque jour sa mort elle n'a que le simple nécessaire & ne pourroit pas avoir ouvertement dans sa maison une personne qui n'est pas de la Religion Romaine. Je vous prie de sa part que ce bon Monsieur n'y songe pas.

Le cher Marquis /2 me charge de vous assurer de son tendre attachement. Soyons unis dans la présence divine. Les esprits ne sont pas assujettis aux lieux /3 & aux temps comme les corps. Voilà ce qui fait la communion des saints. Participons-y selon notre état. Permettez moy de vous embrasser avec un tendre respect, & de vous renouveler au commencement de l'année les assurances de mon fidelle attachement & parfait dévouement. Tendrement Tout à vous. R—y.4

ce premier de l'an 1717.

XXXIII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD
DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

Janry 3d, 1714.

MY DEAR LORD,

I rejoiced to hear by your last of Decr. the gth that your Lop. and My Lady are well, and take this opportunity to wish you both with your dear Children a joyfull and happy New Year ; and in order to it, the Blessed Sp. of L.M./5 to live and reign in you. May this Divine Spirit the only earnest and gift of the New Year of his eternal Kingdom wch we groan after, be plentifully shed forth upon all sincere hearts ; and may everyone be faithfull in attending to it and co-operating with it according to his measure !

The bail of books is now come from Holland and was but yesterday brought from the custom-house. I have not yet seen it open'd but by my letter of advice it contains 60 of the book of *Emblemes*,/6 50 of the two voll. of Letters 7 and 20 of the Life of Gr. Lopez, d'Andilly's /8 translation. The price of each shall be here subjoyn'd. It is hop'd that our friends in Scotland will agree to take a certain number of each, some for the South and some for

1 V. p. 135.

2 Marquis de Fénelon : t'. Introduction.

3 V. p. 113.

4 A. M. Ramsay.

5 " Spirit of Little Master."

6 V. pp. 117, 134.

7 V. pp. 109, 130, 134, etc.

8 V. pp. 132, 134 : Arnauld d'Andilly made one of the translations of the Spanish life of G. Lopez by Francisco de Losa in 1674: *La Vie de bien heureux G. Lopez*. Another edition appeared 1675. Poiret now issued still another, 1717.

the North. I will get Munzie /1 to write to one at Edr. about it, and when I know what number will do I will get Mr. Homfeld /2 to order them to be sent directly to Leith. In the mean time your Lop. shall have what number you please of those that are here sent streight to you, but how to transmit /3 them is the difficulty. I should think the Newcastle carrier the safest to Edbr. but to whom to direct them there and how to forward them from thence ; or whether any other way be better I must wait to be determin'd by your Lop. 'Tis strange I can never hear whether Mr. Cun. of Caprington did ever deliver those 6 Discours Spir./4 He has been long at Edbr. or at his father's house and might be ask'd about them. Mr. Homfeld /5 also recommended to me to enquire whether our friends do not want some of those Discours Spirituels. If they do, they may be sent with the others above-mentioned. As for remitting the money yr Lop may take your own time. I do not think I shall be able to return to Holld what is due for this bail before Candlemas or it may be the middle of Febry. and if your share does not come by then I shall advance it.

My Last of the 13th of Decr. gave your Lop an acct of Mr. Blake's /6 death and of the state of his affairs as I had it from Dr. Ch./7 It mention'd also the late sudden change at Court. Several Letters were written both then and since by others of the DI—ry/8 to K.G./9 representing the danger of such proceedings, but no notice at all had been taken of 'em.

I took an opportunity fully to represent the Case of those two or three Gentlemen to M—ie /10 as you put it and to ask his advice. He gives his most humble service to your Lop and prays you to believe that he would with all his heart do them or any of your friends all the service that lies in his power ; but that there's nothing to be done in the way they propose. They may possibly hear of some who will be very forward to undertake their business, but depend upon it 'tis only to trick them out of their money and do nothing for it. There have been many instances of this kind here. It had been much to be wish'd that they had kept themselves private and hid as they were. But now the only thing they have to do is to be quiet and say nothing. 'Tis the universal opinion of all here that upon the meeting of the Parlt. a general

method will be taken with all, and an Act of Indemnity /11 agreed to, not excepting even them beyond the Seas, they coming in by a certain time to be therein limited. The thing 'tis believed will be done, but the particular clauses must be left to time.

1 Campbell of Monzie

2 V. below.

3 v.introduction

4 V. pp. 122, 124 etc.

5 V. pp. 117, 124, etc.

6 V. p.134

7 Dr. Cheyne.

8 Ministry

9 King George I.

10 Campbell of Monzie. Much effort was put forth for individual Jacobites, and here we have an example. Cf. Stuart Papers, VII.

11 V. p. 144.

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L. P./1 went from here Decr. 23d. for Holld. I pray God to preserve him and long to hear of his safe arrival. D.G./2 and J.F./3 are well. Poor Mr Cun./4 of Barnes died lately at Chester.

D. Ch./5 and all our other friends kindly salute your Lop. and I am ever with all possible respect

Your Lop's etc.

The inclos'd came but just now to my hands.

6 Emblemes No. hio at 9 sh. 2 lb. 14 sh.

6 Lettres Spirilles en 2 voll at 3 6d i—i

1 Vie de Greg Lopez gratis.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford 6 at Boyne.

XXXIV. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

No year is given, but the Gillenberg incident mentioned fixes it as 1717.]

Febry 5th.

I had the honour of My Dear Lord's letter of Janry 3rd, and heartily rejoiced to find that amidst your various entanglements and avocations the tendency of your heart is always directed to our blessed L.M. He is indeed infinite Love and Goodness. Let us for ever trust in him, and He will be our strength and our all./7

My last to your Lop /8 was dated the same day with yours. There was one in it from R./9 Since then I have not heard anything of M.S.M.'s /10 health, wch by his account was in a very low condition.

I have sent a bundle of books to your Lop directed to Mr. Ruddiman /11 at Edr. It contains 6 of the *Emblemes de l'amour divin.*, 6 of the *Lettres Spirituelles en 2 voll.* and 1 of *La Vie de Greg. Lopez.*/12 The price I sent in my last, viz. each of the *Emblemes* at 9 sh. and of the *Letters* at 3 sh. 6d. Munzie /13 who gives his humble service to your Lop has been so kind as to recommend them to the care of a friend of his, who has put them on board a ship with his own things bound for Leith. Your Lop may write to Mr. Ruddiman to transmit them to you as you shall be pleas'd to direct.

I communicated to Dr. Ch.5 your Lop's intention to remit some money for paying Mr. Blake's creditors./14 The Dr. gives his most humble service to your Lop, highly commends your design and bids me tell you that what

1 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo.

2 Dr. George Garden, in exile at Leyden.

3 James Forbes, likewise in exile.

4 V. pp. 116, 128, 134.

5 Dr. Cheyne.

6 V. p. 133 R.

7 Cf. p. 107.

8 V. letter no. xxxii.

9 A. M. Ramsay.

10 Madame Guyon.

11 V, p. 128.

12 For these books v. p. 534.

13 Campbell of Monzie.

14 V, p. 133.

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1 Campbell of Monzie. ' V. pp. 122, 124, etc. ~ V. p. 134.

your Lop mentions will be sufficient. He and I joyn in humble services and respects to dear L.F./1 and shall be very glad to see him here. L.P./2 and our other friends with him are we hear in very good health. I don't yet hear that your neighbour T—p /3 has done what we expected of him. I believe him to be a friendly honest man. Your Lop may take an opportunity to talk with him. Please to tell him that I rec'd his letter in due time, but did not think it fit to urge the matter any further in answer to it. I was glad to hear that Ld. Had./4 is well and am very much his humble servt.

We are here mightily alarm'd with the noise of a new plot lately discover'd agt the Government. The Swedish Envoy Mr. Gillenberg /5 was put under an arrest last week and all his papers seiz'd, and a strong guard kept upon him ever since. We are told that he is charg'd with carrying on a treasonable correspondence in order to favour an invasion from Sweden. Some few others are also taken into custody. What is in it a little time will shew. But 'tis lamentable that Mankind will not be quiet, but rush forward to their mutual destruction. Nothing of all this happens by chance. The Divine providence will overrule all to the advancement of his great and good ends. Let us chearfully- submit to it in everything. Christendom seems to be universally convulsed at this time, and hastening to some great crisis. Men's minds are disturb'd and at war even amidst an outward peace, and this certainly cannot last long whilst there is no real peace within. But our God is long suffering and patient towards his poor creatures ; tho' his arm is stretched forth to smite yet he mercifully suspends the blow till the measure of their iniquities is quite full. Lord have mercy upon us.

This moment I have rec'd the inclosed /6 wch I'm sure will be very acceptable. There's one also to L.F./7 wch I am to keep

G. D. HENDERSON

till he comes. My sincere respects and humble services with my wife's attend My Dear Lady and the little ones. Ours have all been ill and are recovered thanks be to God.

I hear that L.D./8 and his are all well, but don't hear whether he is to come to Town or not. They talk loudly of bringing on L.O's /9 tryal next sess. In hast I remain always Your Lop's in L.M./10

To The Right Honble. The Lady Deskford /11
at Boyne near Bamf.

1 Lord Forbes, formerly Master of Forbes (M.F.).

2 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo (in Holland).

3 Garden of Troup : u. pp. 134. 179 n.

4 Lord Haddo : v. pp. 75, 104.

5 For the Swedish incident v. J. F. Chance, *George I and the Northern War* (1909), pp. 180 ff. ; *Hist. Register, 1717*, pp. 66 ff. ; *Calame, Hist. -lcc. of nay own Life, II*, p. 365. The Cullen Session Records show that a Fast was observed there in April, 1717, on account of the Swedish danger.

6 Awanting.

7 Lord Forbes. S

8 Lord Dupplin.

9 Earl of Oxford : y. p. 145.

10 "Little Master."

11 V. p. 133 n.

XXXV. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD,
with copy of letter from Madame Guyon to Dr. James
Keith.]

LONDON,

Apr. 13, 1717.

I had the honour of My Dear Lord's Letter of March 24th with the Bill on Mr. Abercromby, /1 who accepted it the Loth instant. Mr. C. of Munzie /2 did me the favour to carry it to him, for I was not able to go myself, having been confin'd to the house about a fortnight by a sharp intermitting fever ; but it is now over for this time and I am pretty well. It has pleas'd our dear Lord and L.M./3 to visit my Family with much sickness almost ever since Xtmass and especially with the small pox of the worst kind, by means of wch he took to himself my two eldest sons John and James, the one 8, and the other 3 1/2 years old./4 They were his, having been solemnly dedicated to him ; He therefor had the sole right to dispose of 'em as it seemed good to him. I most humble adore and acquiesce in his holy will in all things. If I have so much time I shall add what our dear M.S.M./5 upon the occasion of the first's death. After that I wrote again but have had no answer yet.

Dr. Ch./6 went for the Bath the 4th. When I have seen 11r. Abercromby /7 and heard what he says as to the other summ then I will write to the Dr. But in his absence I shall pay for the watch,/8 as soon as the first money comes to my hands.

I am in great concern to hear from dear Ld. Forbes, for I have recd. several letters from the Bar. of Metternick,/9 A.R./10 etc. for him, all wch suppose him to be here ; and therefor I would not forward them, having been in daily expectation of his arrival. Pray if he is yet in your neighbourhood please to let him know this with my most humble service and tender respects.

The two little Histories /11 wch your Lop mentions were sent by Mr. Al. Davidson's /12 order to Geo. Keith,/13 writer at Abd. 'Tis I believe three years

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1 V. p. 132.

2 Campbell of Monzie who at this point almost disappears from the correspondence. In Sept. 1717 he was appointed Commissioner of the Equivalent and seems to have settled in Scotland. Thus he was not available as a safe means of communication.

3 " Little Master."

4 V. Introduction.

5 Madame Guyon : letter follows.

6 Dr. Cheyne.

7 V. p. 132.

8 V. p. 144, also p. 108. Keith medium.

9 V. p. 102.

10 A. M. Ramsay.

11 The reference is obscure.

12 V. p. 124 : Alexander Davidson of Newtoun in the parish of Culsalmond, a Jacobite, and one of the leaders of the Jacobite cause in the cite of Aberdeen in 1715. He was the great-great-grandfather of the poet Byron. V. A. and H. Tayler, Cess Roll of Aberdeenshire, 1715 (Third Spalding Club), pp. 77, 184, 183 : J. M. Bulloch, House of Gordon, I, pp. 272 ff. ; J. A. Henderson, Society of Advocates of Aberdeen, p. 144.

13 George Keith, Junior, proprietor of Tillyfour, treasurer of Socy. of Advocates in Aberdeen ; v. J. A. Henderson, op. cit., p. 236.

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since they were left for him. I'm sorry your Lop should have ye trouble of 'em.

My humble duty and wife's attends my Dear Lady and all yours. I never cease to remember your Lop before our divine L.M./1 who I'm confident will be your strength and your all,/2 and will bless you with the Sp. of Faith and Resignation wch will guide you thro all your tryals and difficulties and bring you into his essential and eternal Rest. Whilst we are in the world we must expect to partake in the common calamities of countries and kingdoms, some one way and some another ; but all under the all-wise conduct and providence of our Divine L.M./1 who if we faithfully adhere to him, will preserve us from the evil of the world and from being hurt by the Spirit that reigns in it. He will hide us in the Secret of his presence from the pride of man.

Our Lot is fain indeed in perillous times, in wch nothing is to be seen or heard from every quarter but trouble, confusion, distress. But the Lord reigneth and will make all turn to good in

the end. Your Lop I suppose has the publick Newspapers /3 once a week, and they will inform you of the late changes here, as also of some of the footsteps of providence in other parts.

I most heartily commit your Lop and all yours to the Grace and holy protection of the Almighty and remain in the most tender and affectionat manner

Your Lop's in L.M./1

The freiends here most humbly salute your Lop. and I shall not fail to recommend to M.S.M./4

ce 19 Mars./5

M.K./6 Je m'interesse beaucoup à votre affliction sur la Mort de votre fils aîné ; mais je vous diray ma pensée ; c'est que Dieu l'a enlevé du monde de peur qu'il ne se corrompt, parce qu'il l'a aimé & qu'il vous aime. Il y a peu de fond à faire sur la pieté des enfans. J'avois mon cadet qui a marqué des sentimens pour Dieu bien au dessus de son age jusqu'à faire par sa foy des choses qui ne paroisoient pas naturelles, cependant come il étoit très beau il n'a pas été plutot dans le Monde que les ferres l'ont corrompu. J'avois une petite fille dont la pieté étoit très edifiante & sa beauté charmante. J'ay remercié Dieu qui l'avoit enlevé du monde avant qu'elle pût aimer le monde. Ainsi croyez moy le maitre qui connoit l'avenir

1 " Little Master."

2 V. pp. 107, etc.: a favourite phrase.

3 V. Chalmers, *Life of T. Ruddiman* (1794), Appendix 6, especially, pp. 432-4.

4 Madame Guyon.

5 Here follows a copy of Madame Guyon's letter of sympathy and consolation. Text according to Keith.

6 Dr. James Keith.

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fait tout pour le mieux ; et ce que nous croyons des pertes sont des grands gains.

J'assure Md. votre epouse que je l'estime et luy souhaite en J. Ch./1 le veritable bien. Je ne puis neanmoins avoit peine de la mort de Mr. son fils connoissant le P.M./2 comme je le connois.

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Je vous assure que lorsqu'a trouvé le secret d'être un en Dieu on est aussi present de loin que de près./3 Ma santé est mauvaise : c'est une fièvre et un degout depuis un an. Je sens que la Nature s'use et defaille. Je prie Dieu qu'il soit votre consolation et à Md. v. Ep./4 Vouz serez ravis de retrouver ce cher fils un jour dans le sein de Dieu./5

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at his House at Boin near Bamff.

XXXVI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD
DESKFORD.]

June 11th, 1717.

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honour of yours of May 9th and in a few days after forwarded the inclos'd to the Ven. M.S.M. /6 who by all our accounts at that time was again become extremely ill. Her sickness, wch was a fever—attended with a swelling and inflammation in her stomach with constant vomitings and difficulty of swallowing, encreas'd till the 9th of June N.S. our May 29th about 12 at night, when it pleas'd God to deliver her out of prison and to take her into his Eternal Rest./7 Blessed and adored be his holy will in all things. Let us be continually united with her in the heart of our divine L.M./8 who will not leave us orphans. A.R. and D.G./9 with the other two friends were then there, and were to set out immediatly for P./10 and the three last from thence for Holl. I have lately read over her Life,/11 wch is indeed in all respects most singular, and extraordinary, nor do I believe that since the days /12 of the Apostles there was ever any thing written like

1 Jesus Christ.

2 " Petit maitre."

3 Cf. p. 113.

4 " Madame votre épouse."

5 Lettres, I, p. 400: " dans le sein de Dieu."

6 Madame Guyon.

7 V. following letters.

8 " Little Master."

9 Ramsay and Dr. George Garden. It is very interesting to have this statement that these Scots were at the deathbed of Madame Guyon. The other two friends mentioned were Lord Forbes and his brother James Forbes. V. Introduction.

10 Paris.

11 Vie de Madame Guyon, pub. in 3 vols. in 1719 : v. pp. 146, 151, etc.

12 V. p. 151.

it. Mr. P./1 will now set about printing it with all possible speed. There is a 3d vol of Letters /2 already out and the 4th in the press. When this is done both will be sent us.

Mr. Abercrom./3 after his return from Bath pay'd the Bill of L 9 of wch I immediately deliver'd to Mr. Dunlop for the watch./4 I have call'd frequently at Mr. Aber's /3 lodgings to talk with him about Mr. Bl's /5 affair, but never could find him. In the mean time whilst he was at Bath I wrote your Lop's mind fully to Dr. Ch./6 and pray'd him to take that opportunity of taking in the Accompts and adjusting them ; but he answer'd my letter in these words. " Mr. Aber./3 when here design'd to enquire about Mr. Bi's /5 debts, but he staid so short a time that I believe he did nothing in it. I have not been at Bristol since I came down, but if an occasion offers I will acquaint you from the proper persons what his debts may be, and I hope My Ld D fd /7 need not be solicitous about it till the creditors find some way of acquainting him."

I hope to hear that My Lady is long before this time safely deliver'd of a living and healthful child,/8 and is in a fine way of recovery. I most heartily commit your Lop with my Lady and all yours, this infant in particular to the peculiar Grace and protection of the Blessed Jesus. May He be our Life, our Strength and our All ! /9 My wife was deliver'd of a son /10 the 1st of this instant, and most humbly salutes My Lady with your Lop. Our dear L.F./11 does also the same. His design of going further is now at an end.

LdDup./12 is here and in good health, as L.O./13 also is. It seems now certain that his tryal wch should have been the 13th will be put off. 'Tis thought the Lords will grant a longer day, but whether after that he will be discharged, or kept where he is till next session, is yet uncertain. He bears all with great patience and cheerfulness. The Indemnity /14 is not yet sent down to the two Houses, but is expected now in a very few days. There are several reports about the various exceptions and limitations of it but nothing to be depended on till we see it. God governs the world and will certainly over rule all for the best. The wrath of man shall ever praise him and the remainder of wrath will be restrain.

1 Pierre Poiret : v. later discussion of differences over this proposed publication.

2 V. pp. 109, etc.

3 V. p. 132.

4 For Mr. Dunlop u. p. io8. References to the watch pp. 141, 165.

Mystics of the North-East

5 Mr. Blake : v. pp. 139, 155.

6 Dr. Cheyne.

7 Lord Deskford.

8 Foreshadows the birth of a daughter, who became the mother-in-law of Henry Mackenzie, the Man of Feeling.

9 Again this favourite phrase : cf. pp. 507, etc.

10 Peter : v. Introduction.

11 Lord Forbes.

12 Lord Dupplin.

13 Earl of Oxford : v. p. 145.

14 It was promised by the King in his speech of Mar. 6 and reached the House of Lords on July 15 : v. Tindal, *op. cit.*, XIX, pp. 158 ff. V. M N.E., p. 138.

Adieu My Dear Lord. My heart is united to yours in our dear M. and L.M./1 and ever remain in the tenderest and most affectionat manner.

Your Lop's etc.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford /2 at Boyne near Bamf, p. Aberdeen.

XXXVII. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD,
including extract from letter of A. NI. Ramsay describing
the death of Madame Guyon.

July 2d, 1717.

MY DEAR LORD,

My last of the 11th past gave your Lop an account of the decease of M.S.M./3 wch hapned the 29th of May O.S. Now this comes to tell your Lop that Ld O's tryal /4 wch began Monday June 24th was, after a great many disputes between the contending parties in each House, and one House against the other, entirely determin'd last night to the great joy and satisfaction of all his friends ; the whole issueing in his full discharge from all the Articles not only of High Treason but of high crimes and misdeamrs brought agt him by the Coms /5 of Gt. Britain.

After the first day when the charge was opened the Commons never appeared in Westminster Hall, because they never would agree to the method of proceeding prescrib'd by the Lords, wch was to go upon the Articles of high Treason first. The whole last week was spent in sending and receiving messages, and in debating and conferring upon them ; the differences at last became wide insomuch that neither of the Houses being willing to recede or yeild it to the other, and the Coms /5 not appearing in the Hall after Proclamation was made, the Lords proceeded to acquit and discharge Ld O./6 and the Ld H. Steward (Couper /7) did declare him acquitted. Through the whole course of the debate his friends in the House of Peers being powerfully assisted by the Malecontents (amongst whom none were more zealous than Arg. and Ila,/8) carried every question by a great majority, and indeed most questions without a division. His confinement has been

in-deed long and close ; for he was impeach'd June loth 1715, and was comitted to the Tower July the 9th, having never been down stairs till he was brought to his tryal. God grant him Grace and improve both his sufferings and deliverance to the best advantage.

A.R./1 has sent the inclos'd by J.F./2 who is safely arrived here and with My Ld his Br./3 salutes you most affectionatly. Say nothing of it yet.

R./4 speaking of M.S.M. adds : " Sa mort a été semblable à sa vie. Elle a porté jusqu'à sa fin les états de Jesus crucifié, et est expiré enfin sur la croix avec une paix et une douceur où il paroissoit une insensibilité à tout ce qui est au dehors, mais ou je crois que l'Interieur étoit bien occupé, et d'une manière peu intelligible à ceux qui n'ont pas les yeux de la Foy. Elle est morte le 9 de ce mois (Juin N.S.) à onze heures et demi du soir. Elle me dit le matin avant et apres avoir reçu le saint viatique qu'elle étoit dans un état de delaissement extreme. Je compris que le P.M./5 la rendoit conforme à son état sur la Croix quand il dit, Mon Dieu, Mon Dieu, pourquoi m'avez vous abandonné. Je le lui dis même et elle ne repliqua que ces paroles avec une douceur et un abandon parfait, Mon Dieu vous m'avez abandonné. Le reste du jour jusqu'à six heures du soir se passa en grands douleurs et souffrances. Alors elle reçut l'extreme onction et sembla perdre connoissance de tout ce qui est au dehors, et expira sans douleur, sans peine, dans un silence et paix profonde."

We are in hopes that her most admirable Life will be quickly put to the press./6 The 3d vol. of Letters is printed off but I have forbid sending it till the 4th wch is now printing be also done./7 The 20 copies of Télémaque /8 are not yet come. I shall send your Lop two of 'em. In the mean time my most sincere and intimate love always attends your Lop. in union with our dear 111.9 I most humbly salute my Lady and am

Your Lop's etc.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford 10
at Boyne, near Bamf, p. Edinburgh.

G. D. HENDERSON

1 A. M. Ramsay : v. no. xxxix.

2 James Forbes, returned from Madame Guyon's deathbed. His first appearance in England since the Rebellion. His licence to return is mentioned Oct. 7, 1717. v. Stuart Papers, V, p. 108.

3 Lord Forbes.

4 Ramsay on death of Madame Guyon. He was evidently present. Cherel (Fénelon, p. 56 note) seems inclined to doubt whether Ramsay was at Blois on this occasion.

5 "Petit maître."

6 V. pp. 151, etc.

7 V. pp. 109, 130, 134, 154, etc.

8 The new edition of *Télémaque* mentioned p. 126 : v. also pp. 148, etc.

9 "Mother."

10 V. P. 133 n.

XXXVIII. [FROM MARQUIS DE FÉNELON TO LORD
DESKFORD, with postscript by A. M. Ramsay

The references to the death of Madame Guyon decide its date as 1717.)

A Paris ce 29 juin.

Mon cher milord. Apres la perte que nous auons faiste il ne nous reste plus que d'estre unis en celui qui ne nous manquera jamais et que nous devons croire ne nous auoir priué de la presence sensible de N.M./1 que pour nous faire trouuer par son intercession un secours plus puissant, et plus conforme à nos besoins. Ceste bonne M./2 auroit esté, je crois, bien touchée si on lui auoit pû lire vostre derniere lettre qui arriva comme elle commençoit a agoniser. L'abbandon en Dieu, la perte de tout appui, et le detachement de toute creature, et de tout hors Dieu est ce qu'il m'a semblé que le tems que j'ai passé aupres d'elle dans ces derniers moments de sa vie m'a montré dune maniere sensible estre la voye que je deuois suiure. Dieu veuille m'y rendre fidelle. J'ai esté consolé en volant dans ceste lettre que N.M./1 n'a pû voir que vous estiez dans des dispositions conformes à ce que Dieu me faisoit sentir. Soions unis mon cher milord malgré la distence des lieux. Je n'aurai jamais rien qui me soit si pretieux que de pouuoir esperer que j'aurai tousjours en vous un ami, et un frere dans le p.m./3 Dieu le veuille, et que je ne cesse pas de l'estre par mes infidelités. Je suis bien touché de la separation des amis avec lesquels j'ai passé un tems qui sera le plus doux de ma vie. Celui qui veut bien se charger de ce billet vous instruira de tout ce qu'il a vû avec nous. Il vous presentera aussi un petit present que vous m'avez permis de vous offrir. Je souhaite qu'il vous fasse ressouuenir quelquefois de celui de qui il vient à qui l'honneur de vostre souuenir sera tousjours egalelement cher et pretieux.

Je /4 ne saurois laisser partir cette lettre Mon Tres Cher Mylord sans vous marquer ma tendresse & mon respect. Je souhaite infiniment que notre union fraternelle subsiste à jamais. Celle qui est dans le sein de Dieu sera notre lien. Les paroles me manquent mais mon coeur vous parle. *Cor meum est apud te sine voce & silentium meum loquitur tibi./5*

A Milord D-f--d.

1 " Notre mère."

2 " Mère."

3 " Petit maître."

4 What follows is in different hand and spelling.

5 I have failed to trace this quotation. A. Baker in Holy Wisdom, 3rd Treatise, sect. III, ch. vii, § 6, and G. Garden in letter V of Cunningham Correspondence in this volume (p. 256) use Jerome's version of Ps. lxxv, v. 1, " Tibi silentium laus est." Jerome in Ps. lxxii, v. i reads " Apud Deum silebit anima mea."

XXXIX. LETTER FROM A. M. RAMSAY TO LORD
DESKFORD.

[There is no date, but the reference to the 20 copies of the new edition of the *Télémaque* fixes it as 1717 and the reference to the departure of James Forbes who left for Scotland on September 2 settles the time of year : v. pp. 146, 151.]

A MYL. D./1

Nous avons perdu MTC Myl./2 la meilleure des mères, que dis-je perdu, elle nous est plus présente que jamais, & sera toujours le lien de notre union. Je vous envoie par Mr. J. F./3 trois livres que vous m'avez demandez autrefois : Les Cantiques du P. Surin, les Fondemens de la vie spirituelle, & le Catéchisme./4 J'ay crû que ces livres vous seroient d'autant plus agréables que je les ay reçu de NM /5 même, & que je me suis défait de ces dons précieux pour vous en rendre participant. Je vous prie de les recevoir de ma part comme un témoignage de mon respect & de ma tendresse. J'ay envoyé à Mr le Dr Keith vingt exemplaires de *Télémaque* /6 dont il y en a un pour vous. Je vous enverray de même tous les autres ouvrages du même auteur quand ils seront imprimés./7 Je vous prie de ne me point oublier, je ne vous oublieray jamais. Notre filiation & par conséquent notre union doivent être éternelles. Il me sera d'une grande consolation de recevoir de temps en temps de vos chères nouvelles. Personne ne vous est plus parfaitement dévoué que moy.

XL. [A very formal business letter from Dr. James Keith to Lord Deskford.]

LONDON,

Sept., 10th, 1717.

MY LORD,

I had the honour of your Lop's letter of Aug. 25th upon the subject of your brother's s intended journey to Oxford, and deliver'd the enclosed

1 To Lord Deskford.

2 " Mon très cher mylord."

3 James Forbes.

4 V. pp. Ito, 151. The Cantiques (1660), Fondements (1667) and Catéchisme (1659) are the principal works of Surin. His Lettres (1695) and Dialogues (1704) are also to be noted.

5 " Notre mère " : Madame Guyon.

6 V. pp. 126, 146, etc.

7 Complete works of Fénelon : v. p. 165.

8 George Ogilvie. He had been to school at Dalkeith (Grant, op. cit. p. 307). After his Oxford studies he was admitted advocate at Edinburgh in 1723. He died unmarried in 1732 : v. Paul, Scots Peerage. There is a curious passage in Wodrow, Analecta, IV, p. 534, where he speaks of George Ogilvy as " a foolish young elder, they say of very loose

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to Mr. Knight /1 who has maturely consider'd of the matter, and here has return'd an answer. 'Tis now about two years since he left the University, being settled vicar of St. Sepulchre's here in Town, but yet if it be desired he will certainly recommend the fittest persons and use his best Interest for your brother's service. He is clearly of ye opinion that it will be much cheaper and every way more convenient for the young gentleman to lodge in a private house, where he may also board, and have any one that's qualified come to him out of any College ; to read to him the Classics with the Roman History, Antiquities, and likewise what he has a mind to learn of the Mathematicks. For the last it may not be amiss to recommend him to Dr. Keil /2 who will find one to give him a course of the Mechanick and Experimental Philosophy. My Lord

will no doubt take care to send a prudent man with him who is able to direct and improve him in all his studies, and also to watch over his health and morals. What the charge of his lodging, board and education with other necessaries will come to, cannot be particularly known till he is on the place ; and in settling all that I do not question but wch Hunter /3 who is there will be very assisting to him. I wish him success with all my heart and in the meantime giving my most humble service to the Earle of Findlater /4 and your dear Lady and with all possible respect

My Lord

Your Lop's most obedient servt. Ja: Keith./5

To the Right Honble. The Lord Deskford

at his House at Boyne, to the care of the Postmaster of Bamf

p. Edinburgh.

principles," but the point seems to be that he had expressed approval of a sermon which was generally condemned because of its broad spirit of toleration. A number of letters at Cullen House, including some from Lord Deskford to his father, deal with the character and career of this young man.

1 James Knight, b. 1672, educ. Merchant Taylor's School, London, and St. John's College, Oxford, where he became Fellow, Tutor and Greek Reader. In 1716 he became vicar of S. Sepulchre's, London, one of the most interesting of the old London churches. He died 1735. V. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (1891). V. further pp. 152, 155, 160, 170 f., 179.

2 Dr. John Keill, Mathematician and Astronomer, elder brother of Dr. James Keill, Physician. Both were Aberdonians and copies of some of their writings are in Cullen House Library. V. D.N.B.

3 Not identified.

4 Father of Lord Deskford and George Ogilvie.

5 Few of Dr. Keith's letters have his complete signature as here. It is altogether a much more formal document than usual, and may have been intended for Lord Findlater's eyes as well.

XLI. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

[No year is stated but references to the death of Madame Guyon, to the Télémaque and to the arrival of James Forbes fix it as belonging to 1717. It would seem therefore to have been 'written on the same day as the previous letter, though different in style as well as in matter.]

Sept. 10th.

I would have answer'd my Dear Lord's letter wch I recd by Mr. Rud's /1 care in due time had it not been that I was not furnished with what I took to be principally wanted in it, namely some account of the last years and hours of M.S.M.'s /2 Life. The account of the most valuable part during the last years of her Life, I have not yet had, nor do I ever expect to have, her state being wholly inexplicable, but by a few general words, and indeed the fewer the better. As for her last moments, besides what I had from J.F. who will also tell your Lop what he saw and heard, /3 I shalt here transcribe what A.R./4 wrote me upon that occasion. His letter is of Aug. 7th.

" —Elle sentit depuis longtemps que Dieu l'alloit retirer, que sa mission étoit finie, et marquoit par l'oubly profond où elle étoit desappropriée. Ses souffrances ont été extremes, et sa patience tout à fait chrétienne. Il n'y a pas grande chose à dire d'une ame que Dieu avoit toujours caché dans le secret de sa face, et qu'on ne pouvoit connoitre que par le silence du coeur. Il y a des saints qui parlent beaucoup en mourant. Il y en a d'autres qui n'ouvrent la bouche que pour dire avec J. Ch. sur la Croix, Mon Dieu, Mon Dieu, combien vous m'avez abandonné. /5 Elle a porté ce dernier état de Jesus sur la croix, et m'a dit souvent le jour de sa mort. Je suis dans un delaissement extreme. Mais tout se passa presque dans le silence, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin elle perdit connoissance de tout ce qui se passoit au dehors." He adds, " J'ay eu ses ordres d'écrire ce que je say de sa vie ; mais en verité ses ecrits et ses souffrances sont si parlantes que je ne trouve presque rien à dire : et je croira-manquer à toutes ses instructions, si je m'entendois en eloges vagues et hyperboliques. Je prie Dieu que le V.P./6 ne tombe point dans ces entousiasmes outrés /7 où il est tombé en ecrivant la vie de Mlle B./8 où il la compare avec les autres saints, et l'eleve au dessus de tous

1 Mr. Ruddiman. V. p. 12S.

2 Madame Guyon.

3 James Forbes was apparently one of those present at Madame Guyon's death : v. p. 143.

4 A. M. Ramsay : accents, etc., as given by Keith.

5 M.N.E., p. 146. Madame Guyon several times in her writings turns specially to this incident : e.g. Lettres, IV, pp. 258 f. ; V, p. 156. So also with Tauler : v. Opera Omnia (1615), pp. 44, 436, 704, etc. Cf. also use by Francis de Sales and Fénelon.

6 Venerable Poiret.

7 V. pp. 154, 189 f.

8 Madame Bourignon. Her Life by Poiret appears in Vol. II of the edition of her works issued under his editorship at Amsterdam in 19 vols., between 1679 and 1686.

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[Page 151: The Leyden portrait of Poiret.]

depuis le temps des Apôtres./1 NM /2 en communiquant l'esprit de l'onction à ses enfans les detachoit du Canal,/3 et ne souffrirait point qu'on s'attachât à l'Instrument."

This last period brings to my mind what perhaps your Lop has not yet heard of, namely the very strong opposition /4 that is made by A.R./5 with all the other friends in Fr./6 against Mr. P's /7 printing and publishing that most valuable Life at this time, and in order to hinder him from doing it, they have represented the copy wch he has as defective and imperfect, and therefor have desir'd him to return it to them to be corrected by one wch they call more perfect. R./5 has written several letters (by their order as he says) to Mr. P./7 himself, to D.G./8 and to us here, to this purpose, wch is highly surprising to us all, and the more that he himself transcrib'd that very copy wch Mr. P. has, and sent it to him by N.M.'s /9 express order (having first carefully revis'd and corrected it herself) to be published after her death. But the good old man refuses to give it up and resolves to be faithful to the trust reposed in him. They on the other hand have they say strong reasons for delaying it, but do not say what they are. Id. F./10 when you see him will acquaint your Lop with all this. He and his br./11 took journey for Scotid the 2d instant and I hope may be at Edburgh by this time. L.P./12 and D.G./8 are well but when they will

come over I cannot tell. When the 3d and 4th voll. of Lett./13 are sent me I shall obey your Lop's orders, but the 4th is not yet finished, nor are the *Télémaques* /14 come. One of the next they go upon will be les *Opuscules Spirituelles* /15 de Mr. L'Arch. de C. wch are said to be very fine. J.F./11 has his *Sentinens de Piété*,/16 wch I have read. He has also P. Surin's Cantiques Spirituelles /17 for your Lop. It was M.S.M.'s /9 own book.

Mr. Abercromby /18 desir'd me to enclose your Lop's letters to him, but I forbear to do it till I have your orders. He went down by sea with his Lade about 3 weeks ago. I hope they are safely arrived. With my best and sincerestwishes for your Lop. and your dear Lady and children in the tenderest manner, I am, ever,

Your Lop's etc. (address page torn off.)

1 Cf. p. 143.

2 " Notre mère."

3 Lettres, V, Anecdotes et reflexions, p. iv : " Madame Guyon n'a été que le canal, et l'Esprit de Dieu s'est servi de cet organe."

4 Cf. next letter. This confirms the date of the letter as 1717. Regarding this controversy v. also Introduction, and the discussion in Chérel, André Michel Ramsay, pp. 106 ff.

5 A. M. Ramsay.

6 France.

7 Pierre Poiret.

8 Dr. George Garden.

9 Madame Guyon.

10 Lord Forbes returned from the Continent.

11 James Forbes.

12 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo.

13 V. pp. 109, etc.

14 V. pp. 148, etc.

15 Fénelon's Oeuvres spirituelles were published at Antwerp in 1715 in 2 vols.

16 Pub. Paris, 1713, and later editions.

17 V. P. 148.

18 V. p. 132.

MY DEAR LORD,

'Tis above a fortnight since I had the honour of your Lop's Letter of Sept. the 30th wch gave me ground to expect your brother /1 here about that time. I accordingly was enquiring of our countrymen as I met them whether they had heard any thing of him but did not see any that had, till three days ago Mr. Cun./2 told me to my great surprize that that day he met one who said the young gentleman had been here but was gone a few days before for Oxford. I had communicated your Lop's Letter to Mr. Knight,/3 who in order to do your brother the best service he could has writ to a friend at Oxford about proper tutors or persons to instruct him in experim. philosophy, the Roman History and Antiquities etc. and had recd a full answer from him. However I hope he will meet with others there who will put him in a good way and indeed I cannot give any reason for his not coming or sending to us, but one namely that perhaps he never recd your Lop's letter desiring him to do it.

I hope by this time your Lop may have seen L.F. or his br./4 I have not heard from them since they went into the North, but writ to them about two weeks ago, and enclosed to L.F. A.R.'s /5 answer to his last letter and mine.

The Controversy /6 about printing M.S.M.'s Life is now I hope at an end. Mr. P./7 intends to put it into the press by Xmas next, and I hope will be very carefull to avoid every thing that may give just ground of offence. I most heartily commit your Lop with my dear Lady and all yours to the Divine grace and protection of L.M./8 and remain in hast

Your Lop's most obedient humble servt.

I have recd the Telemaques /9 from Holld and expect the 3d and 4th voll. of Letters very soon.

To the Right Honble. The Lord Deskford at Craig of Bovn /10 near Bamf.

1 V. pp. 145, etc.

2 Perhaps Robt. Cunningham : v. pp. 99, etc.

3 V. pp. 149, etc.

4 Lord Forbes and his brother James.

G. D. HENDERSON

5 Ramsay in correspondence with Lord Forbes.

6 V. pp. 114, 143, 146, 151, 159, 162, etc.

7 Pierre Poiret. The Life was not published till 1720, after the death of Poiret.

8 " Little Master."

9 V. pp. 126, 148.

10 V. p. 129.

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XLIII. [to Lord Deskford, the first part from A. M. Ramsay, the second from the Marquis de Fénelon]

[This Letter to Lord Deskford, the first part from A. M. Ramsay, the second from the Marquis de Fénelon, is dated only 22nd December ; but the references to *Télémaque* and to the Duke of Gordon show that the year must have been 1717.]

Je prens l'occasion du depart de Mylord Duc de Gordon /1 pour vous envoyer, Mon cher Mylord, un livre de Mr. l'Archeveque de Cambray/2 de la part de Mr. son Neveu./3 J'avois prié mes amis en Hollande de vous envoyer un exemplaire du *Telemaque*./4 Je seray bien aise de savoir si vous l'avez recû. Je ne manqueray point, mon tres cher Mylord, de vous envoyer tous les autres livres qui s'imprimeront de Mr. de C--y./2

J'ay un gout extreme pour mylord Duc de Gordon. Je le trouve doux, humble, sensé d'un naturel aimable, c'est dommage qu'il ne soit pas au p.m./5 d'une maniere parfaite. Il me vient au coeur que vous devez cultiver son amitié pour cet effet, et ne point negliger les occasions de gagner un coeur si digne du p.m./5 Je laisse place au cher Marquis /3 de vous dire un mot et je conclus avec les assurances d'un respect et d'une tendresse inviolable

Ramsay.

ce 22 Xbre.6

The Right Honorable My lord Deshford.

Je profite avec joye de la place que R./7me laisse icy mon cher mi : /8 pour vous renouveler des assurances d'un attachement qui ne finira jamais. Les liens qui l'ont formé seront j'espere indissolubles entre nous. Recevez le petit present dout R./1 vous parle. Je souhaite que vous y trouviez nourriture pour le coeur, car tout ouvrage qui ne porte pas ce caractere me paroist frivole et vain. N'oubliez pas un homme qui vous est acquis par des titres au dessus des liaisons communes. Souvenez vous de moy où vous savez qu'il est bon de souvenir les uns des austres.

Que ne vous dirois je point si je me laissois aller à tout ce que mon coeur m'inspire. La connoissance que j'ai eu l'honneur de faire icy avec monsieur

1 Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon, had as Marquess of Huntly been at Mar's hunting in August, 1715, and was one of the Jacobite leaders until after Sheriffmuir, when he surrendered. After a period of imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle he was released and went abroad. He took no further share in the Rising. It is interesting to find such a friendly description of him as is given by Ramsay and by the Marquis de Fénelon. V. Rae, History of late Rebellion (1718), A. and H. Taylor, Cess Roll of Aberdeenshire. pp. 31 f. ; Stuart Papers, IV, V, and VI ; Paul, Scots Peerage, IV ; D.N.B..

2 Fénelon.

3 Marquis de Fénelon.

4 V. pp. 526, etc.

5 " Petit maitre."

6 December.

7 A. M. Ramsay.

8 " Milord."

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le duc de Gourdon /1 me confirme de plus en plus dans le goust et l'inclination que je me sens pour l'Ecosse. On m'en fait quelques fois la guerre en ce pais cy, et je ne m'en deffends point. La vertu et la simplicité écossoise m'ont seduit. Je le serai tout a fait si je puis comter sur des bontez et sur une amitié du prix de la vostre.

XLIV. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

Includes an extract from a letter from Otto Homfeld./1

Janry. 7th, 1717/18.

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honour of your Lop's Letter of Novr 24th above three weeks ago, and not finding anything in it that requir'd a speedy answer I was willing to put off writing till I should have something more particular from our friends in Holland concerning the Life and other writings de N.S.M./2 I have accordingly had a letter from Mr. Homfeld,/3 and also since that have receiv'd the Third and Fourth voll. of Letters./4 These are but just sent in, so that I have not yet had time to look into them. By the letter of advice I have they are larger than the two former and will be sold 6d dearer so that the 2 voll will come to 4 shill. I shall enquire for a convenient occasion of transmitting six of them to Mr. Rudiman /5 for your Lop, and one more for J.F./6 to compleet his sett. I shall likewise send the 2 'Télémaques ' I promis'd before, to be dispos'd off as your Lop thinks fit. Your Lop will be glad to see what Mr. Homf. . /8 writes of Mr. R. . . /9 " I1 semble non seulement revenir de son opposition à la publication de la vie de M.S.M. surtout, après avoir entendu qu'on ne la fera pas avec tant de precipitation que les amis de dela s'étoient imaginés ; mais aussi il promet de nouveau de travailler tout de bon à un supplemt ou à une continuation selon que N.M./10 nous a écrit plusieurs fois qu'il le devoit faire. Nous esperons ainsi que l'allarme qu'on avoit pris là dessus se sera appaisée, et que le P.M./11 continuera à assister le v. P./12 à preparer cet ouvrage pour la presse. Il ne vient que

1 V. p. 156. He seems to have made an excellent impression wherever he went abroad. He had a handsome appearance, and kindly manner. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic also made him more acceptable in certain quarters.

2 " Notre sainte mère " : Madame Guyon.

3 V p. 117, etc.

4 Pp. 109, 117, 137, 139, 144, 146, etc., Lettres chrétiennes et spirituelles sur divers sujets qui regardent la vie intérieure ou l'esprit du vrai christianisme : pub. 1717-18.

5 V. p. 139.

- 6 James Forbes.
7 V. p. 146.
8 Mr. Homfeld.
9 A. M. Ramsay : v. p. 151.
10 " Notre mère."
11 " Petit maitre."
12 " Venerable Poiret."

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d'achever la revision des Oeuvres Spirituelles de feu Mr. de C./1 qui s'impriment à present actuellemt, mais aux seuls depens de Mr. Wetstein./2 Ces ouvrages feront 3 ou 4 volumes tels à peu près que ceux de N.M./3 Sans doute que les amis d'outre mer seront bien aisés d'en avoir quelques exemplaires, et Mr. Wetst./2 se fera un plaisir de vous en envoyer autant que vous en souhaitez." L.P. and D.G./4 are well and give their kind service to all friends. Dr. Ch./5 who is now here gives his most dutifull respects to your Lop but has heard nothing yet from Mr. Bl's /6 Creditors.

Mr. Knight,/7who salutes your Lop with great respect, had a letter from your brother /8 with yours enclosed, and one also from Mr. Parker /9 in whose

1 Œuvres spirituelles of Fénelon, 1718. V. pp. 151, 159, 162, 164 f.

2 V. p. 117.

3 " Notre mère."

4 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and Dr. George Garden still in Holland. A letter of about this date from the former (preserved at rathes Castle, Kincardineshire) says : " I have sent so many of your books in this ship according to the note at the foot. I shall buy some more and send them with another that all your stock may not be in one bottom. . . . You'll see also what pains and time men bestow upon things that are not of great consequence and how the most valuable things are of the lowest price when you compare Macarius works with Petronius and Burman's. I could say with Dr. Swift, Surely every man is a broomstick."

5 Dr. Cheyne.

6 Mr. Blake. V. pp. 139, 144, etc.

7 V. pp. 149, etc.

8 George, Lord Deskford's brother, now a student at Oxford. V. pp. 148, etc. On February 4, 1718, George Ogilvie's attendant, Wm. Ogilvie, wrote to Lord Deskford from Oxford giving an interesting account of the young student's doings : " We continue still to lodge at Mr. Parkers and upon the tryal we have now had are abundantly persuaded there is no place besides in Oxford we could propose to ourselves as equally convenient. Its true there are now several who eat at his house, but since they do not lodge, we have by them no inconvenience,

and may, whenever we encline, retire to read or otherways employ our time without disturbance. Mr. George has of late been employ'd upon Grotius his book de veritate religionis Christianae, and, after having trac'd him so far as he could find opportunity in his citations, appears to be pretty well satisfied in the strength of the arguments he brings. He has since begun Bp. Parker, father to Mr. Parker, his books de Deo and Demonstration of the truth of the Christian religion against Atheists and Deists, but they being somewhat large, he is scarcer-likely to have patience to go through. He is entered too upon Lock's Essay on Human Understanding and several other books in the Library, but is diverted from reading any one throughout by-the still fresh opportunity he there finds for change. As to his masters he goes on with them in the manner he wrote your Lop, and is at present perusing with Dr. Kyle his Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal, in order to Algebra ; with Mr. Collins he reads Isocrates and Sueton alternately and has the composing ane oration or writing a version now and then prescribed him as extraordinary task. He still keeps his flute master, but upon the end of the 3d moneth dispensed with his writing master, believing he could equally profit by a good copy-book." This letter is at Cullen House and there is also a short letter from George Ogilvie himself to his father dated Feb. 9, 1717 (1718) which confirms the details.

9 Apparently Samuel Parker, nonjuror and author, son of Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford. For both v. D.N.B.

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house he lodges. These came soon after my last to your Lop. Mr. Knight return'd an answer to both. He speaks very well of Mr. Parker as a sober and learned man, but does not know Mr. Collins./1 He has quitted his Fellowship at Oxford and has no thoughts of returning thither in hast. In the meantime I'm sure none would be more ready than he to serve Mr. Ogilvy /2 were it in his power.

I long mightily to hear from our Dear Ld. F. and his Br./3 One told me that the first was expected here quickly but I know nothing of it, not having heard any thing of either since they went from Edbr. D. G.—don /4 is return'd from his travel's and is pressing hard to get a pr. seal for some 10 or 12 of his friends. The Parlt. meets again the 13th when 'tis apprehended there will be some hot debates. The differences between the Father and Son /5 continue and are come to that height that whoever visits the last is not admitted to see the first. The affairs of Christendom are still in a strange situation. No sign of peace but on the contrary of war, disorder an 1 confusion. But *in pace et silentio erit fortitudo nostra.*/6

G. D. HENDERSON

I rejoyce My D. Lord to hear of your health and Dear Lady's. Never a day passes without my thinking more than once of you, and indeed I may say without my being present with you. I unite my prayers with all the children of our Blessed L.M. in the heart of N.S.M./7 May the Holy Spirit of our Jesus wch was so plentifully shed forth into that blessed soul, powerfully live and reign in us, and be our Life, our Strength and our All !/8 May every thing of self and nature and whatsoever is unworthy of his Holy Presence be wholly consum'd in us, that his Name alone may be exalted, and his will be done in us and by us in time and eternity. Amen. I commit you and yours My Dear Lord to his holy conduct and protection and remain always.

Yours etc.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford at Craig of Boyne near Bamf.

1 V. P. 155 n.

2 Ibid.

3 Lord Forbes and James Forbes.

4 V. p. 553 : cf. Stuart Papers, VI, p. 180, where there is a letter dated a few weeks later than Dr. Keith's (March 23, 1718) and stating that the Duke of Gordon " was to get a privy seal for so or 12 persons." The letter is from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo.

5 King George and the Prince of Wales : v. Tindal, op. cit., xix, p. 169.

6 Isaiah, xxx, 55. The Vulgate has : In silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra.

7 " Little master " and " notre sainte mère " : cf. p. 159, " united in heart of ..."

8 V. p. 107.

9 V. P. 133 n.

XLV. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

March 8, 1718.

MY DEAR LORD,

Before I had the honour of your Lop's last Letter of Feb. 9th I had sent in six of ye 3 and 4th voll. of Letters/1 for your Lop (with one more for J.F./2) and 2 *Télémaques*,/3 in a bundle and directed to Mr. Rud./4 at Edr, to be carried down by an Edr. stage coach./5 But the coachman having got his number of passengers sent them back to me the night before he went out of Town. I could not since hear of any other occasion by land, and therefor gave them in some five or six days ago to Mr. Abercromby /6 to be put up with other things wch his Lady has got ready to send down by sea. I also delivered to him four ounce bottles of Hall's Elix. propriat. and one ounce of the best Confect. Raleighana. The 4 ounces Elix. cost ten shill, and the i ounce of Rawl's Cordial 12. Mr. Aber./6 has payed me for all. The last is a dear medicine yet I have ventur'd to send it, tho' without orders, that My Lady might not be without it in case of need, for I have often prescribed it and found it good. It is chiefly proper in pains of the stomach occasion'd by sharp acrid humors, either lodg'd there or return'd by a translation of a rheumatick or goutish juice upon it : and likewise in what is commonly call'd a sinking or lowness of spirits. The dose is from a scruple to half a dram i.e. 20 to 30 grains, in any warm vehicle, as barley —Cinnamon water, compound poeony water. 2 or 3 spoonfuls, or the like quant. of warm sack or white wine. The properest time of taking it is with an empty stomach, or at night going to bed. In cases of violent pains we give of it to 2 scruples or even a dram. As for the Elixir,/7 'tis certainly the best in Town. The usual dose of it is from 40 drops to a teaspoonful in a little fair water, or wine and water in the morning fasting or half an hour before dinner. It will keep good many years.

I had a letter from R—y /8 about 3 weeks ago—in wch he acknowledg'd the receipt of your Lop's, express'd his earnest

desire to hear from Ld. F./9 and added that in a little time he was to go towards Italy with his pupil./10

1v. p 154.

2James Forbes.

4Pp. 139, 554. " Mr. Ruddiman at Edinburg"

5V. Introduction.

6v. p.132

7In a letter to Lord Deskford, Sept. 15, 1714, his wife urges him to be careful of his health and says " particularly the elixir you use to gett from Dr. K-, bring some of it down " : (Cullen House) .

9Lord Forbes, who, as well as Lord Deskford, is in correspondence with Ramsay cf. P. 141.

10 V. p. 16o.

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He said nothing of N.M 's Life,/1 nor did I mention anything of it to him. Dr. Ch./2 who setts out again for Bath next Monday, salutes your Lop with great respect, as do all our other friends here. I'm told Ld. Dup./3 with my Lady etc. are expected in Town in a few weeks. I don't question but Mr. Aber./4 acquaints your Lop with the current News of this place from time to time. Things are still in a very strange situation both here and all over Xtendom : but God governs the world and will at the appointed time bring his great and good ends to pass. *Emittet Spiritum et renovabitur facies terrae.*/5 May He be our only Centre /6 and our all ! When we descend into that Centre and feel the Holy Presence of our L.M./7 we find an absence of and a security too from the mighty disorders of this world ; and how true it is, *abscondes eos in abscondito faciei tuae a conturbatione hominum.*/8 I commit you My Dear Ld to the powerful protection of his Holy presence. I never cease to remember you in the best manner I can with My Lady and all yours whom I salute with all possible respect and remain always

Your Lop's most obed. humble servt.

I have never had a letter from Ld. F./9 since he went from Edr. I long to hear how he and his br./10 do and whether they are likely in any tolerable manner to settle their affairs with their creditors. I hope the divine providence will watch ever and assist them.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford /11 at Boyne near
Bamf.

1 V. p. 151.

2 Dr. Cheyne.

3 Lord Dupplin.

4 Mr. Abercromby.

5 Ps. civ, V. 30, "Thou sendest forth," etc. Quoted in various Latin forms frequently by Madame Guyon. V. e.g. Discours, I, pp. 72 f., 77, 222, 342 ; II, pp. 350, 383 ; Lettres, I, p. 684 ; III, p. 21 ; V, p. 140 ; and in French, Disc., I, p. 113 ; Lettres, I, p. 216.

6 V. pp. 93, 113 cf. use of this word by Benjamin Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist (1609-83) : u. Sermons (Aberdeen edition, 1751), Vol. I, p. 298 ; II, p. 187 ; III, 190, 245, 358, 374 ; IV, 69, 110 ; etc.

7 "Little Master."

8 Ps. xxx, v. 21 : quoted in French by Madame Guyon, Disc., I, p. J7 : Lettres, I, p. 351 ; IV, p. 59 ; V, p. 32. V. also Tauler, Opera amnia (1615), p. 609.

9 Lord Forbes.

10 James Forbes.

11 V. P. 133 n.

XLVI. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

July 5, 1718.

MY DEAR LORD,

This comes to acknowledge the honour of your Lop's most acceptable letter of June 1 and most humbly to beg pardon for my long silence. I may justly complain with your Lop, if it be lawful for me to complain of anything that happens to me in the order of Providence,¹ that a hurry and multiplicity ² of little business has been the great occasion of it. But amidst all that I can assure your Lop that never a day passeth without my being present and united with you au coeur de N.S.M./3

I was very glad to hear that My Lady and the children are well, and that the medicines and books are come safe.⁴ Les Oeuvres de Mr. de C.⁵ are not yet sent but we dayly expect them : when they come I shall not fail to send your Lop one. As for the Life,⁶ 'tis not yet put to the press, tho' it is above half a year since it was finally revis'd and prepared for it. The trouble and opposition wch Ven. P.⁷ has met with on that account is to me very strange and surprizing. 'Tis now past all doubt that the Daughter ⁸ who is a very artfull politick Lady is at the bottom of all, and that the M. of Fen.⁹ and A.R.¹⁰ have been in a special manner impos'd upon by her. I have recd an abstract of their letters to V.P.⁷ and Otto H.¹¹ on that subject, and am both grieved and astonished at some hard expressions in them. What I foretold A.R.¹⁰ at the beginning of this unhappy controversy is too truly come to pass. May L.M.¹² quickly put an end to it and prevent the evil consequence of it ! Next post I intend to write to L.F.¹³ fully of the matter in answer to his last on the subject.

I am glad to hear that he is in a fair way to settle with his creditors and heartily wish it were done.

1 V. p. 163 : cf. Fénelon (Letters to Women, Eng. trans., p. 32) : " to bear a cross laid on you by God's own hands in the order of his Providence."

2 V. pp. zoo, 163. Dr. Keith takes the special use of this word from the French version of Isaiah lvii, Io. The A.V. offers no similarity. Madame Guyon frequently quotes the verse—" Ils se sont égarés dans la multiplicité de leurs voix," and similar forms, as in Disc., I, p. 67 ; II, p. 117 ; Lettres, IV, p. 587 ;

and she uses the word elsewhere as Keith uses it : Disc., I, pp. 67, 121, 221, etc. ;
Lettres, II, p. 237 ; III, p. 286.

3 Madame Guyon : cf. Lettres, I, p. 240 : IV, p. 180, etc.

4 V. p. 157.

5 V. pp. 155, etc.

6 Life of Madame Guyon : r. pp. 146, 151, etc.

7 " Venerable Poiret."

8 Daughter of Madame Guyon : v. p. 130 note.

9 Marquis de Fénelon.

10 A. M. Ramsay.

11 Otto Homfeld : v. p. 117.

12 " Little Master.

13 Lord Forbes : Keith in correspondence with him.

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A.R./1 is now at Grenoble in Dauphiné with his pupil who is lately married there. He had thoughts of going on to Italy- but one who came not long since from P./2 told me 'twas believed he would rather return thither. D.G./3 who is in very good health writ in his last that L.P./4 had been some time at Ratisb./5 with the C. and B. of Metter./6 and was come to Vienna. Dr. Ch./7 is indeed extreamly fat but yet has pretty good health. He writes that he has for ever bid an adieu to London. But I believe he must alter his mind. Mr. Knight /8 salutes your Lop with great respect. The continual care of his great parish keeps at present from publishing any thing. His frd /9 Dr. Haywood /10 who is very well acquainted with your brother Mr. Ogilvie /11 is now in Town. He has given me a particular character of him and assures me that he applies himself very closely to his studies, and is in the way of making a great progress in them.

In fine, I most heartily commit your Lop and all yours to the all powerful Grace and protection of our Divine L.M./2 May He be our strength'and our all ! /13 Be not discouraged /14 at any difficulties that may happen thro hurry of business, awakening of passion or the like. These will often happen in the commerce of the world, but by meekly turning inward /15 and sinking down in the Divine Presence /16 they will quickly be dropt /17

1 A. M. Ramsay : v p. 157. He does not seem to have visited England till 1728 : v. Cherel, op. cit., p. 63.

2 Paris.

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3 Dr. George Garden still abroad, apparently at Leyden. A letter from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo dated Munich, May 13 (N.S.), 1718, and preserved at Crathes Castle, Kincardineshire, speaks of the journey here mentioned and shows him on his way from Leyden to Vienna, via Ratisbon.

4 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo : the Stuart Papers, Vols. VI and VII, include a number of references to Lord Pitsligo at Vienna in July to September, 1718. He seems to have moved on to Venice and to have been in Rome at the end of the year.

5 Ratisbon.

6 Metternich ; v. p. 102.

7 Dr. Cheyne : at one time he is said to have weighed 32 stones : v. Introduction.

8 V. pp. 149, 155, etc. Knight had published *On Whiston's Historical Preface* (1711), *Primitive Christianity Vindicated against Arian misrepresentations and Whiston* (1712), and other works mentioned pp. 170 f.

9 " Friend."

10 Thomas Haywood, D.D., fellow of S. John's College, Oxford. A manuscript letter in Brit. Mus. (15911, folio 33) mentions Mr. Knight and Dr. Haywood (Oxford) as well acquainted. A letter from Haywood (fol. 38) mentions proposals from Dr. Keith in regard to certain publications.

11 George Ogilvie : v. pp. 248, 155.

12 " Little Master."

13 Again this phrase : v. p. 707.

14 V. pp. 80, 163.

15 Introversion; v. pp. 83, 507 ; cf. Madame Guyon, *Discours*, II, p. II; S. Augustine, *Confessions*, Bk. X, ch. 27 ; Molinos, *Spiritual Guide*, ch. i ; Fénelon, *Pious Thoughts*, p. 26, etc. ; Walter Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, ch. xlix.

16 V. pp. 76, 107, etc.

17 Pp. 93, 100, etc.

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and forgotten. Patience, patience, Resignation and Silence./1 God is all and we nothing./2

I embrace your Lop in the tenderest manner possible, and remain most faithfully.

Your Lop's.

I kindly salute Mr. Aberc./3 and his good Lady with all other friends.

To the Right Honble. The Lady Deskford at Craig of Boyne near Bamf, p. Aberdeen.

XLVII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

Sept. 30th, 1718.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have been long intending to write to your Lop, and have long'd as much to hear from you and to know how you and your Dear Lady do. Avocations and distractions of several kinds are never wanting to all of us and to me particularly, which again and again hinder me from saluting your Lop when I would, and conversing with you *coeur à coeur* oftentimes when I have a mind to do it. An opportunity is soon lost and not so easily recover'd. In the mean time I can't say that I ever forget you nor our Dear L.F./5 and J.F./6 but always desire to see and be united with you in the simplest and best manner *au coeur de N.M./7*

1 *Patience, resignation and silence are words very characteristic of the Quietist and mystical vocabulary and very frequently to be found in the writings of Madame Guyon.* V. e.g. *patience* in *Lettres*, I, pp. 235, 410 ; II, pp. 226, 309 ; *Disc.*, II, p. 122 : *resignation* (*abandon and renounce are more common*), *Disc.*, I, p. 179 ; II, p. 20 ; *Lettres*, IV, p. 391 : *Silence*, *Disc.*, I, pp. 157, 168, 268 f. ; *Lettres*, I, pp. III, 114, 260 ; II, PP. 145, 237, 376, 464 IV, pp. 493, etc. Cf. *A Short Method of Prayer* (Eng. Trans. 1875), ch. 4 : " Wait in patience, with a heart humbled, abandoned, resigned and contented." The above passage is close to the language of Molinos who speaks (*Spiritual Guide*) of " silent and humble resignation " ; " internal recollection is faith and silence in the presence of God " ; " enduring with patience, persevering in faith and silence, believing that thou art in the Lord's presence " ; etc. Similar expressions are easily found in Francis de Sales, Tauler, Augustine Baker, etc.

2 A phrase most characteristic of Madame Guyon : v. *Disc.*, I, pp. 162, 231, 378 ; II, PP. 4, 170, 245, 333 ; *Lettres*, I, pp. 351, 463, 542, 678 ; II, p. 226 ; IV, p. 558, etc. Cf. Baker, *Holy Wisdom*, pp. 196, 320. An important principle also with John of the Cross : v. E. A. Peers, *St. John of the Cross* (1932), pp. 44 ff.

3 V. p. 532.

4 V. p. 129. B

5 Lord Forbes.

6 James Forbes.

7 " *Notre mère* " : cf. pp. 156, 159.

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XLVIII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD
DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

NOV?. 15th, 1758.

I had the honour of My Dear Lord's letter of Oct' 27th as also of a former dated Sept' 11th with L.F.'s /1 postscript of Oct. i2th. Both of 'em were most agreeable and welicome to me, as was likewise the joyfull account I had yesterday from Mr. Abercr./2 of your Lop's and My Lady's health with that of your dear children. May it please our divine L.M./3 to continue his peculiar care and protection over you all, and to preserve you and all of us in an humble and faithfull dependance /4 upon him from day to day and moment to moment. When one sees and observes his Hand in everything that happens, and constantly stands in the order of his Providence,/5 he will not be disturb'd at the strange disorders of the world, nor discourag'd under the variety of Crosses and the Multiplicity /6 of affairs wch almost unavoidably attend him. All those things must be suffer'd to go as they came, without any forecast /7 on our part or after-reflexion./8 Let not your hearts be troubled, said our Bl. Saviour, and again take no thought for tomorrow, for sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. Words of infinite Wisdom and Love ! Our daily experience will confirm to us the Truth of them. Besides, we must have great patience with our selves /9 as well as others, and be willing to bear our frailties, defects and Infirmities, as we see little children are, without even desiring to get rid of 'em before the time./10 And as the natural growth is utterly unobserv'd and insensible as to the moments of it, so likewise is the Spiritual. But in Him is Life and Strength and Perfection. He is all, we are nothing./11 The work is his

1 Lord Forbes.

2 Mr. Abercromby V. p. 132.

3 " Little Master." ' '

4 V. p. 162.

5 V. p.159.

6 Pp. 100, 159.

7 Lettres, I, p. 687: " écarter tout raisonnement anticipé ; la grace n'anticipe rien, ne prévoit rien."

8 Lettres, I, pp. 549, 155, 369 III, p. 98 ; IV, pp. 227, 470 ; Disc., II, p. 239 ; etc. Cf. pp. 83, 99.

9 Lettres, I, p. 235 : " Ayez une grande patience avec vous-même " ; p. 410 : " d'avoir beaucoup de patience avec vous-même." Cf. Fénelon, *Spiritual Letters to Women* (Eng. trans. 1887), pp. 96 ff.

10 Lettres, I, p. 440 : " Aimons notre foiblesse, puisque Dieu nous la laisse, et soyons comme les petits enfans. Lorsqu'un petit enfant est sale, il ne sauroit se nettoyer si on ne le nettoye." Cf. *Mirror of Simple Souls* (1927 trans.), p. 52.

11 V. p. 161 : cf. A. Bourignon, *L'Académie* (1681), ch. I.

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Last week I sent your Lop one of Mr. de Cambr's Oeuvres Spirituelles /1 in 2 voll stitch'd, and another for Ld. F./2

They were deliver'd by Mr. Alexr. Garden /3 to one Mr. Shand /4 Mar of an Aberdeen ship and by him directed to Mr. Ja. Gelly /5 mert at Abd son to the late Afinr of Fordyce, who I'm told is knowen to your Lop and will take care of 'em.

I thought it better to take this occasion than to send them to Mr. Ruddiman./6

I am to write to Ld. F./2 in a few days and would have done it sooner had I not been expecting another Letter from Holld wch is not yet come. I hope by this time the Life/7 may be put into the press, but cannot yet be positive. I have had no Letter from A. Ry /8 since the beginning of July, but suppose he may be now return'd to P./9 with his pupil. There is one there whom I believe L.F. and his br./10 have seen, Md La D. de G—che /11 who is much esteem'd by all the friends of that side as inheriting most of N.M.'s spirit. I have seen two or three very sweet good Letters of hers.

These *Oeuvres Spirituelles* are mighty beautifull and fine, but to me they have not the pure Life and Unction of N.S.M.'s./12 I most heartily commit you My Dear Ld with all yours to the guidance and conduct of that blessed Spirit wch is the very Spirit of pure Faith and Love, Disappropriation /13 and Holy Dependance /14 and ever am in the tenderest manner.

Yours

(no address). J.K.

1 V. P. 155.

2 Lord Forbes.

3 Not identified. There are several possibilities.

4 Patrick Shand is frequently mentioned in the books of the Aberdeen Shipmaster Society (then Aberdeen Seamen's Society). In 1716 he was master of the Thomas, sailing from London.

5 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, new edit., VI, p. 288.

6 V. pp. 128, etc.

7 V. P. 159.

8 A. M. Ramsay.

9 Paris : v. p. 160.

10 Lord Forbes and his brother (James).

11 Cf. Chérel, Fénelon au xviii^e siècle en France, p. 163, quoting a letter which says "priez pour moi-, et obtenez les prières des personnes les plus intérieures de votre connaissance, surtout celles de Madame de Guiche." It is pointed out, p. 163, that the Maréchale de Grammont "avait succédé à Mme. Guion dans l'état apostolique." her letters to pious correspondents are mentioned, and a letter from her is transcribed. This is the same person : le duc de Guiche took the title duc de Gramont in 1720 on the death of his father. He was maréchal de France. V. *Biographie universelle*, xxi, pp. 626 f.

12 " Madame Guyon " : an interesting comparison. Writing to Val. Nalson (undated, printed in Nichols, *Literary History*, IV, p. 411) Dr. James Keith says, " You will be exceedingly pleased with the *Oeuvres Spirituelles*. They are indeed beautiful and fine beyond expression, and some of them, were they published in English, might be very useful to many, and especially to pave the way for receiving and tasting those of N.M. which to me are far more excellent, as coming more immediately from the fountain and having and deriving more life in them."

13 A favourite expression of Madame Guyon : v. *Disc.*, I, pp. I I ff., 21, 64, 74, 203 ff. ; II, pp. 231, 383 ; *Lettres*, III, pp. 351, 515, 524 ; IV, pp. 464, 484, etc. 11 Cf. pp. 80, x63 ; v. *Lettres*, I, pp. 190, 218, 407 ; III, p. 624, etc.

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and He will do it./1 Let us only be little /2 and passive /3 and silent /4 before him.

I shall take care to forward the inclosed to the Marq./5 I have no account of R's /6 arrival ; but I know he was expected about this time or sooner. Nor have I heard lately from our friends in Holld, but conclude from their last that the *Life* /7 is put to the press. I have sent the 2d part of it by L.F.'s /8 order to the Marq. and R./9 to be collated with what they have, and when they had done it prayed them to return it safe.

L.F./8 gives me some hopes of seeing him here this winter. I writ to him the 25th past and intend to write again speedily.

I shall be glad to hear that Mr. de C's Oeuvres Spirituelles are come to hand./10 If your Lop desires any more of them I will find another occasion to send them. In the meantime I remain always in the tenderest and sincerest manner possible

My Lord

Your Lop's most obedient and most humble servt.

To the Rt. Honoble

The Lady Deskford /11 by

Edinburgh to Bamf Scotland

free

Al. Abercromby./12

1 This suggests Isaiah xxvi, 10, a favourite text with Madame Guyon, who quotes it, e.g. Lettres, I, p. 659 ; IV, pp. 84, 157, 310 ; V, p. 511 ; Disc., I, 283. " C'est vous qui faites en nous toutes nos oeuvres."

2 A word constantly on the pen of Madame Guyon, e.g. in Lettres, I, pp. 77, 80, 142 f., 175, 212 (" soyez bien petite et bien rien "), 215, 243, 370, 441, etc. Cf. Fénelon, Lettres spir. (Oeuvres, Paris, 1861), pp. 604, 606, 657, 664, etc. ; Vie de M. Renty, p. 328.

3 The word appears frequently in the writings of Madame Guyon, e.g. Disc., I, p. 182, " passif et petit," pp. 121, 143, 173 f., 177, 208, 269, 421.

4 V. pp. 106, 161. Great passages on Silence occur Molinos, Spiritual Guide, ch. xvii ; Baker, Holy Wisdom, pp. 230 ff., 489 ff. ; Fénelon, Spir. Letters to Women (Eng. Trans. 1887), pp. 30 ff. ; Imitation of Christ, I, ch. 20 ; Augustine, Confessions, IX, ch. 10.

5 Lord Deskford in communication with the Marquis de Fénelon.

6 A. M. Ramsay expected in Paris.

7 The Life of Madame Guyon, v. p. 162. Writing to Val Nalson (undated, but apparently about this time) Dr. Keith says, " The Life I hope will be speedily put to the press, without consulting the French friends any further about it " (Nichols, Literary History, IV, p. 410).

8 Lord Forbes.

9 The Marquis de Fénelon and A. M. Ramsay.

10 V. pp. 151, etc.

11 V. p. 133 n.

12 Franked by Abercromby as a member of Parliament.

XLIX. [The first part of this letter to Lord Deskford is from A. M. Ramsay, and the second from the Marquis de Fénelon.]

MY DEAR LORD,

Please accept of the small present I send your Lop by my Lord Pitsligo. 'Tis a compleat cobby of the good Archbps. works./1 J'ay prié aussy my lord Pitsligo de vous payer le prise de ma montre /2 que vous avez eû la bonté de payer pour moy a W. le Dr. Cheyne. J'ay oublié la somme mais vous vous en souvenir sans doute.

J'espère, mon cher mylord, que la fraternité qu'il y a entre nous ne sera jamais oublié et que nous vivrons toujours dans le même lieu à la plus grande distance./3 Ce lieu est notre centre/4 commun dans lequel je vous embrasse avec un tendre respect.

Ramsay,

à Paris ce 26 Fevr.

To The Right Honorable My Lord Desford.

a Paris le 26e Fevrier.

Je ne puis voir partir le my./5 qui vent bien se charger de cette lettre sans enprofiter mon cher et R./6 my./5 pour vous faire souvenir d'un homme qui

1 A letter from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo to Lord Deskford dated at Pitsligo, July 7, 1720, is preserved in Cullen House. The following is an extract : " You'll find the letters within of an old date, but Mr. Ramsay told me there was nothing in his that requir'd to be deliver'd in haste. There are some books from him, viz. the posthumous works of the Arch. Bp. of Cambray in a box with a few books of mine. . . , I suppose you know the Marquis de Fénelon's hand already. . . . Dr. Garden heartily salutes you. He came here just now in very good health." A further letter of Nov. 13, 1720, says : " I hope you shall find those books that were sent you by Mr. Ramsay at Edr. They have been for some time stopt with a parcell of mine in the Custom house of Enstruther, but I believe they may be out before now, and Mr. Munro will have them for your Lop. Dr. Garden wrote me yesterday he had got five or six cobbys of the Life of Madame Guyon and as many of the Justifications and the Opuscules, all to be sold, the price of the Life

is a florin and 13s., the Opuscles 1fl. is., the Justifications 2fl. 2s. These writings are certainly a treasure. . . . I need not desire you to burn this."

These letters not only confirm Ramsay's letter given in the text, but date it as of 1720, and we gather also that Lord Forbes of Pitsligo returned to Scotland early in this year, apparently leaving for home about the end of February. We have also confirmation of the close relations between Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and Dr. George Garden, of Garden's movements at this date after his period of exile, and of Garden's share in the work of distributing the books of Madame Guyon.

2. V. pp. 131, 244.

3 A favourite thought with Ramsay (v. p. 137), and with Madame Guyon and Fénelon.

4 Another characteristic expression of the mystic : v. pp. 93, 113, 158.

5 " My lord."

6 " Respecté."

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vous est toujours également uni, et qui ne peut changer sur les sentiments qu'il a pour vous. Notre ami vous en dira plus que je n'en pourroit mettre icy. Lorsque vous serez ensemble souvenez vous quelques fois de moy et honorez toujours d'un peu d'amitié celui à qui elle sera toujours supremement pretieuse, et qui ne vous oubliera jamais. Souvenez vous de lui auprez du p.m. Et soions toujours de veritables enfants de N.M/1 Adieu cher milor pour qui mon respect égale mes austres sentiments.

pour my. d'Ex./2

L. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

July 2nd, 1720./3

I rejoiced to receive My Dear Lord's letter of June 14th, and that yor Lop has at last come to a resolution of settling yor children with Lady Ann Allardes,/4 who has a very good character and will certainly take all possible care of their health and education. I pray God to bless and preserve them and to season their tender hearts with his Holy Fear and Love ; that they may become real comforts to yor Lop, and true children of L.M./5

I firmly believe and hope that He will ever be yor guide, yor counsellor and yor strength, to conduct you in all yor ways and support you under all yor difficulties. We are ever now and then apt to stumble and to

1 Notre mère."

2 " Mvlord d'Exford," i.e. " Deskford." V. p. 85.

3 There occurs here a considerable blank in the correspondence between Dr. James Keith and Lord Deskford. Letters in Cullen House seem to show that Lord Deskford was in Scotland throughout the year 1719--chiefly at Boyne and at Dupplin—so that there were probably some letters exchanged with Dr. Keith though these are not preserved. It so happens that 1719 was a year when it was impossible to do much in the way of the propaganda in which the group was interested. At the beginning of May Poiret took ill at his home in Rhijsburg and on the 21st he died. The traffic in mystical literature depended almost entirely upon him. He had been preparing for the press more than one of Madame Guyon's literary productions, but none of these was brought out in 1719, and the Letters of Dr. James Keith begin again before the issue in 1720 of the Life of Madame Guyon, about which there had been so much unpleasant controversy. On Dec. 7, 1719, Lord Deskford was in London, but hoping soon to be in Scotland again.

2 Anna, youngest sister of the Chancellor Earl and aunt of Lord Deskford, married 1692 George Allardice of that Ilk who died 1709. She died 1735 : r. Paul, Scots Peerage, IV, p. 37 ; D. M. Rose, Allardices of that Ilk (pamphlet) ; Register of Burials in Holyrood House, p. I I ; Seafeld Correspondence (S.H.S.), pp. 89 f. Various letters at Cullen House (e.g. a letter from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo to Lord Deskford, Sept. 15, 1722) are addressed " to be left at my Lady Ann Allardice's Lodgings, Edr."

3 " Little Master."

commit mistakes, but we must not be griev'd or troubled at them ; but rather own, and rejoyce in our infirmities, that the power of Xt may be made manifest in us. His providence overruleth even those and makes them best and most salutary for us. May his Holy Presence be ever in us and wth us !

I am glad the Books wch I sent by S. Th. Bruce /1 came safe. There were 5 of the Pious thoughts,/2 and 2 of Dr. Waterland's 3 Sermons. One of each I design'd for S. Pat. Murray./4 The price I shall set down on the other side, wth what I gave to Dr. Mead./5

I believe le *Traité des Justifications* /6 is by this time near finished, as is Mr. P.'s posthumous work./7 My next from Holdd will give an acct. of them.

I have had no letter of late from R./8 but am assured he has absolutely quit the commission wch was given him in the Army, and obtain'd it for a friend of ours whom Ld. F./9 knows.

There is a strange Spirit gone forth both there and here of encreasing and multiplying money of a sudden./10 It has fill'd most people's heads and hearts, and turri'd them from the thoughts of every thing else. It has already had very uncommon effects, but what the issue will be God only knows. Even in this respect we live in a very trying time. God grant us Grace and strength to be faithful. I must now conclude with my best wishes for our Lop's wellf are and felicity, being always

My Lord,

Your Lop's most obedient humble servt.

J. K.

1 Formerly Sir Thomas Hope, Bt. of Craighall : v. p. 77 note.

2 Pious Thoughts concerning the Knowledge and Love of God (extracted from *Oeuvres spirituelles* of Fénelon), translated from French and published at London in 1720, along with a translation of Madame Guyon's *Instruction from a Mother to a Daughter*.

3 Daniel Waterland. D.D., Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, Eight Sermons in Defence of the Divinity of Christ, 1720. He was one of the principal antagonists of Arianism in England. A copy of the Sermons is still in the Library at Cullen House.

4 Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

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5 Richard Mead (1673-1754), celebrated London physician : v. D.N.B. Robert Nelson (Secretan, Life, p. 177) refers to " the learned, judicious, and pious Mr. Mede."

6 Madame Guyon's Justifications, new edit. 2720 : 3 vols. V. M. Wieser, Peter Poiret, p. III : omitted by Wieser under this date, p. 341, though an earlier edition is mentioned. F. also 11. 'E., p. 163 n.

7 *Petri Poireti Posthuma* : pub. by Wetstein 1721 : v. M. Wieser, Peter Poiret, p. 331. The Posthuma includes a defence of James Garden's Comparative Theology : v. Introduction. It also includes an important account of Poiret himself.

8 A. M. Ramsay. There is no mention of this military project for Ramsay in any of the accounts of his Life.

9 Lord Forbes.

10 V. W. R. Scott, Joint Stock Companies to 1720, Vol. III, div. xiii : List showing new schemes, etc., 2729-20 ; Calamy, Hist..Acc. of my own Life, II, p. 430.

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March 31, 1720 to Dr. Mead	L 2	2
Apr. 28 to Dr. Mead .	1	1
May 19 by Sr. Th. Bruce		
I of Dr. Waterland's sermons	0	4
2 Pious Thoughts bound .	0	5
2 Pious Thoughts stich'd .	0	3

	L 3	15

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford

To the care of Mr. George Macky,/1 near Bamf, p. Aberdeen. North Britain.

LI. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

LONDON,

Sept. 20, 1720.

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honr of yor Lop's letter of the 5th and rejoiced to hear of yor health and that of yor dear children, but especially of that meek and entire submission /2 of spirit to the Divine Providence towards you, wch I clearly perceive in it. May the H. Sp. of L.M./3 continually support and direct you, and perfect the good work wch he hath begun and carried on in you ! /4 That watchfulness over our selves and constant attention of Love to the divine presence, with naked Faith /5 and humble Resignation,/6 are what we must continually aim at, and indeed the certain means of bringing us to that frame and disposition wch or Lord requires.

I was some six weeks ago in hopes of seeing yor Lop here, and for that reason put off writing longer than I ought to have done, but having heard that yor resolution was alter'd I sent yor Lop a few lines the first inst. and

1 George Mackie was factor to Lord Deskford : v. document quoted Grant, Records of County of Banff, p. 353. His name frequently occurs in letters preserved at Cullen House. V. also p. 129 n.

2 Cf. Disc., I, p. 179 ; Lettres, I, p. 68 ; also Lettres, IV, p. 466 : " Dieu prend soin invariablement de lame qui se confie entierement à lui."

3 " Holy Spirit of Little Master."

4 Cf. Lettres, IV, p. 180 : " Jesus, que je prie d'achever en vous ce qu'il y a mené " ; also IV, pp. 3, 103, 126.

5 One of the most characteristic expressions of Madame Guyon : v. e.g., Disc., I, pp. 6, 37, 48, 150 ; Lettres, III, pp. 4, 147, 242, 258, 286, 375, 432, 435, etc. 6 V. p. 161 n., 105, etc.

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directed it for Bamf p. Edbr. I suppose it may not be come to hand. I recd. the Note of £6 i8sh. on Mr. Ab./1—and saw him some days after, but did not mention it to him. He was poor gentleman exceedingly dejected, being a great loser by the sudden fall of the Stocks./2 I am heartily grieved for him and his good

Lady. He went for France /3 last Friday with Mr. Ogilvy of Rothemay./4 How long he intends to tarry there I know not.

Many here of all ranks are ruin'd by that Fall and many more hurt in their temporal estate. I wish all of 'em may humble themselves, and take it as a kind chastisement of providence for the pride, vanity and luxury, wch were growing exorbitant beyond measure. They talk much of retrieving their credit, but I believe it hardly possible to bring it to what it was. It has been a very strange scene both here and elsewhere, and will certainly produce very uncommon effects, all under the special conduct of providence.

Les Justifications /5 are now come over. I suppose some of 'em will be sent to Mr. Monro /6 from Holl'. Macariûs' will also be publish'd in English

1 Mr. Abercromby.

2 The slump in the stock of the South Sea Company took place August-September, 1720 : v. Lewis Melville, *The South Sea Bubble* (1921) : y. M.N.E., pp. 171 ff.

3 A letter at Cullen House from Lord Deskford's sister, the Countess of Lauderdale, dated October, 1720, no doubt refers to this when it says : " My Lord is very angry that Abercromey shoud a gone offe but he says it was becauess he had some dealings with Messisippi that caned him over for ther is hundereds att London that are not able to perfrom there bargains and yet do not go out of the way."

4 Archibald Ogilvie of Rothiemav, one of the Jacobite leaders in the north. For some interesting details v. A. and H. Tayler, *Ogilvies of Boyne*, pp. 62 ff.

5 V. p. 167. The letter from Dr. James Keith to Val. Nalson printed in Nichols, *Literary History*, IV, p. 410, under date Oct. 15, 1718, is obviously not of that year but of 1720. It includes this reference to the book here mentioned : " I must also let you know that Mr. Vaillant has now received *Les Justifications de N.M.* en 3 vols. The price bound is 7s. 6d. ; and, indeed, reasonable enough, for they are much larger than the *Life*. I am sure you will like them, for they are wonderfully well done ; and not without a very extraordinary assistance. In a word, it is the best commonplace-book of that kind I ever saw."

6 William Monro here appears for the first time as the Edinburgh agent in the distribution of mystical literature. V. p. 125. Monro seems to have escaped the notice of all the authorities on the history of bookselling. He is probably the William Monro recorded in the Edinburgh Marriage Register under date February 4, 1720, as " S. of late Mr. Andrew M., minister of Thurso in Caithness," and married to " Isabel Gerrard d. of late William Gerrard, merchant in Aberdeen." *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* (new edit.), Vol. VII, p. 136, under heading Andrew Munro of Thurso, mentions a son William, a bookseller, but

offers no authority. Mackenzie, in the History of the Munros, p. 387, has a similar entry, but says (without stating any authority) that this William the bookseller died unmarried. A letter from Monro to Lord Deskford, dated 23rd Nov.. 1720, is in Cullen House, and begins : " I had your Lop of the 15th yesterday and enclosed that for Dr. Keith to Mr. Abercromby, the Dr. having desired me to direct that way." He mentions professionally a number of recent publications, especially in History and [For note 7 ste following page.

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next week. The Contraversies concerning the H. Trinity 1 are pretty

Travel. He also refers to an order from Lord Deskford for a Bible. There is an interesting reference to Monro in the letter written by T. L. Wetstein (e. p. 125 note) from Holland and quoted in a note in *Remains of John Byrom*, Vol. II, pp. 472 f. The letter dated 26th Feb. 1735, begins : "Dear Sir, Worthy friend and brother in Him who is our eldest brother and our head. To answer your queries, I must tell you that we are not acquainted with anybody in Scotland but My Lord P. (Pitsligo) and one Mr. William Monro, bookseller at Edinburgh, who have been here." The letter further mentions James Forbes, and his brother William, late Lord Forbes, George and James Garden, Dr. Keith, the Philadelphian Society, Madame Bourignon, and Mr. Homfeld. It is interesting to find Monro spoken of in such company, and personally visiting at the Wetstein place of business in Holland.

7 The letter from Dr. Keith to Rev. Val. Nalson quoted above refers also to the Macarius : " I have long since been intending to give you the 'trouble of a few lines ; but, having nothing that was urgent in point of time, I was always inclined to put it off till I should be able to give you some good account of Macarius. Now then I can tell you that it is entirely finished, and that the translation, I hope, as well as the paper and letter, will not be unacceptable. It makes a pretty large book of near 500 pages, and therefore the charge of printing it is considerable ; however, the bookseller is willing to dispose of it to subscribers and other booksellers at the very lowest price he can, which he says is 3s. 6d. in quires, and 5s. bound in the shop. You may remember I undertook for 50 of them, 20 of which you had hopes of disposing of amongst your friends and acquaintances. Please then to let me know whether you can still put off that number, and when and how they must be sent to you." Another (undated) letter given by Nichols (ITT, p. 410) mentions a copy of the 1526 Paris edition of the Homilies of Macarius (in Greek) as ordered from Vaillant for Nalson. The English translation to which Keith refers is *Primitive Morality or the Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius*, London, 1721 (B.M. Catalogue). A copy of this is still in the Library at Cullen House. The Homilies are supposed to have been the work of Macarius, a 4th century monastic mystic in the deserts of Upper Egypt : v. Moeller, *Hist. of Christian Church* (1892), I, pp. 358, 409 ; Wieser, Peter Poirer, p. 221 ; but cf. G. Raüschén, *Grundriss der Patrologie*, pp. 234 f. Poiret praises the work of Macarius very highly, even declaring " spisitu sancto, dictante

vindentur scriptae, earumque lectione saturari vix potent pia mens " (v. Epistola de prncipiis . . . mvsticorum, 1708, pp. 194 ff., 289 ff.) ; but cf. R. J. Vaughan, Hours with the Mystics, I, p.iii. John Byrom, speaking of Wm. Laws says, "I mentioned the old people, Hermes, Dionysius, Macarius, whom he commended, especially, I think, .Macarius," (Remains, II, part I, p. 113) : y. also J. H. Overton, Life and Opinions of Wm. Law (1881), p. 146. V. also Madame Guyon, Disc., I, p. 266 note ; M.N.E., P. 155 n.

8 Considerable controversy had been going on since the beginning of the century. Dr. Francis Gastrel published, 1702, Some Considerations concerning the Trinity which approved itself to the orthodox and went through several editions. The opposite side was taken by Dr. Samuel Clarke, notably in his Arian Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity (1712). To this James Knight replied, 1713, in an anonymous Scripture Doctrine of the most Holly and Undivided Trinity vindicated, which was published next year, with a prefatory letter by Robert Nelson ; and again in 1715, in further answer to Clarke, Knight issued (again anonymously and under the recommendation of Nelson) True Scripture Doctrine . . . continued and vindicated. Knight's first reply to Clarke is described by Robert Nelson as " a learned, acute and well digested performance, written with candour and good temper, and Dr. Clarke put forth his full strength in answering it " : (Secretan, Life of Robert Nelson, p. 269).

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much at a stand. However Dr. Knight 1 is to begin his Lectures in a fortnight.

I am now forced to conclude wch I do wth my sincerest and best wishes to yor Lop and all yors, being ever

My Lord

Yor Lop's most obedient

humble servt.

J. K.

For the Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford

To Mr. William Monro

Bookseller at

Edinburgh.

LII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

LONDON,

Oct. 22, 1720.

MY DEAR LORD,

My last to yor Lop of Sept. 10th, wch I hope came safe to hand, took notice of the great calamities and distresses of many here, occasion'd by the sudden fall of stocks ; /2 and particularly that several of our country-men had suffer'd considerably by them. And now I am to tell yor Lop how much I am griev'd to hear that these are beginning at home to prosecute and distress one another ; and without any bowels of compassion to do what in them lies to compleat the ruine of their friends and neighbours. I am enclin'd to hope that half of what I have been lately told is not true, but that most of those reports are groundless or malicious. To give your Lop an instance of one of 'em, wch I can't possibly believe, 'tis said that the E. of F--ter /3 has rais'd Letters of Inhibition agt. Capt. Aber.' to oblige him to pay to the E./3 one L 1000 subscription wch he had got for him. This seems very incredible to me, knowing the perfect friendship that has always been between the E. and the Capt: but especially considering that the E. had made no contract and ran no risque. It was the Capt's credit and money wch were engaged. For I well remember the Capt then told me, and indeed I thought it very generous in him, that unask'd he had procur'd by his interest 1000 subscription for the E. and another for yor Lop.

1 Refers to the Lectures founded by Lady Moyer. Knight's Lectures on the occasion mentioned were published in 1721 under the title *Sermons on the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit*. For Knight v. pp. 149, etc.

2 V. Lewis Melville, *op. cit.*

3 Earl of Findlater, father of Lord Deskford.

4 Abercromby of Glassaugh : v. p. 132.

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Besides that subscription wch was the Third is sometime ago reduced to £400./1 And therefor in the opinion of some eminent lawyers here, all contracts made on the first subject are void in

law. For wch reason many here who are able have discharg'd the contract and repaid the money.

I have always believ'd the Capt to be a very honest friendly man, most willing and ready to assist every one to utmost of his power. I am therefor the more concern'd for him, and pray that he may be supported under his difficulties and deliver'd out of 'em. He is much lamented by every one that knows him here, and none have offer'd to give him any the least trouble. I hope then the report above mention'd is false, and that yor Lop will be pleased to assure me of it./2

1 V. « R. Scott, Joint Stock Companies to 1720 (1911), Vol. III, p. 330.

2 Dr. Keith as peacemaker. In this connection it is interesting to find at Cullen House a rough draft of a letter to be sent by the Earl of Findlater to Captain Abercromby about this very subscription :-

“ DEAR ABER :

" You'll be so good as to excuse my not wrieteing in answer to your letter concerning the stocks, which I receiv'd about three weeks ago. My daughter Janet was so ill and I had such a tender affection for her that I cou'd think of nothing els, and on Christmas morning it pleas'd God to remove her by death, by which I have a very great loss and you are depriv'd of a faithful friend.

" You know I had no understanding nor trust in the stocks, and I doe with gratitude acknowledge that it v, as most friendly in you to make application to E. Sunderland on my son's behalf and mine, for some interest in the 3d subscription, and that without any commission from us or so much as acquainting us of it. However I assure you I wou'd never have approv'd of what you did in this, if you had not at the same time acquainted me by your letter of June the 18th that you had dispos'd of it even before Ld Sd's list was known, and secur'd for each of us a 1000 ster : premium from Mr. Paterson, without any advance, risk or uncertainty, and sent us Mr. Paterson's letter to you of June 17th wherby he secures the above premium of 500 L on each subscription and takes the venture of the subscriptions on himself. This being the state of this affair, and knowing nothing of the stocks but what you write, and it appearing that Mr. Paterson desires to be free of the premiums due to my son and me, in consideration of the unlucky turn stocks have taken, in case he make no other demand but this, I doe assure you, that I shal deal in it in as easy friendly and equitable a manner, with regard to the premium, as men of honour and justice doe in the like cases, and the premium is all that I have concern in, for as to the subscriptions, if Mr. Paterson had got 10,000 profit, which as they once sold, he might have had, we had nothing to demand, so if any loss does happen it must likewise be his, but ther is good reason to hope the parliament will so order it that these subscriptions will still be profitable to the proprietors of them, and I doe most sincerely wish it maybe so, for I wou'd have great pleasure in seeing both Mr. Paterson and you prosper, and all good men must be deeply concern'd,

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for the misfortunes of so many of our countrymen. I shal give you no further trouble at present, for I intend very soon to -write to you of my other concerns, and take your advice about my coming up. I still depend on the continuance of your friendship, being ready as I ever was to doe you all the service in the power of . . ."

Lord Findlater's daughter mentioned in this letter was the wife of Wm. Duff of Braco. Her monument at Banff confirms the date of her death as Christmas, 1720, and not 1722 as in Paul's Scots Peerage, IV.

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Ld. F./1 and our other friends are well and salute yor Lop with great respect as does in the tenderest manner,

My Lord,

IV Lop's most obedient humble servt.

J. K.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford.

LIII. [LETTER FROM DR. GEORGE GARDEN TO LORD
DESKFORD.

Preserved at Cullen House. There is no date, but the contents point to 1721.

MY LORD,

I wish I had had the opportunity to have waited on your Lordship at this time. I am sorry that the copy of the Justification /2 which was designed for your Lordship never came to your hands. It was entrusted to my care. I called once at your lodging and the mistress said she knew not when your Lordship would be in Town and so I was advised to give it in to the Equivalent Office /3 which I did, and sent it thither from Mrs. Scots where I lodged. However, it seems it has miscarried. But I have another copy, which I would have given presently to the bearer, but he pretends he had no carriage for it ; but I shall take the first opportunity to send it. I wish your Lordship a prosperous journey, and am

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Most humble servant Geo: Garden.

For The Right Honourable The Lord Deskford.

1 Lord Forbes recently married and now residing for the winter in London : v. Introduction.

2 Madame Guyon's Justifications : v. pp. 167, 169. A letter from Lord Forbes of Pitsligo to Lord Deskford (Cullen House), dated Dec. 30, 1721, says : " Dr. G. G. told me lately that his health is much broke. I had writt to him about the copy of the Justifications, but he said your Lop had told him you would be provided at London." There is a copy of this edition of the Justifications still in Cullen House Library.

3 The Equivalent Office in Edinburgh where Patrick Campbell of Monzie was a Commissioner : v. Introduction.

LIV. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

Dec^r. 16, 1721.

Last week I had the hour of My dear Lord's letter of the 9th past and was not a little rejoyced to see it. Yor humble attention to our divine L.M./1 and yor watchfulness over yor self, cannot but be acceptable to him. Unto whom will I look saith the Lord ? but unto the poor, the humble and the contrite ; and to him who trembleth at my Word./2 This being the happy disposition wch he requires, it must not be disturb'd by reflex acts on what is past, nor with the perplexing thoughts of our selves, our follies and miseries./3 Our d. M's /4 advice always was, *Laissez les tomber, et outre passez.*/5 O could we walk continually before him as little children, we shou'd always rejoyce in his holy presence, and take every thing that happens from moment to moment purely from his hand. Our natural infirmities and incidental follies may thus become instructive and salutary to us, and ought ever to be born with meekness and patience ; as parts of our daily Cross. May the Spirit of the Cross of Christ, wch is the Spirit of Love, of Wisdom, of Power, and of a sound Mind be given unto us and dwell in us, by wch we may be crucified to the world, and the world crucified to us!

Yor Lop's Reflections on the growing error of Fatalism /6 are very just and good, but I am the more unwilling now to enter further into the consideration of it, that I am made to hope for an opportunity of seeing your Lop here in a little time, and of discoursing that and other matters with you.

P. *Posthuma* /7 are come at last and Les Posies Spirituelles /8 en 4 tomes will be printed off in about 2 moneths hence.

1 " Little Master."

2 Isaiah lxvi. 2 : A.V. reads " To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit and trembleth at my word."

3 V. p. 163.

4 " Dear Mother."

5 V. pp. 93, etc.

6 No doubt referring to the tendencies encouraged by such influences as those of Hobbes. The Deistic controversy was beginning to assume first importance at this time and a number of important works on both sides had already appeared :

v. J. Cairns, *Unbelief in the 18th Century* (1881). Lord Deskford seems to have been specially interested in the problem of Free Will : v. p. 184. The whole group disliked Calvinism.

7 A letter from Dr. Keith to Val. Nalson printed by Nichols (*Lit. Hist.*, IV, p. 410) as dated from Devonshire St., Sept. 2, 1718, but quite obviously of a later year, refers to the *Posthuma* as not yet arrived, and explains that " the parcel has lain at the Hague ever since the middle of June, through the negligence and mistake of the booksellers. It was not directed, as I desired, to me but to Mr. Isaac Vaillant, who, being come hither about a week before, knew nothing of it ; and, though at my desire he writ again and

[For note 8 see opposite page.

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L.F./1 and Mr. H./2 are well and salute yor Lop with great respect. I forwarded R.'s /3 letter in one of mine. L.K./4 is now I'm told in Scotld and my Lady on the road thither. Ld. Abd./5 is also well. I took occasion one day to mention yor Lop's kind and sincere remembrance of him. He express'd himself with great affection to yor Lop and charg'd me to assure you of his real respects. I return my humble thanks for yor goodness in mentioning my neph. Ross./6 I sent him something by Capt. Aberc./7

again for that parcel, was still answered that they had none of it, till at last, opening all they had received from Amsterdam, they found it. Now he is returned to the Hague I hope I may expect it in a few weeks."

8 *Poésies et cantiques spirituels sur divers sujets qui regardent la vie intérieure, ou l'Esprit du vrai Christianisme*, by Madame Guyon, 4 vols., 1722. Newton called the attention of the poet Cowper to these poems and he published translations of a considerable number : *Poems translated from the French of M. de la Motte Guyon*, 1782. Cowper mentions Madame Guyon's poetry in his *Letters*, and declares " her verse is the only French verse I ever read that I found agreeable ; there is a neatness in it equal to that which we applaud with so much reason in the compositions of Prior " : v. *Correspondence of W. Cowper* (T. Wright, 4 vols., 1904), Vol. II, p. 5. Also in another letter : " the strain of simple and unaffected piety in the original is sweet beyond expression. She sings like an angel, and for that very reason has found but few admirers " : *ibid.*, II, p. 20. V. *M.N.E.*, pp. 177, 178, 182.

1 Lord Forbes.

2 Perhaps Mr. Hay, formerly Alexander Falconer, husband of Countess of Erroll : v. pp. 118, 181. But the identification is of course the merest guess. There were also Hays of Montblearie, and the Kinnoull family bore the same name.

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3 A. M. Ramsay.

4 George Henry Hay, 7th Earl of Kinnoull, previously referred to as Lord Dupplin, succeeded to the title on the death of his father in January, 1719 : y. Paul, Scots Peerage.

5 Lord Aberdeen, formerly referred to in the Letters as Lord Haddo, had succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1720, and became a Scottish representative peer in June, 1721 : v. Paul, Scots Peerage ; Journals of H. of Lords, XXI, p. 541. 1'. also M.N.E., p. 185.

6 Apparently Alexander Ross, son of the Rev. Francis Ross (v. p. 133). V. F.E.S., new edit., III, p. 186. He became a well-known physician in Aberdeen. A Deed in Sheriff Court Records, Aberdeen, subscribed July 5, 1755, recorded July 14, 1772, is evidence of the family connection of Dr. Ross with the Tulliesnaught family to which Francis Ross belonged. Similarly with the record in the Commissariat of St. Andrews of the will of Lieutenant Alex. Rose (Feb. 9, 1776), where Dr. Alex. Rose (the name is sometimes Ross and sometimes Rose) is cautioner for the executors. Dr. Rose reintroduced in Aberdeen the practice of inoculation for smallpox, which his uncle's Aberdeen friend, Charles Maitland, had introduced in London : v. Introduction, p. 59. V. further A. Munro, Account of the Inoculation of Smallpox in Scotland (1765), P. 4. Dr. Rose married in 1755 a daughter of the deceased Capt. Alex. Middleton, controller of Customs and Postmaster at Aberdeen, niece of Brig.-Gen. John Middleton of Seaton, relative of the Earls of Middleton and granddaughter of Principal George Middleton, King's College, Aberdeen, who was a cousin of Dr. George Garden : v. Aberdeen Journal, Feb. 4, 1755. Dr. Rose died May 12, 1778 " at an advanced age," and the Ab. Journal of June 1, 1778, mentions that the furniture in his house in the Upperkirkgate is to be sold, " which can hardly be equalled in elegance, goodness and variety."

7 Capt. Abercromby of Glassaugh : v. p. 132.

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and hope he recd it but above all wish he may behave himself so as to merit yor Lop's regard.

My best wishes ever attend yor Lop and yor dear children and am under many obligations, My Lord,

Your Lop's most obedient humble servt.

J. K.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford.

LV. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

DEVONSHIRE STREET, May 1, 1722.

MY DEAR LORD,

Last night I rec'd yor Lop's letter of Apr. 22d with great satisfaction. I did not once suppose that yor Lop would be obliged to return to the Election of the 16 Peers,^{/1} however I am glad that yor Lop is now so near me. That body of men is exceedingly blamed and reproach'd for returning those very persons to represent them, who endeavour'd so unworthily to betray them last opportunity.^{/2} All men will now believe that they approve of the design, and indeed if it should at any time take effect, they will neither pity nor assist them. I am sorry our dear Ld. F.^{/3} was dropt. 'Tis no more than what I expected, for such always is the lot of L.M.'s ^{/4} children. But patience ! 'tis certainly for his good. Better things are reserved for him. I suppose he is now on ye road hither. Yor Lop says nothing of the Boy Woodhouse ^{/5} whether he be come ; or how he is lik'd. He went from hence above a moneth or 5 weeks ago, aboard Hamilton's ship, and no body here has heard from him since. His master who still gives him a very good

1 In connection with the General Election for the second Parliament of George I, the Scottish peers met at Holyrood Palace on April 21, 1722 : Hist Reg., 1722, Chronological Diary. pp. 16, 23.

2 The reference here is to the Peerage Bill which was to make 25 Scottish peers hereditary members of the House of Lords : v. Hist. MSS. Corn., Portland MSS., V, pp. 578 ff. A letter in Portland MSS., VII, p. 322, states : " Want of consent in the Scotch peers can never be pleaded again against the Peerage (Bill). They have fairly given their consent by choosing those again who were for it." Cf. Lockhart Papers.

3 Lord Forbes was a candidate, but was not elected. Lord Findlater who was not elected at this time was unanimously appointed to fill a vacancy in August, 1722 : v. p. 181. V. Journal of House of Lords, XXII, p. 4.

4 " Little Master."

5 One may suppose that this was a negro servant. Such boys were popular in London at this period when wealth had been coming (before the Bubble) from

Colonial trade. V. p. 180. " Woodhouse " is heraldic term for savage.

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character was lately with me. I then pay'd him 16 shill. for a blew rug coat and a hat for the Boy.

I have not yet been able to do anything towards publishing the first Treatise./1 The Town is empty at present. But I will try sometime hence. Our parcell of the Poesies Spirituelles/2 are at the Hague. They came a day too late for the last Bail, but Mr. Vaillant /3 expects another in a little time.

Ld. Sund's death was pretty sudden,/4 and not a little surprizing to many here. No alterations have yet happen'd upon it. But difficulties in time may arise and more hands will be wanted.

I shal be glad to hear often from yor Lop and do think we must write the common way, till we find out another. The new return'd Members here do all frank letters, but I have not seen one of 'em to-day. Indeed there are many in Town.

I have done when I have recommended yor Lop and all yours to the special protection of our Divine L.M./5 May he be yor Guide yor Strength and yor All.6 I ever am in the most tender and affectionat manner

Yor Lop's

(Page with address torn off.)

LVI. FROM PATRICK CAMPBELL /7 OF MONZIE TO
LORD DESKFORD.

Only the first part of the letter is relevant to this collection and the rest is therefore omitted. Lord Deskford at this time was in London. The letter is at Cullen House.

Edinbr. 15 May, 1722.

I pleasd myself much in the hopes of seeing your Lop in Perthshire and was desappointed. I saw part of your Lops to Sr Patrick Murray /8

1 V. p. 173.

2 V. pp. 174, etc. : these were the last volumes issued according to the plans of Poiret.

3 Dr. Cheyne in a letter (Warner, *Original Leiters* (1817), p. 85) says he obtained Poiret's catalogue of mystics at " a Mr. Vailante's shop in the Strand " ; P. Vaillant was one of the publishers of N. Hooke's translation of A. M. Ramsay's *Life of Fénelon* (1723), and also of Fénelon's *Pious Thoughts* (1720) mentioned p. 167.

4 The E. of Sunderland, First Lord of the Treasury, died April 19, 1721. Lord Mahon (*op. cit.*, II, p. 39) says " so suddenly that poison was rumoured, but his body being opened the surgeons discovered a disease in the heart." His wife was a daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. She had died in 1716. For his character and political intrigues and passionate temper v. John Morley, Walpole. pp. 47 f. ; Mahon, *op. cit.*, I, PP- 355 ff ; II, pp. 39 f.

5 " Little Master."

6 Again this phrase : v. pp. 207, etc.

7 V. Introduction.

8 *Ibid.*

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of Ochtertyre, and I reckon as you have occasion to talk with Dr. Keith you'l be able to setle what number of coppies of the litle books /1 proposd to be printed will come to our share, I mean to Mr. Monro /2 to be sold or if wee must alter the method of contribution proposd here and what will be more agreeable to the printers at London, Sr Patrick in all events is willing to come in to the measure that shall be setled by your Lop be what it will...

LVII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

June 16th, 1722.

Yesterday I had My Dear Lord's letter of ye 9th and now take this first opportunity to acknowledge it. Ld. F./3 has not yet said anything to me of the proposals wch have been made to yor Lop. Nor was it necessary. However, in the general I may venture to say the Rule you have set yor self is safe and good, and am from thence hopeful that the Divine Providence to wch you commit yor self and yor affairs, will certainly direct and guide you in the best manner. When the eye is single, the whole body is full of light./4

My Ld./3 has recd the Earle's /5 letter recommended to my care. This morning I saw Mrs. Popham./6 She shew'd me the picture /7 done by Gibson ready fram'd, and has promis'd me to get a case made for it. When that is done I will take care to pay for the case and send it down by sea as yor Lop directs. I will also at the same time send three setts of the Poësies Spirlires /8 bound and put up in a box. Mr. Zink /9 has not yet finished

1 V. p. 179.

2 Wm. Monro, bookseller, Edinburgh : v. p. 169.

3 Lord Forbes.

4 S. Matt. vi, 22 : a favourite text with Madame Guyon : v. Discours, I, pp. 23, 31, 295, 303 ; II, 167 ; Lettres, III, p. 533.

5 Presumably the E. of Findlater.

6 Brilliana, elder half-sister of E. of Oxford (Mrs. Popham, Tewkesbury), v. D.N.B. (Edward Harley) ; or Oxford's niece Anne (Mrs. Popham of Littlecote), v. Hist. MSS. Com., Portland .PISS., V, p. 521.

7 No doubt a picture of the first Lady Deskford, who died in this summer. Lord Kinnoull wrote to Lord Deskford on July 7, 1722 : "I believe Dr. Keith has sent you the copie of my poor sister's picture " (Letter at Cullen House) . Gibson may be Thomas Gibson, the painter : v. H. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, IV, P. 45.

8 V. p. 174.

9 Christian Frederic Zincke : v. H. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, IV, pp. 178 f. Young, the author of Night Thoughts, has the following lines in his Love of Fame, Satire VI (on Women) :—

the little picture. He told me to-day he must have yet a fortnight or three weeks more to do it ; before wch time Will. Stuart I will certainly be gone. If no other safe occasion should offer, it must I think lie where it is, at least till yor Lop is better determin'd.

As to the design of publishing some little usefull books,/2 I hope the gentlemen yor Lop names will be assisting. The short Instruction /3 etc. is now in Dr. Knt's /4 hands. I have mention'd it once and Again to Mr. Innys,/5 who seems willing to undertake it, I engaging to take a good number of him.

Last week I had a letter from Dr. G. G./6 who I rejoiced to hear is in a much better state of health. He gives me a very good character of my nephew Ross,/7 and tells me withall that yor Lop was so kind as to remit him three Guineas, two at one time and one at another. I must beg the favour of yor Lop, when you return to the North, to let him (the young man) have two Guin. more, if it can be done with convenience and I will take care God willing to repay all the five. I cannot think of any other way of supplying him at present, and therefor hope yor Lop will forgive my freedom.

When I have shipt the things for Leith, I will advise Willm Garden /8

" You here in miniature your pictures see
Nor hope from Zincke more justice than from me.
My portraits grace your mind, as his your side.
His portraits will inflame, mine quench your pride :
He's dear, you frugal : choose my cheaper lay
And be your reformation all my pay."

1 In a letter of Jan. 2, 1727, to his Father (Cullen House) Lord Deskford sends greetings to his friend in London : " my friend Will Stuart whom I always remember with a very sincere affection." At Cullen House there are several business letters from Will Stuart in London to Lord Deskford.

2 V. pp. 178, etc.

3 The Brieve Instruction of Père la Combe : v. p. 181.

4 Dr. James Knight : v. p. 149.

5 V. p. 188.

6 Dr. George Garden : v. p. 173 n.

7 V. p. 175.

8 Will Gairdne, Leith, has a letter recorded in Seafield Correspondence, p. 366, of date 1704. A letter from John Philip to his " Dear Cousine," June 6, 1710 (Cullen House) mentions " the meal qch is come safe to Leith and is in William Gardne's custody." A somewhat amusing letter from Will Gairdn, Leith, dated March 18, 1713, is also at Cullen House. Wm. Gairden, " incola de villa de Leith," appears in the Catalogue of Edinburgh Burgh Sasines, 4th Protocol of George Home, 1709-15. Another Wm. Gairden, " writer in Edinburgh, son of Alexander Gairden of Troup," appears in Aberdeen Sasines, May 16, 1726. Wm. Gairden, writer in Edinburgh, who died in 1759, had a library of which the inventory is preserved in the Edin. Register House (Edin. Corn., Dec. 4, 1759), and this is of special note as containing the names of many of the books in which our group of mystics were interested, including the following : A. Campbell, Doctrine of a Middle State ; Poiret, de Eruditione ; Poiret, de Ideis (probably his de Natura Idearum) ; Poiret, Divine Economy ; Life of Poiret (perhaps his Posthuma which contains a short Life) ; Poiret, Bibliotheca Mysticorum selecta ; Ramsay, Life of Fénelon ; Fénelon, Télémaque ; Fénelon, Tables (v. Janet, Fénelon, p. 175) ; G. Garden, Apology for M. Bourignon ; Haywood, Man's Summum Bonum ; Meursius, Sermons ; etc. This is clearly the library of some one in close relation to our group.

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by Mr. Monro /1 of it. I am sorry the Boy Jon Woodhouse /2 does not answer expectation. These Boys are used to a pretty strict discipline ; and therefor My Lady must give orders to have a watchful eye upon him, and to check him whenever there's occasion for it.

All I have now to add is my hearty and constant request to our divine L.M./3 that it may please him to conduct you in all yor ways to the perfect accomplishment of his holy will. May He be our Light, our Strength and our All !/4

All our friends here most affectionately salute yor Lop, and I am ever

Yor Lop's most obedient and most humble servt.

Ld. and Lady Kinnoull /5 and their family are well. She was about 3 weeks ago brought to bed of a son./6 This morning about 4 the Duke of Marlborough died /7 of an universal convulsion all over his body. He was at Windsor Lodge, and was taken ill in the beginning of the week. Several physicians were with him, but to no purpose. 'Tis not doubted but Cadogan/8s will succeed him in his command.

G. D. HENDERSON

To The Right H(onble) The Lord De(skford) In the care of
Mr. (Monro) Bookseller at Edinburgh.

LVIII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

DEVONSHIRE STREET,

Aug. 14, 1722.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have been these two or three last posts unaccountably diverted from acknowledging the honour of yor Lop's last letter of the 28th past. In the mean time I took care to deliver that to Ld. Forbes, who said he would answer it next post, and who, I am confident, has inviolably preserved his friendship upon this occasion to the Earle and yor Lop. No body

1 V. pp. 169, etc.

2 V. p. 176.

3 Little Master."

4 Again this favourite expression : v. p. 107.

5 V. p. 175.

6 Edward : v. Paul, Scots Peerage. Hist. Reg. says a daughter was born June 13, 1722.

7 Died June 16, 1722 : v. Mahon, op. cit., II, p. 41 ; Stuart Reid, John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough (1914), P. 414.

8 Cadogan had been Marlborough's second in command, and did in fact succeed him as Commander-in-chief : v. Hist. Reg., 1722, Chr. Diary, p. 32.

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here doubts but that the Earle will carry his election,¹ and that in a few days we shall hear of his success.

As to the proposal for /2 printing some books in English, Munzie mention'd some-what of it in his last, and refer'd me to yor Lop's fuller account. I am now very glad to hear that it is like to meet with encouragement, from the worthy Gentlemen you name. There are materials enough as yor Lop well knows, but I'm afraid good hands will be wanted to translate. The only one I can depend upon at present is at York,^{/3} and it will (be) business enough for one here to revise and correct. Were everything ready we might I think undertake to publish to the value of about 6 shill. per ann. And that the number of books subscrib'd for of each impression, shall be distributed both here and there in proportion to the respective sums. If Mr. Hay /4 or Dr. G./5 should come

hither I will not fail to talk with them. The Breve Instruction 6 is not yet in the press. Some accidents have

1 The Earl of Findlater had not been elected a representative peer at the last few general elections, including that in April, 1722, but the E. of Rothes died on May 3, and on August 15 the peers met at Holyrood and unanimously elected Findlater in his place : Hist. Reg., 1722, Chr. Diary, p. 39 ; G.E.C., Complete Peerage.

2 V. pp. 178, etc.

3 The Rev. Valentine Nalson, rector of S. Martin's, Colney St., York (not S. Michael's, Coney St., as in Nichols, Lit. Hist., IV, p. 408). Four letters from Dr. James Keith to Val. Nalson are printed by Nichols (op. cit., pp. 408-II), but indexed as from James Keith, D.D. The dates of the letters are, in at least two cases, obviously wrong : v. p. 169. A letter from Val. Nalson to Dr. Keith dated York, Sept. 22, 1722, shows he was doing translations of the Spiritual Poems, etc. His note asks what interest The South Sea pays, as a friend " would encourage them now they are brought to honesty by poverty." He adds, " ` What news of ye Little Book ? " : for which v. p. 185. The letter is preserved at Cullen House. For further reference to Nalson, v. p. ISS. V. also Dr. Keith's letter to Val. Nalson (Nichols, Lit. Hist., IV, p. 409), wrongly dated Sept. 2, 1718 : " You may remember I once told you of a legacy left some years since by a charitable lady, for publishing religious and spiritual books. The will, because it had not been duly executed according to Law, was brought into Chancery, where it has ever since remained ; but at last, after one half at least of the sum left for pious uses was taken away, the matter is come to an issue, and we find that something considerable will be set apart for the above-mentioned purpose. Nov our friend Mr. Hoare, who is one of the trustees, has more than once talked of the subject with me, and withal prayed me to give his service to you, and request you to consider of what books or treatises you judge most proper to be published first, as most universally useful. He would have them such as are most adapted to vulgar capacities. I mentioned to him Blossius's Meditations for one, which I have of yours ; but it is too small to go about alone. There are several in English might be reprinted, being scarce and hardly known but to a few ; others translated out of Latin and French. But the difficulty here will be to find proper hands, who have leisure and inclination ; and, which is most of all, who are not unacquainted with the spirit of those illuminated authors. In the meantime your thoughts of the whole matter will be acceptable."

4 Perhaps the husband of the Countess of Erroll, formerly mentioned as A. Falconer, advocate : v. p. I18.

5 Dr. George Garden.

6 Brieve Instruction by Père la Combe (director of Madame Guyon, mentioned constantly in her Life). Poiret doubted whether this work was by la Combe (v. Wieser,

hundred us and besides other objections, there are 3 or 4 chapters intermix'd in ye transi. wch are taken out of *Les Regles des Assoc.* /1 which I think will be better left out, both that the first may go entire by itself, and in hopes too of getting the second printed in time. Blossius's Meditations on the passion /2 will come at the end.

I was glad to hear that the picture /3 with the Poesies Spirituelles /4 are come safe. Mr. Zink 5 has still the little piece in his hands, and when I call'd last it was not quite finished.

I thank yor Lop for supplying my nephew /6 with the 2 Guineas. I will God willing repay them thankfully. Dr. G./7 has writ twice to me about Mr. Campbell's Middle State.⁸ Last March I deliver'd two of them to

Peter Poiret, p. 309). He published it with the Opuscules Spirituels of Madame Guyon, vol. II, in 1712. Writing to Val. Nalson from London. May 29, 1718 (Nichols, *Literary History*, IV, p. 408), Dr. Keith says : " I agree with you that a translation of the Instruction chrétienne pour les jeunes gens would be very proper to accompany the Moien Court with its Apology, and that the Brieve Instruction de P. la C. might be made useful also to the welldisposed who are unacquainted with the internal way ; adding Blossius's Meditation on the Passions to it. When, therefore. it shall please Providence to give you time and facility, pray fail not to undertake them, leaving it to our Div. L. M. to find an opportunity of printing them for the benefit of his poor creatures." It is possible that the date given for this letter is mistaken : v. p. 181 n. For Madame Guyon's works here mentioned, v. Wieser, Peter Poiret, p. 341 (Instruction chrétienne pour les jeunes gens, preface to Vol. II, of *Discours chrétiens*) ; p. 340, etc. (Moien Court, Madame Guyon's famous early work, and the Apologie pour le Moien Court).

1 Règle des associés à l'enfance de Jesus by Madame Guyon, pub. 1685 : v. Wieser, Peter Poiret, pp. 104, 340.

2 V. p. 181 n. Ludovicus Blossius (1506-66), a Flemish Benedictine, was author of a number of works mentioned by G. Arnold in his *Historia Theologiae Mysticae* (1702). Poiret issued the *Exercitia in passionem Jesu Christi* of Blossius in 1696—the work to which reference is here made. V. Poiret, *Epistola de Princ. et Char. Mysticorum*, p. 143 (also p. 134). There is a convenient volume of selected works of Blossius by Newsham (1859) entitled *Manuale Vitae Spiritualis*. Blossius is

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frequently referred to by Father Baker. V. also Fénelon, Oeuvres, II, p. 121, etc. ;
Cuthbert Butler, Western Mysticism, pp. 10 f., 305.

3 V. p. 173.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 V. P. 179.

7 Dr. George Garden.

8 In this connection we may note a copy of part of a letter written by Dr. George Garden from Aberdeen, Decr. 11, 1721, to Dr. James Keith. The copy is No. 757 among the manuscripts in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh. It is of interest on account of the opinions expressed regarding Bishop Campbell's Middle State, of which a new edition had just appeared :-

" You may remember when we went to wait on Mr. Arch: Campbell at his lodgings the day before I parted from London he spake to us of his resolution to finish and publish his Treatise of a Midle State. I had never occasion to see the first edition, but now I have seen this second ; and indeed I do very much esteem it, and it has given me quite another idea of his sentiments and disposition with respect to true Christianity, so that I am very hopefull that it may be of good use to open the eyes of many, and to let them see what it is to be a true Christian, and to be indeed truly regenerated and

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yor Lop to be put up with yor own books. No doubt they are safe, but yor Lop has not had time it may be to look for them. There was also a Raymund de Sabunde /1 for Ld. Pitsl./2

I should be willing to have another letter before your Lop leave Edbr. In the meantime my best wishes are always with you, and I do not question but the Divine Providence will conduct your Lop in all yor designs and affairrs, for yor real Good. I commit your Lop for this end to the protection of our Divine L. M./3 and remain

My Lord

Yor Lop's most obedient

humble servt. J.K.

To the Right Honble. The Lord Deskford

To the care of Mr. Monro Bookseller at Edinburgh.

LIX. FROM A. M. RAMSAY TO LORD DESKFORD.

[No year is mentioned in the date, but the contents suggest 1722.]

J'ay reçu votre lettre Mon très cher Mvlord et je l'av donné à Mr. le Marquis de Fénelon. Voicy la réponse. Je feray attention à ce que vous

born again wch if begun here must certainly be advanced and perfected hereafter. Pray offer my service to him. I do indeed very much esteem him. . . ."

Hon. Archibald Campbell, D.D., was Scottish Episcopalian Bishop of Aberdeen, but resident in England, Jacobite, nonjuror. V. D.N.B. ; J. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 404 ff. ; J. H. Overton, *The Nonjurors*, pp. 440 f. ; H. Broxap, *The Later Nonjurors*, pp. 12 f. ; and considerable correspondence in Scottish Episcopal College, Edinburgh. His well-known book here mentioned was first published anonymously in 1713 (copy in Edin. Univ. Library). Second enlarged edition, 1721 (not 1731 as D.N.B., nor 1719 as Broxap, op. cit.). A favourable judgment upon this curious but interesting work appears in Overton, op. cit., pp. 402 ff. V. also Broxap, op. cit., pp. 73, 322. There are two copies of the second edition still in Cullen House Library, no doubt the two here mentioned.

1 Raymund de Sabunde (d. 1432), Spanish theological and theosophical writer. V. M. de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy* (3rd ed., Eng. trans. 1909), pp. 455 f. ; W. Fulton, *Nature and God* (1927), pp. 55 ff., etc. His *Theologia naturalis* was frequently republished but is best known through the treatment of it by Montaigne in his long essay, *Apologie de Raimond Sebond*. Sainte-Beuve says that the *Theologia naturalis* anticipates such works as Fénelon's *L'Existence de Dieu* (quoted *Essais de Montaigne*, edit. Louandre, II, p. 255, note) . This might account for Lord Pitsligo's interest.

2 Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. S

3 " Little Master."

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me dites sur le libre arbitre. Je seray bien aise de voir les livres dont vous me parlez. Je voudrois bien que vous y ajoutassiez Cumberland *de Legibus Naturae*./1 Dans les intervalles de ma solitude qui ne sont pas mieux employés, j'écris un essay qui aura pour titre *Ethicis Arincipia ordine mathematico enucleata*./2 On n'a pas encore ce me semble réduit les grandes vérités à des principes assez simples, assez féconds, assez clairs, assez suivis & arrangés. On trouve l'une ou l'autre de ces qualités dans les différents auteurs. Il seroit bon de les réunir. Je ne sais si j'en suis capable. Je travaille par obéissance, & dans l'esprit d'amour. Que tout périsse

qui ne part & qui ne retourne à ce principe. Pour bien écrire il faut être prêt à ne rien écrire, avant que de commencer, écrire par obéissance enfantine, & être disposé à tout brûler quand on a finy. Voilà Noël qui approche. Entrons dans l'esprit de Jésus Enfant. Je vous suis dévoué au suprême degré. Je vous serois fort obligé de voir si notre frère et amy manque de quelque chose. J'entens Mr. Hooke./3 La vie de Mr. de C--y luy a beaucoup coûté de lettres & de peine. Je vous supplie de l'interroger sur les besoins qui me tiennent plus au coeur que les miens propres. Malheur à celuy qui a quelque chose à soy. Adieu Mon très cher Mylord. Je vous rendray fidèlement tout ce que vous avancerez pour luy.

ce 23 decr.

To the Right Honorable

The Lord Desford at

Mr. Hooks No. 12 in Gloucester Street by red Lyon Square 5
A Londres

ANGLETERRE.

1 Published 5672. V. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, pp. 173 ff.

2 In 1748 at Glasgow there appeared Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion unfolded in a geometrical order*. In the preface he says, "We have digested the great principles of the first part into a geometrical order, which is certainly the most exact way of reasoning, the most proper to convince others, and undeceive ourselves." The above letter shows he had been working on such lines at an early date.

3 Nathaniel Hooke, junior, then engaged in translating Ramsay's *Vie de Fénelon*. Nichols, *Bowyer's Biographical and Literary Anecdotes* (1782), p. 393, quotes a letter from Hooke to the Earl of Oxford (Oct. 17, 1722) in which he says that on account of the South Sea troubles he was "just worth nothing," and asking permission to dedicate to his Lordship the translation of Ramsay's Fénelon upon which he was then engaged. This makes it fairly clear that the letter from Ramsay here published dates from 1722.

4 The English translation appeared in 1723, but there is no dedication.

5 A letter (Cullen House) was addressed to Lord Desford on December 13, 1722, "at hes house att Mr. Louson's over against Pall Mall Court, London."

LX. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

March 2, 1722/23.

I had the honour of my dear Lord's letter of Feb. 21st the day before yesterday, and would have own'd it by that night's post, had I met the Lady at home, who last time took the trouble to procure me the opera tunes./1 But yesterday I did bespeak them. She promis'd to chuse and pick out a dozen of the very best and newest, without words, or thorough bass, as desired, and withall to get some of 'em, three at least, ready by Tuesday's post. If so, I will not fail to forward them, and the rest too as they come to hand.

I rejoiced to hear of yor Lop's safe arrival, and that all yor friends are well. Ld. Abd./2 set out Thursday morning for Scotld., and yesterday a narrative of the horrid plot,/3 etc. was read to the H. of Commons.

I have had a long letter from Dr. Ch./4 concerning the proposal, wch he does by no means approve off, as being in every respect improper.

Our Little Book,/5 preface and all, are now printed off, but the sheets are not yet gather'd. My best wishes do ever attend yor Lop.

This is enough till next post.

To the Rt Honoble My Lord Deskford att Edinburgh free

Al. Abercromby.

1 A craze for Italian Opera appeared with other crazes in 1720. There had been no opera in London for several years, but the Royal Academy of Music was founded in 1719 and in 1720 Handel produced *Radamisto* which began a period of unprecedented popularity for such works. In January, 1723, Cuzzoni first sang in London in Handel's *Ottone* which contained many particularly fine songs and brought the enthusiasm to its highest pitch : V. E. Walker, History of Music in England ; R. A. Streatfield, Handel ; Rockstro, Life of Handel ; Lady Cowper, Diary.

2 V. P. 75.

3 This refers to the supposed plot which led to the disgrace and banishment of the celebrated Bishop Atterbury. The King at the opening of this Parliament referred to the " dangerous conspiracy." A Committee of enquiry was appointed,

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and reported through Pulteney on March 1, 1722/23. The Commons considered the matter, decided there had been a " horrid and detestable conspiracy," and voted that the Lord Bishop of Rochester " was principally concerned " in it, its object being to place the Pretender on the throne. A full account is given in Tindal's *Rapin*, op. cit., XIX, pp. 457-86 : v. also Journals of House of Commons, March 1, 1722, etc. ; Reports of H. of C., Vol. I, pp. 99-350. Keith's reference seems a little sarcastic. There is no doubt as to his Toryism.

4 Dr. Cheyne. The reference here is obscure. Dr. Cheyne's advice is not now being sought for the first time by Lord Deskford. At Cullen House there are letters from him dated Nov. 14, and Dec. 17, 1713, advising in a delicate matter. The former mentions that he had been asked by Dr. Keith to write.

5 V. pp. 178, etc.

LXI. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

March 7th, 1722/23.

MY DEAR LORD,

In my last of Sat. the 2d, wherein I acknowledged the honour of yor Lop's letter of Feb. 21 I told yor Lop I had bespoke some of the newest opera tunes, /1 and gave you ground to expect some of 'em three at least by the Tuesdays post. But because of the good Lady's illness who undertook to chuse and bespeak them, I have been disappointed, and am very sorry yor Lop should be so too. I have call'd two or three times since, and last of all to-day about noon, when the Lady told me she was going out to bespeak them, and that I might expect some by Saturday night. I can only now engage that if they come to me, I will forward them without fail.

When Aber./2 sent me the fr./3 covers he sent me the enclosed with them. I have given him no answer to it. I lament My Dear Ld's situation,/4 and always hope our Div. L.M./5 will enable him at present to bear it meekly and patiently and that in his good time he will grant an happy issue. In the mean time I wish the Lady and her Mother would be more flexible, and agree to make an end on the terms propos'd and approved.

I have had two letters from Dr. G. G./6 in answer to what was propos'd to him concerning the money rais'd for publishing A.B.'s /7 writings. He says it was in Sr. Ja. D. of Durn's /8 hand, but is now lying by him, not knowing where to place it with safety. He agrees to the proposal, but adds : I see little good that's done by most translations, but money to the printer and undertaker. They have begun lately at Edbr. a new transi. of all the Treatises that go under the name of Tho. à Kempis, two little tomes of wch

1 V. p. 185. A few weeks before the date of this letter Gay wrote to Swift (Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, III, pp. 1S4 f.) : " Everybody is grown now as great a judge of music as they were in your time of poetry, and folks that could not distinguish one tune from another, now daily dispute about the different styles of Handel, Bononcini and Attilio."

2 Alex. Abercromby.

3 " Franked " : v. p. 164.

4 Perhaps a reference to Lord Deskford's thoughts of a second marriage. In December of this year he married Sophia Hope, who was not the lady hinted at in this letter, as correspondence at Cullen House shows.

5 " Divine Little Master."

6 Dr. George Garden.

7 Antoinette Bourignon : v. Introduction. Dr. Garden and Dr. James Keith translated a number of these works, but the scheme for a complete translation seems to have been abandoned.

8 Sir James Dunbar of Darn (Banffshire) : relative of Lord Deskford. An interesting reference to him occurs in J. F. S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith*, pp. 342 ff. He was a Jacobite, but surrendered to the local authorities in November, 1716 : v. A. and H. Tayler, *Ogilvies of Boyne*, p. 65. The above reference shows he was also interested in the mystical movement.

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Handwriting of Ramsay [one page]

are publish'd,/1 wch seem to be done with great simplicity, not like the pompous stile of yor English translators. My humble duty to Ld. D./2 and Mr. C./3 I humbly thank the last for his German present. Please to advise with Mr. C. what is proper to be done.

1 The reference is to the edition begun in 1717 by Robert Keith (afterwards a Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church) . V. Article by present writer in " S. N. Sc Q.," May, 1933. The *Imitation of Christ* appeared in 1717 and the *Soliloquies and the Valley of Lilies* in 1721. The preface to the first volume says, " It was thought adviseable to send forth this impression in the plain simple style of the author who imitates the stile of the Holy Scriptures." . . . " Some late editions have been complained of, at least in this country, for the too great liberty which was used (no doubt with a good intention) in departing too far from the author's words and by giving to several passages a different turn by foreign additions or illustrations."

The reference here is probably to Lord Dun, David Erskine, Laird of Dun (1670-- 1758). He was, unlike his ancestors, an Episcopalian, and he was also (within safe limits) a Jacobite. The *Scots Magazine* (XX, 276) referred to him as " greatly distinguished for piety," and Ramsay of Ochtertyre, in a most interesting account (*Scotland and Scotsmen*, I, pp. 84 ff.), says : " his piety and zeal were conspicuous even in times when all men prided themselves upon being decent in these matters." Lord Dun was a unique and striking personality, with not a few singularities, one of which, Ramsay of Ochtertyre tells us, was " that he spake a language peculiar to himself, which he called English." For further particulars v. D.N.B. ; Brunton and Haig, *Senators of College of Justice*, p. 491 ; Violet Jacob, *Lairds of Dun*. He was in touch with several of our group, and interesting evidence of this is to be found in an incidental reference in the following letter at Cullen House from A. M. Ramsay to Lord Deskford, undated, but evidently

Mystics of the North-East

(from the mention of the enlarged edition of Ramsay's famous book *Cyrus*) of the year 1730 :-

" My LORD,

" Your Lo ! has no doubt heard of my being come to England, to print a new edition of *Cyrus* with many additions amounting to near a third part of the work. I have sent two hundred subscriptions to Scotland to my Lord Dun. Our common friend Mr. Monroe has some of them, and will furnish your Lo ! with all those you can dispose of among your friends. I hope I may expect on this occasion some marks of your Lo ! goodness that is so universal.

" I had the honor to wait sometimes upon my Ld Finlater who receiv'd me very kindly, and who told me your Lo ! would be glad to hear from me. No absence, distance, nor silence can make me forget your Lo ! ancient friendship, the nearer we approach our center the more we are united to each other. And tho my motions be sometimes excentric and projectile, yet I hope the great principle of attraction prevails. I should be glad during my stay here to hear from your Lo ! If I had either money or time I would have certainly gone to Scotland to embrace your Lo ! feet, and these of some other friends whose tender regard for me I look upon as the principal happyness of this mortal state. Since that cannot be, I hope we shall forgather again aboon the lift. I am with great respect and the most tender esteem, My Lord,

" Your Lo ! most obedient and most oblidged humble servant, A. Ramsay.

" London, July 24th at Mr. Abercromby's in Gemen Street over agst. Ld. Cobham's.

" The Right Honorable,

The Lord Deskford at Hopton, near Edinburgh, Scotland." 3 Perhaps Campbell of Monzie (?).

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It hath pleased God to take to himself one of our best translators, My dear friend, Mr. Nalson /1 at York, who departed Wedn. Feb. 27th with perfect Resignation to the Divine will. He was a true lover of our Lord J. Ch. and of his holy Truth ; and He I humbly hope has receiv'd him into his Eternal Rest.

The Letter of Instruction /2 is finished and gather'd, but not yet come to Mr. Innys s from the printers. I will take the first opportunity to send down So of 'em to Mr. Monro, and advise him of their being sent by a bill of lading.

I ever continue in the tenderest manner Yor Lop's most obed. servt.

(No address etc.)

LXII. [FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.]

Tuesday, March 12th, 17H.

DIY LORD,

By my last of the 7th a I signified my hopes of sending the enclosed by Saturday's post, but nothing coming to me till last night, I could not forward it till now.

I have received at once 32 leaves all wch pass but for three tunes. 4 of those leaves I here send your Lop., they being large enough for one letter, and shall continue to forward the rest till all are sent. In the mean time if these will suffize, please to let me know it, and I shall not bespeak any more. For these seem to be much larger than what your Lop. means by= naming a dozen, three of which may be sent every post by one frank. Expecting then yor further commands

I remain

Yor Lop's most obedient humble servt.

To The Right Honble. The Lord Deskford

Edinburgh.

1 V. p. 181 n. His epitaph is given by Nichols (Lit. Hist., IV, p. 865). It mentions that he was in his 40th year, and that he was son of Dr. John Nalson, rector of Doddington. The date of his death is wrongly given by Nichols, op. cit., IV, p. 408.

2 V. p. 181. The 1772 Eng. trans. of the Life of Lady Guion (part iii, p. 295) refers to this Short Letter of Instruction skewing the surest way to Christian Perfection, states that it is translated from the French of de la Combe, and gives extracts.

3 Wm. Innys, bookseller, London, died Dec. 1, 1756 (Musgrave, Obituaries). W. and J. Innes, West End of St. Paul's, published Waterland's Sermons mentioned in the Letters, and Knight's. The firm is frequently referred to in Nichols, Lit. Hist.

4 V. p. 186. Dr. Keith apparently proved useful to Lord Deskford in many small matters. These letters about opera tunes show how wide was the range of the services he was called upon to render.

LXIII. FROM DR. JAMES KEITH TO LORD DESKFORD.

The year has been torn off, but the mention of the " little book," and also what seems like a reference to Lord Deskford's forthcoming second marriage, which took place towards the close of 1723, and other slight indications. point to 1723.

May []

MY DEAR LORD,

I had the honour of yor (letter of) the 2d and was not a little refreshed by it. Yor silence requires no apology. I know the situation of your affairs,/1 and enter into it as far as I am able. I thank our Div. L.M./2 with all my heart for his goodness to you in supporting you under all Nor difficulties and delivering you from all anxiety as to future events. May he confirm and strengthen your heart, and establish it in his eternal peace !

I approve much of the dutiful resolution and wish it may prove successful. I rejoyce likewise that the Dear Lady concurs in it, and pray that she may be brought to taste what yor Lop knows and feels, and with you be united to the Divine will in all things. Happy Union ! but founded in ye Cross.

I am glad the 80 copies of the little book/3 came safe ; but can't tell yor Lop when that of Fr. Laurent /4 may be expected. Mr. Heylin/5 has been at Bristol these 2 moneths for his health and is not yet return'd. When he comes Ld. F./6 will hasten him. He Ld. F. (was with me this morn. and most tenderly (greet) yor Lop. He is still at great pains (to put) a stop to R.'s /7 impetuosity, and is (hoping) to publish a vindication of V.P./8 (in) time. Mr. H./9 also has kept that expression in the English translation

1 Apparently a reference to schemes for the second marriage of Lord Deskford.

2 " Divine Little Master."

3 This seems to date the letter in 1723 the 80 copies were mentioned March 7th, 1723 : v. p. 188.

4 Devotional tracts concerning the presence of God, translated from French and published by Downing in London, 1724 : v. Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

5 J. Heylin (d. 1759), D.D. (Cantab.), became a well-known preacher in London and as such is repeatedly mentioned in John Byrom's Remains. He apparently translated Brother Laurence's work at this time. D.N.B. mentions " his indulgence in mysticism." Some theological lectures he delivered at Westminster

Abbey were published in 1749, and two copies are in the Library at Cullen House.

6 Lord Forbes apparently at this date still resident in London.

7 A. M. Ramsay. The reference is to the controversy over Poiret's Life of Madame Guyon : v. pp. 151, etc. Ramsay's Life of Fénelon was published both in French and in English in this year (1723) and was intended to be an answer to Poiret.

8 " Venerable Poiret."

9 Nathaniel Hooke, younger, who did the translation of Ramsay's Fénelon : v. p. 584. Hooke wrote to Lord Deskford at Edinburgh, March 12, 1722/3, (Cullen House), Dr. Keith having given him the address. He says, " Your Lordship will be surpris'd to

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wch is actually printing here, and inflexibly persists in it. He pretends obedience ; as his friend also does. But for my part I do not understand what they mean by it. My sense of holy Xtian obedience can never oblige me to break a knowen Law, as namely, to bear a false Testimony against my neighbour as that practise of theirs certainly does.

As to myself, I have not this moment any design of any kind, nor can I think of any. I leave my self wholly to providence, and humbly and solely depend upon it.

Je me trouve satisfait d'autant

Que je sçay bien

Oue bienheureux celuy

Qui ne possede rien.

P. Surin./1

Here I conclude with my most ardent prayers for yor Lop in all yor circumstances, being in the tenderest manner and with all possible esteem always.

Yor Lop's most obed. servt.

To The Right Honble.

The Lord Deskford, to the care of Mr. Monro, Bookseller at Edinburgh.

Mystics of the North-East

learn that the Bishop's Life is gone to Holland, without any alteration in the disputed passage. I have obey'd orders which I can never disobey, but at the same time have remonstrated in the strongest terms and have good hopes that before the Book be sent to the press there will be new instructions to leave out that clause." The clause which caused the trouble appears on p. 33 of the Translation : " to take away the false ideas which certain persons have fram'd of her by reading a History of her Life, lately printed in a foreign country, contrary to her last intentions." The reference is to Poirer's issue of Madame Guyon's Vie . . . écrite par elle-même.

1 V. p. 110.

G. D. HENDERSON

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JAMES
CUNNINGHAM OF BARNS AND DR.
GEORGE GARDEN.

INTRODUCTION : THE FRENCH PROPHETS IN
SCOTLAND.

THE tragic drama of French Protestantism has no scene more tragic or dramatic than that of the Wars of the Camisards. The inhabitants of the mountainous forest region of the Cevennes were ardent Protestants, and at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 they had their share of the general persecution which almost destroyed and certainly ruined the cause of the Reformation in France. The nature of their country and the quality of their faith had power to contrive that, at the beginning of the 18th century, in spite of the cruelty of government policy, they still survived. The situation became then even more acute, and driven to desperation by their tormentors, the peasants rose in passionate revolt. From 1702 until 1705 they maintained with the utmost skill and devotion a marvellously successful guerilla defence. Gifted leaders appeared among them. The names of Rolland and the boy Cavalier are amongst those of the world's romantic heroes. Both sides acted ruthlessly and relentlessly, and the conflict was savage. The Camisards, as the rebels were nicknamed, endured terrible sufferings, but seemed invincible. At last when in 1704 a new Royalist leader attempted less callous and more diplomatic measures, Cavalier yielded to the King. Soon afterwards Rolland was killed in a skirmish and presently the struggle died down, though the Protestant faith survives in this region even to-day. Cavalier escaped from France and ultimately served in the British army and died in 1740 Governor of Jersey. A popular account of him will be found in Arthur Grubb's *Jean Cavalier* (1931).¹ The whole story has been immortalised in English literature by Robert Louis Stevenson in his *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*, and has been the subject of a number of academic studies in recent years.

A remarkable feature of the revolt was the appearance of abnormal phenomena similar to those which are described in the Book of Acts, and which characterised early Montanism, the 17th century Shakers and Quakers, the beginnings of the Wesleyan movement, the work of Edward Irving

1 V. also Cavalier's Memoirs (English Edition, 1726).

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and other occasions of unusual religious excitement. Extraordinary conditions of physical agitation were developed, and the victims in a state of trance gave utterance to words which were regarded by astonished witnesses as inspired and prophetic.

In 1707 three of these hysterical, but no doubt sincere and well-meaning, French Prophets—Durand Fage, Elias Marion, and Cavalier of Sauve (cousin of Jean Cavalier)—came to England. A marvellous amount of interest was excited and many pious persons were impressed by what they took to be manifestations of the Holy Spirit. The Camisards were said to be "drunk with Prophecy." Their whole bodies trembled and twitched, their faces were distorted, they foamed at the mouth, they swooned, they sobbed and groaned, they were lifted off their feet and moved across the room, they were thrown down violently without hurt. Even children and infants were supposed to prophesy. The messages which came from the lips of these unconscious instruments were of destruction because of God's wrath. They called for repentance and envisioned a Kingdom of Glory upon earth. They had little use for the clergy, the Church, the sacraments. Dogmatic theology did not interest them. Learning they tended to despise. They were credited with miracles of healing. The most sensational incident of their London campaign was an attempt to raise the dead. Dr. Thomas Emes died on December 22, 1707, and it was prophesied that he would rise again. The event was fixed for May 25, 1708, between noon and six o'clock. An expectant crowd waited in vain, and the magistrates had to interfere with the Prophets.

Their propaganda was supported by Sir Richard Bulkeley in his *Impartial Account of the Prophets*, and John Lacy published his *Warnings*, his *Cry from the Desert*, and other revelations. A whole

literature appeared in opposition. French Protestants in London repudiated the Prophets, Spinckes issued his *New Pretenders to Prophecy Examined* (1709), Edmund Calamy and others not so well known studied the outbreak and endeavoured by their writings to prevent its spread. The movement had, however, affected other parts of England. Spinckes tells us that "detachments of these pretenders are sent abroad throughout the nation," and the following letter (which was printed in the "European Magazine" for March, 1798) gives interesting corroboration. It is written from Oxford by Mr. Thwaites to Dr. Charlett and wrongly dated Aug. 1700. "The Prophets are here at the Greyhound. They made themselves known by strange convulsions and abrupt talk yesterday. I was there at three. 100 Masters of Arts (I think) might be there and 150 more persons. We stayed an hour, but no motion. There were four prophetic women as the two men call them. One of the men was a Scholar of Cambridge. He is cunning and has temper. His name is Lardner, the other's Jackson. When Lacy's Warning was read by one of the men, some of us objected too much, and hindered the coming of what

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they call the Spirit. They have more names for it. In the meantime the Vice-Chancellor came and dispersed us. I cannot express the confusion ; but in three minutes he made the house easy. The prophets were to march by his order in an hour, but their linen being out they stay till to-morrow. They are become the Constable's ward."

As late as 1739 we find John Wesley /1 describing in his "Journal" the case of a young woman who was a follower of the French Prophets, but the movement had long before that passed from general notice and it had, of course, no permanence.

In 1709 the Prophets made a descent upon Edinburgh. They appeared on March 19, and their first visit extended to April 12. The prophecies of Anna Maria King, John Moulton, Mary Turner, and Ann Topham were printed in the same year under the title *Warnings of the Eternal Spirit pronounced at Edinburgh*. This

publication informs us that on March 24 the Prophets were obliged to appear before the magistrates of Edinburgh. On April 11 the Spirit ordered them to leave the city. There was some difficulty about money, but a country gentleman whom they met at Restalrig supplied their wants. Later in the year they had another Edinburgh campaign. On the command of the Spirit a new contingent sailed from London, arriving in the Scottish capital on June 10, 1709. The prophecies then uttered by Thomas Dutton, Guy Nutt, and John Glover were published in 1710, as likewise still later utterances of Ann Topham, Anna Maria King, and Guy Nutt. The instructions which led to this second campaign enjoined the Prophets to tell the Church of Scotland that God esteemed Episcopacy and Presbytery " much alike," and that it was not by such differerces that He would distinguish His people at the Day of Judgment. They repudiated any denominational title and called themselves only " Christians and followers of the Lord Jesus." In view of the letters before us it is interesting to find Wodrow both in his *Analecta* /2 and in his *Correspondence* /3 stating that the movement had only affected those who were Bourignonists and Jacobites.

It was this second group of the French Prophets which James Cunningham of Barns tells us he met on returning to Scotland after a summer spent at Bath for the benefit of his health. He had had time in those months for religious reflection, and had been in touch with Dr. George Cheyne who had decided mystical tendencies. On the way from England he employed the time in reading Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, the work of an English spiritual director, an admirable guide to inward religion, but with certain Quietist leanings against which the modern English edition of the work carefully warns the reader. Cunningham was much pleased with the kind of influence he found the Prophets were having upon some of his friends, but, remaining somewhat sceptical, he continued his journey to his home at Crail in Fife. There

1 Journal, January 28, 1739.

2 I, p. 309.

3 I, p. 169.

he went on reading mystical books, but he was presently excited by news that some of his Edinburgh acquaintances had experienced the physical agitations which characterised the Prophets. His doubts and bad impressions were gradually removed. He mentions the interest that was being taken in the Prophets by Andrew Michael Ramsay, by Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, and by a nephew of Dr. George Garden, and reports several occasions when he himself was present at supposed revelations by Lady Abden in a state of trance. What affected him more than anything else was a number of utterances by Lady Abden exactly in the spirit of the Quietist parts of Baker's work, and further some references in her words which seemed too directly applicable to himself to be coincidences.

Lady Abden is mentioned in the Warnings published in 1710. Her introduction to us is very curious. On July 25, 1709, there was evidently a private gathering, and we are told : /1 " The Lady A—n arose under the operations of the Spirit and was carried to Guy Nutt, who danced with her about the room, holding her by both her hands and said, 'This is the appearance of your God among you, which ye shall see more and more. Behold the works of your Lord. You shall rejoice in the Dance. Thou (to l—y A—n) art beloved of thy God, thy soul shall rejoice in him who doth embrace thee in his bosom (embraces her). Behold the love of your God to his Spouse, who is coming to make her glorious. She shall be all glorious within. She is sick of love. Thy Lord kisseth thee with the kisses of his mouth. Rejoice you for ever.' There are other similarly curious incidents, which gave Cunningham and others unfavourable impressions, but later what she had said and done had completely changed his mind. On July 31 /2 the Spirit by the mouth of Lady Abden ordered the Prophets to be ready to leave for London within the week, which they did. According to Dr. George Garden in the correspondence here published, Lady Abden afterwards came to think she had been deluded in imagining herself to have been under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

James Cunningham eventually joined the Prophets, and though according to Wodrow's *Analecta* /3 he did not "pretend to

prophecy, but only to denounce judgments," he made many utterances which were published along with others of Margaret Mackenzie. These consist of Warnings delivered at Edinburgh in July, 1710, and *Warnings* at Glasgow at the end of November and beginning of December in the same year. He had apparently been busy between those missions, for there is a very interesting letter from the Rev. James Webster to the Rev. Robert Wodrow, written at Edinburgh, September 20, 1710. This letter is mentioned in an editorial footnote in Wodrow's Correspondence, but it has not been printed and is to

1 Warnings . . . by the mouths of Thomas Dutton, etc. (1710), pp. 153 f.: cf. p. 167.

2 Ibid., p. 176.

3 I, p. 309 ; v. also the reference in II, p. 304, evidently displaced as to date.

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be found among the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library, Edinburgh. The following is the relevant passage : " This day eight last Barns Cunninghame with three others, namely Dutton and his wife, & Kennet Gordon were prophesying on our streets, for which the mag: imprison'd them & they are still in firmance ; they have published ye prophesies under ye title of ye Warnings of ye Eternal Spirit to Edb" and Barns positively asserts that judgement will within fourty days fall on this toun."

There was also a small volume published at Edinburgh in 1710 entitled *A True Copy of Letters past betwixt Mr. Robert Calder and Mr. James Cunninghame of Barns concerning the Trial of the Mission of these people that pass under the Name of Prophets*. In a letter of September 22, 1710, Calder says, " I am heartily sorry for you & your fellow-sufferers imprisonment ; you have reason to rejoice if your persecution be for a good cause ; but this is the question." Cunningham's reply of 23rd and then a reply of 27th to a second letter by Calder are merely formal ; but Calder amidst his denunciations says of the Prophets in Scotland that they had prophesied " a judgment coming to pass on the city of Edinburgh within 40 natural days from the 12 of September 1710, which should be fufill'd on the 22 of October following ; & that written to Sir Patrick Johnston, late provost of Edinburgh."

Cunningham's published utterances are sometimes in the nature of simple orders, as when at Stirling on November 23, 1710, he said, " It is my will that ye enter not into that city till Monday," /2 the reference being to the beginning of their campaign in Glasgow. Also when he and his friends found themselves in the Glasgow Tolbooth on December 1 he was guided to intimate, " I will permit you to depart hence on Tuesday next," and before they left the city he announced, " I have at present fully answer'd my end in this your Mission." /3

Most of his utterances are laden with Biblical quotations, which certainly show him to have been a very earnest student of the Scriptures. Generally they consist of what we should call evangelical addresses summoning people under threat of immediate judgment to repent, be acquainted with the life of God in the Soul (which echoes Henry Scougall or John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist) and so to become living members of the Mystical Body of Christ. His reading of the mystics is very obviously reflected in some of his expressions.

More interesting still are certain passages where his own feelings about the movement stand out clearly. For example, he says to the Edinburgh crowd : " Search and see what motives have brought you hither ? Was it only to gaze at my servants ? If ye imagine them to be under the power of a disease or a satanical delusion, does it become Christians . . . to stare

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at and ridicule them. . . . If ye do suspect that there is any . . . trick or contrivance in the matter, then but think which of you would enter into such a design whereby ye must necessarily forsake every worldly thing. Dare any of you say that my servants can propose any profit, any pleasure, any reputation to themselves by being thus expos'd to the World ? . . . There is not so much as a shadow of reason for asserting thereof. . . . Do you wish His Glory may be spread over the face of the Earth ? . . . Then wou'd you wish well a set of people that both by their words and behaviour demonstrate that they have nothing else in their view. Do ye not all wish or pretend to do so that there might be a renovation upon

the face of this Church ? . . . Does it not then become our duty to wish that these things were really true ? My people, did I but discover in your hearts but this wish . . . I would discover to that soul that it were true."/1

He was now perfectly convinced that a study of the Scriptures would convince people that the French Prophets were not the false prophets against which Scripture and so many of the mystics warn the faithful, and it is obvious that the correspondence with Dr. George Garden had done nothing to lessen his confidence.

The movement had created some excitement in Edinburgh, Stirling and Glasgow, and we have seen that in the first and last of these places the magistrates had to take action. Elsewhere rumours at least had arrived, for Calamy /2 tells us that when he visited Aberdeen in 1709, he and his friends had at first a strangely cold reception due to the fact that people had suspected that they were French Prophets. Rhind's Apology also mentions these "Modern Prophets in their agitations " and attempts to class with them all Presbyterian evangelical enthusiasts, while Anderson in his reply points out that the Prophets were associated only with Episcopalians and Bourignonists./3 James Hog of Carnock felt obliged to enter the lists against the visitors and in 1709 had already published his *Notes about the Spirit's Operations, with special reference to the Cevenois*, A.B., etc. He writes in the language of controversy, and consequently we are not surprised to hear of "the loathesome and dangerous gangrene of delusion among the pretendedly inspired Cevenois." His main grounds of criticism were that the sure word of ancient prophecy was overlooked, that the scope and tenor of the new Warnings was contrary to Scripture, that the name of Christ was very rare in their utterances, which ran out only in " the Channel of the Covenant of Works," that miracles might well be performed by false prophets, and that the new movement carries us away from the Foundations of the Christian revelation and leaves us " a prey to every pretending deluder."

1 Warnings . . . Edinburgh (1710), pp. 26 f. : v. also pp. 34 f.

2 Hist, Account of My Life, II, p. 197 ; v. also Wodrow, *Analecta*, II, p. 304.

3 J. Anderson, *A Defence of the Presbyterians* (1714), pp. 297, 299 f.

This brings us to the correspondence now printed for the first time, consisting of three letters from James Cunningham of Barns to Dr. George Garden of Aberdeen, and two letters which were sent in reply. One or two earlier letters which Cunningham mentions have not been preserved. Those here published are taken from copies in a manuscript volume (Q. 39) in the Library of the Scottish Episcopal College in Edinburgh. The volume came there from the Hon. Mrs. Forbes of Pitsligo who has entered a note to the effect that the handwriting is that of James Ogilvie of Auchiries whom we know to have been one of the group in the North-East interested in mystical religion. In the same collection in the Scottish Episcopal College there is another manuscript volume (Q. 12) which seems to be in the handwriting of Mary Baird of Auchmedan and contains (along with copies of Madame Guyon's Short and Easy Method of Prayer, part of the Life of Armelle Nicholas, the Morals of Epictetus, etc.), an account by Mary Baird (following Dr. George Garden) of the career and religious outlook of Lady Seafield, wife of the Chancellor Earl, notes of a sermon by Dr. Garden on the occasion of the death of Lady Jean Hay, 1721, and two other funeral sermons, and also Letters I, II, and part of III of the Cunningham-Garden Correspondence. The copy is weak in spelling, but it has an interesting introduction which must be quoted : " Here are some copies of Lettres which war wreat. This first is from the Laird of Barans, a gentlman of a good fortune and no less sens, who enttred among a sett of Camsaris, as we call them. Thy thPmselvs often assume the name of prophetts, and on many occasions in ther warnings, as thy call them, thy personte God. Thy war mightly taken up will ther propchies for a whel, but thos of good judgment among them did endeavour to wey such nottions. Upon ane occson a famous man among them who mead no dout of his being guided by the imidtt Spret of God, did say that un Doctor Emes who had dyed I think in 179 : this nottion was that the Docttor should rise in the May of that year. . . . "

In addition to these copies of the Letters, there is, in the Charter Room of Cullen House, a copy of Letter No. II from

George Garden to James Cunningham, in the handwriting of a chaplain.

Of the original Letters there is no trace, but it is clear that the correspondence had caused real interest at the time and that copies had been made and distributed in the small circle in the North-East which we have found centred upon Dr. George Garden. The movement had created not only interest but alarm in the circle, and we find from the correspondence that not only Dr. Garden, but also Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, the Master of Forbes (afterwards 14th Lord Forbes), Dr. James Keith of London, and Andrew Michael Ramsay had come, after investigation, to be hostile to it. The correspondence is of importance as showing two possible views of such a movement, and the general line both of the defence and of the

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attack is actually of value at the present day in connection with the modern equivalents of this strange religious outbreak.

Of George Garden enough has already been said in the earlier part of this volume./1 It only remains at this point to notice that he had been almost "hoist with his own petar." This correspondence shows us one of his own disciples out-Gardening him, and the master endeavouring to save the disciple from too logically obeying his teaching. We are reminded of Luther and Zwingli suddenly made aware of their too logical followers, the Anabaptists. What drove James Cunningham into the arms of the French Prophets was exactly what had guided the group to Madame Bourignon and Madame Guyon. Like Garden, Cunningham was an Episcopalian and a Jacobite, and had a hearty disrespect for Westminster dogmatism. He had eagerly followed Garden's lead and had been soaking himself in Mysticism and Quietism. The French Prophets simply offered him a further advance in the approved direction.

James Cunningham of Barns, the writer of the letters to Garden, is not a person known to fame, but the few available details regarding him must be recorded. He was born about 1680 /2 and succeeded his father in the estate of Barns in the

parish of Crail in Fife in the year 1706./³ He belonged to an ancient family said to have had a Charter from Robert II./⁴ Some of their property was granted by the King in 1672,/⁵ and the Isle of May came into their possession under Charles I, who permitted Alexander Cunningham to build the lighthouse there./⁶ A family tragedy was the sudden death of a daughter of the house who had been on the point of being married to the poet Drummond of Hawthornden./⁷ An important connection was that formed by the marriage ⁸ of John Cunningham in 1679 to Isabella, a daughter of the recently murdered Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews, whom the family had known since the days when he was minister at Crail.

James Cunningham,/⁹ the correspondent of George Garden, was a well educated man, able to write Latin and French and with some knowledge of Greek, deeply read in religious works, and acquainted with the whole group whom we have learned to know from the Letters of James Keith, M.D. He knew personally Dr. Garden, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, Dr. George Cheyne, Dr. James Keith, William, afterwards 14th Lord Forbes, Andrew

1 M.N.E., pp. 32 ff.

2 For particulars of the family, v. Wood, East Neuk of Fife, pp. 397 ff. ; also Erskine Beveridge, Churchyard Memorials of Crail.

3 Gen. Reg. Sasines, Nov. 22, 1706 : v. also Fife Sasines, May 5, 1704.

4 Sibbald, History of Fife and Kinross, p. 133.

5 Reg. Mag. Sig., April to, 1572.

6 Sibbald, loc. cit.

7 Masson, Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 44 ; v. also pp. 178 f., 478 ff.

8 Contract, Dec. 19, 1679 : v. also Reg. of Deeds (Mackenzie), Feb. 19, 1704.

9 The evidence is in the correspondence itself.

Michael Ramsay, Lord Deskford, and at least by correspondence, Pierre Poiret. His studies had made him familiar with the writings of Madame Bourignon and Madame Guyon, but he also shows his acquaintance with St. Augustine, Cassian, John of the Cross, Baron Metternich, Jacob Boehme, Augustine Baker, Angela de Foligno. He is thus a typical example of the group of Scottish landed gentry whose interest in mystical religion we have been endeavouring in this volume to establish.

Information regarding the later career of James Cunningham seems to come almost entirely from the Letters of James Keith in this volume. He was "out" in the Fifteen, and took part in the Battle of Preston, was made prisoner and sent to Chester, where he suffered a good deal from the prison conditions. We know i.e. had long been a man in poor health, and at Chester he finally caught cold and died in 1716./1 Two sisters survived him, Helen and Margaret ; after their brother's death they settled at Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, where the latter died in 1718./2 The Fife estates do not appear amongst those sequestrated after the Rebellion, but by 1722 we find at least part of them in the possession of the Scotts of Scotstarvet./3

The correspondence is printed in this volume without any attempt at more than the most necessary annotation./4 The letters speak for themselves, and are of interest chiefly as revealing the serious tendencies and mystical reading of these leisured cultivated men. They form an important supplement to the preceding study, and reveal the pitfalls that very naturally tended to appear in the way of those in the position of the Mystics of the North-East.

I. FROM JAMES CUNNINGHAM OF BASINS TO DR.
GEORGE GARDEN.

VERY REVEREND SIR,

Yours of the 19th of October came to my hands on the 29th, and it was indeed no small satisfaction to receive it. Your long silence had rais'd some cares in me, which the event shows to have been all groundless, for your nephew, tho' he show'd me your long letter to him, forgot it seems to deliver the short one to me. Blessed be my God, who seeing my weakness yet unable to bear with the loss of my friends, has inspired the most valuable of 'em to express more concern for me than I could either expect or desire. As I must heartily joy in the conclusion of your Letter wishing that

1 V. M.N.E., pp. 116, 134, 139.

2 Gen. Reg. of Sasines, Sep. 22, 1718 : y. also M.N.E., p. 135.

3 Fife Sasines, Jan. 9, 1722 : v. also Wood, East Neuk of Fife, p. 399.

4 No attempt has been made to amend syntax. spelling or punctuation.

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no event may ever disjoyn our hearts, but that they may ever be united in the strictest bonds of spiritual friendship, so 'tis with no small reluctancy I dare own my thoughts differing from your sentiments in any thing ; were my thoughts or judgment now in my power, I should with reason be obliged to submit 'em to yours, but all I can do in my present circumstances is to give you a small account of my conduct in this affair, with the consequences thereof in my own mind ; 'tis needless to resume things too far, I shall then begin to tell you that upon my recovery this summer at the Bath, and enjoying something more than ordinary solitude there, I began to feel a more than usual peace and composure in my mind ; my soul was I thought drawn more inward, and at the same time filled with desires of employing a life (so often and so miraculously restor'd to me) to the glory and service of the giver. In my journie down, I enjoy'd a perfect solitude of ten days, the sweetest time I ever past in my life. I employ'd my spare hours in reading Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, /1 and against I came home I found a strong attachment to practise the prayer of Affection or forced

acts of the will which he so largely describes.' At Edinr. I saw the second sett of prophets,³ I could not but be very well pleas'd with the good influence they had on several of my acquaintances, and the strictness of their lives. I found my self restrained from passing any judgment on 'em, but as their discourses produc'd no rational conviction, and that the time for any other was not come, I return'd home in the old suspense about them, and continued the exercise I just now spoke of and found it still more and more delightful, when I am surpris'd with account from Edinr. that some of my best friends were turn'd firm believers in this dispensation, and some actually agitated, I cannot express the concern that this occasion'd in me not as yet for my self, but for my friends about whose state I was very suspicious, I spent several weeks in perusing all the Mysticks, especially John of the Cross,⁴ and made several extracts from them, which I sent to Edinr. pointing out the danger of esteeming too much, and much more of coveting those gifts.

1 Sancta Sophia . . . extracted out of more than forty treatises written by . . . F. Augustin Baker . . . and methodically digested by R. F. Serenus Cressy, 16J7. Other editions 1857 and 1876. The latest, 1932, is entitled Holy Wisdom. V. also Life of Father Augustine Baker, edit. McCann (1933); Confessions of Ven. F. Augustine Baker (1922); Cloud of Unknowing (Commentary by A. Baker in 1924 edit.). V. also Dom. D. Knowles, English Mystics (1927). Baker lived from 1575 to 1641. His Sancta Sophia is one of the most valuable works of direction " for the prayer of contemplation," and well deserves study.

2 Holy Wisdom, p. 432, etc.

3 V. Introduction.

4 S. John of the Cross (1542-91), almost as famous as the " seraphic mother," S. Teresa. Chief works in Bibl. de Autores Españoles, tomo XXVII. Latin and French translations were available at the date of the Correspondence. A new English translation in 3 vols. is just being issued by Professor E. A. Peers of Liverpool (1934). V. further, Peers, Studies of the Spanish Mystics, vol. I.

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and pressing all to come to the Dark and Simple Faith, I likewise remarkt all I could of the signs for distinguishing spirits and the result was that I was well pleas'd with the results I had from Edinr. of the state of my friends, and whatever the spirit was they were acted by, I could not know how to blame their conduct, and hoped it would at last turn to their good, but as to my self I

continued still in my old irresolution and darkness in this matter. I saw not yet how it particularly concern'd me, and was come the length of expecting no conviction in it from any outward means or arguments, yea was resolv'd not to yield my assent, till I should find conviction from God in the inward ground of my spirit, which at the same time, I did no way covet or desire, but labour'd to be resign'd to God, whether he should leave me still in darkness, or give me light, and free my mind from these prejudices and distractions which might be a hindrance to it. About this time, in my ordinary exercises, I began to feel some attraction to something that was more silent and wherein my imagination or affections had less share, but I made little reflection thereon. In this state I went to Edinr. about some affairs and as providence would have it, all the favourers of this Dispensation, who could deal with me in a rational way, were then out of town, and the first person I spoke to of that affair, gave me no very favourable impressions of the L. Abden./1 I went to a house where without my knowledge she was, and having a little before receiv'd a letter from A.R./2 telling me how by his attendance to what he saw at a meeting of the prophets, he was drawn out from his inward recollection, I was minded to try that experiment myself. I was then whispering to Mr. Spence /3 and telling him I could not positively assure this was not the Spirit of God, yet I still wanted evidence from himself, and without that I could not believe ; the Lady then came, and I left off the discourse to try the experiment. In a very little she fell in her agitations, and shortly after spoke, and indeed had all the direct contrary effect upon me, as on him, but it will be necessary to transcribe some of that warning which began thus : " My Children will listen to my voice, for I am resolv'd to give 'em such conviction as they 'shall not be able to resist, I cry unto the world in such a way and manner that they cannot say that this is not their God speaking to them, all they have to say then is, we only want conviction from God to assure us that this is his own voice. I give the world directions whereby they may come to have real conviction of the thing, but they all reject the precept given thinking it impossible obey it. The precept given is this, that ev'ryman and woman retire, and enter into their closets, humble themselves as in my sight,

hold their peace, silence their thoughts, be careful that their imagination do

1 V. Introduction.

2 Andrew Michael Ramsay : v. 11.N.E., pp. 51 ff.

3 Not identified, but according to Services of Heirs, William Spence, merchant in Edinburgh, was succeeded in 1712 by his son of same name.

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not interpose, that they may be altogether still, when they are in such a disposition, then will I pour my Spirit into their souls," &c. Tho' I was then in the most recollected state I had ever felt before, yet my imagination was very active, partly when it was said, " Enter into your closets," my imagination represented to me the wound of my Saviour's side, as the closet into which I should enter, but when she spoke the words, " Be careful," that imagination was torn from me, and indeed all other thoughts, and I was as much in the state then describ'd as my corruption and weakness could admit of. This I confess struck me a little, I knowing well that it is only the word of God that can pierce to the dividing asunder betwixt soul and spirit. I saw besides my own sentiments which she could know by no human means represented unto me, and an exhortation to a method of prayer, which when I thought more upon, I was charm'd with it and was satisfied that if I practis'd it I could be expos'd to no delusion, whatever spirit advised it, tho' this was a strong presumption, it could not be a bad one. The second warning I heard, was an answer to some difficulties your nephew had been proposing to me anent Lithgow, /2 and which it was not possible she should have known, but by a supernatural way. The third etc. were those My Lord Pitsligo /3 also heard, and of which I believe he has a copy, in which there were things no less extraordinary, but 'tis needless now to insist on the whole. I left Edinr. with a much greater byass than before in their favours. I found my reason intirely baffi'd and struck down, all those prejudices I formerly entertain'd evanish'd, and above all a strong attraction to practise the prayer of internal silence there recommended to me, so that by degrees my daily recollections were all spent therein, yet after all I could not say I was absolutely convinc'd or had the Divine Light and evidence which I all along thought necessary. God's

time was not yet come, but it did not long tarry. He no longer refus'd that vouchsafement unto me when it was necessary for my conduct. I was but a few days come home when I got that warning sent me from Lithgow 2 which it seems you have heard of, wherein I was told that it was this spirit that did help me to address my God in that acceptable way of silent prayer, whereas I am sure I never told any mortal I had ever felt anything of that kind, and that I know that by this method of praying, my enemy could have no ground to work upon me (words I spoke that very day to Mrs. Ireland /4 at Craighall)./5 After some other things I was commanded in obedience to my

1 Not identified. Dr. G. had many nephews.

2 Possibly William Lithgow, writer, Edinburgh, whose son of same name succeeded to his estate in 1717 ; v. Services of Heirs.

3 Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo : v. M.N.E., pp. 44 ff.

4 Not identified : v. again, p. 207. Wm. Ireland, sometime tenant in Newhall in the Parish of Crail is mentioned Oct. 30, 1700, in Commissariat of St. Andrews.

5 Craighall, near Cupar, Fife, was the residence of Sir Thomas Hope, Bart. : v. M.N.E., pp. 77, etc. Sir Thomas was an Episcopalian and perhaps he or at least

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[Portrait de George Cheyne]

Heavenly Father to go to Couper /1 the 14th of Octor. where he would speak by the mouth of that young vessel, that is, the Lady Abden's child,/2 and afterwards there was a promise in answer to a resolution and desire I have offer'd up to God now these two years, but never told any mortal of it but Dr. Cheyne./3 Well now, the thing was come home to me, and it was necessary I should be determin'd, and therefore offer'd up the whole affair to God, with all the purity and disengagement I was capable of, and sunk into my prayer of silence, where indeed I soon receiv'd such light and conviction as I could no longer resist. The more silent my prayer was, and the less mixture of any thing of my own, the stronger was my conviction ; and on the other hand I found my belief herein powerfully to promote my prayer, and render it more habitual and delightful. It was now no longer in my power to

doubt that this was the voice of God unto my soul calling it powerfully inward, as from all outward distractions, so from my own judgment and opinions, thoughts, imaginations, and affections, that ev'ry thing of the creatures in me being annihilated, he might become All in All ; and in particular as to the command I saw clearly it was my duty to obey with that purity of intention was enjoy'n'd me, and that morning before I went, having offer'd up myself to God to be put by him in the dispositions in which I ought to go, I found my mind fill'd, as with a strong resolution, so with a perfect indifferency, yea want of concern and thought as to the event, and when that fail'd, I enjoy'd an inexpressible calm and tranquillity in my mind with the testimony of my conscience, that having done my duty, I ought to leave all the rest to God, and as I know well these dispositions could never flow either from my nature or from an evil spirit, so this event which might have shaken my belief serv'd only to confirm it, and ever since entertaining no doubt, I have gone on in the practice of my silent prayer, I have had clearer views of my own nothing than I thought ever possible before, I found my mind disengag'd from the creatures, and ready to

some of his dependants had adopted the tenets of Madame Bourignon, for in 1707 the minister of the parish, Thomas Halyburton, of Ceres, found these doctrines spreading and felt it his duty to preach against them. An interesting note on the subject appears in his *Memoirs* (v. Works, 1833 edit., p. 763). Like other followers of A.B. these persons seem to have turned to the French Prophets. Sir Thomas later still belonged to the same group of those interested in mystical literature as Dr. Keith and Lord Deskford : v. M.N.E., p. 123. Craighall (not to be confused with that other well-known Episcopalian seat at Rattray in Perthshire) is described by Sibbald (*Hist. of Fife and Kinross*, pp. 138 f.). The house was burnt down towards the close of the 18th century and remains only a picturesque ruin.

1 Cupar, Fife.

2 Cf. R. Bulkeley, *An Answer to Several Treatises* (1708), p. 100 : " I have been also by a child in ecstasy instructed in my domestick affairs " ; also the same author's *Impartial Account of the Prophets*, p. 11 : " to see a little girl of four years old have these agitations very frequently."

3 V. M.N.E., pp. 65 ff. Cunningham would be in touch with Cheyne at Bath.

forsake all, and to embrace any sufferings, I see more distinctly the necessity of self, all self-love, and self-will being destroy'd, and of practising those things I knew before but in story ; in fine, I enjoy that peace and serenity of mind which I never felt before, and were not my infidelity and wandrings excessive and unaccountable, I might speedily arrive to that state which I am so mercifully call'd to. Thus, Dear Sir, having given you a full account of my conduct in this affair, I shall next tell you some of the effects whereof I am very sensible that God has formerly made use of as very powerful and effectual means with my soul, but I have by the strength of my corruption and infidelity frustrated 'em all, and they were at last become more matter of speculation to me than practice. The theory was beautiful, and satisfy'd my reason, but my heart continued still as much wedded to self and creatures as ever, wherefore I cannot sufficiently bless my God, for making known to me at last, a means not expos'd to those inconveniences, in which there is little exercise for my reason, on the contrary baffl'd and defeated. There is no fine theory to please my understanding, but I am drawn to a state wherein the exercise of that, and all my other faculties are silenc'd, and e'ry thing of the creatures, for the time, annihilated, by an awfull view of the presence of the Almighty, which powerfully weans my heart from all its former attachments, shows me the All of God, and the Nothing of the creature : /1 in fine, moves me to make an absolute sacrifice of my whole self unto his Fatherly hands that he may do with me what he pleases. As I cannot doubt that this proceeds from God, consequently that this is his voice to my soul, so when I discover the like, yea much more wonderful effects it has upon others also, this amounts to the highest probability that the same cause must also produce them, and as my conviction was never grounded on any outward thing but (as I think) on the Rock of Israel who is the same yesterday, today, and for ever, so 'tis not in the power of any thing but my own infidelity to destroy it. All the outward disappointments, the failing of predictions, what they speak of mixtures, yea of things more stumbling, does not at all move me, I need but have my discourse to my Heavenly Father sinking all my doubts and fears into the -inexhausted abyss of his mercy, and I find my soul restor'd to its former Deace and

tranquillity, and my conviction more bright than before. Often indeed, my corruption exposes me to much aridity and darkness, and sometimes perhaps my Lord doth hide his face to punish or try me, but even then

I endeavour to wait his return, with patience and humility, contentment and resignation, and ere long, he vouchsafes his presence again, and in his presence is fulness of joy. As to any particular commands, I believe the Merciful God sends no man a warfare upon his own charges, but with the command affords sufficient light and strength, for discerning and obeying
1 M.N.E., pp. 161, 163.

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it, if we do not wilfully stifle 'em, and as I have had a comfortable experience of this so I cannot err in trusting to his mercy for the like in times to come. You'll easily believe after this that no outward arguments could much move me, even tho' they were such as to baffle and nonplus my reason, of which, in such a case, I could make a cheerful sacrifice, but I must also freely own, I do not see the strength of the arguments you use anent which those things occur'd to me.

It does not appear to me that the name of Jehovah is peculiar to the Eternal Father, in contradistinction to the Son and Holy Spirit. It seems rather the most awful and tremendous name of the Great God the ever-blessed and undivided Trinity, in contradistinction to, and incommunicable with any creatures whosoever. /2 : The observation that after our Lord's resurrection, Jehovah is not brought in speaking to his servants, does not seem exact. The word indeed not being Greek, does not occur in the New Testament, but I am told by those who understand Hebrew that it signifies the three times. Now the Revelations of St. John are thus usher'd in Chap. i. 8 (I am Alpha & Omega, the Beginning and the Ending saith the Lord, which is, which was, and which is to come), i.e. Jehovah, the Almighty. Again (II v.) I am Alpha, and Omega, the first and the last. What thou seest write in a Book. Thus (for it is needful to transcribe all) Chap. 5 1 v. 4. 8. ii. 17 (where the Kingdom is also ascrib'd to him) ; v. i6 (where also the Judgment) ; thus also Cap. 21 v. 5 : He

that sat on the Throne (who appears by Rev. 21 and 22 to be contradistinct from the Lamb) said ` Behold I make all things new, and write,' &c. But Sly : In this Dispensation the bulk of the warnings are not in the name of Jehovah, but of God, or the Almighty. Some are spoke by that Jesus that was crucified at Jerusalem. You know all Mr. Lacy's /2 are call'd *The warnings of the Eternal Spirit*, but 4ly : Should one receiving a message which he knows to be from God, by the Concomitant Light, and other effects, reject the Message, because spoke by one person, whereas he expected it from another of the same Holy and undivided and contradistinct Trinity, One God, blessed for ever. 5ly. The sense of what Jacob Bohman /3 says, 'That none can have communication with the Eternal Father, but by and thro' the Son. seems to me to be, that the only medium of our union with God, is the Incrated superessential Light (which he calls the Son) and that unless he follow that Sun-Light which enlightneth every man that cometh

1 Probably Chap. 6 is intended.

2 One of the leaders of the movement in London, author of several volumes : v. Spinckes, *New Pretenders* ; D.N.B., etc.

3 Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), one of the greatest of theosophists and mystics : v. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (7th edit.), pp. 277 ff. ; also Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*. II, pp. 79 ff. ; E. Underhill, *Mystics of the Church*, pp. 214 ff. ; *Notes and Materials for a biography of William Law* (1854). Works translated into English, 5644-61.

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into the world, (by others call'd preventing Grace) he can never come to the Father which seems also the meaning of some of the passages you cite, but I see not how far this can make against a dispensation that so strongly presses all to follow that Inward Divine Light, even to the silencing all particular affections and desires sinking them all into the supereminent essential desire of the Father, as the most immediate means of union with, and transformation into God. 6ly. There only remains that passage anent the Son's judging and reigning, and I confess I understand little what that mysterious, and perhaps not useful speculation of the different periods of reigns of the Three Persons in the passages you cite, 1 Cor. 15. 24, 25. 'Tis plain from 15. 27 that it is

the Father, who puts all things under the foot of the Son ; this appears also Heb. 2. 8. where 'tis also said, We see not all things put under him. From all which, and what I noted before out of the Revelation, it would seem that the Reign of the Son does not commence, till what is call'd the Millenium, but either way it makes little either for, or against the present Appearance. Your next argument to invalidate the proofs brought from the good efforts that flow from this Dispensation, is, That the same have been produc'd by all appearances, particularly that of the Quakers. But, Dear Sir, shall we for the sake of this argument deny that there was some good in the beginning of that sect, or shall we so far weaken the arguments adduc'd by our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles, for proving the Divinity of our Holy Religion as to suppose it probable that Satan can be divided against himself, or to destroy his own Kingdom in the soul of man, yea, to silence all thoughts and imaginations, by which alone he can have any ground to attack him, shall we think it possible that a corrupt tree can bring forth the good fruit of Inward Holiness and Amendment of Life. Must not we own that the strongest arguments the apostles always appeal to, is the Inward Testimony of the Conscience, the outward reformation in the lives of their disciples. Shall I so far deny the Author of ev'ry good gift as to ascribe his Graces, Attributes, and Names to Satan ? Can he be the searcher of hearts, can he advise, yea help to silent prayer, can he overcome all human regards in us, can he in fine, produce such a strong faith, as hopeth even against hope ? No, my Dear Friend, those things are utterly impossible, and I must give up all notions of good and bad, of right and wrong, before I believe them. The hazard you press of giving up one's self intirely to the conduct of this Spirit, is sufficiently obviated by some things said a little above ; I bless my God I have resign'd myself to none but him, being absolutely resolv'd to follow none but him, and only will whensoever he maketh it known to me, believing that this obedience is better than sacrifice. My nature is indeed so prodigiously corrupted that one may think there is to me in particular still a possibility of delusion, but I bless God who has enabled me to resign myself even to suffer that, if such be his will. But in the meantime, I cannot, yea dare not without

either inexpressible ingratitude, or weakness, act otherwise than I do, when my convictions remain. I told you at the beginning, the pains I took to inform my self from the Mysticks of the danger of following or esteeming extraordinary Gifts, Visions, Voices. I bless my God, I find no greater attachment to those things than before, I hope never to be led by them but by the inward Light of Faith, and you'll conclude by what I have said above, that my conviction never proceeded from them. Thus, Dearest Sir, I have given you as distinct and sincere an account as was possible for me of all that has happened to me in this affair, and of my present disposition, and I have endeavour'd to write it all in the presence of God, and as a plenary confession to one whom I have this good time lookt upon as my Spiritual Father and Director, and I beg for the Love of God, and as you value the salvation of my soul, that you'll write to me with the like freedom I have now used. If you think either my former conduct, or present state, are to be blamed, and how they may be helped, as I see more clearly than ever my own ignorance and folly, so I am willing to take advice from any, much more from one I so highly esteem and love. Whatever other effects this Dispensation has produc'd in me, it has increas'd my affection to my friends, and I think made it more pure and more impartial. I love you, Mr. Monro,/1 and the Master of Forbes,/2 Mrs. St.,/3 Dr. K./4 and and in fine, all those that oppose this Dispensation, more than before, and upon purer motives, and ev'ry white as much as if ye were all in it. Yea (since I am sure you all act upon a good intention) I am perfectly easy and indifferent if ever ye shall favour it or not, knowing that as God has different designs upon his children, so his ways of dealing towards 'em are very various. I dare not ask anything in particular for you, no more than for my self, but make an illimited resignation of us all into the merciful hands of our Heavenly Father ; and as I am sensible, my state is dangerous, and that I incur a double guilt if I don't co-operate with this new and wonderful mercy, so I hope this will be a motive for all your most fervent prayers in my behalf, which I beg with all the earnestness I

am capable of. It remains only that I return you my hearty thanks for the prayer you sent inclos'd, I have read it twice over with a dale of satisfaction, but cannot see what it makes against this Dispensation which so powerfully draws people inward, from all activities and sensibilities to the practice of the most silent prayer, and the most internal abnegation. I shall not fail to show it to Mrs. Ireland, /6 and all others concern'd in this matter, to whom I believe it will be acceptable and of use. I must add one word more about your nephew, /7 I was here when he went away, and even could not blame his conduct, he never gave himself up to any thing but God, and went on that Mission from very pure motives,

1 Not identified.

2 William, afterwards 1 4th Lord Forbes.

3 Mrs. Strachan (?).

4 Dr. James Keith.

5 Andrew Michael Rarr, ay.

6 V. p. 202.

7 Not identified : p. 202.

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and after very serious and frequent recommending it to God, found his Mind fill'd with an unspeakable calm and serenity when resolving to go, but overwhelm'd with unsufferable anguish and horror when thinking to stay. What also then could he have done in those circumstances. If ye knew all the consequences it has produc'd in him, ye would find reason to bless God for his wonderful mercies unto him. Now to conclude, as I have endeavour'd to write all this under an immediate sense of the Divine presence, so perhaps something I have said in it may give you too favourable ideas of my present state, but I hope my Dearest Friend will not judge of me by some feelings I may have, when recollected before God, for while distracted from that, I am plung'd into my former follies and backslidings. This indeed may serve to give me a fuller view of what I am in my self, and to make me discern betwixt what flows from God, and what from my own corruption to see that all fulness is in him and in the operation of his Holy Spirit all-purifying, enlightning and strengthening, whereas in me, is nothing but what hinders or destroys those operations. O

G. D. HENDERSON

may ev'rything of self be soon annihilated in us all, that he may become all in all to us.

II. FROM DR. GEORGE GARDEN TO JAMES
CUNNINGHAM OF BARNES.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 17th of Novr. came to my hands the 28th, and that of the 26th yesternight the 2d instant. I acknowledge it as a great instance of your friendly affection that you embrace the occasions of writing to me even before I have pay'd the debt I owe of a return to the former, and that you so favourably interpret the slowness of the return I formerly made you (for Charity thinketh no evil) ; but much more that with such ingenuous freedom and sincerity you lay open the state of your mind with respect to the present Appearance ; by what steps you have been brought to an Inward Conviction about it, and what effects this hath had upon your soul ; which I most thankfully receive (not as a Director, for it were no small presumption in the to assume that office who have such need, in truly Divine things to be taught which be the first principles of the Oracles of God, but) for that I desire to be excited by the Experiences of others to the more effectually practice of true and internall devotion.

I cannot cease, My Dear Friend, to adore the Divine Mercy and Goodness towards you in drawing you so effectually from the world and self unto his Divine Light and Love, and to an entire Resignation of your own will, opinions, reason, affections, and all unto him. This is the very essence of all religion and the true way to real divine experimentall knowledge,

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and the ideal notional knowledge we have of things doth as much differ from that as a blind man's notions about light and colours from the sensible perceptions of him who sees the light. And the divine effects upon your heart and soul of your silent prayer to God your Heavenly Father cannot proceed but from the Father of Lights, from whom every good and perfect gift doth come. Such a pure Love of God, and of your neighbours for his sake, such a profound humility and deep sense of your own nothingness, such as an abandoning of your will, and an entire resignation of all you

are and all you have to his will ; such a contentedness and satisfaction to suffer reproach or any other evil for his sake, and in obedience to what you are persuaded to be his will ; such an absolute and unlimited faith in God so that he is become all in all to you, can be effected by nothing but the Spirit of God ; for the fruits of the Spirit are Love, Joy, Peace, Longsuffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance. And all this being the fruit of that silent prayer and pure faith in God which you are now led into, and which, as you know, so many spirituall souls have recommended from their own practice, it doth greatly recommend the use of the same. Tho' I cannot say there is any particular promise as to the prayer of silence that one shall be less in danger of any delusion if he shall use it than in praying otherwise, if he prayed to God in sincerity and with his whole heart. For the promises made are not to this way of prayer in particular, but to the seeking of God with the whole heart, in which case he graciously promises to be found of us ; and to the hungering and thirsting after righteousness, in which case he promises that we shall be satisfied ; and to the asking and seeking and knocking, in which case he promises we shall receive and find, and it shall be opened unto us. And we are bid not only to pray, but to watch that we enter not into temptation. So that tho' the prayer of silence may be of excellent use to some, yet I cannot see that it is a greater security to all who attempt to use it against the hazard of delusion, than any other kind of sincere and earnest prayer, particularly that continual prayer in the 8th Letter of IVth part of the *Funeral of false Theology* and from thence translated in the end of the *Apol. for A.B.*/1 And tho' the philosophy of the Mystick Theology would persuade us that when persons sink themselves into the prayer of silence, they are out of all hazard of delusion because they silence the imagination and the sensitive facultys, in which only they suppose that delusion can have place, yet I am afraid it is not always so in reality ; for when corrupt nature is not subdued in us, when we are not regenerated in the Spirit of Jesus Christ, it is not an actuall sinking of our facultys into a present silence waiting for a divine impulse, that will secure us in such a state against delusion. It seems rather to make way

1 G. Garden, *Apology for M. Antonia Bourignon (A.B.)*, pp. 417 ff. (actually 7th and not 8th letter).

for it. For when a soul that is unregenerate will needs at certain times silence its facultys that it may be acted upon by a Divine impulse, it may perhaps give occasion to the Seducer who yet rules in its corrupt nature, which is his element, to agitate and inspire it with his delusions, and make 'em pass for Divine motions.

But, Dear Sir, I am far from entertaining the least apprehension of this concerning you. I know the sincerity of your heart, and the good efforts produced in your soul are the fruits of the Holy Spirit, and I am not afraid that any delusion shall hurt you even tho' you were attack'd by it, for God makes all things to work together for good to them that love him. And whatever may be designed by the enemy of your soul for your hurt, your Heavenly Father will make it turn to your Good ; and your stedfast Faith in him alone will not be disappointed.

But since you have so freely imparted your thoughts in this matter, and that you do so earnestly obtest me to write to you with the like freedom, as to this affair and of your state and conduct in it, I shall endeavour to do it under a sense of the Divine presence and sincere desire of your spiritual Good, being sensible in the meantime of my own blindness, and begging and hoping from the inexhaustible fountain of all Light and Goodness that something may be written here which may work together for your good.

First then, This prayer of silence both that of acquired and that of infused contemplation, has, you know, been treated of by most of all the spiritual writers, and is the present exercise of the Quietists throughout the Roman Communion, by which they seem to be distinguish'd from the rest of the Church.

2. It appears by yours that you have been insensibly led to this, first by the practice of the prayer of the Affections so largely treated of by Baker in his *Sancta Sophia*, /1 and then attracted insensibly thereby into a state of silence.

3. Perhaps it will not be found that this present dispensation of prophets doth generally lead thereunto. Tho' it may be some of your acquaintances are so disposed, yet this is not thought to be the general tendency of this Appearance, but the quite contrary. They who have conversed with some of the prophets seem to think that they are utter strangers to this both in their understanding and practice. And as little doth appear of it in the *Warnings* that I have seen as in any writings that pretend to be from the Spirit of God. Except in the warning mention'd in yours, I have not seen it in any.

4. There have been many who have been led into the prayer of silence that were never agitated and inspired after the manner of the prophets ; as on the other hand, many of the agitated and inspired prophets did never exercise the prayer of silence.

1 M.N.E., p. 200.

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5. As there are never wanting some who counterfeit the best things ; so there hath been in the world, and may still be a spurious quietism ; as Rusbrochius tells some strange instances of it in his time./1 And Petrucci makes mention of the Illuminati in Spain /2 from the Chronicle of the Minorites ; and he vindicates Molinos /4 and the present Quietists of the Church of Rome from being of that Spirit.

6. They who give themselves to the prayer of silence, 'tis supposed that their senses, appetites and passions are already in a great measure mortified and subdued, and that the soul has already acquired the habits of virtues, and has a will habitually prompt to be humble, obedient, poor in spirit and vertuous in all things, also they may be led into a false Quiet which doth not purify the heart but expose it to delusion.

7. The prayer of silence being the soul's turning away the understanding from all the creatures and all their images and the fixing it by pure Faith on God the Supreme Truth and Good, as he is in himself infinitely beyond the conceptions of any creature, and by ardently loving that supreme and boundless and incomprehensible loveliness, the great End of this is to be rooted

and grounded in Divine Hope and Love, and in all vertue, and while it is exercised only for this end, it cannot but be of excellent profit to the soul, and there is no occasion of deceit in this. He who prays in this manner does not wait for speeches, nor motions, nor extraordinary lights. nor other miracles ; nor desires any other thing but always most profoundly and firmly to believe in God, to hope in him and to love him in time and throughout Unchangeable Eternity.

8. But if such souls have at any time extraordinary Lights and Conditions about particular things, they are not wedded to them, because they know that what is known, possess and felt here below is not God ; who here on earth has given himself to be believed, not understood ; hoped for, not possess ; and lov'd, not felt. The only way which a soul which applies it self to acquire silent prayer can be out of hazard of delusion therein, is, by seeking therein to adore in pure faith as present to it and in it, the invisible, unconceivable, unfigurible, supreme, infinite Being and Good. and to love him as such ; and while it thus employs its Faith and Love it cannot be deceived. But if from thence it pass to rely on extraordinary Lights and Sensations that come to it thereby, these are not God, this is not pure faith, in these a soul may be deceived as in other ways.

9. The ordinary state of a soul that is in the way of acquired silent prayer, is a state of pure and dark faith. It doth not know God, it doth

1 Confirmed in E. Underhill, Ruysbroeck, p. 124 : v. also M. V.E., p. 243.

2 Cardinal Petrucci (1636-1701) was interested in Quietism and was known in England from his *Christian Perfection*, a translation from the Italian in 1704.

3 V. Cath. Ency., XVI, p. 46.

4 The Quietist leader : v. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, II, pp. 242 ff.

not feel him. Clouds and darkness are round about him. It is placed as in a dry and thirsty land where no water is : and yet it doth still more hunger and thirst after God and prayer, and its disgust of temporal things doth increase the more, while it seems to it self to have no vertue and not to love God. And this is its true purification, not merely from the images, and the Love of

corporeal things, but from self, self-love, self-complacency, self-seeking, or the cleaving to anything but God. Such must in patience possess their souls. And of those Tauler says : /1 "*Quicumque ad extremum usque desolatas has tenebras patienter ferunt, amabilissimi pariter ac praeclarissimi efficiuntur homines.*" They are in the exercise of the most pure graces and vertues. Such a soul believes without seeing any thing, hopes without possessing any thing and loves without tasting any thing of the consolations of its Beloved in this place of banishment. The soul that tastes God is bless'd, not in exile. He who believes in the Supreme Truth is sufficiently perswaded in his Divine word, without vision. He who hopes in the Supreme Charity gaits with a humble certainty for the future efforts of its favours, even when he does not yet possess the sweet earnestness of them. He who loves purely the Supreme Goodness, loves it for itself, and not for the gusts of his own heart.

10. Since in spiritual matters, the true use of every thing, is, that we may be thereby brought to die to self, to self-will, and to the cleaving to any thing but God, and that we may live wholly to the will of God, it seems from hence to follow that inward spiritual consolations and joys and extraordinary divine gifts and lights are a much more dangerous state to souls that are not wholly mortified to self nor to an adhesion to any thing besides God. For those consolations and spiritual gifts are not God ; and the soul is ready to take a complacency in them, from which nothing but the being crucified with Christ to self and self-seeking can preserve us.

11. Since God is the Incomprehensible Truth and Wisdom as unsearchable in his ways as in his essence, so that we cannot penetrate them with our understanding, we ought humbly to accept of all the manifestations he has made by his spirit in all the fulness of the sense and meaning intended by the Divine Spirit without cleaving so to one meaning or one way as if it were the only meaning or only way of the Spirit, and all others now false. And God being Love, and all he doth and saith tending to Love, that sense and way that leads us effectually to the Love of God is good and saving to us, and instead of a solid truth, whether it be true in itself or not, it is enough that God who is the Living and

Essential Truth and unites us thereunto by Love, has by the occasion of this sense and meaning, this doctrine, this way, made his Love to arise in our hearts : without which, tho' the doctrine

1 This characteristic utterance is from Tauler's first sermon for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity (Opera Omnia, Cologne, 5615, p. 451).

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or way were never so true it would be of no profit to us. In the whole world there is but one only Good, and that is the Divine Will ; and one only Evil, and that is the will of the Creature, so that the center of all religion being to dy to self-will, that we may live only to the Divine will, whatever Doctrine (way, practice or experience) we find effectual for this, is to us a solid truth tho' it were false in itself. And whatever diverts us from that Death and this Life tho' never so true in it self, is more hurtfull to us than all those errors which do not withdraw us from so necessary a death. Therefore it is not fit to contend with any about opinions, nor to affirm any that we embrace (excepting the most common Fundamentals of Religion) to be the pure truth free from all mixture of error, while our Spirit is not translated into the pure element of Light. In the meantime I embrace these doctrines that seem best to me, and believe them to be true, while I know not better, but without adhesion or presumption, nor will I condemn those that differ from mine, but leave all to God, being ready to quite them when it shall please him to afford me more light.

Thus whatever there may be as to the nature of this Appearance it self ; yet since our Heavenly Father upon the occasion of it, is pleas'd to turn you, My Dear Friend, more inward, and in the exercise of pure Faith and Dependance upon God to wean your heart more effectually from self and all the creatures, it is for your good, while in the mean time you do not cleave to it but to God, not judging others who have not that savoury taste o this appearance to be out of the true way to God, and being ready to quite the same when it shall please him to afford you more light.

As I know no external argument will make any impression on your Spirit as to the present Appearance while you have an inward conviction about it, so neither will I offer any. I shall tell you that

I continue in the same uncertainty as to the Divine authority of this Appearance. On the one hand I cannot but acknowledge that it is a strong presumption for it that upon this occasion there have been such singular effects upon the minds and spirits of so many different sorts of persons, that some who were said to have been Deists have been awakned to a serious sense of Religion and of Divine Revelation ; that others who were abandon'd to their lusts and passions have been struck with remorse and led to penitence ; that others who were desirous to live in the Fear and Love of God, and to be wholly resign'd unto him, have been brought to do it more effectually ; and so seem all to be living testimonys of a Divine power and force.

On the other hand, there are strong prejudices which withhold me from assenting to it as a Divine Dispensation of the Eternal Spirit of God.

First then our Lord hath so expressly forewarned us that in the Last Times there shall be false prophets that shall show great signs and wonders, that if possible they shall deceive the very elect. And he saith : " Behold I have told you before ; " implying thereby the great need we shall have

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to mind his warning. And there has not arisen any set of prophets in these last days which this forewarning seems more expressly to respect than these ; who are more like to deceive the best meaning ; who pretend such miraculous things, to go and abide into the hottest fire till it be spent, and not a hair of their head singed ; to speak in variety of unknown tongues, which they never learned and do not understand ; to know the secrets of men's hearts ; to raise the dead ; to call for fire from heaven and to predict the fate of kings, kingdoms and cities.

2. Most of the spiritual writers, as you know very well, and in particular A.B./1 give express cautions against the prophets of these last days : and I am perswaded, were she alive at this day she would as much declare against the prophets of this age as she did against those of her own time. They tell us that Antichrist doth now reign, and hath at this present great dominion over the spirits

of men, ensnaring them by false appearances of goodness and virtue, transforming himself into an angel of light that he may seduce the best meaning persons, and that the Devil can still speak of Divine Mysterys as well as when he was an Angel. And if what he says is true, as to the number of his immediate pactionaires in the world, then the hazard is so much the greater, since by an apparent sanctity, and a pretence of immediate inspiration from God, and a gift of foretelling things to come, and of discovering the secrets of men's hearts, they are apt to impose on the best meaning persons. This last instance of discovering the thoughts of mens hearts brings to my mind a remarkable passage in the first Book of S. Augustine's treatise *Contra Academicos*,/2 Cap. VI. of a certain soothsayer residing for many years in that age at Carthage, called Albicerius, who was consulted by people of all sorts to whom he gave wonderful responses, even so far as to tell them their secret thoughts ; and that particularly one of S. Augustin's disciples resolving to puzzle him with a question which he was perswaded he could not answer, and bidding him peremptorily tell him upon what he was just then thinking, he immediately replied, upon a verse of Virgil ; and when the other being astonish'd asked what terse it was ? Albicerius who had scarce ever been within a Grammar School repeated the verse as nimble as a boy can do when bidden repeat a verse that he has learn'd perfectly by heart.

3. The manner of their uttering their warnings is to me a great prejudice against its being of divine authority. God is a Spirit, and communicates himself to the soul in a spiritual manner ; and if the notices he gives the soul be when it is still and free from all imaginations, and its own facultys do cease, one would be apt to think that this would be manifested in the still and small voice, and not by such agitations of the body,

1 Mme. A. Bourignon, *Tombeau de la fausse Theologie*, Pt. I, letter 8 : v. also G. G., Apology, pp. 196 ff.

2 Migne, P.L., XXXII, pp. 914 f.

as appear in the prophets of the present age which one should think would rather pull the soul out of its silent state, than

preserve it in it. This was not the way that our Lord spoke, who had the Spirit without measure. But they who pronounced the heathen Oracles are said to have utter'd them with such agitations and fury.

4. Their making so many predictions and the failing of them is no small prejudice against the divine authority of their commission to those who have no inward conviction of it. You see this is the rule given by God. Deut. Is. 22 : " When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously ; thou shalt not be afraid of him."

5. If this dispensation lead to inward silence, and the prophets are agitated and do speak in this inward silence, then it seems this cannot preserve them from the delusion of a foreign spirit, or of their own imagination ; neither are they able to discern, notwithstanding of this inward stillness between what proceeds from the Divine Spirit, and what from a forreign Spirit, or their own imagination, witness the case of the L. Abden of whom M. D—n /1 writes in a Letter to XXX./2 thus : " It is not altogether so as hath been represented to you, for none of the inspired ever thought or said she had not received the visit of the Good Spirit, and also spoke by it ; tho' they were also satisfied both from the nature of thy- things, and more fully from what the spirit has done and said, concerning the same, that she hath been under a great temptation, and that many things spoke and deliver'd by her, have not been the pure dictats of the Holy Spirit, but proceeded from the influence of a foreign spirit tempting and seducing her to utter her own thoughts, or his suggestions as from the Spirit of God. What the Spirit has done here in her case has been only this ; one of the orders, sent to F^o /3 was by the Spirit in M. Marion /4 taken and torn : the like was done by the spirit in M. L--y /5 in another to him. And all that was publick was only at a meeting of the Inspired upon occasion of an order in the same Letter to M. L--y,/5 the Spirit by F.A./6 declared the Letter was not from the Holy Spirit. Indeed in private I had something to the same purpose on some other orders of her's. And the spirit

likewise both by signs and otherwise declared that the book called the Last Revelation, etc. spoke by her of which I saw the beginning was not of Divine Authority." Thus far M. Dn.1

1 Dutton : v. Introduction.

2 Not identified.

3 Mr. Facio mentioned in connection with the London movement : *Enthusiastick Impostors* (1707), p. 17, etc. ; Bulkeley, *Answer to Several Treatises* (t 7o8), p. 92. One of the three French originators of the movement in England.

4 John Lacy.

5 F.A.: not identified.

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6. When the prophets are divided and contradict one another under inspiration it is a great prejudice against their being acted by a Divine Spirit. This is more remarkable in the affair of Mr. Whitro /1 who is now declared by many of the prophets to speak by a foreign spirit, and therefore curses are said to have been pronounced against him by persons under inspiration. And yet nevertheless his warnings seem to have as much of unction as any of the rest. And Sr. Richard Bulkly /2 declares he is the greatest penitent he ever saw in his life time, and that he never discerned more of sanctifying grace in any person than in him, and he is said to have made as many disciples and converts as any of 'em, and that there are as great changes in their life and manners, of which Sr. Richard himself is a remarkable instance who is now brought to such a generous contempt of the world and of all earthly things, and to such an effectual and practical sense of his being but a steward of that worldly abundance which God has been pleas'd to entrust him with for the good of his fellow creatures. He tells also of the wonderful effects of Mr. Whitro's blessings particularly that of Richard Cheynie attested by the man himself. Now here is one who has discovered the thoughts of men's hearts, by whose warnings men are brought to a change of their hearts and lives, and yet by the other prophets he is said to be led by a foreign spirit.

7. It seems still a prejudice to me and not a small one against this Appearance, that all the warnings are given out as spoken immediately by God himself ; not in the stile of the ancient

prophets as messengers and ambassadors from God to declare his will, with a Thus saith the Lord ; but as if it were God himself the great Jehovah speaking immediately by the organ of their tongues. Thus the present prophets have most literally fulfilled what our Lord hath forewarned us that the prophets of the last age would do, that they would not as his disciples did, call themselves ambassadors for Christ, but would say, Lo here is Christ himself speaking to you ; Lo here is the Eternal Father, the great Jehovah, the Eternal Spirit speaking to you. Our Lord saith : Go not out to them, believe it not, Behold I have told you before. Now whither it is better for us to obey Jesus Christ or the prophets, judge ye. And where such come to vent their own imaginations or the delusions of a foreign spirit as spoken immediately by God, obliging their believers to receive it with veneration as God's word, as the prophets under inspiration do acknowledge it has been done among them, they are thereby guilty of taking the name of God in vain in

1 Abraham Whitrow : v. Nicholson, Falshood of the New Prophets Manifested (1708), p. 18, etc. In Enthusiastick Impostors, p. 73, we read, " Mr. Whitrow, Mr. Dutton, and Mr. Cuff who were sometime Philadelphians."

2 Perhaps the most prominent of the upholders of the French Prophets in England author of Impartial Account of the Prophets, etc.

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a high degree. And in this case it must be acknowledg'd that amongst them sometimes the great Enemy of Mankind opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; and that he sitteth in the temple of God, the heart of the prophet and the believer, showing himself that he is God, and making his word to be heard and revered as the word of the Great Jehovah, the Everlasting God. Lord ! Lay not this sin to their charge.

8. As to what I wrote in my last to you of pronouncing the warnings as immediately uttered by Jehovah the Eternal Father in contradistinction to the Son of God there has been some mistake about it both by you and it seems by the writer of the letter to XXX./1 subscribed by the Lady Clara./2 as if I had thought that the name Jehovah was not communicable to the Son and to the

Holy Spirit, which never entered into my mind ; and as if I had not known that all the manifestations of the Deity under the Old Testament, are generally (and in particular by A.B.) /3 attributed to the Son, and yet he is called Jehovah. This the writer of that letter may easily believe that I could not be ignorant of nor of the many instances he adduces to make that appear, if I have at any time perused the *Apol. for A .B.* /4; But the reason why I said that I thought it singular that the Great Jehovah the Eternal Father is brought in speaking ip contradistinction from his Son, is, that several of the L. Abden's warnings are so pronounced. As for instance (I have none of them at present by me) that wherein the Great Jehovah is brought in speaking and wondering how any can think this a delusion of Satan. " 'Tis true (saith that warning) he had the presumption to corrupt my Son, and that was too great a presumption ; but he durst never presume to take my sacred name Jehovah that I have reserved for my self." It may be considered whether Mr. Whitro s makes use of that sacred name, or of the import of it in his warnings. Now the reason why I thought this a singular thing, is, because as all the Divine Manifestations under the Old Testament are generally supposed to have been by the Son of God, so seem all those generally under the New after our Saviour's Ascension. It was Jesus that spoke to Paul from Heaven ; that gave John the warnings to the angels of the seven Churches where he is called the First and the Last. And John having such visions of the glory of God, and the things to come, and of the throne of God, and of the glory of his majesty. 'tis no wonder if once or twice he hears the voice of God. But the present case is a quite different thing, the Great Jehovah speaking daily out of the prophets. It were indeed very unjust for one to reject a message which he knows to be from God because spoken by one person of the Trinity when he expected it from another ; but that is the thing in question.

1 M.N.E., p. 215.

2 Not identified.

3 Madame Bourignon.

4 A curious way of referring to what was certainly his own work. M.N.E., p. 226.

9. What I wrote concerning J.B./1 was only occasionally ; for I had not read those passages myself, and so can give you no account of them. But a friend happening to speak of it at that time (who withal knew not where to point to it) I gave you a hint of it, tho' I doubt if it is to be understood in this sense you speak of. For he lays no small stress upon the Incarnation and Humanity of the Son of God. And you know, there is one God and one Mediator between God and Man, the man Jesus Christ, who interposes with God for man, and again solicits man to return to God. And therefore the Apostle says, 2 Cor. 5. 20 : " Now then we are ambassadors for Christ as if God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." As for the speculation of the different periods of the reign of the three persons of the Trinity, I had no thought about it. As for the Millennium, perhaps there's no such thing ; and Mr. J./2 can tell you that J.B. had no opening about it, and far less as to the sudden approach of it. And therefore that this dispensation is from God had need of more convincing evidence than the prophets advancing of this. You have heard the famous story of Mr. Mason /3 a Minr of the Church of England that happened in our days, who was a man of great piety and devotion, and firmly perswaded as he thought by Divine inspiration that Jesus Christ was to come upon the earth within a very short time, half a year or so and he gain'd some numbers of believers who left all and liv'd for some time in tents with him, to attend our Lord's Coming. But the period being short, the mistake was soon laid open.

10. Because there might have been some mixture of good amongst the Quakers at first, and some of them may be still well-meaning persons ; is it therefore advisable, or was it then fit to enter into that sect or party ? Was that a sufficient reason for any body to give themselves up to it ? They direct all men to turn to the Light within them, recommend the prayer of silence and even practise it sometimes in their meetings, where then none speaks. They pretend to be led by the Spirit of God, and to pray and warn by the spirit. Does this lay an obligation to be of their sect and party ? Are the prophets the only persons that recommend the prayer of silence ? Or that have practis'd it ? Do you think all the inspired in the Cevennes young and old were in the prayer of

silence when they were agitated and inspired ? And that they were regenerated in the spirit of Christ ? Was not S. Saulieu /4 tho' one of Satan's emissarys as ready to recommend silent prayer and a contempt of the world ? How come the warnings of Mr. Whitro (whom the spirit in the other prophets declares to be led by a

1 Jacob Boehme : v. M.N.E., p. 205.

2 Or possibly Mr. I : not identified.

3 V. N. Spinckes, *New Pretenders to Prophecy* (1709), pp. 501 ff. Also R. Bulkeley, *Answer to Several Treatises* (1708), pp. 54 ff. ; Calamy, *Caveat* (1708), p. 47.

4 *Apology*, pp. 283 ff.

5 M.N.E., p. 216.

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foreign spirit) to produce such good effects, the good fruits of inward holyness and amendment of Life, the inward testimony of the conscience, and the outward reformation of the life of his disciples ? I still acknowledge that an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, but that all good is from God. and what the evil mean for evil, God is pleas'd to turn it into the good of others : as Joseph said to his brethren : " As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good." " Some indeed," saith S. Paul, Phil. I. 15, " preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some of goodwill "18. " What then ? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoyce, yea and will rejoyce." The gospel of Jesus Christ even tho' preached thro' strife, if it be received in an honest heart, the Spirit of God may there bring forth good fruit ; and thus among the prophets there may be a mixture of good and evil as well as among other party's.

Now I have written all this, not that I think that anything I have said will make any impression upon you, but to show you plainly that since I have no immediate inward conviction that this dispensation is of Divine Authority, the outward appearances of it are such as do leave me in no small doubts about it, and oblige me to regard My Lord's warning, who bids me beware of the false prophets of the last days, and not to go after them.

And if this appearance be a delusion, then it gives this prospect of the strange artifices of Satan whereby to counteract J. Christ, he first stirr'd up all the powers of the world against Christianity to suppress and stifle it in its birth. When it flourished the more by persecution then he set up to be a Christian, brought in all his followers and all the power of wealth of the world into the Church, and his adherents into the most eminent places in it, and appeared highly zealous for the outside of Christianity, undermining in the meantime its true inward life and spirit. When this corruption was come to its height, and many serious persons groaned for a reformation of life and manners, he then set up for a reformer, and divides the Christian world into a great many contending parties, fills them with strife and envy against one another, and so with confusion and every evil work, and makes them place their religion in a zeal against the errors and corruptions of the contrary party, without taking care to deny themselves and to be followers of Jesus in humility and charity. And when the Spirit of God begins in the several parties of Christendom to open men's eyes, to let them see the folly and madness of their mutual strife and contention about the outward rights, forms and opinions among Christians, and to awaken them to the more inward life and spirit of Christianity by learning to take off their heart, love and desires from self and earthly things, and to turn them wholly unto God ; Satan then sets up to be a Mystick and an inward spiritual person, and this spirit of true devotion beginning first in the Church of Rome, he employs his emissaries to act the same part there,

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so that whole convents were discover'd (which had been famous for raptures and extatical devotion) to have been in the meantime agitated by the evil spirit. This in the meantime was so little regarded amongst the protestants, that they could hardly believe that any such thing could have been ; but when the like writing and truths came to be spread among them, then we are allur'd with multitudes of prophets of the highest form in those spiritual things, they pretending that not they, but the great Jehovah speaks

by their tongues. and what this at last may turn to, time will discover.

In the meantime I will not take upon me, Dear Sir, to blame you for your conduct in this matter, for I may be greatly mistaken in my apprehensions about this appearance. Happy are you who have chosen God only for your Director ; " The meek will he guide in judgment, the meek will he teach his way." Bless'd be he who hath taught you so effectually to resign yourself wholly and only to him. Continue to ask wisdom of God in all sincerity, and he will direct you. Let us labour to be the true followers of J. Christ, in the spirit of penitence, selfdenial, humility and charity without respect to any party, and live in the midst of partys without being of a party. We are call'd to be the followers of our Lord J. Christ, and not either of Luther or Calvin or A.B./1 or J.B./2 or the prophets. This is one true shepherd who calls us to one sheepfold. Let us hear his voice and follow him. In so far as any of our fellow creatures do excite us to this by word or deed, they are to be regarded by us : but in so far as they lead us to espouse their partys we have need to watch and pray that we enter not into temptation. We have one great enemy and that is self, and if that were subdued, nothing could hurt us. May we deny our selves and take up the cross and follow Jesus. Your friends here do remember you with an intire affection ; and as they doubt not of the sincerity of yours, so they are perswaded you will be equally just in your thoughts of them. By this let it be known that we are the Disciples of Jesus that we love one another. To his grace I do most affectionately commend you, and desire the continuance of the same remembrance by you, being

Dear Sir

Your most affect. servant

in Jesus Christ, G.G.

I have given you the trouble of this, not that I desire a particular return from you as to the things mention'd in this letter ; for I think that is out of your present road ; but only that I might plainly show you what witholds me from going hastily into the Society of the present prophets, for which I think you will not

blame me, since you did not think your self obliged to receive them as such without a divine inward conviction.

1 A. Bourignon.

2 Jacob Boehme.

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I have had no line from M.P./1 this twelve month, nor have I sent any return to his last. I encline to write to him shortly, and having lately seen a short line of his in answer to one sent him it seems from London about the prophets, in which perhaps they will not think they are fairly represented. I encline to translate yours to me into Latine and to send it to him if you are not averse to it, or if you chuse to do it your self either in French or in Latine, please to acquaint me by the first.

III. FROM JAMES CUNNINGHAM OF BARNES TO DR.
GEORGE GARDEN.

To the very Reverend

Dr. George Garden at Roseheartie./3

VERY REVD. & DEAR SIR,

Your's of the 2d of December came not to my hands till the 24th and as I desire with all imaginable sentiments of affection and gratitude to return you my hearty acknowledgments for it so I had given it an answer last week, but that I could not so soon determine after what manner I should write unto you. At last I thought that the affectionate concern of my soul, the sincerity and freedom that appeared in yours, the condescendance you used in telling me so freely the reasons of your opinion seem'd to require an answer somewhat of the same nature.

But I hope My Dear Friend won't imagine that I either flatter my self with the hopes or presume to wish that anything I write should determine you. God forbid you were so foolish as to build any thing on so weak a foundation. I only thought it might be convenient once for all to lay the prejudices that make in favours of the p. . . . /3 as fairly before you as those on the contrary side seem to be ; besides I did not know how far it might be my duty, with meekness and reverence to give the reason of the hope that is in me to one whom upon many accounts I ought to look upon as my most valuable friend and most experienced adviser, if you'll take no other character that might intitle you to more authority. And as I design hereby to answer fully those only views that move me to write, and to give full evidence that this affair occasions in me no reserve, so I hope you'll neither desire nor expect I should ever write to you again on this subject.

In your last you handle two subjects the prayer of silence and the affair of the p. . . . /3 of both which I design to say somewhat in the presence and with the help of the Almighty, if he please to vouchsafe it. May his will be done and all tend to his Glory.

1 Monsieur Poiret : v.. M.N.E., pp. 16 ff.

2 V. M.N.E., pp. 33, 45.

3 " Prophets."

I. You have indeed said in yours a great many excellent and useful things anent the prayer of Internal Silence, but still there remains some thing, in which our notions about it seem to differ. A. Baker in the 7 Chap: of ' the 3e Sect: of his 3d Treatise /1 has so admirably and from such a fund of vital experimental knowledge, given a description of that prayer of its nature and advantages, that instead of repeating any thing there said, I chuse to refer you to it and restrict my- self to some particular things that seem to relate more immediately to our present enquiry.

Not only (as you express it) the philosophy of the Mystick Theology, but he and all other mystical writers who treat of this way of prayer, of its nature and advantages, have from their own happy experience assured us, that there is no danger nor possibility of delusion in it, and even to the Rational Faculties there may be very solid reasons given for this assertion. The enemy of our souls can have no access to them, but by means of some orrnt acts of our own of some images in our understanding or affections, those being in this exercise intirely silenced, there's no ground left for him to work on or tempt us. He who made our souls can alone act upon them without the mediation or intervention of any thing ; whereas all communications betwixt created spirits must be by the means of some mutual act exerted by them. Further in this exercise all the lower faculties of the soul being silenced and still, and only the whole desire in a general manner turned towards God, we may well say that at such a time only the SUPREME PURE SPIRIT does act (which according to the doctrine of the B. of M./2 Fides et Ratio, p. 52, 53) can be reached affected or operated upon by no creature whatsoever, and consequently is incapable of all error or delusion. Should therefore the prince of this world come to assault such a soul in such a state, he would get no entry, and for the time would find nothing of his own there. He is an absolute stranger to all that is performed in that mysterious silence as St. Ignatius s and all the Mysticks since have taught us. I know indeed that while corrupt nature is not yet subdued in us, Satan has still the power to work upon our imaginations, or affections, and thereby even in that

state to represent some images to our mind, but hitherto there is no sin nor delusion, until the soul willingly withdraw the attention of its supreme fund from the most high and begin to mind and regard those floating images : then indeed is a fair door opened for all the wildest errors ; but we must take notice that by that very act

1 It is very interesting to find how this particular section of Sancta Sophia appealed especially in view of the fact that the modern English translation (p. 489) contains the note : " The instructions contained in this chapter are to be received with the utmost caution " and on pp. 490 if. there is a full note explaining the orthodox position regarding internal silence.

2 Baron v. Metternich : M.N.E., pp. 102, 160, 226, 229.

3 Epistle to the Eplians, etc.

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the soul interrupts and abandons its prayer of silence, during which it was absolutely secure. And I hope, Dear Sir, you did not understand what I said of the security of one that was drawn to the exercise of silent prayer, as if I thought him at all times and occasions safe against the fiery darts of the Devil. I only believe him so for the time that he is employed in the exercise, making use of the shield of this naked faith that infallibly quenches them all. The great duty then of such a soul seems to be carefully but quietly and calmly to watch against the entry of all such images (which may be one sense of that passage you mention " Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation ") and if any such are presented, faithfully to overlook and disregard them, with much quietness, sinking the deeper into the divine presence, into that dark silence, where we see, taste and feel nothing: being well assured (according to the most solid and sublime doctrine of J._Cruce) /1 that tho' these images and representations do truly flow from God. as often they may, yet he is not offended by this way of behaving toward them, and that they produce all their effects the moment they are presented without any direct attention or reflex acts of ours. If this ought to be the conduct of a soul, in this prayer of internal silence, it may be wonder'd whence any lights, motions or divine convictions should be spoke of as the effects thereof. This I understand and have in part experienced after this manner. In general thus, a soul after due preparation being led

into that state and remaining some considerable time in it, at coming out of it is surprised to find it self fill'd with new and most lively powerful sensations of its own nothingness and that of all the creatures and of the All of God ; or with a deep sense of the vanity and folly of those gays of its own choosing it has hitherto walked in and of the necessity of its being absolutely and blindly resigned to the Divine Conduct over it, or feell itself inflamed with love to God and hatred to its own corruption ; or finally sees more distinctly than ever the numerous ginns and snares its spiritual enemies are laying for it, whence its former falls proceeded and how to ship the like in time to come. I say such a soul may confidently ascribe those effects and those lights to the preceding exercise. But to give some more particular instances in my self more directly relating to the present case. of which I have not felt above 4 or 5, when the order came to go to Cowper./2 I found all the powers of my corrupt nature rise up with many specious arguments in opposition to it. I was fully then determined to go north, which I thought would be for the health of both my body and mind. I saw thereby I was to forfeit my reputation, and that step might possibly engage me into many others ; the consequences whereof I could not then foresee. However I thought I should not be too absolutely determined without haying my recourse to my God in this method of prayer and having

1 John of the Cross.

2 Cupar : v. p. 203.

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continued sometime in that state I was indeed surprised to find my mind fully and irresistibly determined to go, be the consequences what they will. I could therefore no longer consult with flesh and blood, but resolv'd to follow what I thought a heavenly motion. Again at Craighall that day I went to Cowpar,/1 a thought occurred to my mind that perhaps my firm faith that the child was to speak might be required in order to the events really happening as our Lord always requires faith in the persons in or before whom he wrought any miracles. I resolv'd however not to trust this my own imagination, but in a general manner to offer up myself to God to be placed by him in the Dispensation that was

most agreeable to his will on that occasion ; and being then drawn into this prayer of internal silence, I found on the ceasing of it the former imagination intirely torn from me, and my soul filled as with a firm resolution to go, so with intire indifferency, want of concern or thought about the event, which disposition continued long unshaken in me, even after the disappointment. At other times when doubts anents this affair have arisen in my mind, I have found upon the exercise of this prayer, my soul restored to its former tranquillity and conviction, and the doubts quite evanished, tho' perhaps for a considerable time after no satisfaction as to them afforded to the rational faculty. It were needless to mention more instances, but tell me, my Dear Friend, how can I doubt of my being in these determined by some superiour yea Divine Influence, unless I should accuse all the mysticks not only as so themselves deceived, but gross deceivers of others ; since they have all with one voice recommended this as an infallible method for obtaining of light in all doubtful cases. It were tedious to you to mention them all, but 'tis most fully handled in the 4. 5. 6. 7. 8 Chap: of the 2d § & 1st Treatise of *Sancta Sophia*. /2 You may easily believe, Dear Sir, that a soul in this state is far from waiting for, expecting or desiring (its exercise being to silence all particular desires) any extraordinary Divine impulse, speech, motion, light, sensation, or miracle whatsoever. It knows too well its own unworthiness and the danger of being led in such a way. But if any such should be given, it hopes and in part feels, that they shall be accompanied with that infallible criterion of their being Divine that was given to the B. Angela de Foligni (p. 252 Theol. de la Croix) /3 : " see then," said the Holy Spirit, "and make the experiment if thou canst draw any vain glory from or exalt thy self upon account of all the things I have said unto thee. Yea use all thy efforts to think if thou canst, on any thing else but my words." But such a soul is far from proposing those or any feeling of the Divine presence and consolations or any thing else as the end of its exercise, but what

1 Craighall at Cupar (Fife) : M.N.E., p. 202.

2 1932 edit., pp. 92 §.

3 Poiret issued an edition of this work in 1696. For the sentiment here expressed v. Steegmann, Book of Divine Consolation of B. Angela of Foligno (1909), p. 164.

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ought to be the end /1 of its life, a simple and illimited conformity to the will of God. It knows the design of prayer is (not to move or prevail on the Almighty, he needs no entreaty, but is much more ready to give than we to ask, nor can he be moved or interpellated by any thing, but) that the soul may thereby become more souple and pliable unto and more capable of receiving divine impressions ; and this end it thinks can be much more effectually obtained, by its yielding up it self in a general illimited manner to be operated upon by the Holy Spirit, than by continuing in its own activities and operations. It believes therefore that the promises made by God to prayer are more peculiarly adapted to this method of it. It thinks this the best way to love, desire or pray to (which are all one) its God with all its heart, when it forms no particular desire at all, breaths after nothing but his will and abandons it self without reserve unto him. Shou'd it pray for any particular grace or vertue it knows that it is not God, and consequently that its heart and desire is by that very act divided : whereas in the general desire of God alone all these good things are included, for in him are all things. It knows it has formerly often asked and received not, because it ask'd amiss ; it feells that it yet knows not what to pray for as it ought, it believes therefore that the best way to have all its infirmities supplied is, by blindly yielding up all its desires to the Spirit of God that he may make intercession for it according to the will of God with groanings that cannot be uttered. It understands the directions of our blessed Lord anent prayer (Matt. 6. 6) also in this sense. This it thinks is to pray to him in secret who alone sees what passes there, and who without the intervention of any words or thoughts of ours, knows perfectly what we have need of. And it reckons the form there prescribed to be a method of preparation thereto. It thinks it self invited to this by these gracious words of his (Matt. II. 28) : " Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy loaden, I will give you rest". Rest, not only from the heavy burthen of your grosser sins, but also from your smaller

imperfections, from officious distracting images, in fine, from every thing that hinders you to learn of me. This it thinks may be some imperfect foretaste perhaps of that rest he is gone to prepare for the children of God, and which we are by his apostles so earnestly exhorted to enter into : and also some faint glimmerings of that peace of God, which passeth all understanding which he left as his last and best legacy to his followers. This was also his own practice particularly in the Garden. In short it fancies that in one sense all the scriptures concerning prayer may be applied to this way of it ; that the asking, seeking, knocking to which the promises are made (as is plain by the context Luk ii. 9. &c.) are no particular desire, but the general illimited one of the Holy Spirit's living and operating in us

1 Mary Baird's version of the correspondence stops abruptly here.

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in which all good things are included ; that the hungry and thirsting after righteousness is not after any particular vertue but the state of justification ; that righteousness of God, which is by the faith of Jesus Christ : that Kingdom of God and his righteousness which we are commanded principally and in the first place to seek after. For hereby the Kingdom of God is indeed begun in a soul, when it feels the power of God casting down (according to St. Paul's expression) all imaginations and every thing that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God ; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. Yea, such a soul hopes hereby to attain to that poverty of spirit and purity of heart so beatified by our Saviour. It finds herein the substance of the Fides nuda of the B: of M: /1 since its exercise is to place it self in the presence of God and cleave to him as he is in his own blessed essence incomprehensible to all creatures, and infinitely transcending all his gifts and graces and all it can ever possibly taste or feell, which it therefore passes all over, sinking still deeper into the pure and naked apprehension or desire of God himself as present in it and (as you express it) invisible, inconceivable, unfigurible, the supreme infinite Being and Good. Thus it will gradually be led through all the different steps of the Nox Obscra till it be brought into the great desolation. It will find it self not only purified from the images and from the love of

all corporeal things, but from these of all creatures and of it self also. It will find all self-love and self-will most effectually mortified and subdued. The supreme languor, bitter sharp anguish and desire of the soul being once excited and powerfully awakened by its first divine sensations, and it allowing it self no image, no affection, no thought whatsoever to deaden or divert it (which was all its former vain study and endeavour) and God for the most part vouchsafing his refreshing and all sufficeing countenance, what state, what agony, what suffering must such a soul be in ? What but the power of the most high can sustain it ? Corrupt nature finds here no aliment for it, no rest, nothing to lean to or satisfie it, and is crucified and annihilated in such a manner as none but these who have tasted of the powers or the world to come, can have any notion of. And this is the most ordinary state of these souls who know themselves unworthy and dare not presume to ask for Divine favour or consolation. Such a soul finds to its experience that this prayer can be practised under severe bodily sufferings, which become insensible, yea, comparatively pleasant unto it, and it begins to have a view how that silence can, as to the Supreme Fund, be rendered incessant and continual when it reads the 7th Letter of the 4th part of the *Tombeau &c.*,/2 it sees it fulfilled in its own exercise. The advice there given, being in short this : that one should upon all his needs which he continually feels apply himself to God, begging his assistance, or praising him for

1 Baron v. Metternich.

2 M.N.E., p. 209.

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mercies received. Now this is all true, necessary and divine ; but the question returns as to our wants, whither 'tis better to beg the Divine assistance in a particular or general manner ? Whither if a soul finds it self tempted to anger, it be more advisable to beg immediately of God the particular vertue of meekness, when, it not knowing what to pray for as it ought, it may be improper in its station to have that particular grace bestowed, or Infinite Love and Wisdom may think fit to leave it that thorn in its flesh for its mortification, punishment or tryal. Or rather if 'tis not better from a deep sense of our own unworthiness and imperfection, to place

our selves as beggars in the divine presence, not presuming to ask any thing but his will, abandoning our selves quietly, absolutely intirely unto it. And as to praise, the psalmist teaches us the most effectual way of praising our God, 'Tibi silentium Labs est.' Even Angels and Glorify'd Spirits are unworthy to praise him, what then should we crawling worms of the earth pretend to ? A soul in this state will not amuse it self in inquiring into all the pretensions to Quietism, true or false. It knows its time is more profitably employed in its own silence, than in examining that of others and endeavours to cut off that and all other distractions that are not necessary and involuntary. And it is in no fear of that false quiet or silence which the Mysticks warn against ; which consists in the understanding's being indeed freed of images, while the will and affections adhere more firmly and securely to the creatures than before, whereas its exercise is to turn away its whole will and desire from every creature, from every particular thing, and fix it purely and simply on God alone. Yea, it sees that even this false silence is good so far as the silence goes, and the only hazard arises from one's suffering the will still to be active. Thus a soul acquiring the habit of this prayer, and daily discovering more of its excellency and at the same time becoming every day more vitally sensible of its own unworthiness and nothing ; it may perhaps thereby be thrown into a very powerful and subtile temptation ; it may begin to doubt if ever it was in such a state, or be tempted to forsake that exercise as tots sublime for it. But 'tis to be hoped that God who has led them by the hand hitherto, will not then leave them to themselves, but in his infinite love and mercy will vouchsafe himself to teach them that vertue and perfection consists not, in choosing even the lower place for our selves, but in implicitly following the Divine attraction ; that he does this unto them not for any worth or vertue in them, but for his own glory, and to make known the wonders of his goodness and power in making of so vile, sinful, imperfect a creature, a temple for his Holiness to dwell in, and that the treasure is not the less precious because hid in earthen vessels, but that thereby more fully appears that the Excellency is of God and not of man, therefore the more God exalts it, the more it is humbled,

1 M.N.E., p. 147 n.

and the more it tastes of the love and all-sufficiency of God, the more truly sensible it becomes of its own ingratitude and nothingness, the less it trusts to itself. and the stronger is its dependance on the Lord Jehovah its everlasting strength.

Thus. My Dear Friend, I have endeavoured to give you some view of my present notions of the prayer of Internal Silence. I may seem to have been too tedious therein or to have magnified it too much, but far be it from me to undervalue or condemn any other method of prayer or internal exercise whatsoever. I know that different are the ways of God's dealing with every soul. I should only think it a loss, if any pious, devout soul shou'd, as not knowing the excellency and advantage of this way of prayer. fly from or resist the divine attraction thereto, which I'm perswaded all internal livers will sooner or later feell. Upon reading all this over I seem only to have omitted one question. How far this exercise may be proper for beginners which indeed in my opinion it may. All the arguments for it drawn from the unworthiness of our thoughts and desires to be presented unto God from our ignorance what to ask, from the danger of our activities, &c.. seem more cogent and conclusive as to them. And tho' for some very active spirits, it may be necessary to employ at first their imagination in good things to blot out the former bad images ; yet this might only be used as an immediate preparation to the prayer of silence. And the fewer of these images are raised, 'tis the better, it being perhaps harder tho' as necessary to abandon them, as the former bad ones, and probably all the errors and miscarriages in a spiritual life arises from an inordinate adhesion to these images, or from thence forming ideal schemes of perfection and the sways thereto, thus turning all religion into speculation and walking in ways of our own contriving, while we fancy our selves in the path that leadeth unto Life. But in general let all internal livers try this exercise. and if it is not proper for them. they may be assur'd they shall feell nothing thereof, there being a great deal of passivity and Divine operation even in acquired contemplation.

II. The Second General Head is the p. . . r as to which I'm glad my Dear Friend does not expect I should give a particular answer to all the objections mentioned in yours. That were indeed very distracting and might engage us in an endless and fruitless controversy. I shall therefore only mention some general prejudices in their favours, that you may lay them in the ballance with those you mention against them. You know, Dear Sir, that the immediate necessary disposition for attaining Divine light in any matter, is to free one's mind from all prejudices, prepossessions or byass to either side, wishing to be determined by some higher power than the activity of our own reason.
1 " Prophets."

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I. 1st then there being two general ways of judging of any thing : the one external by the exercise of our own active faculties ; which from the nature of these must be always fallible and uncertain in every thing ; much more in divine spiritual matters, in which they are absolutely blind, which none but the Spirit of God can know, and of whom 'tis the highest presumption in the natural man to pretend to judge: It becomes us then in ail such matters to try the other true internal and infallible way, to apply immediately to the Father of Spirits, the source of light and author of every good gift that he may vouchsafe us his light and direction in them, and enable us to know and judge so far as is necessary for us. and agreeable to his will. And this I think may be most effectually done in the way abovementioned. Now it seems 1st/ a prejudice in favours of the prophets that they have all from the beginning with one voice and without any variation appeal'd to this tryal, desir'd to be judg'd only by this only infallible rule, and exhorted every one to beg of God to chew them if these were his spirit. Would any foreign spirit so constantly appeal to a test by which 'tis impossible he should gain any thing, but would very probably be detected ? But 2,11S' : 'tis still cogent that very many serious souls upon making this tryal in the most pure unbyassed manner they could have felt convictions, which brought their own evidence along with them, and could not be resisted, and consequently they might be secure against delusion, and it was their duty to follow them, (see Fides &

Ratio, /1 p. 53), but especially p. 147, 148, 149 the whole whereof is very applicable to this inquiry) specially as has often happen'd in this case, when this impression was made on the supreme spirit, all the other faculties being silenced and still. And the strength of this argument cannot be evited, unless we deny the certainty of all inward feelings and so unhinge the foundation on which all revelation is grounded, overthrow the doctrine of divine calls and impulses on which all the mystick writings do depend, and so bring us back to the outward the letter which killeth. And as this is irresistible evidence to the person that feels it, so to am convinc'd of the sincerity of that person, it may amount to the highest favourable prejudice, which is still the stronger if many witnesses concur. Nor is this weaken'd by the consideration that others equally serious have not felt the like, for supposing they make the trial with all requisite preparation, who is to limit the Spirit of God, who blows when and where it listeth ? and for infinitely wise reasons may not think proper or necessary at that time to give that particular light to that person. But I never yet heard of any who upon making this tryal aright, could say it was clearly and irresistibly manifested unto them, that this was an evil spirit.

2. 2dly it seems a very favourable prejudice for them that most if not all of the objections brought against them, as failure of predictions, appearing

1 M. N.E., p. 222

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contradictions &c., may be easily answered upon granting the supposition that it is the Spirit of God, and so it would seem after all these, the question must be determined by some other rule. Whereas many appearances in this dispensation can scarce possibly be accounted for upon any other supposition than of its being the holy, eternal Spirit that acts in it. I shall mention some of these. 1st. It being a very easie certain and distinguishing criterion of the Good from the Bad Spirit, that the last draws always outward, and engages in multitudes of distractions and amusements ; whereas the Spirit of God draws us always inward (*Redite, praevaricatores, ad Cor.*/1 Isai. 46. 8. Vulg;) to pure recollection, introversion and passivity. It is asserted by all the

p....2 that I ever conversed with that this spirit never fails to produce this effect. It has taught many unexperienced souls to enter into a spiritual life, and has led them into these internal ways they had not so much as the notion of before ; and others who were but beginners in it, have been hereby advanc'd in a most surprizing manner : and to make this still more certain, all who have felt the agitations declare that they infallibly produce this introversion and passivity ; and the like effects follow from reading or hearing the warnings, or being present at their meetings. 2dly, the wonderful good effects produced by this dispensation in the minds and lives of all who favour it, is even acknowledged by their enemies. We confess, say they at London, this dispensation has made no body worse that joined it, but many better ; and here I know such powerful saving effects to have been produced by it in every particular soul that favours it. as can never flow from an evil principle. In yours, Dear Sir, you acknowledge this to be a strong presumption for it, but may I dare to say amounts to more. Wou'd Satan be thus divided against himself, and so powerfully in so many different persons destroy his own Kingdom ? Were Mys—ism and Bour—ism 3 making such wonderful progress in the Island, as to make him find such a stratagem necessary ? But let us suppose him never so willing, 'tis impossible he should produce the least good effect. He is himself all darkness, all weakness, death and corruption, and can he produce in another any true light, any saving knowledge, a principle of a new and Divine Life ? Can he overcome our lusts in us and bring forth fruits of holiness and amendment of Life ? No, 'tis impossible any should give to another what they have not themselves ; 'tis impossible a corrupt tree should bring forth those good fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles ? Our Blessed Lord has told us 'tis impossible, and left this as a standing rule to judge of all prophets by (Matt: 7. 15) " By their fruits ye shall know them." Those fruits are Love, Joy, Peace, and the rest you mention from Gal: 5. 22. To this unerring rule the p. . .2 appeal

1 Quoted in the same connection by P. Poiret, *Epistola de principiis mysticorum*(1702), § 91.

2 " Prophets."

3 "Mysticism and Bourignonism."

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and by it desire to stand or fall. False prophets indeed may pretend to visions, extasies and revelations, to fasting and other exercises of outward devotion : those are all (according to the Doctrine of Holy Augustine in *Comment: ad b.l.*) /1 but part of the sheep's cloathing, but still inwardly, they are but ravening wolves. He that sent them can give them no interior Light, no Grace, no Life, no Love, whereas here I can tell you numerous instances of all these. Now is it possible that the Rule of the omniscient it self should fail or become out of date ? Or will this learned age find defects therein, that this more subtile reasonings can supply ? Nor will the strength of this argument be eluded by saying that tho' this be an evil spirit, yet the Holy Spirit of God may upon occasion of any one's being operated upon, or believing in it, work it self these good effects. For it were strange if the Spirit of God should thus tye it self up to work most powerfully in these precise circumstances, and would not Satan upon so many repeated experiences hereof give over this unsuccessful design ? Besides let's consider if the same reasoning holds not good to enervate the force of all divine revelations. Might it not have been said to 'Teresa,' " the good spirit produces these virtues we see in you, but still 'tis the Devil that appears in vision ? " Might it not have been said to our Lord himself, " 'xix Beelzebub that acts in you, tho' God takes occasion from thence to throw out legions of devils ? " And 'tis also hard not to allow one to be judge himself what it is that produces any effects upon his mind. I shall mention but one instance more, which is, knowing the hearts of men and exercising power over them. I can give you many examples, wherein this Spirit has done so, both in my self and others, but what I wrote in my last of the imagination that was torn from me may suffice. Now I truly think that no other spirit, but the Holy Eternal one, can possibly perform this. His word alone can divide betwixt the soul and spirit : He alone is the searcher of the heart and tryer of the reins : His All-seeing Eye can penetrate alone into the most secret dispositions, the most inward ground of the spirit, to which no created being can have access. When a soul is swallow'd up in pure recollection and internal prayer, it is for so long in the

element of light, whereunto an evil spirit cannot pierce, nor discover any thing. Tho' Light shines in darkness, yet even in this sense darkness comprehends it not. This argument was thought sufficient to prove our Saviour's Mission, Joh. 16. 30 : and that of the primitive prophets 1. Cor. 14. 24, 25. and is the force of it any less in our days ? I know A. R.3 suggests something (as he sayes) from Cassian against this. but they amount to no more than that the devil from some

1 De Sermon:one in Monte, Migne, P.L., XXXIV, p. 1306.

2 S. Teresa.

3 A. M. Ramsay.

4 Evidently a reference to the discussion in Cassian, Collatio, VII, Cap. XV, as to how far demons can be conscious of men's inmost thoughts. V. Migne, P.L., XLIX. PP. 687 ff.

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outward things can make some conjectures of what passes within, which is far from answering the present appearance : and your instance of Albicerius can be easily accounted for, the devil could readily suggest a verse of a prophane author to one who was so foolish as to make such an experiment. Had he told him the method of his prayer, what passed in the most inward ground of his mind, his most secret byasses and hidden inclinations, and not only discovered but removed his imperfections, this indeed had been wonderful, and to our present purpose.

3. 3dly Another prejudice I shall mention in favours of the p. .../2 is from their warning. The doctrine therein is so pure, so sublime, so mortifying to corrupt nature, and so clearly discovers all the veils that our hypocrisy and self-love throws over our corruption, that 'tis scarce to be imagin'd the devil is the author thereof ; yea they have all the characters of the Word of God mentioned Heb. 4. 12, 13. For many can from their own experience declare it to be quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, &c. Besides the Father of Lies can't be suppos'd to have learn'd so well the art of speaking truth, that in many thousand warnings, he should not betray

himself in the least, nor utter anything but what is perfectly agreeable with the Holy Scriptures and of a piece with the rest. Many obscure and mysterious places of the Holy Write are also thereby explained and we see from thence an easy way how many dark prophesies of the Scriptures should come to be accomplished, and also those of other inspired writers ; as what J.B./3 speaks of the time of the Lilly and the Enochian Life and spirit of prophesy to be restored immediately before the sixth period, or coming of our Lord, as also many revelations made to A.B./4 and recorded in her *Vie Interieure*. Much more might be said on this head for which I refer to the preface before the warnings of the 15 Inspired./5 'Tis true they have all along acknowledged that there is a mixture in some warnings, but even this is a prejudice in their favours and a demonstration of their impartiality, disinterestedness and ingenuity. The same was certainly in the prophets of the primitive Church, as is plain from the accounts we have of them from S. Paul &c., and in the present case these mixtures are always discovered in time and serve another admirable '±nd of warning every one upon occasion of any order or any other occasion to return to their interiour, and consult the Divine Light within them and

1 V. p. 214.

2 " Prophets."

3 Jacob Boehme, *SCmnztliche Werke*, vol. V, pp. 208-16 ; also VI, pp. 127 ff., etc.

4 An Abridgment of the Life of A.B. appears in Garden's *Apology*, pp. 263 ff. Her *Vie Interieure*, written by herself, was published by Poiret as Part II of the *Life* in his edition of her works in 19 volumes.

5 A *Collection of Prophetical Warnings*, London, 1708.

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only follow what that dictates. And this is the only true way to free the world from all errors, divisions, parties, schisms and distractions, and is the distinguishing character of all the messengers of God who only labour to lead their hearers from all outward distractions to hear the gentle and still voice of the true Christ the Teacher and Shepherd from within, whose voice his own sheep do know and follow.

4. The last Prejudice I shall mention is that the mission of those p. . . 1 has been confirm'd and attested in the most inward ground of the soul, to one who has those several years in a constant habit of receiving communications from God after the same manner the Mysticks have done, and such as none who know them can question but they are Divine. I know not how far this may go with you, but I am sure it wou'd be of some weight, were you acquainted with the person I mean.

And now, Dear Sir, having touched some of the general prejudices in their favours, I shall not enter into the consideration of your objections, knowing they would evanish upon the supposition mentioned before, and that a fuller inquiry into Whitro's /2 story wou'd also remove that difficulty, and that no warnings that have been condemn'd were pronounced in the name of Jehovah. I shall only therefore take notice of the difficulty about the agitations, and that because it seems also to have weight with Mr. P. He had indeed the happiness to live with one who was blessed with great measures of somewhat different Divine communications. A.B./4 was long before that freed of all sensibilities, and they were made to her in the most gentle still manner imaginable ; but the case is vastly differing betwixt the Holy Spirit's continually inhabiting, living and acting in a purified regenerated soul, and its only acting at times upon a person still imperfect and unregenerated, which is the case not only with these, but with many of the old prophets. Now how should it be known when they speak of themselves, or when not, unless by some outward visible sign, which 'tis more than probable from many places of Scripture and also other authors more conspicuous in all the old prophets. 2. In general all Divine communications are accompanied with some outward sensibility, motion, and operation upon the body, while the soul is yet imperfectly purified ; for this we may appeal to almost all the Mysticks who have felt these more or less in the beginnings of their inward life. See for instance, in the 25. p. of M.P's./5 preface to M. Guyon ; and this seems to be more necessary in this case, when perhaps the time left for our purification is so short that the Divine operations tending thereto must be more than in

proportion to the disposition of our souls ; and such would infallibly kill and reduce us to nothing, unless

1 " Prophets."

2 M.N.E., p. 216.

3 Poiret.

4 Antonia Bourignon.

5 Poiret's preface to his *Mme. Guyon's Opuscules spirituels* (5704).

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they got some vent, if I may so speak, and overflowed the body also. But 3dIY, what needs any further difficulty about those agitations when if any of all these that have felt them, is to be believed, their constant never failing effect is not to disturb their imagination, but to silence it, and to call them powerfully into their interior, and there to produce an inexpressible peace, calmness, and silence, resignation and joy. Can these effects be suspicious or proceed from an Evil Spirit ? And may not this Spirit be rather called *Tranquillator* than *Perturbator Spiritus*.

I have but one thing more to add occasioned by some insinuations you make of the danger of engaging in a party. I don't indeed know myself to be of any ; but I think it my duty where ever I discover the good spirit of my God to pay all imaginable reverence, submission and obedience unto it. 'Tis all one to me by what organ that spirit speaks, if by a p.,' a Quaker, a Church-man priest or a Laick ; 'tis none of their persons I follow or have any attachment to, but the Good Spirit that speaks by them, which leads me unto and speaks the same things with the sole true director within. There is a certain sympathy, communion, and if I dare use the word homogeneity betwixt light and light, the spirit in others and that within our selves by which alone we can judge. There's no need of joyning outward Societies in order to be in this dispensation. All who constantly attend unto and follow their inward light are as to their essential part already so ; and when 'tis God's will and time shall be so in another manner. Thus, my Dear Friend, I have presumed to write a great dale to you on this subject. For what errors may be in it I ask God's pardon and yours, begging of him to permit no offence hereby to be given to any, nor any new stumbling block thrown in their way. 'Twere

better for me never to have been born than that thro' my forwardness or folly any of God's children should receive any prejudice. I beg therefore you'll only shew this to such as are in no hazard thereof. I see not well for what end your sending any thing of mine to Mr. P.2 will serve, because I have no copy of my former, so cannot judge [] 3 to be seen, however I desire to leave my self, and all I have writ entirely at your discretion ; and if you still judge it convenient you may translate so much of that and even of this as you please and send it him, leaving the event to God, only I should be glad to see the translation before it were sent, lest possibly you may mistake my sense in any thing. I have one favour further to beg of you that if you think proper to write any more to me on this head you might abstain from saying any thing that looks too much to my commendation, for that lays a restraint upon me from sheaving yours to such as it might be of use to. I am resolved to follow this conduct here, and to reserve for another occasion the telling you my

1 " Prophet."

2 Poiret.

3 A blank of half a line occurs here in the manuscript copy.

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sentiments of friendship, affection and esteem for you. I only beg with all earnestness the assistance of your prayers and while I have life or being will continue

Very Revd. & Dear Sir

Your most Affectionate Servant in our Lord.

Barns, 12 Jary 1710.

DEAR SIR,

I must add one thing more that if I have adventured here to take any place of scripture in a sense that may perhaps seem singular, I'm very far from restricting it to that sense. I only tell my thoughts, that that may be one of the many meanings it may be taken in. I recommend my self most affectionately to all your good friends, particularly M.M./1 Mrs. St./2 and her Daughter, I would write to them but I know what I say to you I say to all. 'd

be glad to hear from my Dear M.M./1 I sent him a message and some papers by My La P./3 which he has hitherto never wrote if he had received. May the Almighty be with you all and lead you safe thro' thi: valley of tears to the land of never fading joy the fountain of love that flows for ever. Adieu.

IV.FROM JAMES CUNNINGHAM OF BARNES TO DR.
GEORGE GARDEN.

To the very Reverend Dr. George Garden at Roseheartie.

VERY REVD. & DEAR SIR,

Having wrote to you a fourth night ago a very long and particular letter on the subject of the prophets I shou'd not have wrote to you so soon again, but that having so good an occasion I would not neglect thereby to give you repeated assurances of the continuance of my respect, esteem and affection for you and the rest of your friends with you. As nothing indeed in the strict sense can deserve or claim these but the infinitely perfect Being, so I have of some time endeavour'd to regulate my Love to the creature, so as it shou'd been proportioned to what I discovered of the Divinity in them, of the Divine Image and Divine Love, and as I found those qualities more conspicuous (I speak it in the presence of God without flattery or complement) in none than your selves, so was my love to you proportionable :

1 Perhaps Mr. Moore (of Fraserburgh) : u. M.N.E., p. 29 : possibly Mr. Munro (v. p. 207).

2 Mrs. Strachan (?). a Lord Forbes of Pitsligo.

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neither is it in the least abated by our differing now in some sentiments, since the foundations thereof are not at all weakened. On the contrary I discover in your proceedings herein a new zeal for the Glory of God, the interests of religion and the good of souls. And tho' I am fully perswaded of the truth of this dispensation, yet I dare not pronounce it necessary in your state ; and I am very hopeful God will no longer leave you to uncertainties herein than he sees it can be useful for your purification or ours.

I must also beg leave to tell you the motives upon which I have hitherto wrote so fully to you on this head. I never was so foolish as to be much on the lay of making converts to any of my opinions, nor would I have chosen for the subjects of such an attempt, people from whom I should be glad to learn ev'n the first principles of our religion ; nor durst I attempt with my activities to support that what I believed to be the work of God or to bring over people to it from other grounds or less evidences than I had felt my self. But this simply was my view that tho' I was brought into the belief of this dispensation in a way that carried light and conviction along with it, and which was not in my power to resist ; and tho' since then multitudes of reasons for it have been impress'd on my mind without any desire or forethoughts of mine, yea tho' now every day I am more confirmed in that belief, and that every event, every hour of recollection, every passage I read in any inspired writings add some new degree of evidence if possible, vet I say after all, it being of the last consequence to me not to be deceived in a thing of this importance upon which my all depends, I thought myself oblig'd in the sincerity of my soul to take all imaginable precautions against such a delusion ; and so not only to apply to my God many times in the most perfect manner I could, and likewise to search and examine mine own heart and all its secret byasses and motions with the utmost impartiality, and also to make use of all the other methods of trying spirits prescrib'd by inspir'd persons ; and having on the event of all this found myself more and more convinc'd and rooted in this perswasion ; I resolv'd as the last effort to lay open before you (of whose experience, sincerity and friendship I'm fully perswaded), first the state of my own mind and then the motives born in upon me for believing this Dis: that I might know your judgment on the whole. And now I must beg of you a few things that if ye think fit to write to me again on this subject you will first let me know what it is that hinders the arguments mentioned in my last to be conclusive, 21y: what are the characteristicks, infallible rules and marks laid down in Scripture for discerning betwixt good and bad spirits, true and false p. ... s/1 since certainly our gracious Lord could not have left us at uncertainties in a matter of so vast

importance. And Sly what proofs they are that can amount to a full and unquestionable evidence either to

1 " Prophets."

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a particular reason, or the world in general that a message comes from God or upon what grounds it is that we think our selves so infallibly certain of the truth of our religion and the inspiration of some other writers. Now, my Dearest Friends, I most earnestly beg of you to satisfie my mind herein that they may apply all to the case in hand with all the sincerity I am capable of. I must indeed profess in the presence of God, who seeth the most secret corners of my heart, that I have hitherto endeavoured to act in this matter with all the sincerity, seriousness, caution and resignation that the weight of it required ; and as all my trust is in his infinite mercy, who quencheth not the smoaking flax, and will not break the bruised reed, so I most earnestly beg of you and all our friends with you to become intercessors for me at the Throne of Grace to recommend my state to the Fountain of Love in the most perfect recollection and thereafter to resign me finally into his hands where alone I can be safe. I have only one thing to add that there's no possibility of separating or making any difference betwixt my case and that of our other friends engaged herein. This I may be thought a proper enough judge in, if there is any truth in me it is so. And thus I'll conclude all that I shall ever, for ought I know, write to you on this subject ; and I recommend you and all our friends to the Divine Grace which alone can keep us from falling. Let nothing ever have the power to shake or overcloud our friendship. Let it be seen that 'tis grounded on some better foundation than in our agreeing in certain notions. By this only can we be known to be disciples of the God of Love if we love one another, love all that love him, all that deny themselves, take up their cross and follow him. Let this be our daily practice. Adieu.

Yours in Him.

Barns, 25 Jary,

1710.

G. D. HENDERSON

V. FROM DR. GEORGE GARDEN TO JAMES
CUNNINGHAM OF BARNES.

MUCH HONOURED & DEAR SIR,

I had both your's of the 12 & 25th of Jary at the same time, I having been absent from this place for two or three weeks before my receipt of them. Your friendly acceptance of my last, and most obliging return to it are a pure effect of your goodness, since another in your circumstances would perhaps have treated it with contempt. As I did not look for so large a return from you in your present state, so I have no reason to expect another from you on the same subject, you having writ so fully at this time with respect to the pp./1 and set the prejudices in their behalf in so full a light, that more,
1 "prophets"

I think, needs not be said to that purpose. And I do not wonder that while you look upon them in this light, and have those views of them, and withal an inward conviction, you believe their mission to be Divine. And as you were apt to think that this would not determine me, so you may be perswaded that I do not imagine that any thing I can say will alter you. But since our sentiments differ in this matter, and you allow me the honour of your friendship, which I greatly value, and that from this principle you have freely exposed your thoughts about them, I shall as freely and sincerely tell you mine with respect to the contents of your letter, which I hope you will favourably construct as the thoughts not of an experienced adviser, which I assure you, I am not, but of an affectionate friend, who wishes your welfare as that of my own soul, and has need rather of advice from you, than that I am capable of giving you any in this matter : and may the Divine Love be the Life of both.

As to the first part of your letter concerning the prayer of silence, the principal doubt I have about it, is, whether there be no danger nor impossibility of delusion in it, as you say the Mystick writers who treat of this way of prayer have from their own happy experience assured us, and that very solid reasons may be given for this assertion even to the rational faculties. Perhaps the

difference of our sentiments in this matter, when 'tis fairly stated, may be found less than at first it appears to be.

We may then consider two sorts of persons that apply to the prayer of silence, and two sorts of lights which thereby they think they come to be affected with. The first are those whose desire and will are turned away from self and the creatures, and who have resigned their will and desire wholly and perseveringly to God. The second are those who live still in corrupt nature, and have their desire and will still set upon self and upon the creatures, but nevertheless at some times in imitation of what they read and hear of the true devotion and sanctify'd souls, do silence all their faculties and turn to the prayer of silence, waiting to be acted upon by the Divine Eternal Spirit. Again, there is first a Divine light that sanctifies and renews the soul into which it enters, consumes and burns up all its dross, purges it from all its impurities and lusts, from all filthiness of the spirit as well as of the flesh, and transforms it into the Divine nature. Or 21y, there is a light that gives knowledge of mysterious and inward revelations about particular Dispensations, Appearances and Persons, &c. Now as to the first of these two sorts of persons, they are not subject to delusion in the exercise of the prayer of silence with respect to the first sort of Divine light, whereby they are sanctify'd and renew'd according to the Divine image, and the soul is purged from its dross : and to the soul it is perhaps rather a fire going before the Lord, and burning up in the soul his enemies round about ; and tho' the Light be in the Darkness, yet the Darkness comprehendeth it not. But whether the Light be felt or perceived by the

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soul or not, yet in so far as the heart is thereby purified, there is no delusion ; tho' the soul walk in Darkness, and perceives no Light, yet let it trust in the Lord, and stay it self upon its God. But as for those who live still in corrupt nature, yet nevertheless at some times, in imitation of what they read or hear of the true devotion of sanctified souls, do silence their faculties and turn to the prayer of silence, waiting to be acted upon by the Divine Eternal Spirit, I must still own that I think they are in great hazard

of delusion. For what communion hath Light with Darkness ? Or what concord hath Christ with Belial ? Or how can we drink the cup of the Lord, in the true spiritual sense, and the cup of devils ? How can it be imagined that God will communicate his Light and Spirit to a soul that follows its own will and desires, only because at certain times it suspends the acting of its faculties, waiting for the Divine communication, and gives it self to the prayer of silence ? I hope, my Dear Friend, you will be so just as not to imagine that I have said this with the least respect to you and your disposition. Neither must you think that what I have said respects any sincere soul who desires to seek God with its whole heart, and yet having strong corruptions to mortify and subdue, against which it wrestles, it is often foil'd, yet is not thereby discourag'd, but in the strength of the Divine Grace goes on to resist them, being confident that God will at last give it the victory. Such if they happen in the exercise of this to fall into delusion, it is to be hoped that it is for their trial, and that God will afterwards discover it to them. But this chiefly respects those who hearing so much spoke of the prayer of silence, and how easily it may be attain'd unto, and how they may come to Divine conviction about things which they think to be of the greatest concern and attain to Divine communications, will be ready to apply to this method of prayer while in the mean time their passions are not mortified, and self still rules and bears sway in them. And yet they may by this way of the Internal Silence of their faculties kindle a fire within and compass themselves about with their own sparks, and walk in the Light of their own fire, and in the sparks that they have kindled, and take all for Divine light, and Divine communications, and possess the minds of sincere persons with the same perswasion concerning them.

But as to the second sort of Light mention'd above, even those who are led into the prayer of silence by a Divine attraction, and exercise it in the sincerity of their hearts, must not therefore think that in this respect they are out of all hazard of delusion because they have silenc'd their imagination. If they receive convictions and revelations about particular things, and cleave to these as proceeding from God and make them the Rule of their conduct, they are still in hazard of being deceiv'd, for tho' these

may sometimes be motions from the Divine Grace, yet such may also proceed from the motions of one's own mind, and understanding, or from the delusion of a foreign spirit, and yet be looked upon as Divine motions. In this you

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know Jo. a Cruce /1 is very positive in his Ascens. Mont. Carmel. Lib. 2. Cap. 23. to the end of that book where he treats of the spiritual apprehensions of the understanding, which he calls purely spiritual, because they are not communicated unto the understanding after the manner of the corporeal ones, and of those of the imagination, by the way of the bodily senses, but are clearly and distinctly imprinted on the understanding in a supernatural way without the meditation of either the external, or internal senses ; it being only passive, and no active proper operation of the soul intervening. And those you know he distinguishes into Visions, Revelations, Speakings, and Spiritual Touches, all which he supposes to be Intellectual, and not from the Imagination, nor from the outward senses. And he makes appear in what hazard, the soul is from being deluded in these, (especially in the three first) either by the operations of its own understanding (while it imagines that it is wholly passive, and imprest upon by the Divine Spirit, the heart being deceitful above all things), or by the impressions of a subtile evil Spirit. And tho' he gives some signs whereby to distinguish the one from the other, yet it being so hard to do it, and the danger of the delusion being so great, he gives advice not to lean to such impressions, nor to be taken up about them, but to deny one's self as to them, as well as to outward things, (for these are not God) and to tend unto God by pure Faith and Love. de la Theologie Chretienne &c.1 saith to good purpose) it is the same spirit that communicates the truths of our salvation to all the members of the Church, yet it is according to the need and destination of every one's state. He communicates them to the prophets and apostles to serve for an invariable rule and canon for the whole body of the Church ; to the guides and pastors whom he calls to succeed them, that they may teach and conduct the people under the direction of that sacred rule and canon and to the people that

they may walk holly under the conduct of good pastors who are lawfully set over them." So far that author. As our reason is corrupt, so are our hearts, and our understanding is darkened and the eyes thereof blinded thro' our natural corruption and the habits of our lusts and passions : and tho' the light shine in the darkness, yet the darkness comprehendeth it not, no more than a blind man doth the light of the sun. And tho' the chief duty of the blind man is to have faith in God, and to depend upon his good providence for his preservation, yet he must do this, not in trusting to his own eyes, but in submitting to the conduct and direction of an honest faithful guide, who sees the light and knows the way. Even so, our understandings being wholly darkned as to Divine things, it may perhaps be no small presumption in us to look for immediate illumination in Divine things, because of the cessation and introversion of our faculties for some time. They are blind and cannot see the things of God. The true answer and operation of the Holy Spirit in this state is to direct us to the Holy Rule of Christian life and doctrine, and (we being blind our selves) to follow the conduct of him who had the Spirit without measure. I will not therefore trust to mine own reason, nor will I presume to look for immediate inward Divine light upon a cessation and introversion of my faculties, they being so corrupt ; but in the humble prayer of Faith will listen to the counsel and advices of those who have been immediately directed by the Holy Spirit of God, but especially and above all to Jesus Christ himself. And this is what I am taught inwardly, that I am blind and stand in need of a guide, that the pure in heart only are capable of seeing God and Divine things, that I must be purged from my corruptions ere I can attain that bliss, that the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ while in the flesh, is the only true physick for the cure of all my spiritual maladies, if by a living practical Faith that worketh by Love, I do carefully apply the same. And therefore instead of aspiring after inward Divine infallible light in my present corrupt estate, I am moved to live by faith and not by sight, and to make the life and doctrine of Jesus my rule, my meditation and my practice. And upon this consideration, neither is the prophet's appeal to the begging of God to show if this is not his Spirit, nor the inward

irresistible conviction that it is so, which you say so many souls feell upon the making of this tryal, a sufficient

As to the affair of the prophets, as I was not willing that you should take the trouble of giving a particular answer to the prejudices which made me still doubt of their Divine mission ; so I know you do not look that I should answer each of the particular prejudices which you bring on their behalf, I having, I assure you, as little inclination to dispute and controversy as you have, being sensible how unprofitable and hurtful it is. I shall only tell you, how it comes that they do not determine me on their behalf. By prejudices I mean not a byass for or against them, but such appearances as on the one hand seem to import a Divine mission, or other appearances that seem to evidence the quite contrary.

As to the way of being determin'd and directed about divine things, I acknowledge that our dark and corrupt reason is very unfit to judge of them, and that as no man knoweth the things of a Man, save the spirit of man which is in him ; so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God. And therefore 'tis our duty to apply to the Father of Lights, and beg that he may vouchsafe us his Spirit, and grant us such light and direction as is agreeable to his will, but we must not presently conclude that every inward conviction we receive upon our Interiour Recollection is an Infallible light. " Tho' (as the Author of the *Introduction aux vraies et solides principes*

1 Ascent of Mount Carmel, one of the great works of John of the Cross : quoted also at p. 244 and by G. Garden in his Apology, pp. 23o ff. The reference may be found in Bibi. de Autores Esparióles, XXVII, pp. 53 ff.

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[µ le texte qui couvre la page suivante manque !]

1 Written by P. Poiret, r7o9 : v. Wieser, Peter Poiret, pp. 1o6, 338.

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evidence to me that it is the Divine Spirit, neither according to my present apprehension of things, ought it to determine them. To

seek after such a Divine illumination and irresistible conviction looks like a tempting of God. So far is this from being infallible, that to me such seem not to be out of the hazard of illusion from their own minds, or from a foreign spirit, while they are not yet transform'd in their minds, according to the Divine image.

I believe the author of *Fides & Ratio* &c.,/1 were the matter fairly represented to him, would scarce think that his sentiments, p. 147, 148, 149, cited in your's were fitly applied to the present case. He tells us, p. 149, § 388, "That such a Revelation containing an invincible character of Truth useth not perhaps to happen to any other but most pure souls, and such as by long use have their senses exercised in spiritual things." He tells us in the next page, § 395 &c., " That a strong desire of internal Illumination has a magical force in it, creating within it self what it ardently desires ; and that such a desire being criminal, it is not to be thought that the enemy will omit to cooperate with it. And that therefore such desires are by all means to be suppress'd, avoided, and deprecated. But (§ 400) especial care ought to be taken that the heart do not cleave to such illuminations. which it is not easy to avoid, and that it do not lay much stress upon them, but that it still turn to God in the most inward recess of the soul, and there apprehend and cleave to him as he is in himself by dark and naked faith." And as he says, § 402 : " that Humility is the best safeguard against the hazards of this state, so such is the blindness of our mind, that we often think we are humble, when truly we are not so."

Now, Sir, since I ought not to trust my own Reason in Divine things, and that so corrupt a creature must not presume to look for immediate inward illumination, I flee to the merciful and faithful guide Jesus (who has promis'd to be with us to the end of the world) and beg that the Holy Spirit may direct me by his doctrine which is the Truth. Now his warning always occurs to me upon this occasion, he having expressly told us of the last times, Math: 24 : " That many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, saith our Lord,

I have told you before. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, behold he is in the desert, go not forth ; behold he is in the secret chamber, believe it not." Never, for ought I know, was there any appearance since our Lord's Ascension which this Divine warning seems more to respect than this present Appearance, when such a multitude of prophets in the desert and in the secret chamber invite us to come to them, and to enter into their Dispensation and believe it, who pretend that they do not speak, but Christ speaks immediately out of them, and that not as Man, as he did when clothed with our mortality, as the Son of Man, but as he is the Eternal

1 M.N.E., p. 222.

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God. On Mount Sinai a voice was heard out of the thick darkness at the giving of the Ten Commandments in audience of all the people, and this but once ; but now 'tis pretended that the same Eternal God speaks immediately and daily, out of men, women, and children, as he spoke unto Moses in the audience of the people out of the cloud. Strange signs also are shown, speaking of strange tongues, discovering the thoughts of men's hearts, &c. If you say however that this warning cannot respect the present prophets, because of the good fruits you tell of them, and when our Saviour bids us beware of false prophets, Math. 7, he tell us, by their fruits we shall know them, if the prophets, of whom our Lord warns us had not apparently good fruits, how should the elect be in hazard of being deceived by them ? It is to be considered that these are two different warnings which respect different persons and times. This was given in his sermon on the mount, and respects false pastors and false teachers that should creep into his Church, who might be discovered by their fruits. But the other respects the last times of the world, and such prophets as cannot be easily discerned by their fruits to be false prophets ; such as if it were possible would deceive the very elect. And therefore he does not bid us try their spirit and examine it by their fruits, but forbids us to go out to them, or to believe them ; and those are the two things which they require. Such persons shall they be, saith A.B.' in the exposition of this warning, as may deceive and seduce the elect, who will easily be seduced, seeing

such apparent signs and miracles, and will be afraid lest they should offend God, if they should believe any evil of persons so wonderful for their Goodness and virtue. 'The Divine Goodness insists, saying, Lo I have foretold you, to show, saith A.B.' that none ought to pretend ignorance, for it is Jesus Christ himself that declares it. Were it only some illuminated person, every one would be examining whether it proceeded from God or from the Devil. But who can question Jesus Christ's words that proceeded out of his own mouth ? He goes on saying : If therefore it be said unto you, Lo he is in the desert, go not out ; Lo he is in the closet, believe it not, as if he had said : There will be holy and righteous persons in appearance, who will say unto you, Do this or that, and you shall be saved ; believe them not.' Salvation is no where to be found but in the doctrines of Jesus Christ which are contain'd in the Gospel. Thus far A.B./1 p. 76, 77, of the first part of *Light arisen in Darkness*. Engl. Edition./2

Now as our Lord's warning imports the hazard that the best shall be in of being deceived by those prophets, so what S. Bernard /3 says, with respect

1 Mme. Bourignon.

2 *Light arising in Darkness* : published in four parts in 1703.

3 *digne*, P.L., CLXXXIII, pp. 9.58 f.: not a continuous passage but a summary in extracts. Cf. the remainder of the sermon, pp. 951 ff., and also *Sermon 6* (not 7) on Psalm xc, at pp. 199 f. V. also Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, I, p. 45.

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to this danger, he being a very enlightned and holy man, deserves great consideration. 'Tis in his 7th serm: on the 90 psalm, and in his 33d upon the Song of Solomon, in both which he expounding the 5th & 6th verses of that psalm, applies the four evils there mention'd to the state of the Church, showing first " that the primitive Church was assaulted by the terrour by night, by grievous persecutions, when they who killed them thought they did God service. And when this tempest was calm'd, the enemy had recourse nixt to the arrow that flyeth by day, and raised up men full of vainglory to vex the Church by diverse and perverse doctrines. And when this plague was also removed by the wisdom of the saints, as the former was by the patience of the Martyrs, he

then stirreth up the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and then a grievous contagion spread thro' the whole body of the Church, which the more universal it is, the more desperate ; and the more inward it is, the more dangerous. All are friends and all are enemies. Men are the Ministers of Christ, and they serve Anti-Christ. All pretend to honour Christ, and all seek their own things. There remains only now to make appear the Damonium Meridianum (as it is in the vulgar Latine) the Noon-day Damon (in our translation it is rendered the destruction that walketh at noon-day) for the seducing of those who yet abide in Christ in the simplicity of their hearts. He hath drunk up the rivers of the learned, and the torrents of the mighty, and he trusts that he shall draw up Jordan, that is, the simple and the humble of the Church into his mouth. This is the Anti-Christ, who not only falsely calls himself above all that is called God, whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and shall destroy with the Brightness of his Coming." Thus far S. Bernard. If it is possible that there may be such a Damonium Meridianum chiefly bent to catch the well-meaning, what need is there for such to watch and pray that they enter not into temptation.

And how easily may we deceive our selves, and may others be deceived in the matter of true vertue, which you know can never be without true charity. There is nothing more terrible, nor more humbling, than the supposition which the Apostle makes, z. Cor. 13, that a man may speak with the tongues of men and angels, may have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and have all Faith, so as to be able to remove mountains, and bestow all his goods to feed the poor and give his body to be burned, and yet not have Charity ; and then all is nothing.

You know, Sir, that there is a natural enthusiasm, and a demoniacal one, as well as a Divine, and that it is hard to discern the one from the other. You know Jo. a Cruce 1 in the 29th Ch. of the 2d Book of the Ascent of _Mount Carmel shows that some intellects are so vivacious and so piercing that they are no sooner Introverted and Recollected than they form with

1 John of the Cross : v. pp. 200, 223, 240 Ribl. de Autores Espanoles, XXVII, pp. 60 ff.

great facility lively Reasonings and Words about the subject they apply to, which they conceive to be immediately from God, tho' they proceed only from the intellect itself, which when abstracted from the senses can perform all this and much greater. And this, he says, happens frequently, and many do therein deceive themselves, and think they have attain'd to sublime prayer and communication with God, and they cause to write what occurs to them in this Introversion. And he advises such to learn to despise those things, and to have their will strengthened in humble love and the exercise of good works, and to imitate the Life of Christ in suffering, by mortifying themselves in all things. He makes appear also how a Demon may mingle with such an Enthusiasm in those especially who are addicted to this ; and that when they enter upon inward Recollection, he uses to afford them copious matter of digressions, forming to the understanding conceptions and words and so doth most subtilly precipitate and deceive them by most plausible things ; and that his operations are very hard to be discerned. For tho' for the most part they make the will but remiss and cold in the Love of God and incline the mind to vanity, self-esteem, self-complacency ; yet sometimes they instill into the soul a false kind of Humility, and into the will a fervent kind of affection ; (tho' founded on self-love) so that it requires a very enlightned person to discern his delusions. He knows also by the sentiments he excites how to move fears, and to imprint in the soul the affections that he intends. But he still moves the will highly to esteem those communications, to give it self to them, tho' they are not the exercise of vertue, but rather an occasion of the loss of that already acquired. You know how he makes appear in Lib. 2. C. 21, that a Damon doth usually take the same ways of conversing with a soul that God doth, and proposeth things like to those which God communicates, and like a wolf in the flock covers himself so cunningly with the sheep's skin that he can hardly be discerned. And when he reveals many things that are true and conformable to reason, and withal do certainly come to pass, souls may be easily deceived by him, and made to believe, that things which he foretells coming to pass exactly according to the prediction, it must needs be from God. And therefore he says,

a soul can never be safe from Illusions, but by avoiding all revelations, visions, speeches, there being no necessity of these, since natural reason and the law and doctrine of the Gospel do afford what may serve to direct the soul, and that we ought so highly to value the light of natural reason, and the doctrine of the Gospel, and so to cleave to them that tho' any words were supernaturally spoke to us, (whether with or against our desire) we ought to receive those only that are conformable to reason and to the Gospel-Law. Yea we ought so much the more to weigh this Gospel-Law upon the coming of any revelation, since the Devil utters many things that are to happen, and are conformable to reason, that he may deceive the better.

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But there's hardly any thing in this matter that seems more surprising, than that those who had and still affirm they have no small esteem for the writings of A.B.' who, you say, had the Divine communications made known to her in the most gentle still manner, being freed of all sensibilities, and who gave such repeated warnings to beware of the prophets of this last age, that such, I say, should have been drawn into this Appearance. and brought to think that her writings do favour the same. How often doth she say, that God had made known to her that we live now in the dangerous times foretold by Jesus Christ, wherein false Christs, and false prophets should arise, and deceive many ; of which he said, he had told us before, that when the time came we might mind it and not be deceived by them ; that there is no need of new prophets, the old having foretold all that shall happen to the end of the world ; and Jesus Christ the most perfect of all the prophets having foretold for the last all that we have need to know : that God will send none as his prophets and embassadours in this last age of the world, but such as are regenerated into his Spirit, as have the fruits and gifts of the same, and the qualities of true Charity, and are partakers of the Divine nature in righteousness, goodness and truth, and that a soul that has not these, and pretends to be sent a prophet from God, is certainly deceived it self, or would deceive others by false appearances : that without this there can be no infallible evidences of a true

prophet sent from God : that the great Enemy of God and of men's souls having gain'd the wicked to himself by their evil deeds, labours subtilly to draw in the good and the well-meaning by the most plausible appearances of sanctity and of Good, that by his adherents he can work extraordinary things, make 'em foretell things to come. speak of Divine things like seraphims so as to draw tears from and ravish those that hear them ; and give such good impressions, as that the good are confounded at it, and believe they are all Divine operations : that the Gospel was sufficiently confirmed by the undoubted miracles of our Lord and his Apostles, so that now there is no need of them for the Confirmation of our Faith ; and tho' he is pleased to give particular favours to some souls ; yet it is not his will that this should be published to the world, lest the Devil should take advantage of them, and the true miracles should authorize the false ones which he works by his adherents : that neither signs, nor prophesies, *nor the gift of tongues, nor any miracles whatsoever are sufficient to discern the Spirit of God, since all those and much more may be performed by the operation of the Devil : that she had seen his adherents do admirable things ; • some were blind for some years, and then receiv'd their sight in an instant : others were dumb, without being able to speak, and recovered their speech by supernatural ways ; others were suspended and did flie in the air visibly, before all the people ; others

1 Mme. Bourignon.

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were without pulse or motion for some days and nights, and in an instant arose and walked freely ; that tho' one had a true revelation, yet credit is not to be given to it, so long as he lives to himself, because self-love mingles easily with the Spirit of God, and spoils the inspiration ; so that such take their own imaginations for inspirations : that to be assured of any inspiration the soul must be wholly annihilated in it self that God alone may move it and operate freely in it ; that there is much more evil and sin in judging evil to be good, then in doubting of that which is Good ; for in doing the first, we cooperate with the evil, and commit many sins, deceiving those to whom we praise and

commend the evil, and making them embrace lying for truth ; and we puff up the other by the vain praises we give them : but to doubt of that which is Good, doth not diminish the real Good in the soul that possesseth it, and to be despised doth more good to a soul than to be flatter'd or prais'd. And as to what is said, that she owns the time will come when God will pour out his spirit upon all flesh, and that he promiseth to his people, that their sons and their daughters shall prophesy, and their old men shall see visions ; this promise is, she says, to the people of God that are regenerate, and that they are not so now, but that we live at present in the full Reign of Anti-Christ, who rules over almost the hearts of all men, and amuses even the most pious and well-meaning with a pretext of venue and sanctity. And what some are apt to apply to this present Appearance of the state she tells the Church shall be in (p. iii Confer. 28. of the L. of the W.' p. 220. Engl. Edit.) is certainly to be understood of the Church Renew'd and Regenerated in the Spirit of Jesus Christ, when all men in general who shall remain on the earth then, shall, she says, subject their wills to that of God.

You grant a Demon may discover the thoughts of another where the imagination takes place. Corrupt nature in us is, you know, his Element wherein he acts, and how far his conjectures may go, as to our most secret and inward operations is 'hot easy for us to discern. And this may appear from the strange instance that Rusbrochius gives us of the false Quietists in his days, of which you may read in his Treatise De Ornate Spirit. nupt.2 L. 2. c. 76, 77, 78, 79 ; of whom he tells us, that when they pleased they retired and remain'd still from the exercise either of their senses, or their imagination, silencing all their faculties, their intellect and will, and ceasing from all inward as well as outward actions, and stript of all images. In which state they felt a great and delightful quiet, solace and sweetness ; some of which, he says, led a strict life, and used great acts of penitence, some of 'em pray'd for many and singular favours from God, and were often deluded : God often permitting those things to befall them by the help

1 Light of the World, by A. Bourignon ; Eng. trans., 1696.

2 De Ornatu Spiritualium Nuptiarum (Latin trans. of Ruysbroeck's Flemish work in 1512).

of Demons, which yet they attributed to their sanctity : of which, he says, there was no wonder, they being proud, and neither divinely touched nor illuminated. They did cleave to themselves, and a small consolation greatly touched them, they little knowing how much they wanted, and were bent upon the inward gust of a spiritual delight, which may be called a spiritual luxury, it being an inordinate propensity of self-love that still seeks its own consolation in every thing. They also labour'd under a spiritual pride, and were addicted to self-will, and were therefore so earnest for what they desired and asked of God, tho' they were deceived and some of them seiz'd by an evil spirit. And yet this natural self-love is in outward acts as like to Charity, as two hairs of the same head are like to one another. These Quietists, he says, thought they were much in contemplation of God, and most holy. They thought this state of Quiet of such excellency, that it was not to be interrupted by the most excellent things, because it excell'd all vertues. Therefore they give themselves up to this state of pure passivity, asking nothing, waiting as an instrument till the artificer work with it. For they think if they should do any thing it would hinder God's work. They abide therefore Quiet from the desire or act of any vertue ; so that they will neither praise nor give thanks to God, nor know, nor will, nor love, nor pray, nor desire ; and so they are poor in spirit, because they have no will, and are without the propriety of any choice, and that they have obtain'd that for which all worship in the Church is instituted ; because they have no will, and have resigned their spirit unto God, and are made one with him. And such is their subtilty that they can hardly be overcome by reason. And yet, saith he, if you consider well the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine and institutions of Jesus Christ it will evidently appear that they are far from being his true followers. This Quiet, he says, is what all men by nature reach unto without the Grace of God, if they but know how to rid themselves of all images and acts. But a soul that loves God cannot embrace this Quiet, for the love of God, and an inward touch of the Divine Grace is not idle. And thereafter he shows wherein the true prayer of Silence does consist. Now since the soul is naturally capable of putting it self into this Quiet, and of

silencing all its faculties, and that this natural Quiet is accompanied with a great delight and content, and that souls given up to it are apt to think that they are much in contemplation of God, and that they yield up all their faculties to be acted upon by him, while yet self-love bears sway in them, is it not to be feared, I: Lest the general advice and practice of leading people into the prayer of Quiet, while their hearts are not as yet in a due disposition for it, may not bring in generally the false Quietism, the evil of which Rusbrochius doth so often represent, and into which men will naturally fall, while corrupt nature prevails in them. 2: Whether in this state of natural Quietism it is not possible for an evil spirit to perceive that a man has silenced his faculties, and is gone into

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a state of Quiet ? Now you going to the meeting mention'd in your first letter, to try, as you say, an experiment, how warrantably I shall not say, and the warning from the L. A's.' mouth advising to that very state of Quiet which Rusbrochius calls the False Quiet, ' ` that every man and woman hold their peace, silence their thoughts, be careful that their imagination do not interpose, that they be altogether still " 2 ; was it impossible that the Imagination you had then might have been torn from you, and you put into this natural state of the silence of your faculties, and that you might have been directed to it by a foreign spirit, when you came to try the experiment, especially when the good innocent well-meaning Lady herself is now perswaded, and I think, not without reason, that all was a delusion and a foreign spirit. And by the way I think the rencounter was not so miraculous that a person who in pursuance of M. Guoyon's Method of Prayer³ had given herself to the prayer of silence for half a year before she joyn'd the prophets, should recommend it in her warnings. 3. Since men may naturally put themselves into this state of passivity and Quiet and silence their faculties, while corrupt nature doth still prevail in them are they not still as much and perhaps more in hazard to be acted upon by a foreign spirit, and to take all its suggestions for Divine motions, Lights, Revelations, Speeches, and more uncapable of discovering the same, as thinking they are out of the

element of a foreign spirit by having silenced their imagination, and that all light and conviction that comes to 'em in that state must be from the Eternal Divine Spirit ?

The mention I have made of the L.A's.l case puts me in mind of a remarkable passage contain'd in one of Fr. de Sales Bp. of Geneva his Letters,' viz. Lett: 23. Book 2, directed to the Religious of the Order of the Visitation ; the purport of the letter being to show that frequent revelations are to be suspected. Upon this occasion he tells this remarkable story. " There was," saith he, " in the time of the Blessed Sister Mary of the Incarnation, a \laid that was imposed upon by the most extraordinary delusion that can be imagined. The Enemy in the likeness of our Lord did for a long time repeat her hours to her, and sung them with so melodious a voice that it perpetually ravished her. He gave her the Communion very often under the Appearance of a silver and splendid cloud, within which he made the false Host to come into her mouth : he made her live without eating any thing. When she carried alms to the gate, he multiplied the loaves in her apron, so that if she carried bread thither only for three poor persons, and if there happen'd to be thirty there, there was bread enough to serve 'em all abundantly, and that very delicious bread, of which her confessour sent some portions here and there to his spiritual friends, out of devotion.

1 Lady Abden : M.N.E., p. 394.

2 Ibid., p.201.

3 Ibid., p. 15.

4 OEuvres complètes (1831, Lettres, IV, pp. 125 ff.

This maid had so many revelations, that at last it rendred her suspicious with knowing men. She had a very dangerous one which made 'em to resolve to make a tryal of her sanctity, and for this end they plac'd her with the B. Sister Mary of the Incarnation,' where serving and being treated somewhat severely by the decest Me. Acary,² they discovr'd that this Maid was not holy, and that her outward Meekness and Humility were but an outward gilding which the enemy made use of to make her take the pills of his delusion ; and in short they discovr'd there was nothing in her but

a mass of false visions : and as to her, they perceiv'd that she did not maliciously deceive the world, but that she was first deceived herself, there being no fault on her side but the complacency she had to imagine that she was holy, and so contributed some little dissimulation to keep up the reputation of her vain sanctity. And all this," saith he, " was told me by the B. Sister Mary of the Incarnation."

You speak of an admirable end of the mixture granted to be in some warnings, I suppose you mean of a foreign spirit, or of their own imagination ; that this serves to warn every one to consult the Divine Light within them, and only follow what that dictates. And this you say is the only true way to free the world from the errours, divisions, parties, schisms, and distraction, to hear the gentle and still voice of the true Christ, the Teacher and Shepherd from within. Dear Sir, perhaps in this matter our sentiments are the same ; but because some may mistake the manner of expressing it, I shall here take occasion to tell you how I conceive it. We come to know any thing either by the eyes and senses of the body, or of the mind, or by neither, but we believe them to be upon the credit and testimony of others. Again the eyes and senses of the mind are either those which we may call the humane and rational faculties, which all men do more or less exercise, and by which they have the perception of humane things, or those which we may call the Divine powers, which are capable of receiving impressions from the Divine Light. Thus, that the sun shines we perceive by the eyes of the body ; that we think, see, and hear, that we will this or that, that we love and hate, that a thing cannot be and [not] be at the same time, and in the same manner, we perceive by the eyes of the mind, our humane and rational faculties : that there are such places as the West Indies, that you purpose to favour your friends in the north with a visite nixt month, we perceive neither with the eyes of the body nor the mind ; but we believe the one upon the credit of your writing so, and the other upon the testimony of thousands who have gone thither and brought of the product of those places for so many years, and could not conspire in this to make a lie. After that Job had been purified and tried as gold in the fire, the eyes of his Divine

1 (1599-1672) : v. Underhill, *Mystics of the Church*, pp. 202 ff.

2 Madame Acarie (1566—x618) : v. Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 ff.

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faculties were opened, and then he saw by the Divine Light, which made him cry out, " Who is he that darkneth counsel without knowledge Therefore have I utter'd that I understood not, things too wonderful for me, which I knew not. I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear. but now mine eye seeth Thee ; wherefore I abhor my self and repent in dust and ashes." Now this Divine Light is the Eternal LOGOS, the Eternal Word who was with God in the beginning, and is God, by whom all things are made. in whom is Life, and his Life is the Light of men ; and the Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. Man is turned away from God, his understanding is darkned, he is alienated from the Life of God, he is not capable in his corrupt state to behold that Light. The pure in heart only shall see God. Man is most grievously diseas'd and disorder'd in all his faculties, naturally dead in sin and void of the Life of God. and all his Divine faculties and senses are as incapable of Divine things, as the blind are to see and enjoy the Light. From this wretched state, man could never have recovered himself, but great is the Mystery of Godliness and of the recovery of Lost Man ! God was manifested in the Flesh. the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, took on him all the infirmities and weaknesses that sin had made us lyable to, became in all things like to us yet without sin, and in this state he became our physician full of Grace and Truth to heal all our diseases : and so he came to do the will of his Father ; and to offer himself a most perfect sacrifice for us. So he came in this state to be the Light of the World, and to show us both by word and deed, accompnayed with his powerful Grace how to return to God, and to those who receive him in this state, he gives power to become the sons of God, even to those who believe in his name. 'Tis not enough for us to know the end, we must also know the way that leads to it. Now our Lord Jesus Christ is all. He is not only the End, the Truth and the Life, as he is God, and the Eternal Word, but he is also the way in his humane nature and as he is man, and the great duty he requires of us is Faith in him, that we wholly trust in him, take his prescripts,

cleave to him and follow his steps. So that our state here is to walk by Faith, and not by Light. The End is proposed to us, and we see it not ; God the Supreme Good and the enjoyment of him. And the only sure way to the End is laid before us, to follow God manifested in the flesh, to tread in the steps of the life and doctrine of Jesus, our Redeemer, our Physician, our Captain, our Guide. He requires us that we wholly trust him, believe in him, take cheerfully the precepts of our physician tho' we do not yet see by Divine Light how effectual they shall prove to heal all our diseases : that we follow closely our Captain and our Guide, resigning our selves wholly to his conduct and command, as a soldier doth unto his general, without enquiring into the light and reasons of his orders. You see then, our state in this world is to walk by Faith, and not by sight. We are not commanded to consult the Divine Light

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within us, the Eternal Word, for we are naturally blind, and our darkness comprehendeth it not : and instead of seeing by the true Divine Light, we are ready to kindle a fire of our own, and to compass our selves about with sparks, and to walk in the Light of our own fire, and in the sparks that we have kindled. But who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light : let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay himself upon his God. Our state in this world is a state of darkness, our duty is that of Faith and Trust, and staying upon a most faithful and unerring Guide, the Word made Flesh. We think that we are rich and have need of nothing, and know not that we are poor, and miserable, and wretched, and blind, and naked. He counsels us to buy of him gold tried in the fire that we may be rich, and white rayment that we may be clothed, and that the shame of our nakedness do not appear, and to anoint our eyes with eye-salve that they may see. When we have put off the old man with his affections and lusts, and we are renew'd in the spirit of our minds, we may then hope to see what we now believe, or even according to the different degrees of that renovation, we come to perceive and feel different degrees of Divine Light,

I mean that light that operates the Divine Grace for which it is sent. For as he knows not the true taste of honey, who never tasted it, so neither doth one know what the true Love of God is who never had it, and it is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Spirit. But to think, to consult the Light within, and to follow what that dictates, is the only way to free the world from all errours, divisions, parties, schisms, and distractions, is in my opinion a dangerous mistake in the present corrupt state of mankind. Our great duty is to consult Jesus, God-man, his life and doctrine. "Go," saith he, "and teach them to do all things that I have commanded you." He doth not say, Go, and teach them to consult only the Light within them. In our corrupt state, men consult only the Light of their own fire, and walk in the sparks of their own kindling and call this the Divine Light within them. And thus you see many parties have pretended thereunto. If you say the parties and sects are as numerous who pretend to be guided by the doctrine of Jesus Christ, it is because their hearts and their lives are contrary to their profession, they do not regard the plain rules and doctrine of the Gospel, but dote about questions and strifes of words, and teach for his doctrines the commandments of men. If it be said that if men would truly consult and follow the Divine Light within them, it would put an end to all errours, etc. it may be considered that men in their corrupt state are incapable of perceiving and being directed by this Light untill their hearts be purified by Faith. Not but that this Divine Faith is the work of the Divine Spirit, by which the heart being inspired with the Love of God's Righteousness, and the hatred of it self, doth embrace and believe the doctrine of Jesus which is so agreeable to this. But here is the true standard

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whereby to judge whether the inward Light unto which men pretend, be Divine or not. Jesus, he is the Light of the world, if we follow him, we shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of Life. Now I suppose, you mean nothing in your's but what is consistent with the substance of what is said here. And I know you will not think it impertinent that I adduce to the same purpose a passage or two of S. Augustin, who both in practice and

speculation was no stranger to what is now called the Mvstick Divinity, and experienced and breath'd after the internal Divine Light in no small degree. " To enjoy that Truth and Light which is unchangeable, the soul," he says, " must be purified, that it may be capable of beholding that Light and of cleaving to it. Which purification is like a travelling and sailing into one's native country. For we cannot go to him who is every where present by change of place, but by change of manners and disposition. This we could not do, if wisdom it self had not humbled himself to condescend to our infirmities, and if he had not, because we are men, given us an example in the humane nature how to live. How came He ? even thus that the word was made flesh." De Doctr. Christ. L. 1. c. 19.1

" The mind," he says, " being darkned with vicious affections, is not only uncapable to cleave to the unchangeable Light, but even cannot suffer it. But being renew'd from day to day, it must become capable of this bliss. It must first be endued with and purified by Faith ; in which that it may the more confidently travel towards the Truth, the Truth it self, God the Son, becoming Man, but not ceasing to be God, establish'd and founded this Truth, that man must go to G,)d by God-man : for this is the Mediatour between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus. By this he is the Mediator, by which he is Man, and by this he is the Way. For if there be a middle way between him who travelleth and that to which he travelleth, there is hope of attaining to it. But if there is no way by which he may go, or if he is wholly ignorant of it, what will it avail that he knows whither he ought to go ? Now the only sure way against all mistakes is that he who is the way, is both God and Man ; and that to which Man tends is God." De Civil. Dei. Lib. 2. c. 3.2

" The eye of the soul, is," he says, " the mind (or understanding) pure from all defilements of the body, that is, purged from the love of earthly things, which nothing can effect but Faith. For that which cannot be demonstrated to the soul while it is sick and defiled with corruption, and which it cannot see unless it were in health, if it doth not otherwise believe that it shall see it, it will never apply to recover its health. But if it

believes indeed that the thing is as is said, and that it would perceive it if it did see, and in the mean time despairs of health and of recovering its sight, it will

1 Dods's edition, *Christian Doctrine*, pp. 13, 14 (Bk. I, chaps. 50-13) : cf. G. Garden's *Apology*, pp. to f.

2 Dods's edition, *City of God*, Vol. II, p. 438 (Bk. XI, chap. 2).

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wholly neglect the prescripts of the physician, especially if they are unpleasant and bitter medicines : and therefore Hope is to be added to Faith. But if it believes that all is as is said, and if it hope it might be whole, but in the mean time doth not love the light that is proposed, and doth not desire it, but is pleas'd with its own darkness, which custom has made pleasant to it, it will slight the physician. So that Charity is necessary as well as Faith and Hope ; and without these three no soul is healed that it may see its God." Soh /. L. r. c. 5.1

S. Augustin esteem'd the platonists above all the other philosophers, who, he says, " accounted those only to be wise who know to imitate and love God, by the enjoyment of whom only they can be happy. They reckon'd this true philosophy to Love God the Supream Good, and that the soul has no being above it but God, and that he is its intellectual Light. They acknowledg'd the Father and the Son, whom they call'd the Mind of the Father. Thus," he says, " they seem to have some dark and faint apprehension of the countrey whither they ought to tend, but did not know the way that leads thither ; how God hath so highly commended his Love to us, in that the only Son of God, remaining unchangeable in himself became man, and gave men the hope of his favour and love by this mods-man by whom men might come to him, who being Immortal was so far removed from mortals ; and being Immutable was so far removed from mutable creatures ; and being most righteous, was so far from the wicked ; and being most bless'd, was so far from the wretched and the miserable. And having given us a natural instinct to desire to be happy and immortal, he remaining bless'd assum'd mortality, that he might confer on us what we desire and love. And by suffering he taught us to desire what we are afraid of. But this

Truth, he says, the Platonists would not embrace, nor become Christians, because Christ came in humility, and they were proud. The learned thought it below them from the disciples of Plato to become the disciples of Christ, who by his Spirit taught a fisherman to Know and say : In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God ; the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. Which beginning of the Gospel according to S. John, a Platonist said (saith S. Augustin) ought to be written in Letters of Gold, and set in the most eminent place thro' all the Churches. But this God our Master and Teacher was vile in the eyes of the proud, because the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us. Thus it is not enough for the miserable to be diseas'd, but they must be puffed up also in their sickness and despise

1 Migne, P.L., XXXII, pp. 875 f.

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the physick by which they must be healed." De Civil. Dei. Lib. 8 c. r. Lib. to. Ch. 29.1

Dear Sir, I have written all this upon this head, not that I think you entertain a different sentiment, but because the manner of your expressing it may give occasion to some both to think so and to make it their practice ; as perhaps it is the practice of many who pretend now to consult and to be guided in all things by the Light and Christ within them, while in the mean time they are unregenerate in their spirit, follow the motions of corrupt nature, and because of some introversions take these for the dictates of the Divine Light within them, whereas, I think, there seems nothing more evident than that both for our own particular direction and conduct, and for the satisfaction of others that our motions are from a Divine Light and Spirit, and for the establishment of Truth, Unity and Peace, there must be a general known standard whereby all sentiments, motions, and lights pretended to be from God, ought to be measured, both by those

who pretend to have them, and by those to whom they offer them : and that is the plain doctrine and life of Jesus Christ, God-man. The preservation of the records of men in the Holy Gospels is no small blessing, and as A.B.2 observes, no small miracle ; and by which she desires that all she writes may be examin'd and tryed ; and whatsoever is contrary thereunto, rejected. In which also the great end and duty of man is so plainly set down, charity, to love God with all our heart, and in him our neighbour as ourselves : and the way and means to it so visibly held forth in Christ's life and doctrine, that he who runs may read it ; and to which the true Divine Light within will always correspond and direct : but if we apply our hearts to consult only the Light within without respect to the other, we who are so corrupt cannot fail to take our own motions, (perhaps those of a foreign spirit) for Divine Light ; as you know the Q.3 and many pretending to be guided by the Divine Light have done and do daily. You know the instances mention'd by A.B.4 (and many such there are in the world) in her Warning against the Quakers, pag. 34. of a Q., who knocking at a gentleman's gate at Amsterdam defaced with his knife the gentleman's name cut out upon the lintel of the gate, and being askt by him, why he had done so, told, because the spirit had moved him to do it, and that it ought not to be there : to which the other replied that if it ought not to be there, it was well done to raze it out, but then askt him, in case he were moved by the spirit to kill him with the same knife, whether he would do it, he said, he would, since they must always obey the spirit. And of the Dutch woman

1 Dods's edition, *City of God*, pp. 312, 423-6 : (Bk. VIII, ch. 5, and Bk. X, ch. 29.) Not a continuous extract, though given as such in the manuscript.

2 A. Bourignon : v. *Apology*, pp. 3, 78, etc.

3" Quakers."

4 A. Bourignon, *Warning against the Quakers*, Eng. trans., 1708.

among the Quakers, p. 25. who said, that the Light of the Holy Spirit had shew'd her that her husband was to dy within a little, and she to be married to a young man, and that she was bid tell it to both, and yet was a person of good judgment in other things.

And of the English Quaker woman who was moved by inspiration to go to foreign countries to publish the Divine Light. p. 27. and abandon'd all things, and spoke very sublimely of Divine Mysteries, tho' A.B.' says, the Spirit told her she was of the Devil and not of God, as it seems was afterwards discover'd.

In my former to you I made mention of that way of continual prayer recommended in the 7th Letter of 4th part of Tomb. de la F. Theol.2 as not the same with the prayer of silence. To this you say, that a soul in that state sees that prayer fulfilled in its own exercise, the advice there given being that one should in all his needs which he continually feels, apply himself to God, begging his assistance, and praising him for mercies received, that this is all true, necessary and Divine, but that the question returns as to our wants, whether it is better to beg the Divine assistance in a general or particular manner, whether if a soul finds itself tempted to anger, it be more advisable to beg immediately of God the particular vertue of meekness, when it not knowing to pray for as it ought it may be improper in its state to have that particular Grace bestow'd or Infinite Love and Wisdom may think fit to leave it that thorn in its flesh, for its mortification, punishment or tryal or rather, if it is not from a deep sense of our own unworthiness and imperfection to place ourselves as beggars in the Divine presence, not presuming to ask any thing but his will, abandoning ourselves quietly, absolutely and intirely unto it and as to praise, you say the psalmists teaches us the most effectual way of praising our God. Tibi Silentium Laus est.2 Even Angels and Glorified Spirits are unworthy to praise him, what then should we crawling worms of the earth pretend to ? I shall not say but they who are in this state of the prayer of silence and arrived at the perfection you speak of, may see it fit only to abandon themselves to the Divine will without asking any particular Grace, and yet see that prayer fulfilled in their own exercise. But I do not think that this was the meaning of A.B. in the advice she gives in that letter.; " Some," she says, " make prayers to consist in a great many vocal words, others in meditation and speculations of the mind, which they call mental prayer, but neither of these are prayer. True prayer consists in the conversation of a man's soul and spirit with God ; when the heart speaks to him, and begs the things it has

need of, or blesses and thanks him for his favours, or adores his greatness, goodness, love, and other qualities which the soul observes in its God. This is that

1 A. Bourignon, *Warning against the Quaker*, Eng. trans., 1708.

2 M.N.E., p. 209. 3

3 id., p. 147.

4 A. Bourignon, v. *Apology*, pp. 422 f. The passage given is not quite a continuous extract from Mme. Bourignon's Letter.

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continual prayer which God requires of man, the conversation of his spirit with God. In this he may be continually exercised in working, in eating and drinking, yea in sleeping : for the soul having walk'd with its God while awake, reposes with him when asleep. Thus," she says, " 'tis possible always to pray and never to cease, and it is good and pleasant. And he who is in this continual prayer, is never melancholy." She counsels men to give themselves to this continual prayer, telling 'em that thereby they shall overcome both their outward and inward enemies, shall have inward joy and quiet, and learn all they ought to do and avoid. She counsels them " if they are tempted, to beg his assistance ; if they are in ignorance, to beg wisdom of him to fulfil his will ; if they are weak, to beg strength, and if they receive favours, to bless and thank him for that favour done to them sinners. Thus," she says, " they shall have continual matter of having recourse to God in spirit, and at last he will speak to them, and they shall be united to him here, waiting for that perfect and compleat unity throughout eternity." Now which of these two ways is the best, whether to beg the Divine assistance in a general or particular manner, I shall not presume to determine. But even this seems to be an excellent way of continual prayer, and of the exercise of the Divine presence, and perhaps fitter and more necessary for some rather than the other. 'Tis to be considered that by the Divine Will we understand either that of his Laws and Commands of our duty, or that of his providence, whether general or special : and in both these respects we owe a resignation to his will. As to that of his law and our duty, in this his will is unchangeable, and always the same, that we love not the world nor the things that are in the

world, and that we love him with all our hearts. And as this will of God is our constant duty, so it is no less our duty to implore his grace to perform it. And since we are continually assaulted with temptations to the contrary from within and from without, and it is our duty to resist them, and we cannot overcome them of our selves, but stand in need of the Divine Grace, it is no less our duty to beg it. And as it is not enough that we desire in general to resist temptations, but that we apply to resist the particular temptation we are assaulted with, so it seems necessary that we beg grace to resist that temptation in particular. Thus if one is tempted to lust or covetousness, he ought to resist the temptation and desire to overcome it and consequently to beg grace to resist it. - Not that God needs to be told what our present strait is, for our Heavenly Father knows what things we stand in need of before we ask him ; nor that he needs entreaty, who is much more ready to give, as you say, than we to ask ; but since we ought to desire none in heaven or earth but God, when any other unlawful desire assaults us, or is the habitual plague of our heart, we ought to resist it, and consequently in faith and hope to beg grace_so to do, and to overcome it. And this we are sure is not contrary to the will of God ; for this is the will of God even our sanctification ; and if we shall

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not presently obtain that Grace, we must not therefore cease to beg it, but with submission to the Divine will as to the time and when and how he shall be pleas'd to grant it, we ought to be the more instant in prayer, and not to faint, as the Canaanitish woman was for her daughter. And the contrary practice so long as men have strong evil habits to mortify and subdue, the not begging the Divine assistance particularly to overcome them, and asking nothing but his will in the general, seems to be a dangerous and deceitful way for persons in whom corrupt nature yet prevails. For suppose a man covetous and worldly minded, who yet desires to love God and to be resigned to his will, and so gives himself to this way of prayer, not begging of him the grace to overcome the world, but resigning himself, as he thinks, to the Divine will, will not he, the heart being deceitful above all things, be apt to think

that his soul is in a Divine frame, and that his concern about the world is nothing inconsistent with this, or that it is a thorn in the flesh for his trial, and if he ought not to ask grace particularly to overcome this habit, neither ought he particularly to desire and strive to overcome it. As to what is said, Rom. 8. 26 : " We know not what we should pray for as we ought," S. Aug., Tom. 3. Epist. 121 : i De orando Deum, says with respect to this, " That it is not to be believed that either the Apostle or those to whom he wrote this were ignorant of the Lord's prayer ; why then, do we think, he said this, which he could neither speak rashly nor falsely, but because temporal evils and tribulations are for the most part profitable either to cure the swelling of pride, or to exercise patience, to which thus tried a greater reward is laid up, or to correct and root out sins ; and yet we, not knowing how profitable they are, desire to be deliver'd from all tribulations and therefore," saith he, " in those temporal tribulations, which may be either profitable or hurtful, we know not what we should pray for as we ought ; and yet because they are grievous and uneasy, we are ready to pray to be deliver'd from them. But we ought to have that resignation to our God, as that tho' he do not remove them, we should not therefore thiik we are neglected by him, but rather by a patient suffering of the present Evil, to hope for more valuable blessings. And it being there said by the Apostle, the spirit helps our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought, but the spirit it self maketh intercession for us with groans which cannot be uttered." S. Augustin in the forecited Epistle saith : " It is not to be understood as if the Holy Spirit who with the Father and the Son is one unchangeable God in Trinity, did make intercession as one who is not God, would do for the saints. But it is said, he makes intercession for the saints because he makes the saints to supplicate for themselves, even as it is said : Deut. 23. 3 : ' The Lord your God proveth you to know whether you love the Lord your God,' that is, that he may make you know whether you love him." 2 Thus far S. Augustin.

1 Migne, P.L., XXXIII, p. 504.

2 Ibid., p. 505.

Now the begging for the Divine assistance in a particular manner according to the soul's present state and spiritual needs, is so much the tenor of all the Holy Scriptures both as to precept and practice that perhaps it may be a dangerous thing to slight it in our present corrupt state, and to aspire to that for which we are not yet fitted. And however the other way you recommend may be judged fitter for persons advanced to some degree of Christian perfection, I am perswaded it is not so for persons in whom corrupt nature and vicious habits are yet most prevalent, against which they ought both to watch and pray. And the practice of this continual prayer doth not consist in a multitude of words, but in darting up a fervent desire for the Divine aid, from the sense of our danger and impotency, and faith in the Divine power and mercy. You know what Cassian 1 tells us of the Fathers of the Desert in his tenth Conference how Abbot Isaac instructed him in the short form of prayer taught the solitaries and deliver'd down to them by their Fathers, by the continual inward use of which they were kept in a constant sense of the Divine presence, and in the exercise of continual prayer : which short form was : " O Lord make speed to save me, O Lord make haste to help me." " This," saith he to them, " contains all the affections that humane nature can be subject unto, and may be applied to every state. It contains an invocation of God in dangers, the humility of a pious confession, a watchful sollicitude and spiritual fear ; the sense of one's own frailty, a confidence of being heard, and of the Divine presence and holy always ready at hand. The soul that still calls on its protector, is sure he is always present. It contains the ardour of charity, a prospect of snares and a dread of enemies, with which finding it self to be night and day surrounded, it acknowledgeth it cannot be saved but by the help of its Defender. This petition is necessary and profitable to every one in whatsoever state. For he who desires in all cases to be helped, shows that he not only wants the Divine aid in adversity to support and deliver him, but in prosperity also, to keep him from being exalted and puffed up, and in every temptation to enable him to withstand it." As to praise, tho' we are unworthy to praise him, yet it is our duty, he invites us to do it, it has been the practice of all the saints of God, all his works praise him : in this as in other cases, if there be a

willing Mind, it is accepted according to what a man hath. Tho' even the Angels, as you say, are unworthy to praise him, yet they cease not day and night so to do : and the praises and hymn of a multitude of the heavenly host was heard by the shepherds at our Lord's birth, and the not doing of this, is, you know, one of the things which Rusbrochius blames in the false quietists of that age, (De Ornate Sp. Nupt. Lib. I. c. 78), " that they would neither give thanks nor praise to God, nor know, nor will, nor love, nor pray, nor desire, and so reckon'd themselves to be poor in spirit, as living without all choice."

1 Collatio X, Cap. X (Migne, P.L., XLIX, pp. 831-6).

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I hope, Dear Sir, that after all this, you will not expect I should give a particular answer as to the Three Heads proposed in the last short letter you sent me. As to the first, the grounds upon which I think the arguments mention'd in your's in behalf of the prophets not to be conclusive are contain'd in what is written above, and those founded upon our Lord's warnings, and the warnings of those whose light and experience I know you regard, and not upon any sentiments of mine. As to the second, to set down the characteristicks laid down in scripture for discerning between good and bad spirits, true and false prophets, in the age we live in, when Satan shall not only transform himself into an Angel of Light, but into a Demoni-um Meridianum, and shall speak as if he were the supreme God, and seek to be worshipped as such, we may be sure he will cover himself with such sublimity of doctrine, and such pure pretences of absolute resignation to the Divine will (so as not to dare so much as to beg to be inspired with the Divine Love, as in the case of the L. Abden) that one had need to have no small degree of the gift of discerning spirits, that would set up to give precise marks whereby to discern him. Neither is it needful that we should apply to this, for we have a more sure word of prophesy, the life & doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us walk by that rule, and we have his warning whereby to avoid the being imposed upon, when they say, Lo here is Christ speaking, Lo there he is, believe it not, go not out to them. Besides, I think there is no need of urging this so earnestly, when the most obvious mark given in the Holy Scriptures, Deut. 18. 22.

whereby to discern a false prophet seems so universally to hold in them. " They speak in the name of the Lord, and the thing doth not follow nor come to pass ; and therefore what they speak, the Lord hath not said it, but they speak presumptuously." And as it is justly observed by some, they speaking as if the eternal God were speaking out of them to warn the world of the near approaching of his dreadful universal judgments, and in the mean time failing in their particular predictions, they take the most effectual course to make the careless world go on in their security, and not to prepare for the Divine judgments. This seems to,be a spirit very different from that by which the true old prophets were led who foretold the first coming of the Messiah. This was their great message, and it was not to be fulfill'd in their days, but they brought credentials to confirm the truth of what they said in this, by making particular predictions of things that were to happen in their own days or shortly after them, which accordingly came to pass ; whereas the particular predictions of the present prophets do all fail. By which they tempt the careless world to think their warnings of the approach of the universal judgments, are a false alarum. You know the excellent thought of Mr. Paschal concerning the ancient prophets as to this subject, p. 137, of the Eng. Edit., " The

1 Pascal : L. Brunschvicg edit., Vol. III, pp. 145 f. : P. Faugère edit., II, p. 310.

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prophets have interwoven particular prophecies with those concerning the Messiah, that neither the prophesies concerning the Messiah should be without their proof, nor the particular prophecies without their fruit," viz : of confirming those which respected the Messiah. Now the case of the present prophets with respect to his second coming seems to be the reverse of this.

And as to the third, upon what grounds it is that we think ourselves so infallibly certain of the truth of our religion, I know, my Dear Friend, you do not expect that I should let down the particular grounds of the certainty of the truth of our Holy religion, nor do I think that you look upon this present Appearance of the prophets as having as undoubted evidences that it is from God. I know you do not think that there has been

such a series of prophets and prophesies going before this Appearance, and foretelling all the circumstances of it, even the time when it should come to pass, as for some thousands of years did precede the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and were fulfill'd in his person, and the records of 'em in the possession of and vouched by his greatest enemies. I know you will not equal their miracles to those of Jesus Christ or his Apostles : " Go, tell John," said our Lord to two of John's disciples, " what things you have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised : " nor will you equal the certainty of their predictions to his, of which the state of the Jews is to this day a wonderful instance. Nor will you say that there was any mixture in his spirit, and that sometimes a foreign spirit speaks out of him, and by him : nor will you say there was any impurity in his heart and life, neither will you offer to make their doctrine the standard of his, but will own his the true rule and standard whereby to try all doctrines pretended to be from God : neither do you doubt of his resurrection from the dead as was foretold, and that his Apostles laid down their lives to bear witness to it, neither is there any the least evidence that there was any mixture of a foreign spirit in what they declared to be from the spirit of God : neither, I think, will you say that the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, and after their having receiv'd the Holy Ghost, were still persons unregenerated, in whom the Holy Spirit did not reside, live and act, as he doth in purified and regenerated souls, but that he only acted upon them at times as still unregenerate, which you grant is the case of the present prophets. And this seems to me a most satisfying answer even to the first of the Three Heads in which you desire me to make appear that the arguments you bring for the prophets being led by the Eternal Spirit are not conclusive : for if it is a spirit that acts upon them only at times, they being still unregenerated, in which there is granted to be a mixture, it will not be easy to discover whether it may not be still either the natural enthusiasm of their own spirit, or therewith the agitations of that foreign spirit that can transform himself into an Angel of Light. And if there was a mixture in the prophets

of old, yet we have ground to believe that among these there were still some who were not children, or young men, but fathers regenerated by the spirit of God, who were his living temple, and by whom the spirit by which others spoke might be discerned if it was Divine or not, as Jeremiah, you know, was among the other prophets of his time. But we live in an age wherein such innumerable prophets are arisen, by whose organs the Eternal God is said to speak immediately, and yet not one of them is regenerated ; so that I cannot see how the testimony of them can be relied upon as to the discerning of Spirits. And since you have the same esteem that you had formerly for the writings of A.B. you may easily perceive that this renders your arguments for the prophets not conclusive, there being nothing in which she is more peremptory (and I think not without reason) than that God will send none as prophets and ambassadors in this last age of the world, but such as are regenerated into his spirit, as have the gifts and fruits of the same, and the qualities of true charity, and are partakers of the Divine nature in righteousness, goodness and truth ; and you acknowledge that they are not so regenerated, and that the spirit acts upon them only at certain times.

Thus, Dear Sir, I give you the trouble of this long letter in return to your's : and since you have so fully declared what has determin'd you to believe the Divine authority of this Appearance, and I have plainly told you what makes me still doubtful of the same, I incline not to trouble you with any more upon this subject. I lean not to my own reason, but to the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the truth and importance of his warnings : and I regard much the warnings also of those who have been in so great a measure enlightned by the Holy Spirit. And tho' some despise a letter, when they see it is all citations, yet I know you will not do it, having such regard to the originals. You and I go upon different suppositions in this affair, which give us different views, you upon the supposition that this appearance is of Divine authority, (and it may be upon the perswasion that it is so) and I upon supposition that it may be not of Divine authority. And this, I think is the safer side, it being founded upon the Divine warning of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and there being less hazard, as has been said, in doubting of that which may be

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good, than in praising and commending and embracing that which is evil, as if it were good. In this, my Dear Friend, your goodness makes you to exceed that you are ready to conceive an extraordinary good opinion of others, perhaps beyond what is just and fit. And that which you are pleased to say so advantageously of me, both in the last and in your former makes me sensible to this, being conscious of my self of my own unworthiness, &c.

March, 1710

1 Mme. Bourignon.

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