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# James Durham's 1652 Sermon on Ephesians 4:11-12 Taught Before the Synod of Glasgow

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*And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists;  
and some, pastors and teachers; For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of  
the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.*

Scottish Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century had many bright and shining lights.<sup>1</sup> Of these, James Durham (1622-1658), who shone brilliantly but briefly, ranks alongside the greatest of his generation, for his theological depth, faithful preaching, and particularly for his moderate spirit at a time when such was in scarce supply. Through several extraordinary providences the Lord called James Durham to Himself and His gospel ministry.<sup>2</sup> He first served as minister

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<sup>1</sup> This article, in a different form, appeared in *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 12 (2016), as “*Antiquary: James Durham’s 1652 Sermon on Ephesians 4:11-12 Taught before the Synod of Glasgow: A Transcription from Manuscript*”. The transcript has not been included here. A refined version of the sermon, as opposed to the straight transcription, will appear in the forthcoming *Collected Sermons of James Durham* in Spring 2017. This collection should contain, in addition to this newly uncovered sermon, all the published sermons of James Durham.

<sup>2</sup> See various biographies of Durham: John Howie, *Lives of the Scottish Covenanters* (many editions); *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (IVP, 1993); “An Account of the Most Memorable Things in the Life of the Reverend Mr. James Durham of Easter Powrie, Minister of the Gospel at Glasgow” in *An Exposition of the Whole Book of Job* (1759); “A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author’s Life” in *Commentary on Revelation* (1739) and also in *Christ Crucified: or, the Marrow of the Gospel in Seventy-Two Sermons on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah* (Naphtali Press, 2001; 2007). The account in the Job lectures is entirely different from that in the earlier “Collection”, and contains extracts from John Carstares’ sermons on the occasion of Durham’s death.

of Blackfriars in Glasgow for three years before taking up his main ministry, that lasted not quite a decade, at Glasgow Cathedral, where he preached regularly to a congregation of fifteen hundred.<sup>3</sup> John Carstares, his colleague in the ministry at Glasgow, described Durham

as a very candid and searching preacher *who in an instant was* in the inmost corners of your bosoms, *though with the utmost* caution and meekness, without giving any of his hearers the smallest ground to fret and repine at his freedom in dealing with them.<sup>4</sup>

It was said that if he had it to do over again, Durham would have studied for ten years for a ministry of one year, and it was thought that he poured so much of himself into his preparations for the pulpit that it brought about his early death at the age of thirty-six. According to George Christie:

His books were constantly read for almost two centuries. Twenty-six printing-presses in eight towns of Scotland, England, and Holland were occupied with them; in each decade between his

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<sup>3</sup> While perhaps of some exaggeration, Durham's own comments may put this number in doubt, at least perhaps as his ministry progressed. In one of the funeral sermons John Carstares chastised his hearers: "I have heard this faithful servant of God, He hath now translated to heaven, complain often that when he came to preach in his own church, he saw not the face of a congregation, and that he came seldom to the pulpit, but he feared some tumult among the people in running away from him." See the "Account" in the *Exposition of the Whole Book of Job* (1759).

<sup>4</sup> David C. Lachman, "Introduction" in *A Treatise Concerning Scandal* (Naphtali Press, 1990). In his sermon upon Durham's death Carstares described Durham thus: "And we may thankfully declare, as an eminent instance of God's goodness to this city of Glasgow, that we have been kept in the most wonderful calm, and lived in great amity and peace there eight years by-past, when he was with us, though we were as much predisposed, and in danger of being consumed by these woeful fires of division and strife that were burning our church, as any other Christians were. And if we can commend any proper mean of healing such distempers, or promoting peace and unity among all ranks, we cannot sufficiently extol and celebrate his incomparable moderation, prudence, meekness, lowliness, and integrity. It will be a signal mercy if we be kept so long again from some kind of reeling, confusion, and schism; and if ever we see again these woeful days, we will bemoan the want of one of his cementing, peaceable, and healing spirit. Was he not, in a word, a merchy [marrowy; pithy] and substantial preacher, who gave us the marrow, yea, the very pith and kernel of the gospel; he delivered very much sound divinity in little bounds, and in few words. Ye that are the common people, are deprived by his death of a plain and easily understood preacher. Ye that are sore troubled in spirit, and exercised, ye want a very tender and sympathizing guide. Ye that are learned and wise, want a learned minister, who was well instructed in the mysteries and laws of Christianity, the most valuable learning I know. Ye that are proud, covetous, or wicked, now want a teacher that would have exposed your corruptions, and might have been a blessed mean of reforming you, and reclaiming you from your dangerous mistakes and errors, without fretting and irritating you." "Account", *Exposition of Job* (1759).

death and the beginning of the nineteenth century at least one of his books was printed; . . . Not one of them, however, was published during his lifetime . . . it was through the loving care of his widow and her brother-in-law, Mr. John Carstairs of Glasgow, that his Sermons and Expositions were edited and published.<sup>5</sup>

All these many sermons that were preserved and published came from Durham's pulpit ministry to his parishioners in Glasgow, save one. On 5th October 1652, James Durham preached a sermon on Ephesians 4:11-12 before the Synod of Glasgow of the Church of Scotland. We do not know who preserved it or if John Carstairs or Mrs. Durham knew it existed. The sermon survives in manuscript, paired with a sermon by James Fergusson preached before the General Assembly meeting in Glasgow a few years later on 5th April 1658.<sup>6</sup> Both sermons are on the subject of church unity and were preached during the Protester-Resolutioner division in the Church of Scotland, perhaps one of the most contentious of controversies in Presbyterian history. The controversy was an

internecine feud which divided the hitherto unified Covenanting movement during the Cromwellian invasion and occupation of Scotland, 1650-60. During the English invasion of Scotland in 1650, incipient divisions within the kirk erupted as the moderate and radical Covenanters divided over the reception of Charles II as king and the passing of the Public Resolutions, which allowed "malignant" royalists into the army and state. When the 1651 General Assembly approved the Resolutions, the schism was institutionalized and the kirk divided into two factions: the Resolutioners, who supported the king and government, and the Protesters, who disavowed the authority of both. After the English

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<sup>5</sup> George Christie, "A Bibliography of James Durham: 1622-1658", *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* (1918), pp. 35-46. Durham's published works are: 1. *A Commentary upon the Book of the Revelation* (1658). 2. *A Treatise Concerning Scandal* (1659). 3. *Clavis Cantici: An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (1668). 4. *A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (1675). 5. *The Blessedness of the Death of those that Die in the Lord* (1681). 6. *Christ Crucified: or, The Marrow of the Gospel* (1683). 7. *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ* (1685). 8. *Heaven Upon Earth: the Joy of a Good Conscience* (1685). 9. *The Great Gain of Contenting Godliness* (1685). 10. *The Great Corruption of Subtile Self* (1686; but bound with the previous). 11. *An Exposition of the Book of Job* (1759).

<sup>6</sup> Sermons preached before the Synodal Assembly in Glasgow [manuscript], 1652, 1658. Sermons on 1 Corinthians 1, v. 10, by James Fergusson, 5th April 1658, and on Ephesians 4, vv. 11 and 12, by Mr. James Durham, 5th October 1652. Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.424, MS. Add. 257.

conquest in late 1651, these divisions were internalized as both factions engaged in numerous (albeit unsuccessful) attempts to gain ascendancy in the kirk. In 1654, the Protester Patrick Gillespie attempted to break the resultant stalemate when he sought and obtained an ordinance from the English government establishing a system of “triers”, which superseded the authority of the kirk’s presbyterian courts. In doing this, Gillespie broke the factions’ official policy of non-cooperation with the English and ushered in a period during which both factions courted the favour of the Cromwellian regime in an attempt to gain an advantage over their rival. From this point on, the fortunes of the factions became linked inextricably with the ebb and flow of English politics, the Protesters allying themselves with the radical officers of the English army and the Resolutioners with the conservative forces of parliament. The benefits of such alliances, however, proved transitory, serving only to intensify the factions’ animosity. By the eve of the Restoration in 1660, the schism had not been remedied and the divided kirk proved an easy prey to its adversaries.<sup>7</sup>

Until Kyle Holfelder’s 1998 thesis, there had not been a detailed history of this controversy. The early historians not only lacked access to records, but “there was something very repulsive to Scottish Presbyterians about the prima facie aspect of the 1650s regarding the kirk’s division”, and “Scots presbyterians of all persuasions laboured to draw a veil over what they regarded as the most unseemly period in the kirk’s history”.<sup>8</sup>

However, what was not veiled but clear even in the older brief treatments of those times, was that in this controversy James Durham was noted for taking a stand for the necessity of healing schisms and uniting a divided church. He would eventually treat this subject in the posthumously published *Treatise Concerning Scandal*, one of the most significant Presbyterian works on the subject of private, public, and doctrinal offences, and scandalous divisions in the Church.<sup>9</sup> Durham,

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<sup>7</sup> Kyle D. Holfelder, “Factionalism in the Kirk during the Cromwellian Invasion and Occupation of Scotland, 1650 to 1660: The Protester-Resolutioner Controversy” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), Abstract.

<sup>8</sup> Holfelder, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *The Dying Man’s Testament to the Church of Scotland, or, A Treatise Concerning Scandal. Divided into Four Parts. 1. Concerning Scandal in the General. 2. Concerning Publick Scandals, or Scandals as they are the object of Church-censures, and more particularly as they are in practice. 3. Concerning*

along with Robert Blair, was one of a few who remained neutral in the Protester-Resolutioner division and made attempts to get the two sides to come together. After the General Assembly's approval of the resolutions in July 1651, the next April Durham drafted and presented to the Glasgow Synod some overtures for union.

BEING still more and more convinced of the necessitie of Union among the Ministers of this Church, be the many evils that accompanie these differences, [the Synod] doe therefore think it expedient, to endeavour some way of healing, at least of preventing the growing, of the same. And though they neither intend hereby judicillie to condemne or reflect on any acts or proceedings of any of them, either on the one side or the other, preceding this time, (bot to leave both sides without prejudice by this agreement,) yet for the ends foresaid, they doe voluntarlie condescend mutuallie in the things controverted, in als farr as concerns their practice for the interim, as followes:

1. That they shall eschew all publick wakening or lengthening these debates by preaching or spreading papers, either in favours of the one side or the other.
2. That they shall forbear the practising, executing or pressing of all acts concluded in the last Assemblie at St. Andrewes and Dundee, and also the pressing or spreading appeals, declinators or protestations against the same; and that both these forsaid, together with any sentence intended or followed thereupon, shall be for the time, (as to practise and our use-making of them in any thing) as though they had not been; this being allwayes so understood as inferring no actuall condemning of either of them, as is said.
3. That none of those be to any, whatsoever rank, minister or elder or expectant, a ground or aggravation of challenge or censure, or

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*Doctrinal Scandals, or scandalous errors. 4. Concerning Scandalous Divisions. In each of which there are not a few choice and useful Questions, very shortly and satisfyingly discussed and cleared. By that singularly faithfull and wise Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Durham, late Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow, Who being dead (by this) yet speaketh: and published by John Carstares, one of the Ministers in Glasgow. To which is prefixed an excellent Preface of famous Mr. Blair, Minister of the Gospel at St Andrewes, (wherein he also vigorously driveth the main design of the blessed Author in this last Piece of his Labours) Together with a Table of Contents of the several Chapters of each Part (Edinburgh: Christopher Higgins, 1659; London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1659). Last reprinted in 1740, a new edition was published in 1990 by Naphtali Press.*

of exception against their being admitted to office, they being in other things found qualified.

4. That some be named as correspondents who may carry these Overtures to be conferred of with and recommended unto brethren of other Synods; who are to be written unto to send some of their number to meet at ane convenient time and place for that end.

5. Likeas it is their purpose, if God shall give ane free Generall Assemblie, to indeavour for a full and judiciall settleing and oblivion of the foresaid differences, and all consequences that hes followed on them; and, in the meantime, to proceed in all affaires according to the uncontroverted rules and acts of our Church.

This Agreement may be drawne to the laying aside of all the present controversie, the matter being, for the particulars, removed but by the Assemblie itselfe and submission of men censured; else no Assemblie firme hereafter: And with cautions against feared domination, and a due processing of novelties tending to separate congregations, Why should ane oblivion of Malignants, the King and they having satisfied, be granted also? Why not deposed ministers and elders, for no other scandall, on submission, made capable? What Union else firme?<sup>10</sup>

Robert Baillie was as keen a partisan on the Resolutioner side as men such as Samuel Rutherford were on the side of the Protesters. Baillie convinced the Synod to postpone consideration of Durham's overtures to the June meeting, but he had no intention in allowing them to ever come up again and was instrumental in raising opposition in other parts of the Church against the plan. The Protesters were not supportive either and they were the majority in the Glasgow Synod, unlike elsewhere in the kirk.<sup>11</sup>

The minutes apparently do not exist from this period, but Baillie characterized the June meeting of the Glasgow Synod as two days of "bickering". After detailing some of the disputes over approving some ministers and other matters, he complains in a postscript to a letter to James Wood, "In the end of our Synod, Mr. Patrick with Sir John, with

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<sup>10</sup> *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie [1637-1662]*, (ed.) David Laing (3 vols., Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1841-1842), Vol. 3, pp. 185-186.

<sup>11</sup> Baillie, Vol. 3, pp. 176ff; Holfelder, p. 106.



consent of our Moderator, obtained ane act for keeping our Synod book from going back to the next Assemblie; against which we protested".<sup>12</sup> In the letter he also warned Wood to "beware" the counsel of "neuters". This was Baillie's disparaging term for those striving for peace such as Durham.<sup>13</sup> The reference to the moderator is of interest. One must presume, given the clear division, that electing a moderator would be contentious. Apparently Durham was elected either from hopes he could aid getting the Synod's business done, or perhaps it was another way to ensure he was not on the floor and able to push for his overtures? We can surmise he was moderator because he preached this sermon at the October meeting. This is still done today, and the tradition has long roots. Take, for example, the Synod of Aberdeen meeting in April of 1652,

Thee wilk day, after sermone hade by Jhone Patersone, last moderator, text, Act i. v. 6, 7, 8, and incalling on God's name, the ministerris and ruling elderris of this Assemblie, ar cited according to the order whose names doe follow. . . .<sup>14</sup>

This was institutional practice as noted by Walter Steuart of Pardovan:

Title XIV. Of Provincial Synods. §2. The Moderator of the former Synod doth in the Morning before the Meeting, preach a Sermon suited to the Occasion, and after Sermon doth Intimate to the Members, that they immediately Repair to the Synod House; when they are met, He doth open the Meeting with Solemn Prayer; Then the Clerk having made up the Synod Roll from the Rolls of each

<sup>12</sup> Baillie, Vol. 3, pp. 187-8.

<sup>13</sup> While clearly provoked by Durham's quest for unity, Baillie had this to say after Durham's death. "The Epistle [to the Reader] speaketh to the man, I shall add but this one word, That from the day I was employed by the Presbytery to preach and pray and to impose, with others, hands upon him for the Ministry at Glasgow, I did live to the very last with him in great and uninterrupted love, and in an high estimation of his egregious [remarkable] enduements [accomplishments], which made him to me precious among the most excellent Divines I have been acquainted with in the whole Isle." James Durham, *A Commentary on Revelation* (Old Paths Publications, 2000), p. xi (original edition, 1658). Durham had been intended to replace David Dickson as professor at Glasgow but he was appointed to serve as chaplain to Charles II, which turned out to be a grievous duty to him, and upon leaving that post, the professorship never materialized. See the introduction to the forthcoming *Collected Sermons* of James Durham for greater detail about this and his career as king's chaplain.

<sup>14</sup> *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Sessions, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, [1846]), p. 213.

Presbytery presented to him by their Respective Moderators, he is to call the same over and to mark the Absents. In making up the Synod Roll it is usual to change the Order thereof every Synod, so that the Presbytery that was first called in the Roll of the former Synod is now called last. Then the Synod proceeds to the choise of a new Moderator, who first calls for the Correspondents from the Neighbouring Synods: and their Commissions being Read, they are Inrolled as Correspondents.

Title XV. Of Extraordinary Synods and General Assemblies. §19. The Moderator of the former Assembly opens it with a Sermon; but in case of his absence, his predecessor in that Chair hath the Sermon: and in absence of them both, the eldest Minister of the town where they meet preacheth, and openeth the Assembly by Prayer, and Moderates till a new Moderator be chosen. Thus it was done in the Assembly at Glasgow 1638.<sup>15</sup>

As with the other minutes for this period, those from October 1652 do not appear to be extant.<sup>16</sup> However that may be because the Synod failed to do any business. Nicoll records the following entry in his diary:

The Synod of Glasgow haiffing met at thair ordiner tyme, the first Tysday of October 1652, thair rais much contraversie amongis thame, and with great difficultie could ane Moderator be chosin be ressoun of the differencis amongis thame; so that twa dayis and almoist a great pairt of the nycht wes spent in this electioun. So thai dissolvit the secound day about xi houres at nicht, doing nothing saiff onlie that the Moderator wes chosin, callit Mr. James Fergusoun.<sup>17</sup>

That the Synod at least got to the point of electing a new moderator indicates that this surviving sermon was actually preached by

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<sup>15</sup> Walter Steuart of Pardovan, *Collections and observations methodiz'd: concerning the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, 1709), p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes do exist for the Protester half of the Glasgow Synod for 1654-55 during the time the Synod actually divided into a Protester synod and a Resolutioner synod (Holfelder, p. 14); but Holfelder does not cite minutes for these earlier synod meetings. Given his extensive research, this may indicate that they do not exist. While the folios had not been physically checked at press time, a review of the National Library of Scotland finding-aids and indices for the Wodrow collection seems to confirm this. My thanks to Matthew A. Vogan for aid in this regard.

<sup>17</sup> John Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and other occurrences, chiefly in Scotland, From January 1650 to June 1667* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1836), p. 102.



Durham before the Glasgow Synod. As noted, the sermon is of a similar strain to the *Treatise on Scandal* and the overtures for union. It clearly did not have any immediate effect given the contentious and drawn out election that followed its delivery. However, perhaps Durham sowed some seeds which had a short positive impact in November 1652.

In November, Robert Blair and a convocation of centrist ministers, met at Edinburgh and attempted to negotiate a union between the Protesters and Resolutioners, both of whom were about to meet in their respective Commissions. In an unprecedented turn of events, these centrists were able to persuade the Protesters to suspend all their polemical activities pending the outcome of a new attempt at union. Remarkably, they also prevailed upon the Protesters to write a letter to the Resolutioners in which they offered to forbear acting as the 1650 Commission “as long as endeavours and conferences for union shall continue”, providing the Resolutioners would agree to suspend their activities as the 1652 Commission and refrain from executing the acts of the controverted General Assemblies.<sup>18</sup>

Sadly, as Holfelder goes on to note, the Resolutioners derailed the talks. “Unfortunately, the centrists’ mediatorial efforts with the Resolutioners were less effective and they responded to the Protesters overture for union with a strange mixture of contempt and compliance.”<sup>19</sup>

Durham and Blair made another attempt in June 1655, but the Resolutioners were again unwilling to compromise,<sup>20</sup> and a more promising attempt in November the same year also failed. Durham would save any further pleas for his *Dying Testimony*, partially dictated from his deathbed. He died on 25th June 1658 at the age of thirty-six.

Previously I have described the surviving manuscript sermons of James Durham.<sup>21</sup> For the most part as the earlier research suggested, many of these sermons are not in very good shape or are material similar to that already in print in Durham’s known works, with one, or possibly two, of passing interest to see in transcription. A year after the second

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<sup>18</sup> Holfelder, pp. 179-180.

<sup>19</sup> Holfelder, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Holfelder, p. 212.

<sup>21</sup> “The James Durham MSS. Held by Glasgow University Library,” *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 5 (2009); “The James Durham MSS. Part II”, *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 7 (2011).

piece ran, I heard of the existence of this sermon. Nicholas Davelaar, who was working on his ThM at Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, contacted me in late November 2012. He was interested in researching Durham material and brought to my attention the existence of this manuscript in the collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC.<sup>22</sup> This sermon is a singular exception in many ways to other Durham manuscripts. While it is of similar content as the later work on scandal, unlike the other sermon manuscripts, this one has historical importance as far as illustrating further Durham's role as a peace-maker in the Protester-Resolutioner schism. And this manuscript was quite accessible and through the helpful staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library, available to be photographed. While a few high resolution color photographs were needed, most of the sermon was largely legible in the black and white copies – legible that is, once one learns the old-style secretary hand,<sup>23</sup> and is cognizant of the old, odd and variable spellings and the archaic Scottish vocabulary.

As to the origins of the MS., the only information stored with it was the purchase receipt stating that the library had obtained the MS. from W. A. Myers in 1960. Mrs. Winifred A. Myers was a well respected seller of autographs and other materials, and her catalogues are quite rare.<sup>24</sup> The curators were helpful and offered to see if they still had their

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<sup>22</sup> Rev. N. Davelaar (presently pastor of Covenant Presbyterian Church, Russellville, Ark.), eventually ordered black and white copies and spent four or five hours working on the first two pages before concluding that it was not practical to pursue a full transcription. His thesis is “Life Together in the Light of the Covenant of Grace: The Relationship of James Durham’s *Concerning Scandal* to his Covenant Theology” (ThM thesis, Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, 2013). Correspondence with N. Davelaar, 30th November 2012, 22nd January and 10th May 2013.

<sup>23</sup> The author’s previous experience with the old English secretary hand included creating full transcriptions of the two surviving MSS. of the Westminster Larger Catechism, a letter Thomas Rogers wrote to Nicholas Bownd, and an MS. book-list of volumes taken from Laud’s library for use by the Westminster Assembly, as well as work with the Westminster Abbey Library’s Benefactor’s book. See “Anti-Sabbatarian Scold: Thomas Rogers’ Letter to Nicholas Bownd, April 29, 1598”, *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 10 (2014); “*Antiquary: Westminster Abbey Library: And Other Theological Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643-1652)*”, *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 6 (2010); C. Coldwell (ed.), *The Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly: A Transcription of the Surviving Manuscripts with Notes* (Westminster Letter Press, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> A collection of the Myers catalogues for 1958-1974 is held at the Grolier Club library, in New York City, in offsite storage. Call number 04.42 M996 1958, *Catalogue of autograph letters: manuscripts, documents and some association books, selected from our large stock*, by Winifred A. Myers (Autographs) Ltd. As ephemeral items these pieces are rare, but at press time a smaller collection of ten catalogs, including those for 1960, was listed by an English bookseller for £100.

copy of the catalogue from those many years ago. Happily the library had retained it as well as some incidental correspondence regarding the entry.<sup>25</sup> The MS. appeared as item 247 in catalog No. 3 for 1960, page 41:

247. MANUSCRIPT. 17th Century. 58<sup>1/2</sup> pp., 4to. "A Sermon at the Generall Assemblie in Glasgow, 5 April 1659, by Mr. J. Ferguson," (Minister of Kilwinning, Ayrshire) & "A Sermon Taught Before the Generall Assemblie in Glasgow, 5 October, 1652, by Mr. James Durhame," (Minister of Barony, Glasgow [*sic* St. Mungo's, Glasgow High Church]). *Some leaves stained, sewn.* ¶(Ferguson was author of a series of Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. Probably because of the Early [*sic* Earl of] Eglintoun's support he was not interfered with at the Restoration. Wing records a number of works by James Durham. The subject of both sermons is union. £7 10s.

While the Myers catalogs were known to have entries embellished with information on items for sale, for item 247 no prior ownership information was given. The document is not clearly signed and the origin of the MS. and who previously owned it remains a mystery. As to its legitimacy, it hardly seems likely to be the kind of thing to be faked; and having transcribed it, there is no question it is Durham's. Much of the material is similar to *Concerning Scandal* and the phrasings and vocabulary ring true. Was it Durham's own MS.? While there is an embellishment at the end of the sermon that may possibly be a stylized set of initials, it is unclear that they are letters or that they represent "JD". While it is not impossible that the MS. was Durham's, the notes rather seem to be by a hearer than notes from which one may have preached; and if, as is yet to be confirmed, the hand is the same as that of the Fergusson sermon, Durham likely would have been too ill to have been present in April 1658 when that was preached.<sup>26</sup> With

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<sup>25</sup> Correspondence with Elizabeth DeBold, Curatorial Assistant, Folger Shakespeare Library, 24th February 2016. The letter from the then curator to Ms. Myers and a response concerning the availability of three MSS., including item 247, only note the items by number and contain no further information about them. Item 247 was available, but the other two MSS. had already been sold. Miss E. Pritcher to Miss Winifred Myers, 27th October 1960; Winifred A. Myers to Miss E. Pritcher, 8th November 1960. The Folger Shakespeare Library correspondence files.

<sup>26</sup> On the first page, mid-page, it appears that "Phil." has been written rather than "Ephes.". There is also at least one missing reference, and at least one rough transition that seems to lack some context. Also the doctrines are recorded out of order and simply renumbered in the margin. If these were Durham's notes those errors would seem less

the provenance unknown, the scribe of the notes must remain an open question.

No matter who scribed them, these do not appear to be simply someone's private notes, because of the use of "catchwords". Catchwords date back to usage in some medieval manuscripts to ensure that pages intended to be bound were collated in the correct order, and also came to be thought of as an aid to the reader. They subsequently became a convention in book printing upon the invention of the printing press. The catchword is placed below the last line of text at the inside margin and duplicates the first word on the subsequent page. It is less likely that someone making private notes would take the time to use catchwords. While not likely, if the MS. was drafted by the Clerk of the Synod for a record, that might explain their use, as it would be a more formal undertaking.<sup>27</sup> Was the MS. created for printing? The use of catchwords does not in itself indicate that this MS. was intended for the press, though it is certainly possible that that was in view. However, there are no printer's marks to indicate it was handled by a printer,<sup>28</sup> and the text is not complete enough and, one should think, would have been refined far more before submission for printing.<sup>29</sup> Another possibility is that the MS. was created with the intention of circulating it, perhaps with

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likely. However, the numbering mistake and other errors may indicate that this MS. was copied from another, and one may not rule out entirely the possibility that Durham had some hand in this MS. However, while I did not note this in the earlier version of this article, if both the Durham and Fergusson sermons are in the same hand, it would seem to be unlikely to be by Durham. Also, while other factors may account for the differences, the sermon MS. does not seem to be the same hand as a confirmed sample of Durham's handwriting. A professional eye is needed, however, to examine all three MSS.

<sup>27</sup> The two manuscript copies of the Westminster Larger Catechism presented by the Westminster Assembly to the two Houses of Parliament make use of catchwords as they were not only formal copies but were presented to be read for consideration. At this writing no example of a sermon in synodical minutes of the period such as this one has come to light in various published minute books, and one would presume for such, the Clerk would sign it in that capacity, as with the Catechism MS. Also this Durham MS. does not make nearly as much use of contractions as one would expect a formal scribe to do, indicating not so much that it was created "for the record", but to be read.

<sup>28</sup> For some discussion of printer's marks and the handling of an author's MS. in the seventeenth century, see C. Coldwell, "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards and Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text", *The Confessional Presbyterian*, Vol. 1 (2005).

<sup>29</sup> It is not certain that the peacemakers would have had easy access to publish this piece in print. By this meeting of Synod, Cromwell had control of the country and the presses and access to publish shifted with the fortunes of each side of the Protester-Resolutioner divide, neither of which likely favored these pleas for union to be printed.

the intent of “publishing” it via MS. copy.<sup>30</sup> Given that Durham and the other peacemakers were actively seeking to bring the two sides together and had arranged significant meetings the next month, this MS. of Durham’s sermon may have been created believing it would prove of use some way. At this point it is all speculation beyond the indications that these notes were likely not just private notes, but created for some purpose.

The manuscript is not in the best shape and is quite fragile.<sup>31</sup> The two sermons are bound together and consist of 31 leaves, with the older piece by Durham taking up the latter half, consisting of folios 15r through 31r. There is a significant amount of bleed-through in the first quarter or so of the manuscript, and there are various defects and tears affecting the text in minor ways. The lower half of the final page is torn away and missing, without any apparent loss to the text, though one supposes some identifying information might possibly have been present at one time. There are corrections made at the time or later throughout the MS., via crossings-out and interlinings and marginal insertions. It is clear in the colour photographs that some of these are in a different, apparently later, ink, while others seem more likely to have been made as the notes were made.

The initial transcription was done from a black and white reproduction. The first page of the Durham sermon (15r) is highly affected by bleed-through and required a high-resolution colour photograph. Eight other pages in colour were necessary to clear up various issues with the text, but these were not sought for pages with minor difficulties where suppositions were sufficient or where they were not likely to shed any additional light. For all the missing or undecipherable words and of course possible errors in the transcription, the text is quite intelligible.

As a good puritan preacher, Durham began his sermon by briefly “opening up” the scope of the text, before adducing three doctrines which he planned to cover (15r-15v).<sup>32</sup> The “scope” of the Apostle Paul

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<sup>30</sup> Correspondence with Chad Van Dixhoorn, February 2016.

<sup>31</sup> Correspondence with Melanie Leung, Image Request Coordinator, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2nd February 2016.

<sup>32</sup> “The Puritan sermon quotes the text and ‘opens’ it as briefly as possible, expounding circumstances and context, explaining its grammatical meanings, reducing its tropes and schemata to prose, and setting forth its logical implications. . . .” Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939), cited in Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The*

in the passage is “how precious a point unity is, and how it tends to the purpose of edifying the church” (22v). The sermon may be outlined as follows.

## **SERMON OUTLINE**

The Scope of the text.

Doctrine I. The great purpose for which God has appointed a ministry, which is the edification of the body of Christ (15v-22r). Briefly in a short paragraph, the doctrine is proved by adducing 2 Corinthians 12:19 and 1 Corinthians 14:26 and edification defined (16r).

Use I. The ministry is 1. necessary, 2. precious, 3. and the work of it great, and 4. therefore how carefully and cheerfully ministers should go about the work of the ministry. The main use Durham then makes of the doctrine is, that since Christ has given the Christian ministry for edification of His body, ministers should base all that they do on what may gain and further love for Christ, which he instances in 1. the doctrine which they teach (16v-18v), 2. the discipline they exercise (18v-19v), 3. their manner of life (19v-20r), and 4. and not only their general manner in all these, but in all the circumstances surrounding them (20r).

Use II. When he gets to the fourth instance just noted, Durham recasts it as a second use for exhortation (20r-21v), speaking 1. in general via some rules how to discern edifying matter, and 2. to some means to promote edification.

Use III. For conviction, how far ministers have failed in this doctrine (21v-22v).

Doctrine II. In reference to the scope, ministers should study and promote unity as a main part of edifying the body of Christ, which he instances 1. in the frame of their spirits, 2. in respect to their fellowship, 3. in their doctrine and discipline, and 4. asks his audience to consider the bitter end of their divisions (22v-24r).

Doctrine III. Durham links unity and edification, which relate to and infer each other (24r-28v). He briefly states the doctrine, waives

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*Puritans as They Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), p. 100. The puritan preacher would then adduce doctrines for which he would provide proofs or reasons, and then adduce uses or application of the doctrine of which there might be “use for exhortation”, “use for conviction”, etc. The standard text-book for puritan preaching was William Perkin’s *The Art of Prophesying* (Latin, 1592; English, 1606). Not all the various divisions are articulated at length, or demarcated in these MS. notes (doctrine 1, reason for doctrine 1, reason 2, etc).



stating a question and accessory matters, and dismissing what their division was not about, states plainly wherein their division consisted. It was whether this particular assembly or another was the rightly constituted one whose determinations should have been followed. He applies the doctrine to this question, maintaining the whole matter should be waived for the sake of unity and edification. Durham's refusal to take a side, he clears from the appearance of "lukewarmness". He clears this, 1. from the greater consequences that follow upon their continued division (24v), 2. because of the clear exhortations in scripture to avoid strife and contention (24v), 3. the consistent opposition to schism and division by fathers of the faith, counsels and the practice in the scriptures, and law of nature (25r).

Durham then continues by dealing particularly with what may promote edification and union, drawing some rules from two points with regard to their division. 1. If union is the necessary step to edification, as dissension and strife are the avenue that led to division, separation cannot be the remedy (25v). 2. Union must be attained by that which edifies, not by that which destroys. 3. Durham draws rules from the second point, 1. the destruction of one side or the other will not be for the edification of the Church. 2. No violent authoritative way will heal their division. 3. If edifying union is a necessity, then the kindest and quickest manner of healing is needed.

Question. The question is adduced and answered, wherein may they agree? He answers 1. as they have a difference of judgment, affection and practice, at least agree to not let things get worse. 2. Agree where they can, if they cannot have the same judgment, at least maintain affection and practice.

Objections. While he was not sanguine about the reception of his advice, Durham then addresses several questions that stood in the way of their union. It is questioned, shall they sin in order to have peace, by dismissing ordinances and papering over the controversy? This he answers in six considerations (27r-28r). He then answers two other questions together regarding practices which stood in the way of union, one side objecting that if they overlooked the question of the division, there would never be another assembly, and the other objecting, that if they overlooked faults, there would be no stemming of corruption (28r).

Durham closes the sermon with some words of direction to ministers and church members (28v-31r).