John Coffey’s biography, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford*, contains several useful bibliographies of Rutherford’s work including: his works published in his lifetime; his posthumously published works; Protester documents drafted or signed by Rutherford; and unpublished manuscript works by Rutherford. This short note updates the bibliography of unpublished manuscript works in relation to Rutherford’s sermons. John Coffey refers to ‘unpublished contemporary notes on forty of his sermons’ surviving in Scottish libraries.¹ The evidence presented here, however, demonstrates that this figure needs to be revised significantly upwards.

1. **Rutherford’s published sermons**
Rutherford himself prepared very few sermons for the press. The main collections were the two preached before the House of Commons and House of Lords (1644 and 1645)² and twenty-seven sermons in *The Tryptal and Triumph of Faith* (1645). All other published sermons have been taken from the notes of hearers. The volumes *Communion Sermons* (1876) and *Quaint Sermons* (1885) comprise fourteen and eighteen sermons


². These sermons have been reprinted in *Sermons Preached before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–1645* (Naphtali Press, 2011).
respectively, gathered together by A. A. Bonar and J. H. Thomson. This amounts to a total of thirty-four published sermons. Adding the twenty-seven sermons in *The Tryal and Triumph* brings the complete figure to sixty-one.

It is worth observing that *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himselfe* (1647) also largely comprises sermons on John 12:27-33. The difficulty, however, is that the volume is not separated into numbered sermons in the same way as *The Tryal and Triumph*. Furthermore, *Christ Dying* also has many lengthy ‘necessary Digressions, for the times’ (as the title-page mentions). Rutherford identifies the various clauses of the verses in this pericope and moves from expounding one to the next. At times this may seem to indicate the boundaries of the original sermons, yet sometimes he spends only a few paragraphs opening up a clause. Since progressing clause by clause is his ordinary method within sermons, it is not possible to draw absolute conclusions from this aspect of *Christ Dying*.

*The Power and Prevalency of Prayer* (1713) evidently arose from sermons on Matthew 9:27-31 but, as with *Christ Dying*, it does not identify distinct sermons. It does, however, have eight parts or sections which may indicate a series of eight sermons noted down by a hearer. The published version, however, ends abruptly in the sixth part with the statement that ‘the rest of this discourse cannot be found’.

2. National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9270 nos. 3 and 4

The two manuscript volumes Acc. 9270 nos. 3 and 4, in the National Library of Scotland, contain sermons by ministers belonging to the Presbytery of St Andrews, such as Andrew Honeyman (minister of the Second Charge), Robert Blair (minister of the First Charge), and James Wood (minister of Dunnino). They originate from the Library of the Kirk of Saltoun (East Lothian) and are contained in quarto oblong volumes. The notebooks are portable but not pocket size. The script appears to have been written in some haste, and there are abbreviations and some crossings out. This makes it less likely that they were written fair from notes made at the time of the service.

The volume Acc. 9270 no. 3 is labelled ‘MS Sermons 1658’ and inscribed ‘volum 1’ on the flyleaf, with the sermons beginning from 4th July 1658. The volume Acc. 9270 no. 4 is labelled ‘MS Sermons 1659’ and

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the sermons begin from 2nd January 1659. Coffey does not list this volume, but it too contains notes of sermons by Rutherford.4

As Coffey observes, none of the sermon-notes from Acc. 9270 no. 3 have ever been published, and in some cases there are only two or three sides of notes on each sermon.5 Since he refers only to Acc. 9270 no.3, Coffey counts only twenty-four sermons whereas, if Acc. 9270 no. 4 is included, there are many more. There are a total of fourteen sermons on Ps. 88 but, disappointingly, there are no sermons on the final two verses of the psalm.

The discourses in the manuscript are usually identifiable as either a sermon or lecture. A lecture was a relatively detailed exposition of a chapter, or part of a chapter, by way of running commentary rather than by opening up a single verse or passage in the way of a sermon. The practice of lecturing appears to have begun in 1648 and lasted in the Scottish Church until the later nineteenth century. Often the minister began his sermon immediately following the prayer after the lecture, although the lecture could also be delivered in the afternoon.6 In the manuscript, the sermons usually immediately follow lectures, indicating that they would have been delivered on the same day.

It especially interesting to have access to some of Rutherford’s lectures as none of the volumes of his published sermons have included any of these.7 Wodrow reports that Rutherford ‘had an excellent gift for lecturing’.8 The example provided in the appendix below shows Rutherford providing a running commentary on each verse and then concluding with some application. The lecture was often brief, so while these notes may not have captured the exposition verbatim, the substance is certainly recorded.

It is not clear whether there is a missing volume or whether Rutherford became too ill to preach in the eighteen months prior to his being deprived of his charge in the Church and his university office in November

4. There is a further volume Acc. 9270 no. 5, which begins on 2nd September 1659 and concludes on 27th September 1660. It is inscribed ‘volum 4’ on f.2, which seems to indicate that there may have been another volume that is now lost. The sermons contained in this volume are all by Andrew Honeyman.
7. Strictly speaking, the lectures are not sermons (and nor, indeed, are the communion exhortations) but we have included all pulpit expositions in the list under the general term of sermons, for ease of reference.
1660. Sermon 51 (see below) is the latest dated sermon (25th September 1659) that is extant.

1. Lecture on Mark 15 (No. 3, pp. 5-7)
2. Sermon on Hebrew 3:6 (No. 3, pp. 7-9)
4. Lecture on Mark 15:29ff. (No. 3, pp. 31-32)
5. Sermon on Isaiah 5:16-17 (No. 3, pp. 32-36)
7. Sermon on Hebrews 3:6-7 (No. 3, pp. 59-61)
11. Sermon on Psalm 88:1-3 (No. 3, pp. 87-90)
12. Sermon on Psalm 88:1-3 (No. 3, pp. 95-97)
15. Lecture on Ezekiel 9, ‘12th September 1658’ (No. 3, pp. 128-129)
17. Lecture on Ezekiel 9, apparently on the afternoon of a fast on 19th September (No. 3, pp. 151-153)
19. Lecture on Judges 10 (No. 3, pp. 179-180)
22. Sermon on Psalm 88:7-9 (No. 3, pp. 224-229)
25. Sermon on Psalm 88:11-12 (No. 3, pp. 294-8)
27. Lecture on Luke 1:36, ‘2 February 1659’ (No. 4, p.1)
28. Lecture on Psalm 17 (No. 4, pp. 2-6)
29. Lecture on Psalm 17:15 (No. 4, pp. 19-24)
30. Sermon on Revelation 3:2 (No. 4, pp. 24-28)
31. Sermon on John 17:25 (No. 4, pp. 84-91)
32. Lecture on Luke 1:49ff (No. 4, pp. 102-4)
33. Sermon on John 17:25 (No. 4, pp. 105-111)
34. Sermon on Psalm 88:13-14 (No. 4, pp. 162-8)
35. Lecture on Luke 1:68, not named (No. 4, pp. 204-6)
36. Sermon on Psalm 88:14-15 (No. 4, pp. 206-211)
37. Lecture on Luke 2:1ff (No. 4, pp. 261-3)
38. Sermon on Psalm 88:15 (No. 4, pp. 263-9)
40. Sermon on Psalm 88:15-16 (No. 4, pp. 329-35)

3. National Library of Scotland, Wodrow Octavo XLVII

41. Communion Exhortation at fo. 42, evidently a table-address but at an unspecified location. The beginning of the exhortation alludes either to Matthew 26:24 or to Mark 14:21. The handwriting appears to be mid-seventeenth century but the ink is faded which makes it challenging to read. This sermon is not listed by Coffey. It is different from the only published communion exhortation by Rutherford, which is Sermon XII in Communion Sermons (pp. 278-290). The latter was preached in London in 1643.


This manuscript appears to have been made in 1673, probably by John Veitch, minister of Westruther. There are twenty-six sermons in the volume, mostly by David Dickson but with others that seem to be by Andrew Cant and even John Welsh of Ayr, whose last Scottish sermon would have been preached before his imprisonment in July 1605. Sermons 16 and 17 are by Rutherford, on Song of Solomon Chapter 5. Sermon 16 is on Song 5:2 (fo. 78), and appears to be Sermon IX from Communion Sermons (the wording is extremely close but not always identical). It is erroneously dated 5th April 1637 in Communion Sermons. This volume is not listed by Coffey.

42. Sermon on Song 5:6-9 (fo. 93v, Sermon 17). This unpublished sermon is dated 1647. If preached in Scotland, it would have to have been in very late November or during December, as it was only then that Rutherford returned from the Westminster Assembly in London.

5. Edinburgh University Library, Dc. 5.30-31

Notes on nine sermons of Rutherford in two volumes of notes on Covenantanter sermons. These volumes also include sermons by Blair, Honeyman, Wood,

9. Communion Sermons, p. 200. This date is not possible as Rutherford was still in Aberdeen at this time.
Douglas, and Cant. Some of the sermons by Blair and Honeyman appear to be similar to National Library of Scotland, Acc. 9270 nos. 3 and 4. As Coffey notes, the manuscript is quite easy to read.

43. First Sermon on Genesis 28:10-15 (Vol. 30, fos. 17-24)
44. Second Sermon on Genesis 28:10-15 (Vol. 30, fos. 25-31)
45. Third Sermon on Genesis 28:10-15 (Vol. 30, fos. 31-38)
46. First Sermon on Hebrews 4:15-16 (Vol. 30, fos. 45v-52r)
47. Second Sermon on Hebrews 4:15-16 (Vol. 30, fos. 52v-58v)
48. Sermon on Revelation 3:20, ‘Saturday before the Communion’ (Vol. 30, fos. 61v-69r)
49. Sermon on Isaiah 1:18, 10th August 1656 (Vol. 31, fos. 54v-57r)
50. Sermon on Isaiah 5:3-4, 14th September 1656 (Vol. 31, fos. 70r-71)
51. Sermon on Isaiah 1:12, 25th September 1659 (Vol. 31, fos. 135r-138r).

6. New College Library, Edinburgh, B. b. b. 12

52. Sermon on Galatians 2:20 (9 pages). The handwriting of this copy appears to date from the later seventeenth century or early eighteenth century.

7. University of St Andrews Library, MS 30386

This volume comprises notes of Rutherford sermons preached between c.1630 and 1647, 332pp. Coffey states that only six of these twenty-five sermons have never been published, i.e. the three on Revelation 3, two on Song of Solomon 5, and one on Hebrews 13, but he has overlooked one of the two sermons on Revelation 19.10

The index to the manuscript volume identifies three sermons on Song of Solomon 2:8-13 said to be from the communion at Anwoth in 1630. The first two (beginning at fo. 89r) are the same as the single sermon published as number XIV in Communion Sermons (pp. 338-362).11 The

10. Sermon I of Communion Sermons, on Rev. 19:11-14, is found in this manuscript at fos. 31v-33r and is dated 12th June 1634, ‘Upon the sabbath afternoone for Thanksgiving’. The note on p. 7 of Communion Sermons simply states that it was preached on a day of thanksgiving at Kirkcudbright, but the full sermon is given there, evidently from another manuscript source.

11. This manuscript therefore attests the authenticity of Communion Sermons, sermon XIV.
second sermon on this text is not very clearly marked in the manuscript but begins at fo. 100r (where there is a number 2 in the margin) and runs to fo. 111r. The third sermon on Song of Solomon 2:14-17 (rather than 2:8-13) is unpublished.

53. Sermon on Revelation 19:7-17, ‘A preparation sermon at Kirkcudbright’ (fos. 22-31v)
54. Sermon on Song of Solomon 2:14-17 (fos. 111r-123v)
55. Sermon on Revelation 3:11-13, ‘A sermon for thanksgiving at Kirkcubright’ (fo. 136r-136v)
56. Exhortation on Hebrews 13:12-13, ‘Mr Rutherford exhortation at ye sacrament Kirkcudbright July 1634’ (fo.137r-137v)
57. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:1-5
58. Sermon on Revelation 3:20-22, ‘A Sermon preached for preparation to the communion preached by Mr Samuel Rutherfurd at Elie May 1 1641’ (fos. 210r-221v). Elie is in the East Neuk of Fife, about twelve miles from St Andrews.
59. First Sermon on Revelation 3:12, ‘Two Sermons preached by Master Samuel Rutherford at Saint Andrews 24 June 1638, Rev. 3 v. 12 at the midst of the verse and v. 13’ (fos. 222r-226r). Rutherford arrived in St Andrews as professor in October 1639, so this preceded his time there (see the date of no. 62). Rutherford had left Aberdeen in March 1638 and on 3rd June 1638 he preached in the College kirk in Edinburgh and later at the swearing of the National Covenant in Edinburgh. It is possible that Rutherford was preaching in other locations in connection with the swearing of the Covenant. The session minutes for St Andrews show that Rutherford also preached there on the 10th June 1638 together with James Bonar.
60. Second Sermon on Revelation 3:12-13 (fos. 226r-229v)
61. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:9-10 (fos. 229v-238r)
62. Sermon on Song of Solomon 5:2-3 ‘A Sermoun preached at Kylrynne the 26 of June 1638 by Mr Samuel Rutherford’ (fos. 238r-248r). Kilrenny was James Melville’s former charge, just to the west of Anstruther and about nine miles from St Andrews.

This sermon was preached two days after no. 59 (which was in St Andrews).

8. **Incompletely recorded or inaccessible sermons**

There are some notes of a Rutherford sermon in shorthand as recorded by Alexander Brodie of Brodie in 1642 or 1643. The item is listed in the published diary but, as well as being in a (possibly undecipherable) shorthand, a search through the Brodie Castle records has proved fruitless in locating the manuscript.14

There are also brief references to a sermon preached by Rutherford in his home district of Ancrum in *The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts*. The sermon was preached at a communion at Wilton Church on 22nd June 1656. Rutherford preached from Ps. 119:38. He insisted on separation unto God. ‘The Lord is not content with outward profession. He searcheth the secrets of the hearts. Our Lord’s way with a sinner is, first, he lets him taste of the sour before He brings him into the sweet, to try their faith in Him; but Satan does not so. His best is first.’ The notes were made by Robert Bennet, laird of Chesters and Rafflet.15

9. **Conclusion**

This brief note has identified sixty-two unpublished sermons by Samuel Rutherford, as opposed to the forty estimated by John Coffey in his book, and rivalling the total number of published sermons.16 The latter tend to be those recorded at communion occasions and are therefore not typical of his ordinary ministry.

Even the brief bibliographical information provided above gives useful insight into the regular preaching ministry exercised by Rutherford in St Andrews, particularly his lectures.17 The list of sermons shows the

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16. It may be that there are further manuscript sermons extant that are not well catalogued. This article has focused on unpublished sermons. It should be noted, however, that there is also a small amount of unpublished non-sermonic material (either by Rutherford or attributable to him) that Coffey has overlooked. This includes certain poems and treatises.

17. It is interesting that Rutherford’s sermons are interspersed with those by Resolutioner ministers. This may indicate that some people in the pew were not prepared to avoid
range of biblical books that he addressed. The unpublished lectures include expositions of chapters from Ezekiel and Judges as well as sermons on Genesis, parts of Scripture not covered in the published sermons. This reveals a slightly broader range of books expounded in Rutherford’s sermons. Coffey’s overall assessment, however, still holds true. Rutherford’s ‘sermons seem to have been based on the Gospels or the book of Revelation, suggesting that he felt either narratives or poetic passages to be most appropriate and accessible to an ordinary audience. Eleven of his thirty-four published sermons were based on Gospel narratives, another three were on Revelation, and only three were from the Epistles. Similarly, out of sixteen unpublished sermons on the New Testament, seven were on the Gospels, four on Revelation and although seven treated texts from the epistles, six of these were on the most metaphorical of all New Testament books, Hebrews. As we would expect from the author of the effusive letters, Rutherford seems to have been deeply attracted to the poetic parts of the Bible.”

While there are lectures and sermons covering individual chapters (e.g. Mark 15-16, Revelation 3, Song 5) there is no complete set of expositions on a particular book. The list also makes clear the length of time he might preach on his ‘ordinary’, i.e. a given chapter or, indeed, a given book. The fourteen sermons on Psalm 88 cannot be precisely dated but must represent a period of around five to six months.

Biographical information may also be gleaned from the basic facts recorded above. These hints include Rutherford’s movements during 1638, the number of occasions when he assisted at the Kirkcudbright communion services, and the ministry that he exercised during his closing years.

The task remains of transcribing the material catalogued here. This, in turn, would invite the deeper work of assessing what these sermons tell us about Rutherford’s expository method, preaching style, theology, and practical teaching.

hearing ministers depending on their position within this controversy, which is confirmed by diaries from the time including Archibald Johnston. Rutherford was, however, about the only Protester minister in the Presbytery of St Andrews.

18. Coffey, p. 81.

19. Rutherford’s commentaries on Isaiah and Hosea do not appear to have survived in manuscript; see A. A. Bonar (ed.), Letters of Samuel Rutherford (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 19, 226 (Letter CX to David Dickson in 1637).

Appendix: Lecture on Judges 10 by Samuel Rutherford

Judges 10 M.Sa. Rutherford

We have here the affliction the people were in and the answer God gives them as they deserted at the first time. At their second address they met not a better answer, now being more ripe for deliverance.

The people had hard days under Abimelech, the Lord took him away in his wrath there are no [sic now] new judges the Lord raised [raised] for his people, Tola and Jair. It is a word of the Lord’s particular care that after oppressions under Abimelech that [he] gives them prosperity under their judges making that good ‘the rod of the wicked etc’. “There may be weeping in the night etc.”

There is a word that God speaks concerning Eli’s house ‘when I begin I will make an end’. When the Lord louses one stone in the house of the wicked, the building falls. There were two tribes, Gilead etc and the Lord raises judges both of the one and other. Yea least that lesser tribes should think that God regarded them not. The Lord raises judges, judges of whom he will. He takes away all stumbling blocks which we make especially that which we say of God’s unequal dealing. Albeit God may exalt wicked and evil men and make his own walk in sackcloth, yet he is holy in his government.


And v.6 there is what effects flowed from their prosperity ‘they did evil in the sight of the Lord’. When the question is made whether peace and prosperity or the rod salve, prosperity be good yet our corruption abuses it and, except God’s grace help, when we have prosperity we are ready to serve other gods or under distress we are ready to murmur and seek unlawful means to win out. They saw other nations in peace and wealth. The people of God under affliction therfore they did drink of their fornication. It is a great matter when we have peace not then to forsake the

21. Kindly transcribed by Dr Jamie Reid-Baxter.
23. Ps. 125:3.
24. Ps. 30:5.
25. 1 Samuel 3:12.
26. Judges 10:3-4, ‘Jair, a Gileadite … he had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass-colts.’
27. The word ‘in’ written as ‘on’.
Lord, and when under misery and sees other nationes, it is a great mater if we drink not of their cup. It has been the sin of the land that we have neither used prosperity nor adversitie.

v.7 the effects of their sin. Anger and indignatione followes covenant braking. They were in covenant with God and brak, and the effect is anger. Many in whom satan reignes spewes out against God and his cause and covenant and wents ther anger against [God] and al which is not the true cause God’s cause.

’sold’ [v.7][28]. It is a speich borrowed from these who hade pouer to sell servents who[?] works.

So the Lord, when Israell will not serve him, he gives them other nationes to be ther curs. O but the Lord is holy in all his doeings, he will[?] them to have[?] experience between his service and the service of the nationes. Look how many sundry gods Israel falls too when they forsook God and that wes a wicked tolleratioune whatever god they serve ther is no magistrate to controle. These who will not serve the true God, it is just they be left to serve every wane [ye del] idole.

v.8 they were chased out of the Lordes land when ever they forsook God all the judgements of the world falls on them.

v.9[29] its lyk they of Judah fled over Jordan from the enemy thinking they wold not follow. But judgements and plages can flee vpon the wind after them. Wrath followes them [after del] on this syd and that syd the river.

v.10[30] they confess ther sin and yet it was a rotten confession as appears by the Lords answer. Wold we think that people making confession thus particularly [did del] wer so hollow hearted?

v.11 12[31] etc is the Lords answer. That which the Lord points at whenever there is a weeping after the Lord they may get a roch [rough] answer before he delyver them, he will have them sensible of ther vngratitude. He that searches the heart kens what is the meaning of [the del] people when they come to mourne befor him. These who keeps iniquity in ther herts,

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28. Judges 10:7, ‘And the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children of Ammon.’

29. Judges 10:9, ‘Moreover the children of Ammon passed over Jordan to fight also against Judah…’

30. Judges 10:10, ’And the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, saying, We have sinned…’

31. Judges 10:11-12, ’And the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Did I not deliver you from the Egyptians... Ye cried to me, and I delivered you out of their hands.’
the Lord will not her them. 32 ‘I will not delyver yow’ [v.13]: what truth is in this.

**Application**

1. the Lord spekes conditionally I will delyver sic yow except ye repent [v.12-13].

2. I will not delyver yow at this tyme because yee are not rype for mercie. Yet the answer to the cry of sinners may have some hop the Lord is not absolutely peremptor. He bids them cry etc. 33 Her he mocks at ther afflictione as Prov 1. 34 v.15 16 35 Her is ane excellent characters of the peiple richt humbled. After one fast they sett till it againe when such will not tak ane aswer but wrestles with God. And that is a mark of a wicked man when he getts a roch answer ‘should I waitt any longer’: then againe they confess ther sine. 36

3. When the vncircummcised hert comes a will and submits to God Lev. 26 37 Its a good mark when people is truely humbled they rather [overwritten] fall in Gods hand then in mans and indeed a sueeter strok when it comes from God himself then frome wicked men. 38 Saveing grace finds ay some sweetnes in the mediate stroks, and

4 mark they put away strange gods. All our suffrings will be to no purpose if we putt not away our strange gods. When we can followe the follou the lord earnestly there is a sueet end of that [?del ?prime] work the Lord wes [grived etc del] grived. 39

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32. Ps. 66:18, ‘If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me.’
33. Judges 10:14, ‘Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen’. Judges 10:11-12, ‘And the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Did I not deliver you from the Egyptians...’
34. Prov. 1:26, ‘I will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh.’
35. Judges 10:15-16, ‘And the children of Israel said unto the Lord, We have sinned... deliver us only, we pray thee, this day; And they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the Lord...’
36. 2 Kings 6:33, ‘And while he yet talked with them, behold, the messenger came down unto him: and he said, Behold, this evil is of the Lord; what should I wait for the Lord any longer?’
37. The whole chapter, or at least the passage beginning at v.15 on the punishment that will follow the despising of the commandments and the breaking of the covenant.
38. 2 Samuel 24:14, ‘And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man’.
39. Judges 10.16, ‘...served the Lord; and his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel’.