An Answer of Peace From The Lord: A Broadsheet by John Livingstone

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A printed broadsheet bound into a manuscript volume (NLS, MS 15948) in the National Library of Scotland gives no hint as to its origin, date, or author. Comparison with a very similar manuscript letter, however, which was eventually published by W.K. Tweedie in *Select Biographies* in the nineteenth century, indicates that the broadsheet is by the Covenanter minister John Livingstone (1603–1672).¹ The broadsheet is entitled, *An Answer of Peace from the Lord*, and in this article we give its text, collated with the manuscript letter printed by Tweedie, and discuss the significance and context of the letter and the broadsheet.

The manuscript letter printed by Tweedie is undated and is not addressed personally with terms such as 'Dear Friend'. It appears to have a more general audience in mind. There are several other letters written by Livingstone, including two to his parish of Ancrum, one at the time of his banishment from Scotland in 1663 and another before his death in 1671.² An Answer of Peace makes frequent mention of the storm that the Church in Scotland was passing through. Livingstone had anticipated this as soon as the restoration of Charles II was announced. As one of those sent to negotiate with Charles at Breda in 1649–50, he had formed a low view of the sincerity of the monarch.

¹ W.K. Tweedie (ed.), *Select biographies* (2 vols., Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1845–47), Vol. 1, pp. 274-276 (all references in this paper will be to Vol. 1). Tweedie identifies the manuscript from which the letter was taken as Wodrow MSS., Vol. ix. 8vo, No. 17. This can be located in the National Library of Scotland, Wodrow, Octavo, IX, f. 105. The catalogue states that it was a copy made c. 1713, presumably by Robert Wodrow, from a manuscript held by someone else. It has not been possible to access the manuscript at the time of writing because of Covid-19 restrictions.

² The letters are in Tweedie, pp. 225-254.

When, in the summer 1660, the word came of the king's being called home, I clearly foresaw there would be ane overturning of the whole work of reformation, and ane tryall to all that would adhere therto. In the year 1662, after that the parliament and councill had, by proclamation, ordered all ministers, who had come in since 1649, and had not kept their holy day of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelats or remove, I might weell foresee ane storme was coming. At the last communion we had at Ancrum, on the 12th of October, and which was more frequent than any before, after sermon on the Munday, it pleased the Lord I got my mouth opened in ane reasonable long discourse, anent the grounds and encouragement to suffering for the present controversies of the kingdome of Christ, in appointing the government of his house, and in ane manner took my leave, although I knew nothing what was then in hand, and followed shortly after.3 But on the 20th of November, I got letters from some friends in Edinburgh, that on the 18th of the moneth, the councill had ordered some twelve or sixteen ministers to be brought before them, wherof I was one. I went presently to Edinburgh, and keeped myself closs for some dayes, till I should in ane privat way search and get some notice what they were minded to doe; for if they should only proceed to banishment, as they had the year before done to Mr M'Ward and Mr Simsone, I resolved to appear.⁴

At his trial in Edinburgh on 11th December 1662, Livingstone was asked to sign an 'Oath of Alleadgeance, wherin the king was to be acknowledged supream governour over all persons, and in all causes, both civill and ecclesiasticall.' Refusing to do this, Livingstone was indeed banished, and departed for Holland in April 1663. His farewell letter to his congregation, mentioned above, was written from Leith on 3rd April. One of the main descriptions of a faithful true remnant in *An Answer of Peace* is that they are wrestlers, and this note is also present in the farewell letter:

my labour amongst you hath not been altogether in vain, but some hath given evidence of ane real work of the Spirit of grace upon their heart and life, of which number some are already in glory, and others wrestling through ane evil world; and I trust some that have not yet given great evidence of ane real work of the Spirit of God upon their heart may have the seed of God in them, that may in due time bud forth, at least at their death.⁶

³ The discourse is in Tweedie, pp. 207-212.

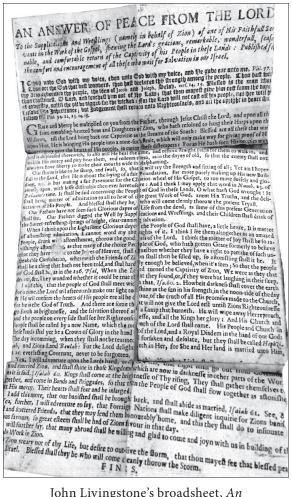
⁴ Ibid., p. 189.

⁵ The account of the trial is in Tweedie, pp. 215-221.

⁶ Ibid., p. 227.

An Answer of Peace also lays much stress on the return of the banished. Livingstone records that on his arrival in Holland he was met by those ministers who had already been exiled from Scotland: 'When I came to Rotterdam, I found before me the rest of the banished ministers, to witt, Mr Robert Traill, minister at Edinburgh, Mr Jo. Nevay, at Newmilnes, Mr Robert M'Ward, at Glasgow, Mr James Simpson, at Airth, Mr John Brown, at Wamfray, and Mr James Gardner, at Saddle.'

An Answer of Peace appears to be roughly contemporary with another undated letter of Livingstone's, written to a friend.⁸ This begins with the metaphor of a dark day and a storm of wrath, suggesting that the persecution had now grown in intensity.



John Livingstone's broadsheet, *An Answer of Peace From the Lord*.

Dear Friend, — This being a dismall time, wherein great wrath hath justly come forth from the Lord against us, he is provoked to cover the daughter of our Zion with a cloud, and turn the day of the gospell into a day of gloominess and darkness.

Later in the letter, Livingstone writes, 'O, to believe in the dark and stormy midnight, that the sun will comfortably rise to-morrow!' He counsels his friend to 'gather and lay up much, for ye know not how soon the time of famine may come, that will eat out the remembrance of your plentie, and tempt you to say that ye but dreamed it.' He also returns to emphasise strongly the duty of wrestling in prayer.

Be much in secret wrestling. Ah! how much am I affrayed that publick professors, and private professors, and societie professors, and kirk professors, and family professors, prove but painted sepulchres, for want of secreet wrestling,

⁷ Ibid., p. 192.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 264-274. It appears that Livingstone was writing to a baronet, but it is not clear who; possibly it was Balfour of Kinloch: 'Sir B., though ye were a lord of velvet'.

which is indeed the best prevailing way, and most free of muddie ingredients. Ay trail the verie deadned backdrawing heart before Him, and resolve to let it die among his feet, if he will but strengthen it to wrestle. O! but the noble Advocat maketh it clear in heaven, that this, even this, is a valiant wrestling.

Forget not to set apart some times, or keep those that are set apart. If our precious king Josias be killed in his ordinances, in the power and puritie of his gospell, it wel becometh all his friends to be frequent in Zecharie's mournings. Here are, indeed, the most destructive arms against the adversarie.

Perhaps the latter language implies that this was written after the Pentland Rising of 1666. Later in the letter he says, 'O be conquered and led captive by this love. Let it be your delight to be love's prisoners, that so ye may attain the most noble freedome in heaven or in earth.'

The language of what follows also seems to indicate that some years had passed since the ejection of the ministers in 1662, and that children are now growing up with only the preaching of the curates.

O what matter of mourning and bitter lamentation to see with thir eyes of ours the slaughtering execution of that dolefull threatning, John viii. 21. Alas! the glorious hedge is not only plucked up, and the carved worke cutted down, but also how many thousands of old ones rotting to dead in their ignorance, and none to cry them out of their dead-thraws, and how many thousand young ones hasting, and root-growing in black nature and profanitie, because there are none travelling in birth.

Clearly persecution and execution were very much under way. He speaks of how the 'reverend stepfathers of the Kirk...feed on or taste the venison of a converted soul to Christ among all their daintie dishes? ... How can they or their under-hunters catch that which is not their proper prey?'

But all that have half an eye open knowes that this hath been alwayes poor Scotland's plague of plagues during the time of the prelats' densie reigne, which will be most completely cured by praying, fasting, and mourning them down.

He emphasises the necessity of private meetings such as societies for such prayer and fasting. Referring to Malachi 3:16, he stresses the word 'then' at the beginning of the verse. The present time was very much a 'then' when they should speak often one to another. 'I have known two or three make a societie that have been instrumentall in converting some, and confirmed severall.'

Livingstone uses the analogy of a wife whose lawful husband is forcefully banished and taken for adultery, with the children also abused. Then the wife is forced to divorce the husband and submit to all obedience to the intruding adulterer.

I think I hear precious Zion a-begging at the door, all in ragges, and her vail torn, mourning out her complaint, Remember me, remember me: defloured, defloured, and dare not so much as crie to testifie my innocencie, under highest paines.

He also speaks of many who have turned from their former steadfastness as Covenanters. 'I am verie sure there is none of the friends of Christ that steps aside but they may hear the voice of their lovelie King crying after them, Will ye also leave me? How many have I seen that have ventured to loose but one buckle, that have found themselves upon a shooting brae or on an ycie hill.'9

An Answer of Peace expresses bright hopes for the future, perhaps even making certain predictions. It is interesting that the undated letter from which we have been quoting expresses some diffidence in speculating on timescales.

I will not force the faith of any to date the day of a deliverie from that day of the deepest sufferings of many of the Lord's people. But I am sure enough that the strength and standing of some (I say nothing here either of king, court, or councel) that verie time received a fatal blow, that hath made their strength and standing to pine away from day to day till now. And though they should put off for many dayes, it will be their dead at last.¹⁰

Livingstone identifies the present time as a period of chastisement for the people of God. He describes it under the metaphor of a serious disease. But though it is unclear as to how long this will last, it will not be fatal.

Is it not clear that a part of the kirk of Christ hath been wrestling under a great feaver, viz., Come, O physicians of value, consult and consider whether or not she hath goten a kyndlie cool, much blood and much sweating, and though there may be a relapse, yet not unto death, not unto death? Whether the Lord on a sudden will in his own time restore her wonted health, or let her dwine out of her disease; but after two dayes He will revive us, and we shall live in his sight. Though the vision tarry, yet wait for it, it shall not tarry. O, come, let us return, &c.¹¹

For all this, Livingstone foresees persecution only deepening and worsening. Although the metaphor is different, the sentiment is the same as the anticipation of a sharp storm in *An Answer of Peace*. 'It is true I fear a furnace seven times hoter, many drawing in an inundation and deluge of a storm from some other arth.' On his deathbed in 1672, Livingstone expressed similar

⁹ Ibid., p. 271. All the preceding quotations have been from this letter.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 271.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 272.

¹² Ibid., p. 272.

thoughts. 'There is a cloud, — I would not have people foretasting the worst, — yet there is a great storme comeing, but I hope it shall not bide long.' Yet he also anticipated a brighter future for the Church in saying, 'I die in the faith, that the truths of God which he hath helped the Church of Scotland to owne, shall be owned by him as truths so long as sun and moon endure.'

This companion letter from which we have been quoting seems to indicate that *An Answer of Peace* and the manuscript letter upon which it was based were certainly written towards the end of Livingstone's life. The Indulgence of 1669 is not explicitly identified in any of them, although referred to in Livingstone's 1671 letter to his parish. In that letter, there are a number of very forthright condemnations of the Indulgence. ¹⁵ Livingstone is prepared to do this because, although it is hard to expose errors freely without causing offence, his time is short. 'I am shortly to give account before him of my negotiation, I cannot decline what light I judge I have from him out of his Word anent present affairs, to open the same to you, as in his sight, in as great simplicity and ingenuity as I can.' ¹⁶ As in *An Answer of Peace*, he identifies repentance and wrestling prayer as the key remedies for the spiritual defection that Scotland has experienced.

Oh for the day when all of us, whether together or apart, without reflecting on any but our selves, might mourn the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon! I should look on that as Scotland's great delivery; yea, it is to be most earnestly sought from the Lord, and endeavoured that the whole bulk of the people, and even those who have carried on the defection, might get repentance; so should we be a greater wonder to the world of his matchless mercy, nor now we are of sudden and shameful apostacy. And many such wonders he can work if he please, and we may suppose will work, if there were wrestlers for such a blessing; but that also is his own gift. To him be all glory for ever.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., p. 291.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 290.

¹⁵ 'If any ministers have had a hand in contriving or procuring that indulgence, I suppose they have done more mischief to the poor Church of Christ in that land than all the prelats and all their hirelings; and if such an indulgence should be offered to, and accepted by, all the outed ministers of the land without a publick testimony, I would look upon it as the most dreadful presage that yet hath appeared of the Lord's totally forsaking of the land. It is not now Episcopacy and ceremonies that is the controversie, but whether Jesus Christ be King of his own Church, which he hath bought with his blood, or if the leviathan of the supremacy shall swallow up all.' Tweedie, p. 249.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 244.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 250-1.

The Rotterdam's Courant.

FRANCE.

Pavis, May 30. New Style,

Is Majeflier Journey heretofore for much talk'd of, is now certain, though it is faid to be fooner than formerly. His Majefly being expected at St Germain about the end of June, but whither that Journey is intended upon the 12 of July is not certainly known; fome day to Flunders, and others think it is to the Elfas and Strathwayh. Prince William of Funfenheavigh having fpent fome time with his Majefly, has taken his leave of the Court and is a going to the Land of Luyk. The Ambafflador of Savey did yesterday in a particular Audience, make known to the King, that the Duke his Master had now compleated the 14, Year of his age, and had undertaken the Government of that Countrey, under good hopes of being able to manage the fame under the enjoyment of the especial Favour and the Protection of his Majerty, and to that purpose fhould endeavour to acquire a good understanding and Correspondency with his Majefly, whereupon he received an answer of very Civil Terms, in relation to those affairs. FRANCE.

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GERMANY2.

Frague, May 22.

HIS Imperial Majethy is departed hence to Prandey, with a small retinue, with an intent to retire shortly to List, by reason of the contagious discates now prevalent in Bohomia, and from theace against the winter to Regensburgh, to accomplish the Deliberations of the Dirt, and to draw the same to a Conclusion, which Assembly harb continued for the space of three and Twenty years or upward. The young Count Serial hash had his first examination before the Court Canacellor, and being remanded to the White Tower, it is generally supposed that he is convicted over a treasonable Correspondence with Teckely, or more assured that he would be the standard that he cannot obtain the favour of his Imperial Majethy, is fully resolved to defend himself by Cours of Law, for which reason the number of his Committee, and the Ecaned in the Law are augmented.

Leadaway, May 23.

Monsieur de Monclar having the 21. instant passed through Stratubargh, is this day here. Arrived, accompanied with many Troopt, which gives no small suspition to these parts, as also the neighbouring Countreys, being prepetually under Alarm at the Marches & Counter Marches of the French, each expecting the first failur!; These of Stratburgh, Philipsburgh, Spier & Worms, being in great emulation who should best understand the privacy of the French Designs: One makes it our that it is for Stratburgh against the Imperial Territories, another for Philipsburgh against Frankelant. a third to fortiff Worms and Spieler, and for make the Rhyne a boundary Limit & Landamark.

Regensburgh, May 23.

The Confolt on that Point, concerning the Mint continues fill, and proves a great Let to other things of Moment, and of like Weight; Though 'tis hop'd that, we flull hear of a fpeedy determination of the fame, and after a full debate of it and other affairs, to conclude the Diet with fecurity of the Kingdome,

Bafil May 23.

Kingdome.

Bafil, May 25.

Although we dayly fee the mighty preparations of the Freuch, for War, and other great defigns, yet are we not able to give any firmer advice than only what we guefs, and without any certainty conjecture, while they fpeak wery diverily among themselves; and by reason it is sobidden to Mow any Grafs, near Hunningen, it is thence supposed that an Army is shortly to come thinter, and that three Regiments of Horse are already dispatching thinter by Saint Maries. The Poll between Bafil and Stratsburgh is now totally interrupted, and the Stages removed to the East side of the Rhine, by reason the French do pretend that the Letters should go through their hands at Brisac & Hunningen, and be taxed, which hath bugely advanced the Poll-mony. Frankfard, May 26.

Count Startenburgh, Commander of Philipsburgh, hath signified to the Earl of Hobanishs the Emperous Commissioners in affisiance of the Assembly of Philipsburgh is in, and consequently make prevention of Philipsburgh what danger that the Fortress of Philipsburgh is in, and consequently what preparation the French bath made, and were already in the Martch, with an intent to encamp him from Hunningen to Wernshap, with an Army of 3000 Men, in 6 much that the strengthening of Philipsburgh with a considerable assistance of Men and other requisites was to be desired, and that withal speed imaginable, that in case of Attacque the might be able to defend himself so long till he were better supplied by the Emperous and the Diet, or otherwise it were to be feared that the French might send other requisites was to be desired, and that withal speed imaginable, that in case of Attacque the might be able to defend himself so long till he were better supplied by the Emperous and the Diet, or otherwise it were to be feared that the French might send other to the Diet at Regenshungh in behalf of the Earl-dome of Manpelgarase, by way of complaint, at the proceedings of the French, in like manner the Duke of Saxony, hatigiven notice to the Rizersshungh in th

tion might be made hereupon. We have haddle from the Palatinate, that Monfieur Astacilar had atheady begun to threaten to take away the new Gify upon the Haars by force, unlefs the Count Palatine do speech y evacuate the Callle of Falescoburgh and

deliver is up to the French.

Straubargh, May 77.

The Fresch flying Leager, under the command of Monitor: Monitor that floor, and an about Landauwa and there to remain the whole Summer in Camp. The fame being to confine of coco thorite, and 4,000 infantry. It is also very frequently reported, that the French are purposed to fee a Gartifon, at Frenchedate and Eulephargh, and to fortific University of the Monitor of the American and Spiers, and that a Convoy with form Artillery has lately pall through Evolution and Landauw.

The Bithop of Mets is here and Three Thousand French arrived at Landauwi. The affairs of Postport, May 247.

The Bithop of Mets is here and Three Thousand French arrived at Landauwi. The affairs of Postport of the American Confice of Undontyna, to have appendency bin Crean Wrystebiang 8, in reference to a Soluble Revenue of 5000, Gillers, which furn they are willing to fet against from pertended Contributions. The French have furnmoned the Bithop of Dupons to appear within 12 days at Meter, and thow his Title and Polletion of the Fort at Liebensbergh, & the appurements thereof, or in default of the faine thall be annexed and incorporated to the Bithoptic of Fredum, Howbeit the faid Cattle with its appuremented she feel of the Flatatinate. In like manner a Mellinger of the French by vertue of a Commillion, has h furnmoned all the feveral Fortiburions, upon pain of Military Execution, for which purpose the Opense Regiment refless at Hembergh, which places befides St. John by Sirvey, See Jeanily, and more other places are very frongly fortified.

We prove the Magdine at Philippingh, for hard Court Holewille Medical and the Holewille delivered before this City. The Earl of Waldeck having now about 1st days made use of the Warm batto Wilshaden, with expecting function, but the was the result of the Magdine at Theilippingh, for find Court House the Signer, and for the public good, would convey the fame Corn from Wrisz-burgh, and delivered before this City. The Earl of Waldeck having now about 1st

after, Touching the health of his Excellency, time will show. Letters from Vienna do inform us, that within the Circuit of 10 or 12 millies there is no Petillence at all, but in most of the principal Quarters, of the Imperial Landships, is dayly breaking forth. At Mentz is seen frequently a French Commistry General with a train of divers People, whole affires are by many very Cursoully enquired after.

rioufly enquired after.

LOW-COUNTREYS.

Hague, June 7.

THE States of Helland on Saturday laft broke up their Affembly, and Their Highneffes the Prince and Princes of Orange are departed hence, towards Dierea, and from thence further, and foo no Breda, fo that here is not any thing worthy of note. The Kings Yatch that is now in the Mafe to attend Collonel Sidney the English Envoy, is to depart within 20 r 3 dayes. Our last Letters, make mention that His Majeffly of Great Brittante is happily reflored to his former health having had aft of an Ague. This week The States do intend a final Refolution in reference to the Memorial lately delivered them by the Spanish Eveny, reprefenting that the Bariet; that was offered by the King of France was more mainly to the states of the Arbitration. The Papilis at Raffidible having a while ago committed form Infolencies, and made opposition against the Julities; fohave the States given Order to the University of the States with the States given Order to the University of the States what Ornames of the Eand, without he leaft Connivancy; And that the faid Schout thould conflicate the Popifh-Church, and place the Archievment of the Generality upon the Dor; and give an account to the States what Ornames were found in the Baid Church, with a Brief Change to follow those proceedings already begon without any loss of time, against all those who had embolished themselves to make a Collection for the Prieft.

The diffual accident that befell the Paffor Meter on Afenigendary in the Kniet of States what Ornames are danger of being drowned, befides g other persons, which where all that were faved of 5, and that, 48/slinife, was the day following taken up, who was one of the 5 that were drowned; yet this we may prefent to the curious as any, that this Morning the eldest so on the aforestial Minister is taken up near Delfi-baurn, which its probable might have been fononer taken up, sa also his Daughter, had into been such trubillem weather when they were lost. This Evening is to be interr

Rosserdam, Printed by Goddaus, June 7. N. Style, 1680. & Reprinted at London by B. Harris at the Royal-Exchange

The Rotterdam's Courant (1680), probably printed by Henry Goddaeus.

The godly remnant had a vital role according to Livingstone: 'a few wrestlers may help to keep God in the land, he is not willing to depart, if any will but hold him. Seek repentance to the land and yourselves, stability to those that stand, recovery to such as have slidden or fallen.'18

The published 1671 letter was printed by Henry Goddaeus as *A Letter*, Written By That Famous And Faithful Minister Of Christ Mr John Livingstoun, Unto His Parishoners Of Ancram In Scotland, Dated Rotterdam October 7. 1671. It is almost certain that An Answer of Peace would have been produced by the same Rotterdam printer. The typography is neat, clear, and well laid out. All the fonts used bear significant similarity to another broadsheet that Goddaeus seems to have printed, The Rotterdam's Courant of 1680. There are unusual features of the text that seem to indicate an origin beyond the

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 243-4.

¹⁹ See D.W.B. Somerset, 'Scottish covenanting, Jesuit, and Quaker printing in Holland, 1664– 1684', Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal, Vol. 10 (2020), pp. 82-113 (p. 97).

bounds of Scotland. For instance, the divine pronoun is uniformly capitalised in *An Answer of Peace* which is rather unusual for seventeenth-century Scots publications. The contraction 'it's' has an apostrophe uniformly which is likewise an unusual aspect of printed texts of the period.

An Answer of Peace also reflects much of the language of Isaiah 60, a passage from which Livingstone had preached thirty-nine sermons in 1661.²⁰ The manuscript of these sermons is in a fair copy that was either intended for private circulation or prepared for the press. The sermons have been given the title, 'The Gold and Growth of the New Testament Saints and Service', and the collection runs to 313 pages. The subtitle of the collection summarises many of the themes of these sermons: 'what light & darknes is, The morning of the gentiles, The increase, furniture, strength, privileges, protection, comforts, blessedness, beauty, excellency and glory of the Church of Christ, under the gospel, the covenant of works, & the covenant of grace, the wicked & the godly, with variety of suitable, sweet similitudes, rare, and ravishing instructions, plaine, useful, necessary, pathetick & piercing reflections upon the tymes, sharpened with the word, & pointed with the oath of the living God, with many pious, pertinent, & practicall applications, in unfolding that Gospell & Glory like chap Isaiah 60...'

It seems very likely that, beginning in the period after the Restoration, and in the month that the Act Rescissory was passed, many applications would be drawn in relation to the experiences through which the Church of Scotland was passing. In the first sermon Livingstone says:

many a tyme the Lord is exceedinglie displeased at the heartless disposition of his owne, repentance is one thinge & discouragement is another, & verily if yee will observe whenever the Lord is calling to repentance, Satan is ready to doe one of 2 things, either to obdure with dulnes, or otherwayes they are ready to wearie themselves, & the worke of God by discouragements; there is some degree of heartiness required in the saddest condition; that any of the Lords owne can be in.

He goes on to counsel 'confidence in the Lords help', therefore 'they should not be afraid' since 'he can guide them & bring them well throw'. He cites the verse, 'when I sit in darknes the Lord shall be a light unto me' (Micah 7:8),²¹ and then continues:

let all them that trust in God, plucke up their hearts, what if yee should see as great disolation as ever was, what if popery should spread throw the land for

²⁰ Wodrow, Quarto, LXVII. The first sermon is dated 'first sabbath march 1661'.

 $^{^{\}rm 21}$ 'The Gold and Growth of the New Testament Saints and Service', Wod. Qu. LXVII, p. 2.

a while, what if these who are enemies in their hearts to the worke & people of God prevaile for a tyme, its like your bibles should be taken from you, therefore make much of them, make good use of them while you have them, leist yee be made to know the worth of them in the want of them...But if such a thinge be that for a while the Lord suffer throw Europe that blacknes of darknes goe throw for a tyme, yet let them who have received comfort from the word of God, let them not be discouraged but arise, even then, & raise up the hearts with expectation that the Lord can send a remedy.²²

The manuscript letter upon which *An Answer of Peace* is based differs from the printed text. While some of the variations may owe to the process of copying from the original or preparing it for the press, there are some significant differences. One crucial difference is the following passage:

yet the Lord will arise for his poor contemned covenanted partie in these lands, and their afflicters shall be made to acknowledge them to be the only godlie partie, whom now they call hypocrites and treasonable persons, when his people hes bidden the furnace, as in Dan. iii. 28, that the heathen king must cry out, 'Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god except their own God.' And as Daniel was delivered out of the lyons' [den,] his God is magnified.

It is possible that these indirect reflections on Charles II and comparisons with a heathen king were considered unwise in the published version. Alternatively, and less likely, perhaps it was necessary to economise on space for a one-side broadsheet.

Broadsheets were commonly ballads, newspapers, royal proclamations, and published official letters. It is unusual to come across surviving published letters or similar publications of a spiritual character. Such did exist. We know that in 1665 Richard Baxter published a broadsheet to counsel, comfort, and instruct plague victims, who were to put it on their wall to read, *Short instructions for the sick: Especially who by contagion, or otherwise, are deprived of the presence of a faithfull pastor* (London, 1665). Another broadsheet alluding to the issue of the imposition of the Book of Common Prayer is by W.S., *A Manifestation of prayer in formality, and prayer in the spirit of God* (London, 1663). There is, however, scarcely a trace of material with a Scottish connection or origin. No doubt other covenanting broadsheets were published during this period and smuggled into Scotland,

²² Ibid., p. 3.

but they do not appear to have survived; perhaps the number of items printed was significantly smaller. Presumably many broadsheets also perished through being single pieces of paper exposed to damp conditions.

An Answer of Peace gives an indication of the ways in which Covenanters were encouraging themselves in the period between the Pentland Rising and the burst of conventicling that took place across southern Scotland in the 1670s. Its theme of enduring a storm would be prominent in the sermons of the 1680s in preachers such as Alexander Peden and James Renwick. The spirit with which it closes was also, however, one that was prominent in other parts of the Covenanting movement as the following anecdote shows.

In the year 1685 or 1686, Mr Samuel Arnot dyed at Edinburgh, after all the persecutions and sufferings he had gone throu since Pentland, in much peace and joy. Ther was generally much company came and sau him on his deathbed; among others, Mr James Rouat, Minister at Kilmarnock before the Restauration, came in to see him, and, among other things, he asked Mr Arnot if he had any hopes the Church of Scotland would get out from under this dark cloud she was under for twenty-five year, or therby? The other answered he had, and he was assured she would. 'Yea,' added he, 'I knou more, and that is, that you shall live to see and partake of the Church's delivery!' And so it came about. Mr Rouat lived till the 1690, or a year, it may be, later or two, and sau the great work of God at the Revolution...Amongst other present, when this was spoken, that good woman, Mrs Durham, relict of Mr Zachary Boyd, and Mr James Durham, was there, and she got up, and said to Mr Rouat, 'Mr James, I am younger then [you,] I hope I shall see the day of delivery as well as you'; and she danced and skipped for joy; and so it came about.²³



AN ANSWER OF PEACE FROM THE LORD

To the Supplications and Wrestlings (namely in behalf of Zion) of one of His Faithfull Servants in the Work of the Gospel, shewing the Lord's gracious, remarkable, wonderfull, seasonable, and comfortable return of the Captivity of his People in these lands: Published for the comfort and encouragement of all these who wait for Salvation in our Israel.

Cryed unto God with my voice, even unto God with my voice, and He gave ear unto me, Psal. 77.1. Thou art the God that dost wonders, thou hast declared thy strength among the people. Thou hast with thy arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph, Selah. vers, 14, 15. Blessed is the man whom

²³ Robert Wodrow, *Analecta* (4 vols., Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1842–43), Vol. 4, p. 285.

thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him out of the Law; that thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked: for the Lord will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake His Inheritance; but Judgement shall return unto Righteousness, and all the upright in heart shall follow it, Psal. 94.12, 13, 14, 15.²⁴

Race and Mercy be multiplied on you from the Father, through Jesus Christ the Lord, and upon all the faint trembling-hearted Sons and Daughters of Zion, who hath resolved to hang their Harps on 25 the Willows, till the Lord bring back our 26 Captivitie as the streams of the South: Blessed are 27 these that wait upon Him. He is bringing His people into a none-such strait, which will only make way for giving proof of His Soveraignty over the hearts of His people, in curing these 28 distempers: For as He 29 hath seen His peoples way and is displeased therewith, so also will He heal the same, and restore straight paths for them to walk in, and will in His mercy and pity bear 30 them, and redeem them, as in the dayes of old, so that 31 the enemy shall not alwayes have liberty to make their mouths wide in blaspheming.

Our storm is like to be sharp, and swell, so that it will try the strength and fitting³² of all; Yet am I hopefull in the Lord, that He is³³ about the laying of a fair Foundation, for more purely³⁴ making up His³⁵ new Building, and is but making³⁶ a fair Pavement for the Chariot-wheel of His Gospel, to run more swiftly and gloriously upon, with lesse difficultie then ever heretofore: And I think I may apply that word in *Numb.* 23. of *Balaam's* time. It shall be said concerning the People of God in these Lands, O what hath God wrought! It shall bring matter of admiration to all to³⁷ hear of the great Work of God, anent His Truths, and the deliverances of His People. And blessed shall they be, who will³⁸ come cleanly thorow the present Tryall.

Our Fathers have³⁹ not seen such Glorious dayes of Life from the dead, as some of this present⁴⁰ Generation shall see. Our Fathers digged the Well by Supplications and Wrestlings, and their Children shall drink of the Sweet refreshing-springs of bright, clear-running salvation.

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<sup>24</sup> MS. omits all this text.
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²⁵ MS. reads 'upon' not 'on'.

²⁶ MS. reads 'your' not 'our'.

²⁷ MS. inserts 'all'.

²⁸ MS. reads 'their' not 'these'. 'Thir' is older Scots for 'these'.

²⁹ MS. inserts: 'hes evidenced that'.

³⁰ MS. transcription query: 'hear' or 'bear'?

³¹ MS. reads 'that so'.

³² MS. Omits 'strength' and reads 'footing' rather than 'fitting'.

³³ MS. inserts 'but'.

³⁴ MS. reads 'presently' not 'purely'.

³⁵ MS. reads 'the' not 'his'.

³⁶ MS. reads 'laying' not 'making'.

³⁷ MS. reads 'that not to'.

³⁸ MS. reads 'shall'.

³⁹ MS. reads 'hes'.

⁴⁰ MS. omits 'present'.

When I think upon the Lightsome Glorious⁴¹ dayes the People of God shall have, a little hence, It is matter of astonishing admiration, I cannot word my thoughts of it, I think I see them altogether as an amazed People, drunk with astonishment, thorow the goodness of the Lord. I think the matter of Joy shall be so ravishingly astonishing, as that⁴² many of the choice People of God, who hath gotten Grace formerly to believe that they have a right to the Joyes of Heaven, shall question whether they have a right to partake of such unspeakable Consolation, wherewith the Friends of Zion shall then be filled up,⁴³ so astonishing shall it be.⁴⁴ It shall be a thing that hath not been told, and shal hardly enough be believed, when it's⁴⁵ seen; So that the people of God shall be, as in the 126 *Psal*, When the Lord turned the Captivity of Zion, We were as they that dream, &c. They wondred whether it could be true that they found, or, if they were but laughing in their sleep.⁴⁶

I add this, that the people of God shall meet with that, *Isa*. 60.2.⁴⁷ Howbeit darkness shall cover the earth for a time, the Lord wil afterwards make our light to shine as the sun in his strength, in the noon-tide of the day & He wil confirm the hearts of His people ere all be done, of the truth of all His promises made to the Church, for he is the God of Truth. And there are some that will not give the Lord rest until Zions Righteousnesse go forth as brightnesse, and the salvation thereof as a Lamp that burneth. He will wipe away Her reproach, and the people on every side shall see her Righteousnesse, and all the Kings her glory: And His Church and People shall be called by a new Name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name. His People and Church in these lands shall yet be a Crown of Glory in the hand of the Lord, and a Royal Diadem in the hand of our God: The day is comming, when they shall not be tearmed forsaken and desolate, but they shall be called *Hephzibah*, and Zions Land *Beulah*: For the Lord delighteth in Her, for She and Her land is married unto Him, in an everlasting Covenant, never to be forgotten.⁴⁸

Yea, I will adventure upon the Lords hand⁴⁹, to [speak?] this also, that Light shall go out from Covenanted and married Zion, and shall shine in those Kingdoms which are now in darknesse in other parts of the World⁵⁰ as it is said, *Isaiah* 60. Kings shall come at the brightnesse of Thy rising, They shall gather themselves to-

⁴¹ MS. reads 'glorious lightsome'.

⁴² MS. omits 'that'.

⁴³ MS. omits 'up' and ends the sentence.

⁴⁴ MS. has comma instead of full stop.

⁴⁵ MS. omits 'it's'.

⁴⁶ MS. reads: 'when the Lord turned their captivitie, they wondered whether it could be true that they found, or if they were but laughing; in their sleive [fn. The word 'sleep' is written over the word 'sleive'.]'

⁴⁷ MS. reads 'Isa lxii'.

⁴⁸ MS. reads 'yet the Lord will arise for his poor contemned covenanted partie in these lands, and their afflicters shall be made to acknowledge them to be the only godlie partie, whom now they call hypocrites and treasonable persons, when his people hes bidden the furnace, as in Dan. iii. 28, that the heathen king must cry out, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god except their own God." And as Daniel was delivered out of the lyons' [den,] his God is magnified'.

⁴⁹ MS. omits 'upon the Lords hand'.

⁵⁰ MS. reads 'shall shine on this kingdom now in darkness'.

gether, and come in Bands and Briggades, so that then the People of God shall low⁵¹ together as astonished at His mercy, Their hearts shall fear and be inlarged.

I add this more, that our banished shall be brought back, and shall abide as married, *Isaiah* 61. See, &c. ⁵² Yea, further, I will adventure ⁵³ to say, that Forraign Nations shall make diligent inquirie for Zions banished and scattered Friends, that they may send the honourably home, and this they shall do to insinuate in Zions favours, ⁵⁴ so great esteem shall be had of Zions favour in ⁵⁵ that day.

I will further say, that many abroad shall be willing and glad 56 to come and joyn with us in building of the Lords Work in Zion. 57

O Zion weary not of the⁵⁸ Life, but desire to out-live the storm, that thou mayest see that blessed peace upon Israel. Blessed shall they be who will come cleanly thorow the Storm.

FINIS.

⁵¹ MS. reads '[gather]'.

⁵² MS. reads 'Isa. lxii'.

⁵³ MS. adds 'upon the Lord's hand'.

⁵⁴ MS. reads 'favor'.

⁵⁵ MS. omits 'in'.

⁵⁶ MS. reads 'blyth'.

⁵⁷ MS. reads 'the Lord's work of reformation'.

⁵⁸ MS. reads 'thy'.