
David Dickson: A Provisional Bibliography

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David Dickson (c. 1583-1662) was one of the most significant ministers and theologians of the Second Reformation. He taught theology at both Edinburgh and Glasgow universities and was the first to produce a commentary on the Westminster Confession.¹ He also produced and inspired many commentaries on Scripture. He had a leading role in the events surrounding the signing of the National Covenant in 1638 and the Glasgow Assembly. John Livingstone describes him as

a man singularly gifted with an edifying way of preaching, and whose painfull labours were eminently blessed with success ... He made great help at the Reformation 1638, and thereafter some books, printed both in Latine and English, declare in part what a man he was.²

Robert Wodrow reports that Livingstone was once asked ‘whom he took to be the greatest Gospell Minister in all Scotland ... He said he thought Mr Dickson was the greatest he ever knew.’³ Dickson was a prolific author but it does not seem that a full list has been collected of his published and unpublished writings.⁴ This present list, necessarily provisional, does not attempt to record subsequent editions of his published works.

I. Published Writings

1. ‘Sacram hanc Sacrilegii confutationem’ (three short Latin poems), in James Sempil, *Sacrilege Sacredly Handled* (London, 1619), A2r-A3 (second set).

¹ ‘Caputi confessionis fidei de Scriptura continet articulos decem assertiones 33 theses controversas’, translated by George Sinclair and published as *Truths victory over error* (Edinburgh, 1684). It was reprinted on various occasions and is currently published by the Banner of Truth Trust.

² W.K. Tweedie, *Select Biographies* (2 vols., Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845-47), Vol. 1, pp. 316, 319.

³ Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or materials for a history of remarkable providences mostly relating to Scotch ministers and Christians* (4 volumes, Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-43), Vol. 3, pp. 8-9.

⁴ Appendix 2 of Nathan D. Holsteen’s thesis helpfully shows the location of many of the early editions of Dickson’s published writings. ‘The popularization of federal theology: conscience and covenant in the theology of David Dickson (1583-1663) and James Durham (1622-1658)’ (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1996).

2. *Declinature to the Court of High Commission* (1622), contained in William Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of The State And Government of The Kirk Of Scotland Since The Reformation* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1846), pp. 303-4.
3. *A Treatise of the Promises* (Dublin, 1630).⁵
4. *True Christian love to bee sung with any of the common tunes of the Psalmes* (Glasgow: Printed by I.W. for Iohn Wilson and are to be sould at his shop in Glasgow, 1634).
5. *A short explanation, of the epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes. By David Dickson, preacher of Gods Word, at Irwin* (Aberdeen: Edward Raban, 1635).
6. *Expositio analytica omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum, seu, Brevis introductio ad pleniores commentarios in vsum studiosorum theologiae operâ Davidis Dicsoni* (Glasgae: Excudebat Georgius Andersonus, 1645).
7. *A brief exposition of the evangel of Jesus Christ according to Matthew by David Dickson* (London: Printed for Ralph Smith, 1647).
8. *A brief explication of the first fifty Psalmes by David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in the colledge of Edenburgh. Imprimatur, Edmund Calamy, Nov. 15. 1652* (London: T.M. for Ralph Smith, at the Bible in Cornhill, neer the Royal Exchange, 1653).
9. *A brief explication of the other fifty Psalmes, from Ps. 50 to Ps. 100 by David Dickson* (London: Printed by T.R. and E.M. for Ralph Smith, 1653).
10. *A brief explication of the last fifty psalmes, from Ps. 100. to the end by David Dickson* (London: Printed by T.R. and E.M. for Joseph Cranford, 1654).
11. *Therapeutica sacra, seu, De curandis casibus conscientiae circa regenerationem, per foederum divinatorum prudentem applicationem. Authore Davide Dicsono SS. Theologiae Professore in Academia Edinburgena. Libri tres* (Londini: Impensis Societatis Stationariorum, 1656).
12. *An exposition of all St. Pauls epistles together with an explanation of those other epistles of the apostles St. James, Peter, John & Jude: wherein the sense of every chapter and verse is analytically unfolded and the text enlightened* (London: Printed by R.I. for Francis Eglesfield, 1659).

II. Posthumous Publications

13. *Therapeutica sacra shewing briefly the method of healing the diseases of the conscience, concerning regeneration written first in Latine by David Dickson; and thereafter translated by him* (Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1664).
14. *The True Comfort of a Christian, or Food for a distressed Soul* (Edinburgh, 1673).⁶

⁵ This publication was identified by Wodrow in 1726 but now seems impossible to trace. See Wodrow's biographical preface, dated 5th January 1726, in various eighteenth-century editions of *Truth's Victory over Error*, and partly included in *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, pp. 5-15 (p. 14). From the preface to item 5, it would appear that this was a pirate publication.

⁶ For a recent discussion and transcription of this, see Carol Williams, 'The True Comfort of a Christian, or Food for a Distressed Soul: David Dickson's Overlooked Work', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, Vol. 9 (2007), pp. 173-210.

15. *Honey Drops, or Chrystal Streams, Containing A Bundle of precious promises, full of Soul-ravishing comforts, purchased by CHRIST, and belonging to Beleevers in the Estate of Grace*, published in William Geddes, *The saints recreation, third part, upon the estate of grace containing and methodicially [sic] delineating a Christians progress, priviledges, comforts and duties, beginning at conversion* (Edinburgh, 1683), pp. 59-72.⁷
16. *Truths victory over error, or, An abridgement of the chief controversies in religion which since the apostles days to this time, have been, and are in agitation, between those of the Orthodox faith, and all adversaries whatsoever, a list of whose names are set down after the epistle to the reader: wherein, by going through all the chapters of The confession of faith, one by one, and propounding out of them, by way of question, all the controverted assertions, and answering by yes, or no, there is a clear confirmation of the truth, and an evident confutation of what tenets and opinions, are maintain'd by the adversaries : a treatise, most useful for all persons, who desire to be instructed in the true Protestant religion, who would shun in these last days, and perillous times, the infection of errors and heresies, and all dangerous tenets and opinions, contrary to the word of God* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1684).⁸
17. 'Speech against Arminianism', General Assembly 1638.⁹
18. Acrostic poem on his name, published in *Select Biographies*, Vol. 1, pp. 319-320.
19. *An exposition of the tenth chapter of Job*, preached at Irvine 1635. Published in *Select Practical Writings of David Dickson, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: Free Church of Scotland, 1845), pp. 1-75 (no further volume was published). For the manuscript copy, see New College, MS DIC.

The following five sermons are from David Dickson's manuscript sermon-notebook in New College, MS DIC, and were published in *Select Practical Writings of David Dickson, Vol. 1*, pp. 76-197.¹⁰ They were preached at Irvine, beginning on 10th October 1635.

20. At a humiliation before the communion (Zeph. 3:1-2).
21. For preparation to the communion (2 Tim. 2:19).
22. On the first communion Sabbath (Is. 52:13-15).

⁷ This poem is included in several eighteenth-century editions of *True Christian Love*, e.g. (Glasgow, 1764 and 1772). Geddes does not attribute it to Dickson, but perhaps publishing material by Dickson at that time would have been regarded as seditious. For an account of Geddes' peculiar volume, with its four variant issues, see N.F. Nash, 'A case of declining patronage: William Geddes's *The Saints Recreation* of 1683', *The Bibliothek*, Vol. 11 (1982-83), pp. 59-72.

⁸ This work was published by George Sinclair (d. 1696) who claimed it as his own. Sinclair's motive in this is uncertain, but see the comment in the previous footnote.

⁹ Published in Alexander Peterkin (ed.), *Records of the Kirk of Scotland: containing the acts and proceedings of the General Assemblies, from the year 1638 downwards, as authenticated by the Clerks of Assembly, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh, 1838), pp. 156-159 (no further volume was published).

¹⁰ They were most recently re-published in C. Coldwell (ed.), *Anthology of Presbyterian and Reformed Literature, Vol. 5* (Naphthali Press, 1992), pp. 294-328.

23. On the Monday for direction (Is. 41:14-15).
24. On the second Sabbath for the communion (Phil. 3:7-8).
25. On the Monday following the communion (Phil. 3:11-12).

III. Co-Authored Publications

26. With Alexander Henderson, *The ansvveres of some brethren of the ministerie, to the replyes of the ministers and professours of divinitie in Aberdene concerning the late covenant* (Aberdeen: Edward Raban, 1638).
27. With Alexander Henderson and David Calderwood, *Directory of Public Worship* (1643).¹¹
28. With James Durham, *A breef Sum of Christian Doctrine, contained in Holy Scripture, and Holden Forth in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and Received by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland* [commonly known as *The Sum of Saving Knowledge*]; included in *The confession of faith, and the larger and shorter catechisme first agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And now approved by the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to be a part of uniformity in religion between the kirks of Christ in the three kingdomes* (Edinburgh: printed by Gedeon Lithgow printer to the University of Edinburgh, 1650), pp. 255-308.
29. *Reasons vvhy the ministers, elders, and professors, who protested against the pretended assemblies at St, Andrews, Dundee, and Edinburgh, cannot agree to the overtures made unto them at the conference upon the 28 and 29 of July, 1652: together with the instructions given by them to such of the number as were sent to the said conference: and the letter directed to Mr David Dickson, for communicating their papers* (Leith: Evan Tyler, 1652).
30. With George Hutcheson, 'Letter to the reader', in *A brief exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians. By James Fergusson, minister at Kilwinning* (London: Company of Stationers, 1656).
31. With George Hutcheson, 'Letter to the Reader', in *A brief exposition of the First and Second Epistles General of Peter. By Alexander Nisbet* (London: Company of Stationers, 1658).

The remaining items in this list, down to no. 80, were printed in W. Stephen (ed.), *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh and Some Other Brethren of the Ministry: 1652-1660* (2 vols., Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1921-1930). The page-numbers refer to these volumes.

32. With Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, and George Hutcheson, 'A Letter to Mr Jo: Liviston [John Livingstone]', 2nd December 1654, Vol. 1, pp. 87-89.
33. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'A Letter to the L. Broghill, President of the Councill', Edinburgh, 30th January 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 184-187.

¹¹ See Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 349, 368.

34. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, and James Sharp, 'A Letter to the Lord President after the said meeting was dissolved', Edinburgh, 23rd February 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 198-201.
35. With Robert Douglas and James Wood, Instructions to Mr James Sharp, August 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 204-210.
36. With Robert Douglas and James Wood, 'Letter to the Lord Broghill, President of the Councill', 23rd August 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 210-212.
37. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Mr Ja. Sharp concerning the Fast', Edinburgh, October 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 215-217.
38. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter for Lord Broghill', Edinburgh, 21st October 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 218-220.
39. With Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Mr J. Sharp', Edinburgh, 21st October 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 220-222.
40. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', Edinburgh, 25th October 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 224-228.
41. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Generall Munk', Edinburgh, 29th October 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 230-231.
42. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, James Hamiltoun, George Hutcheson, and John Smith, 'Letter to Mr Calamy and Mr Ash', Edinburgh, 2nd December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 232-239.
43. With Robert Douglas and James Wood, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', Edinburgh, 2nd December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 240-245.
44. 'Letter to Mr Desborough', Edinburgh, 2nd December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 245-246.
45. With Robert Douglas and James Wood, 'Letter to Collonell Wetham', Edinburgh, 2nd December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 246-248.
46. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, Mungo Law, James Hamilton, Hugh Mackail, George Hutcheson, and Thomas Garven, 'Instructions for our Reverend Brother, Mr James Sharp, in reference to any who are already at London or shall be sent up from our dissenting Brethren', 24th December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 248-255.
47. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Colonel Wetham', Edinburgh, 24th December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 255-256.
48. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Colonell Lockart', Edinburgh, 24th December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 257-259.
49. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, James Hamilton, and George Hutcheson 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', Edinburgh, 25th December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 259-262.
50. With Robert Douglas and James Wood, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', Edinburgh, 25th December 1656, Vol. 1, pp. 262-265.
51. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', Edinburgh, 3rd January 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 265-268.

52. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, Hugh Mackail, George Hutcheson, and Thomas Garven, 'Letter to Mr Sharp', Edinburgh, 6th January 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 268-271.
53. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to the Lord Generall Munck', Edinburgh, 19th January 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 271-272.
54. With Robert Douglas, George Hutcheson, and John Smith, 'Letter to Mr Sharp', Edinburgh, 20th January 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 273-276.
55. With Robert Douglas, Mungo Law, George Hutcheson, John Robertson, James Hamilton, and John Smith, 'Letter to Mr Manton', 22nd January 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 276-280.
56. With Robert Douglas, Mungo Law, George Hutcheson, and John Smith, 'Letter to Messrs. Calamy and Mr Ash', Edinburgh, 3rd February 1657, Vol. 1, pp. 340-348.
57. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 7th March 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 18-19.
58. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', 12th March 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 19-20.
59. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 9th April 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 34-35.
60. With Robert Douglas, James Hamiltoun, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Messrs. Calamy and Mr Ash', Edinburgh, 27th April 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 38-39.
61. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Mr Gillespie', Edinburgh, 21st July 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 45-46.
62. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 27th July 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 53-54.
63. With Robert Douglas and John Smith, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 1st August 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 60-61.
64. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', 4th August 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 62-63.
65. With Robert Douglas, John Smith, James Hamiltoun, George Hutcheson, Mungo Law, Robert Lawrie, and Hugh McKaile, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 4th August 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 65-66.
66. With Robert Douglas, Mungo Law, and Hugh McKaile, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 11th August 1657, Vol. 2, p. 86.
67. With Robert Douglas, John Smith, James Hamiltoun, George Hutcheson, Mungo Law, Robert Lawrie, Hugh McKaile, and Thomas Garven, 'Letter to M. Godfrey, M. Cooper and M. Manton', 5th September 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 113-114.
68. With Robert Douglas, John Smith, James Hamiltoun, James Wood, Mungo Law, and Robert Lawrie, 'Letter to Mr James Sharp', 17th September 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 118-120.

69. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Col. Jones', 29th September 1657, Vol. 2, pp. 121-122.
70. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to the Right Honourable Mr Secretary Thurloe', 29th September 1657, Vol. 2, p. 122.
71. With Robert Douglas, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', 27th February 1658, Vol. 2, p. 137.
72. With Robert Douglas, George Hutcheson, and James Hamilton, 'Letter to Messrs. Calamy and Mr Ash', Edinburgh, 23rd March 1658, Vol. 2, pp. 137-138.
73. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Major Robert Beak by resolution of the Brethren', Edinburgh, 3rd June 1658, Vol. 2, pp. 140-141.
74. With Robert Douglas, John Smith, George Hutcheson, and James Wood, 'Letter to Messrs. Edmond Calamie, Simeon Ash, and Thomas Manton', Edinburgh, 5th February 1659, Vol. 2, p. 148.
75. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Broghill', 5th February 1659, Vol. 2, p. 148.
76. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Thurloe, 5th February 1659, Vol. 2, pp. 148-149.
77. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Jones', 5th February 1659, Vol. 2, p. 149.
78. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, James Hamiltoun, Mungo Law, and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Major Robert Beake', 5th February 1659, Vol. 2, p. 149.
79. With Robert Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, James Hamiltoun, Mungo Law, A. Kerr, and George Hutcheson, 'Instructions for our Reverend Brother Mr James Sharp', 7th February 1659, Vol. 2, pp. 149-150.
80. With Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, 'Letter to Lord Desborrow', March 1659, Vol. 2, p. 153.

IV. Unpublished Writings

81. 'Petition' (1638), (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIV, f.129).
82. 'Exercitationes aliquot de casibus nonnullis conscientiae et animae renovatae iis nimirum potissimum qui ad statum conditionemque novae creaturae pertinent. XVIIth century', (University of Glasgow, MS Gen 363).¹²
83. 'Caputi confessionis fidei de Scriptura continet articulos decem assertiones 33 theses controversas', (Glasgow University Library, MS Gen 8). This is evidently the Latin lectures of *Truth's Victory*. At end of text: '4 Sept. 1651 finis. Charles Mouat' – presumably from Glasgow.
84. *Tyronis concionaturi preparatio* (?c. 1651), (NLS, Wod.Oct.XI, f.15).¹³

¹² This treatise has a close connection with *Therapeutica Sacra*, whether or not it is a draft for that treatise.

¹³ Wodrow speaks of possessing this in 1726; *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

85. 'Opinion on Patronage', (?c. 1651), copy, early 18th cent, (NLS, Wod.Oct. XI, f.33).
86. 'A freindlie Conference betuixt two ministers D and B anent the gesture of Communicants in the act of receiving the holie elements of the Lords Supper', [although written by Robert Baillie this includes Dickson's arguments against kneeling] (NCL, Bail MS 1).
87. 'Sermons upon Jeremiah's Lamentationes gathred from Master David Dickson's mouth by one of his hearers: from the beginning to the end thereof. XVII century', (c. 1628), (Glasgow University Library, MS Gen 3).¹⁴
88. Sermon on 2 Sam. 23:5 (University of Glasgow, MS Gen 32).¹⁵
89. Sermon on Rom. 5:20 (University of Glasgow, MS Gen 32).
90. Sermon on Is. 56:6 [1st July, 1660], (NLS, MS.1759, ff.21-26). This sermon notebook was apparently the property of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock.

The following sermons are from copy made in 1673 (probably by John Veitch, minister of Westruther), NLS, Wod.MSS.8, qto.¹⁶

91. Nine sermons on 1 Tim. 1:5 preached at Irvine (f.1).
92. Sermon on 1 Pet. 5:8-10, Irvine, 1637 (f.66).¹⁷
93. Sermon on Job 36:11-12, 1639.
94. Sermon on Ps. 122:6-9, Irvine, 1638 (f.106)
95. Sermon on Matt. 10:29-32, Irvine, 1638.
96. Sermon on 2 Chron. 20:1-4.
97. Sermon on 2 Chron. 20:10-11.
98. Sermon on Job 36:21-25, Irvine, 1638 (f.143).¹⁸

The following are summary notes recorded by George Maxwell in and around Glasgow (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).

99. Summary notes of sermon on Isaiah 12:1, 22nd January 1648, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).
100. Summary notes of sermon on 1 Cor. 11:23, 22nd January 1648, preparatory sermon before a communion, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).
101. Summary notes of sermon on Lam. 3:30, Glasgow, 15th May 1648, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).

¹⁴ This volume has been transcribed and will shortly be published by Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books (DV).

¹⁵ This MS is entitled 'A collection of seventy valuable lectures and sermons preached mostly in the time of the late persecution by these eminent servants of Jesus Christ. Transcribed by Jo. Howie from several old manuscripts about the years 1778-79 &c.'

¹⁶ Wodrow says, 'I have some of Mr Dickson's sermons at Irvine, taken from his mouth'; *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, p. 9.

¹⁷ The NLS catalogue records a sermon on 2 Cor. 3:17-18 but this is not in the body of the manuscript.

¹⁸ The NLS catalogue suggests that two sermons that follow could be by Dickson but they are unattributed and by no means likely to be by him. They are on Song 6:1 and Song 6:2-3.

102. Summary notes of sermon on Lam. 3:40-41, Glasgow, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).
103. Summary notes of sermon on Lam. 3:41-42, Glasgow, (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, T-PM/114/1).
104. Summary notes of sermon on Eph. 5, Edinburgh, 12th February 1654, (Mitchell Library, T-PM/114/4).
105. Maxwell records that he heard a sermon by Dickson in Edinburgh on the afternoon of 25th January 1657 on the person of Christ, 'why God and why man both in one person', (Mitchell Library, T-PM/114/6).
106. Sermon by Dickson in Edinburgh on 1 John 3:23-4, 1st February 1657, (Mitchell Library, T-PM/114/6).
107. Sermons on 1 Tim. 1:5-7, NLS, Wod.MSS.8, ff.1-45 (copy made in 1673).
108. 'The doctrine of the catechism or a short explication of the commandes [Ten Commandments], the beliefe [Apostle's Creed] and the Lords prayer', [1641], (NLS, MS.15950). The exposition of the Commandments appears to have been begun in Irvine on 29th April 1640 and concluded in 1641. This is likely to be the same as what Wodrow refers to as 'The Grounds of the true Christian Religion, by way of catechism for his congregation of Irvine' (although is not certain that a separate document of this title does not exist, which may be a catechism in itself).¹⁹ These short expositions appear, however, to have accompanied occasions of catechising.
109. 'No Separation of the well-affected from the Army of Covenanters defending Covenant and Kingdome against the factioune of sectaries oppressing both within the land', (?1651), (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXXII, f.57).

In his 1726 preface, Wodrow says, 'Several of his MSS. remain unprinted. Besides some of his original letters, I have his Preparatio Tyronis Concionaturi, which I suppose he dictated to his scholars at Glasgow, – his Summarium Libri Jesaiae ... I am not sure but some of these may be in print. They are generally pretty large papers, of several sheets in writing.'²⁰ He lists the following as being in his possession, of which there is now no obvious trace in the Wodrow Collections:

110. 'Summarium Libri Jesaiae'.
111. 'Letter on the Resolutions.'
112. 'First Paper upon the Public Resolutions'.
113. 'Reply to Mr Patrick Gillespie and Mr James Guthrie'.²¹

Regarding the following, Wodrow says, 'These I have not seen, but I know they are in the hands of ministers.'²²

¹⁹ *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

²⁰ *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

²¹ It is possible that this is *A Reply To the late Printed Ansvver Given to the Letter, Directed by the Protesters To Their Brethren, Who are for carrying on of the Publick Resolutions, and for the Authority of the late Pretended Assemblies* (Leith: Evan Tyler, 1653).

²² *Select Biographies*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

114. 'Precepts for a daily Direction of a Christian's Conversation'.
 115. 'A Compend of his Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations'.²³
 116. 'Sermons on the first nine chapters of the Epistle to the Romans'.

V. Unpublished Letters²⁴

117. Letter (24th May 1647) to Thomas Wyllie then Minister of Mauchline, (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIX, f.75).
 118. Letter (28th June 1647) to Thomas Wyllie then Minister of Mauchline, (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIX, f.76).
 119. Letter (30th June 1647) to Thomas Wyllie then Minister of Mauchline, (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIX, f.78).
 120. Letter (7th July 1659) to Thomas Wyllie, (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIX, f.231).
 121. Letter (5th May 1660) to Thomas Wyllie, (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXIX, f.239).
 122. Letters and Papers (1651), (NLS, Wod.Qu.XXXII, ff.65, 149, 155).
 123. Letter (1657), (NLS, Wod.Oct.XL, f.20v).
 124. Draft letter, Edinburgh, 17th March [1660], of David Dickson, Robert Douglas, and George Hutchison to James Sharp, concerning Church government (NLS, Wod.Fol.XXVI, f.171).
 125. Draft letter and postscript, Edinburgh, 20th March [1660], of David Dickson, Robert Douglas, and George Hutchison to the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale and Lord Sinclair, concerning the release from custody of the recipients (NLS, Wod.Fol.XXVI, ff.172-173).
 126. Scroll letter, 4th June [1661] of David Dickson, Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, Thomas Garvine, and George Hutchison to Lauderdale concerning fears about a change of Church government (NLS, Wod.Fol.XXVI, ff.116-117).

VI. Letters in University of Glasgow Library

The descriptions are provided by the Library catalogue. The letters are of interest in showing the response of leading Churchmen in Scotland to the Restoration. They relate to the activities of James Sharp as the Presbyterian representative in London – a representation which was to prove duplicitous. Most of these are referenced and summarised in Robert Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*.²⁵ See also *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh and Some Other Brethren of the Ministry: 1652-1660*, Vol. 2, p.193ff for supplementary passages.

²³ The Lamentations MS is presumably item 87 above, at the beginning of which Dickson refers to having finished expounding Jeremiah. James Mitchell of Dykes records that Dickson was expounding Jeremiah 2:2 on a Fast day on 26th January 1628, *Memoirs of the Life of James Mitchell of Dykes, in the Parish of Ardrossan* (Glasgow, 1759), p. 29.

²⁴ Lady Anne Halkett apparently records a meditation in relation to David Dickson persuading her to marry James Halkett, 1659-1660 (NLS, MS 6489, pp. 47-55).

²⁵ Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, ed. Robert Burns (4 volumes, Glasgow, 1828), Vol. 1, p. 4ff.

127. Copy of letter to General Monck from Mr David Dickson and Mr [Robert] Douglas (MS Gen 210, p. 1), Edinb: January 10th 1660. Concerning the passing of information about the 'state of this church' to 'Brother Mr James Sharp'. [Notes at the bottom of the page in another hand state that the General, before receiving the letter, had 'some thought to this same purpose for [recording?] information of the affairs relating to Scotland'.]
128. Copy of 'Instructions for Mr Sharp'. From 'Mr David Dickson, Rot Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, Geo: Hutcheston, An: Ker' (MS Gen 210, p. 3), 6th February 1660. Instructions include details that Mr Sharp is to '[?] the prejudice this church doth suffer by the [?] of the banking stipends' and that they should be applied according to the '20 act of parliament 1644'. Also that he is to endeavour that ministers 'may have the benefits of the 39th Act of the Parliament [?] Act'.
129. Copy of letter to L. General Monck From 'Mr David Dickson, Mr Rot Douglas, Mr Ja: Wood, Mr John Smith, Mr Geo: Hutchestone' (MS Gen 210, pp. 3-4), Edinb: 1656 (or 1660) [Glasgow University Library catalogues it as 1666 in error]. Letter includes thanks to the Lord General for the 'passe' for Mr Sharp and the confidence that he will 'suffer no prejudice in so necessary and so innocent an undertaking'.
130. Copy of letter to 'Coll. Wotham' from 'Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr James Wood, Mr John Smith, Mr Geo. Hutchestone' (MS Gen 210, p. 5), Edinb: 1660. Mr Sharp to be sent to Lord General Monck and Collonell Wotham in the hope that 'the Lord who hath put one opportunity into your hands, will help you to [impress?] upon it for the advantage of the Gospell'. Hoped that through Mr Sharp's negotiations and their help, relief will be given to 'this poor nation'.
131. Copy of letter to Mr Calamy and Mr Ash from 'Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr Ja: Wood, Mr John Smith, Mr Geo: Hutchestone' (MS Gen. 210, pp. 5-6), Edinburgh, 6th February 1660. Discusses Mr Sharp in London.
132. Copy of letter to Mr Sharp from Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas and Mr George Hutchesone (MS Gen 210, pp. 24-25), Edinburgh, March 17th 1660. Noting surprise at goings-on in London concerning them and their 'brethren' and their judgement on the coming government. States that 'We do now wonder at the information' as some of the group had never spoken to 'those who speak so in our name'. Appear to defend themselves against 'stories' regarding their opinion on the government. Summarised in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, p. 11.
133. Copy of letter to General Monck from Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas, and Mr George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 25-26), Edinburgh, 17th March 1660. Acknowledges the 'favourable return to our last (letter), wherein so much is expresses of your respect not only toward our selves in particular, but toward our office and calling and the work of the Gospel'. Discusses the settlement of the nation and the authors' high opinion of General Monck.

134. Copy of letter to the Earles of Crawford and Lauderdale and Lord Sinclair from Mr David Dickinson [sic], Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 32-33), Edinburgh, [20th] March 1660. Concerns the release of the recipients from the Tower of London. States that 'It hath not a little refreshed our spirits & encouraged us to bless the Lord our God that we hear of your Honours Liberation from your long captivity'. [See no. 125 above.]
135. Copy of letter to Mr Sharp from Mr Dickson and Mr Douglas (MS Gen 210, pp. 42-43), Edinburgh, 24th March 1660. Summary of contents of letter from Broghill (12th March 1660).
136. Copy of letter to L. Genll. Monck from Mr Dickson and Mr Douglas (MS Gen 210, p. 43), Edinburgh, 24th March 1660. Concerns letter from Broghill and possibility of Sharp going to Broghill in Ireland. Suggests that Monck could give this some consideration.
137. Copy of letter to Lord Broghill from Mr David Dickson and Mr Robert Douglas (MS Gen 210, pp. 43-45), Edinburgh, 27th March 1660. Concerns the possibility of Sharp going to Ireland, stating that Broghill shall either see or hear from Sharp, noting that 'He (Sharp) is able to give you ane account of the Generalls undertakings'. Also discusses the Parliament, the government and the Church.
138. Copy of letter to Lord Broghill from Mr David Dickson, Robert Douglas and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 45-47), Edinburgh, 28th March 1660. Thanks Broghill for last letter and states that could not miss opportunity of messenger going straight to Ireland 'to express jointly some of the thoughts of our heart'. Discusses mutual sympathies such as the state of the Church and religion and the settlement.
139. Copy of letter to the King's Majesty from Mr Robert Douglas, David Dickson, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 94-96), Edinburgh, 8th May 1660. Short note before the letter states: 'Receive the inclosed to the Kings Matie, with a true copie thereof for your self to read. Deliver the letter at a fitt opportunity.' Letter begins with comments of veneration toward the king, stating that they hope 'to enjoy your majesties persone in your own domains, as a bright sunshine after a long and tempestuous night'. Discusses role which Sharp has played in events. States that the ministers of 'this church' will 'continue in their loyalties to authority and the maintenance of your full rights'. Reproduced in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 22-23.
140. Copy of letter to the King's Majesty from Mr Robert Douglas, David Dickson, and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 102-104), Edinburgh, 10th May 1660. Discusses message from the king to the Houses of Parliament. They wish to take the opportunity to express their affection for the king and state that they can inform the king of their afflictions whilst under bondage. Expresses pleasure at the restoration of the king. Also discusses the king's adherence to Presbyterianism. Reproduced in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 24-25.

141. Copy of letter to Mr Calamy, Ash, and Manton from Mr David Dickson, Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 106-108), Edinburgh, 12th May 1660. States that in past correspondence they have been refreshed regarding the English ministers' sympathies toward their cause. Therefore, 'we hold it our duty to pour out our hearts unto you upon occasion of this signall revolution of affairs'. Continues that the Lord 'is putting in our hands a blessed opportunity of advancing his Kingdome'. Discusses the king and the fate of Presbyterianism in England. Also concerns their obligations regarding the Covenant and the settling of the Government. Reproduced in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 26-27.
142. Copy of letter to Mr Sharp from Mr David Dickson, Robert Douglas, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, and George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 124-125), Edinburgh, 7th June 1660. States that they regard it as their duty, on account of their 'solemne engagement to God, and of our brotherly affection ... to express the thoughts of our hearts to some Reverend Ministers of the City of London, for our owne exoneration, resolving no further to intermeddle in the affairs of others'. Discusses Sharp's activities in London. Continues: 'We suppose it is not a desperate work humbly to deal with Maj. (who is so excellent and moderat a prince) for the preventing of Episcopacy and the liturgy, which by experience they have found so bitter and prejudiciall to themselves, & many others in England'. This seems to be the letter related in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 34-35.
143. Copy of letter to Mr Sharp from Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr James Hamiltoun, Mr John Smith, and Mr George Hutchestone (MS Gen 210, pp. 125-126), Edinburgh, 9th June 1660. Discusses the settling of the Church.
144. Copy of letter to Mr Sharp from Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr James Wood, Mr James Hamiltoun, Mr John Smith, and SS [Secretary] Kerr (MS Gen 210, pp. 138-139), Edinburgh, 21st July 1660. States: 'Since his Matie hath thought it fitt that you should returne and give us information of the state of his affairs there (which we pray the Lord may be happily settled for the glory of his great name), the honour of the King Matie and the good of his subjects we are satisfied with your home coming upon that account.' Says that they never intended to press Presbyterianism upon other Kirks. Again discusses the use of 'the service book, prelacie and the synod of Divines'.
145. Copy of letter from the 'presbyterie of Edinburgh their humble Returne to his Majesties' (MS Gen 210, pp. 189-191), Edinburgh, 20th September 1660. Acknowledges receipt of letter from the King 'and, in obedience to your Royal command, therein contained, have transmitted copies thereof to all the presbyteries in this your Matie ancient Kingdome'. States that it has revived their spirits to know that their Church will be preserved and protected without violation. Discusses how good people are comforted in the expressions for moderation, 'your abhorrence of

profanity and your tender favour to faithful ministers'. Also concerns the settling of the Church government. Thirty-two signatories including Douglas, Dickson, Hamiltoun, and Smith. This seems likely to be the letter printed in Wodrow, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 82-83.

146. Copy of letter to the Earle of Middletoun from Mr David Dickson, Robert Douglas, Robert Lawrie, Geo: Hutchesone & John Smith (MS Gen 210, pp. 195-197), Edinburgh, 13th November 1660. Letter begins: 'Tho we have not had the opportunity these years past to express to your Lo/ how much we sympathizes in your afflictions which you chearfully endured amongst others in his Matie cause of service'. States that they considered it their duty to let Middletoun know of their affections. Discusses Middletoun's post as Commissioner for the king.

VII. Poetry

In addition to the poems already mentioned [items 1, 4, 15, 18], there is a poem beginning 'Silly Soul rejoyce, be glad and sing' at the end of *The True Comfort of a Christian* [item 14]. Wodrow also attributes the following to Dickson. It is likely that these were printed as chapbooks or broadsides because printed copies do not seem to have survived.

147. *Sight through a Glass, and Face to Face.*

148. *The Christian Sacrifice.*

149. *O Mother Dear Jerusalem!*²⁶

VIII. Misattributed

The Advantage Of Being In The House Of Mourning (1818).²⁷

IX. Conclusion

Dickson was prolific in his published writings but a fuller picture of his writings has not been possible thus far due to the lack of a bibliography of this nature. This brief note has identified many more than one hundred items. Some items clearly identified as extant during Robert Wodrow's time may well still emerge in a more thorough search and indexing of the archives held by various libraries and institutions. Items such as the expositions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the bulk of Romans would be particularly attractive to those who have valued his other publications.

²⁶ The history of this poem is complicated. The earliest English version is probably that of William Prid, *The glasse of vaine-glorie: faithfully translated (out of S. Augustine his booke, intituled, Speculum peccatoris) into English* (London, 1585), p. 60ff. A related poem by 'F.B.P.', beginning 'Hierusalem my happie home', is nearly contemporary, and shares common patristic sources; see J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1907, reprinted 1957), pp. 580-583. The version attributed to Dickson seems to be a combination of these two. For further discussion, see Horatius Bonar, *The New Jerusalem: a hymn of the olden time* (Edinburgh, 1852), pp. xxi-xxii; William C. Prime, *O Mother Dear Jerusalem! The Old Hymn, its Origin and Genealogy* (New York, 1865), pp. xxxi-xxxii.

²⁷ This was a sermon preached in 1818 by Rev. David Dickson (1780-1842). Nathan D. Holsteen incorrectly identifies it as by the earlier David Dickson.

In the meantime, fruitful avenues of research are possible. It is a little strange that Dickson has been neglected while there have been scholarly intellectual biographies of Dickson's contemporaries such as Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and Alexander Henderson. Indeed there has been little direct attention to his writing beyond a focus on his Covenant theology and aspects of his writing on the subject of conscience. He was a central figure in the movement resisting the Articles of Perth, in the Second Reformation, and in the Public Resolutions controversy.²⁸ He was a key theologian and preacher during this period. There is extensive correspondence available for any who wish to explore the events of the Resolutioner controversy and the political repercussions leading up to the Restoration.

Dickson's preaching has received little attention, yet he was regarded as one of the foremost expositors of his time. An appreciation of the wider body of material available for research should help to facilitate this sort of study.

²⁸ David Stevenson identified Dickson as belonging to what he calls 'the radical Kirk party' which was associated with opposition to read prayers and promotion of conventicles. David Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk: The Emergence of a Radical Party, 1619-37', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol. 18 (1974), pp. 99-114.