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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH CHURCHES
IN
ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND AMERICA ;
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY SKETCH
OF THE
History of the Waldenses,
AND
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SECESSION.

BY JOHN BROWN,
LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY UNDER THE ASSOCIATE SYNOD,
AND MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, HADDINGTON.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY THE REV. THOMAS BROWN.

“Walk about Zion,—tell the towers thereof, mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her
palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following.” *Psalm cxviii. 12, 13.*

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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT

OF THE
MOST MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE INTRODUCTION
OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TOGETHER WITH
A HISTORY OF THE
Rise and Progress of the Secession.



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A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Christianity Introduced—Popery follows, and gains ground about 1100 years—Resby, Craw, Hamilton, Wishart, Mill, &c. burnt for opposing it—and many others persecuted.

WHO first published the gospel of Christ in North Britain we know not: But, from our ancestors' zealous attachment to observe their Easter upon the 14th day of the moon, we are tempted to think that some of their first preachers had come from the *Lesser Asia*, after that superstition had become fashionable there. It is said, that about A. D. 203, King Donald I. and his queen, with several of his nobles, embraced the Christian religion; and that Cratilinth, about seventy years after, more fully established it, and abolished heathenism. Probably

in his favours. About the beginning of the *eleventh* century, King Malcolm fixed the bishops to particular dioceses, and erected the bishoprics of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Murray, Caithness, Murthlack, and Aberdeen. Turgot was the first bishop of St. Andrew's. In this century, Marian, Patern, Amichad, Sigebert, and Elias, Scotch preachers, made a respectable figure in Germany. Kings began to be anointed at their instalment. About A. D. 1198, King Alexander, suspecting the intrusive ambition of Thurstan, archbishop of York, desired Radolf of Canterbury to provide a bishop for St. Andrew's: and notwithstanding all that Thurstan could do to oppose it, one Eadmer was sent. But he, refusing to profess his subjection to the Canterburian see, was soon obliged to return to England.

In the twelfth century, kings and others appeared madly intent on promoting Monkish devotion. The abbeyes of Scoon, St. Columba, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, Kinloss, Cambuskeneth, Dundrennan, Holm and Coultram, and two convents at Newcastle, and one at Berwick, and another at Carlisle for nuns, were built, and endowed with revenues mostly by King David, who also erected the bishoprics of Ross, Brichen, Dunkeld, and Dumblane, and was rewarded with the honour of a Papal *Saint*. His successors founded the abbies of Coupar, Angus, Sawtry, Aberbrothick, Balmerino, and the convent of Maxwell. The prior of St. Andrew's, Richard a canon, and David a presbyter, were the most noted for learning. The Scotch clergy, being cited to a council at Northampton, boldly refused all subjection to the archbishop of York. Gilbert, a young canon, was their principal disputant. The convent of St. Andrews' election of an Englishman to that

see, occasioned a furious contest between King William and the Pope, who had laid the whole kingdom under an *Interdict* of all religious service, had not Scot, the elected bishop, by his earnest supplications, prevented it.

In the thirteenth century, the Franciscan and Dominican monks spread themselves into Scotland. King Alexander II. having assisted the French against King John of England, now an absolute slave and deputy of the Pope, his holiness laid his whole kingdom under an *Interdict*. When his Legate afterward came to declare the nation absolved from this dreadful curse, he so terribly oppressed them, that they were forced to complain of his conduct at Rome. Another Legate quickly followed, to raise contributions for carrying on the *holy war* in Canaan. Having spent what he got in debauchery, as he returned, he pretended that he had been robbed of it. Another Legate was sent from Rome to demand new contributions: but king Alexander prohibited him, or any other, on any such errand, to enter his kingdom. Not long after, Ottobon, and afterward Rustani, were sent to require payment of the Pontifical dues. But as king Alexander III. prohibited the raising of money in his kingdom, without his special allowance, they dared not to enter the country. In this century were founded the monasteries of Pluscardy, Beaulieu, and Archattan, the nunneries of Haddington and North Berwick, the Abbey of Culross, and another in Galloway, and the famed cross of Peebles. Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, bestowed one-third of his estate on the see of Dumblane, and another on the abbey of Inchaffray.—From the death of Alexander, in A. D. 1285, to the end of the next century, the furious contentions between the BRUCES and BALIOLS for the royal dig-

nity, and the treacherous invasions and oppressions of the English thereby occasioned, diverted the Scots from their mad superstition, and almost desolated the country. Neither party regarded the Papal mandates of peace, but as they tended to their own interests.

In A. D. 1407, Resby, an Englishman, and in 1481, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, were burnt as heretics, by order of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, who founded an university there, about 1412. Bishop Kennedy, his successor, built the college of St. Salvator. Patrick Graham, who succeeded him in 1466, got himself declared an *archbishop*, to whom all the other diocesans were required to be subject. But their opposition, and the strugglings of Shevez for the office of archdeacon, made him delirious. Shevez, by the Pope's assistance, obtained the see. He and Blackater, who was made archbishop of Glasgow about 1480, spent their strength in fierce contentions about pre-eminence. Meanwhile, some Waldenses or Wickliffites, had taught in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, *That no images ought to be made or worshipped; nor relics of saints adored; that it is not lawful to propagate the Christian religion by force; that Christ gave the power of binding and loosing to Peter, but not to the bishops of Rome as his successors; that Christ appointed no clerical consecrations; that the bread and wine in the Lord's supper retain their original substance after their consecration; that no tithes ought to be paid to the clergy; that every believer in Christ is a priest; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, unless in his Satanical hinderance of Christ's work; that he deceives the people with his Bulls and Indulgences; that masses are of no use to souls in Purgatory; that clerical benedictions are of no value; that the Pope sets himself above and*

against God; that he cannot remit the pains of Purgatory; that clerical excommunications are not to be feared; that it is never lawful for Christians to swear; that true Christians every day feed upon the body of Christ: For spreading of these opinions, perhaps partly misrepresented by their enemies, about thirty persons were summoned before the privy council. But they answered with such confidence and strength of reasoning, that it was thought safest to dismiss them.

While king James IV.'s brother and bastard son were archbishops of St. Andrew's, things went on pretty quietly. But after the death of the last, a furious contention for that wealthy see, between Douglas of Dunkeld, Forman of Murray, and Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, took place. At last Douglas yielded, and Forman obtained it, on condition of his paying a life-rent of 3000 crowns to Hepburn. Meanwhile, or afterward, the learned doctors of the university were busied in disputing, Whether the Lord's prayer might be addressed to the saints! Pretended relics being in great repute, a Romish pedlar, who had a large stock of them, opened his pack near Haddington. Among other rarities, he presented a bell which had a rent in it, said to have been occasioned by a false oath; and pretended, that such was its sacred sensibility, that if any person with his hand on it, dared to swear falsehood, it would rend, and the swearer's hand cleave to it; but, if nothing but truth was sworn, it would not rend, or the swearer's hand stick to it. One Fermor, a sensible man, bent upon exposing this pretence, begged allowance to swear with his hand on this bell; and holding it up to the multitude, that they might see in what condition it and his hand were, he laid his hand upon it and solemnly swore, *That the Pope was Antichrist, and his*

cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, and monks, locusts come from hell to delude men from God, and that they would return to hell. Lifting his hand freely from the bell, he held it up to the multitude that they might see that no change had been made upon it; and that, according to its owner, he had sworn nothing but the truth. The pedlar slipt off ashamed, nor did any more of his sort trouble the nation.

Meanwhile, about A. D. 1528, Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferm, having in Germany drunk in considerable knowledge of the truth from Luther, Melancthon, Lambert, and others, he on his return, communicated it to his friends. He was accused of maintaining, *That men's sinful corruption of nature remained after their baptism; that no man can, by the power of his own free will, perform any thing spiritually good; that no man is without sin in this life; that every true Christian may know himself to be such; that men are not justified by good works, but by faith only; that good works do not make a man good, but a man being made good by God's spirit, performs good works; that evil works repented of do not make a man bad; that faith, hope, and charity, are inseparably connected; that without the assistance of God's gracious influence we can do nothing but sin: that it is devilish doctrine to assert, that men's actual penance can purchase God's pardon of their sin; that auricular confession of sin is not necessary to salvation; that there is no Purgatory; that the Old Testament saints were in heaven before Christ's death; that the Pope is Antichrist, and hath no more power than any ordinary priest.* He maintained before their court, that the first seven of these assertions were certainly true, and that he could not condemn the seven last till he saw better reason than ever he had done. He was therefore condemned to be

burnt. While he was in the flames, Friar Campbell and some others plagued him with entreaties to recant. He solemnly summoned Campbell speedily to answer at God's tribunal for his conduct so contrary to his own conscience. Campbell soon after died miserably, frantic and desperate. Mr. Hamilton's brother, James, and his sister, Katharine, were also prosecuted for heretics: but king James secretly conveyed them out of the way.

While Boethius, principal of the college of Aberdeen, and Mair, professor of divinity, and afterward provost of that of St. Andrew's, by their Latin histories of their nations, encouraged others to the study of learning, the burning of Hamilton roused multitudes to examine whether his principles were truth or error, and found them supported by Scripture. Friar Seaton taught, *That the law of God is the only rule of righteousness; that no man can satisfy for his own sin; that pardon of it is only obtained by true faith in the merits of Christ and an unfeigned repentance; that the Scripture requires bishops to preach the gospel.* Being persecuted by his superiors, he fled into England. Gavin Loggy and William Airth began to perceive the truth, and in their sermons to expose the wickedness of the clergy. Henry Forrest of Linlithgow, a simple priest, who used an English New Testament, having been decoyed by his confessor to acknowledge, that he thought Mr. Hamilton a good man, and his articles defensible, he was treacherously discovered, imprisoned, and burnt. Several were prosecuted for heresy, but recanted. David Straiton, who had been converted from a most furious and turbulent profligate, and Norman Gourlay, were condemned to the flames for their denial of purgatory, and of the Pope's jurisdiction in Scotland. Alesse, Fife, M'Dougal, and M'Bee, com-

peared not, but fled into England. After the death of Lord Cromwel, the first three retired thence into Saxony; and at last Fife returned to Scotland. M'Bee retired to Denmark, and was remarkably useful in promoting the reformation of that country. In 1538, Killore, Belfrage, friars; Simson, a priest; Forrat, a canon; and R. Forrester, were burnt for heretics. The bishop of Dunkeld had warned Forrat, that his preaching every Sabbath rendered him suspected of heresy, and advised him never to preach on the epistle or gospel of the day, but when it was a good one; and thanked his Maker, that he had lived well many years, without knowing either Old or New Testament. Russel, a grey friar, and Kennedy, a young man of 18 years of age, submitted to the flames with great piety and cheerfulness, for the sake of the truth.

James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, dying, his nephew, the Cardinal, succeeded him. He immediately commenced a prosecution against Sir John Borthwick, for holding, *That the Pope had no greater authority than other bishops; that his indulgences and remissions but deceived the people; that clergymen might lawfully marry; that the reformed principles, worship, and government embraced in England, were commendable; that clergymen ought not to possess temporalities, but kings should convert ecclesiastical revenues to other pious uses; that the canon law can be of no force, because it is contrary to the law of God; that the friars and monks ought to be abolished; that the Pope was guilty of simony, in his selling of spiritual things:—*as also for refusing to acknowledge the Pope's authority, and for reading and distributing copies of the English New Testament, and other heretical books. But to save himself from the flames, Sir John escaped into England.

King Henry VIII. of England, having sent to

his nephew, king James V. some books of the English Reformers for his illumination, and solicited a friendly meeting with him at York, in order to advise him to a similar reformation of religion in Scotland, the Scotch clergy, dreading the most fatal consequences to themselves, warmly remonstrated to James, how offensive such an interview with his heretical uncle would be to his Holiness and all good men; and how dangerous to himself. They promised him an yearly compliment of 50,000 crowns, and insisted that, by confiscating the estates of such noblemen as were guilty of heresy and rebellion, he might raise 100,000 more. Persuaded by their solicitations, he declared war against his uncle. Some terrible visions, and the death of his two sons in one day, were thought to be warnings from God against proceeding in this war.—He had no sooner heard of the defeat and shameful rout of his army of 10,000, who, under Oliver Sinclair, had marched into England, by about four or five hundred undisciplined peasants, than he died of grief, A. D. 1542. Not long after, the Committee of Estates allowed the nation to read the English Bible, till the bishops should publish a better. But cardinal Beaton, having got a testament forged for the late king, which declared himself the principal Regent of the kingdom, for Mary the royal infant; and having got out of prison, and even decoyed Hamilton, Earl of Arran into his views, he commenced a furious persecution of the protestant heretics, particularly in Perth. Some were executed, others banished, and Lord Ruthven deprived of his provostship. In Angus many were prosecuted for reading the New Testament, which was pretended to have been forged by Luther. Some were executed for refusing to pray to the

Virgin Mary; and five, on suspicion that they had eaten a goose on *Friday*.

In 1544, George Wishart, a native of Mearns, began to preach the gospel, especially at Montrose and Dundee. Beaton drove him from the latter, but not till he had warned the inhabitants, that God would speedily punish their contempt of the gospel. To the inexpressible vexation of the archbishop of Glasgow, Wishart, with great zeal, and no inconsiderable success, retired to the west of Scotland, and there preached the glad tidings of salvation. Being informed there, that on the 4th day after he had left Dundee, the plague had broken out among the inhabitants, he hastened back to them with the offers of mercy, in the midst of their distress. He soon afterward preached at Haddington, and observing, that though thousands attended a stage play, yet scarce an hundred attended his sermons, he denounced the vengeance of God against the inhabitants; which soon after overtook them by means of the French and English in the siege and defence of the place. After several narrow escapes, he was apprehended at Ormiston in East Lothian. Contrary to the solemn promise of Bothwel his apprehender, he was at last delivered up to Cardinal Beaton, carried to St. Andrew's, and there condemned to be burnt. After he had received the Lord's supper in his prison, together with the captain of the castle, he cheerfully suffered, foretelling the unhappy death of the Cardinal, who, from his window, pleased himself with the view of his torments;—as he had formerly done the remarkable illumination of the kingdom with the gospel of Christ.

To the great satisfaction of the Popish clergy, Beaton had appointed that none should pray for the soul of the heretical Wishart, under the highest

pains. But not long after, two Leslies, William Kirkaldy, James Melvil, and a few others, surprised the Cardinal in his castle, and having killed him, showed him to the mob from that very window from which he had glutted his cruel eyes with the burning of Wishart. In killing him, James Melvil solemnly protested to him, that he bore him no private grudge, but laboured to avenge his treacherous and horrid murder of that man of God. The conspirators and their friends, to the number of about 140, defended themselves in the castle, till they obtained a capitulation. John Rough, an Englishman, was their preacher in the castle, and afterward John Knox, a native of East Lothian, came and assisted him. They were accused of preaching in the castle and town, *That no mortal man can be head of the church; that the Pope is Antichrist, and not so much as a member of Christ's mystical body; that every man is bound to receive the religion received from God; that the sacraments ought to be administered in the manner prescribed by Christ, and exemplified by his apostles, that the Mass is abominable idolatry, and a blasphemous reproach of our Saviour's death; that such bishops as do not preach are not true ones; that the law of God doth not necessarily appropriate the tithes to the clergy.* But as Mair, the provost of the university and prior of the abbey, favoured their tenets, they escaped with an admonition. Rough returned to England, and there, by Bonner's influence, died a martyr in 1557.

Notwithstanding their capitulation, the besieged judging the Pontifical remission obtained for them insufficient, refused to surrender the castle, and were therefore anew besieged, and at last obliged to surrender on the sole condition of having their lives spared. In 1550, Knox and others of them, who had been put into galleys or prisons, were li-

berated in consequence of the remarkable victory of the English at Musselburgh. But no sooner had the Scotch managers obtained peace from the English, than they renewed their persecution of the Protestants. Adam Wallace, a simple man, being apprehended at Winton in East Lothian, was condemned and burnt for teaching his neighbours, and for baptizing his own child for want of a faithful minister; and for denial of Purgatory; and for maintaining that prayers for the dead were superstitious, the mass an idolatrous service, and the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper not turned into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding their hard work in determining how the Lord's prayer should be directed to God, and how to the saints, the clergy found time to publish a most pitiful explication of it, and of the ten commandments, which, from its price, was called the *Twopenny Faith*.

CHAPTER II.

Protestant Reformation pushed on by Knox—Promoted by the Nobility and others, opposed by the Queen Regent—Established by the Parliament, A. D. 1560—Confession of Faith—First book of Discipline—Reformation carried on by the Ministers and others in opposition to Queen Mary—and under the Earl of Murray further established. Morton attempts to introduce Prelatic Church Government, but is opposed by Knox, who soon after died—and others. Second book of Discipline is formed.

RETURNING from England, on account of the Marian persecution, there begun John Willock and John Knox, along with Harlow an Englishman, preached the gospel, and declaimed against the abominations of Popery. The clergy quickly commenced a process against Knox, and soon after against the other preachers. But so many of their friends attended them at their trial, and even in the Regent's presence threatened to avenge the injury done them on their prosecutors, as quite dispirited them, and made them glad to desert the diet. At the request of his old congregation there, Knox retired to Geneva, and thence directed his appeal to the nobles, gentry, and Commons of Scotland, from the bishops, who had raised a new process against him in his absence, and burnt him in effigy. Much about the same time he directed his appeal to a free General Council, and to the Queen Regent and her subjects.

Dury, bishop of Galloway, and Panther of Ross, two principal persecutors, dying as brutes, the burghs of Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Cupar, St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, Stirling, and others;—not a few of the nobility, the duke of Chastlerault, now *Hamilton*, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Arran, Monteith, Rothes, Marshal, and Morton; Lord James Stewart, afterward Earl of Murray; the Lords Lorn, Ruthven, Lindsay, Ochiltree, Boyd, Gray, Yester, and Sanquhar; Sir David Lindsay, Sir James Sandilands, and other gentry, with multitudes of the commons of Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, Angus, Murray, Lothian, Fife, and Strathern, instructed by Knox and other preachers, and by reading the Scripture and Christian conference, began to detest the clerical tyranny, and to doubt of the lawfulness of attending Mass, or offering their children to Popish baptism, or of assisting Government in their maintenance of Popish idolatry, or persecuting men for their adherence to truth; or even of quietly permitting their fellow-subjects to be murdered for the sake of religion. They quickly perceived it to be their duty, to make an open confession of their faith, and to attempt a reformation from these evils, of which they had secretly complained. Being convinced of their obligation to exert themselves to their utmost for the abolishment of idolatry, superstition, and tyranny, and to promote the pure administration of gospel doctrines and worship, they resolved to examine their own strength. For this purpose, while they agreed to hold social meetings at set times for prayer and reading of the Scriptures, till they could be provided with preachers, and Argyle and others took preachers into their families,—they employed some of their most proper hands, especially in Fife and Angus, to travel through the kingdom, and so-

licit the nobility, gentlemen, and burghers, to make an open confession of the truth, and to assist one another in the defence of it. These agents appear to have carried about with them *forms* of an *association*, to be subscribed by such as inclined. Soon after, they elected ruling elders among them, to whom they promised subjection in the Lord. From their frequent meetings, they began to be called the CONGREGATION. Laying their account with persecution from the Popish clergy and their supporters, several noblemen and others, in A. D. 1557, entered into a *solemn covenant* to promote the reformation of religion, and to defend each other in so doing; which was subscribed by the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton; Lord Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, &c.

Finding, by the return of their copies of association, which they had sent through the kingdom, that their reforming intentions were approved by the most of the nation, they appointed Sir James Sandilands to present their requests to the Queen Regent, and to insist, that public prayers, and the administration of the sacraments, should be in their own language; that ministers should be elected by their people; that the life and doctrine of candidates for the holy ministry should be carefully tried, and all ministers ignorant or scandalous, deposed, and others that were fit substituted in their stead. They represented to her, the reasonableness of their open confession of their principles, and of their protecting one another against the cruelty of the Popish priests. In order to procure their consent to the settlement of the crown upon the dauphin of France, who had lately married her daughter Mary, the heir of it, the Queen Regent pretended to allow them their public worship in their own language, providing that it should be performed

without any tumults,—and that their preachers should not officiate publicly in Edinburgh or Leith.

But the Earl of Argyle, after much faithful resistance of the Archbishop's solicitations, having died, witnessing to the truth, and other well affected noblemen being removed, probably by poison, in France,—the Popish clergy, provoked by the above concessions, and secretly countenanced by the Queen Regent, resumed their courage in 1558, and fell upon Walter Mill, an aged priest. Firmly adhering to the truth, he was condemned to the flames, which he endured with remarkable cheerfulness. His speech at the stake left a very deep impression on the minds of spectators. They also procured a sentence of outlawry and banishment against Paul Methven, who had preached about Dundee and other places of Angus. But notwithstanding all their malice, the people attended his sermons, and afforded him necessary support. At first, the Popish doctors offered a public disputation on the points of difference. But as the Reformed insisted that the *Scriptures*, not the *canon law*, should be the standard of judgment, and that their banished brethren should be allowed to assist at it, they refused to comply with their terms.

In consequence of Knox's published appeal from the clerical decision against him, the Lords, and other principal men of the congregation, insisted, that the laws empowering the bishops to proceed against heretics, should be repealed; that nothing should be reckoned *heresy*, but what was contrary to the fundamental doctrines of God's word; and that such as were prosecuted for it before civil judges, should be allowed to except against the witnesses, and propose their own defences, as well as other criminals. The Queen Regent kept their pe-

tion in her pocket, pretending that it was not expedient to have it read in parliament, as the clerical members would oppose her designs ; and that it would be more proper, first to procure the favour of the convocation. The Lords yielded for the time : but, before the parliament was dissolved, they solemnly protested, That, since they could not obtain a just reformation according to the word of God, it should be lawful for them to believe and act in matters of religion, as they could answer to God and their own conscience, till once the Popish clergy should prove themselves true ministers of Christ, and purge themselves of such crimes as they were ready to lay to their charge ; that no Protestant should incur any danger for non-observance of the laws and rites of the Popish church ; that as they desired nothing but an orderly reformation of religion, no tumults, occasioned by the diversity of religions, or violent reformation of abuses, should be imputed to them. But, by her fair promises to remember these points, and to rectify matters to their satisfaction, the Queen Regent prevented the marking of their protest in the minutes of Parliament.

It was easily foreseen that all application for redress to the Convocation, in which the principal corrupters of religion, and whose carnal interest was closely connected with the corruptions complained of, had the sole sway, could be to no purpose. The Queen Regent having got her point, relative to the settlement of the crown on Francis, her son-in-law and countryman, settled, and being offended with the freedom of some of the Reformed, gave plain hints of her intention to crush them, and to make examples of some of their chiefs, in order to terrify the rest. Accordingly, in next spring 1559 she issued a proclamation, requiring all her subjects to observe the festival of Easter, in the

wanted Popish manner. Such ministers as refused compliance were summoned before her privy council at Stirling, on the 10th of May. The Reformers sent the earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell to solicit her favour to their ministers, and to put her in mind of her promises. But she told them in a fury, that in despite of all their supporters, these ministers should be banished from the kingdom, and that the promises of princes were not to be urged upon them any further than consistent with their own convenience. The commissioners replied, that if she renounced her promises to them, they would renounce their subjection to her; and desired her seriously to ponder the consequences. Finding that vast multitudes, chiefly from Angus and Mearns, were on their way to attend the ministers at their trial, and to make an open confession of their faith, and being advanced to Perth, had sent John Erskine of Dun to assure her of their peaceable approach, she, by flattery, and solemnly declaring that the diet of council against the ministers should be deserted, and nothing done to their prejudice, engaged him to persuade his constituents to stop, and disperse themselves homeward. But no sooner had she heard of their return, than she held the meeting of council, and outlawed the ministers in their absence. Highly offended with her *Guisian* treachery, and some other attempts to ruin her Protestant subjects, Erskine posted to Perth, excused his former advice relative to their dispersion, informed them of the Regent's procedure against their ministers, and warned them to prepare for the worst.

A multitude of the Reformed quickly reassembled at Perth; and Knox, having just returned from Geneva, preached a warm discourse against the Popish idolatry. He had scarce finished it, when a

presumptuous priest began to celebrate *high mass*, and struck a boy, who exclaimed against his unsufferable impudence. A tumult immediately ensued, and every monument of idolatry in that church was destroyed. The mob, assembling, fell on the monasteries, destroyed all the monuments of idolatry they could find, and levelled the buildings almost with the ground; but permitted the monks to carry off the spoil. Not one of the protestants took for his own use the value of a groat. The inhabitants of Cupar in Fife and other places, served the monuments of idolatry in much the same manner. Informed of these things, the Regent vowed to destroy every inhabitant of Perth, man, woman, and child, and to burn the town to an heap of ashes, and sow the place with salt. She represented the Protestants as intending nothing but rebellion. To refute her calumnies, the principal Reformers made her a solemn offer of wonted obedience, providing they could have the word of God truly preached to them, and the sacraments rightly administered. They certified her, that if she did not put a stop to her cruelty, they would defend their brethren, take arms against their enemies, and manifest their innocence to Francis and Mary their sovereigns, and to other Christian princes. They warned her French troops, that if they attacked them, it should be at their peril. They entreated the Popish Lords to refrain their fury till their cause should be tried, and they have opportunity to manifest the abominable practices of the Romish priests, and the falseness of their religion. They warned the Protestants, that if any of them should take arms against their brethren, they should be held traitors to God, and excommunicated from their society. They boldly declared, that, with God's assistance, they would defend themselves and their brethren against

their enemies, though ten times their number. These resolute declarations of the master of Lindsay, lairds of Balvaird and Lundy, and some other barons of Angus and Fife, made a deep impression on some of the Regent's adherents. They began to doubt of the lawfulness of persecuting men, who offered all due obedience to civil authority, and required nothing but liberty of conscience, and to have their religion tried by the word of God. As the prelates, and their clerical agents, to their utmost, suppressed the spread of their petitions, and inflamed their fellow subjects against them, the Reformers published a declaration, bearing, That if they persevered in such conduct, and did not mitigate those whom they had inflamed, they would apprehend them, wherever they could find them, and treat them as open enemies to God and man ; and that they would make no peace with them, till they should desist from their public idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children.

Informed that multitudes were marching from the south-west parts of the kingdom to join this resolute body,—and finding that lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrew's, the bastard brother of Queen Mary, and the earl of Argyle, who had married her bastard sister, her commissioners to the congregation at Perth, were convinced that their Protestant brethren had been falsely charged with rebellious intentions, the Regent and d'Oselle, her French general, resolved to strike up an agreement with them upon as hard terms as possible. But the Earl of Glencairn, with 2500 of his friends, having, with almost incredible expedition, marched over the mountains westward of Stirling, came up before it was finished, and obliged her to grant more advantageous terms, *viz.* That none of the towns should be challenged for destroying the monuments of idola-

ry; that the profession and practice of the Protestant religion should be freely allowed through the whole kingdom; that no French soldiers should come within three miles of Perth; and that all other matters should be left to the determination of the Parliament. But the Reformers returning to their own homes, the Regent was scarcely admitted into Perth, when she changed the magistrates, fined and banished many of the inhabitants, and left behind her a guard of Scotch soldiers in French pay.

Before their departure from Perth, the Reformers had *solemnly covenanted* jointly to promote the reformation of religion in the nation, and to defend one another in so doing. The Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, Lord James Stewart, Boyd, Ochiltree, &c. subscribed it. Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, who had mediated in order to obtain the late treaty, Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Monteith, and the laird of Tullibarden, finding that it had been so shamefully violated, deserted the Regent; and the two first, with their assistants, destroyed the monuments of idolatry at St. Andrew's, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, and set up the reformed worship; and restored it at Perth. She thought to have cut them off at St. Andrew's: but being informed of her design, they offered battle to her troops at Cupar moor. She fled to Dunbar, though her forces were ten to one of her opponents: but being informed that many of the Reformers had gone home, she in vain attempted to surprise the Protestant lords at Edinburgh. Nevertheless, as she had the castle, and the French troops on her side, they entered into a new treaty with her, bearing, that no Protestants should be molested for what innovations they had made, till the parliament should settle these matters, and none of their mi-

nisters be hindered from preaching; that the Popish idolatry should not be restored, where it had been suppressed; and that no soldiers should be quartered in Edinburgh. The Reformers would not admit the mass to be celebrated in that city; but the Regent restored it at Leith and Holyroodhouse. The Duke of Chatelerauld having returned to them, and his son the Earl of Arran having joined them, the Protestant lords again *covenanted* to assist and defend one another in the maintenance of their religion. But the Regent receiving a reinforcement of French troops, resolved to force them back to the Romish delusions. After some missives had been exchanged, the war began. The Regent's troops were stationed at Leith, and those of the lords' at Edinburgh. The lords declared her *suspended* from her regency, on account of her habitual disregard of the welfare of her subjects, and her oppression of them by French troops. But the necessity of their affairs, and the desertion of some of their party to her, obliged them to retreat to Stirling in no small perplexity. Here Knox, in a sermon, sharply reprov'd them for putting their trust in the Duke of Chatelerauld and his son, rather than in God, who had formerly enabled them to perform what appeared far beyond their ability; and he encouraged them to pray and hope that he would further interpose in their favour. They applied to Queen Elizabeth of England for some assistance in men and money. A sum of money was sent them; but Bothwel, a friend of the Regent, took it by the way. About eight thousand English also came to their aid. The lords having renewed their mutual covenant, solemnly engaged to concur with them in expelling the French, whom they besieged in Leith, with considerable loss on both sides. The French

troops, having repulsed the allies, and slain a considerable number of them, piled up their naked bodies along the side of the wall. The Regent, from the castle of Edinburgh, beholding the horrid spectacle, was transported with joy, and cried, That it was the finest tapestry ever she had seen; and wished that all the fields between Leith and the castle were adorned in like manner. Not long after, she died of a shameful and loathsome distemper, lamenting the misery which she had brought on her subjects, by employing French troops against them, and professing that she expected salvation only through the blood of Christ. As she could not obtain Popish funeral in Scotland, her corpse, after about five months, was transported to France.

After a short truce, a treaty of peace was finished in July 1560, between Queen Elizabeth of England and Francis and Mary of Scotland, in which the interest of our Reformers were included; and the articles of which were, That Francis and Mary should never more claim the sovereignty of England or Ireland, and should erase the royal arms of these kingdoms from all their escutcheons and household furniture; that the transactions of the preceding year should be buried in oblivion, on both sides; that both French and English forces should return home with all convenient speed; that Francis and Mary should make no war without the advice of their privy council and estates of Parliament; nor any of the Scotch nobility assemble soldiers, in any case not allowed by the laws and customs of the country, without consent of their Sovereign and his council; that no foreigners should be put into places of power or trust; and that a free parliament should meet in August next, for settling the religion and liberties of the kingdom.

After observing a solemn thanksgiving to God for their remarkable deliverance, the Reformers disposed of their twelve principal preachers to the best advantage, John Knox to Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman to St. Andrew's; Adam Herriot to Aberdeen; John Row to Perth; William Christison to Dundee; David Ferguson to Dunfermline; and Paul Methven to Jedburgh; John Spotswood was appointed superintendent of Lothian and Merse; John Winram of Fife; John Erskine of Dun of Angus and Mearns; John Willock of Clydsdale and Air, and places adjacent; and John Carswel of Argyleshire and the Western Isles.

The estates of Parliament assembled August 1560; but as Francis and Mary had not fulfilled their promise, in sending up a commissioner to represent them in it, there was some dispute whether its meeting was lawful and valid. But it was at last resolved in the affirmative. The Protestant nobility, gentry, burgesses, and others, presented a petition, craving, That the corruptions of the Popish church might be condemned and abolished, and the worship of the primitive church restored; that the authority of the Pope should be renounced and prohibited; and the patrimony of the church applied to support ministers, teachers, and the poor. All these demands were readily granted, except the last; the nobles, who had seized upon the ecclesiastical revenues for themselves, being very loth to lose their prey.—The ministers were appointed to draw up a confession of that faith, the civil establishment of which they requested: for hitherto the Reformers had used the *Confession of Geneva*, as their ecclesiastical standard. Being exhibited to the parliament on the fourth day after, it was approved, without the least alteration, and without a contrary vote, except of Athole, Sommervil and Borthwick, who

said, They were resolved to believe as their fathers had done. The ten Popish clergymen present, whose interest tempted them to oppose it, were perfectly silent, which made the earl of Marshal insultingly to say, that *certainly it contained the very truth of God*.—The parliament also abolished the Pope's jurisdiction in this realm, rescinded all acts in favours of idolatry, and appointed, that such as said or heard MASS should be imprisoned for the first fault, banished for the second, and hanged for the third. But whether this or a subsequent meeting appointed the Protestant clergy to meet in a General Assembly, twice every year, I know not. Sir James Sandilands, a knight of Malta, who had behaved himself very neutrally in the late broils, was sent over to France with the above mentioned acts, to get them ratified by Francis and Mary: but his message was treated with the utmost contempt. Nevertheless, the Reformers the less regretted the want of their ratification, as they had so solemn a warrant for the holding of parliament. Francis' death prevented the execution of Mary's resentment, as well as the massacre of the Protestants at Orleans,—for which her *Guisian* uncles had got every thing prepared. Both Papists and Protestants immediately dispatched their commissioners to invite Mary home to her native country; and the contempt she suffered in France, after her husband's death, caused her gladly to accept the invitation, and hasten her return.

Meanwhile, the twelve ministers above mentioned, with thirty-two ruling elders of note, met in their first General Assembly, December 20, 1560, and approved of the disposal of the ministers, and presented a *form* and *order* for the election of superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons. As, in their Confession of Faith, they had scarcely touched

upon church government and discipline, and did not fully agree with the Order of Geneva respecting funeral sermons and set forms of prayer, they appointed Messrs. Knox, Willock, Winram, Spotswood, Row, and Douglas, to draw up a *Form of church government and discipline*. They finished it in a few weeks, and presented it to the privy council about the middle of January 1561, for their ratification. But some of the members, perceiving that their behaviour was to be more strictly watched, and that it inferred a recovering of the ecclesiastical revenues, which they had seized, and required an application of them to pious uses, it could not obtain a judicial ratification. But, instigated by Knox, the Duke of Chatelrault, the Earls of Argyle, Arran, Glencairn, Marshal, Morton, and Rothes, and the Lords James Stewart, Yester, Boyd, Ochiltree, Herreis, and Lindsay, the masters of Maxwell and Lindsay, George Gordon, bishop of Galloway, Alexander Campbell, dean of Murray, and others, barons, or burgesses, subscribed an extrajudicial approbation of it.

This *first book of discipline* required the abolishment of superstitious days, vows, meats, prayers, and of idolatry and all monuments thereof. It prescribed the manner of administering and receiving baptism and the Lord's Supper, and other ordinances of public worship; the form of installing ministers, ruling elders, deacons, superintendents, and readers of the Scripture, in the church, and their work; the form of censuring scandalous persons; the order of the weekly meetings of ministers for the joint exercise of their preaching gifts; the form of celebrating marriages and managing burials; and rules for towns, parishes, universities, church revenues, and reparations of kirks. Our Reformers considered their superintendents as a

mere temporary expedient for promoting the welfare of their infant church, widely different from diocesan bishops. They were to be elected by all the kirks within the bounds of their visitation,—to be examined, and admitted by the ministers and neighbouring superintendents. They were obliged to preach thrice every week, and as much oftener as possible, and to visit the several congregations in their bounds thrice a-year, and put every thing to rights. They had no sole power of excommunication or ordination allowed them; but were themselves subjected to the censures of the ministers of their province or synod, and especially to those of the General Assembly, to which they were bound, twice every year, to give an account of their conduct. In the *book of discipline*, ten or twelve of them were proposed: but, I suppose, through want of necessary salaries to bear their expences, their number never exceeded five. Public readers of the Scriptures were necessary in that infant state of the church, in which not one of an hundred was capable of reading them. Their work was to read some chapters of the English Bible to the people, especially when, as was often the case, they had none to preach to them.

Notwithstanding the convention of estates had no inclination to ratify the *book of discipline*, they appointed the Popish cloisters and monasteries to be demolished; in consequence of which, many costly buildings, much ecclesiastical furniture, and even many valuable registers and libraries, were destroyed. But the Popish bishops, abbots, and priors, being allowed to retain much of their wonted revenues, they disposed of what had been reckoned the property of the church as civil property, to their bastards or otherwise. After the news of king Francis' death, the Popish clergy and mob of

Edinburgh made some attempts against the protestant religion, to which the care and courage of the Reformers gave a timely check, so as, for some months, scarcely any durst celebrate mass, or manifest themselves Papists by their manner of worship. But no sooner had Queen Mary returned, in August 1561, than she restored the *mass* in her own abbey chapel. Highly offended, many of the Protestants declared, that they could not be unconcerned spectators of such gross corruption of the worship of God, nor would suffer the land again to be defiled therewith in their presence. To deter them, Mary issued forth a *proclamation* for protecting her domestics in their idolatrous devotion. The Earl of Arran protested, That notwithstanding this proclamation, it should be held as lawful to punish her servants for saying or partaking of *mass* or other idolatrous practices, as if they were murderers. Knox, in his sermons, and otherwise, boldly declaimed against the Protestant courtiers, who, contrary to their solemn oath, suffered the idolatry of the mass to be committed; and added, that one tolerated mass was more terrible to him than ten thousand armed forces invading the kingdom, as it would provoke God to give them up to ruin. To Mary's face, he boldly averred, That the *mass* was an idolatrous worship; and that Papists betook themselves to fire and sword, because they could not support their cause by Scripture or reason. He vindicated his own conduct, and maintained, that if princes furiously oppress and murder their subjects, they may be restrained and imprisoned. Not long after, the town council of Edinburgh enacted, That no obstinate Papist, mass-priest, drunkard, fornicator, or adulterer, should be received into their city. In revenge hereof, Mary imprisoned the provost, declared the

city free to all her subjects, appointed the council to elect a new provost, and caused her own mass to be more publicly and pompously celebrated.

The second General Assembly, meeting in December, Lethington, one of Mary's zealous Protestant supporters, gave them some trouble relative to the lawfulness of their convention without her allowance, and in opposing their supplication of her to procure them a civil ratification of their *book of discipline*. The Assembly sustained themselves impowered by Jesus Christ, as head of his church; nor, for twenty years after, had any commissioner from the sovereign any place in their meetings. In February 1562, the privy council, by an act, assigned two parties of the remaining revenues of the church to the Popish clergy, and the other third to the Popish Queen, out of which she was to pay stipends to the Protestant ministers, some of whom had 100, others 200, and some 300 merks, assigned them; which were of the same value as ten or twelve times as much at present. Knox observed that it boded ill to the church, when the devil had the two first parts of her revenues firmly secured to him, and God had but a poor chance for the *last third*.

In their General Assembly, which met in June 1562, the Reformers agreed upon an uniformity in the administration of the sacraments, according to the Genevan *book of common order*; and that the life, doctrine, diligence, and faithfulness of the superintendents, should be tried in every assembly. They earnestly petitioned her majesty to remove the idolatrous mass out of her family and kingdom, and take care, That adulterers, fornicators, blasphemers, and open contemners of God, and his Sabbaths and sacraments, should be condignly punished; that ministers and poor should be properly

provided for, and kirks duly repaired. Messrs. Knox and Hay were appointed as occasional superintendents to visit the counties of Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham. In his travels, Knox so effectually represented the danger of the Protestant religion from the then prevalence of the Popish courtiers and their friends, that a great part of the barons and gentry in the three last mentioned places, entered into a *fifth solemn engagement* to promote the true Protestant religion, support their ministers, and protect each other; which was subscribed by the Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Boyd, Cathcart, Ochiltree, and about 170 or 180 others. At the next General Assembly, in December, Winram, superintendant of Fife, was accused of slackness in his visitations; and of being addicted to worldly business, negligent of preaching, rash in his excommunications, and rigid in his exaction of tithes. Erskine of Angus was accused of admitting men to be ministers, and exhorters, or probationers, without any due trial; and Popish priests, and other wicked or ignorant persons to be readers; and scandalous persons to be ruling elders; and of conniving at ministers not residing at their charges, and not duly attending the weekly exercises of prophesying or mutual improvement. Methven of Jedburgh was accused, deposed, and excommunicated for uncleanness with his servant maid. No doubt, these blemishes in three of the twelve reforming ministers, did, in the awful providence of God, much hurt their cause.

In June, 1568, the Assembly finding that the superintendents had not been duly laborious and faithful, or had too much work on their hands, appointed Knox and some others, whom they accounted most learned and faithful, to visit particular districts, plant churches, promote the destruc-

tion of idolatrous monuments, suspend, depose, and transplant ministers, as the superintendents did, and with the same assistance from congregations, synods, meetings for exercise, or learned men. Such as found themselves injured by their ministers, elders, or deacons, were allowed to appeal to the superintendents and their synod, and from these to the General Assembly, which, for about twenty-two years, met once in six months. They also appointed the Earl of Marshal, Lord Ruthven, Lethington, and the celebrated George Buchanan, to revise their *book of discipline*, in order to procure a parliamentary ratification of it. But they do not appear to have fulfilled their task. Lord James Stewart having been advanced to be Earl of *Murray*, became much more negligent of the establishment of religion, and of punishing mass-priests, which occasioned a difference between him and Knox. In a set dispute with the time-serving Lethington, Knox and Row boldly maintained, That it was lawful for subjects to resist tyrannical princes, and to refuse her majesty the use of her idolatrous mass. Knox was prosecuted before the privy council for writing some letters calculated to convene his Protestant brethren for consultation, when he apprehended their religion and liberties were in danger; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mary and her courtiers to ruin him, he was acquitted.

A narrative of Mary's refusal to ratify the *treaty* of 1560, with her cousin Elizabeth of England; of Huntley's influence at court, and hindering Mary's conference with Elizabeth, for fear of heretical infection; his intrigues to ruin or murder the Earl of Murray, and the remarkable defeat of him and his rebellious associates in the battle of Corrichy, 1562: or of the Duke of Lenox's return

from England; and the amours and marriage of Henry, his son, with the Queen, notwithstanding all that Murray and his friends could do to the contrary; of Mary's flattering the Protestant lords, in order to obtain their consent to her marriage with Henry, and consequent contempt of them, and refusing to grant them security for their religion; her advancement of Rizzio, the Italian musician, and shameful intimacy with him; and the nobles' slaughter of him by her husband's direction, when she intended to make him chancellor, in order to attain the Earl of Murray and his party, who had fled into England; and of Mary and Bothwel's murder of Henry, in order to their marriage; and the prosecution of Mr. Craig, for publicly intimating his detestation of that marriage, when he was required to publish the banns of it; of the nobles' prosecution of Bothwel, till he fled the country; and deposition of Mary from her royal power, as a subverter of their religion and liberties; and imprisonment of her in the castle of Lochleven; and of her escape from thence and flight into England; and of the nobles' production of the proofs of her whoredom with Bothwel, and being his accomplice in the murder of Henry her husband; and of her plots against Elizabeth during her twenty years imprisonment in England; and her violent death by the base and villanous influence of Elizabeth;—or of the civil war carried on for seven years with terrible barbarity, between her partizans and those of James her son, who was crowned, an infant, in 1567, would scarcely answer our purpose.

Mary's intentions to extirpate the Protestant religion, daily became more and more evident. In 1565, Hamilton, bastard brother of the Earl of Arran, was restored to his dignity and revenues of Archbishop of St. Andrew's. Her pretended kind-

ness and flatteries gained many of the Protestant chiefs to her interest. The Earl of Murray and some others were highly offended with Knox and his faithful brethren, for their pulpit declamations against her Popish idolatry. In order to obtain their consent to her marriage with Henry, her Popish cousin, she fawned upon the Protestants, and seemed almost ready to concur with their articles for the abolishment of Popery, and for provision to their ministers, schools, and colleges; and for the punishment of horrible crimes. But she had no sooner gained her own purpose, than she peremptorily told them, That she would never part with her mass; and absolutely refused to concur with any laws against Popery or profaneness, or to allow the ecclesiastical revenues with which her council had intrusted her, to go for the support of their clergy. The destruction of Rizzio, her Italian darling, in her arms, by Ruthven, Morton, and others, who abhorred his advancement, provoked her to pretend great kindness to Murray, her bastard brother and his companions, who had just returned from their exile in England, in order that she might bend all her fury against the destroyers of her paramour.—Nevertheless, she absolutely refused to have James, her child, for whom the Protestants were so liberal of their thanksgivings to God, baptized in their scriptural form.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly had enacted, That no superintendents should depose any minister, exhorter, or reader, without the advice of the nearest discreet ministers, and no longer than till the following Assembly, which might restore, or further censure the offenders, as they thought proper; and that they should excommunicate no delinquents, in places where there were no reformed congregations, without the advice of such as were

nearest. They appointed Messrs. Knox and Craig to draw up *Rules for the right observation of public fasts*. They presented to the privy council, a solemn Remonstrance against the restoration of the Popish archbishop of St. Andrew's to his ancient and now enlarged jurisdiction. They wrote a letter to the English bishops, in favours of their Puritan brethren, that were persecuted for their non-compliance with the *surplice, cornered cap*, and other remains of Popish superstition; and also approved the latest *Helvetian Confession of Faith*, except as to the observation of holy days.

In consequence of a preceding agreement, many noblemen and barons met in the Assembly 1567, between the deposition of Mary and the coronation of James her son; and agreed, That the acts of 1560, for establishing of the Protestant religion, and giving the ministers a third part of the ancient benefices, ought to be duly executed; and that, in the ensuing parliament, they should exert themselves to their utmost to have the Protestant religion established upon a sure footing, and to have every future king bound, by his coronation oath, to maintain and practise it, as a condition of his subjects' allegiance to him;—and to have the mass and other relics of idolatry abolished, and the Protestant religion introduced into every part of the realm; and to have the horrid crimes of adultery, whoredom, blasphemy, and the like, duly punished.

After the parliament, which met that year, had confirmed the election of the Earl of Murray to be Regent for James his infant nephew and king, they ratified the Confession of Faith compiled in 1560, and declared, That all who should oppose it, or refuse to receive the sacraments in the Protestant manner, should be held as no members of this

church. They enacted, That all kings, princes, and magistrates, at their instalment, should swear to maintain the true Protestant religion now established, and abolish every thing contrary to it,—and root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, when duly convicted: They appointed the *thirds* of ecclesiastical benefices to be paid to the reformed ministers, till the church should obtain full possession of the tithes as her proper patrimony; and that, though patrons may appeal from superintendents and provincial synods, the General Assembly shall have the final decision relative to all presentations, from which none may appeal. They ordained, that no ecclesiastical jurisdiction be acknowledged within this realm, but what is established in, and proceeds from this reformed kirk, concerning the preaching of God's word, administration of sacraments, and correction of manners: They appointed Messrs. Knox, Craig, Erskine, and Spotswood, to mark out what properly belonged to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and report to next meeting of parliament.

Next year, the General Assembly appointed Messrs. Craig, Row, Pont, Christison, Lindsay, and Willock, to revise the *Order of excommunication* drawn up by Knox, and report their judgment. It was agreed to, and printed before their Psalm book, and plainly shews, That they reckoned their superintendents as merely *occasional* officers, that had no sole power of any kind. They also appointed an order of electing commissioners to their General Assemblies, bearing, That superintendents and commissioners for visitation of kirks should all have power of voting in them; that ministers and commissioners of shires should be chosen by synods; that commissioners from burghs should be chosen by the council and kirk-session of the place; and

that ministers should be chosen by turns. After the erection of Presbyteries, ministers were elected by them.

The murder of the Regent, Earl of Murray, by Hamilton of Bothwell Haugh, occasioned no small contention about the choice of his successor. And the Earls of Lennox and Mar filled his place but about two years between them. During the regency of Murray and Lennox, religion prospered, ecclesiastical courts enjoyed full freedom in planting of churches and censuring of offenders, and other parts of their work. In 1570, the General Assembly established regulations of their meetings, that: 1st, After a sermon by the Moderator of the last Assembly, a new Moderator should be chosen. 2d, The conduct of superintendents and commissioners for visitation of kirks should be tried. 3d, Penitents and scandalous persons shall have their cases considered. 4th, Matters referred by the preceding Assembly, or Lords of Session, shall be considered. 5th, The conduct and accounts of ecclesiastical collectors shall be examined. 6th, Petitions from superintendents, and appeals from synods, shall be heard. 7th, Questions proposed on the first or second days of the meeting, shall be considered. 8th, and lastly, Bills and complaints shall be judged. The Assembly also enacted, That every candidate for the ministry should, at his admission, solemnly engage never to desert his office under pain of infamy and perjury.

In 1571, the Assembly ordained, That all adulterers, murderers, incestuous persons, and other more heinous offenders, should be prosecuted before the provincial synods, which met twice every year; and that all questions should be first proposed to synods, and only such as were too hard for them should be laid before every Assembly.

Messrs. Knox, Erskine, Winram, Pont, and Row, having drawn up articles concerning the *proper object* of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, bearing, That it belonged to the church to judge of true and false religion, doctrine, heresy, and every thing annexed to the preaching of the word, and administration of sacraments;—to elect, examine, admit, suspend, or depose all such as have charge of souls, or enjoy ecclesiastical benefices;—to admonish, rebuke, and excommunicate the scandalous, and receive to repentance, and absolve the penitents;—to judge of ecclesiastical pleas between church officers, and of causes relative to marriage and divorce. They approved these articles, and presented them to the parliament for their ratification, along with a petition, That ecclesiastical benefices should only be conferred on such as the church should find qualified for the charge. But the Earl of Morton, who now managed that court, and some other Lords, abused the commissioners from the Assembly with insolent language. Morton even obliged John Douglas, whom he had just before presented to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, in the room of Hamilton, who had been hanged for a traitor,—to vote in the parliament as a bishop, under pain of treason; though the superintendent had prohibited him to vote, under pain of excommunication.

In preferring Douglas to the archbishopric, Morton had secured most of the revenues for himself, and left Douglas little more than a high sounding character, and a chance of some Antichristian power. The gain which Morton made by this infamous bargain, tempted him and Mar the Regent, a great part of whose estate consisted of church property, to enlarge their incomes in the same scandalous manner, by preferring to bishoprics such pitiful wretches as could be content with

episcopal titles and shadows of power, and allow their promoters the most of the revenues claimed by their sees. These the people called *tulchan* bishops, in allusion to calves' skins, stuffed with straw, and placed before cows, to make them give their milk.—An occasional meeting of ministers and others, that used to be members of the General Assembly, pretended to have the power of it, and marked their strong inclination to comply with that of the two infamous Earls. Pont was allowed to be a Lord of Session, providing that he continued his ministerial work. Encouraged by their compliances, Mar and his privy council appointed Morton the chancellor, Ruthven the treasurer, Adam nominal bishop of Orkney, and Robert commendator of Dunfermline, secretary, and four others, to meet with their superintendents or their commissioners, and along with them to conclude a *Form of church policy*, and method of supporting ministers and the royal dignity,—which might be binding till his Majesty should be of full age, or at least till the Estates of Parliament should abolish it.

This convention was quickly held at Leith. But it doth not appear that any ministers but Erskine, Winram, Hay, Lindsay, Pont, and Craig, were present. They agreed, That the titles of archbishops, bishops, deans, and the forms of dioceses, should be retained as before the Reformation; that a chapter of learned ministers should be annexed to every episcopal see; that in case of a vacancy the dean or president of this chapter should exercise the episcopal power; that bishops should have no more power than the superintendents, till it should be agreed on; that they should be subject to the General Assembly in every spiritual affair; that they should admit none to the ministry without the advice of six of their chapter:—they agreed on the

manner of the creation of such as should be presented by the king to bishopricks; and that every one admitted to ecclesiastical functions or livings, should swear an adherence to the Confession of Faith, and an allegiance to his majesty. They also made some rules concerning abbots, priors, or commendators, That they should be men of learning, and might be Lords of Session or members of Parliament, representing the church. They further agreed, That no minister should leave his charge forty days in the year, without express licence from the king or his bishop; that Readers might administer baptism, or celebrate marriage, if it had been duly intimated. They also enacted some regulations of ecclesiastical benefices, and of the orders and offices in colleges. The most of their agreements marked an Antichristian and carnal mind. Morton took care that nothing should be secured to the clergy, but their tithes, which he knew not how to take from them, unless in donative pensions to noblemen's servants, or by causing them to dispoise them in fee to their masters. Mar, being episcopally inclined, highly approved the above regulations. To the great grief of Knox and others, John Douglas, who was remarkable for nothing but compliance with the covetous humour of Morton, was solemnly admitted archbishop of St. Andrew's. Knox not only refused to consecrate him, but also publicly denounced a curse upon the giver and the receiver of that office. Informed of these proceedings, Beza of Geneva, begged of Knox and his brethren, to beware of re-introducing the plague of prelacy, which they had thrust out in their Reformation. Nevertheless, James Boyd was made archbishop of Glasgow, John Paton, bishop of Dunkeld, and A. Graham, of Dumblane. Soon after, we find G. Douglas

bishop of Murray, and some others,—of Caithness, Brechin, Isles, Galloway, &c.

In the end of this year, 1571, died John Knox, our principal Reformer, in a truly humble and Christian manner. His zeal for, and trust in his God, made him fearless of every thing but sin. Morton, who hated him, after his death attested, that he never feared the face of man. The majesty of his master Christ, appearing in him, made his enemies stand in awe of him. Queen Mary, notwithstanding all her levity and wickedness, owned that she was more afraid of his prayers than of ten thousand armed men. He foretold a multitude of unlikely events, which were exactly fulfilled, particularly, That the thick walls of the castle of St. Andrew's should prove as egg shells in defence of the conspirators against Cardinal Beaton; that the English would not deliver them, but they would fall into the hand of their enemies, and be carried into a foreign country; that notwithstanding manifold repulses, God would perfect the reformation of religion in Scotland; that Queen Mary would be compelled to hear the word of God; that since Henry her husband had burned the Psalm book to please her, God should strike them both head and tail; and since he went to mass to please her, God should make her the instrument of his destruction; that the castle of Edinburgh should spue Sir William Kirkaldy over its walls, and he should be hanged for his obstinate adherence to the wicked Queen; and that its St. David's tower should run down like a sand glass; that, if Morton did not study to promote the welfare of the church and nation, his regency should have an ignominious end; that Thomas Maitland should die miserably among strangers, and Lethington unhappily at home, as the punishment of their treacherous opposition to the cause of Christ.

Alarmed by the articles of the convention at Leith, the faithful ministers, notwithstanding all the power and influence of Morton, now Regent, set themselves to oppose them. The General Assembly, 1573, declared it impossible for any man faithfully to fulfil the work of a minister, and of a civil judge; and prohibited every minister, after Pont, to accept of a place in the Court of Session. The complaints against Pont for his neglect of visiting the county of Murray, as he had been appointed, justified their conduct. They likewise appointed every meeting of the clergy for exercise of their gifts to have a copy of the acts of the assembly; and that every province should have copies of the orders given to superintendents, that they might observe whether they did faithfully execute them or not. After the General Assemblies had, for eight years, laboured in limiting the power of the new bishops, and in censuring them for exceeding their bounds, and for their admission of ignorant and scandalous persons into ecclesiastical offices, and for their personal negligence and immoralities, they, notwithstanding much opposition from Morton, and even from the young king, put them down altogether, as dregs of Popery. And, with much deliberation, formed the *second book of discipline*, and declared, That the office of Readers, Exhorters, and Visitors of the church, being but *temporary*, should now cease. Some of the corruptions complained of, in the eleventh chapter of that book, were soon after abolished.



CHAPTER III.

King James VI. introduces the National Covenant; and Presbyteries formed—He once and again labours to establish Prelacy and his own Erastian Supremacy—National Covenant renewed.—Presbyterian Church Government established—Assembly Covenant with God, and earnestly promote Reformation.

THE French zealots and Spaniards had formed a *sacred league* to extirpate the Protestant religion, and their Popish brethren in Britain were disposed to join them; dispensations had been sent them from Rome, allowing them to enter into any engagement, by oath or otherwise, in favour of the Protestant religion, providing they continued firm adherents to the Pope and his religion in their heart. King James, now about fourteen years of age, under one of his religious fits, or prompted by some church-men, or by his favourites, Stewart of Aubigne, his father's cousin, now made Earl of Lennox, and Stewart of Ochiltree, now made Earl of Arran, who, about this time, for different ends, professed great zeal for the Protestant religion,—required John Craig, his minister, to form a COVENANT or oath, so expressly pointed against Popery, that no Papist, whose conscience was not utterly

debauched, might be capable to swear it. Craig drew up what hath since been ordinarily called the *national covenant*, which was subscribed by James and his privy council, the Earls of Argyle, Lennox, Bothwel, Ruthven, and the Lords Ogilvy, Cathcart, James Stewart, &c. in the beginning of 1581 James also appeared extremely zealous for establishing order in the church, and making provision for her clergy. He proposed, that the nine hundred and twenty-four parishes in the kingdom should be reduced to six hundred, and these classed into *fifty* presbyteries; and that of these six hundred ministers, one hundred should have five hundred merks; two hundred of them, three hundred merks; other two hundred of them, but two hundred merks; and the other one hundred about one hundred merks Scots, for their yearly stipend; the least of which being then an equivalent of eighty bolls of oat meal, these salaries were not so despicable as we are apt to imagine, had they not been miserably paid.

Glad to find the court in such a temper, the Assembly quickly formed these presbyteries, and supplicated his majesty and council, that there might be a Judge appointed at Edinburgh, to judge of wrongs done to ministers, and an act of Parliament declaring the particular grounds of the deposition of clergymen; and that vacant benefices should be bestowed upon such as minister in the church, not upon laymen. They cited the Popish abbots, commendators, priors, prioresses, and bishops, who still enjoyed the ecclesiastical revenues, and were basely dilapidating them to compear before next Assembly to answer for their conduct. Upon his majesty's demanding how the third estate of Parliament was to be now supplied, when bishops were put down, they agreed, That commissioners from

the Assembly should fill their place. But I do not find that they intended that these commissioners should be clergymen. They also appointed the *Covenant*, which had been lately subscribed by James and his council, to be subscribed by all ranks in the kingdom, and that such should be censured who refused to do so. They prohibited all private celebration of baptism or marriage, under pain of deposition to ministers.

No sooner had Lennox, lately converted from Popery, got rid of Morton his rival, than he laid aside his religious appearances, and presented Montgomery, minister of Stirling, to the archbishoprick of Glasgow, in the room of Boyd, and got him admitted by force; but secured for himself a great part of the episcopal revenues. He and Adamson of St. Andrew's, by their scandalous behaviour, and by their fraudulent and violent opposition to reforming measures, gave their brethren no small trouble in their assemblies. Montgomery was excommunicated; but Lennox supported him. Balcanquel, A. Melvin, Dury, and no doubt other faithful ministers, thundered forth their declamations against the court's encroachments upon the spiritual power of the church. Balcanquel and Melvil were prosecuted, and Dury was banished on that account.

In consequence of their trouble with Montgomery, the Assembly 1582, under pain of excommunication, prohibited all indirect methods of entering into ecclesiastical offices; all asking of presentations from magistrates or patrons; and all attempts to free themselves from the jurisdiction and discipline of the church by appeals to great men, or courting their favour. They declared all deprivation from ecclesiastical offices, as well as examination and admission to them, to belong to the

governors of the church; and that deprivation is from *office*, as well as from the salary. They declared heresy, Popery, common swearing, blasphemy, perjury, adultery, incest, fornication, manslaughter, theft, common oppression, common drunkenness, taking of immoderate usury, non-residence at their charges, unnecessary absence from them, or neglect of the duties thereof for forty days in a year, without very relevant grounds, or their holding of more benefices than one at the same time, or their dilapidation of the church-rents, or their simony, to be sufficient grounds of *deposing* ministers. They remonstrated to King James, That, by the advice of his counsellors, he had, to the dishonour of Christ, assumed a spiritual headship over the church, somewhat similar to that of the Pope; that ecclesiastical benefices were bestowed upon men that were violently intruded into the ministerial office; that Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies were, by letters of horning, hindered from censuring the scandalous; that while Dury was suspended and banished for his faithfulness, Montgomery, though scandalous and excommunicated, was entertained and required to preach; that the privy council had, by an act, pretended to annul his excommunication; that such as abused, hurt, or murdered ministers or others, concerned in the prosecution of Montgomery, and other scandalous persons, were not punished, but favoured; that, contrary to his promise, Lennox had never reformed his family from Popery or Papists; and that the laws, which had been made for the maintenance of the true religion, and for punishment of its open enemies, were not executed;—and insisted for the redress of these grievances. Lennox and Arran thought to intimidate and prosecute the presenters of this remonstrance. But when they

saw how boldly A. Melvin subscribed it before their face, they dismissed them in safety, suspecting that they were supported by some secret influence.

While James, and Lennox, and Arran his directors, continued oppressing the church, the nominal bishops, fearless of censure, abandoned themselves to their wonted enormities. But the nobles having rescued James out of their hands, and taken Arran prisoner, and charged Lennox to return home to France, the General Assembly appointed particular Presbyteries to prosecute the bishops of Murray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, St. Andrew's, and Dunblain, for neglecting their ministerial work, and for their familiarity with excommunicated persons, wasting of the church's patrimony, and other personal scandals. They supplicated his majesty and estates, That the acts of Parliament, relative to the liberties and jurisdiction of the church, be so explained and enlarged, as that she may have the sole power of the admission or deprivation of ministers, trial of their doctrine, and stopping of, or loosing from censure ; that Presbyteries of pastors and ruling elders be legally authorized, and an adequate punishment denounced against such as oppose their meetings ; that Synodical and General Assemblies be authorized to meet as often as they find necessary for the good of the church, and have full power to appoint their own time and place of meeting ; that no league be made with the Papists abroad, and that such as have, contrary to their oath, apostatized to Popery, be punished with banishment or otherwise, as traitors to God ; that proper methods be taken to recover the patrimony of the church, and provide for her ministers ; that all presentations be directed to Presbyteries ; that ministers disabled for their work by age or trouble

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enjoy their salaries for life. They also declared all baptism of infants by laics to be void and null.

For ten months, while the Lords had the direction of James, ministers had full liberty to execute their office; Papists, excommunicated and licentious persons, either left the country, or assumed an appearance of Protestant religion and sober conversation: the friendship between Scotland and England revived. James himself, in a multitude of forms, the convention of estates, and the General Assembly, had all declared the nobles, taking him out of the hands of Lennox and Arran, his evil counsellors, to be a lawful, honest, and good service to him and the nation,—for which they should never be pursued. But James's new tutors being more intent to instruct him in the methods of virtue and lawful government, than to flatter his pride and other predominant lusts, he soon wearied of them, and made his escape from them in June 1583. And, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the General Assembly, Papists were as highly favoured by him as ever. Archbishop Adamson, a drunken glutton, under pretence of drinking spaw water, repaired to England, to contrive with the managers there the proper methods of effectually introducing Episcopacy into Scotland. Though scarcely seventeen years of age, James returned to his former work of persecuting such as faithfully testified against the proceedings of him and his favourites. Dury was charged to remove from Edinburgh, and remain at Montrose. A. Melvin was cited before the privy council for some speeches he was said to have uttered at a public fast. The university of St. Andrew's presented a solemn attestation of his innocence, subscribed by thirty of the principal persons in the college and place. But James and his

courtiers disregarded every thing that was in favours of such ministers as were faithful and zealous; it was only pitiful and scandalous wretches that they inclined to protect. Melvin compeared, and after protesting that it belonged to ecclesiastical courts to judge of his doctrine, he repeated and vindicated his words. While James and his council raged, he laid down his Hebrew Bible before them, and told them, that there were his instructions for preaching. After admitting his enemies to be witnesses, they could find nothing in his words to make an handle of; and therefore resolved to imprison him in the castle of Blackness, on account of his refusing them to be proper judges of his doctrine. But he retired into England. All these that had been principally concerned in rescuing James from his wicked directors, were charged to leave the country, and never to return to Britain or Ireland without his express licence; and all their servants were prohibited to come within ten miles of his residence.

But few of the ministers dared to meet in the Assembly 1584. Nor durst even these transact any business. Faithful ministers were every where persecuted. Spies were employed to watch their sermons, and inform the court if they uttered any words on which they might be prosecuted. Patrick Galloway suffered no small trouble for denouncing the just judgments of God against those that subverted the Protestant religion, and abused his majesty and his authority. Davidson, Carmichael, Polwart, and others, were obliged to flee into England. After Adamson had laboured to render our faithful ministers as odious as possible, and concerted how to conform the Scotch church to the English, he returned home. A Parliament was soon after held in May, with such secrecy and dis-

patch that it was almost ended before it was heard of. Adamson and Montgomery represented the Estate of bishops in it. A lord of the articles having informed some ministers of Edinburgh of it, they, in vain, attempted to get access to it. This Parliament enacted, That his majesty had the supreme authority in all causes *ecclesiastical* as well as civil; that all refusing to acknowledge the privy council as judges in any matter, or pretending that things merely *ecclesiastical* did not belong to the civil jurisdiction, or attempting to diminish the power and privileges of bishops, that were the third estate in Parliament, should be held and punished as high treason; that all holding of assemblies, *ecclesiastical* or civil, without his majesty's special permission or appointment, or the uttering of any false or reproachful speeches against him or his ancestors or ministers, from pulpits or otherwise, should be capitally punished. When these acts were proclaimed, Balcanquel and Pont protested against them. James, having ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh to imprison all such as dared, from the pulpit, to utter one word against these acts, Balcanquel and Lawson fled into England, and remitted a faithful warning to their people; to which James obliged the town council to return a most abusive answer. The ministers replied in a discreet vindication of themselves. Another Parliament that year enacted, That every minister, reader, and master of a college, should, within forty days subscribe the above acts of Parliament, and solemnly engage to observe them, and to submit themselves to bishops as their ordinaries, under pain of losing their stipends. Craig, and too many others complied; but most of the more faithful ministers fled into England.

In 1585, Elizabeth having taken offence at the slaughter of some of her subjects by the Scotch borderers, the fugitive Lords returned; and a pestilence prevailing in Edinburgh and places about, they got James into their management, and reduced Arran to his original meanness. But they manifested more zeal for the recovery of their own civil property, power and dignity, than for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances. When the Parliament met at Linlithgow, the commissioners from the church presented to his Majesty a remonstrance against the Erastian acts of the preceding year, to which he gave a soft, but not very important reply. They were thankful that it was not worse, and insisted that he would confer with some of their most judicious and godly ministers concerning the discipline of the church, in order to have it distinctly established by the Parliament. Not long after, a conference was held between some of the privy counsellors and some clergymen, who from their allowance of power to bishops and their chapters, appear to have been none of the strictest.

In 1586, the Synod of Fife excommunicated Archbishop Adamson, for his wicked intrusion of himself into that antichristian office, and his wicked and contemptuous behaviour in it: But he appealed from them to his Majesty, Estates of Parliament, and Privy Council; and drawing up a form of *excommunication* against James and Andrew Melvin, and others of the more faithful members of the Synod, he caused his boy, attended by one or two of his jackmen, to read it in the church; and notwithstanding his own excommunication, and a preceding suspension, he would preach.—In consequence of his sham submission, corroborated by James's solicitation, the next Assembly took off, or rather declared null, his Synodical excommunication; against which Andrew

Melvin and Thomas Buchanan entered their solemn protest. From the declarations of the Synods of Merse, Teviotdale, and Tweeddale, it appears, that the ministers were far enough from unanimity of sentiment concerning the subscription of the Erastian acts of 1584. But it is still more plain, that, to secure rest for Archbishop Adamson, the privy council appointed A. Melvin, professor of divinity at St. Andrew's, to traverse the counties of Angus, Perth, and Mearns, for confuting and converting the trafficking Jesuits; and Adamson to supply his place, by teaching two lessons of divinity every week. But as this change was like to have ruined the college by the departure of all the foreign and other students of divinity, king James, at the university's request, permitted A. Melvin to return to his work. But his persecution of Gibson and Cowper, manifests, that James still hated all those that dared to testify against his conduct from the pulpit. He at once banished all the ministers of Edinburgh, because they would not pray for his mother's life, before they had proper evidence of the injustice of her condemnation. He supported Montgomery and Adamson, whose conduct was base, and their consciences always at his nod. Pont was presented to the bishoprick of Caithness; but it seems, he refused to accept of it. Lesly, a staunch Papist, who had so zealously supported Mary in England, was restored to his bishoprick of Ross.

In consequence of a remonstrance from the ministers, the Parliament, 1587, enacted, That Jesuits and trafficking priests, hearers of mass, and apostates to Popery, should be duly prosecuted and punished. The preceding laws relative to the Protestant religion were renewed and confirmed, by a general act. And, from regard to the king's purse, the episcopal revenues were annexed to the crown; which was a

ab to the heart of the prelatical interest. In 1588, James and his Estates made another act against Jesuits, trafficking priests, hearers of mass, and receders to Popery. They also entered into a new *bond* or *covenant* to maintain the Protestant religion, and defend his Majesty's person and authority against the holy leaguers or others, and to bring Papists and excommunicated persons to condign punishment; and, for the more harmonious promotion of these ends, to submit all differences among themselves to the arbitration of some friends. About the same time, the General Assembly prohibited Archbishop Jamson to marry the Popish earl of Huntley; and so observed two fasts, the one upon Thursday, and the other on the Lord's day;—and agreed, that thereafter, the first day of every General Assembly should be employed in *fasting* and *humiliation*. Another solemn fast was observed about the end of October, on three several Sabbaths—with which they connected the administration of the Lord's supper.

Notwithstanding the remarkable defeat of the pontifically blessed *Spanish Armada* in 1588, the earls of Huntley, Errol, Crawford, and others, maintained a correspondence with Philip of Spain, and with the Duke of Parma, in order to promote a Spanish invasion. The discovery of their treachery procured pompous, but scarce ever executed, laws against the Papists. Upon a supplication from the assembly, the *Bond* for religion was again ratified in the council. Orders were issued for about ninety-six ministers, in the different parts of the nation, to convene the *godly and well affected* of all ranks, and administer to them the *national covenant*, and take their subscriptions to it, and to the late *bond* for maintenance of religion and his Majesty's authority. To prevent tumults by Papists, about 50 of the nobility and gentry were appointed to

attend and support them, in this work. The zeal of the Presbyterian clergy for James' safety, manifested in this and other matters of that critical juncture, and their keeping of his kingdom in such order, while he took his romantic voyage to bring home his new queen from Denmark, so ingratiated them, that, taking one of his religious fits, he presented himself in their General Assembly, and extolled their constitution, as highly preferable to that of any other church upon earth. Archbishop Adamson's dying recantation—his profession of his sin in marrying Huntley in opposition to the authority of the church, and in opposing his Presbytery, and slanderously defending the Erastian acts of the Parliament 1584—and of his sorrow for the same, and his earnest solicitation to be absolved from the excommunication pronounced against him by the Synod of Fife, also encouraged the faithful part of the clergy.

For the confirmation of their Presbyterian government, the Assembly had required all ministers and intrants to subscribe their *second Book of discipline*. James, who had rendered himself odious to many of his subjects, by his continued favour to the Popish lords, and by neglecting to avenge the murder of the late Earl of Murray, upon Huntley, one of them, was become fond of their favour. At their request, and perhaps by means of Maitland his chancellor, who needed to wipe off suspicions of his having a hand in that murder, he held a conference with some of the principal of them—in consequence of which an act was made by the Parliament, June, 1592, *ratifying Presbyterian government, and appointing the regular meeting of Assemblies, and assigning to Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, their respective work*: and annulling all former acts in the time of Popery, contrary hereto, and declaring, that the

of 1584, should not hinder the church to exercise own intrinsic power in judging ecclesiastical causes—and annulling the act which granted dispensations to bishops, and appointing all presentations to ecclesiastical charges to be directed to the Presbyteries—and appointing them to accept of causes presented by his Majesty or other patrons, if qualified. This Parliament further enacted, if patrons did not timeously present a qualified candidate, the right of presentation should devolve on the Presbytery.—And they prohibited all feasts on the Lord's day, or erection of church or tithes into temporal lordships.

Notwithstanding this favourable act, it appears, the reasons of their fast on two Sabbaths of November, that a considerable part of the nation were perishing in ignorance for want of teachers; that many of all ranks, especially of the nobles, were inclined to Popery and Atheism; that Jesuits, and other Popish Priests, swarmed without number; that blasphemy of God's name, contempt of God's word, and of civil magistrates—treason, murder, adultery, witchcraft, and other like abominations mightily prevailed. The Assembly appointed Messrs. John Davidson, Robert Bruce, Walter Balfour, David Lindsay, and four others, as a standing committee, to espy the dangers of the church; and appointed brethren in the different parts of the kingdom to give them proper information concerning heresies and immoralities.

Letters intercepted in the end of this year, it was found, that the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Argyll, and others of inferior rank, had continued their clandestine correspondence with Philip of Spain, and it was intended, that 30,000 Spaniards should invade the kingdom, either at Kirkcudbright in Galloway, or at the mouth of the Clyde; westward of

Glasgow. Hereupon, James emitted a proclamation against the guilty, and called his subjects to make a resolute stand for the defence of their country ; and he, and a considerable number of his nobles, barons, and others, entered into a solemn association or covenant, to exert themselves to their utmost in defence of the Protestant religion, and in punishing the traitors. But, notwithstanding all this parade, James took care to protect his Papal friends, who sought his life, and the Parliament 1593, as good as absolved them, under pretence that no proper proof could be had against them. This rendered them and their brethren more and more insolent. The Synod of Fife made this a ground of fasting ; and, to James' great vexation, delivered up unto Satan, Huntley, Errol, Angus, and Home, and their principal assistants, as apostates to Popery ; and Huntley and the laird of Auchindown, as also murderers of the earl of Murray. The General Assembly, not only formed 48 particular Presbyteries, appointed rules for the visitation of them, and prohibited ministers to publish any slander against his Majesty, but also insisted with him to bring the excommunicated lords to their trial. Chancellor Maitland got that matter referred to the convention of Estates, in which, upon a sham submission, sent up in writ, these traitors were absolved from all past treasons, providing they be good subjects and Protestants for the future, and pay a certain fine. This absurd indulgence of the obstinate enemies of the religion and liberties of the nation, highly provoked the zealous Protestants, especially when they observed them, regardless of the terms of their absolution, proceeding in their wonted courses. The Assembly 1594 confirmed the sentence of excommunication inflicted by the Synod of Fife, and insisted with James for their condign punishment ;

and that proper methods should be taken to stop the increase of Popery. He returned them soft words, which, it is probable, he never intended to regard. Lord Home got himself reconciled to the church. The rest, to whom Bothwel, who had for a time terribly disturbed the nation with his violences, joined himself, were declared outlaws, and their estates forfeited. In 1595, we find little more than the Assembly's appointment of commissioners to visit colleges, plant vacant churches, and try persons that enjoyed ecclesiastical benefices.

Chancellor Maitland, perhaps chiefly to support himself in opposition to Bothwel, had for some time past favoured the church. After his death, the management of matters chiefly depended on the eight commissioners for the now super-expended royal revenues—some of which were reckoned concealed Papists. In the beginning of 1596 James emitted a proclamation, requiring all his subjects to withstand the Spaniards and all their agents; but he took care not to mention the Popish lords as any of them. Nay, while, in his beggared condition, he was soliciting the General Assembly for a public contribution in all their congregations to assist him against the Spaniards, he allowed the wives and friends of the outlawed Papists to enjoy the whole of their revenues.

The General Assembly, consisting of about 400 ministers, having met in March, applied themselves to search out the causes of the Lord's controversy with the nation, and to appoint measures for the better preservation of their religion and liberties. They began with an inquiry into the sins of the ministry; and, for remedies of the corruptions which they found among them, they appointed, That all candidates, at their admission, should be carefully tried concerning their knowledge, prudence, and

spiritual experience; that they should be solemnly interrogated, what had moved them to accept of the charge; that *none* who ingyred themselves, or solicited admission to a place or charge, *should be admitted*, nor any of the Presbytery, who had solicited for one, be allowed to act in his election or admission; that none should ask a presentation, without advice of the Presbytery, in whose bounds the charge lay; that such ministers as should not be given to prayer and diligent study, particularly of the Scriptures—or, who should not study to be spiritual and powerful in their ministrations, and to apply their doctrine in opposition to the prevalent corruptions of the place and time; or, who should preach in a dry, scholastic, and obscure manner; or who should be careless about promoting religion, negligent in visiting the sick, or in taking care of the poor; or, who should connive at the sins of their hearers, especially persons of high rank; or should be slothful in the administration of the sacraments, or admit to them persons ignorant, profane, or scandalous—or upon little or no trial—should be **REBUKED** for the first offence, and be **DEPOSED**, if thereafter they continue in their evil course;—that all admitters of persons to sacraments for money or worldly gain, be directly deposed;—that every minister have a session, composed of the fittest persons in his congregation, to assist him in governing his charge;—that their discipline strike not only against whoredom, murder, and the like, but against cursing, profane swearing, profanation of Sabbath, disobedience to parents, idleness, and want of a lawful calling, drunkenness, want of God's worship and good order in families, neglect of the religious education of children, lying, slander, backbiting, and breach of promise—and that all ministers that persevere in the neglect hereof be **DEPOSED**:—That none that fall

into scandal be readmitted to fellowship in sealing ordinances, without proper evidence of repentance: That such ministers as dilapidate benefices, or demit them for favour or money, or exchange or set tacks of them, or that transplant themselves without advice of the church, be censured: That all ministers, that are light or wanton in their behaviour, apparel, speech, or company, or that sport themselves with dancing, cards, or dice; or that keep inns, take immoderate interest for money, bear worldly offices in families of great men, deal in merchandise, forestalling of corn, or other worldly occupations, tending to discredit their office, or divert them from their work—or that are liars, revilers, backbiters, flatterers, breakers of promise, brawlers, or quarrelers—be DEPOSED, if they do not reform, when duly admonished: That no minister wait upon the court, or commence a law suit of importance, without the allowance of his church: That such as, notwithstanding admonition, take no care to cause their family behave in a sober and religious manner, shall be judged unfit to govern the church of God: That such as do not study to be every where edifying and spiritual in their conversation, be rebuked: And that none take part with scandalous persons, who are under process by their brethren.—In order to impress these matters more deeply on their consciences, Mr. John Davidson of Prestonpans, after he had read and briefly explained the 3d and 33d chapters of Ezekiel relative to the duty of Watchmen, laid home their sins to them, with such faithfulness and power, as issued in much deep contrition of heart, and solemn confession of sin, renovation of their national covenant with God, and engagement to walk more warily and labour more diligently in their charges. Not a few of the clergy being absent, the Assembly appointed, that there

should be like humiliation and covenanting with God in their synodical meetings; and in Presbyteries, for the sake of such as could not attend at Synods. The covenant was also renewed in many congregations; and where it was not, the subsequent defection quickly appeared.

The Assembly further represented to all ranks in the nation their abounding wickedness—in the decay of zeal for the cause of God—the prevailing ignorance and contempt of God's ordinances—the neglect of his worship in families, or masters turning over the performance of it upon their cooks, or other servants—the neglect of spiritual converse, and prevalence of that which is carnal and profane—the countenancing of idolatry and superstition—the observation of Popish festivals, bonfires, pilgrimages, singing of carols at Christmas, &c.—blasphemy of God's name, or cursing in common discourse; profanation of the Sabbath, by the labours of seed-time and harvest, and by journies and trysts about civil business, or by carnal sports and recreations, dancing, drinking, or keeping of markets;—neglect of relative duties, and of the religious education of children and servants—or children commencing law-suits against their parents, or giving themselves in marriage without regarding their consent;—murders, or countenancing of murderers;—adulteries, fornications, incests, unlawful marriages and divorces, legitimation of adulterous or other bastard children, drunkenness, gluttony, gorgeous and vain apparel, filthy or bloody speeches;—sacrilegious seizing of the church's property, to the hindrance of the spread of the gospel; oppression of tenants with racked rents, slavish services, or unseasonable tithing—oppression of the poor by usury, forestalling of markets, or withholding of corns from sale—strolling about of pipers, fiddlers, songsters, sorners, sturdy beggars, or like unlawful callings, and all countenancing of them.

They represented to the courts of civil judicature, their great wickedness, in their almost universal neglect of doing justice between man and man; their remissions or reprieves in cases of murder, incest, or adultery; the advancement of weak and wicked men into the office of judges; the neglect of punishing Papists, particularly the Popish Lords, and their adherents, but allowing the rents of their forfeited estates to their wives and friends, who supported them; the allowing of pretended bishops, abbots, or priors to vote in parliament, in name of the church; buying of pleas; delaying or wresting of justice for the sake of bribes; and suffering about four hundred parishes to continue without any fixed gospel ministrations, for want of provision to ministers.

They no less faithfully represented to the king himself, the sins of his family, that sometimes family worship, and even the reverend asking of God's blessing upon meals, or giving thanks for them, were neglected; that they made no conscience of attending the sermons on week days; that he and his favourites sometimes conversed in time of sermon; that he and his courtiers were guilty of profane cursing and swearing; that murderers, Papists, and excommunicated persons, were countenanced in his family, or allowed to be in his company; that his queen and her ladies were not duly delicate in their company, but indulged themselves in night-wakes, balls, and sinful absenting from the worship of God.—They also represented to him some methods of redressing the more public grievances.—And they agreed to appoint a committee to attend his court, in order to promote the planting of churches, and procuring of stipends; and that, if patrons did not present candidates before *six months* from the death of the former incumbent, the Presbytery should immediately present one.



CHAPTER IV.

King James favours Papists, and by captious questions—Clergymen's Vote in Parliament—Constant Moderators—Packed General Assemblies—Introduction of Diocesan Bishops and Popish Ceremonies—And by Persecution of the Faithful about twenty-seven years, terribly defaced the Church—King Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, for about thirteen years more, increased her misery, by supporting Arminianism and Prelacy, and obtruding more Superstition.

IN the end of 1569, the Popish Lords, finding their foreign quarters not to their wish, resolved to return home, and make their peace with their country, on the easiest terms. As it was suspected that James encouraged, if he did not formally invite them to return, the ministers took the alarm, and the Assembly and their commissioners remonstrated against their continuance in the country, as they were notorious enemies to its religion and liberties,—and against James' allowing the Popish countess of Huntley to be present at the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth, and his entrusting that princess to the care of the Popish lady of Livingston, who was upon the point of being excommunicated by the church. Andrew Melvin, in his bold

and zealous manner, faithfully represented to him his and his council's wickedness, in labouring to bear down the faithful ministers of Christ, and to assume authority in spiritual causes, and to protect the Popish Lords. James gave them no satisfaction, but told them, That he and they would never agree, till the limits of their respective jurisdictions should be distinctly fixed; and particularly, till it should be enacted, that no minister should, from the pulpit, meddle with his and his council's procedure;—that no General Assembly should meet without his special command, nor any deed of it be of any force, before it was ratified by him or his commissioner; and that no church judicatory should meddle with any causes against which the civil laws do strike.

Not long after, James summoned Mr. David Black in St. Andrew's, to appear before his privy council, to answer for some words, which he was said to have uttered from the pulpit, against the behaviour of himself, his queen and council. Black protested, that the church was the proper judge of his doctrine at first instance, and declined the authority of the council, as incompetent to be primary judge in this matter. Solemn attestations of his innocence of that which was laid to his charge, from a great number of his most respectable hearers, in the magistracy and university, were produced before the council; but these were altogether disregarded, and the deposition of his enemies, however malicious, and of others grossly ignorant, were sustained against him as proof: and he was banished to the north side of Tay. About three or four hundred ministers signed an advice to Mr. Black, to decline the council. None was more active in procuring subscriptions than *Spotiswood*, afterward *Archbishop of St. Andrew's*, who, at the same time,

treacherously informed James of all their procedure. The faithful ministers earnestly remonstrated against his majesty and council's judging and punishing their brother, Mr. Black. But all was in vain. He was determined to humble them.

Highly offended with the commissioners, whom the church had appointed to watch against her dangers, on account of their faithful information of Presbyteries, and for their remonstrances against the favour shewn to the Popish Lords, or the like, James charged every one of them to depart from Edinburgh; and then stretched every nerve to decoy those that remained into his Erastian measures. He promised his utmost efforts to procure better stipends to the clergy, if they would demonstrate their loyalty, by subscribing a BOND, which he had, or intended to form. Fearing that some, by their poverty, might be induced to comply, the banished commissioners transmitted a warning to the several Presbyteries to be on their guard. The bond, which James prepared for their subscription, contained in it a promise of allegiance, and of submitting their doctrine relative to things which might be reckoned to concern the king and his council, to them as proper judges of it, and never to decline their jurisdiction as incompetent. Against the subscription of this Bond, the ministers pled, That it was superfluous to bind themselves to allegiance, since they had done that sufficiently in the *national covenant*, which had been lately renewed; that their doing it, in the manner required in this bond, supposed them to have been formerly disloyal; that this bond, proceeding from the church's enemies, was to be suspected as a snare; that the infamy of those that subscribed a like bond, by the instigation of Archbishop Adamson in 1584, was a warning to forbear subscribing at present; that

this bond restrained faithful reproof, and means of repentance, and made the king head of the church as well as of the state, and was contrary to the word of God, and to the laws made for the liberties of this church.

Robert Bruce, and other ministers of Edinburgh, declined to confer with James, till he should recal the commissioners of the church, whom he had banished from the city. Some courtiers, who hated the eight managers of the royal revenues, by dealing with both parties, laboured to kindle strife between them and the church. To free himself of four hundred pounds Scots of debt, one Robert Stewart a macer, gave up to the king a list of such burghers in Edinburgh, as were most careful for the safety of faithful ministers; in consequence of which, 24 of them were charged to depart from the city. Alarmed herewith, Messrs. Balcanquel and Bruce represented the dangerous situation of the church to such as were well affected to her. They, after mutual consultation, appointed the Lords Lindsay and Forbes, Mr. Bruce and some others, to represent to his majesty his duty to interpose his authority for the prevention of impending dangers: But he refused to regard their request. Some agents of the court, by raising a report, that he had given an unfavourable answer; and that the inhabitants were in arms;—and by crying at the doors of the churches, in which they were assembled, *Save yourselves*, and in the streets, *To arms*, raised a considerable mob,—some of which thought the king had been in danger, and others, that their ministers had been murdered. Notwithstanding his sickness, the provost rose, got out, and quelled the uproar.

Affrighted for the consequences, James sent for their petition that same night, and promised to

content the ministers and their supporters. They insisted that he should remove from his council, Seaton, Elphingston, and Hamilton, three of the OCTAVIANS formerly mentioned, whom they judged troublers of the church, and supporters of the excommunicated Popish lords; and that these lords should be banished the country till they should offer proper satisfaction to the church and nation; and that the commissioners of the church should, by a royal proclamation, be invited back to Edinburgh, whence they had been driven. But his fright being over, he refused their agents access to present these requests to him; and at last, pretending to be provoked with the late tumults, he fled off to Linlithgow, appointed all strangers to depart from Edinburgh, and prohibited the judges to hold any more courts in it. Messrs. Bruce, Balcanquel, Balfour, and Watson, ministers of Edinburgh, and Cranston of —, were summoned to appear before the privy council at Linlithgow, and answer as required; and warrants were issued to apprehend five of the principal burghers that favoured their courses. Expecting no justice, the ministers fled, but the burghers compeared and were cast into prison. The ministers and other friends of the church were exceedingly grieved on account of the tumult, as they perceived how it would be improved to the reproach of the work of God in their hands. On the Sabbath after, Mr. Bruce publicly declared his detestation of it, and of the neutrality of too many ministers, and of the countenance given to the Popish lords. After their flight, he, and Balfour, and Watson, remitted large vindications of themselves and brethren from all share in the tumult.

Bent to have the Scotch church conformed to the English, in order that his succession to Queen

Elizabeth of England might be the easier, James had already formed a list of his intended bishops; but as things were not yet quite ripe for establishing them in their sees, he published fifty-five questions, which he required the General Assembly to answer, viz. Whether matters relating to the external government of the church might not be disputed? What power the king and clergy have in the making of ecclesiastical laws? When it is lawful for ministers to leave their flocks? Whether ministers may apply their doctrine to such as are not of their congregation? Whether ministers may, from the pulpit, point out particular transgressors? For what enormities they may publicly blame magistrates? Whether such public declarations from the pulpit against the faults of particular persons, ought to proceed on full certainty, or upon mere report and suspicion? Whether preachers may wander from their text in declaiming against vices? Whether a minister may exercise jurisdiction without the consent of the greater part of his session? Whether the session be judges of their minister's doctrine? Whether ruling elders may ever moderate in sessions? Whether the minister alone hath power to choose the members of session? Why ruling elders and deacons are not chosen for life? How many Presbyteries ought to be in a county? And how many pastors in each? Whether only pastors, or also all ruling elders and deacons ought to have votes in Presbyteries? What ought to be handled in Presbyteries, which may not be transacted in sessions? What form of process ought to be used before sessions and Presbyteries? What ought to be decided in Synods, which may not in Presbyteries? What power of judgment have governors and professors of colleges in Presbyteries, Synods, and Assemblies? Whether any but the su-

preme magistrate, when he is Christian and pious, bath lawful power to convene General Assemblies? Whether should the meetings of General Assemblies be ordinary or extraordinary? Who have right to vote in Assemblies? Whether all men of religion and learning in the church, or only all pastors, or only commissioners? How many members are necessary to form a General Assembly? How many of these ought to be ministers? And how many not? Who have the power of choosing commissioners to sit in General Assemblies? Whether an act of the General Assembly be valid without the king's consent? Whether two thirds of the votes be necessary to render an act authoritative? Whether inferior judicatories can judge persons that do not reside within their bounds? What judicatory shall administer discipline to the king's household and council? Ought every person required to attend church judicatories to have a formal citation assigning its own grounds? Can an inferior court summon persons to a superior one? Must private admonitions, with reasonable intervals, take place before all citations? What interval is necessary between different admonitions, or between admonition and citation, and between citation and compearance? Of how many citations doth the neglect infer contumacy? Whether simple contumacy, without a particular crime, or a particular crime without any contumacy, be a sufficient ground of excommunication? What different church censures are there? What scandals may Presbyteries judge of, and what not? May murderers, usurers, and such as do not pay their just debts, be excommunicated? If so, why should not all the thieves of the Highlands and borders, and merchants be excommunicated? May an appeal be made from an inferior to a superior judicatory? Is

the sentence suspended during an appeal to a higher court? Ought all processes to be extracted for the behoof of parties? Is summary excommunication, without any citation, lawful? May any but pastors vote in a sentence of excommunication? Hath every church judicatory equal power to excommunicate offenders? May Papists, who were never members of our church, be excommunicated? May Christian kings annul notoriously unjust excommunications? May a whole council and university be excommunicated? And for what? By whom? And in what manner? If the clergy neglect their duty, may Christian kings rectify their disorders? May fasts for general causes be appointed by Christian princes? May church courts require persons to give an oath of purgation? May points relative to civil rights be judged in church courts? These questions had answers returned to them by order of the Synod of Fife, and by Patrick Galloway, and by another minister of a more zealous cast.

Soon after, James called an assembly at Perth, and took care to have an hitherto unparalleled number of north country clergymen to be members of it. After no small disputing, the majority voted it to have the power of a *General Assembly*. Dropping a number of his above mentioned questions, James required them to declare, That it should be lawful for either the prince, or any pastor, to move their doubts, and crave information concerning any part of their government, which is not expressly appointed in the word of God; that no minister should publicly meddle with affairs of state, or with any of his Majesty's laws and ordinances; but if they think them wrong, privately complain to himself and his council; that no minister shall publicly point out any transgressors, except fugi-

tives and excommunicated persons, so as the hearers may know them; that none shall meddle with any point not pertinent to his own congregation; that every Presbytery shall take care of these in their bounds behaving regularly in these matters; that three different citations, with eight days of interval, shall precede every excommunication; that no Presbytery or Synod shall censure any person who doth not reside in their bounds; that all citations shall contain the cause and crime for which the person cited are to answer; that except their ordinary meetings of Session, Presbytery, or Synod, ministers shall hold no convention without his majesty's consent; that in principal towns no minister shall be chosen without the consent of their particular flocks, and of his majesty; that some discreet ministers shall be appointed at a proper time to reason upon the rest of his questions; and that till that be done none shall touch upon them either in pulpits or judicatories; and that some of the northern clergy shall be appointed to absolve the Earl of Huntley from his excommunication, providing he give them full satisfaction. The consciences of this pliant Assembly could not come up to the whole of James's demands: but they did what they could to gratify him. They fixed as terms of satisfaction for Huntley, that he should renounce the Popish religion, subscribe the national covenant, join in communion with the church; and in the kirk of Aberdeen profess his sorrow for his apostacy and murder—and that, as an evidence of his sincerity, he should reconcile himself to those that had promoted his prosecution, and should provide sufficient stipends for the kirks on his lands. At the request of Angus's countess, and of Errol himself, ministers were appointed to deal with them, and to absolve them on the same terms as

Huntley, except in that which related to the murder of the Earl of Murray, in which Angus and Errol had no hand. Meanwhile, to please the faithful party, this Assembly supplicated James to publish a declaration of his real intentions to maintain the true Protestant religion and discipline presently professed, and to banish from his kingdom all obstinate Papists, Jesuits, and excommunicated persons, and apprehend and imprison them if they should return; and to relax his outlawry against the ministers of Edinburgh and others, and allow Messrs. Black, Howison, and Welsh to return to their flocks; to deal favourably with the city of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the late mob, or other provocations; to promote the due punishment of such as had, or should assault, hurt, or mutilate ministers; and to provide sufficient stipends where they were wanting. He pretended that he was ready to grant all their desires, except what related to the *outlaws and banished*.

Few besides the commissioners from Fife came up to the ordinary meeting of the General Assembly in April 1597. After confession of their sins, they took a solemn protestation for the liberties of the church. In May, *King James's second Assembly* met at Dundee. As he had called them together, his will was their rule, and to please him and his council was their great end. Upon information from the Presbyteries of Murray, Aberdeen, and Angus, concerning the excommunicated lords, these Presbyteries were appointed further to deal with them, and to receive them upon terms much the same as above mentioned. They added some explications to the declarations, which had been required or given at Perth. They answered the rest of James's ensnaring questions as much to his content as they could. They appointed a commission

of their number to confer with his majesty for promoting of perfect harmony with him and his council, and to execute the articles which had been passed. Thus, I think, began the *Commissions* of the General Assemblies, which have often transacted more public work than the Assembly itself. These commissioners now appointed, together with James and his agents, dressed up matters to their pleasure; and the Assemblies as their tools turned their will into the form of acts. To prevent the faithful ministers from counteracting their designs, the principal of them were put out of the way. Black and Wallace were removed from St. Andrew's. A. Melvin had been put from his rectorship, and expelled the university, had not the clamour of the people and of the foreign students obliged them to let him alone. But, to prevent his interfering with the government of the church, James and his ecclesiastical commissioners enacted, That no masters or professors in universities should vote in any church courts upon matters of discipline.

The Popish lords being restored to the fellowship of the church, the Parliament which met in December restored them to all their civil privileges and honours. Some years before, mention had been made of ecclesiastical commissioners to sit in Parliament as the third estate, instead of the dignitaries of the Popish church; but without any hint whether they should be clergymen or not. Now the ecclesiastical commission insisted, that some ministers should have *vote in Parliament* in order to secure the interests of the church. The abbots, priors, and lords of session opposed it as derogatory to their power. But James got it carried; and the more easily, as the other estates of Parliament thought that no Presbyterian minister would accept the Popish title of *bishop, abbot, or*

prior, in order to enjoy such promotion. Having carried this point, James and his ecclesiastical commission appointed next General Assembly to meet at Dundee, two months sooner than had been intended. After it had met, and agreed to bury some grievances, and appointed another commission, and James had allowed the banished ministers to return to their charges in Edinburgh, &c. he, in a solemn harangue, represented to the Assembly the necessity of some ministers voting in Parliament, and protested, that he had no intention to introduce any Popish or English bishops, but was merely concerned for the welfare of the church. The speeches of those ecclesiastical commissioners that thirsted for episcopal sees, were but an echo to his. After much warm debate it carried, that about *fifty one* ministers should have a vote in Parliament as *commissioners* from the church, but under strict limitations, in order to prevent their assuming any power over their brethren. Mr Davidson of Preston-Pans entered a solemn protestation against this act, but it was not allowed to be marked. The terror of his majesty's presence kept many of his brethren from adhering to his protest. But he had no sooner crossed the Tay in his way home, than about three or fourscore subscribed it, though it was afterward thought prudent to cut off their names. This Assembly further enacted, That the minutes of Synods be brought up to every Assembly in order to be examined; that none be married till they be thrice lawfully proclaimed; that such ministers as celebrate clandestine marriages be deposed; and that the parties satisfy the church by *public repentance*; that no images be carried about at burials; that Presbyteries meet every week; and that a proposition of divinity be handled in their meeting once a month; that every minister

have a weekly examination of part of his congregation; that every Presbytery send up commissioners to the Assembly, not above three in their own name, and a ruling elder in name of the barons, and two ruling elders from Edinburgh, and one in the name of every other burgh.

About the beginning of 1599, James appears to have been seized with a fit of zeal for the Romish abominations. Beaton, the old Popish archbishop of Glasgow, was restored to his dignity, and appointed ambassador to the court of France. James transmitted an affectionate missive to his Holiness, and requested that the bishop of Vaison, a Scotchman, might be created a cardinal, and empowered to act in the correspondence betwixt them. Edward Drummond was instructed by James to negotiate with the Pope and his cardinals for promoting this design. This affair happening afterward to be divulged, secretary Elphingston, who had been made Earl of Balmerino, took the blame upon himself, and had a sham process directed against him, on that account. But few that consider James's constant regard to the Popish party, and the mean shifts with which he ordinarily attempted to cover his base designs, will doubt of his being the real author of that letter. In his *Basilicon doron*, published that year, he declares, That parity among ministers is inconsistent with monarchy; that without bishops, the three estates of parliament cannot be established; that presbyterian zealots seek to establish a *democracy* in the state; that kings ought to hate none more than proud Puritans, and ought never to suffer their chiefs in any kingdom.

To make voting of ministers in Parliament go down the more quietly with the nation, several conferences were held concerning it. These of Falkland, where the *CAVEATS* were considered, and

of Holyroodhouse, were the most noted. In the last, after reading the act of Assembly at Dundee, concerning these commissioners from the church to vote in Parliament, and the *caveats for limiting their power*, the ministers entered on the dispute, but could neither agree upon the lawfulness of their voting, or the title that should be given them. Highly provoked with the bold speeches and unanswerable reasonings of Andrew Melvin and his friends, James threatened, that if they would not fill up the third estate of Parliament with their ecclesiastical commissioners, he would fill it up as he pleased. His majesty still needing the assistance of the complaisant clergy of the north, the Assembly, 1600, met at Montrose. This affair was introduced by a conference between four on each side. Patrick Sharp, James Melvin, Patrick Simpson, and David Barclay, on the one hand, maintained, That the acts of Parliament, and Assembly, appointing ministers to vote in Parliament, are directly contrary to the word of God,—as all ecclesiastical prelacy and carnal dignity are, Luke xxii. 25, 26. Matth. xx. 26. 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. 1 Pet. v. 1—3. As it makes men, who are separated to the service of God, turn back to the world and the offices of it, Num. iii. 44, 45. and xviii. 6. Deut. x. 8. and xviii. 12. Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3. Rom. i. 1. As it hinders ministers from their proper work, Luke ix. 59, 60. Deut. xxxiii. 8. Acts vi. 2. hinders them from preaching the word in season and out of season, 1 Chron. ix. 33. 2 Tim. iv. 2. John xxi. 15, 16, 17. Acts xx. 20, 28, As it represents the ministerial charge to be light and inconsiderable, contrary to Ezek. iii. xxxiii. Zech. xi. 17. Acts xx. 20, 28, 31. 1 Pet. v. 2. 2 Cor. ii. 15—17. Heb. xiii. 17. As it confounds offices and jurisdictions, which God hath distinguished,

Num. xviii. 4, 7. 2 Chron. xvii. xix. Matth. xxii. 21. Deut. xxii. 9—11. As it makes ministers to meddle with things not pertaining to their office, 1 Pet. iv. 15. John xvi. 15. and xviii. 36. Luke xii. 13, 14. John viii. 11. As it entangles Christ's soldiers in the affairs of this life, Num. iv. 3. 2 Tim. ii. 4. As it hath no example in the Christian church for almost eight hundred years after Christ;—as the offices of magistrates and ministers are so different in their subjects, matter, manner, and end of administration;—and as this church hath expressly prohibited ministers to be notaries, farmers, innkeepers, &c.

So strong was the reasoning, and so firm the opposition, that James, by all his authority and craft, could not obtain that these commissioners should be continued till death, or till some fault should render them unworthy of their power, but merely, that they should be chosen every year. But he and his party got the act so marked in the minutes, as to import no more, than that they should, every year, give an account of their conduct, and lay down their commission at the feet of the Assembly. The CAVEATS, formerly agreed upon in the conference at Falkland, were ingrossed into this act, and imported, That the Assembly, with advice of Presbyteries and Synods, should nominate six out of every district, from whom his majesty should choose one; That these commissioners should never propose any thing in name of the church, without special direction from her, or such things as they can answer for to her; that, under pain of deposition, they should never forbear to oppose what was prejudicial to the liberty of the church; that, under pain of infamy and excommunication, they should give account of their conduct to every Assembly, and obtain a ratification of it; that they

should rest contented with whatever benefice the king allows them, without attempting to hurt the salary of any other minister; that they should neither directly nor indirectly dilapidate their benefices, nor grant any disposition or lease of it, without consent of his majesty and the General Assembly; that they should continue to execute the office of pastor to their congregation in all points, and be subject to the trial of Presbytery and Synod, as other brethren; that, under pain of deprivation, and of the nullity of every thing afterward transacted by them, they should never claim any power above their brethren in the exercise of church government; that in Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, they should in all things behave as other ministers; that before their admission to their *commissionership*, they should swear to observe the above *limitations* exactly; and that upon their deposition from the ministry, they should lose their benefice and seat in parliament.—It was further ordained, That they should have no vote in General Assemblies, unless by virtue of a commission from their presbyteries; and that their *ambitus* or using of any means to obtain preferment, should be sustained a sufficient cause of deprivation.—This Assembly appointed a commission to finish their work, any nine of whom, with his majesty and his agent, made a *quorum* or number sufficient for acting.

Convinced that James's veracity was little to be depended upon, Messrs. Bruce, Balcanquel, Balfour, Watson, and Hall, ministers of Edinburgh, hesitated to publish his representation of his danger and his deliverance from a conspiracy of the Earl of Gowry and his brother at Perth, in the way of public thanksgiving to God. He therefore prohibited them to preach in his dominions,

under pain of death. As the citizens would accept of no other in their stead, he was obliged to permit them all to return, except Mr. Bruce, who therefore retired to France. Nor did James rest, till he had got Balcanquel, Balfour, and Watson, transported, and some of his own creatures put in their place.

To prevent the faithful ministers' attendance, or ready opposition of his measures, James caused the General Assembly to meet at Burntisland, in May 1601, ten weeks sooner than had been appointed. Nevertheless, Messrs. Davidson of Prestonpans, and James Melvin of Anstruther, transmitted their monitory letters, obtesting all the members to be faithful to the cause of Christ, in opposition to the manifold corruptions then creeping in. To deceive the honest party, James and his complaisant dupes joined them in assignation of the causes of the decay of religion, and of proper remedies thereof: *viz.* the wrath of God on account of the contempt of the Gospel; the sloth of ministers, and their neglect to discover apostates from the Protestant religion; the want of able ministers, especially where the Popish Lords and other nobles reside; the rash admission of candidates into the ministerial office; the untender conversation of ministers, and their suiting of themselves to the humours of their people; the desolation of the churches of Edinburgh; the advancement of ill affected persons into places of power and trust; the education of his majesty's children in the company of Papists, and of the young nobility by suspected masters; the decay of schools; the overlooking of the restored Lords' non-performance of the terms of their

reconcilement. They, however, took care to make no mention of their own attempts to overturn the reformation which had been attained, and to render the church dependent on the mere will of the civil magistrate.—Not long after, Mr. Bruce was permitted to return home; but it was required of him to imitate his other hesitating brethren, and in different places to intimate from the pulpit his belief of James' account of the perhaps altogether pretended conspiracy. He abhorred such sinful and sneaking compliances, and so continued under the royal frowns.

The next General Assembly was appointed to meet at St. Andrew's, in the end of July 1602; but James, to mark his spiritual supremacy, transferred it to Holyroodhouse, on the 10th of November following. At the entry, James Melvin protested against the change of the day. The ministers, who had been appointed to deal with Huntley, Errol, Angus, Home, and Herreis, reported their conduct: but, except that of those who had attended Errol, it was little to the purpose. Notwithstanding their former negligence, young Spotswood and the rest were appointed to deal further with them, and with the other Popish Lords, Maxwell and Semple. A numerous committee was appointed to visit the church, and inquire into the conduct of ministers, congregations and presbyteries; and *Rules of visitation* were prescribed. But the leading men in it were too intent on prelatical dignities to execute this work to any good purpose.

The Synod of Fife presented a number of grievances; That General Assemblies were not regularly held according to the laws of God and the land, or the necessity of the church, but the

diets of meeting altered without the knowledge or consent of either presbytery or synod; that ministers were summoned before the privy council at first instance, to answer for their doctrine, or manner of discipline; that applications in presbyterial exercises were condemned; that the government of the church was put into the hand of a few commissioners, to the injury of presbyteries, and synods; that the doctors of universities were debarred from General Assemblies; that the observation of the *CAVEATS*, by the church's commissioners to vote in parliament, is not inquired into; that the alteration of the ministers at Edinburgh hath much hurt the cause of religion, and encouraged its enemies; that laws for church government have been made, contrary to the judgment of almost the half of the ministry; that the land is defiled, and the church hurt, by indulging the French ambassador in the free and public use of his idolatrous mass; that excommunicated Papists are allowed to continue in the country; that the absolved nobles give no evidence of their professing any thing but Popery; that pains are taken to conceal the danger of the church from faithful ministers or professors; that church discipline is not duly executed against incest, murder, adultery, or the like: To this heavy complaint, scarce any other answer than a mere shift was returned.

But with much more pleasure, the Assembly considered a plan for the enlargement of their stipends;—and, at James's desire, allowed of the celebration of marriage on the Lord's day; and ordered, that all who made profession of the Protestant faith should have their children bap-

tized. Young Spotswood was accused of attending mass in France: but James and his complaisant clergy got this matter hushed.—This Assembly was far from being free. Messrs. R. Bruce, J. Davidson, and A. Melvin, were expressly prohibited to come near it. Such as faithfully spoke their mind were upbraided and mocked by the king or the moderator, and commanded to be silent. Not long after, some further pains were taken with Mr. Bruce to make him approve James's account of Gowrie's conspiracy. But, finding that no condescension would procure his restoration to his flock at Edinburgh, he would make none, and represented his reasons to the town council. The commission of the Assembly declared his kirk vacant, and at the same diet, approved a marriage between two adulterers, both of whose former yoke-fellows were still living, and absolved them from the excommunication inflicted on them by the ministers of the south.

When James set off for London to receive the English crown in A. D. 1603, all the imprisoned malefactors were liberated. But A. Melvin and J. Davidson had their confinement continued, and R. Bruce continued secluded from his charge. Apprehending that James's communion with the English church would lead him to attempt a reducing of the Scotch to the same forms of worship and government, the synod of Fife, in 1604, appointed some of their number to present their faithful advice to the Assembly's commission, begging them to insist for a parliamentary ratification of all former laws made in favours of the church, and to protest, that any thing enacted contrary to the religion presently

established by either commission, or otherwise, should be held null and void; and to insist, that none should vote in parliament, in the name of the church, but such as bear office in her, and are appointed by her; and that such commissioners shall not, under pain of deposition, propose any thing in parliament in the name of the church, without express direction from her; nor keep silence, when any thing detrimental to her interests is proposed; and that care be taken, that no prejudice be done to her doctrine, worship, discipline, or government, by the intended UNION of Scotland with England.

Spotswood, now made archbishop of Glasgow, instead of Beaton the Romish priest, Gladstones, bishop of Galloway, and Lindsay, bishop of Ross, being appointed commissioners for regulating the terms of that UNION, marked an absolute unconcern about every thing religious. But the Earl of Morton insisted for a clause in their commission, bearing, That the state of religion in doctrine and discipline should be preserved in Scotland. In vain, he also begged the commission of the Assembly to assist in securing that point, though, with difficulty enough, he procured an act or clause, bearing, that the religion presently established in Scotland shall not be in the least prejudiced by the intended union of the two kingdoms;—which his opponents took care to keep out of their records.—Meanwhile, under deep apprehensions of their danger, the presbytery of St. Andrew's and synod of Lothian renewed their subscription of the *national covenant*, and Spotswood, nominal archbishop of Glasgow, and John Law his successor, subscribed among them.

With King James's own consent, the Assembly at Holyroodhouse had appointed their next meeting at Aberdeen, in July 1604. But the ecclesiastical commissioners to sit in parliament, fearing to give account of their conduct, procured a delay. James required, that the meeting should be deferred till the union of the two kingdoms should be deliberately considered, and a new warrant for holding it emitted. Nevertheless, the presbytery of St. Andrew's, zealous for the liberties of the church, appointed Messrs. James Melvin, William Erskine, and William Murray, their commissioners to attend it. Upon the day appointed, they repaired to the place of meeting in Aberdeen, and solemnly protested, That the hurt that should happen to Christ's church, by the neglect of this meeting, should not be imputed to them, or their constituents. Instigated by some northern ministers, the presbytery of St. Andrew's, by their missives and otherwise, procured such a number of correspondents from other parts of the kingdom to attend at next synod of Fife, that Lauriston, the king's commissioner for ecclesiastical affairs, fearing that it would turn out a General Assembly, procured an order from the privy council to hinder their meeting. But finding, that they only claimed the powers of a synod, he forbore. Heavy complaints were made, that the church's commissioners to vote in parliament did not observe the CAVEATS; and that some who had been nominated to bishoprics, voted without any commission.—The synod agreed to petition his Majesty, That General Assemblies might be regularly held, according to the act of parliament, and the former custom of this church; that Pa-

pists and contemners of church discipline might be prosecuted by the civil judges; that he himself would interpose for the protection of the persecuted English Puritans, and for the redress of such ministers as had their salaries injured by the last modification of stipends.

James had appointed the meeting of the General Assembly at Aberbeen, July, 2, 1605, unless he should convene it sooner. The fearful abounding of scandal, Popery, and almost every thing horrid, made presbyteries and synods to supplicate for the hastening of this meeting. But Spotswood, Hall, Gladstones, and Galloway, their commissioners to his Majesty, betrayed them, and chiefly courted his favour and prelati- cal preferments.—When the time of meeting drew near, James transmitted orders not to hold it. And to confound commissioners, some copies of this order represented the 2d, and others the 5th of July, as the day formerly appointed. No more than nineteen members met on the 2d day. When Lauriston saw them determined to proceed regularly to business, he left them. Mr. John Forbes being chosen Moderator, they read the order of the privy council requiring them to dissolve, and to appoint no new diet of meeting: they agreed to proceed to no further business at present; but appointed their next meeting at Aberdeen, upon the last Wednesday of September next, and appointed the several presbyteries to direct their commissioners to it. As they were about to dismiss, Lauriston returned and protested, That from the beginning he did not acknowledge them a lawful Assembly. Upon the 5th of July, Mr. John Welsh and other seven commissioners from the south and west,

came up, and finding the meeting dissolved, protested that they came up to keep it, and that they approved of what had been done. Returning to the privy council, Lauriston affirmed, That upon Monday the first of July, he had, by a public proclamation at the cross of Aberdeen, prohibited the meeting of Assembly in his majesty's name. But though multitudes were on the spot the whole day, not one could testify that he heard this public proclamation. To corroborate Lauriston's false affirmation, it is said, that the clerk ante-dated the indorsement of the charge.

The ministers, who had kept this meeting of the Assembly, were immediately prosecuted before the privy council. The magistrates of Aberdeen were charged to prevent the meeting in September; and presbyteries and synods prohibited to own the validity of the late meeting. The ecclesiastical commission readily declared it void and null to all intents. After three months imprisonment in Blackness castle,—and vindication of their own conduct, and declining of the privy council as incompetent judges, Messrs. John Forbes, John Welsh, Robert Dury, Andrew Duncan, Alexander Strachan, and John Sharp, were condemned to perpetual banishment from the kingdom, as guilty of high treason; and had probably been hanged, had not the terrible ferment of the nation intimidated James and his council. Messrs. Charles Fairholm, John Monro, Nathaniel Inglis, James Greig, William Forbes, John Ross, and Robert Youngson, after lying in different prisons, were banished to remote parts of the kingdom. All ministers were prohibited publicly to pray for, or make honourable mention of their condemned brethren.

Neither the terrible pestilence, of which about 70,000 are said to have died in or about London, and not a few about Edinburgh, St. Andrew's, &c. nor his own and his English Parliament's remarkable deliverance from immediate destruction by the Popish *gun-powder plot*, diverted James from his beloved work of persecuting the faithful ministers of Christ, and introducing the English Episcopacy into Scotland. Upon some new revival of Mr. Bruce's hesitation to believe his account of Gowrie's conspiracy, he was confined to Inverness. A. and J. Melvin, James Balfour, William Scot, John Carmichael, Robert Wallace, Adam Coult, and William Watson, were called out of the way to London, under pretence of conferring with them concerning the lawfulness of the meeting at Aberdeen, and the proper method of holding General Assemblies, &c. James Melvin died in his return home. After three years imprisonment, on account of a short Latin satire on the English worship in his Majesty's Chapel, Andrew was permitted to retire to France, where he died.

Meanwhile, James having called a Parliament at Perth in 1606, which solemnly acknowledged his supremacy in ALL causes, and appointed an oath of the same import to be sworn *upon the gospels*. They also restored the estate of bishops to all their ancient honours, rights, and revenues; and erected chapters for their respective sees. Against this deed the two Melvins, just before they set off for London, with about forty others, of whom Ballantyne, Abernethy, and Cooper, were afterward bishops, entered a solemn protestation, bearing, That it was contrary to the word of God, their national covenant, the constitutions

of this church, and the laws, peace, and honour of the kingdom. Their reasons were more largely explained in a tract then published under the title of *The course of Conformity*. An Assembly was soon after held at Linlithgow, which consisted of such statesmen, and of such clergymen as James called up, without any regard to commissions from their respective Presbyteries. Under pretence of zeal against Popery, they appointed a minister in every Presbytery, who should inform the privy council against Papists, and who should have a yearly salary of an hundred pounds Scots for his pains, and also the honour of constantly moderating in his Presbytery, till proper course should be taken with the Papists, and the peace of the church settled. They supplicated his Majesty in favours of such of the banished ministers as should confess their faults to him. The nominated bishops protested, That they intended to usurp no pre-eminence over their brethren. Some CAUTIONS were proposed for limitation of the power of the constant moderators. Nevertheless, the managers, within about six months, had the minute so formed, as to bear, that the constant moderators of Presbyteries should be constant members of General Assemblies, and the bishops or their vicars constant moderators in Synods. Fully persuaded that his innovations would meet with warm opposition, James, by a proclamation, solemnly charged all the NOMINEES to accept of their new honours, and all Presbyteries and Synods, under pain of rebellion, to accept of their constant moderators. Nevertheless, several of the ministers nominated to be constant moderators of Presbyteries, refused that promotion. Many Presbyteries, and all

the Synods, except that of Angus, absolutely refused their constant moderators. Some Presbyteries admitted them only when compelled to it under pain of rebellion, and upon condition that the matter should be canvassed in a free and lawful General Assembly, which they did not think that of Linlithgow to be. The principal opposers were banished, imprisoned, or otherwise persecuted; such ministers as needed, or hoped for augmentation of their stipends, could not obtain letters of prosecution for it, before the bishops or constant moderators granted them warrants for that purpose.

James intended to convene another Assembly at Linlithgow for promoting his introduction of bishops. By causing some commissioners, who had been long before appointed to visit the Presbyteries, and procure commissioners to it; and by a zealous spreading of Dr Downham's sermon in favours of the English Episcopacy, he and his agents laboured to promote their cause. Nor were the faithful ministers inactive. They offered public disputations in favour of their principles. They circulated proper forms of commission and instructions for those that should be deputed to the Assembly from Presbyteries, bearing, That they should insist in the Assembly, That Synods and Presbyteries should have the power of choosing their own moderators established to them; that none charged with any particular commission from the Assembly should be moderator of Presbytery, Synod, or Assembly; that the acts against *non-residence*, at their charges, *negligence*, and other *corruptions* of ministers, should be duly executed; and that none but such

as had commissions from Presbyteries should have any vote in General Assemblies.

In July 1608, the Assembly met. After a deceitful flourish of searching out the causes of the increase of Popery, and of re-excommunicating the Earl of Huntley, and giving order for the excommunication of Angus, Errol, and Semple, and of proposing methods for the delation of other Papists, they attempted to proceed to the *establishment of bishops*; but finding themselves unable to carry an act for that purpose, they continued most of the former members in their commission, eleven of whom were nominated bishops, and eleven of whom were declared a *quorum*, having full power to act. To impose on ministers less zealous or judicious, commissioners were appointed to travel between parties, in order to find some *medium* in their differences, relative to the doctrine and discipline of the church. In *May* 1609, a conference was held at Falkirk, for procuring the consent of opposers to the introduction of Prelacy. But nothing was gained in its several diets. Another conference was appointed at Stirling. But the bishops and their votaries did not attend it, as they found that they could not carry their cause by the force of reasoning, even after James had removed A. Melvin, and many of their ablest opponents, out of the way. In *June* that same year, the Parliament appointed the bishops to transmit once every year a list of all the Papists in their several dioceses to the council;—ratified the *restoration of bishops* to their ancient dignities, powers, and prerogatives, always reserving to the king his supremacy in *all causes ecclesiastical* and civil; and made an act relative to the apparel of civil judges,

prelates having vote in Parliament, and ministers ; leaving it to his majesty to prescribe the particular forms of the clerical vestments.

Archbishop Spotswood having become an extraordinary Lord of the Session, about the beginning of A. D. 1610, led the way for himself and his clerical partisans to screw themselves further into civil offices. Soon after he and Gladstones, archbishop of St. Andrew's, had each of them a royal warrant to hold *High Commission courts* within their respective boundaries, which might punish persons as they pleased in a civil or an ecclesiastical manner. Their appointed assistants were noblemen, bishops, gentlemen, and ministers, some of which last appear to have been nominated merely for form sake, as it could not be expected that they would accept of any such antichristian and arbitrary power. But the archbishop, with any four that he pleased, were declared a *quorum*, sufficient to transact business. The bishops having become lords in Parliament, Privy Council, Exchequer, and Session, possessors of extensive property and jurisdiction, patrons of many benefices, moderators in Synods, stated commissioners of the General Assembly, and principal members in the king's courts of high commission, a General Assembly was called at Glasgow in June 1610, when nobody expected it, and just after his majesty, by his proclamation, had required another, appointed a few days before, not to be held. It consisted of 169 members, viz. constant moderators of Synods and Presbyteries, who already had their annual salaries of 100 pounds, and hoped for better at his majesty's hand, together with such commissioners from Presbyteries as were

reckoned seducible into the measures of the court. Plenty of bribes, under the name of *subsistence money*, were distributed among them, and others had better stipends promised them. The northern clergy came up from the remotest corners, and brought with them consciences sufficiently complaisant. The Earl of Dunbar, attended by a troop of his majesty's life guards, did all that he could to promote his master's intentions. They condemned the Assembly of 1605, at Aberdeen, as an *unlawful* and *seditions* meeting. They acknowledged the power of calling Assemblies to be an inherent right of the crown. They enacted, That no ordination of pastors should be confirmed unless it was consummated by the bishop; that no minister should be deprived without the consent of the bishop; that bishops or their vicars should preside in all provincial Synods and General Assemblies, and have the sole power of visiting the dioceses. Under pretence of only changing the name of *Presbyteries*, which they said was offensive to his majesty, into the *meetings of the ministers of their bounds*, they left bishops at liberty to choose whom they pleased for *witnesses* rather than *assistants* in their acts of jurisdiction. They further enacted, That all presentations should be directed to bishops instead of Presbyteries; that no excommunication or absolution should take place without the bishop's direction; that ministers absenting of themselves from episcopal visitations of their dioceses should infer suspension and deposition, if continued in; that every entrant should, at his admission to the ministry, swear allegiance to his majesty as supreme governor in the conservation and purgation of reli-

gion, as well as in things temporal ; to which, it seems, they afterward clandestinely added *obedience to his ordinary*, i. e. bishop of the bounds, &c. ; that marriage should be celebrated upon the Lord's day, if people desired it ; that the two archbishops, three other bishops, and three others appointed by them, should deal with his majesty for the planting of vacancies. They also formed some sham directions for the bishops, and asserted the necessity of General Assemblies, and their power over bishops : and finally enacted, That no minister, under pain of deposition, should publicly speak against their acts, or treat of the equality or inequality of ministers, in the church of Christ. As Messrs. Patrick Simson and Walter Balcanquel, and others, loudly inveighed against the apostacy and perjury of the bishops, James, by a proclamation, charged all his subjects, under the highest pains, not to impugn, but obey all the acts of the Assembly, and to inform the next magistrate or some member of the privy council of every thing contrary which they knew ; and charged all judges and magistrates immediately to imprison all transgressors, ministers or others.

As James and his votaries did not expect, that even their above packed Assembly would distinguish the office of a bishop from that of a pastor, in the manner of *Bancroft*, and other late high-fliers in England, no mention was made in it of the consecration of bishops. But soon after, Spotswood of Glasgow, Lamb of Brechin, and Hamilton of Galloway, posted to London for it ; and on their return consecrated their brethren without consulting either Presbytery or Synod. Gladstones of St. Andrew's met with very little

opposition in the Synod of Angus, but in these of Fife and Lothian, with much more than he wished. When the Parliament met in 1612, they formally *annulled* their deed of 1592, *establishing Presbytery*; they ratified the acts of the late Assembly of Glasgow with explications, curtailments, enlargements, and alterations. By this act of Parliament, bishops were freed from all trial of their life or doctrine by the General Assembly; they might depute whom they pleased to be moderators in Synods; they might dispose of all benefices to which the patron did not present a qualified candidate within six months from the commencement of the vacancy; if the bishop refused to admit his candidate, the patron might appeal to the archbishop, and from him to the lords of Session or privy council, that they, by letters of horning, might oblige the bishop of the diocese to do his duty. In the oath for entrants to the ministry, they must swear allegiance to the king as supreme in all causes *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* as well as temporal, and swear obedience to their ordinary. It was not required, that men should be forty years of age, or ten years in the ministry, before their election to bishopricks; nor was the continuance of the weekly meetings of ministers in the least mentioned.

After a little breathing, James and his agents pushed on their designs. In 1615, all adult subjects were commanded to receive the Lord's supper at Easter in all time coming. Spotswood being now archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Law of Glasgow, they united their *high commission courts*, in order to render their sentences more powerful and striking; and four members, with

one archbishop, had full power to transact business. None might appeal from their decisions to either privy council, or lords of session. As Popery still increased, and the Earl of Huntley made considerable disturbance in the country, the Assembly of Aberdeen, in 1616, made no small empty noise how to check the increase of Popery, and promote the conviction or punishment of Papists. They published a new *Confession of Faith*, chiefly directed against the errors and corruptions of the Romish church; and to exclude the national covenant, they appointed all officers in the church, and students in the colleges to swear and subscribe it. They also appointed bishops Galloway, Hall, and Adamson, to compose a small catechism for public use, in order to exclude those of *Craig* and *Davidson*. Upon some sham submission, they absolved the excommunicated Earl of Huntley. But the chief design of their meeting was to resolve on composing a *Liturgy* and *Book of Canons* for discipline.

In summer 1617, James, paying a visit to his native country, laboured, with all his might, to promote the ecclesiastical conformity with England. In his own chapel at Holyroodhouse, he introduced a pompous celebration of the *Lord's Supper* with sacred vestments, instrumental music, and other superstitions of the English cathedrals:—and soon after required all his bishops and nobles that were present in Edinburgh to receive it in the same manner. But scarce the half of the lords would receive it kneeling.—The Parliament, meeting June 17th, the *Lords of the Articles* framed some acts for depriving the church of the poor remains of her power; one of which imported, That his majesty, with the ad-

vice of such bishops or ministers as he pleased to consult, should have full power to determine all matters relative to the external government of the church. Informed hereof, *fifty* ministers emitted a solemn protestation against it. Hall, Struthers, and Ramsay of Edinburgh, quickly professed their repentance. But Archibald Simson of Dalkeith, P. Stewart of Edinburgh, and David Calderwood of Crailing, being far less pliable, were deprived from their office, and confined. Calderwood was troubled for not attending Synod, notwithstanding the high commission had prohibited him to attend part of the time. He was banished the kingdom. Nevertheless this spirited opposition made the Parliament to supersede their act.

In 1616, James had hinted his intentions to introduce *kneeling* at the Lord's table; the *sacred observation of the festivals* of Christ's birth, death, and ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost; the *private administration of baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, together with the *confirmation of children*, by laying on of the bishop's hands. His bishops represented to him, that it would be necessary to get these articles authorized by a General Assembly. After he and his tools had fixed upon the members, one was indicted upon 15 days warning, to meet at St. Andrew's in November, 1617. But here his majesty met with more opposition than was expected. They only yielded to allow the communion privately to sick persons, providing there were a proper number present, and the minister gave the elements out of his own hand. Highly offended with their partial compliance, and with their delay of the principal points, James ordered that none of the

opponents or *non-liquets* should have any modification of their stipends for that year. But cooling at last, he indicted another Assembly at Perth next year, which he took care to pack with such nobles and gentlemen, as he knew would scarce stick at any thing to please him, while his bishops, with promises of augmented stipends, took care to secure a proper number of ministers. Archbishop Spotswood, having mounted the chair as moderator, James's expostulatory letter was read,—and seconded by the declamations of Spotswood, and of Young, an Episcopalian doctor from England. Spotswood disdainfully rejected every motion made by his opponents; and, without regard to either Presbytery or Synod, nominated the *committee of overtures*. To induce the Assembly to comply with his majesty's will, it was promised, that none should be obliged to practise these ceremonies; and that he would never seek to introduce any more from England. Such as offered to reason against the ceremonies proposed were rebuked, and threatened. Nevertheless *forty-five* ministers, one nobleman, and one doctor of a university, voted against them.

The Assembly had no sooner carried an act for the above mentioned articles, than James ratified their deed by a public *proclamation*; appointed his subjects to refrain from labour on the four festivals specified; and denounced the most rigorous punishment in person and property against all that should dare to disobey his mandates. The introduction of *kneeling* in receiving the Lord's supper occasioned terrible confusion. Messrs. William Arthur, Richard Dickson, John Murray, Robert Boyd, Robert Blair, John Ker,

Thomas Hog, Andrew Duncan, Henry Blyth, David Forrester, Robert Bruce, John Weems, John Scrimgeor, John Gillespie, John Hume, George Grier, James Porteous, William Livingston, John Ferguson, Archibald Simson, and many other eminently holy and faithful ministers were prosecuted before the high commission, which deprived, fined, or imprisoned such as refused compliance with the ARTICLES, or testified against the prevalent corruptions. Robert Bruce's principal crime was, that he and some of his brethren had kept two private fasts at his house in Old Monkland. Richard Lawson, James Cathkin, John Mein, William Rigg, and others in Edinburgh, and in other places, where their pastors informed against them, were cruelly persecuted by the high commission, for scrupling to kneel at the communion, and to observe the appointed festivals, &c. Meanwhile, such was the tender sympathy of the court party for the idolatrous and treacherous Papists, that Anderson, a trafficking priest, being apprehended, was kindly set at liberty, and honestly apparelled, and had his charges paid, got a compliment of £100 Sterling, and then was safely conveyed to France.

After the bishops and their agents had very unsuccessfully laboured three years in the introduction of the *Articles of Perth*, the Parliament at Edinburgh, 1621, solemnly ratified them, though not without great opposition. *Fifteen* of the nobility, and *forty-four* of the commissioners from burghs, voted against this deed. Notwithstanding his majesty's charge to all the malecontent clergy to remove from the city, and all possible care to restrain their access to Parlia-

ment, a number of them sent up a warning against the ratification of the *Articles*, and afterwards entered a solemn *protestation* against it. While the Marquis of Hamilton, as the king's commissioner, rose to touch the act with the sceptre, three terrible flashes of lightning darted into his face, attended with claps of thunder, which broke almost immediately on the Parliament House, and such a darkness and rain as had not been known in the memory of man. Some interpreted these things as marks of God's abhorrence, and others as marks of his approbation of the Parliament's deed, which enacted, That in token of their deep humility, every partaker should receive the communion on his knees; that the Lord's Supper should be administered to persons long sick, or apparently dying, providing there were three or four fellow partakers; that, in case of necessity, baptism should be privately administered to infants, and report made thereof to the congregation, next Lord's day; that after proper instruction by their minister, children about eight years of age shall be solemnly confirmed by the bishop of the diocese, with prayer and laying on of hands; and that the seasons of Christ's *birth, death, ascension, and effusion of the Holy Ghost*, be religiously commemorated by sermons, abstinence from labour, and the like. When this deed was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, Dr. Barclay fixed one copy of the ministers' protestation on the cross, another on the church door, and a third on the gate of Holyroodhouse, and took instruments with the usual solemnities.

Having now got the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical law, on his side, James, by letters to

the bishops, which were probably planned, if not completely formed by themselves, and subscribed at their desire, enjoined the most rigid execution of it: and they took care to obey him. For quietly coming from his place of confinement to Edinburgh, about an affair of 20,000 merks value, Mr. Robert Bruce, once reckoned by James worth the half of his kingdom, was imprisoned in the castle, and John Welsh, whom, after 14 years exile, grievous bodily trouble had forced from France, was denied allowance to die in his native country. While God by most terrible rains ruined the crop, and carried off the bridges of Berwick and Perth, Messrs. John Murray, John Row, David Dickson, George Dunbar, George Johnston, and others, were deprived, banished, and confined by the high commission. It being reported, That David Calderwood, whose *Altare Damascenum*, printed in both Latin and English, had so galled the Episcopal party, had died in Holland, Patrick Scot, it is said, by his majesty's direction, published a recantation in his name; and to prevent his refuting it, went to Holland to seek him out, and murder him if he were still alive.

As the sessions, council, and citizens of Edinburgh, had long used to meet on the *Tuesday* before the administration of the Lord's Supper, in order to make known and remove whatever objections they had against their ministers,—Baillie William Rigg, John Dickson, John Fleming, James Nairn, and John Nairn, being interrogated by the provost, objected, that Mr. Forbes, afterward bishop, had taught, That there was but little difference between the Papists and Protestants in the doctrine of justification; and James

Cathkin, John Mein, and others, having desired the administration of the communion in the former manner,—William Rigg, John Dickson, a butcher, John Hamilton, apothecary, John Mein, and William Simson, were cited before the privy council. Bailie Rigg was first confined to his own house, and afterwards imprisoned at Blackness, and fined in fifty thousand pounds Scots. William Simson and John Dickson were condemned to imprisonment in the common jail of Edinburgh; John Mein at Elgin; and John Hamilton at Aberdeen, and fined in twenty thousand merks Scots.

Notwithstanding all that James and his bishops could do to prevent the spread of Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*, which so effectually demolished the whole structure of the English hierarchy and superstition,—and his *Course of Conformity*, with several other tracts, which had been printed in Holland, many copies of them were secretly transmitted hither, and greedily purchased and read. The death of Hamilton, the zealous promoter of the *Articles of Perth* in the parliament, and of James himself, in the beginning of A. D. 1625, gave a transient check to the persecuting rage: and Robert Bruce, and no doubt several others, were permitted to leave their respective confinements.

BUT in vain either church or state expected happiness under Charles I. who pursued the maxims, and copied the pattern of his father. He was scarcely proclaimed king at Edinburgh, when his clergy notified their intention to have the communion celebrated on the following Sab

bath, which was Easter. But the calling of people and ministers to meet on the Tuesday before, for the removal of offences and differences, was omitted. This was reckoned the more grievous, as the *Articles of Perth* had occasioned manifold prejudices and contentions among those that had formerly lived in the most perfect friendship. Charles having appointed a national fast on the 20th of July, the presbyterian ministers added to his reasons others of their own. The warm opponents of the *Articles of Perth* and others, being informed of his pretences to piety and moderation, dispatched Mr. Robert Scot of Glasgow, to present their supplication for a redress of that grievance. Instead of regarding it, Charles, by a letter to Spotswood, instigated him and his fellow bishops, to proceed in the course into which his father had put them. They extolled his piety to the highest, and so zealously obeyed his orders, that if a minister but conformed to Episcopacy and the *Articles of Perth*, he was almost in no danger of being quarreled for any thing else.

Provincial synods had now little more left them than the name. Bishops, or their deputies, were their constant moderators. The constant moderators of presbyteries, and a few others chosen by the bishops, or their agents, formed into the privy conference or committee of overtures, had the whole power of managing affairs. Nevertheless, as some still continued zealous for the presbyterian form of government, and for the wonted simplicity of gospel worship, Charles issued forth a public proclamation, bearing, That he did not in the least intend to alter the government of the church presently esta-

blished; and that such as should dare to disturb it, or suggest, that he intended to alter it in favours of the non-conformists, should be punished. This encouraged his bishops to endeavour the removing of all that scrupled to conform from all places of power and trust. Charles himself, by a letter, required the town council of Edinburgh to elect none for magistrates but such as observed the *articles of Perth*: and about the same time issued forth a proclamation against all Papists and Non-conformists. But the Papists were protected and cherished, as they were of the queen's religion, and not disliked by the managers. Having modelled the Court of Session to his pleasure, he formed his privy council of forty-seven, that of the Exchequer of fifteen, and the High Commission of seventeen members, which last, in the manner of the English one, had power to call before them whomsoever they pleased, for transgressing the acts of parliament, or for speaking against his majesty or his progenitors, or their conduct, and to punish them with fines, imprisonment, deprivation, excommunication, &c.

While Elizabeth his sister, and progenitor of our now royal family, had above eighty thousand of her subjects in Bohemia and Palatinate, and an infinity of her allies, murdered by the Papists in Germany, the zeal of Charles and his bishops inflamed hot only against those that appeared most averse from returning to Rome. Certain of protection or an easy escape, the Papists hereon became insolent. Charles commanded the Lords of Council, the advocates and clerks, to communicate *kneeling*, as a pattern to others. Finding none of his own party qualified to check

the increase of Popery at Paisley, where the Earl of Abercorn, and his mother and brother, impudently promoted it, Law, archbishop of Glasgow, permitted Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig to be settled there. But he had scarcely taken up house there, when the Earl's brother threw all his books into the street, as he was preaching on the Lord's day. For this he was cited before the council; but as Mr. Boyd intreated, that he might not be imprisoned, and as he himself professed his sorrow for what he had done, and his brother and the magistrates undertook publicly to reinstate Mr. Boyd in his possession, the affair was dropped. But when Mr. Boyd, along with the magistrates, returned to take possession, they found the doors bolted; nor could they break them open, as they were without their jurisdiction, a mob, consisting chiefly of women, thought to have been hounded out by the Earl's mother, so abused Mr. Boyd with revilings and throwing of dirt, that he was obliged to return to his own house at Trochrig in Carrick. About this time, several trafficking priests were apprehended at Dundee, Dumfries, &c. but their court-favoured brethren procured them all an easy deliverance.

In July 1626, Charles held a convention of estates chiefly for recovering into his own hand the tithes and church lands, which his father had disposed to laymen. While the possessors begged him to drop his designs, the bishops and their clerical favourites met in Edinburgh, and dispatched the bishops of Ross and Murray, with Whiteford and Struthers, to beseech him to curb the insolent Papists, and to perfect his revocation of his father's donations of the church's property.

and to promote the augmentation of ministers' stipends. Upon their return, the conforming and non-conforming ministers agreed to appoint some, from their respective presbyteries, to consult for the welfare of the church. The archbishops absented, that they might have it in their power to declare the meeting null, if things were not carried to their mind. This meeting agreed to supplicate his majesty, to promote the fixing of proper stipends on ministers, and the planting of vacant congregations; and that the sentences might be taken off ministers, who had been prosecuted for non-conformity—and they be allowed to be candidates for, or members of, the General Assembly, if Presbyteries please; and that none might be troubled for non-conformity, or with subscriptions at their admission, before such an Assembly should be held. The Conformists chose the bishop of Ross, and the Non-conformists Mr. Robert Scot of Glasgow, to present their petition. The archbishops and other diocesans were highly offended with the most of these conclusions. Hence Mr. Scot went not to court, while the bishop went; and being charged with secret instructions from his diocesan brethren, betrayed the cause of the meeting. Nevertheless, the Non-conformists were charged with part of his expenses. Charles appointed commissioners to value the tithes: but some barons procured a letter from him, allowing the gentry an easy composition for such as were still in their hands. The commissioners insisted, that such tithes as were in the bishops' hands ought also to come under the *revocation*, that his majesty might have a part of them.—Meanwhile, a sudden inundation of the sea, upon the parishes of Caerlaverock

and Ruthwell, in Galloway, alarmed the surviving inhabitants and their neighbours, and rendered them deeply penitent of their sins, and concerned for their eternal salvation.

As few of the communicants in several churches, in or about Edinburgh, had *kneeled* at the sacrament at Easter the preceding year, the general session, which met before it in 1628, begged their ministers to dispense it in the ancient manner, for the avoiding of strife and confusion. Some of these were for allowing every one to sit or kneel as he pleased. Others were for no kneeling, and for the communicants dividing the elements among themselves. The Non-conformists insisted, That they should first celebrate the sacrament in the former manner, and then supplicate his majesty's favour, if he were displeased. But the Conformists got it carried, first to supplicate his permission. In their supplication, and by Sydserv their commissioner, they represented, That few of their people now joined in the Lord's supper, and few of those that did, would receive it *kneeling*: that notwithstanding all their pains to extinguish it, the contention was still increasing, and had already become intolerable; that by means of it, ministers inveighed against, and people hated, one another; that atheists were tempted to reckon the whole of religion an indifferent thing, which might be altered at men's pleasure; that kneeling at the communion had an appearance of symbolizing with Papists, and encouraged them in their idolatrous worship of the sacramental bread;—and besought him to dispense with their obedience to the act of Assembly and Parliament imposing it. Instead of granting their request, Charles ap-

pointed the archbishop of St. Andrew's to cite them to his tribunal, and inflict such punishment upon their ring-leaders, as might effectually deter others from all such supplications for the future; and to labour with all his might to establish the form of worship appointed by law. These things prevented the dispensation of the Lord's supper at Edinburgh for that season.—Upon the two last Sabbaths of May, and the Wednesday betwixt them, Charles appointed a solemn fast to lament the troubled state of the churches abroad, and the sins abounding at home, and to beseech the Lord to avert his threatened judgments, and succeed his Majesty's arms against France. To these, some Non-conformists added the innovations made upon the government and worship of the church, and the persecution of faithful ministers for opposing them; which fomented the difference between the two parties. The Non-conformists more and more gained the affections of the people, while the Conformists, losing their esteem, instigated the bishops to persecute them—who having power on their side, threatened to excommunicate all such as should not speedily conform. Being excluded from all the churches of Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Bruce preached in several of these in the neighbourhood, whether multitudes of the citizens resorted to hear him. Informed of this, Charles required his privy council to confine him to his own house in Kinnaird, and within two miles around: but about the same time required the excommunication of the Popish earls of Angus, Nithsdale, Abercorn, and their ladies, to be dispensed with, and no laws executed against them, till himself should come down to Scotland.

While, about the beginning of A. D. 1629, Dr. Forbes of Aberdeen, Wedderburn of St. Andrew's, and Maxwel and Sydserf of Edinburgh, occupied themselves in venting their Arminian tenets, which now paved the way for preferment, the privy council, alarmed by repeated complaints of the increase and insolence of the Papists, appeared more than ordinarily earnest, in prosecuting them, particularly if they were excommunicated; and in taking care of the Protestant education of their children. Not to appear behind them in zeal, the conforming clergy took up a list of about 500 gentry and others, and sent up Maxwel to London to learn his Majesty's pleasure concerning them. But Huntley, through the queen's influence, procured such an order of soft dealing with them, as amounted to a kind of royal protection of them. Meanwhile, the Presbyterians were more and more cruelly persecuted, many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, Leith, and places adjacent, being cited before the privy council and High Commission, and arbitrarily fined, if they did not answer to satisfaction. Messrs. Lamb of Traquair, D. Forrest of Leith, and George Dunbar of Air, were deposed for their opposition to the course of defection. Robert Melvil, assistant to the aged minister of Culross, having in a sermon, before him, boldly inveighed against the pride of Adam Ballantyne, bishop of Dunblane, and his contempt of the faithful ministers of Christ, had no doubt also been prosecuted, if he could have been deprived of any legal salary. The bishops regarded the affronts which they received from the people the less, as his Majesty highly favoured them and the Bishop of St. Andrew's was ordered to

take the precedence of the Chancellor in the privy council, and in places of public resort.

The pride of the bishops having rendered them odious to a great part of the nobility, a number of ministers, about the end of this year, transmitted a Representation of 28 *grievances* to his majesty ; and begged, That he would interpose his influence for the redress of them. But perhaps he never deigned to read it. About the beginning of 1630, Struthers, a conformist minister of Edinburgh, offended by the wide steps some of his brethren were taking towards England and Rome, and hearing that Maxwel, his colleague, had brought from London an order to the Primate of St. Andrew's, and his diocesan brethren, to prepare matters for the reception of the whole government and manner of worship used in the English church, wrote a letter to Sir William Alexander, now Earl of Airth, and the king's secretary, in which he represented, that K. James, by his commissioner, had promised to the Parliament in 1621, that no further alterations should be made in the public worship; that the introduction of other rites, especially if without the consent of the church, would render the bishops still more odious;—would deprive people of their best pastors, alienate their affections more and more from one another, and in the issue make them either Papists or Atheists.—Meanwhile, faithful ministers were remarkably countenanced of God at their sacramental and other occasions. Multitudes crowded to their communions ; and being eager to hear as much of the gospel as they could, when they had an opportunity of it, they began to have one sermon upon Saturday before, and another on the

Monday after. Mr. John Livingston a probationer, after having run so far off, that morning; preached a sermon at the kirk of Shots, on Monday June 21, at which 500 were converted to Christ, and almost every one in his large audience remarkably affected. This was an evident answer of the prayers in which most of the people had spent the whole of the preceding night. Soon after, the prelates' persecution of him obliged him to flee to the north of Ireland; where, for some years, he and Messrs. Robert Blair, Robert Cunningham, James Hamilton, George Dunbar, John M'Lellan, and Josias Welsh, laboured with great success in the work of the Lord. The like divine influence attended the ministrations of Mr. David Dickson at Irvine and places about, in the west of Scotland. To bring a reproach upon this work of God, Satan drove some into disagreeable excesses and frenzies: but, by the care of these faithful ministers, his designs were in a great measure defeated.

Being informed of an intended Convention of States, for imposing a new tax for the supply of his Majesty's, or his hungry courtiers', necessities, and for making trial, how farther *innovations* would relish—but pretending to redress grievances, the Nonconform ministers, by the Earls of Rothes, Cassils, and Linlithgow, and the Lords Yester, Ross, Balmerino, Melvil, and Lowdon, and some well affected gentlemen, presented a supplication for liberty to administer the Lord's supper as pastors and people should find most for edification; and that such entrants as scrupled, should not be obliged, before their admission to the ministry, to swear the oath of *supremacy* and *canonical obedience*. But the court and

bishops, by their warm opposition, prevented the reading of it. Balmerino afterwards insisted, that the oath, which was imposed without the authority of Parliament, should be laid aside; and that according to law, no bishops should be allowed to deprive or suspend any minister, without the trial and consent of the ministers in that bounds. But the managers also smothered this motion in the birth.

In 1631, the apostacy still increased. Dr. Maxwell taught, That our Saviour at his death descended to hell, in order to deliver from it the souls of virtuous heathens; pretending, that this doctrine tended much to his glory, and to the comfort of Christians. John Adamson of Liberton taught, that the church of Rome is a true church of Christ. Wedderburn of St. Andrew's and Sydserf, without control, published their Arminian errors: Many of the conform clergy, and especially the bishops, altogether abandoned themselves to drinking in taverns, and sports on Sabbath afternoons. Foster of Melrose, having but one hut of corn in his barn yard, zealously manifested his Christian freedom, by causing his servants carry it into his barn on Sabbath. Not a few as faithfully bore witness against their abominations—among whom we may reckon Messrs. John Sharp, who was banished in 1605, but on account of his distinguished learning recalled, and made professor of divinity in the new college of Edinburgh; Robert Bruce, who now died in a triumphant manner, holding his finger on the last verses of Rom. viii; Robert Boyd of Trochrig, John Scrimgeor, John Chalmers, John Dick, William Scott, John Row, John Ker, James Curry, Ad. Colt, David Foster, Richard and David

Dicksons, James Greig, John Ferguson, James Inglis, William Livingston, Thomas Hog, and Alexander Henderson, who had been converted from Prelacy by a note of Mr. Bruce; Samuel Rutherford, who, like some others, had got into the ministry, without any sinful engagement, by means of some of the nobility—Robert Douglas, George Gillespy, a preacher, and others.

Nothing of importance relative to the church happened in 1632. But next year, Charles, attended by bishop Laud and many others, came down to Edinburgh, in order to be crowned, and to abolish the remains of Presbytery, and perfect the religious conformity of the two nations. After being crowned in the most splendid and ceremonious manner, he, on next Sabbath, was gratified with the English mode of worship, and with the most fulsome flattery from the pulpit, and the most insolent railing against such as scrupled at holy vestments, or any thing else, which he pleased to appoint in the worship of God. The afternoon was spent in extravagant feasting, attended with concerts of music, sounding of trumpets, and the like profane, carnal parade. The Parliament having met, asserted his supremacy over the church in all causes, and his power of prescribing proper vestments for clergymen, the last of which it seems his father had never executed. They ratified all former acts in favours of the religion presently professed, that is, as they had dressed it up with Episcopacy and superstition. Hence the faithful party opposed their ratification. They ratified his revocation of his progenitor's grants of tithes and church lands. The faithful ministers delivered to Sir John Hay, clerk register, under the form of pro-

testation, a petition for *redress of grievances*, craving, That as the commissioners from the church had transgressed the *CAVEATS*, they might be suspended from voting in parliament, till they were heard against them on that point; that the alterations in the act of Parliament 1612, from that of the assembly 1610, might be rectified; that the act 1592, establishing Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, might be revised and ratified; that, as was promised when they were introduced, none should be urged to observe the *articles of Perth*; and that all imposition of oaths not appointed by the Assembly or Parliament on Intrants, be prohibited. Sir John, being a sworn enemy to religion, and a slave to the bishops, was highly offended with the petition, and especially with Mr. Hog's solemn manner of delivering it. The same ministers, by Mr. Hog, transmitted another supplication to Charles himself, who lodged at Dalkeith, beseeching him to favour their forementioned petition in the Parliament. But he, detesting their honest designs, got both their petitions smothered in the birth. Instigated by the ministers, a number of the lords, barons, and burgesses, presented to the king and Parliament a petition, craving, That the *novations* lately introduced into the church, should be abolished; that such as had no interest in the happiness of the kingdom, or had been declared incapable of being judges in any court, should be debarred from seats in the Parliament. Charles heartily abhorred their requests. Nevertheless, he had no small difficulty to carry the ratification of his spiritual supremacy, and of the hierarchy and superstition which his father had introduced. Notwithstanding all his solicitations

and threatenings, and even calling for a pen to mark their names that served or opposed him, *fifteen* earls and lords, with *forty-four* commissioners from burghs, voted against that act. Bishop Burnet affirms, that it was really carried in the negative. But Hay, the register, who collected the votes, affirming that it was carried in the affirmative, the Earl of Rothes, who had opposed it with great freedom and strength of reasoning, averred the contrary. Charles, meanly interposing, told Rothes, that the clerk's declaration must stand, unless he, at the hazard of losing his head, would prove him guilty of falsifying the records of Parliament. Knowing that Charles, instigated by his bishops, would rain down his vengeance upon them, as soon as he could get an opportunity, the nobles prepared a representation of their designs and reasons thereof. But either their want of unanimity among themselves; or their information of his intention to refuse to hear it; or his sudden departure to London, prevented their presenting it to him.

Having returned home, and made Laud, his faithful attendant, archbishop of Canterbury, he transmitted an order to Ballantyne, bishop of Dumblane, and dean of his royal chapel at Edinburgh, to take care to have the communion there received on their knees, and in cups consecrated to the king's use, on the first Sabbath of every month, and to cause all the lords of privy council and session, advocates, clerks, and writers to the signet to receive it in due form, at least once every year, as a pattern to others; and to report their obedience or disobedience in this matter to him. Nevertheless, it is said, that no more than six lords of privy council, seven of session, two

advocates, one writer to the signet, with the clerk of the bills, and two young lords, conformed to this order.

While Charles had been in Scotland, he had erected a new bishoprick at Edinburgh, and nominated William Forbes, a minister of the city, zealous for the reconcilment of the popish and protestant religions, to it. After a farce of election by the chapter, he was solemnly consecrated, in January, 1684, in the presence of the two archbishops and five bishops; and had the *little* and *great kirks* united to form his cathedral. Notwithstanding his monkish temper, he immediately dispersed his mandates, requiring all ministers in his diocese, within fourteen days, to subscribe an engagement to full conformity, and to administrate the sacraments to none but those of their own congregations, under pain of being punished as schismatics. Most of the Presbytery of Edinburgh subscribed the engagement, on the same day that they received his mandate. Four of them took it to an advisement. But William Arthur at Westkirk, and James Thomson at Collington, flatly refused their subscription. Other Presbyteries were much less complaisant. Some expressly refused to come under any such engagement. The Presbytery of Greenlaw transmitted to him their reasons against compliance, and warned him, that the wrath of God would certainly overtake him, if he persisted in requiring ministers to act contrary to their conscience. He had scarcely threatened to make the best in Edinburgh kneel at the communion, or lose his Episcopal gown, when a vomiting of blood put an end to his violent measures, about two months after his instalment. To obtain his fat benefice,

Sydsersf laboured to imitate him in Arminianism, and in approaches towards Popery. But Charles, knowing him to be much hated in Edinburgh, transported Dr. Lindsay from Brechin, and placed Sydsersf in his room.

A rude draught of the intended address of the nobles to his majesty, at the conclusion of the above mentioned Parliament, having been left in the hands of Balmerino, one Dunmuir a writer, who had been allowed to view his library, clandestinely took a copy of it, which he inadvertently shewed to Hay of Naughton, who took a copy of it while he slept, and transmitted it to Archbishop Spotswood. He, as usual, posted off with it on the Lord's day to London; and represented to Charles, That it amounted to lease-making against him and his government; and that copies of it were industriously spread by the noblemen concerned in it, in order to alienate his subjects, and make ministers to refuse the vestments, and other rites prescribed by law. At last, he and his fellow bishops procured a commission for some ignorant, mercenary, or Popish creatures of the court, to try the authors and favourers of it, as guilty of treason. Haig, the advocate, who had drawn it, after writing a letter to Balmerino, bearing that he had written it without any help or direction from him, fled off. After some months imprisonment Balmerino was brought to his trial. Notwithstanding all that the bishops could do, seven of the jury brought him in *not guilty*. Traquair, to please them, gave his casting vote against him. But finding, that the subjects were fully determined either to liberate him, or to revenge his death upon those that had condemned him, with-

out any shadow of ground, he quickly procured for him a royal remission.

In 1635, death had scarcely transported the pious Viscount of Kenmure, and five or six of the faithful ministers of their heavenly thrones, when Archbishop Spotswood was made chancellor of Scotland, Ballantyne transported to Aberdeen, and Sydserf to Galloway, and Wedderburn made bishop of Dunblane, and Whiteford of Brechin. Some ministers of every presbytery were made *Justices of peace*; but few, except thorough paced episcopalians, accepted of that office. It was intended to provide ministers for all the abbacies, in order to have as many ecclesiastical lords to vote in Parliament. But the nobility opposed this motion; and Traquair persuaded Charles, that it would be for his advantage to keep the abbacies in his own hand. To pacify the mortified bishops, a royal patent was issued, empowering every one of them, with any six associates that he pleased, to judge all persons within their diocese, in the manner of the high commission. Without delay they improved this power for the destruction of their opponents. For imposing an intrusion on his parish, Alexander Gordon of Earlstown was cited before Sydserf and his Galloway commission; fined for absence, and banished to Montrose. For refusing to conform, or to consent to the intrusion of a conformist on his charge, Mr. Glendoning of Kirkcubright, aged seventy-nine, was confined to his parish. Wm. Dalgleish, a neighbouring minister, was confined in like manner. For continuing to hear Mr. Glendoning, the magistrates of Kirkcudbright were confined at Wigton; and his own son, being one of them, imprisoned, because he would not incarce-

rate his father. Mr. William Livingston of Larnark was prosecuted by the archbishop of Glasgow for employing his son John to preach, who, along with his brethren, had been lately silenced by the bishops of Ireland: but the old man so boldly vindicated his conduct, and laid home to the consciences of his judges their many heinous offences against God, that they were glad to be rid of him. Walter Greig, who had entered to Balmerino with Spotswood's own consent, and by the call of both patron and people, was cast out as an intruder, that wanted collation from him. John Mein, merchant in Edinburgh, was again prosecuted for not observing an anniversary fast, and attending his own parish church. The members of the *college of justice* and people of Edinburgh, were mightily urged to perfect conformity, in all the novations introduced. Thus the bishops carried all before them, leaving little else for the friends of reformation, but to cry to the Lord because of their oppressors.

In the beginning of 1636, Maxwell bishop of Ross, who was already a lord of the privy council, a lord of the exchequer, and an extraordinary lord of the session, thought to have got the high treasurership, which Morton demitted. But the nobles, offended with Spotswood's promotion to the chancellorship, procured that office for the Earl of Traquair, who often proved a thorn in the side of the bishops. Traquair's procuring a pension of £200 Sterling for Maxwell, silenced him a little. But when he solicited the dissolution of the commission for valuation of tithes, Traquair, by gaining not only the nobles, but even part of the bishops to the opposition, prevented his success. Spotswood durst not ap-

pear against Traquair, for fear he should detect his villanies. The archbishop of Glasgow had obtained a royal grant of the first fruits in his diocese; but Traquair found means to pocket them himself. He also thought to oblige the inhabitants of Glasgow to pay their ministers stipends, and to deprive their council of the Patronage of *Blackfriars* and the *Low-kirks*; but Traquair defeated his plan.

In 1630, Mr. Samuel Rutherford had been cited before the high commission; but a storm hindering Spotswood to cross the Forth, and Alexander Colvil, one of the Judges, befriending him, the diet was deserted. Some ministers in his presbytery, labouring to exasperate Spotswood against him, a new prosecution of him and Mr. Dalglish was intended in 1634. But Lord Kirkcudbright screened Rutherford from his persecutors' rage. In 1636, he was obliged by Sydserf, to appear before the high commission for his non-conformity, and his preaching against the *Articles of Perth*, and writing against Arminians. He declined their jurisdiction as unlawful and incompetent: nor would he give any of the bishops present their lordly titles. Notwithstanding all that Lord Lorn and others could do in his behalf, he was prohibited, under pain of rebellion, to exercise his ministry any more in Scotland, and charged to confine himself in Aberdeen and its environs, during his Majesty's pleasure. In that confinement he wrote many of his letters, which have since been so refreshing to multitudes. Mr. David Dixon, whom the Earl of Eglinton had got restored to his charge, was on the point of being deposed by the archbishop of Glasgow, for employing Messrs. Blair, Livingston and others, whom

the episcopal persecutors had driven from Ireland.

By this time Laud of Canterbury was deeply concerned to have a perfect conformity established between the Scottish and English churches. He laboured to persuade the Scottish bishops to receive the *English liturgy*. But, in their pride, and to avoid all appearance of their dependence on England, they insisted for a liturgy of their own composition, but near to the English in both matter and form. This occasioned a dryness between them and the Canterburian primate. But Charles, advised by Laud and his underling bishops of London and Norwich, took the matter upon himself. He fixed upon the alterations which he thought proper, and required the Scottish bishops to frame their *service book* according to them, and particularly to retain all the English *Saints days*, and add the most renowned of Scotland to them, especially those of the royal family or episcopal order, and by no means to omit *Saints George and Patrick*—and to retain the phrase, *receive ye the Holy Ghost*, in the Rubric, for ordination;—and to insert among the lessons ordinarily read, Wisdom of Solomon, i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. and Ecclesiasticus i, ii, v, viii, x, xxv, xlix. And he further required, that in all bishops houses, universities, and colleges, this service book should be used twice every day.

While Maxwell, Sydserf, Wedderburn, Ballantyne, and other bishops were forming this liturgy, it was foreseen, that a *book of canons* would be necessary to enforce the use of it. Charles therefore authorized them to compose one, falsely pretending, That the substance of the acts of the

General Assemblies could not otherwise be properly known, as a fixed standard of management. Scarcely had the canons been published, when the whole body of Presbyterians declared against them, as obscure and corrupt in many things; and as irregularly imposed. They particularly complained, That the 1st, 12th, and 13th canons, advanced the king's prerogative too high, and left the church entirely at his mercy; that the 2d, 5th, and 15th, urged an implicit subscription to a *service book* or *liturgy* not yet finished and published; that the 6th rendered ministers in part slaves to the bishops; that the 10th laid the innocent and guilty parties on a level in the case of divorce; that the 16th seemed to bind to the bidding of prayer, prescribed in the 55th. Against the rest they complained, that bishops were established with absolute jurisdiction, and Popish idolatry and superstition revived by them; that the whole structure of their ancient and so often ratified church policy was abolished; sessions and Presbyteries condemned as conventicles; ruling elders and deacons rejected; and all ecclesiastical causes dragged to episcopal tribunals;—that they contained a number of Popish terms, as *sacramental confession*, and *absolution*—appointed all ranks to come to the Lord's Supper and *all other sacraments*; or contained ambiguous terms, as that ministers are ordained to urge the *necessity* of good works. The liturgy or book of *common prayer*, was at last finished. It did not contain so many lessons from the Apocrypha as the English; but those which it had were appointed to be read when the audience was like to be most numerous. The Psalms of it were not taken from the Vulgate, but from the last English translation,

But, in many things relative to altars, offering of the elements in the communion, prayer for the dead, ministers standing at the altar, and sometimes turning their face from the people, and with respect to Christ's corporeal presence in the Eucharist, it approached nearer to the Romish mass book than the English had done.—It was moreover loudly complained, that these books were imposed without being first examined and approved by any General Assembly; and that the canons, under pain of excommunication, prohibited all questioning of the rectitude of any thing in them.

When Charles and his privy council issued forth their proclamation for the observance of these books, some insisted for a delay of the execution. But the young bishops, who had framed them, and Traquair, who, to ruin them, pushed them forward, zealously insisted for immediate obedience to the royal mandate, and the new laws. Notwithstanding the ministers were urged to compliance in their diocesan Synods, many of them would not so much as purchase the books. The bishops falsely represented to the council, that the most judicious ministers had all dutifully complied, and obtained an act for raising *letters of horning* against the reluctants, obliging each of them to provide two copies of the *service book* for the use of the parish, within fifteen days after their charge, under pain of being held rebels against his Majesty and his laws. But this act was only a temporary bugbear. Zeal for the increase of their revenues somewhat diverted the attention of the two archbishops. Spotswood hoped to draw the tithes and abbey of St. Andrew's to himself; and by obtaining a

locality in each parish, to enrich himself, and impoverish the family of Lennox, which had granted leases of the tithes. His brother of Glasgow expected to get £ 5000 Sterling out of the annuities within his diocese. But, by procuring a royal dissolution of the commission for valuation of tithes, and by other methods, Traquair, to their unspeakable vexation, defeated their designs. They resolved on a journey to court, to complain of his conduct, and to procure redress to their purse. And in order to secure themselves a favourable hearing, they laboured zealously to promote the use of the new liturgy before they set out. They procured a letter from Charles, and an order from his privy council, requiring his subjects in Edinburgh to use it as a pattern to the rest. Spotswood then convened the ministers, and threatened them with immediate suspension, if they should disobey. It seems that all of them promised compliance, except Messrs. Andrew Ramsay and Henry Rollock; the immediate suspension of whom did but so awaken the indignation of the people, that they would not allow the rest to comply, however willing they were to do it.

Dean Annan had scarce began to read the service in St. Giles' church, when the people began to make a noise. Bishop Lindsay hastened to the pulpit to pacify them; but by casting of stools and the like at them, both bishop and dean were in danger of their life. Almost all the sober people went home, bitterly reflecting upon the bishops, for bringing matters to such a pass, by their innovations. The magistrates and privy counsellors, having driven from the church such as aimed their blows at the bishop and dean, the

service was got performed with shut doors. But Annan, and especially the bishop, was in no small danger as they went home. Fairlie, bishop of Argyle, and his assistants, who attempted to introduce the liturgy into the Greyfriars church, had not much better encouragement. I do not find that it was attempted in any other churches of the city. Not a single person, except the mere rabble, appears to have been concerned in these tumults. But the bishops and their votaries, to the great grief of the privy council, immediately sent off an express to his Majesty, in which they represented the citizens as the authors or actors of all; and complained of the absence of Traquair, who had been detained by a heavy rain. After the privy council had made a thorough examination, Traquair, in their name, informed Charles, that the whole tumult was owing to the low rabble, especially the most abject. And, in a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, he laid the blame upon the folly and precipitancy of the bishops. The town council of Edinburgh wrote a letter to archbishop Laud, representing the innocence of their citizens, and their own readiness to receive the liturgy; and they offered an additional stipend to such ministers as would use it; and promised to them and their assistants protection in so doing. But as none of the conforming clergy inclined to venture their heads on such terms, the bishops agreed to suspend the *service* till his Majesty's pleasure concerning the late tumult should be known. All sacred meetings on week days were dropt in the city, which, having an appearance of a Popish interdiction, inflamed the people more and more. As both ministers and magistrates desired to promote the service;

and the ministers offered to read it themselves till decent readers could be found and instructed, providing that the ministers in the suburbs and neighbourhood, should be obliged to do the same, and that the city should give assurance for their indemnification, the privy council ordered a bond of assurance to be drawn up, and expedited, and appointed the magistrates to make diligent search after the authors and abettors of the late tumult, and to provide readers for their churches. But notwithstanding all their diligence, sufficient readers could not be had: and so the service was delayed, to the great mortification of Charles and his bishops.

Meanwhile, the two archbishops had done what they could, to promote the *service* in the country, and had charged Messrs. Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, and David Dickson of Irvine, and many others, under pain of being immediately denounced rebels, to buy, each of them, two copies of the *prayer book* for the use of their parishes. Nevertheless, not only were readers every where hard to be found, but the reluctant ministers, in four different petitions, begged the privy council to grant a suspension of the bishops' orders—in which they pointed forth the principal errors of the *Canons* and *Liturgy*, and offered a friendly dispute on these points;—they shewed what bad consequences had, or might attend the introduction of novations and imposition of liturgies; and that the church had no security at all, if princes might change her ancient and innocent forms of worship without her consent; and that his Majesty had bound himself to make no alterations in this kingdom without the lawful advice and consent of all concerned. Many no-

blemen, by their letters, and gentlemen, by personal solicitation, begged the privy counsellors to keep that yoke off the neck of ministers. The council therefore enacted, That *letters of horning* relative to the service book, should extend no further than to the purchasing of it. They represented to his Majesty, that notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, the increasing opposition to his new liturgy had baffled all their attempts to introduce it; and begged that some of their number might be called up to give him full information of the critical state of the nation, in order that proper steps might be taken to hush the commotions, and introduce his liturgy. The supplicants thanked them for their moderation; but the bishops were highly dissatisfied, as, contrary to their intention, the odium of the imposition, being removed from the council, fell all on themselves.

CHAPTER V.

By bold and prudent Remonstrances—by solemnly renewing their Covenant with God—by warlike Defence of themselves against Charles I. and Montrose his Lieutenant—by entering into a Covenant with, and assisting the English—by opposing Hamilton's Engagement—by adopting new Standards of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, and by many excellent Acts of Assembly and Parliament, the Covenanters carry their Reformation to great Perfection, between 1637 and 1651.

DURING the throng and hard labour of the harvest, the country was pretty quiet. But it was scarcely finished, when, instead of a few conscientious ministers, no less than twenty noblemen, a considerable number of barons, mostly ruling elders, and near an hundred ministers, the provosts, or eldest bailies, of Glasgow, Stirling, Ayr, Irvine, Dumbarton, Dunfermline, Culross, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Cupar, Lanark, Inverkeithing, Burntisland, and Anstruther, with commissioners from sixty-eight parishes, mostly gentlemen of principal influence in the counties of Ayr, Fife, Lothian, Clydsdale, Stirling, and Strathearn, many of whom knew not of others, till they met at the

door of the council house, remonstrated against the imposition of the *service book*.—In Charles's reply to his council's letter, he complained that they had not executed his former directions; that they had proposed no new expedient, but had allowed an interruption of the service. He peremptorily ordered them, by their presence and influence, to cause it to be established in Edinburgh without further delay; and that the other bishops should introduce it into their dioceses, as had been done in those of Ross and Dumblane; and that the council should warn all the burghs to choose none for their magistrates, for whose conformity they could not answer. Nevertheless sixty-eight different remonstrances against the introduction of the *service book*, were presented to the council, representing it as contrary to the religion presently professed, and as irregularly imposed, without consent of the General Assembly, and contrary to acts of Parliament. From all these, the Earls of Sutherland and Wemys formed one general remonstrance, which was subscribed by a great number of nobles. Intent upon executing his Majesty's directions, the council delayed answering of these petitions; but promised to acquaint the petitioners with his pleasure, as soon as it should be signified to them. And, by the Duke of Lennox, they transmitted to him the general petition, and another from the city of Glasgow, and a third from the diocese of Dumblane, in which he alleged the *service book* had been cheerfully received. They also informed him of their diligence in executing his orders, and appointed Lennox to lay before him a true state of the circumstances of the nation. Highly offended, that the council would not sacrifice their

own consciences, and the public peace and tranquillity for promoting their power and ceremonies, the bishops represented Sir Thomas Hope his Majesty's advocate, and the Earl of Traquair, as little better than traitors, that secretly supported the rebels in their remonstrances.

After thanking the council for their good inclinations to redress their grievances, the petitioners returned home, and applied themselves to search their own ways, and turn to the Lord, by confession, prayer, and humiliation for sin—to assist them in which work, Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and Ker, drew up some directions. Their numbers mightily increased. Sir John Hay, the new provost of Edinburgh, had hindered the citizens from petitioning along with their brethren. But soon after, such multitudes of them attended the town council as obliged them to remonstrate to the standing committee of the privy council against the *service book*, and to promise to have the petition transmitted to his Majesty. Hay excused this petition, as originating from the strangers, which had lately crowded the place; and Spotswood thought to have had it discussed by the council, before any others could come up. But Archibald Johnston, afterwards *Lord Warriston*, by his careful information of his friends, prevented that. There was scarce a shire southward of the Grampain hills, from which noblemen, gentlemen, burghers, ministers, and others, did not convene to supplicate the council, or to wait for their answer to their former petitions. Above *two hundred* parishes gave in new supplications. The petitioners being now too many for common consultation, divided themselves into *four divisious or tables* of nobility, gen-

try, ministers, and burgesses, which began their meetings with prayer, and formed a survey of the new *liturgy*.

Informed of these things, Charles, by a solemn proclamation, prohibited the council to proceed in judging of ecclesiastical affairs, and charged all the petitioners to return to their respective homes, under pain of being denounced rebels. And, to punish the citizens of Edinburgh for their joining with the other petitioners, he ordered the council and court of session to remove to Linlithgow, and thence to Dundee; which occasioned a remarkable interruption of public justice in the kingdom. A tract against the *English Popish ceremonies*, by Mr. George Gillespy, was also prohibited by public proclamation. Spotswood craftily absented himself from the council. But the malcontents, looking on him and his fellow bishops as the great instruments of oppression, and a dead weight upon the other lords of privy council, drew up a formal complaint against them, in which they charged them with the framing of the *service book*, and sowing in it the seeds of idolatry, superstition, and false doctrine, contrary to the religion legally established; and even approaching nearer to the *Popish Missal* than the English had done;—and with forming the *Book of Canons*, in which bishops are empowered to tyrannize over ministers and people at pleasure;—by which means, they had wronged his Majesty, kindling discord between him and his subjects, and between the subjects themselves,—and had rent the church, and undermined her doctrine, worship, discipline, and government;—and therefore they begged, that they might be brought to their trial, and

duly punished; and in the mean time, not be allowed to sit judges upon the petitioners. This complaint was signed by twenty-four noblemen, some hundreds of gentlemen, some hundreds of ministers, and most of the burghs. Nor doth it appear, that any but Mr. R. Bailie, afterward principal in the college of Glasgow, did hesitate to subscribe it, who thought some expressions of it too severe.—Finding that their former supplication had not been presented to his majesty, according to promise; and that the courts of justice were removed from their city; and that, after their fellow petitioners returned home, they would be exposed to the resentment of their provost, severals in Edinburgh, chiefly women, attended the town council, and threatened them, that unless they would concur with the other burghs in their supplications and complaints, and would restore Messrs. Ramsay and Rollock, their ministers, and Henderson a reader, they would not suffer one of them to come out alive. This obliged them to an immediate compliance. These female insurgents, in their way home, had handled the bishop of Galloway and the provost too roughly, had not the nobles prevented them.

After several unsuccessful addresses to the privy council, the numerous supplicants returned home, having resolved to meet again upon the 15th of November. Then greater numbers than ever attended at Linlithgow, and were joined by the Earl of Montrose, and some other noblemen. Notwithstanding the counsellors could not persuade them of the lawfulness of their conventions, they agreed, That, since their grievances were not like to be soon redressed, the noblemen, with two gentlemen from every shire, and a minister

from every presbytery, and a commissioner from every burgh, should attend the council, and the rest return home. They also agreed, that Rother, Montrose, Lindsay, and Loudon, as deputies for the nobles; the lairds of Keir, Cunninghamhead, and Oldbar, for the shires; the two bailies of Edinburgh, and provost of Culross, for the burghs; and Messrs. James Cunningham and Thomas Ramsay for the ministers, should ordinarily attend at Edinburgh for receiving answers of petitions, and giving in remonstrances to the council. After settling a method of gentlemen serving by turns, and of advertising their constituents in case of need, and a solemn admonition to, and promise of personal and family reformation, most of them returned home.

The above-mentioned deputies remonstrated to the lords of privy council, That if they find his Majesty not rightly informed of their grievances; or if they obtain not redress by the methods agreed upon, it shall be lawful for them to assemble their constituents;—that such bishops or ministers as have slandered their conduct as seditious, shall be obliged to give satisfaction for their offence;—that since it was none but the low mob that raised the late tumult in Edinburgh, the council shall intercede with his Majesty for the return of the courts of judicature to that city;—that Messrs. Ramsay and Rollock shall be reponed to their charges;—and that the bishops be prohibited to urge the use of the *service book*, till his Majesty's pleasure be further known. They were the more zealous on this last point, because Wedderburn, bishop of Brechin, had prohibited the town council of that place, to send any commissioners to supplicate against it; and, upon their refusing to

obey him, had taken instruments in the name of God, the King, and himself, as a privy counselor, and on the Sabbath following, contrary to the advice of the Chancellor and Treasurer, had gone to his pulpit to read the *service*, armed with pistols, his servants, if not also his wife, being prepared to second his warlike attempt. But he was so drubbed by some of the people, in his way home, that he never repeated his dangerous task.

Though the privy council, to shift a proper answer to the people's demands, solemnly protested to their deputies, that they were not regularly met, they, as constituted, dispatched two missives, one to Charles, and another to the Earl of Stirling, secretary for Scottish affairs; in which they represented the necessity of the restoration of the ordinary courts of judicature, and their own reasons for yielding so far to the aggrieved subjects. The Earl of Roxburgh, their agent, returned from London, with an ample commission from his Majesty. But it being whispered, that he had orders to apprehend some of the principal noblemen among the petitioners, the deputies convened all their commissioners. But, upon Traquair's entreaty, and the council's promise to do nothing to their prejudice, they remained at Edinburgh. Directed by his Majesty's letter, the council made three acts, declaring, that he had no intention of altering the *religion presently professed*, or the *laws of the country*; and appointing two meetings of council every week at Dalkeith, and thereafter at Stirling, of which that on the Thursday should discuss complaints and grievances—and appointing the Court of Session to meet in the beginning of February next, 1638.

for the administration of civil affairs, which, for almost a year, had been totally interrupted, or run into confusion. The malcontents plainly perceived, that, by the *religion presently established*, Charles meant Prelacy and its attendant superstitions, and by the *laws of the kingdom*, such as had been enacted since his father's accession to the English throne;—the council therefore finding them highly disaffected, and that they could not apprehend their chiefs, or, by promises or presents, detach the poorer sort from them, tried several methods to divide them, or at least to persuade them to alter their supplication in October last; especially in that which respected the bishops. But instead of compliance, the commissioners supported their petition, evinced their duty to subscribe it, and proved, That it was necessary for the honour of Christ, the preservation of their religion and liberty, and for the honour and advantage of King and country, and for preventing the re-introduction of Popery, and for keeping themselves free of any consent to the innovations imposed, or any hand in the persecution of their faithful brethren.

Finding that the council for several days had but laboured to divide them, or to shift their requests, the deputies appointed two of their number to protest at each door of the council-house, in name of all the aggrieved subjects, That they ought to have immediate recourse with their grievances before his Majesty himself, and to prosecute them, in a legal manner, before the ordinary judges; that the bishops, being their opposite parties, ought not to sit in any judicatory as judges of their cause, till once they should have purged themselves of the crimes with which

they were ready to charge them; that it should be lawful for them, in religious matters, to conform themselves to the word of God, and laudable constitutions of this church, and in no wise dangerous to refuse the *canons* or *liturgy* imposed without, or against, the acts of General Assemblies, or laws of this kingdom; that no bad consequences, arising from the council's refusing, or shifting, to redress their grievances, should be imputed to them; and that their supplications proceeded from conscience, and merely tended to the preservation of the true reformed religion, and the liberty of the nation. Informed of this intended protestation, the privy counsellors promised the deputies a hearing of their requests upon the 21st of December. The commissioners therefore appointed the twelve deputies to present their supplication and complaint to the council, and to do every thing necessary for obtaining a proper answer to them. They also agreed upon the observation of a general Fast, leaving it to ministers and their sessions to fix the time and assign the causes of it;—and advised ministers to shew their people the heinous nature of the late innovations, and how contrary they were to the national covenant, which had been sworn about forty years before, viz. in 1596; and kindly to warn universities against receiving the service book, or tolerating the teaching of any false doctrine among them.

The council having met, and the bishops withdrawn—consisted only of laymen. Lord Loudon, as agent for the other deputies, presented two copies of their supplications, which had been given in September and October preceding, with a new one, in which they complained of the bi-

shops using the *service book*; and that some ministers of Edinburgh had, in their sermons and otherwise, reproached their lawful attempts for redress of grievances as seditious and rebellious—and besought their lordships to deal with his Majesty, and to their utmost endeavour their redress. He also presented a *declinature* of the bishops as judges in their cause, since they had been contrivers, introducers, and urgers of the *liturgy* and *canons*, and authors of their other grievances. He and Mr. Cuninghame enforced their supplications with most affecting speeches, the last of which, it is said, drew tears from several counsellors, and gained Lord Lorn, afterwards Marquis of Argyle, to the petitioners' side. The council, from conscience or from necessity, found themselves obliged to represent the whole matter to his Majesty, and not agreeing whether to depute Roxburgh or Traquair for that purpose, they left it to Charles to choose whom he pleased. After being imposed upon by young Spotswood, president of the session, and better informed by a letter which Rothes had sent to the Earl of Haddington, he called up Traquair, who refused to look on, or carry along with him, an information from the deputies; but permitted Lord Orbiston, justice clerk, one of his attendants, to carry it. President Spotswood had so biassed Charles, that Traquair had no small difficulty. Stirling, who, by Laud's direction, had kept back part of the information sent by the council, was at last left in the lurch. Instigated by a letter from old Spotswood, the archbishop, Charles resolved to have all the proceedings of the malcontents condemned, and every thing similar prohibited under pain of high treason. Traquair repeatedly re-

monstrated against this step, as calculated to endanger the public peace; but he was remanded with new instructions to the council.

After his return to Scotland, Traquair, to deceive the malcontent deputies, pretended, That he had brought no instructions relative to their affairs. But they, being informed of the truth by their friends at London, appointed four or five of their number to attend the council at Stirling. Traquair and Stirling laboured to dissuade them from this, or at most to send up only two, whom, it seems, Traquair intended to apprehend and imprison in the castle. Some of the bishops' friends talking of this, the malcontents resolved to go to Stirling in a body. Traquair diverted them from this, and persuaded them to depute only a few. Finding them determined to prosecute their attempts for the preservation of their religion and liberties, he, after informing them that the council was to sit at Stirling tomorrow, together with Roxburgh, set out for it a little after midnight, intending to have his Majesty's instructions approved and proclaimed before any of the deputies could come up. After having, to no purpose, waited two hours for a *quorum* of the council, they, about ten o'clock, forenoon, proclaimed his Majesty's mandates, bearing, That he, not the bishops, was the original cause of the disputed *canons* and *liturgy*; that he condemned all conventions of his subjects in order to form supplications against these pious and innocent books, as altogether illegal and seditious, and prohibited all such meetings for the future, under pain of rebellion;—that none should approach his privy council without special allowance; and that such as had, or were coming up,

for any such purpose, should within six hours depart from Stirling, under pain of high treason. Informed by his own servant of the early departure of Traquair and Roxburgh, Lord Lindsay and the Earl of Hume posted to Stirling; and were ready with a public notary to protest against the king's proclamation, as soon as it was read.—They further remonstrated, That the seeds of superstition and idolatry are contained in the *liturgy* and *canons*, and many other novelties inconsistent with the liberties, laws, and religion of this kingdom;—that they and their constituents ought to be allowed to accuse the bishops;—that the High Commission Court is contrary to the fundamental laws of the nation, and calculated to establish the tyranny of bishops; that they will not yield to the bishops as their judges, till they have manifested their innocence in some competent court; and that all their meetings and supplications had no other end, but the preservation of the purity of religion and of his Majesty's honour, and the liberty of church and state. The rest of the malcontent commissioners came up in the afternoon, but could not obtain a copy of the King's proclamation. They refused to leave Stirling before the counsellors promised to do nothing further in their affair; but were scarcely gone off when the treacherous council met, and admitted the bishops to judge, and approved his Majesty's proclamation.

Next morning the deputies waited upon the council, and so effectually represented the impropriety and sinfulness of their conduct, as made the Earls of Angus and Napier profess their sorrow for their rash approbation of the King's proclamation, and Sir Thomas Hope, his advocate,

refused to subscribe it. When the proclamation was published at Linlithgow, the protest taken against it at Stirling was renewed. When it was read at Edinburgh, sixteen noblemen, with a great number of barons, gentlemen, ministers, and burghesses, protested against it, and that they should have immediate recourse to his Majesty and other competent judges, for redress of their grievances; that the bishops should not be held their lawful judges, till they had purged themselves of the crimes laid to their charge; that no deed of council made in their presence, should be prejudicial to the supplicants; that no danger should be incurred for disregarding *liturgy, canons, courts, acts, or proclamations*, introduced without, or contrary to, the standing laws of church or state; and that no bad consequences of the council's refusing to hear their remonstrances, and redress their grievances, should be imputed to them.

Convinced that Traquair and Roxburgh had but deceived them, instead of labouring to remove their radical grievances, the malcontents assembled at Edinburgh in great numbers, in February 1688, to consider more fully of proper methods of redress. Moved by the nobility, assisted by Messrs. Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, all the *tables* agreed to renew their *national covenant* with God, the violation of which they judged an original source of all their calamities; and a committee was appointed to form a bond suited to their present circumstances. After the original bond of 1681, and a list of many acts of Parliament, which manifested the several points to be sworn, as commanded, or allowed by the civil laws, they subjoined the *new bond*, which alone was to be sworn and subscribed. The

Earl of Cassilis, Mr. Bailie, and a few others, who had been educated in high notions of his Majesty's prerogatives, or of the lawfulness of Prelacy; had some difficulties; but after some reasoning, and the alteration of a few words, all present agreed to it, except three or four clergymen from Angus. As some scrupled, directly to condemn the *Articles of Perth* and other innovations as *unlawful* in themselves, the draught of the covenant bond referred all determination on that point to the first free General Assembly, and engaged the swearers to no more than a *forbearance* of them till that should take place. By the *discipline* of the church, they meant no more than the substantial points of it used in 1581. Such as had sworn conformity to the *novations* introduced, were told, that they might nevertheless engage to forbear the use of them for a time, on account of their offensiveness. Such as suspected that the bond too much limited the maintenance of the King's authority, were told, that their swearing to maintain his authority in the defence of the true religion, and of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, did not exclude their maintenance of it in other cases; that in the bond of 1581, they were still more expressly bound to defend their religion; that they engaged to maintain the King's authority along with their religion, and therefore their defending of one another in the maintenance of religion, was no more than the laws of the kingdom required of them. Some other difficulties were started, but removed in a friendly manner.

The ministers having, on the preceding Sabbath, represented the breach of former covenants with God as the peculiar spring of all the cala-

mities under which the nation had groaned; and that the renovation of such a solemn dedication of themselves to God, was a proper mean of obtaining his favour and help for their deliverance, the covenant was sworn on the first Sabbath of March, with great solemnity, and subscribed by many thousands, viz. all the nobility, except the privy counsellors, and four or five more; and by commissioners from all the shires in Scotland, and commissioners from all the burghs, except Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, and Crail; and by a multitude of gentlemen and ministers. Copies of it were immediately sent to every presbytery, along with a demonstration of the lawfulness of subscribing it, and directions how it should be taken in parishes; and as the clergy of Aberdeen and Glasgow chiefly adhered to their scruples, some ministers were appointed to deal with them. Before the end of April, almost the whole adult persons in the kingdom, except the Papists, who were then about 600, the courtiers, who feared his Majesty's displeasure, and some clergymen who had sworn the oath of conformity, had cheerfully concurred in the covenant: And notwithstanding the opposition of their clerical doctors, the most of the inhabitants of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, also joined in it. But at Aberdeen, the shrewd reasoning of the doctors, together with the general inclination to Prelacy and superstition, had no small influence. We have elsewhere proved, from many authentic vouchers, that there were few adult persons in Scotland, who did not take the covenant, in one shape or other, that year.

Having thus, under uncommon influence of the Spirit of God, dedicated themselves to him, and

begun to reform their practice and families, the covenanters transmitted a supplication to his Majesty, representing the equity and legality of their proceedings, and the injustice of the bishops, who had opposed them; and they besought the Duke of Lennox, Marquis of Hamilton, and some other noble courtiers, to intercede with him for a gracious answer. The privy council also sent up Lord Orbiston to inform him of what had happened, and to beg that he would put a stop to the *novations* complained of, or at least allow the consciences of his subjects a fair hearing. Spotswood, deep drowned in debt, and other bishops, who knew themselves to be hated by the people, fled off to the court. Orbiston, according to his instructions, faithfully informed his Majesty, and disposed him to receive further information, for obtaining of which, Traquair, Roxburgh, and Lorn, were called up to him. The Scotch lawyers being consulted, Whether the covenanters assembling themselves, without his Majesty's authority, protesting against his royal proclamations, and entering into covenant with God, and with each other, were warrantable by law, gave their opinion, That most of their conduct was legal, and none of it against any express law. It was even suspected, that they had walked by the direction of Sir Thomas Hope, the King's advocate, in the most critical steps of it. No sooner had the three commissioners got to London, than the Scotch affairs were taken into serious consideration. The bishops, chiefly of Brechin and Murray, foreseeing that they would be inevitably ruined, if Charles should incline to clemency, did all that lay in their power to exasperate him to the most violent measures against the cove-

nanters. The noblemen with great zeal opposed them. Lorn candidly laid open all that he knew of the grievances of his country, and declared his dislike of the *Articles of Perth*, the *liturgy*, and *canons*, and of the conduct of the bishops; and that he was resolved rather to leave his country, than to concur in binding these burdens upon his fellow subjects. As Traquair insisted for peaceable methods, the bishops reproached him with giving the covenanters intelligence, while he, to avenge himself, charged the miscarriage of his Majesty's designs on their imprudence and violence.—Fearing that the commencement of a war in Scotland might give the English malcontents an opportunity of obtaining their wished redress, the English counsellors were no less averse to it than the Scotch. Lennox, in a fine and warm oration, remonstrated that there was no present necessity for a war; nor were the motives of such importance as to plunge the two kingdoms into a war, in which, be victorious who would, his Majesty would lose a multitude of his subjects, or the hearts of such as survived it; and insisted, that either the occasion of the present ferment should be removed out of the way, or time should be allowed for it gradually to work off, or his Majesty might yield to the covenanters' demands. These and like speeches, with the news of multitudes entering into the covenant, made Charles prefer peace, and made the bishops to be looked upon as the real enemies of the kingdom.

About this time, Presbyteries, disregarding their episcopal superiors, began to ordain ministers without consulting them, and removed their constant moderators. Rutherford returned to Anworth in Galloway; Livingston, Hamilton,

M'Lellan, Blair, and Row, who had been driven from Ireland, were settled in vacancies, or as assistants to others. The Episcopalian doctors of St. Andrew's published their reasons for refusing the covenant, and Drs. Baron and Forbes of Aberdeen commenced a paper war with the covenanters. But both were quickly silenced by more nervous *replies*. The King's suspension of the civil courts for about a year tempted some Highlanders of his party to plunder and oppress their neighbours, and some women and low rabble to abuse some conform clergy.—While the covenanting clergy did what they could to prevent or suppress such riots, the bishops and their agents improved them, to provoke his Majesty to an open war with the whole covenanters.

Charles having resolved for a time to yield something to them, he was on the point of entrusting that critical management to Traquair: but the bishops, who reckoned him their mortal enemy, by a long and trifling accusation, diverted him from this. The Marquis of Hamilton was therefore entrusted with it. To prevent all division of the covenanters among themselves, by any concessions which his Majesty might offer, the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis and Montrose, drew up a draught of the *lowest terms* upon which the religion and liberties of the nation could be settled in a solid manner, viz. That the *service book* and *book of canons* should be discharged; that the *High Commission Court* should be for ever dissolved; that the *articles of Perth* should not be urged by authority; that no clergymen should have *vote in Parliament*, without an exact submission to the *CAVEATS* fixed by the General Assembly 1600; that no unlawful *articles* or *oaths*

should be imposed upon entrants to the ministry; that proper security should be given for the holding of yearly General Assemblies; and that a Parliament should be called for the redress of grievances. To preserve unity among themselves, the covenanters farther agreed, That no answer should be given to statesmen without common consent; that a committee should be chosen out of each table to prepare and manage matters; and that some gentlemen, ministers, and burghers, should meet with the nobles, that it might not be thought they took too much upon them; that all of them should attend at Edinburgh as appointed; that, to shew their adversaries that their principal strength did not lie in their nobility, fewer of these should attend than formerly; that if any proclamation be issued contrary to the design of their former supplications, it should be answered by a protest, containing for substance the *eight articles* above mentioned; that if his Majesty prohibit the *canons* and *liturgy*, and limit the *High Commission*, they shall insist for the redress of their other grievances, and none rest content with less than the said *eight articles* contain; that the number of commissioners be doubled against the time of Hamilton's arrival; that the reports of the subscription of the covenant be called up from every corner of the kingdom; and that they should observe a solemn *fast*, to confess their own sins, and implore God's favour and help at their general meeting.

While the bishops that remained in Scotland gave all the information they could against the covenanters to court, Hamilton having received twenty-eight instructions from his Majesty, part of which he was to conceal or avow, as circum-

stances required, prepared for his journey to Scotland. But, fearing that his furious countrymen might, by their advice, counteract his peaceful attempts in his absence, he refused to leave the court, till as many of them as could be spared, were ordered down before him. This was extremely disagreeable to the bishops, and to President Spotswood and Sir John Hay, formerly mentioned, as they knew themselves to be detested at home; and several of them were in danger of prosecutions for debt. No sooner had Hamilton arrived at Edinburgh, than he found, to his great dissatisfaction, that the covenanters had agreed, that not one of them should wait upon him without the concurrence of all the rest. Charles, on the other hand, sent sixty barrels of powder, and some hundred stands of arms and matches, to be lodged in the Castle, to be used against them, if his proposals should not succeed. Being secretly landed at Fisherrow, and thence conveyed to Dalkeith, this occasioned a report that Traquair had brought them to blow up the covenanters, when they should meet to confer with Hamilton; and his vindication of himself gave too much ground to suspect his Majesty's hostile intentions. It was also reported, that Hamilton, as he passed, had ordered the sheriffs of Northumberland to have their trained bands in readiness. Nor did he appear capable of clearing himself. It was also reported, that the Earls of Huntley, Herreis, Abercorn, and Winton, intended to march their whole forces to Edinburgh for supporting his Majesty's pleasure. The covenanters, who as yet appear to have purchased no arms from abroad, set a watch upon the castle, that it

might not be reinforced or supplied with any thing more than necessary provisions.

The marquis of Hamilton having taken up his lodging at Dalkeith, the privy counsellors met with him there ; all of whom the ministers served with an earnest intreaty to subscribe their *covenant*. The covenanters, thinking it neither safe nor convenient to attend the privy council at Dalkeith, Hamilton, after some altercation, and a treaty, came to Edinburgh, where about 20,000 of them, five or seven hundred of whom were ministers, met him ; together with the town council, inhabitants, and an infinity of women and children ; and old Mr. William Livingston welcomed him with a short address.—In vain each party laboured to find out the secrets of the other. At last, Hamilton told them, that his majesty was willing to abolish the *canons, liturgy*, and other grievances, providing they would give up with their covenant. By appointment, Mr. Alexander Henderson drew up reasons against this, bearing, That it would involve them in perjury before God ;—would imply an acknowledgment of the unlawfulness of their covenanting ;—would mark the vilest ingratitude to God, who had singularly encouraged them in it ;—would deny his commandment binding them to *vow and pay* to him ;—would condemn whatever like work had been, or might be, transacted in this church ; that they could not give up their covenant without the consent of God and every person concerned in it ;—that it could not be expected, that their surrender of it would influence their opponents to concur with them in swearing to the same things by virtue of a new command, but would represent them as inconstant, as break,

ers of their oath, and deniers of their faith, while God was calling them to confess it. The marquis could obtain no more, than that the body of the covenanters should retire from Edinburgh, leaving some deputies to transact with him in their name. These deputies immediately drew up a *supplication*, in which, after an enumeration of their grievances, they insisted for a *free General Assembly, and a Parliament*, in order speedily to redress them, as they were daily growing worse and worse. And, to procure an immediate answer, they dispersed a paper to be advised upon, so as it might come into the hands of the courtiers, bearing, That since the grievances complained of respected the whole kingdom, the remedies behoved to be equally public and extensive, and effectual for preventing like grievances in time coming; that only a free Assembly and Parliament are able to produce such effects; that the bishops could not be their judges, till they purge themselves of the crimes laid to their charge; that, if the court take dilatory methods, it would be proper to consider of some other method of calling a General Assembly; that, if the court should violently enforce obedience to their will, a committee should be allowed to deliberate what might be done for the defence of their religion, liberty, and laws. Perhaps these strong hints disposed the marquis to receive their petition with the more appearance of regard.

He offered to proclaim his majesty's pleasure; but the deputies, knowing that it would not be satisfactory, assured him, that they would be constrained to protest against it; that thereby they might justify their own and their fathers' conduct; that they might manifest their adherence to their

former testimonies; that they might preserve and manifest their union among themselves; and that they might publicly thank his majesty for the concessions which he had made. When he saw that the deputies had erected their scaffold for the Earl of Cassilis, Mr. William Livingston, and two others, to protest against the proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, he forbore to publish it; and, as if earnestly desirous of peace, required a conference with the deputies. They appointed Rothes, Montrose, and Loudon, to confer with the Earls of Traquair, Southesk, and Lord Lorn. As the agents from Hamilton pretended, that in the covenant there seemed to be a combination for protecting delinquents against public authority and law, in other points besides those which concerned the religion and liberties of the kingdom; the covenanters, in a remonstrance, explained this, and gave the strongest assurances of their *loyalty*, and again petitioned for a free Assembly and Parliament. Chiefly intending to gain time, till his majesty should be ready to attack them with the sword, Hamilton proposed to the covenanters, that since his present instructions could not content them, he would ride post to London, and represent their case, in consequence of which, he hoped quickly to return with more satisfying proposals. Ignorant of his wicked designs, they relished his motion, and besought him to agent their cause with his majesty, and procure them a free Assembly and Parliament; and added, that if he did not quickly return, they should be excused, if they took it for a denial of their request; that their cause should be no wise hurt by proclamations, or any thing else, before his return; that, in the

mean time, no forts should be repaired or fortified, or lawful commerce by sea or land interrupted; that none of the bishops should repair to court, or, if called up, should return with, or before him; and that the *liturgy* and *canons* should be of no force.

To deceive the covenanting commissioners, and make most of them return home, Hamilton pretended to set off for London; but returned next day, when he hoped there would be none to protest; published a proclamation, probably drawn up by himself in his Majesty's name, in which he promised never to urge the observation of the *liturgy* and *canons*, but in a fair and legal manner; that he intended no alteration of the religion or laws of the kingdom; that he would rectify the High Commission by advice of his council; that with the first conveniency he would call a free General Assembly and Parliament, for the establishment of the religion presently professed. The Earl of Cassilis, Alexander Gibson, laird of Dury, Archibald Johnson, advocate, John Ker, minister of Prestonpans, and James Fletcher, provost of Dundee, protested against it. Being informed, that the privy council was solicited to approve of this proclamation, the covenanters delivered to the Marquis, and every other member, a copy of their reasons against the ratification of it, bearing, That it did not disallow or abolish the *liturgy* and *canons*, but confirmed the proclamation of February 19th, and directly avowed, that they might be legally imposed; that it did not abolish, but establish the High Commission Court; that it did not grant any of their requests, but condemned their procedure as disorderly and criminal; that it gave no ground to hope for freedom

from the *articles of Perth*, but the contrary; that it altogether concealed the guilt of the bishops; that it gave no certainty of a free Assembly or Parliament; that it did not acknowledge these things, of which they had complained, as innovations or superstitious; but represented them as means of confirming religion. But before the counsellors got these reasons, all of them but Lorn and Southesk had subscribed the proclamation, at their own houses, and attested it to be sufficient to content all his Majesty's good subjects.

The disappointed covenanters, after solemn supplications to God, presented to the Marquis a complaint of the counsellors approbation of the proclamation, bearing, That thereby the Lords had, without hearing them, condemned their proceedings as criminal, and part of them as reasonable; had confirmed all the calumnies of their adversaries against them, and justified the injuries which they had received; and stopt the course of his Majesty's favour towards them, on better information; had provoked him to use his power against them as disobedient subjects; had prematurely shewed, that they would assist his Majesty in executing his threatenings against them;—and therefore they begged them to rescind their act. Moved herewith, the Lords never rested till they got back their act and tore it to pieces. Hamilton then offered the covenanters a more favourable proclamation, prohibiting the observance of the *liturgy* and *canons*, and rescinding all acts of council in favours of them, and forbidding the High Commission to sit till it should be duly regulated. But as this did not satisfy the covenanters it was not published. They nevertheless

promised to behave quietly till the Marquis should go to London, and inform his Majesty how things stood, and return. Meanwhile Charles carried on his preparations in England and Ireland for a warlike invasion of his native country; and his doctors of Aberdeen did what they could, by publishing their objections and duplies, to oppose and disgrace the covenanters' bond. But these were so answered by Messrs. Henderson and Dickson, that a considerable number in and about Aberdeen, both ministers and people, subscribed the covenant, notwithstanding all that the doctors and Earl of Huntley could do to restrain them.

In consequence of Hamilton's information concerning Scotch affairs, Charles, after declaring his own adherence to the *Confession of Faith* established in 1560, empowered him to cause all the members of privy council to subscribe it, together with a *new bond* for the maintenance of its doctrines, and of the King's authority. If they complied, he might call a General Assembly when and where they pleased, but, it behoved him to take care that the bishops should have power to vote, and one of them be moderator; that he might declare the *articles of Perth* indifferent, and that ministers should be admitted, as before the late commotions; that he should restrict the power of bishops as little as possible; and might, if he found proper, publish the last mentioned proclamation and act of council. He had other private instructions to take care of *prelacy* and *prelates*.

Returning to Edinburgh, Hamilton demanded of the covenanters, That all those ministers that had been suspended by Presbyteries since Janu-

ary last, without warrant of their bishop, should be reponed in their charges; that all their former moderators of Presbyteries be reponed in their places; that such ministers as have been admitted since that time leave their charges; that people resort to their own churches; that no ministers come to the Assembly, unless they be chosen commissioners; that all the lawful moderators of Presbyteries, be commissioners; that no lay person, *i. e.* ruling elder, should interfere in the choice of commissioners from Presbyteries; that they should either give up, or alter their covenant; that they should forbear their meetings in time coming; that ministers should have their stipends paid, and be secured in their persons.— The covenanters, having answered these demands in a manner that shewed they could not be easily imposed on, Hamilton reduced them all to two, namely, That no lay elders or ministers of another Presbytery should vote in the choice of commissioners to the Assembly; and that the Assembly should meddle with nothing which had been established by the Parliament, unless in remonstrances and petitions to that supreme court. After some friendly dispute among themselves, the covenanters rejected these demands, as snares laid to entrap them; and finding that the Marquis did not shew due forwardness in calling such a free Assembly as they wished, they resolved to call one themselves, and published their reasons for so doing, *viz.* That General Assemblies were necessary for the welfare of the church; that Christ had given his church full power to convene and hold councils when necessary; that by virtue of this divine right, this church had long, with remarkable countenance from God, held her Ge-

neral Assemblies; that the laws of the land, and even the corrupt Assemblies of 1606, and 1610, allowed the necessity of General Assemblies; that at present a General Assembly was peculiarly necessary for the suppression of error, redressing of grievances, restoring of discipline, peace, and unity; for the mutual edification of ministers and people; for confirming such a doubt of the truth; for protecting faithful ministers, and censuring Popish and Arminian teachers. They also solved the objections which might be made to their calling of it.

Finding that the covenanters were resolved to have an Assembly more free than his instructions permitted him to call, Hamilton, with no small difficulty, persuaded them to delay all steps toward calling one themselves, till he should again post to London, and solicit his Majesty's concurrence with their views. They agreed to wait till the 20th of September, upon condition that he should insist with his Majesty, that the Assembly should be FREE, both as to its members, and the matters handled in it; that it should be held within a short time; and that it should meet in a place most commodious for all concerned; and that all interception of their letters in England might be prohibited.—Meanwhile, the deputies agreed upon RULES of choosing commissioners to the Assembly to be transmitted to the several Presbyteries, viz. That the number of commissioners should be regulated by the act of the Assembly at Dundee in 1597; that their commission should empower them to act according to the word of God, and the confession of faith in every thing judged; that every kirk session should have an elder at the Presbytery, when the commissioners

should be chosen; that ministers under scandal be immediately processed, in order to prevent their being chosen for commissioners; that no moderators of Presbyteries be members of Assembly by virtue of their office; that notwithstanding their late solemn fast upon the 22d and 29th of July, they should observe another on the Sabbath immediately before the election of commissioners, in order to implore the Lord's direction in this important step. As not a few of the clergy were averse from ruling elders sitting with them, in Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies, copies of a paper, proving by a great many acts of Assembly and Parliament, that such officers had, and ought to be in this church, in order to procure ready access for them into Presbyteries. Moreover secret instructions were transmitted to the more trusty clergymen, bearing, That they should protest against the choosing of any for commissioners, that were under any process for scandal; that they should take care to have the bishops timely brought under process for their offensive behaviour; that ministers prepare themselves for disputing upon such points as are like to be handled in the Assembly; that three ministers be chosen out of every Presbytery, where they can be had well affected to the cause of truth; that the well affected consult among themselves before the election, that their election may fall on the same persons; that the election of such as have chosen bishops, have sat in the High Commission, have countenanced the King's chapel ceremonies, or have offered to observe the *liturgy* and *canons*, or have been justices of peace, be avoided, unless they have acknowledged the sinfulness of their former courses; that where well affected noble-

men or gentlemen may be commissioned as ruling elders in different Presbyteries, they be chosen in that Presbytery in which there are fewest able ministers. These hints were offered not as authoritative rules, but as advices, as many had but little knowledge of Presbyterian government. While Sessions and Prebyteries were busy promoting the election of proper commissioners, Thomas Abernethy, a jesuit, having heard at Rome of the wonderful providences of God towards his native country, hastened to witness them, and had not been long here, when, manifestly persuaded of the truth, he was, upon his earnest entreaty, admitted into their church fellowship. His deep marked repentance and conversion, and his zeal for the covenant, not a little encouraged the covenanters.

Hamilton having reached the court, informed his Majesty, that he durst not divulge his last instructions, lest he should have thereby exposed the royal authority to contempt, and that he could think of nothing so apt to remove the present jealousies of the malcontents, as an order for the renovation of the *national covenant* of 1581, which contained a particular renunciation of Popery, the fears of which had occasioned the malcontents' late covenant. Charles was heartily provoked to find all his stratagems so unsuccessful; but, not being yet ready for the open war which he intended, he instructed the Marquis to prohibit the *liturgy* and *canons*, the *High Commission*, and *observance* of the *articles of Perth*:—to declare the admission of ministers to their office perfectly free; and that bishops should be subject to the Assembly; and to indict an Assembly and Parliament as he saw cause, and to require all the

subjects to subscribe the covenant of 1581, and bond of 1589. Returning to Edinburgh, Hamilton read his instructions to the privy council, but could not persuade them to subscribe the above-mentioned *covenant* and *bond*, till a clause was added, bearing, that they subscribed it according to its *original meaning*. They declared their satisfaction with his Majesty's concessions; and that all his subjects ought to rest contented with them; and promised to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in executing them, and settling the peace of the kingdom. They issued a proclamation for a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow, November 21st, and warned bishops and commissioners to attend it; and another for a Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May next ensuing, and warned the nobles, bishops, barons, and commissioners from burghs, to attend it. They commanded all the subjects to subscribe his Majesty's *covenant* and *bond*, with all expedition;—and then published his Majesty's proclamation. The covenanters did not think it sufficient for the redress of their grievances—as it did not clearly and distinctly condemn the innovations of which they had complained;—it allowed the bishops their wonted power, and so called them to their seat as judges in the Assembly and Parliament. They largely exhibited their reasons against admitting of any limitation of the Assembly, as contrary to the word of God, the large Confession of Faith, and book of discipline, their former contendings, and the ends of General Assemblies, and to the acts of the church, or of Parliament, ratifying the liberties of that court. They refused to subscribe his Majesty's *covenant*, as they did not know but thereby he intended to invali-

date and disgrace their late bond; as such a subscription might amount to a taking of God's name in vain, multiplying oaths without necessity; as it might divide them among themselves, and so involve them in perjury; as it would import that their former vows had been rash and destitute of lawful authority; as it would expose them to the reproach of inconsistency in religion; as it would involve them in an approbation of the *articles of Perth*, their subscription answering to his Majesty's command; as it might consist with an approbation of the *liturgy* and *canons*; as it imported an unlawful going back from truth, when God was calling to a steady adherence to it; as it approved the King's proclamation, and so imported acquiescence in his pardon of their former proceedings, which they reckoned their requisite duty and glory; and because that part of the narrative of his Majesty's covenant was different from that of 1581; and that it contained no engagement to practical reformation; and because the counsellors' subscription of it had but tended to widen breaches, instead of healing them. They farther protested, That the present distractions of church and state were owing to the *novations* of which they complained, and not to their groundless fears, as the proclamation pretended; and that all questions relative to the freedom of the Assembly in its constitution, members, and points to be judged, or form and order of procedure, should be left to the determination of the Assembly itself; that the bishops should attend it, not as judges, but merely for *trial* and *censure*; and that, adhering to their own late covenant with God, they ought not to be charged to subscribe any other, or to procure subscriptions to

it; that the subscription of his Majesty's covenant by the privy council, should not be prejudicial to theirs.—In this long protest, the covenanters had their eye upon the proclamation of September 9th, and the acts of council complexly taken, as they knew that proclamation was to be explained by them.

Notwithstanding this solemn protest, Hamilton and the privy council dispatched their commissioners, assisted by their missives, to procure subscriptions to his Majesty's *covenant*. By extolling his condescension, and the necessity and expedience of subscribing it, these commissioners did what they could. Aware of this divisive measure, the covenanters sent their deputies through the nation, with copies of their late protest and additional advices, warning their friends to avoid the snare, and in as large numbers as they could, to read the protest, wherever the King's proclamation should be read. Where the court commissioners got the start, chiefly in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, in which the Earl of Huntley had remarkable influence, they obtained not a few subscriptions. About 28,000 in all, subscribed it, more than the half of whom were in these two shires. In Aberdeen, the doctors would not subscribe it without declaring, that they understood it as consistent with *Prelacy* and the *ceremonies*. The citizens subscribed it in the same sense. Here the Lord and Master of Forbes, at the hazard of their life, read the protest; but the people were generally too much overawed by Huntley, and addicted to the court, and its novations, to regard it. The inhabitants of Glasgow, warmly urged by Hamilton himself, and by Orbiston, lord justice clerk, were many

of them on the point of subscribing; but, having got some time to think on it, their scruples increased, and few complied.

While the court laboured to have all the magistrates of burghs to their mind, the elections for the Assembly went almost every where in favours of the covenanters. Part of the Presbytery of Glasgow, for a time, opposed the election of any ruling elders to represent them. But the reasonings of Lord Loudon, and of Messrs. D. Dickson, R. Blair, and J. Bonner removed most of their scruples. As there were no judicatories but Presbyteries, at the time, for citing the bishops to take their *trial* at the Assembly; and as the King had called them up as judges, and his commissioner refused warrants to cite them as pannels, the covenanters first drew up a libel against them all, in which they accused them of their common faults, transgression of the *caveats* established by the Assembly 1600;—behaving themselves in a lordly manner;—publicly teaching, conniving at, or countenancing Popish and Arminian errors. To these they subjoined charges of drunkenness, whoredom, playing at cards and dice, profane swearing, bribery, simony, lying, dishonesty in civil bargains, and the like, to be applied to particulars as they deserved. Eleven noblemen, thirty-one barons and gentlemen, five ministers, and six burghers and commons, in name of the covenanters that were not chosen members of the Assembly, were appointed to prosecute them before the Presbyteries where they resided; and to add to the general libel what other particular crimes they could prove against them. The Presbyteries, according to the advice of the Tables, referred the matter to the Assem-

bly, and appointed the libel, with a citation of them to the Assembly, to be read from every pulpit within the bounds of the Presbyteries concerned. Many processes were also commenced against scandalous ministers, part of which were referred to the Assembly.

The Tables farther advised, That all the noblemen who had subscribed their covenant, should meet at Glasgow on the Saturday before the Assembly; that every ruling elder chosen for the Assembly, should bring along with him four gentlemen as his assistants, whom he might consult in difficult cases; that each burgh should send up from two to six of their most judicious members for the same purpose; that according to his Majesty's proclamation, the first Lord's day of November should be spent in solemn fasting in congregations, for the Lord's direction, before ministers set off; that congregations take care that no minister be hindered from attendance, for want of necessary charges; that such as had been decoyed or compelled to subscribe the King's covenant, declare the same in writing, or before their sessions. To prevent a numerous attendance of the covenanters at the Assembly, which might at once protect and encourage their friends, Hamilton and his party did what they could, prohibiting every person concerned to bring in any with him but his own family and ordinary retinue. But the covenanters protested, That all should have liberty to attend, who had interest as parties, witnesses, judges, or assessors; and that all might come with such retinue as the privy counsellors should give example of. Traquair advised to put as many of the covenanters as possible *to the horn*, for not paying their taxes or debts;

some of them a few days before the meeting of the Assembly. But they encountered this stratagem with such a spirited remonstrance, as obliged the Marquis and council to drop it.

When the Lords of Session met at Edinburgh on the first day of November, Hamilton required them to subscribe his Majesty's covenant, intimating, that his declared meaning of it was consistent with all the *novations* introduced into the church since 1580. But, after a debate of three hours, only nine of them would subscribe it. The Lords Dury, Craighall, Scotstarvet, and Inner-teil, refused, and protested. Hamilton declared in the privy council, that it was his Majesty's pleasure, that Episcopacy might be limited, but not that it should be abolished; and therefore urged them to approve it, as a mean of deterring the Assembly from presuming to condemn it. But Sir Thomas Hope, lord advocate, so vigorously opposed this motion in a paper which he sent to the council, that it miscarried. Hamilton, almost infuriated, charged Sir Thomas to repair to Glasgow, and there defend Episcopacy for his royal master, as he should answer at his peril. But Sir Thomas declined it, as a piece of service for which he could not answer to God and his conscience. Upon which Hamilton prohibited him to go to that place at all. While the covenanters were spending the 4th and some following days of November in solemn fasting and prayer for direction in, and blessing on, the ensuing Assembly, as *Charles had appointed* them, his design of making war upon them, and forcing them to submit to his impositions, became more and more manifest. The English arrested the Scotch horses that were in their country: but

this was got compromised. Their ships were stopped and searched by his command, probably in order to apprehend *General Lesly* in his return from Sweden. The command of the castle of Edinburgh was taken from the Earl of Mar, and given to Ruthven, a trusty royalist. Preparations were made for the fortification of Berwick, Carlisle, &c.

Archbishop Spotswood had advised to hold this Assembly at Aberdeen, to which the old, and most able and trusty covenanters could not have travelled in the winter season, and where the learned doctors of both universities were to oppose them, and the Earl of Huntley could have suddenly raised several thousands of bloody men to overawe or suppress them. But Providence directed Hamilton to fix upon Glasgow, where no doubt he hoped that himself would have no small influence. The Assembly met on the day appointed, Nov. 21st, 1638, and consisted of 140 ministers from 53 Presbyteries, and 95 ruling elders, and 2 from the universities. Never had our church or Assembly, in which solid sense, strict piety, bold and prudent zeal, and divine direction, so remarkably appeared. After spending part of the first day in solemn prayer and fasting, and reading of his Majesty's letter appointing the Marquis of Hamilton his Commissioner, they proceeded to the choice of their Moderator. Hamilton, Traquair, and Lewis Stewart, who acted as King's advocate, vehemently pled, that the commissions of the members should be first tried, that so it might appear who had right to vote in the election. But Rothes and Loudon, with Messrs. Dickson, Henderson, and William Livingston opposed them with equal zeal and supe-

rior strength of argument. They pled, That it had been the constant practice first to choose the Moderator; that such respect was due to commissions, the most of which were, doubtless, valid, as entitled them to vote in the choice of a Moderator, that so the promiscuous meeting might be gradually formed into an Assembly instructed with regular commissions; that it belongs to the freedom of an Assembly, that commissioners choose their Moderator immediately after the exhibition of their commission, lest any thing be irregularly transacted in their presence without their consent; that, in their supplications, they had insisted, that the matter and manner of assembling should be judged by the Assembly itself, which cannot be done till the Moderator be chosen; and that it would be a wronging of the churches, which had sent up these commissioners, not to suffer them to embody themselves in an orderly manner.

At last, after advising with the privy counsellors, the Marquis permitted them to choose their Moderator;—but protested, That this should not import his approbation of any commission which he should find ground to except against; and that the choice of the Moderator should not prejudice the bishops of any office or dignity belonging to them. In opposition to this, Rothes, in name of the commissioners, protested, That the Marquis's protestation should no wise hurt any lawful commission to be produced, or mar the freedom of the Assembly, which was to be fenced in the name of the Son of God; and that no protest in favours of the bishops could be admitted, till both they and their claims were tried and allowed. Lord Montgomery, in name of the

prosecutors of the bishops, protested, that the Marquis's protestation should not hinder the discussion of their libel against them. Hamilton then pled, that a *declinature* which he had received from the bishops, should be immediately read. This being refused, he insisted, that six privy counsellors should be allowed to vote as his assessors, according as they had been directed in his Majesty's letter;—which was also refused. After both sides became weary of altercation and protestation, they proceeded to the choice of their Moderator. Mr. Bell, an old minister of the place, who had opened the Assembly as Moderator *pro temp.* taking care to put none other on the list but such as were too infirm, beside the celebrated Mr. Alexander Henderson, he was unanimously chosen, who having anew constituted the court with prayer, made an handsome speech for the direction and encouragement of his brethren.

Next day the Marquis, supported by Traquair and Lewis Stewart, again unsuccessfully insisted for the votes of the assessors, which issued in his new protest against the denial, and a counter-protest by Loudon in name of the commissioners to the Assembly. For refusing Hamilton's demand, it was pled, That the Assembly was an ecclesiastical meeting of ecclesiastical rulers; that no political preses had any vote in the ancient councils; that in the thirty-nine first General Assemblies of this church, there was not so much as a King's Commissioner present; that after one was introduced, he never had more than one vote; that Hamilton's commission empowered none but himself; that as he represented his Majesty, the voting of assessors along with him as his equals, would derogate from the royal dignity; that though

assessors had a power of reasoning, it behoved to be only after the reasoning of members, and in the way of proposing doubts.

The election of a clerk coming next upon the carpet, Hamilton insisted, that Thos. Sandilands should officiate for his aged father James, who had been chosen by the Assembly 1616. But the votes carried it almost unanimously in favour of Archibald Johnston, advocate, who, for almost two years, had faithfully served the covenanters without any reward. Upon inquiry for the registers of former Assemblies, Sandilands delivered up two volumes, which contained, at least, part of the acts between 1590 and 1610, together with the minutes of 1616, 1617, and 1618, signed by his father. As soon as it appeared, that no other member knew where any more could be had, Johnston, their clerk, presented four volumes, which contained all the acts from 1560 to 1590, except about twenty leaves, which had been villainously cut out by Archbishop Adamson, together with another volume, which contained the acts of that whole period, somewhat abridged. A committee was appointed to examine these books; and upon an exhibition of nineteen marks of their genuineness, the Assembly sustained them as authentic registers. Mr. William Scot of Cupar, afterward produced another copy of these old minutes.

Notwithstanding the Marquis's earnest struggle to have the bishops' *declinature* first received, the Assembly proceeded to examine controverted commissions; and rejected such as proceeded on irregular election, or that were not rightly attested. The bishops' *declinature* of the Assembly was then read by Dr. Hamilton of Glassford their

procurator. In it they protested, That the meeting was *unlawful*, and all its proceedings *null and void*, because most, if not all, the commissioners to it had been chosen before his majesty had indicted it; and that the clerical commissioners to it were not qualified according to law, having never subscribed the Confession of faith, in the presence of their bishops, nor sworn the oaths of fidelity and supremacy,—nay, had refused to subscribe the Confession of Faith or covenant, as required by his Majesty in September; and that they had seditiously impugned the dignities and privileges of bishops, who were an Estate in Parliament; that they had their commission from Presbyteries, which had deposed their proper, *i. e.* *constant* moderators, and elected others in their stead; that they had been chosen by lay elders; that they had seditiously opposed the order of the king and authority of the church, and so are disqualified to sit in any ecclesiastical court; that they allowed of lay elders voting in the Assembly;—and that most, if not all, of the members had pre-condemned *Episcopacy* and the *articles of Perth*, and, by their covenant, had bound themselves to oppose them; that by their calumnies and libels, they had made themselves parties in the cause of the bishops; that they had excluded all the bishops from sitting in the Assembly, unless they were deputed to it by Presbyteries; that they had deprived primate Spotswood of his privilege of moderatorship, and thrust one chosen by Presbyteries and laymen into his place. In fine, they pretended, that it was altogether absurd for Presbyters and much more for lay elders, to judge diocesan superiors. The Assembly prepared their answers to these reasons

against next sederunt, in which they manifested the absolute falsehood of some, and the weakness of others.

After a tedious dispute with Dr. Balcanquel, whom the marquis had brought along with him for an assistant; and when the Assembly was proceeding to vote, whether they had power to judge the bishops, notwithstanding their *declination*, Hamilton gave in a written declaration, in his Majesty's name, which seemed to grant not a little redress; but really bore, that every thing should be left to the king's will, and that the Assembly had no proper power to judge of any thing, nor the church any security for any thing. To this the moderator made an handsome reply, in which he thanked his majesty for what kindness he had shewed, and pointed out what power civil magistrates have with respect to the church and her Assemblies. As they perceived the Marquis intent upon breaking with, and leaving them, they were at great pains to obviate his pretended scruples with respect to their commission, the freedom of their election, the conduct of the *Tables*, and the power of ruling elders. They shewed him the impropriety of allowing advocates to plead the cause of the bishops at their bar, as it was contrary to the nature of ecclesiastical courts, was not allowed in privy council, and had been refused by the Assembly 1576. But nothing could retain him. After repeatedly declaring, that he would not suffer them to judge the bishops, he, in his own and their name, protested, that no act of the Assembly should be binding on any of the subjects; and in his Majesty's name dissolved their meeting, and prohibited them to proceed to any business;

but whether under any penalty, none of my credible vouchers inform. Rothes protested against the dissolution of the Assembly; and that they could not dissolve it, till their work was finished, as it had been called by his majesty, and constituted according to the word of God; as his majesty's commissioner had acknowledged it a lawful court, and sat seven days in it and exhibited his majesty's declaration to be registered in the minutes of it; that the continuance of it was necessary for the many reasons contained in their former supplications for it; that their covenant bound them to maintain the privileges which Christ had left to his church; that according to the laws of this church and kingdom, neither the king nor his commissioner have power to dissolve a General Assembly; that the Assembly had formerly sitten, notwithstanding contrary requirements of court; that to dissolve now, after so much preparation and progress towards redress of grievances, without finishing their work, would offend God, and increase their misery; that it was absolutely necessary to explain the meaning of the national covenant subscribed in 1581, and 1590; and therefore he protested, That the Assembly had full power to continue and discuss the whole business for which it had convened. Messrs. Henderson, Dickson, and others, by their sensible and affectionate speeches, encouraged their brethren to adhere to their duty, and shew themselves as faithful to Christ as the Commissioner had done himself to his king's command. Deeply affected hereby, Lord Erskine, son to the Earl of Mar, with tears begged the Assembly's allowance to subscribe their covenant. Messrs. Forbes and M'Kail ministers, lately come from Hol-

land, followed his example. Encouraged by this, and conscious of their duty, the whole Assembly, except four or five, by a vote, promised to continue sitting, at all hazard, till their business should be finished: and immediately after, by another vote, sustained themselves lawful and competent judges of the bishops, notwithstanding their declinature and protestation.

Next day, November 29th, a proclamation subscribed by the Marquis and most of the privy counsellors was published over the cross of Glasgow, prohibiting all the members of the Assembly, under pain of high treason, to meet or judge any thing further; and charging them to leave Glasgow within twenty-four hours; and declaring, that all their acts and deeds posterior to yesterday's dissolutions should be held null and void; and prohibiting the subjects to regard or obey the same. In answer to this, Archibald Johnson, Lord Erskine and others, read the protestation, which Rothes had given in the day before, as the mind of the court. And further protested, that they and their brethren had no disloyal designs; that all ecclesiastical causes of general concern ought to be discussed, and the peace of the church fully settled, and its peace and order re-established, before the Commissioners depart; that if the Marquis would leave the church and kingdom in such disorder, it should be lawful for them to continue sitting till they had finished their work; that this Assembly should be held lawful, and its deeds of equal force with those of other free General Assemblies; that no bad consequences ensuing upon the hindering or molesting of the freedom of this Assembly should be imputed to them, but to the bad advice of the

bishops; on account of which, they are hereby again summoned to attend the Assembly, hear proof led, and sentence passed upon them according to justice. In fine, they protested their adherence to all their former protestations, and left room for extending their paper or reasons, as they should find necessary for vindicating their procedure.

After the hurry of the proclamation, the Assembly met, and the Moderator recommended to them, as in the sight of God, to behave themselves in the most pious, prudent, peaceable, and orderly manner, answerable to their circumstances. Lord Lorn, *i. e.* Argyle, came back, and being desired by the Moderator to countenance them, and witness the rectitude of their procedure, he promised to do so, and begged them to proceed wisely, with the utmost deference due to their Sovereign. Some at first looked upon him as a court spy and check upon them; but it soon appeared, that he acted from an hearty love to Christ and his cause. About the same time, the Earls of Wigton, Kinghorn, Galloway, Mar, and Lord Napier, privy counsellors, joined the covenanters, which not a little encouraged the Assembly. To wipe off the reproaches which had been cast upon them, in the bishops' declinature, Messrs. Blair, Livingston, Hamilton, and M'Lellan, who had been driven from Ireland, shewed that it had been merely for their adherence to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, sworn to in the late covenant. And Messrs. Dickson, Rutherford, and the Laird of Earlstoun, who had been censured by the High Commission, represented their case to the full satisfaction of the whole Assembly. On that day, and the next,

committees were appointed to inquire into the original sense of the national covenant ;—to prepare matters for the trial of the bishops ;—to consider the new liturgy and canons ;—and to form an act nullifying the Assemblies 1606—1618.

After the Moderator had largely shewed the intrinsic power of the church, particularly in administering discipline to her scandalous members, and Messrs. Dickson and Ramsay had shewed the error and wickedness of the Arminian tenets, the Assembly proceeded to discuss some cases of scandal, which had been referred to them. Mr. Mitchell being proved chargeable with Arminian errors, and glorying in them ; and with procuring an order by the bishops' means for stopping his trial before his Presbytery ; and with declining this Assembly, was deposed and excommunicated. Dr. Panther being proved guilty of approaches towards the Popish doctrine of justification by works, and towards the Pelagian, in denying original sin, and of propagating Arminian errors, was referred to a committee, which deposed him. Dr. Gladstones, being proved guilty of drunkenness and Atheistical profaneness, was deposed. When the trial of the bishops came on, it was proved against them all, That they had trampled on the CAVEATS of the Assembly 1600 ;—had accepted consecration to their Episcopal office ; and oppressed the church with innovations. Against Spotswood Archbishop, of St. Andrew's, it was further proved, that he had been an ordinary profaner of the Lord's day, playing at cards or dice in the time of public worship, or riding through the country the whole day ; that he sometimes sat tippling in taverns till midnight ; that he had falsified the acts of the Aberdeen Assembly ;

He was an avowed reproacher of our old Assemblies and national covenant; and it was further undertaken to prove him guilty of adultery, sacrilege, and frequent simony. Against Sydsers of Halloway, it was proved, that he had taught Arminian errors; that he had kept a crucifix in his set, and defended the use of it from his own comfortable experience; that, at his own hand, he had appointed two anniversary fasts in his diocese; that, at his Synod, he had compelled ministers to receive the communion upon their knees; that, for mere non-conformity to novations, he had deposed and procured the banishment of the most eminent ministers, and had confined or fined sundry gentlemen; that he had shewed kindness to excommunicated Papists; that he had condemned family prayers; that he had profaned the Lord's day, buying horses, and transacting other secular business on it. Against Whiteford Brichen, it was proved, that he had been guilty of several acts of adultery and excessive drinking; that he had used a crucifix in his closet; that he had preached Arminian and Popish errors; and that he was generally infamous for several other crimes. Against Lindsay of Edinburgh, it was proved, that he had violently urged late innovations; that he had refused to admit such to the ministry as would not first take the order of *preaching deacons*; that he used to bow towards the altar, and wear the rochet; that he had domineered over Presbyteries, allowed undestine marriages, and countenanced corrupt doctrines; that he had lifted up the elements in the Lord's supper at the consecration, and laboured to prove that Christ's manhood was omnipresent. He might also have been proved guilty of

profane cursing and swearing, and of avowed neglect of lecturing. Against Ballantyne of Aberdeen, were proved frequent acts of simony, violent pressing of the *liturgy* and *canons*, suspending of ministers for fasting on the Lord's day, and ordering all fasts to be held on Wednesdays; and that he had, in the Popish manner, consecrated the chapel of the infamous Lady of Wardhouse; and that he had stopped processes against Papists and incestuous persons. Against Maxwell of Ross, it was proved, that he had publicly read the *liturgy* in his own house and cathedral; that he bowed towards the altar; that he deposed faithful ministers, and admitted known fornicators to the Lord's table; that he was a familiar companion of Papists, and an ordinary player of cards and dice on the Lord's day, and once upon a communion Sabbath; that he had often administered Popish absolution to sick persons; that he had consecrated preaching deacons; that he had robbed his vassals of above 40,000 merks; that he kept superstitious fasts every Friday; that he ordinarily set off on his journeys on the Lord's day; and that he had been a principal instrument of all the trouble which had lately befallen the church and nation. Against Wedderborn of Dumblane it was proved, that he had been a principal compiler of the *liturgy*, and practiser and urger of it, and other *innovations*; that he had been an assistant of Archbishop Laud, and a propagator of Arminian errors. Against Lindsay, archbishop of Glasgow, it was proved, that he had urged ministers to observe the *liturgy* and *canons* under pain of horning; that he had oppressed his clergy with his exactions, and kept some of them altogether out of their stipends;

that he had sold the office of commissary; that he had greatly oppressed his vassals; and that he had imposed oaths of his own invention upon candidates for the ministry. These eight were deposed from all power in the church, and summarily excommunicated, and delivered over to Satan. Against Graham of Orkney it was proved, that he had tyrannically domineered over his clergy; that he had openly profaned the Lord's day by curling on the ice; that he had dilapidated part of the ecclesiastical revenues to his friends; that he overlooked adulterers and charmers; that he neglected preaching himself, and withheld from ministers a part of their stipends for the building of his cathedral. Against Guthry of Murray it was proved, that he had avowed conformity to the English Popish ceremonies; that at his daughter's marriage he had danced in his shirt; that he had conveyed some women barefooted to a chapel, in order to do Popish penance; that he ordinarily rode about on the Lord's day, and had said, that he would borrow a part of that from God, and make it up some other way. Against Fairly of Argyle, it was proved, that he had urged wicked oaths upon entrants to the ministry, and the observance of the liturgy; that he had oppressed his vassals; and that he had preached Arminian errors, and had profaned the Lord's day. These three, together with Campbell of the Isles, were deposed from all power and function in the church, with certification, that they should be excommunicated if they did not speedily manifest their repentance. Lindsay of Dunkeld, and Abernethy of Caithness, though little better than their brethren, having submitted themselves to the As-

sembly, were only deposed from their pretended power of ruling over other ministers, and representing the church in Parliament, and suspended from the ministry, with certification, that if they did not submit to this censure, they should be excommunicated. A number of inferior clergymen were also tried and censured for their scandalous behaviour, part of it so gross, as to be a reproach to humanity itself. Others were remitted to their Presbyteries, or to committees appointed by the Assembly, by which they were suspended or deposed, as was reckoned most just and expedient.

In their intervals of censuring work, the Assembly carried forward their other business. The six Assemblies of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, which King James had packed and governed by his own will, were declared to have been no courts of Christ, but null and destitute of all authority. Upon this the Moderator observed, that all those that had entered to the ministry under bishops, were now freed from their oath of conformity; that Presbyteries did well in casting off the bishops' authority as early as possible; and that it was now their duty to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. After Mr. Dickson and Lord Loudon had largely spoken to the same purpose, an act was made, declaring the oaths imposed by the bishops upon entrants to have been *null* and *void* from the beginning; that the power of Presbyteries had been unjustly suppressed, and therefore it was most lawful for them to resume it, and to choose their Moderators, and censure, and admit to the ministerial office, or a seat in the Presbytery, according to justice. That same day, large tracts which had been formed against the *liturgy*

and *canons*, the *formula of clerical ordinations*, and the *High Commission* were read; and all the four condemned. They condemned the *liturgy* or *book of common prayer*, because it was devised, and introduced, and pressed by the bishops, without any direction or warrant from the church; because it contained a Popish form of divine service, and many Popish errors and ceremonies, the seeds of manifold and gross superstition and idolatry, and so repugnant to the doctrine, discipline, and order of this church, and to the confession of faith, national covenant, and acts of Assembly and Parliament establishing the true religion. They condemned the *book of canons*, as devised by the bishops without any warrant and direction from the church, in order to establish their own tyrannical power over the worship of God, and the consciences, liberties, and goods of men, and to overthrow the whole government of the church by Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions established by her confession and constitutions. They condemned the *book of consecration and ordination*, as introduced without any civil or ecclesiastical warrant; as establishing offices in God's house without warrant of his word; as repugnant to the discipline and constitutions of this church; as hindering faithful men from the ministry, or from fulfilling the duties of it. They condemned the *High Commission*, as erected without the consent of either church or state; as subverting the ordinary judicatories of the church; as arbitrary, and not regulated by any laws; as mingling the civil and ecclesiastical power, and so as unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to the liberties of the church, and the King's honour in maintaining them.

The national covenant having been lately taken in *three different senses*, Argyle and others intreated, that they would speedily manifest the original meaning of it. From many old acts of Assembly, in favours of parity among ministers, and against Episcopacy, it was found evident, that Prelacy was considered about 1581 and 1589, as a branch of the Romish hierarchy abjured in the national covenant; and therefore ought to be removed out of the church. Though about fifty members did not add the word *abjured* in their vote, yet only Mr. Bailie plainly manifested his doubt of all kind of Prelacy being renounced in that oath.—The Assembly also, by comparing them with the word of God and old acts of Assembly, found the *articles of Perth* to be abjured by the covenant 1581, and 1589; and therefore to be removed.

In their 23d and 24th sessions, the Assembly revived old, or framed new acts for promoting of reformation among all ranks. They revived the act of 1596, relative to the *corruptions* of ministers, and *remedies* of them. They approved the erection of some Presbyteries, and erected others in Argyleshire. They appointed that Presbyteries be holden weekly; and that an exercise and additions be given in, and an exegesis exhibited and sustained at each; that Presbyteries visit all the congregations in their bounds once every year, and examine how family worship is observed, and take care that the youth be diligently instructed; that schools and colleges be visited, and the orthodoxy, ability, and regularity of conversation of the masters, tried; that no minister be absent from his congregation above forty days in a year, without special liberty; that schools be planted

in landward places, and the teachers catechise the common people; that Presbyteries have the whole power of admitting ministers, and choosing their own Moderators; that the Lord's supper be more frequently administered; that, in ordinary cases, ministers be twenty-five years of age before they be ordained; that burghs take proper care to change their markets, which are on Monday or Saturday, to some other day of the week; that the Lord's day be carefully sanctified; that there be afternoon sermons in country parishes; and that Presbyteries take care to have the *old acts* against going of mills, salt pans, or fishing of salmon, on that day, duly executed:— that obstinate frequenters of the company of excommunicated persons be excommunicated; that such as speak or write against the late covenant of this Assembly or its acts, be censured; that all Popish titles of *abbots, priors, deans*, or other ecclesiastical dignity, be abolished; that none be admitted into any office of *pastor, reader, or teacher*, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed; that no marriages be celebrated without due proclamation of banns; that funeral sermons be disused, as savouring of superstition; that the abilities and practice of candidates for the ministry be carefully examined; that Presbyteries take care to excommunicate such ministers as acquiesce not in lesser censures inflicted by this Assembly.—They also fixed a plan of fourteen Synods, and assigned six Presbyteries to the Synod of Merse and Tiviotdale; six to that of Lothian; four to that of Dumfries; three to that of Galloway; two to that of Ayr; five to that of Glasgow; five to that of Argyle; five to that of Stirling; four to that of Fife; four

to that of Angus; seven to that of Aberdeen; three to that of Ross; three to that of Caithness; two to that of Orkney; six to that of Murray; and appointed their first meetings on particular days of April next; and that they should all maintain a correspondence with their next neighbours, and for that purpose send one or two commissioners to their meetings.—It is scarcely worth while to mention the transportations requested at this Assembly, as of Mr. Dickson to Glasgow; of Mr. Cant to Pitsligo; of Messrs. Sharp and Hamilton to Paisley; of Mr. Douglas to Kirkaldy; and of Blair and Rutherford to St. Andrew's. The two last warmly opposed their own removal; nor would Rutherford at all accept of the professorship of divinity, without a congregation to which he might preach Christ. But, to *prevent transportation* for the future, as much as possible, it was recommended to Presbyteries to settle Messrs. David Calderwood, James Guthry, and about sixty-eight others, who, in the late times, had been denied admission, and driven from their charges.

Next day the Assembly condemned all *civil power* of ministers. They agreed to petition the Parliament for a ratification of their acts. They asserted the divine right of ruling elders. Upon December 20th, in their last session, they enacted, that none should print any thing relative to the church, without a licence from their clerk; that Presbyteries and Synods should censure such ministers as were scandalous, or would not acknowledge this Assembly, and submit to its requirements. They approved the late *national covenant*, and required all ministers, masters of universities, colleges, and schools, and others,

who had not subscribed it, to take it speedily, as abjuring *Prelacy*, the *articles of Perth*, and the *civil places and power* of ministers; and prohibit the taking of it in any other sense. They asserted the intrinsic power of the church, and the divine, ecclesiastical and civil warrant of the General Assembly to meet once every year, or oftener, as her necessities require. They appointed their next meeting at Edinburgh, on the 3d Wednesday of July next; but required Presbyteries rather to keep the King's diet, if he should appoint one. They formed a supplication to his Majesty, vindicating their conduct, and imploring his approbation and concurrence. They appointed the marvellous kindness of God towards them to be thankfully commemorated in their several congregations and Presbyteries, after their return home; and that they should read the acts of Assembly to their congregations on the first Sabbath, and on the next observe a solemn *thanksgiving* to God. After an excellent speech by the Moderator, in which he exhorted all present to consider, and be thankful for the Lord's goodness to them, and to manifest their gratitude to his Majesty in earnest prayer for him and conscientious obedience to him; he was seconded by Messrs Dickson and Ramsay;—and Argyle, desired by the Moderator, represented their deep obligation to a careful performance of their duty toward superiors, inferiors and equals. After concluding with prayer, the Moderator added, Now we have cast down the walls of Jericho, let him, who rebuilds them, beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.

On the 18th of December, a royal PROCLAMATION was read over the cross of Edinburgh, extolling his Majesty's condescension; vindicating the con-

duct of the Marquis of Hamilton, his commissioner, and charging the covenanters with many disorderly and disloyal practices, in guarding the castle of Edinburgh, stopping importation of warlike ammunition to his Majesty's houses, carrying arms with them to the Glasgow Assembly, contrary to his proclamation; and citing his privy counsellors to answer to him and his Parliament for their subscription of the late proclamation at Glasgow, &c. In their PROTEST, read in answer to this, the covenanters replied, That they had done nothing to the castle of Edinburgh, but watched it in order to prevent their own danger; that, by the laws of the land, and maxims of all nations, the public safety is the supreme law, and the end of all lawful power; that, by the laws of the land, all fortifications are to be kept for the welfare of the subjects, as well as for his Majesty's behoof; that they had carried arms to Glasgow to defend themselves from the outlawed clan Gregors, who just before had ravaged the country about—and had but followed the example of his Majesty's Commissioner and his attendants; that, according to law, counsellors, who had given bad counsel, ought to be prosecuted before proper judges, civil or ecclesiastical. They further shewed, that the prohibition of obedience to the acts of Assembly, and assurance of protection in disobedience to them, contained in the *proclamation*, were contrary to scripture—the practice of the primitive church—the civil and canon law—the law of nations—the acts of former faithful assemblies—and to the large confession of faith, and national covenant.

After the Assembly, the court party appeared more and more furious. The old college of Aber-

deen threatened Mr. Lundy, their Commissioner, with deprivation, because he had continued in the Assembly after it was dissolved in his Majesty's name. They agreed to shut their gates against the Committee, which the Assembly had appointed to visit their university, and that no member should acknowledge their power under pain of deprivation. The Marquis of Huntley published the King's proclamation of December 18th, and declared his resolution to keep the country for his Majesty's service. The town council put their city into a posture of defence. Before Hamilton set off for London, in the beginning of January 1639, some principal covenanters waited upon him, and besought him to intercede with his Majesty in their favours; but he answered them with threats of a speedy execution of royal vengeance upon them. They nevertheless transmitted their supplication to Charles himself, who received it with the utmost contempt, but still disguised his warlike intentions, being not fully prepared to execute them. He meant to invade them with 60,000 forces from England and Ireland. But the Papists and high flying Episcopalian clergy were almost the only willing contributors towards the charge. Scotchmen at court were required to abjure the late covenant and Assembly, and to swear, that they would assist his Majesty against their country, whenever he should require them. Under pretence, that the Scots were arming to invade and extirpate Prelacy from England, Charles, on January 26th, issued forth a proclamation, requiring all the English nobility and gentry to attend his standard at York; and appointed Huntley his lieutenant general for raising of forces in

Scotland. Meanwhile, the covenanters proceeded in reforming the country from wickedness, and in censuring the scandalous. To vindicate themselves, they carefully dispersed a paper through England, directed to all good Christians there. Highly enraged at the due credit which it obtained, the Scotch bishops instigated Charles to emit a proclamation, declaring all the covenanters *traitors* and *rebels*, to be read from all the pulpits in England. The answer of the covenanters to it, which was also industriously dispersed through England, rendered them more and more pitied, and their enemies proportionally abhorred.

Being at last fully convinced of Charles's intentions to attack them in war, they studied to have the lawfulness of taking up arms in their own defence fully cleared to their own consciences, as well as to the world. Mr. Bailie and the Earl of Cassilis, for a time, much doubted if it was lawful to resist their Sovereign, in a forcible manner. But Mr. Henderson, by appointment, drew up a paper which solved their scruples, and vindicated such conduct. Some moved, that they should supplicate assistance from the French, Swedes, or Dutch; but others, doubting of the propriety of confederacies with Lutherans, and much more with Papists, they resolved, by the help of God, to stand by themselves. Only they agreed to supplicate the French King, the States General, the Prince of Orange, Queen of Sweden, and King of Denmark, to intercede with their own Sovereign, that he would grant their requests a fair and unbiassed hearing; which, had they done, it would have prevented much reproach of them in the nations around. Meanwhile, they earnestly prepared for their own warlike defence.

While General Lesly invited home the Scotch officers from the Swedish army in Germany, and procured military stores from Holland, Argyle laboured to secure the peace of the North, and to fix as many as he could in the covenanters' interest. But Huntley, his brother-in-law, was too much in the bishops, if not the Pope's interest, to attend their meeting when desired.

The danger of the covenanters was exceedingly alarming. The Scotch mariners, travellers, and merchants, in England and Ireland, were every where treated as rebels; their goods seized, and their persons imprisoned, unless they abjured the late national covenant and Glasgow Assembly. The King's army at York increased fast. The Marquis of Huntley and Earls of Airly and Southesk, and the citizens of Aberdeen, began to take arms, and threaten the covenanters in these parts with immediate destruction. In the South, the Marquis of Douglas, Lords Nithsdale, Herreis, and their followers, and those of the Marquis of Hamilton, had or were taking arms for the same purpose. The Earls of Galloway, Dumfries, Traquair, Roxburgh, Queensberry, and the Viscount of Dalziel were suspected of an inclination to join them; and that, by the influence of Hamilton and others, the citizens of Glasgow would be made to do the same. The Earl of Antrim was preparing to transport hither ten or twelve thousand of his Irish countrymen, probably most of them cruel and murderous Papists. Many of the Scotch M'Donalds had gone to join them, in hopes of robbing Argyle of Kintyre, as they returned. Hamilton conducted his Majesty's navy for the Firth of Forth, while he himself brought northward the main army by land.

Notwithstanding all, the covenanters levied and trained their troops in the best way they could. God delivered into their hand the strong castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton without a single drop of blood. Nor did those of Strathavon, Douglas, Tantallon, and Brodick cost much more. Instigated by Montrose and Marshal, about seven or eight thousand, northward of the Tay, took arms, with whom Montrose obliged the Aberdonians to surrender their city, and obliged Huntley to swear the covenant, as directed by the Assembly, and to send Commissioners to concur with the other covenanted deputies at Edinburgh, in supporting the common cause. Having fortified Leith, and put the country into a posture of defence, the covenanters once and again, but without success, attempted to supplicate his Majesty's friendship.—Meanwhile, Providence marvellously interposed in their favours. Five or six thousand Walloons and Irish, coming over against them, were by the Dutch Admiral driven back to Dunkirk, which then pertained to England. The tyranny of Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, rendered it unsafe to send over any more than about 1500 ragamuffins, good for little else but theft, robbery, and murder. Most of the English either declined serving in the invasion, or were very unhearty in it. The Pope required his votaries to withhold their assistance, unless upon condition of a secured open liberty for their religion. Contrary winds detained Hamilton's fleet till Huntley and his faction were suppressed, and the covenanters had got most of their warlike stores imported from abroad.

Hamilton, at last arriving in the Forth, transmitted to the town council of Edinburgh, the King's proclamation, declaring them all *traitors*, who did not within eight days submit to his will; and disposing their estates to their superiors or vassals, that should assist in suppressing them—to be published over their cross: If ready obedience was not given, Charles had appointed him to prosecute them with fire and sword. The council begged to be excused from publishing this proclamation till the Estates of Parliament, which were to meet in a few days, should consider it. Meeting upon May 9th, they found, that as the proclamation was written and printed without the kingdom, and not warranted by the privy council, and was of so dangerous consequence, it could not be legally published; that by the laws of the land, no treason or forfeiture of life or estate, even of the meanest subject, far less of Peers, and the body of the nation, could be declared, but in the Parliament or supreme court of justice, upon due citation and legal proof; and that as the proclamation required a material renunciation of their covenant, they could not obey it without bringing a curse upon the nation. They transmitted their resolution to the Marquis. He, next day, wrote to the Earl of Rothes, and after receiving a bold reply, returned answer, that he intended to die in his Majesty's cause, and to the utmost of his power prove an enemy to his obstinate countrymen. He was nevertheless more merciful than his party wished, and laboured to persuade Charles to a treaty of peace.

The Parliament meeting on May 15th, they agreed to prorogue it till any day his Majesty pleased. But, before they left Edinburgh, they

appointed General Lesly their military Commander in Chief. Meanwhile, Lord Aboyn, Huntley's son, and other Lords appointed by Charles, had raised a new army in the North. An invasion from Ireland was hourly expected. The inactivity of Charles's army on the north border of England, and of his fleet in the Forth, was apprehended to proceed from a design to gain time, till the covenanters should be obliged to disperse themselves for want of provisions. After solemn fasting and prayer, Montrose, who was offended that his late activity in the North was not rewarded with the principal command, was dispatched to attack the royalists in the North. General Lesly marched his army toward the border of England—while the select committee fixed the proper methods of modelling and supplying their troops. The accounts of their instructions, and of Lesly's march, being conveyed to the English army at Birks, about three miles south from Berwick, threw many of them into a terrible consternation. Charles was obliged to issue forth a proclamation, That he was desirous of peace, and ready to grant the Scots their just requests. But, fearing that information of the true state of affairs would render many of his officers and forces altogether averse to attack them, he commanded their army not to come within ten miles of his own; in which, to manifest their desire of peace, and their readiness to obey him in every thing lawful, they submitted. The bishops persuaded him, that fear had made them stop at the appointed distance—and to re-publish his proclamation of April 25th, declaring them all *rebels* that did not lay down their arms within eight days, and setting a price on the heads of their chiefs, and charging their

vassals and tenants to pay them no more rents. This was published at Dunse. The Earl of Holland, with 4000 men, was appointed to publish it at Kelso: but Colonel Monro, and the Lords Fleming and Erskine, with their forces, obliged them to retire with the utmost terror and precipitation. Lesly advanced to Dunse Law with his army. Contemptible enough in his crooked shape, and of no more than the rank of a gentleman, he behaved himself with such prudence and authority, that all the nobles readily obeyed his commands, which he wisely issued forth in the form of advices. His raw troops, being daily exercised, made great progress in military skill. They had sermons and public prayers, every morning and evening, from their beloved ministers. Scarcely was there a single tent, in the whole army, in which joint prayers and praises were not twice every day offered to God.—The frame of their souls was no less spiritual and elevated, than if they had been attending a noted communion. Persuasion of the goodness of their cause, and of God's assistance in it, made them altogether bold and resolute for battle, if necessary.

His army being increased to 20,000, Lesly inclined advancing nearer to the English camp, that, if possible, he might apprehend some of the principal incendiaries, who had kindled the war. Informed of his intentions, the English laboured in fortifying their camp; and being inferior in numbers and ardour, were earnestly desirous of peace. In order to deceive the covenanters, one Lesly, a Scotch domestic of Charles, came to their camp at Dunse Law, and, with solemn professions of regard to his country, falsely pretended that the English forces were multiplying so

fast, that they were in the utmost danger of being quickly swallowed up by them; and therefore begged that they would once more supplicate his Majesty for a treaty of peace, in which, he said, several of the English nobility would second them. The Scots, nothing terrified by his tidings, but looking on him as sent by some of the English, condescended to transmit another humble supplication to Charles, along with a letter to the Lords of his English Council. Puffed up with pride, Charles insisted, that they should first publish his above-mentioned declaration of April 25th, at the head of their army. They shewed Sir Edward Vernham their reasons for refusing to do so; but to shew their readiness to go as far as they could, they read it with great reverence at the General's table. Vernham gave such a favourable report of their conduct, as made Charles think his order had been as good as obeyed.

Hereupon the Earls of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury and Berkshire, and Secretary Coke, were empowered to treat with the Earls of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, Sir William Douglas, sheriff of Teviotdale, Mr. Henderson, and Archibald Johnston. The Scots Commissioners had scarcely entered into Arundel's tent, when Charles himself came in, and upbraided them for accusing him of not listening to the requests of his loyal subjects. After begging his permission to speak freely, they, to his dishonour, plainly represented their cause, and their just defences of it. And in the conclusion of the conference, Loudon, upon his knees, declared, that they insisted for nothing more than the free enjoyment of their religion and liberties, according to the civil and ecclesiastical laws of their

kingdom. This Charles professed his readiness to grant; but, instigated by the bishops of Ross and Aberdeen, &c. he talked more tartly on the Monday after, and interrogated them, Whether he had the sole power of indicting Assemblies? Whether he had a negative voice in them? and, Whether they might sit, after he had commanded them to dissolve? After suggesting, that the decision of such questions properly belong to the Assembly itself, they, for themselves, allowed Kings to have a power of calling General Assemblies, and expressed their hopes that himself would allow, that in extreme necessity the church might convene of herself, and enact constitutions for the preservation of religion, the plain reasonableness of which they shewed.

Being informed, that their army intended to take their station nearer to his camp, he abandoned his *queries*, and desired the Commissioners to fix the particulars which they required as terms of peace. They proposed, that the acts of the Glasgow Assembly should be ratified by the Parliament; that in all time coming church affairs should be finally determined by the Assembly, and civil affairs by the Parliament; that all his Majesty's forces, by sea or land, should be recalled; that all arrested persons, ships, and goods, should be restored; that all excommunicated persons who, for their own private ends, had promoted the public commotions, should be remitted to Scotland to suffer condign censure and punishment. They subjoined their reasons to each of these demands. After some perplexity, and taking the advice of his council, Charles replied, That though, for many reasons, he could not approve the Assembly of Glasgow, yet he would not only

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agree to take away the *liturgy* and *canons*, and the *High Commission*, but also dispense with the *articles of Perth*, and order, that no oath should be required of entrants to the ministry, but what was appointed by act of Parliament; and that bishops should be censurable according to their demerits by the General Assembly; and further agree, that all matters ecclesiastical should be finally determined by the Assembly, and all civil affairs by civil courts; that General Assemblies should be kept once a-year, or oftener, as necessity required; and that, for settling the present distractions, a free General Assembly should be indicted on the 6th, and a Parliament on the 20th of August next; that, upon their disbanding their army, dissolving their *Tables* and conventicles, and restoring his castles, forts, and ammunition, and restoring to his subjects their lands and goods, which had been seized since the late Assembly, he would withdraw all his forces, and make restitution of every thing detained, on his part.

After some further conference, and several private concessions by Charles, the Scotch Commissioners were almost satisfied, and the *articles of pacification* were drawn up, bearing, That the covenanters' forces should be disbanded within forty-eight hours after the publication of his above declaration is agreed upon; that all his castles, forts, and ammunition shall be delivered, as soon after the said publication as he shall send his servants to receive them; that thereon all his ships shall depart with the first fair wind, and till then shall in no wise interrupt the trade or fishing; that he shall restore all persons, goods, and ships, which have been detained since November last; that

there shall be no meetings of the subjects in Scotland, but such as are warranted by act of Parliament; that there be no further fortifications made, and these, that are, remitted to his Majesty's pleasure; that all his good subjects have their lands, houses, and goods restored to them, which have been seized since November last. As the articles to which his Majesty had agreed, at the private conference, were not subscribed, nor made public, the Earl of Cassilis, after the reading of the public articles in the camp, read and protested, upon a short information agreed to by the managers—That though his Majesty did not approve the Glasgow Assembly, he did not intend that the acceptance of his declaration should infer any disapprobation of it; and that their acceptance of it imported no such thing. This information was again read along with his Majesty's declaration at the cross of Edinburgh. While these things were transacting at Birks, Montrose had, with no small difficulty, levied an army in the North, and he and Colonel Middleton had routed Aboyne's forces, and were just going to plunder the city of Aberdeen, when an express concerning the pacification prevented it.

Neither party were pleased with the above treaty. The furious royalists pretended, That Charles had lost a glorious opportunity of completely crushing the covenanters, and had dishonoured himself, by allowing them such equal terms; and they loudly reproached Hamilton and others, as advisers to it. Many of the covenanters were displeased with the obscurity of the articles, and especially with the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, and the fortifications of Leith, without proper terms. Nevertheless, they burnt their camp, disbanded their army, and gave

up the castle of Edinburgh to Hamilton, who committed it to Ruthven, who had acquired much military honour in the Swedish army. But Charles paid no such regard to his solemn agreement, but left strong garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle, and disbanded his other forces very slowly. And he and his friends ripened matters for a new rupture. In Edinburgh, Huntley and Aboyne, his son, were scarcely liberated from prison, when Aboyne and Ruthven, in their drunken revels, provoked some common people to chastise their insolence; this was loudly complained of. Grant and Dugair, two tools of Huntley, ravaged the territories of the Earl of Marshal and other covenanters in the North. The covenanters protest against his calling of the bishops to the next General Assembly as members; their allowance of subsistence money to Lesly and some other officers, till they could be otherwise provided; their meeting together, in order to pay off the debt which they had contracted in the war; their enemies falsely charging them with forcing the subscription of their covenant, and some parts of it misunderstood; and their Commissioners divulging some of his private concessions, provoked Charles against them. Under pretence of desired consultation with them, but really intending to apprehend, if not assassinate them, he called up fourteen of their principal leaders to London. But the mob, having got some notice of his intentions, prevented their obeying him. This disappointment so enraged him, that he had recalled both Assembly and Parliament, if Hamilton had not persuaded him otherwise, and Traquair assured him, that no act of Parliament, which passed without the bishops, who were the third Estate, could have force in law.

Hamilton having refused to be Commissioner to the next Assembly, Traquair was appointed, and was instructed to declare against lay elders having any vote in the election of Commissioners from Presbyteries, or in any fundamental point of religion; to shift all questions relative to the last Assembly, or to the King's power in calling or dissolving Assemblies; to permit the abolishment of Prelacy, not as sinful in itself, but as necessary to the peace of the kingdom; to allow the swearing of the covenant, providing that Prelacy be not abjured in it, as contrary to the word of God and Protestant religion; to endeavour to have those ministers who have been deposed, speedily reposed, upon their profession of repentance—and that the King may have a power of choosing fourteen ministers to vote in Parliament instead of the bishops; to indict another Assembly as far back in the following year as possible; to take heed that nothing civil be treated in the Assembly, and no Commissioner be sent from it to the King; nor any act made for the continuance of the *tables* or any like meetings. And, at the end, to protest, That if any thing prejudicial to the King's interest should have been granted, he should be heard for redress in his own time and place. From these instructions it appears, that Charles merely inclined to deceive the covenanters, whom he could not subdue; and that he really inclined to yield nothing at all important, and left himself an open door to revoke every concession made in his name. Accordingly, in a few days after, he wrote to Traquair, that he would not yield to a ratification of the Glasgow Assembly, nor to the abolishment of Prelacy, as contrary to the covenant of 1581, and the consti-

tutions of this church; nor to have the *service book* and *canons* condemned as containing divers seeds of Popery and superstition, or the *High Commission* condemned, as without law, or destructive to civil and ecclesiastical judicatories—nor the *articles of Perth* as contrary to the *national covenant*—or that the Assemblies 1606—1618, should be declared destitute of authority; and that if any such thing should be done he should protest against it. He further instructed him, that he would not be bound to allow General Assemblies every year; and that the covenant behoved to be sworn as it stood in 1581, without any interpretation subjoined to it, unless the King approved it. Meanwhile, he admonished the bishops not to go to the Assembly, as nothing but partiality could be expected at it; and assured them, that notwithstanding his present concessions, he was firmly determined to have their grievances redressed.

The General Assembly having met, August 12th, Mr. Henderson opened it with a sermon from Acts v. 33. and exhorted the Commissioner and members to vie with each other in thankfulness, zeal, moderation, and prudence. No sooner had Mr. Dickson, the new moderator, finished a like speech, than Traquair excepted against all the commissions of such as had been elected by more ruling elders than ministers, or for places in which they had not their residence—or of elders elected for places in which they resided, but had not been originally chosen to their office; or of such as were under horning and outlawry—but named no body. The Assembly therefore proceeded to their business, and with pleasure received Graham of Orkney, and Lindsay of Dunkeld's renunciation of Prelacy. To please

his Majesty, and retain what they had got, they formed the substance of the *service book* and *canons*, the *High Commission* and *articles of Perth*, *prelatical offices*, *civil power* of ministers, and *corrupt Assemblies*, into one act, and as it were re-enacted them, in terms a little softened, declaring, that the liturgy, canons, and High Commission should be still rejected, the articles of Perth no more practised, Episcopal jurisdiction and civil power of clergymen still held unlawful in this church; that the six Assemblies of Linlithgow 1606, and 1608, of Glasgow 1610, of Aberdeen 1616, of St. Andrew's 1617, and of Perth 1618, should hereafter be accounted destitute of all authority;—and that, in order to prevent the like evils in time coming, General Assemblies shall be held once every year or oftener, if need be, in consequence of remonstrance to his Majesty of the necessity thereof; and that Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, should be constituted according to the order of this church. This act was voted with great harmony; and Traquair declared his approbation of it, and promised that it should be ratified in the ensuing Parliament. To prevent the precipitant entry of novations for the future, the Assembly enacted, that no novation tending to disturb the peace of the church should be proponed, till the matter had been first communicated to the several Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods—that commissioners may come up prepared to give a solid determination.

Contrary to Traquair's inclination, the reports of the commission of the last Assembly relative to their censuring of scandalous clergymen were produced and approved. Their number amounted to eighteen; but the Assembly recommended

to inferior judicatories to repon them and others, who had been deposed for declining of the last Assembly, or for reading of the service book, upon any tolerable manifestation of their repentance. They next considered the *large declaration* published in his Majesty's name, but really composed by Dr. Balcanquel, without Charles having any knowledge of many of the facts, but by his misrepresentation. Nine ministers, the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, and Loudon, the Lords Kirkcudbright and Burleigh, and two gentlemen, were appointed as a committee to examine it. They pointed out *eight* articles dishonourable to his Majesty, *thirteen* dishonourable to this church, *thirteen* dishonourable to the nation, *twenty-six* gross falsehoods, and *four* most wretched misrepresentations of their conduct. The Assembly therefore supplicated Charles to call in the copies of it, and appoint the writers of it to be prosecuted for their calumnies. But either Traquair neglected to present their petition, or Charles disregarded it.— They also authorised the subscription of the national covenant, as explained by the Glasgow Assembly, and besought the privy council to require it of all the subjects with due expedition. Traquair subscribed it, with a declaration, which he said merely respected him as King's Commissioner; and he promised to have their act ratified by the Parliament. They recommended to the Parliament a supplication in favours of some ministers, who had been oppressed by Huntley and other loyalists, in the Highlands and Islands. They approved several overtures, bearing, That a committee should be appointed to revise all the acts of former Assemblies, that might be of general use; that the Parliament should be intreat-

ed to restrain people from going to England for irregular marriages; that Commissioners to the Assembly, from remote places, should have their expenses furnished by the Sessions in these Presbyteries that send them; that deposed ministers demit their charges under pain of excommunication; that the acts against Papist and excommunicated persons, and such as frequent their company, or encourage them, be duly executed; that a public catechism and order of family worship be drawn up; and that candidates presented to kirks be carefully tried with respect to their fitness for their charge.

As, by the instigation of Strafford, an oath acknowledging the King's supremacy in *all ecclesiastical* and civil cases, and an abjuration of the Scotch covenant, and all like bonds, had been imposed upon such Scotsmen as were found in England, and especially in Ireland, where Strafford domineered, many who had been thereby oppressed, besought the Assembly to intercede in their favours, and declared themselves ready to swear the *oath of allegiance*, or any other declaration of loyalty consistent with their covenant. The Assembly recommended this affair to the ensuing Parliament. It is observable, that many tender Christians, who fled from Ireland, to avoid the above oath, escaped the massacre, while those, who complied with it from carnal considerations, were quickly stript of their lives and property by the Papists.—After appointing their next meeting, Mr. Dickson, in a solemn speech, represented the mixture of God's mercy and justice towards them for some time past; and that, on account of his Majesty's education and misinformation, they ought always to view his conduct in the most fa-

vourable light;—and commended Hamilton and Traquair for the services which they had done this church; and recommended to ministers and elders their respective duties in the present circumstances. Soon after the rising of this Assembly, a solemn thanksgiving was observed through the kingdom, the causes of which were drawn up by the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

When the Parliament met, August 31st, it was proposed to have the following articles enacted into standing laws. That the Parliament consist only of Lords, Barons, and Burgesses; and that all acts empowering Commissioners from the kirk be rescinded; that the acts of the late Assembly relative to bygone evils and the remedies thereof be ratified; that the whole power of naming the Lords for forming the articles to be considered in Parliament, be in the three estates themselves; that the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling, be entrusted to none, but by the advice of Parliament; that the *large declaration* which, in his Majesty's name, had so exceedingly calumniated the covenanters, be condemned; and that the privy council be subordinated to, and censurable by the Parliament. But Traquair, the Commissioner, directed by Charles, or afraid that such deeds would enrage him, prevented their establishment, by proroguing the Parliament nine times in the months of September and October.—Finding themselves thus restrained, they deputed the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline to implore Charles's allowance to proceed in their work: and, meanwhile, a solemn fast was observed for bewailing that their enemies were like to frustrate their great expectations; and that oppression and violence much prevailed in the nor-

thern parts of the kingdom; that there were few faithful labourers in the church, and no due care taken of the seminaries of learning; that the case of the truly poor was much overlooked, while sturdy beggars ranged about without controul; and that unthankfulness, carnal security, indolence in promoting of the reformation, which they had solemnly engaged, and neglect of God's worship in public, private or secret; much abounded.

Informed of the approach of Dunfermline and Loudon, and, supposing that they had no commission from Traquair, Charles prohibited them to come within a mile of his presence. By the Queen, Strafford, and Laud's influence, his private concessions to the covenanters at the treaty of Birks, were openly impugned, and publicly burnt by the hangman. Traquair was charged to prorogue the Parliament till the 2d of June, 1640; and to declare such as should refuse to rise, guilty of *high treason*. When he executed his orders, November 14th, the Estates read a solemn declaration against his deed, narrating what had been done, and declaring the prorogation null and void: but that, to carry their obedience to the utmost length that could consist with a good conscience, they would discontinue their meeting till, by their committee, they had presented their remonstrances to his Majesty. Commissioners from this committee were allowed to repair to Charles. But Traquair, to atone for the offence which he had given by his concessions in the Assembly, after several attempts to divide the covenanters, or to exasperate them by his arbitrary procedure, repaired to court, and there represented their conduct in the most odious light, and suggested, that they could only be sub-

duced by force, some methods of which he pointed out—and thus inflamed the English courtiers. Dunfermline and Loudon, and two gentlemen, were nevertheless sent up to his Majesty, but directed to beware of acknowledging the English council as their judges;—to refute the misrepresentations of Traquair; to support the articles which had been proposed to the Parliament; to insist for a speedy recal of that court; to remonstrate against filling the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton with foreigners, or exacting from Scotchmen in England and Ireland any oath inconsistent with their covenant.—They managed their cause with great spirit—illustrated the articles mentioned, and answered a multitude of objections made by Laud and Traquair.

After Charles and his council had, for a time, pretended a desire of agreement, that they might carry on their warlike preparations the more unobservably, the Scotch Commissioners were taken into custody, and Loudon committed to the Tower for a letter, which, they pretended, he had sent to the French King. The letter referred to had been drawn up a year before by Montrose, when Charles was marching to invade Scotland, and had been transcribed by Loudon, and subscribed by them two, and the Lords Mar, Montgomery, Forrester, and General Lesly; but never made use of; nor had either date or direction. One Goram getting hold of it, delivered it to Traquair, and he to Charles, who hoped to turn it to his own advantage, particularly in making a sacrifice of Loudon, who had been a principal leader of the covenanters. Upon examination, Loudon readily acknowledged his own hand writing and subscription; but pled, that the letter was

written before the late pacification, when his Majesty was marching to invade his native kingdom; and that, in these circumstances, they thought none so fit to *intercede* with him as his brother-in-law, than which their letter desired no more. Notwithstanding, Charles was determined to have him assassinated, and ordered Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, to have his head struck off, before nine o'clock next morning. After informing Loudon, Balfour acquainted Hamilton with this mandate. He and Balfour having got access to Charles, so represented to him the infamous nature of murdering a nobleman, to whom he had given a safe conduct, and the terrible consequences that might follow, that they got him, with reluctance, to tear his warrant. Some time after, upon promise of concealing his treatment, and engaging to use his utmost endeavours to dispose his countrymen to subjection, Loudon was permitted to return home.

In November 1639, Charles and his council had resolved upon a new war with the Scots. But it was difficult to find money to bear the expenses of it. Strafford subscribed for L. 20,000 Sterling, the Dukes of Lennox and Richmond for as much, if not double. Many of the English nobility and gentry subscribed largely enough, chiefly the Papists, instigated by their Queen. By Strafford's influence, the Irish Parliament voted about L. 24,000. The English clergy voted an annual compliment of L. 20,000. All these being insufficient, Charles was obliged to call an English Parliament to provide more; but whose stubborn commons would allow him no money, unless in the way of securing their own religion and liberties, which he and his agents had

fearfully infringed. He therefore had recourse to methods dishonest and infamous—which gave the covenanters time to prepare for their own defence. Meanwhile, Charles did them all the mischief that he could. Their ships were arrested in England and Ireland; and these that were trafficking to other places were seized, and these in them barbarously imprisoned. The castle of Edinburgh was repaired and reinforced, and the garrison daily killing some of the inhabitants, or spoiling their houses. The English General had a commission to destroy the whole Scotch nation. Charles published a *declaration*, requiring all his subjects in England and Ireland, to take arms against them, and treat them as rebels. The Irish Parliament declared them such. Alarmed by these things, the covenanters sent Rothes and Lindsay to solicit the Marquis of Hamilton to intercede for them with their King. But finding no help in man, they betook themselves to God by fasting and prayer. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, which had been desired, by the Committee of Estates, to warn the church of her approaching danger, proposed a solemn fast on account of the gross ignorance, superstition, sorcery, profanation of the Lord's name and Sabbath, neglect of his worship, uncleanness, intemperance, fraud and violence, contrary to their covenants—and on account of their perplexing outward circumstances, thereby procured: They also spread informatory remonstrances among their friends in England, part of which were burnt by the hangmen. Nevertheless they did not begin their warlike preparations till June next year: Nor did they stir, till the Parliament had concluded on the war, and appointed the general officers. These

in the west did not begin their march till August.

When the Parliament met at Edinburgh, June 2, 1640, Traquair durst not attend it, as Charles's Commissioner. But the Lords Elphingston and Napier, Orbiston, justice clerk, and Lewis Stewart, as King's advocate, were empowered in his absence to prorogue their meeting. But, upon reading their commission, Elphingston and Napier doubted of the legality of their acting without Traquair's order, and the other two could do nothing but protest. The Estates therefore voted themselves a legal Parliament, and chose Lord Burleigh for their President; and enacted all the articles proposed at their former meeting, with some variations. They ordained that this and all future meetings of Parliament should consist only of Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses, rescinding all former laws in favours of the voting of bishops or other clergymen;—that all future Parliaments shall have the power of appointing a committee for drawing up *articles* to be laid before them—the members of which each Estate shall choose from among themselves. They ratified the act of the last General Assembly condemning *bygone corruptions*, and appointed the late covenant to be subscribed by all ranks under all civil pains; and particularly by members of Parliament before admission to a seat, and by all magistrates, ministers, and state officers, before their admission. They declared, that the power of jurisdiction in the church stands only in Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions; and revived the act of 1592, *establishing Presbyterian government* in all the heads of it; and rescinded all laws in favours of *Prelacy*; but, for fear of

giving a handle to their exasperated King, left unnoticed some former acts of Parliament establishing his ecclesiastical supremacy. They declared *null* and *void* all the censures inflicted by the late bishops or their agents; and that Presbyteries had the power of presenting ministers in these parishes in which the bishops had claimed it; and ordained, that Presbyteries, with consent of the congregation, should plant these parishes which had lain six months vacant. They prohibited the going of mills and salt pans, and the fishing of salmon on the Lord's days, or the holding of fairs upon Mondays; and appointed justices of peace and kirk sessions to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath by the confluence of reapers, or of people to hire them in harvest. They ratified all the former laws against Papists, excommunicated persons, and such as reset them; and appointed letters of horning to be issued forth against the bishops and other excommunicated persons. They approved the Assembly's supplication against the *large declaration*, and ordered the authors and spreaders of it to be punished as guilty of *leasemaking* and sowing division between his Majesty and his loyal subjects. They enacted, that a free Parliament should be held once, or oftener, in every three years; that the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling, should be entrusted only to natives, well affected to King and country; that none should vote in Parliament by proxy; that none should be nobilitated, who had not ten thousand marks of yearly rent in the kingdom; that the Lords should no more be distinguished into temporal and *spiritual*; that the privy council should be accountable to his Majesty and Parliament, and be punishable

for giving wrong counsel. They declared *null* and *void* all unlawful proclamations issued in his Majesty's name, since the commencement of the late troubles; and that the ancient acts of Parliament forbidding leagues and conventions among the subjects, did not extend to such as were made for the preservation of the King's life or authority, or of the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They appointed twelve Noblemen, sixteen Barons, and twelve Burgesses, as a committee to give directions concerning the impending war; and appointed a *tenth* of all land and house rents, and a *twentieth* of all interest of money, to be raised for carrying it on; and that the heirs of such as should be slain in the defence of their religion and country, should have a free entry to what belonged to them. They further appointed all the subjects to subscribe a bond for the maintenance and defence of the acts of this Parliament; appointed general officers for their army; and passed a sentence of forfeiture upon General Ruthven for refusing to deliver up the castle of Edinburgh, and for the daily mischief he did to the city. After nine days the Parliament rose; and their committee sent a copy of their acts to Lord Lanark, secretary for Scotch affairs—and suggested, that if the violences offered to their persons and goods without the kingdom, were not quickly repressed, they behoved to provide for their own deliverance and safety—and assigned the reasons of their conduct. But Charles was so far from being satisfied, that he considered their parliamentary procedure as a blow at the root of his authority.

The General Assembly met at Aberdeen, July 28, 1640; and, after enacting some *rules* for

the ordering of their own meetings, they ordained, That all monuments of idolatry, particularly in the North, should be destroyed; that the laws against witches and charmers should be carefully executed; that such as should speak against the covenant after they had taken it, should be censured; that candidates for the ministry, who refused to subscribe it, should be declared incapable of teaching children, reading in kirks, preaching within Presbyteries, or residing in burghs, universities, or colleges—and should be processed as scandalous, if they continued obstinate. They appointed a solemn fast upon the 28th of August, on account of their distressed circumstances. As in this northern Assembly there were many clergymen, who either did not believe Prelacy and the Articles of Perth to be sinful in themselves, or were unwilling to acknowledge them as such, they did not attack the doctors of Aberdeen in their adherence to these; but found them guilty of Arminianism. Dr. Forbes was spared for the time, on account of his ingenuity; and Scroggs on account of his health; but Sibbald, tenaciously adhering to his errors, was deposed.

An affair, relative to *praying societies*, gave them much more trouble. During their want of faithful ministers, many serious people, in Scotland and Ireland, had met together on Sabbaths, and other occasions, for prayer and spiritual conference. Some, before they were driven from Ireland, had been a little infected with *Brownism* from England, and had inclined to join the Independents in New England. These brought along with them some of their singularities, which were overlooked, on account of their remarkable piety, till an appearance thereof happened in the charge

of Henry Guthry of Stirling, afterward worthless bishop of Dunkeld. The Laird of Lecky, a man remarkable for knowledge and serious godliness, and who had been a distinguished sufferer under the late bishops, much encouraged fellowship meetings for prayer and Christian conference. Several of his neighbours, who could not read themselves, or who thought his manner more edifying than their own, attended his family worship. Some, who probably came as spies, alledged, that in prayer he used some expressions not duly honourable to Guthry his minister. Guthry immediately prosecuted Lecky before his Presbytery, and got fellowship meetings condemned as prejudicial to the standing office of the ministry, and got the magistrates to extirpate them from the place. Not satisfied with this, he laboured to have them utterly abolished from the nation; and by collecting and exaggerating reports of their imprudences, he drew Mr. Henderson and Mr. Calderwood, who had seen the Brownistical disorders in Holland, and some other leading clergymen, to his side. In the Assembly 1688, he had attempted to foist in a complaint against these meetings. But Messrs. J. Livingston, S. Rutherford, and D. Dickson, and others, unwilling that many serious saints should be publicly discredited for the imprudence of a few, got the affair kept from any public hearing; and it was agreed, that Guthry should preach up the duty of family worship, upon which he said these meetings encroached, and that the eminently pious Messrs. Blair, Livingston, and M'Lellan, who befriended such societies, should preach against night meetings, and the abuses complained of. Their soft and Christian methods of correcting or prevent-

ing such abuses not pleasing Guthry, who hated to see or hear of any others more serious than himself, he continued to exclaim against these meetings in general. To quench this flame of contention, Messrs. Henderson and Borthwick upon the one side, and Dickson and Blair upon the other, held a solemn conference on the point. Henderson drew up a paper of *regulations* or *caveats* for such meetings, bearing, that the members should be few, and such as were proper to meet together; that the meetings should not interfere with public or family worship or relative duties, nor be held in the night; that they should be occasional, and no wise tending to separate the member from the rest of the congregation; that no impertinent questions or uncharitable judging of others should be allowed in them; that if any members in them had any objection against the common form of public worship, (as *bowing* in the pulpit, and singing the *Gloria Patri*) they should discreetly lay them before the persons concerned; and, finally, that all things relative to them should be conducted with holiness, prudence, humility, and charity. This gave general satisfaction. But Guthry and his assistants, pretending that *caveats* brought in bishops, pushed the matter into this northern Assembly, in which they expected their friends to be strongest. Guthry poured forth torrents of accusation against the absent Lecky, and the society meetings. Simson of Bathgate seconded him; and, in the most outrageous manner, upbraided Rutherford, Livingston, and M'Lellan, as encouragers of them. Supported by the Earl of Seaforth, and many of the northern clergy, Guthry and his faction thought to have carried an act for the utter suppression of them.

But Dickson, Bailie, Rutherford, and others, so warmly opposed them, that they could only get it enacted, That people should observe family worship with the members of the family alone; that reading of prayers is lawful, where none can pray extempore; that none but preachers shall explain scripture; and that no innovation relative to the time, matter or manner of religious worship, or the number or quality of joiners in it, be introduced without allowance from the Assembly.

Meanwhile, Charles and the covenanters prepared for war of another kind, and laboured to divert the blame of it from themselves. Charles loudly complained, that they, by their own authority, had raised forces, provided large stores of artillery, and imposed taxes; that they had published scandalous papers, under pretence of informing the English; had refused materials for the reparation of the castle of Edinburgh; had committed violence upon some of the garrison, and prepared to block them up; had imprisoned Lord Southesk and others for their loyalty; had written to the French King for assistance; and that the magistrates of Edinburgh had, on several occasions, refused due obedience. The covenanters pled, That they had done nothing but what his Majesty's refusals to grant their just and humble petitions for redress of grievances, and the violences committed by persons pretending his orders, had obliged them to; that they had granted favours to those in the castle of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the unprovoked injuries, murders, and violences which they had suffered from them; that they had but protected Southesk and his followers from the violence of the

mob; that the council and citizens of Edinburgh had done every thing in their power, as faithful and humble servants; that they never intended to ask any assistance from the French King, far less to subject themselves to his authority, but merely desired to prevent his taking offence at them, and helping to destroy them, and designed to supplicate his mediation in their favours, in order that an unnatural war might be prevented; that they had never sent him the letter referred to, nor so much as ever directed or dated it; that they reckoned it a notorious breach of the law of nations, to have their deputies, under his Majesty's safe conduct, imprisoned by him, and Loudon, who had no more hand in the above mentioned letter than others, punished, without so much as a form of trial.

Argyle being appointed to deal with the disaffected chieftains and clans of the North, invaded the territories of the earl of Athol, apprehended himself and fourteen other principal loyalists—and obliged his vassals to pay the contributions required by the Parliament, together with £10,000 Scots, for the support of his army, which had been raised on their account. He used the territories of Airly in much the same manner. But it doth not appear that ever he allowed any thing to be taken from the people, but the common tax, and that which he found necessary for the subsistence of his troops. Robert Monro, who was dispatched against the Marquis of Huntley, Earl of Aboyne, and Sir James Ogilvy of Banff, was not so delicate. He, at his own hand, imposed the covenant upon such as he thought disaffected, and remitted about forty of the citizens of Aberdeen and gentlemen about,

prisoners to Edinburgh. He turned Huntley's palace into a garrison, and destroyed Sir James's mansion house, and wherever he came, seized on the effects of the royalists.

The march of the English required the covenanters to meet them in a proper place. They found no such difficulty in levying men or money as Charles did. Instigated by the preachers, every fourth man was ready to take arms on a call. Such as had money, cheerfully lent it upon the public security of the Committee of Estates, and others gave their silver vessels to be coined. The women readily contributed their yarn and cloth for the service of the troops, in tents or the like. In their march, such as could, carried thirty or forty days' provision along with them. Every regiment had a minister attending it, of whom Messrs. Henderson, Blair, Livingston, Bailie, Cant, and G. Gillespy were the most noted. In the beginning of August, they assembled at Dunse, about 25,000, and for three weeks continued on the border, learning to handle their weapons, and preparing for an entrance into eternity. At their appointed times for private worship, nothing was to be heard but singing of psalms, reading of Scripture, and prayer to God, in their tents. At first the covenanters had resolved not to enter into England. But the English nobility, having informed their late commissioners at London, how averse their nation was from the war, and encouraged them to a bold prosecution of their righteous cause, and Lord Sackville, and one Darley, having written letters to some of them, in name of a number of the English nobility, whose subscription he forged, encouraging them to enter England, as they might expect

that the English would not only take the opportunity to insist for a redress of their own and their grievances, but would assist them with men and money, as soon as they entered England, and send them home liberally recompensed for their labour;—and sometime after, having received another letter upbraiding them for their slackness to enter into that country, and suggesting, that it had lost them £10,000 Sterling, which was prepared for them; and that Charles's troops had neither money nor an inclination to resist them. Knowing that there was much truth in these missives, they resolved to march into England; but, to prepare their way, they dispersed two different papers of information,—in the first of which, they shewed, That their march into England was necessary, in order to avoid the maintenance of two armies on their border, and to secure their trade and the administration of justice at home; that it was merely defensive, as his majesty's promises formerly made to them had been notoriously violated, and their commissioners refused a hearing at court, till a war against them was resolved upon; that the Parliaments of England and Ireland had been convened to grant subsidies for making war upon them; that his majesty had already begun a war upon them, in seizing their ships and goods, and in the murder of several inhabitants of Edinburgh by his garrison in the castle; that they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as they could obtain a sure peace; that the Lord, by their march into England, might perhaps lead to the abolishment of Prelacy there, from whence it had come to them; that they did not march against the kingdom of England, but against Archbishop

Laud's faction of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, and Prelatists, who misled his majesty, and were enemies to both kingdoms ; and therefore they hope their English brethren will not refuse them victuals for money ; that they did not come to commit disloyalty against their sovereign, or to enrich themselves with plunder, but to do the kingdom what good they could, in the regular punishment of those that had troubled them ; and that the long prayed for uniformity in reformation might be promoted. In the other, they shewed what injuries had been done them, and that they entered England, in order to promote the regular punishment of Laud, Strafford, and other incendiaries, and the securing of their own religion and liberties. And they engage to return home, as soon as these ends shall be gained.

God rendered the day of the covenanters' solemn fast, Aug. 28th, remarkable for a strange mixture of mercy and judgment. On it their troops routed about five or eight thousand English, that were posted at the ford of Newburn to prevent their passage over the Tyne, with the loss of about twelve persons, and the wounding of a few others ; which spread such a terror among Charles's army, that they precipitantly retired from Newcastle and places about, to Durham. The sickness and death which prevailed in the castle of Dumbarton, made the garrison glad to deliver it up to the covenanters. The English garrison of Berwick came to Dunse with a considerable number of carts, to carry off the Scotch artillery and ammunition ; but the earl of Haddington coming up with them, sent them back laden with nothing but their own dead and wounded. Returning to the castle of Dunglass,

his English servant, probably bribed by the garrison of Berwick, set fire to a magazine of powder, and blew up the fort, in which the earl and his brother, ten gentlemen, and fifty-four servants, instantly perished; and about thirty others were grievously wounded. The alarm given by the noise, made the people in Fife and Lothian to set up their beacons. Imagining that this was occasioned by the king's fleet coming up the Forth for their relief, the garrison in the castle of Edinburgh caroused so heartily as to consume most of their provisions, and were obliged next Sabbath to surrender that fort.

After premitting a declaration of their peaceful intentions, the covenanters took possession of Newcastle, in which they found 5000 stand of arms:—And while Charles's troops fled faster before them than they were pursued, they, though flushed with conquest, in an humble supplication, represented to him, after what manifold sufferings, necessity had obliged them to march into England, and how harmlessly they had behaved in it, and earnestly insisted that he, with advice of his English Parliament, would redress their grievances, that they might cheerfully obey him as their native sovereign, and his throne be established among them. Charles had treated this with the utmost contempt, if another, subscribed by thirteen of the English nobility, complaining of their grievances, and insisting for redress, had not been presented to him about four hours after; for which the lords Howard and Wharton had been immediately shot at the head of the army, had not Hamilton got him convinced, that it would occasion a general mutiny, if not total revolt of the troops. Charles proudly disdained to answer

the covenanters' petition himself, but being afraid of their approach toward his camp, he ordered Lanark, Hamilton's brother, to require them to mark their particular grievances, and he would call a parliament at York to advise an answer to them; and to command them to march no farther into England, if they wished for any reconciliation. The committee of their army quickly replied to Lanark, That they insisted, that the acts of their last Parliament should be published in his Majesty's name, as well as of the Estates; that the castles and forts of the kingdom should be used for their security; that none of their countrymen in England or Ireland should have any oaths imposed upon them inconsistent with their covenant; that notour incendiaries should be brought to public justice; that their ships and goods should be restored with recompense of damage; that all the wrongs which have been done to them, be fully recompensed; that all proclamations of them, *as traitors*, be recalled; that all garrisons on the borders, and all other hinderances of free trade, be removed.

Last year, Montrose, who had been once a zealous covenanter, instigated by his envy of General Lesly's promotion, had shewed an inclination to desert to the king; at this time a treacherous letter of his was discovered. But, as he begged forgiveness of his rashness, and it was suspected that Lords Drummond, Boyd, Fleming, and some others were also unfaithful, Lesly, with some of the ministers, got the matter made up, that no breach might happen in so critical a juncture. As the English doubly rated the provisions which they sold to them, Lesly ordered the town of Newcastle to afford his army L.200

worth of victuals a-day, Northumberland L.300, and the county of Durham L.350, for ready money, or good security. But the English collectors sometimes exacted the double of what they gave to the army, and laid the heaviest burdens on the puritans, to provoke them against their Presbyterian brethren. English vagabonds put on blue bonnets, and plundered the country in name of Scotsmen. The servants of such clergymen as had run off from their charges, robbed them of that which was left to their keeping, and then, perhaps by their master's direction, laid the blame on the Scots. Loud complaints of these things were made to Charles, who delighted to receive them. But the covenanters quickly manifested their innocence.

It scarcely appears, that Charles really intended a pacification. Instead thereof, he laboured to increase his army, procure provisions, and furnish his garrisons, and required all the trained bands northward of the river Trent to be ready to march upon a day's warning. It was reported that Strafford had sent for ten thousand Irish Papists to join them. Lesly therefore demanded four or five thousand recruits from Scotland, which, with a band of gentlemen from Argyleshire, immediately marched to his assistance. But the English peers, meeting at York upon September 24th, appointed eight earls and as many lords to treat with the Scots. The Earls of Morton, Traquair, and Lanark, with Sir Lewis Stewart and Henry Vane, were appointed their assistants. But the Scots would not admit them. The earls of Rothes, Lowdon, and Dunfermline, A. Henderson, and Archibald Johnston, and six gentlemen, were commissioners from the cove-

nanters. After some conferences at Rippon, the place of treaty was transferred to London, and a cessation of arms was immediately agreed upon, providing that the Scotch army should have L.850 Sterling *per* day allowed them for subsistence, till the treaty should be finished; that no fortification should be erected on either side; that the river Tees should be the boundaries between the two armies, unless the Scots should be obliged to appoint detachments to collect the contributions allotted them on the south side of it.

After several months, the treaty was finished, and the English Parliament aged to it, August 7, 1641. It imported, That all the acts of the last Parliament at Edinburgh should be published, and have the same force of law as any other acts of Parliament; that all the forts of Scotland should be furnished with the advice of the Estates of Parliament; that all censures inflicted for taking of the *national covenant* should be annulled, and none hereafter inflicted; that only such Scots as settled in England, should be subjected to the laws of it; that the Parliament should have full power to prosecute all evil counsellors and delinquents; that none, disqualified by sentence of Parliament, shall be admitted to his majesty's service or friendship; that all ships and goods seized by either party be restored, and damages be refunded; that L.30,000 Sterling be paid to the Scots to indemnify their loss in this war; that all proclamations and pamphlets representing them *as rebels* or *undutiful subjects*, be recalled and suppressed, and their loyalty published from all the pulpits in his majesty's dominions, upon the day of solemn

thanksgiving for the peace; that the garrisons be removed from Berwick and Carlisle; that the Scots desire of an uniformity in church government and worship was approved, and the English Parliament would proceed in that matter, as they found most conducive to the glory of God and the peace of the church and state in both nations; that his majesty, or the Prince of Wales, shall visit Scotland as soon as possible; that he prefer none to offices without the recommendation, or at least consent of the Parliament, privy council, or college of justice; that some Scotsmen be placed about him; and none but such as are of the reformed religion, about either himself or the Prince; that all that hath happened in the late troubles be buried in everlasting oblivion, except that the Scots bishops, Traquair, Sir Robert Spotswood, Sir John Hay, and Mr. Walter Balcanquell, shall be prosecuted as incendiaries; that no war shall be declared against any of the three kingdoms, but with consent of Parliament; and such as without such consent make war upon their fellow subjects, shall be prosecuted as traitors by both nations concerned; that the Scotch Parliament, which shall meet to ratify this treaty, have full power to sit till they finish their business, unless they adjourn with their own consent; and that none who commit a crime in one part of his Majesty's dominions shall be protected in another.

Meanwhile, the Assembly met at St. Andrew's, July 20, 1641; but adjourned to Edinburgh, because many of the members behoved to attend the approaching Parliament. In favours of Mr. Howie, of the college of St. Andrew's, and others, they enacted, that supcrannuated ministers should

enjoy their benefices for life.—They established some rules for the universities, and appointed every Presbytery to maintain a bursar at the college; and Mr. Henderson recommended it to the city of Edinburgh, and other principal burghs, to maintain some students of distinguished abilities at some foreign university, as thereby themselves or the church might be provided to the greater advantage. They appointed, that the utmost care should be taken of the religious conversation of candidates for the ministry; and that none should be allowed to preach in another Presbytery, without testimonials from that which had licensed him. The same relative to fellowship meetings for prayer and spiritual conference had still continued. Lecky and his friends insisted for preferring an accusation against Guthry, their leading antagonist, and to have the act of the preceding Assembly, which respected their meetings, cancelled. Guthry and his partisans were no less eager to support it, or, if possible, to make it worse. The ministers of Edinburgh were generally for a total suppression of all private meeting for religion, except these of families. Many of the citizens were no less zealous to preserve praying societies, and to have the act of the Aberdeen Assembly either repealed or explained. The court found themselves obliged to cancel that act, as if it had never existed, and to substitute another in its room, which imported, that all ministers and others should labour to restrain all impiety and all mocking at religious exercises, or casting of odious names upon godly persons; and that, on the other hand, great care should be taken, lest under pretence of religious meetings and exercises, errors, scandal, schism, or any thing

contrary to peace or truth, should be cherished, or the duties of particular callings neglected; and appointed that Presbyteries or Synods, should censure the transgressors of this on either hand. By another act, they prohibited the introduction of any novelty in doctrine, worship, or government, till it was first allowed by the General Assembly. Being desired by the Parliament, they examined the *bond*, which Montrose, and some other treacherous covenanters, had subscribed, and of which the Parliament had burnt the original—and declared it *unlawful* and *unbinding*, as it was contrary to their former engagements to do nothing without common consent, and as it tends to promote division: but gave it as their opinion, that such subscribers as should, under their hand, acquiesce in this judgment, should be no further troubled. The Lords Seaforth, Kinghorn, and Laird of Lowr immediately complied, as did most of the other subscribers afterward. They offered their mediation for Montrose and some other subscribers, who it seems did not submit; but the Parliament refused it.—Being informed that the Independents at London pretended that Messrs. Dickson and Cant were inwardly of their sentiments, the Assembly unanimously declared their rejection of Independency as contrary to the *national covenant*; and appointed Mr. Henderson to inform their London friends that they were all of one heart and soul against Independency, as well as against Prelacy.—To promote an easy correspondence with the reformed churches abroad, they appointed the Scotch minister of Campvere, in Holland, and an elder from his session, to be members of each Assembly. Mr. Henderson having moved the drawing

of a *Confession of Faith, Catechism, Directory of Worship, and Form of Church Government*, in which it might be hoped the English would agree with them, his motion was embraced; and Mr. Dickson, the moderator, and such assistants as pleased were enjoined to form them. But he solutely declined the task as too difficult. A committee was appointed for reforming the wild highlands, and the Isles, from their remaining Paganish and Popish abominations; and a commission to finish such work as they had not got undertaken.

The Parliament of 1640, had been adjourned from time to time, till July 15, 1641, when thirty-nine Noblemen, forty-nine Barons, and forty-seven Representatives of burghs met; but resolved to transact no important business, till his Majesty should come down in the following month. Nevertheless, they formed overtures for regulating their meetings. They concerted measures for prosecuting Traquair, Sir R. Spotswood, Sir John Hay, Walter Balcanquell, and Dr. Maxwell, late Bishop of Ross, as incendiaries; and Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir G. Stirling of Keir, and Sir Lewis Stewart of Blackhall, for plotting to undermine their fellow covenanters. A scurrilous libel against his country, and in defence of his divisive conduct, drawn up by Montrose's direction, was read, and he was required to subscribe a recantation of

Such of the above criminals, as could be apprehended, were imprisoned; and Lord Loudon's honour to excuse them as far as he could, almost rendered himself suspected.—It plainly appeared, that Montrose had slandered the Marquis of Argyll, as having publicly talked to Athole, and derided his late prisoners, that he and his

friends had consulted lawyers and divines concerning the dethronement of his Majesty, and had thought of doing it at their preceding Parliament, but would do it at the next.—Montrose gave up Stewart, commissary of Dunkeld, as his informer, who at first acknowledged, under his hand, that he had done so. But, being prosecuted, he said, that he had invented the story out of mere malice against Argyle; and that, by the advice of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, he had transmitted a subscribed copy of his forged speech to his Majesty. They also, at the Assembly's desire, ordered all misrepresentations of the covenanters, to be razed from the minutes of the privy council.

Being at last come up to the Parliament, along with Prince Frederick Palatine, his nephew, Charles, after his speech, offered to touch with his sceptre the thirty-nine acts of the preceding Parliament. But the sagacious members, perceiving that he thus intended to mark these acts as formerly destitute of legal authority, and so unhinge the late treaty, and all that was before done in prosecution of these acts, warded off the blow, and pled that the validity of these acts had been already secured by the *treaty*, and nothing remained for his Majesty, but to consent to their publication. Upon the 18th of August, they enacted, That all the members, before taking their seats, should swear the *national covenant and bond* of 1638, as explained to abjure *Prelacy* and the *articles of Perth*, together with an oath, binding them to reason and vote, as they judged most conducive to the glory of God and the peace of this church and kingdom, and to defend to the uttermost his Majesty's person, honour, and es-

tate, together with the rights of Parliament and subjects, and to preserve the union and peace between the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and, by all proper methods, labour to bring to condign punishment all such as had, or should do any thing contrary to the purity of religion, or the laws, liberties, or peace of the nation. By this act, they hoped to exclude all the malignants, who hated the covenanting interest. But the Duke of Lennox, Marquis of Hamilton, and Earls of Morton, Roxburgh, Annandale, Kinnoul, Lauderdale, Perth, Lanark, Galloway, and Dumfries, after some demur, yielded to the terms, and so the number of Peers was increased to forty-eight. Profane Carnwath alone chose rather to want his seat, than to swear oaths which he had no intention to keep. Charles subscribed the *treaty of Rippon and London*, and the Parliament solemnly approved it by an act, which they transmitted under the great seal to the Parliament of England. That same day, Charles and they appointed the thirty-nine acts of the Parliament last year to be published as bearing authority from the moment in which they were framed. They appointed a solemn thanksgiving on the 7th of September, of which the General Assembly drew up the reasons. The thanks of the Parliament were given to the commissioners, who had formed the *treaty*; and a complimentary reward appointed to General Lesly and Mr. Henderson.

The malignant enemies of the pure religion and full liberties of the kingdom, cherished by Charles, who one day came to Parliament attended by five hundred of them, laboured to traduce the Marquises of Hamilton and Argyle.

But the affair was got compromised; and even Montrose, Napier, Keir, Blackhall, president Spotswood, Hay, and Monro, who had delivered to Goram the letter, which had occasioned so much trouble and danger to Loudon, were liberated upon security for their good behaviour, and their compearance for trial, before the committee of Estates in January next. The Parliament voted 10,000 men to Prince Frederic, for enabling him to recover his Electorate in Germany from the Popish oppressors. But the breaking out of the Popish massacre of the Protestants in Ireland prevented the execution of this, and obliged his Majesty to post off to London, as soon as this Parliament ended. The Parliament appointed a solemn fast upon 2d and 4th Sabbaths of November, of which the Commission of the Assembly drew up the reasons. Another fast was observed in the ensuing March, but by whose appointment we know not; nor that any *general fast* or *thanksgiving* was observed, of which the church did not at least draw up the reasons. They also enacted, That none should go to England to be married, without proclamation of banns, under severe penalties; that besides formerly required qualifications, all patrons should subscribe the *national covenant*; that all monuments of idolatry should be abolished, and Presbyteries should see to have them removed out of churches, colleges, chapels, and other public places; that excommunicated persons, or persons who did not communicate at their own parish church, at least once a-year, should be prosecuted according to their respective ranks; that such as caused their mills or salt pans to go, or hired reapers, or sold goods on the Lord's day,

or otherwise profaned it, should be severely punished. They disposed of the Bishop's rents chiefly to the universities, and to some nobility and gentry. They made some acts for payment of the public debt, which had been contracted in the late war, and in favours of orphans and fatherless children, and for the administration of justice and encouragement of trade and manufactures. They approved the conduct of Argyle, now made a *Marquis* by his Majesty, and other commissioners in the late war; appointed a committee for preservation of the peace between the two kingdoms, and appointed next meeting of Parliament in June 1644, unless his Majesty pleased to call one before that time.

Upon Charles's return to London, his bishops loudly reproached him as undoing, in an instant, all that himself and his father had, with no small difficulty, established in many years. The differences between him and his English Parliament having become very wide, the Scotch commissioners, who had gone up to concert measures for sending their troops to Ireland, to check the Popish murderers, who about that time massacred two or three hundred thousand of their Protestant neighbours, offered their mediation.—Charles, highly displeased, commanded them not to interfere with him and his English Parliament, without first communicating their proposals to him. Having sent off 6000 forces to Ireland, under General Monro, the breaking out of the civil war in England obliged them to retain the other 4000 intended for it, at home. By the influence of Montrose, and other *Bonders*, Charles laboured to cause the Scotch privy council to threaten the English Parliament with their as-

sistance of him : but the covenanters, by their counter supplications, prevented it.

When the Assembly met at St. Andrew's, July 27, 1642, a report that Montrose and his fellow *Bonders* intended to force them to declare, that the national covenant favoured the making of war upon the English Parliament, caused so many of the covenanted nobles to attend, that no such thing durst be attempted. The Assembly appointed that the minutes of Synods should be tried by the Assembly ; that transported ministers should not undergo new trials ; that, in consequence of his Majesty's concession, six candidates for a vacant charge in the low country, and as many as can be had for one in the Highlands, be nominated by the Presbytery, with consent of the most, or best of the congregation, to the patron, out of which he must present one. Argyle and some other patrons offered to give up their right of presentation, if ministers would promise to insist for no augmentation of stipends ; but they would not consent. The Assembly also established some rules for reclaiming of Papists, non-communicants, and profaners of the Sabbath, and for family worship, catechising, &c. ; and for delating of adulterers, wizards, and the like, to the civil magistrate ; and for burdening and limiting transportation of ministers ; and for settling of schools ; and for sending over ministers to the remains of their Protestant brethren in the north of Ireland, who had earnestly petitioned for them ; they prohibited the taking of contrary oaths in the purgation of adulterers, fornicators, and the like—and all slandering of ministers, or using of their names, in public papers, without their consent. They appointed a committee to

visit the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, in order to reform them from their heathenish and Popish corruptions, and to regulate the universities of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; and made an act for the suppression of Popery, and monuments of idolatry in the North. They erected a new Presbytery at Biggar, and joined that of Sky to the Synod of Argyle. They appointed a general contribution for the Protestants in Ireland. And, as both Charles and his English Parliament had courted their favour, they, without siding themselves, urged both to promote a reformation of England in public worship and church government, and supplicated the privy council to concur with them herein, and appointed a public fast and prayer, that the Lord might succeed their project.

Some noblemen, who had been commissioned to beseech his Majesty, to give satisfaction to his English Parliament, being very ill used by him and his party, and the letters transmitted to them broken up, were therefore recalled. Meanwhile, Hamilton, Montrose, and other *Bonders*, finding it impossible to arm the nation in general against the English Parliament, concerted with Charles how to raise an army in the North, and seduce General Monro and his troops to their party; and at least make the Earl of Antrim accommodate matters with the Irish Papists, and then transport an army of them into England for his assistance against his Parliament. But Montrose, refusing to serve under Hamilton, their reproaches of each other manifested part of their design, and the rest appeared from missives found upon Antrim, when he was providentially apprehended by a Scotch officer near Carrickfergus,

and from the examination of him and his servant. Instigated by the Popish Queen, Montrose carried on his work in the North, and got all the chiefs, Ogilvies, and Gordons, to subscribe an *association* in favours of Charles. But Lord Marshal refusing to concur, and even persuading Huntley to recal his subscription, gave a check to this project. Montrose therefore courted the favour of the covenanters, who, he hoped, would put more trust in him than his new friends had done. But new proofs of his villany made them also to despise him.

Charles's troops had almost defeated those of the Parliament at Edgehill, in October, and had entirely routed them, had not Balfour, a Scotch officer, with his battalion at the head of the foot, made a gallant defence, while Prince Rupert of the Palatinate drove the cavalry before him. The Scotch managers, laying their account that his Majesty, after he had subdued his English opponents, would turn his victorious arms against them, ordered Loudon, their chancellor, to issue forth warrants for calling a convention of Estates, in order to put the country into a proper posture of defence. Notwithstanding all that Hamilton and Sir Lewis Stewart could say, they voted themselves a legal convention. Charles being informed of their meeting, by his missives limited their deliberations to the supply of their army in Ireland, the procuring of the arrears due to them from the English, and the preventing of groundless jealousies of himself, and restricted them from doing any thing towards raising forces for the English Parliament. Instigated by the Earl of Derby, Morton, Roxburgh, Kinnoul, Lanark, Annandale and Carnwath, wrote to the Queen,

But unless his Majesty detached three or four thousand of his troops to Scotland, that country would probably be lost to him. The English Parliament having intercepted this letter, remitted it to the convention. Upon which these Lords submitted, and promised to interfere no further with the English affairs, and were all excused except Carnwath, who appeared to have accused his countrymen to the King as rebels, and his commissioners as favourers of the rebellion in England, in order to ruin him and his children.

He was fined, and was fined L.10,000 Scots for the public service.

The affecting sermons and edifying behaviour of the Scotch ministers, who had attended their commissioners at the making of the late treaty at London, had rendered many of the English persons fond of the nearest union and conformity in religious matters with the Scots. A correspondence for that effect had ever since subsisted. Their distress, since the battle of Edgehill, had rendered a league with the Scots most necessary.

After some warning, the commissioners from the English Parliament, attended by Messrs. Marshal and Nye from the Westminster Assembly, came to Edinburgh in the beginning of August 1643, in order to solicit an amicable and religious league. Meanwhile, the assembly met and received a letter from Charles, addressed to *Sir Thomas Hope, Lord Advocate, and those convened with him.* Notwithstanding his Majesty's shyness to acknowledge them *in assembly*, they boldly censured the ministers of the church, for refusing to publish the declaration emitted against the *cross petition* of the *moderators*, in which they had urged the privy coun-

cil to publish his Majesty's reasons for making war on his English Parliament, without publishing their vindication along with it. Instigated by Archibald Johnston, who had lately been made a knight, they suggested to the Convention of Estates, That, as the King's war with his English Parliament was directed against the reformation of religion, the Protestant faith was in danger; that the English had helped them in their distress; that if the serious part of the church of England be ruined, that of Scotland cannot expect long to survive; that the intended uniformity of discipline and worship between the two kingdoms, would much strengthen the Protestant interest in general; and that his Majesty's actions had so often contradicted his promises, that they could not trust him. They enacted, That professors of divinity, being ministers, might be chosen commissioners to the Assembly, either by the university or Presbytery; that there should be no burials in churches where God is worshipped, and his sacraments dispensed. They appointed a new supply of ministers for the north of Ireland, and a committee to inquire into the nature and proper remedies of witchcraft, for which many about this time were delated and burnt; and that ministers and magistrates should search for all books calculated to promote separation from pastors; and that all sentences of supreme judicatories should remain in force till repealed by themselves; that no deposed clergymen should be reponed, but by the advice of the Assembly; and they confirmed all former acts for the sanctification of the Sabbath, and that masters should be censured, who permitted their servants to transgress.—As the customary repetition of the *doxology* and *Glo-*

ria patri, at the end of public worship, and *kneeling* in the pulpit, had offended not a few of the godly, Messrs. Henderson, moderator, D. Dickson, and D. Calderwood, were appointed to draw up a *directory* for the worship of God. Finding it difficult to procure candidates with the Gaelic language for the Highlands, they appointed such students as could speak it, to be preferred in the bestowing of burseries, and in order to get the Highlands and Isles supplied as well as the low country, while probationers were scarce, they besought his Majesty to accept of a list of three candidates for a vacancy in the low country, and of one in the Highlands, in order to a presentation. All the commissioners from burghs and shires, having supplicated an abolishment of patronage, it was recommended to Presbyteries to devise a proper plan of settling congregations, which might remove all contests between patrons, Presbyteries, and people. They prohibited all ministers, having landed estates, to sit members in the Parliament or Convention. They appointed the Earl of Huntley to be admonished for his neglect of family worship, his not communicating, and his retaining of Popish servants. They excommunicated Roger Lindsay for blasphemy, and appointed John Seaton to put from his house, a woman with whom it was suspected he kept a criminal correspondence. They agreed upon a religious and solemn covenant with the English Parliamentarians; and, at the request of the Westminster Assembly, appointed Messrs. A. Henderson, R. Douglas, S. Rutherford, R. Bailie, and G. Gillespie, ministers, the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Maitland, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, and Archibald Johnston, now a lord of session, by the name of *Warriston*, ruling elders, to join them.

After the Assembly and Convention of Estates had approved of the *solemn league and covenant*, it was transmitted to London, and with some small alterations approved by the Assembly, and both houses of Parliament. Being remitted to Edinburgh, the Commission of the General Assembly, Oct. 11th, appointed it to be sworn and subscribed through the whole church, and, by missives to Presbyteries, directed them how to forward the same. In consequence hereof, the Committee appointed by the Convention of Estates next day appointed it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, under pain of being held and punished as enemies to religion and his majesty's honour, and peace of the kingdoms, and to have their goods confiscated for the use of the public, and not to be allowed to enjoy any benefit, place, or office within the kingdom, and appointed sheriffs and other magistrates, to assist ministers in promoting this engagement. As this and some other deeds of this period imposing their covenants under such penalties, cannot be justified, it is agreeable to find none but Montrose and Monro, two military men, one of whom, at least, afterward turned a murderer of his brethren, *forcibly* urging these covenants. Every where, the *solemn league* being read the one Sabbath, it was, with marvellous unanimity, sworn the next, by both men and women, and subscribed chiefly by men. Nor do I find, that the decliners of it ever suffered in the least for so doing.

Nov. 29, 1643, the Committee of Estates and commissioners from England finished their treaty of friendship, bearing, That the *solemn league and covenant* should be sworn and subscribed by all ranks in both kingdoms; that 18,000

foot, and 3,000 horse should immediately march to the assistance of the English Parliament, with victuals and pay for the space of forty days; that this army should be commanded by a Scotch general, but subject to the direction of the two Parliaments, and their committees; that the whole expences contracted by the Scots, should be repaid to them at the end of the war; that their army should receive L.30,000 Sterling *per* month out of the estates of the English papists and other malignants, and have L.100,000 *per* advance; that the Scots shall assist with their credit in raising L.200,000 for that purpose, and for payment of their troops in Ireland, which shall be repaid them at the end of the war; that no pacification shall be made with his majesty, without the consent of both kingdoms; that the Scotch troops in England shall be no wise employed, but to answer the ends of this treaty; that the English shall assist the Scots in any like extremity; and that eight ships shall protect their coasts and trade.

In January 1644, the Scots army, to the amount of 21,500, marched into England, under the command of old General Lesly, now earl of Leven, and John Bailie lieutenant-general of the horse, and David Lesly of the foot; and notwithstanding the Independents giving the honour to Cromwell, who had perhaps gone off in his wounds, had the principal hand in gaining the famous victory of Marston Moor, in which Charles lost about ten thousand of his forces, and all his baggage. To oblige them to return home, that Charles might at least recover the west of England, Montrose, Crawford, Nithsdale, Aboyne, Ogilvy, Rae, Herreis, &c. entered into an *association*. at Ox-

ford, to return to Scotland, and raise forces for his majesty. Antrim undertook to send them 10,000 Irish, under the command of Alexander M'Donald, a Scot. Huntley took the field with a considerable body, which Argyle quickly suppressed. In returning northward, through Westmoreland, Montrose raised a body of forces, and set up his majesty's standard at Dumfries. But the Sheriff of Teviotdale marching a body of countrymen toward them, they fled at the sight, and Montrose himself escaped to Carlisle. The commission of the General Assembly laid him under the lesser excommunication, and ordered it to be published from all the pulpits in the kingdom. Exasperated by this, he pushed his way northward along with two others, and put himself at the head of the Irish ragamuffins, who, in smaller numbers than was expected, had just landed in Argyleshire, where they committed the most barbarous ravages upon ministers and others, whom they looked on as most hearty in the covenanting interest. He conducted them eastward through Badenoch and Athole, where many joined them, and in Perthshire, a whole regiment raised by lord Kilpont. Argyle, with a body of undisciplined countrymen, thought to attack them: but Montrose fell upon them before they were ready; and, especially in their flight, killed many of them. After ravaging Argyleshire, and turning it into a kind of desert, he marched toward Lochaber and Glenco, in order to collect his friends in that country.

Meanwhile, the Scotch commissioners to the Westminster Assembly were but coldly received by many; nor till after a warm debate, were they allowed to be members. But after their ad-

mission, much deference was paid to their judgment; and they had no small hand in promoting of Presbyterian government. None of them made a more shining appearance than Gillespy the youngest. The General Assembly, meeting at Edinburgh, in May 1644, received letters from the Presbytery, which attended the army in England,—from their commissioners at London,—and from the Westminster Assembly,—together with petitions from Ireland for supply of ministers,—to all which they returned favourable answers. They declared the *bond of association* at Oxford framed by Montrose and his fellow covenant breakers, *perfidious*, and calculated to throw this church and kingdom into confusion; and empowered their commission to proceed against all that entered into it to the highest excommunication, unless they should publicly acknowledge their offence. They appointed ministers to deliberate to their Presbyteries, all such as manifested dissatisfaction to the covenanted cause. They wrote to the churches in Holland, thanking them for sending supplies of money to their distressed brethren in Ireland, and informing them of their own critical circumstances and covenant with God. They appointed ministers to be more diligent in raising the fines annexed by law to scandals, and applying them to pious uses. They appointed a contribution in favours of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, and gave order for supplying their armies with ministers; and appointed a solemn fast to confess their sins, lament their miseries, and supplicate relief from God.

The Parliament meeting, June 4th, made a number of acts for preventing the desertion of their troops, and for levying others with proper expe-

dition;—for declaring it treasonable to take arms or hold out houses against the Estates;—for ratification of the late *convention* and *committee of Estates*, and their acts, particularly these which approved and imposed the *solemn league and covenant*;—for appointing commissioners for promoting peace between his Majesty and Parliament, upon proper terms;—for paying to the burghs the debts owing them for arms and ammunition;—for approving the conduct of Argyle and Burleigh, in suppressing the northern insurrections;—for preventing the profanation of the Sabbath, and of public fasts, by captions for debt or the like;—for granting divorces, when shrewd tokens of adultery are proven;—for prohibiting fairs and markets on Mondays;—for restraining innkeepers from unnecessary selling of drink on the Lord's day;—for prohibiting patronages belonging to particular ministers; for preventing application of vacant stipends to private uses;—for securing to ministers, universities, hospitals, and schools, the revenues belonging to them from the estates of forfeited malignants;—for renewing the commission for valuation of the tithes and assignations of manses and glebes to ministers;—for carrying on the war against Montrose and other enemies, and supporting of such as shall be disabled in it; and for continuing the commission for conservation of the peace with England, appointed by the former Parliament, non-covenanters excepted.

When the Assembly met in January 1645, they approved the *directory for public worship* framed by the Westminster Assembly, with some explications and limitations; as also some overtures for the advancement of learning in schools and colleges, and for the maintenance of bursars.

They authorised their commission to approve the Westminster *directory for church government, and ordination of ministers*, leaving room to examine, whether doctors have power to administer the sacraments? and what are the respective rights of Presbytery and people, in the calling of ministers? They emitted a *solemn warning*, calling all ranks to a proper improvement of God's great mercies and alarming judgments, and appointed that all such ministers as did not read it from their pulpits, should be censured. They prohibited the observation of *Christmas*, and other superstitious days, the abuses at *penny weddings*, and the re-poning of deposed ministers to their former charges. They represented to his Majesty his great wickedness, in permitting the Irish invaders, under his commission, to exercise cruelty upon, and murder multitudes of his best subjects; in his permission of Popish idolatry in his family and kingdom; in his authorising the *book of sports*, and profanation of the Lord's day thereby encouraged; in his neglecting to punish the notorious scandal and profane behaviour of his court; his stopping of his ears against the petitions of his faithful subjects; his compliance with Papists, and concluding an advantageous cessation of arms with the *massacrers* in Ireland; and in his following the counsels of wicked men, and opposing the reformation of his kingdom. They encouraged their commissioners at Westminster, further to promote the religious uniformity between Scotland and England, and appointed Mr. Henderson to assist the English commissioners, in the religious part of the treaty at Uxbridge, with his Majesty. They appointed ministers to attend their eleven

new regiments, and others to supply their Protestant brethren in Ireland.

The Parliament, meeting at Edinburgh on the 24th of the same month, appointed an augmentation of ten or twelve thousand men to their army, intended to reduce Montrose and his followers; and made a number of acts for defraying the expenses of the war; and for putting the country into a posture of defence, by mustering all men between 16 and 60, on one day, that they might see what arms or men were wanting, and might train such as appeared in the military exercises.—Montrose took Dundee by storm, and set it on fire in several places; and, about the same time, murdered multitudes in St. Andrew's and Kirkaldy, almost in cold blood, rendering two hundred women widows in one day. Finding that the covenanters' troops were divided into two bodies, he first attacked the weaker under Urie, and then the stronger under Bailie, and routed them both. The Parliament being therefore obliged to meet again in July, a raging pestilence kept them from Edinburgh, and drove them from Stirling to Perth. They appointed a new levy of ten thousand troops to withstand Montrose; and devised methods for paying them. They ratified the Assembly's act, approving of the *Wesminster directory for public worship*; and under penalties suited to men's different ranks, prohibited profane swearing, drunkenness, and mocking at religion; and appointed deputies in every parish to levy fines imposed for scandals, and to punish the scandalous in their persons.

Finding that the covenanted forces were assembled at Perth, Montrose attempted to push south-

ward, to favour his junction with a body of horse, which he expected from his Majesty: and, to draw off Bailie's attention, M'Donald, with his Irish, fell upon the Campbells, near Cupar Angus, murdering all that he met with. But Bailie still hanging close to him, Montrose was obliged to return northward, once and again, to levy more troops. At last, when the covenanters' newly raised forces had gone home, he marched up to the Bridge of Erne, in order to attack their remaining army. But they, expecting reinforcements from Fife, would not stir from their entrenchments. He therefore marched southward by Kinross; and, then turning westward to Stirling, burnt into a desert the parishes of Muckart and Dollar, which pertained to Argyle. Informed of his motions, the covenanters marched the near way to Stirling, burnt the houses of Menstry and Airthy, which belonged to malignants; but did no hurt to their tenants; and came up with him at Kilsyth, August 15, 1645, where he gave them battle before their expected western assistants came up; and, with very small loss on his side, killed most of their troops, giving, it is said, no quarter to such as offered to surrender. Terrible was the havock made in the pursuit; and terrible the case of the nation, in consequence of it—many thousands having lost their fathers, brothers, or children. While the covenanting nobles and gentry fled off to England and Ireland, Montrose took up his head quarters at Bothwel, and, by detachments of his troops, relieved his friends, and raised contributions from Edinburgh to the Western Ocean. The malignant noblemen flocked about him; and Charles sent him a commission, appointing him Captain General, and

Deputy Governor of Scotland; and empowered him to call a Parliament, and create Knights to sit in it. By proclamations at Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Glasgow, he summoned a Parliament to meet at Glasgow, on the 20th of October ensuing, and made M'Donald, his murderous lieutenant, a Knight.

Amidst their distress, envy of preferments and carnal stupidity had fearfully prevailed among the covenanters; and not a few, amidst the licentiousness of war, had become openly profane. The raging pestilence, and the six bloody defeats they had received from Montrose, together with the alarming sermons of their faithful ministers, awakened them not a little. Finding no help in man, and that their apostate and barbarous enemy carried all before him, they betook themselves to solemn fasting and prayer; and the Lord quickly appeared for their relief. Intending to join him with all the forces they could collect, the Earls of Home and Roxburgh invited Montrose to march towards the south-east of Scotland. To favour their junction with him, he took up his head quarters at Philiphaugh, beside Selkirk. Meanwhile David Lesly and Colonel Middleton marching with part of the Scotch army from England, apprehended Home and Roxburgh; and then took their route by Dunglass and Haddington, where none watched their motions; and then suddenly turning southward, through the favour of the night and mist, unexpectedly fell upon Montrose's army, from which the Gordons and M'Donalds had lately gone home with their plunder, and killed or took prisoners the most of them. The most malignant of the prisoners were tried and executed as traitors and murderers. The Mar-

quis of Douglas, with other Lords and Gentlemen of the low country, made their peace with the Committee of Estates. D. Lesly returned with his army to England, and left Middleton, with the horse, to pursue Montrose, who had got back into Athole. M'Donald, with his Irish murderers, continued ravaging Argyleshire; putting almost every thing to fire or sword. Ardinglass conducted about twelve hundred of the poor inhabitants to Monteith, to live upon the Malignants. But Inchbrake and the Athole men falling upon them at Callender, killed not a few of them, and forced the rest to flee towards Stirling. Argyle carried them thence to Lennoxshire, to live upon the lands of Lord Napier, and other malignants. He then brought over a part of the army from Ireland, at whose landing in his country, M'Donald and his Irishmen fled to the Western Isles, and thence into Ireland. Montrose, having got northward, formed a new association with the Earls of Seaforth and Sunderland, Lord Lovat, and a great many other of the principal chiefs. But the ecclesiastical commission having published a *declaration* against this league; and the committee of Estates an *indemnity* to all such as should desert it, except the Earl of Seaforth; and Middleton marching northward with his troops, all the subscribers, except Seaforth, quickly disclaimed the *bond*, and several of them professed their sorrow for joining in it. Charles having fled into the Scotch army in England, ordered Montrose to lay down his arms: upon which he retired into Germany, and assisted the Emperor in oppressing and murdering the Protestants.

Meanwhile, the Parliament, which met at St. Andrew's in the end of November 1645, made a

variety of acts—for approving the conduct of General Bailie, and the Lords Montgomery and Sinclair, at the battle of Kilsyth, and for levying new taxes and forces for suppressing the malignants;—for the relief of such as had been plundered by Montrose and his party, and for punishing of the principal prisoners that had been taken at Philiphaugh. They prohibited all holding of fairs on Mondays or Saturdays, and all printing of books relative to religion, without a licence from the Assembly or Commission, or of others without a licence from his Majesty's secretary;—and all lykewakes under pain of L.20 Scots for each fault: and appointed Presbyteries to have the sole power of planting vacant parishes, the patrons of which are excommunicated, or have not sworn the covenant; and that schools be erected in every parish, with a salary not below 100, and not above 200 merks Scots, besides usual perquisites; and appointed a Committee of Estates to manage the government of the nation during the interval of Parliament, the members of which are allowed a salary for their work.

When the General Assembly met at Edinburgh in the beginning of June 1646, Charles, from the Scots army, sent them a very humble letter, expressing his grief for the divided state of his kingdom, and his earnest desire to comply with the requests of his Parliament, and recommending himself and his distracted kingdom to their prayers. By Messrs. Henderson, Blair, Douglas, James Guthry, and A. Cant, they presented to him a most Christian and loyal answer, with other requests. They enacted that ante-nuptial fornication should be censured in the ordinary manner, as after acts of justice do not atone for former faults; that

every professor in the universities present to the Assembly a copy of his prelections; that the interest of congregations in the calling and admission of ministers, and what relates to it, be maturely considered by Presbyteries and Synods, and their proposals for preventing contentions, be returned; that compliers with Montrose ought to be censured; that no students of divinity shall preach to the people, till they be regularly licensed; that no ships should launch from harbour, or loose anchor on the Lord's day—nor any children go out of the kingdom without testimonials from their Presbytery, and without bringing back such, relative to their conduct when abroad. They laid the Earl of Seaforth under the higher excommunication. And, awakened by the rage of sword and pestilence, they pointed out the corruptions of ministers, in their private and public conduct, and the proper remedies thereof. They approved some overtures respecting the mutual correspondence of Presbyteries, the assistance of poor students, and the planting of kirks and schools in the Highlands, with candidates that understand their language. They wrote to the Parliament of England, and to the Wesminster Assembly, commending their past endeavours, and beseeching their further diligence in promoting an uniformity in reformation between the two kingdoms. They ordered their solemn thanks to be given to Mr. David Calderwood, for the trouble he had taken in collecting the history of this church; appointed him and his clerk to be indemnified for their labour, and the work to be published as soon as possible. The confusions of these times prevented the publication. His abridgment of it was published about thirty

years after, as a testimony against the then domineering Episcopacy. An attempt was made about thirty years ago to publish the full history; but subscriptions failed.

Let us now, for a while, turn our eyes toward England. Scarcely had the Parliamentarians, by the victory of Marston Moor, perceived themselves able to withstand all the forces that his Majesty could bring against them, than they ungratefully provoked their Scotch deliverers to a breach. To shut them up to mutiny, desertion, or oppression of the country by taking free quarters, they withheld their pay, pretending that the interest would sufficiently balance the delay of payment. Being thus obliged to take free quarters, these were dishonestly over-rated. Want of subsistence obliged them to want ministers, which occasioned a profane licentiousness in severals. Sometimes the English Parliament, for weeks, or even for months, neglected to answer the remonstrances of their commissioners. Their expresses were sometimes intercepted, and their letters opened, while the House of Commons screened the offenders. In their treaty with Charles, at Uxbridge, they changed almost every thing in the propositions made to his Majesty, which marked the power of, or did honour to the Scots, and assumed all to themselves. Notwithstanding all these provocations, the Scots, regardful of their solemn covenant with God, did all that in them lay, and even renounced part of their own interest, in order to promote the peace and welfare of England.

In May 1646, Charles, after he had empowered Ormond and Digby to clap up a peace with the Irish Papists, which almost established their religion to them, in order that he might obtain

their faithful service against his Protestant subjects in Britain,—he fled from Oxford when it was upon the point of being blocked up by the parliament's army ; and in company with two or three more, rode within a few miles of London ; then directed his course toward the sea ; and at last resolved to throw himself into the Scotch army, which lay at Newcastle ; and continued with them about eight months. Commissioners from the Committee of Estates presented to him some propositions for peace ; and these above-mentioned, from the Assembly, laboured to remove his prejudices against Presbytery and the covenants. At least pretending that he believed Episcopacy to be of divine appointment, and that he had bound himself by his coronation oath to support it, he and Sir Robert Murray debated this point in a series of letters with Mr. A. Henderson ; in which he pretended, that the English, in their reformation, had *precisely* followed the apostolic appointment, and the universal pattern of the primitive church ; and that where the succession of episcopal priesthood ceaseth, there is no valid administration of the sacraments ; that no reformation of churches is lawful, but under the direction of royal authority ; that no real defects could be pointed out in the reformation established by King Edward and Queen Elizabeth ; that Presbyterian government was never known till Calvin introduced it at Geneva ; that the unanimous consent of the Fathers is the true standard of interpreting scripture ; and that the clause in his coronation oath respecting religion being inserted in favours of the church, the Parliament cannot dissolve that obligation without her consent. In his replies, Mr. Henderson shewed,

That many serious Christians and learned divines, had all along complained of the imperfection of the English reformation; that, to the grief of other Protestant churches, it had occasioned no small contention and schism; that all subjects, being under the whole law of God, and bound to take care for their own and posterity's eternal salvation, ought to reform themselves, if princes be negligent or attached to prevalent corruptions; that in the apostolical age, there was no difference between bishops and presbyters; that not the practice of the church some ages after Christ, or the consent of fathers, but the word of God, is our rule in religion; that it is now impossible to know the universal practice of the primitive church, or the unanimous consent of the Fathers; that, according to these Fathers, the scriptures must be interpreted by themselves, and our faith not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God;—that when the formal reason of an oath is removed, the obligation of it ceaseth; and when the Parliament repeal laws, the coronation oath doth not bind to oppose their deed; that his royal and learned father, never admitted episcopacy to be appointed by Christ or his apostles, and all the reforming divines, even of England, had reckoned it merely an human appointment; that the Westminster Assembly had proved Presbyterian government founded on the scripture; that magistrates' supremacy over the church in spiritual affairs cannot be justified from the word of God or right reason. The felt approaches of death, probably hastened by grief, that Charles, by his obstinate refusal to comply with his Parliament, was like to ruin himself and his kingdoms, obliged Mr. Henderson to break

off his answer to Charles's fourth letter, and retire to his country. The Episcopalians gave out, that he died of remorse, that he had occasioned so much trouble to so pious a king, and published a forged recantation, as if made by him on his death-bed. But the General Assembly declared it *false and scandalous*.

Old General Lesly, at the head of an hundred of his officers, on their knees, in an humble supplication, earnestly besought Charles to satisfy his English Parliament, and favour the solemn League and Covenant. Lord Loudon represented to him his absolute necessity of complying with their demands, if he inclined to keep the throne for himself, or his family. Meanwhile, the Independents and their friends, afraid of Charles's compliance with the Parliament's demands, and particularly with Presbytery by the Scots influence, got a vote carried in the Parliament, that there was no further need of their army in England. Hereupon their pay was withheld, their quarters were straitened by the Parliament's forces; and they had almost nothing but the four northern counties to support them. Want of pay obliged them to take free quarters, which, by the Sectarians' means, occasioned loud cries of oppression. They also published scurrilous defamations of them, as covenant-breakers, apostates, and compliers with malignants. These and the like abuses made the Scotch army heartily tired of England, and anxious to return home, as soon as they could secure the payment of the arrears due to them. They produced proper claims for almost a million Sterling: but, when the English offered them £200,000 in hand, and security for £200,000 more, they, to testify their disinterest-

edness and love of peace, accepted it, September 2, 1646, in place of full payment.

About sixteen days after this pecuniary agreement was fully settled, Charles, in despite of all that had or could be said to persuade him, refused to comply with the English Parliament's propositions for peace. Hereupon that Parliament voted, that his person should be disposed of as they thought fit. Against this deed the Scotch commissioners earnestly remonstrated, and insisted for a joint consultation with respect to the disposal of his majesty's person. Loudon represented to the English commissioners, That, by the *solemn league*, both kingdoms were united to God, and to their king, and to one another; and that after the Scots had done so much to promote the welfare of England, it was neither consistent with honour, conscience, or equity, to dispose of his majesty's person, without consent of both kingdoms; and he, as in the above-mentioned remonstrance, insisted that he might be allowed to reside in or near London, that so an agreement between him and his Parliament might be speedily effected;—or at least that commissioners might be again sent to him to explain their propositions, and endeavour to remove his scruples. Argyle, in his address to both houses of Parliament, begged them to promote the work of reformation according to the solemn league, and neither to persecute true piety, nor to allow lawless liberty; and that they would endeavour to maintain the peace of the two kingdoms, and study to reform, not ruin his majesty, and to regulate, but not destroy monarchy.

While the Scots were labouring to persuade Charles to agree with his English Parliament,

he, finding their army heartily attached to their solemn league, soon wearied of them, and repeatedly applied to his English Parliament for their allowance of his safe dwelling in London, or near to it. They appointed him Holmby, in the county of Northampton, for his residence, and agreed, That as soon as he should come thither, and the Scots retire from England, they would concur with them in endeavouring to obtain his consent to their propositions. These resolutions being transmitted to Charles, and to Scotland, the Parliament there earnestly besought him to comply with the proposals, shewed him the reasons of so doing, and the danger of his refusing, as they could not, in that case, assist him in recovering his kingdom; and that both kingdoms would be obliged to take some joint course for disposing of his person, till he should give satisfaction to his Parliaments. While he was with the Scotch army, he earnestly solicited them to join with the Episcopalians, that they might be enabled to destroy their sectarian enemies. But, his proposals being laid before the Assembly in June, they declared as warmly against joining with the one as with the other. And the Commission in December, remonstrated against his coming to Scotland, as he would probably act up to his former principles, and endeavour to draw them from their *solemn league*; and as it would confirm the English in their suspicions of underhand dealing with him, before he came to their army; and as it would involve them in breach of covenant, and a bloody war with England.

When the Scotch Parliament met in January 1647, they, considering that notwithstanding his promise to their army when he came to it, and

the many addresses presented to him from this kingdom, he continued stiffly to refuse the propositions which the English Parliament had made to him; and that he had requested said Parliament for allowance to reside in or near London, and they had allowed him to reside at Holmby house, they consented that he repair to either of these places, and there remain till he should give satisfaction to both kingdoms with respect to their propositions of peace—providing that no injury be done to his person, or change of government, from that of the three preceding years, be attempted, and that his posterity be no wise prejudiced with respect to their succession to the throne. Along with this declaration transmitted to the English Parliament, they insisted, that when his Majesty shall come to Holmby House, committees from both Lords and Commons shall be appointed to deal with him to procure his consent to the propositions for peace; and that Commissioners from Scotland should have free access to deal with him for the same purpose;—and that no pacification should be made without the consent of both kingdoms. The other acts of this Parliament were—for suppressing the remains of Montrose's faction; for reinstating of some who had been forfeited for their junction with him; for distributing L. 5000 Sterling among the children and widows of such as had been slain in the late war; for prosecuting excommunicated persons as rebels, after forty days contumacy; for suppression of all observance of Christmas and other superstitious seasons, by the removal of colliers, salters, or the like; for reparation of damages suffered for conscientious adherence to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; for declar-

ing *null* and *void* all engagements to Montrose, M'Donald, or their associates; for the lords of privy council's taking the children or pupils of Papists from them, and committing them to such as will train them up in the Protestant religion, and in virtuous behaviour; and for disbanding all their troops but 7,200.

Horrible have been the outcries of Jacobites and their friends against the Scotch army and Parliament, as if they had sold Charles, their King, for L. 200,000 Sterling; for it seems they never got more of the million that was owing, and L.400,000 that was promised them. But it ought to be considered, that Charles did not come to the Scotch army but unwillingly, as his last shift, and that without either warning or terms; and that all the money they got, and much more, was due to them for what laborious and useful service they had performed for the English, ere Charles came near them, and was granted to them entirely upon that footing, without the least mention of the King in the agreement; that the agreement relative to this money was concluded before there was any treaty respecting his Majesty's person, whether he should go to Scotland or remain in England, and five months before he went from Newcastle to Holmby; that the affair of the money was finally settled in September 2, and the warm debates between the Scotch Commissioners and English Parliament concerning the disposal of Charles's person, did not take place before October following; that, during his stay in the Scotch army, he had repeatedly petitioned the English Parliament for allowance to come to London, or some place near to it, which is much the same with what the Scots yielded to; that

during the months of November, December, and January, the Parliament had laboured to persuade him to a compliance with the propositions of peace; and a few days before he removed to Holmby house, the Scots had offered to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the re-establishment of him on his throne, if he would but do so; and that when the Scotch army returned home, there was no appearance of things taking the turn which they afterwards did; that the Scots entrusted his Majesty's person to the Parliament of England, who were, by duty, by oath, and by interest, as deeply bound to protect him as themselves, and would have done it, had not Charles's trusting of himself to the Sectarian army occasioned their fall, and so hastened his own ruin.

No sooner had the Scots heard that the English army, now under Sectarian management, had his Majesty in their power, than they added the Earls of Loudon and Lanark to their former Commissioners, in order to persuade him to a full compliance with the propositions of peace. Instead hereof, Charles, finding his expectations from the English army disappointed, especially by means of Lanark, attempted to engage the Scots Commissioners to commence a war against the English, in order to his restoration. Hopes of annuities, by which he might relieve his deeply indebted estate, drew Loudon himself into the snare. Returning home about the beginning of February 1648, these Commissioners, chiefly Loudon and Lauderdale, represented to their brethren, that his Majesty had been very ill used by the English Parliament, and could put no trust in the army; that, contrary to their covenant, the interest of religion, and peace of the kingdom,

that Parliament had extended their demands upon him, and had absolutely refused to allow the Scots to concur with them in settling matters with him as their common Sovereign; that, after dissenting from their procedure, they had dealt with Charles to confirm the *solemn league, establish Presbyterian government*, and disallow the *heresies and sects* presently swarming in England; that he is willing that the covenant be confirmed by act of Parliament, providing that none be constrained to take it; that he is willing that Presbyterian government be established for three years, providing that he and his family be allowed the use of the liturgy; that he is willing to concur in an act for the suppression of sectaries and blasphemers, and to have it secured by an act of Parliament; that neither he nor his heirs shall quarrel any for their obedience to the acts of the last triennial Parliament of Scotland, or its committees. Meanwhile, the English Parliament sent down some commissioners to cultivate harmony with the Scotch Parliament, and to notify their intentions to pay speedily, at least part of the L. 200,000 which they owed to their armies, which had served them in England and Ireland.

During these litigations in England, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh in August 1647, had established some directions for secret and family worship; had prohibited persons' withdrawal from public worship in their own congregations;—after a double reading of the Westminster *Confession of faith*, and calling of all such as doubted of any thing in it, to propose their objections to a committee appointed to answer them, had approved it, but explaining part of chap. xxxi. to mean only, that, in extraordinary cases, mini-

sters and other fit persons, by virtue of their office, or by a *mere* call of the Magistrates, picking out particular members, as in the Westminster Assembly, may hold Synods without *any delegation from their churches*; had prohibited the spread of erroneous books, which the English sectaries were inclined to pour into the country; had extracted and approved in eight propositions the principal heads of Gilespy's *Hundred and eleven propositions*, which they had remitted to the consideration of the most famous foreign divines, as well as recommended to the examination of their own ministers and doctors of universities, in order that they may send up their judgment of them to the next Assembly; and had written a letter to their countrymen abroad, informing them of God's mercy's to them, and of their present difficulties, and begging their sympathy and prayers; had formed some overtures for excitement of teachers in universities, and for baptizing children of beggars, &c.; and had appointed some to review the *metre version of the Psalms*, transmitted to them by the Westminster Assembly.

Next year, their Commission had an uncommon struggle with the state. In the beginning of March 1648, the Parliament met, and began to resolve on a war with the English army, in order to rescue his Majesty out of their hands, and restore him to his throne, the Ecclesiastical Commission conceiving, that all his concessions which Loudon had mentioned, were neither satisfactory, nor much to be trusted, especially as most of the officers intended for command in the projected engagement, were too evidently enemies to a covenanted reformation—presented to the Parliament a *remonstrance* against that undertaking.

as dangerous to both church and state. Nor could the Parliament hinder their faithful publication of it, and reading of it in all the churches of Edinburgh. Not long after, the Commission being informed that, contrary to the *large treaty* with the English in 1643, it had been carried in Parliament, to surprise and take Berwick and Carlisle, and place garisons in them, and that Argyll, and fifty-six other members, had protested against it, they besought the Parliament, that nothing might be done before the lawfulness of the war and principal state of the question be agreed upon; that the breaches of the covenant and peace of the kingdoms by the Sectarians should be made evident, and reparations unsuccessfully sought, before any war be commenced; that if war should be found necessary, it might be so stated, as to offend none of the English, that stedfastly adhere to the covenant; and carried on without any concurrence with Papists, Prelatists, or malignants; that his Majesty's concessions should be declared unsatisfactory, and security obtained from him, That he, for himself, heirs, and successors, shall agree to the acts ratifying the solemn league, and establishing *Presbyterian government, the Directory for worship, and Confession of Faith* in all his dominions, and never make any opposition to them; and that none but such as had been faithful to the covenanted cause should be entrusted with the management of public affairs; and that there might be no engagement for war in favours of his Majesty, in which the church should not have the same interest as in the *solemn league*.

After some wrangling, the Parliament, instead of coming to any agreement with the Commis-

sion, reflected highly upon them for meddling with civil affairs, though it is plain these in hand deeply affected their solemn covenant with God, and the establishment of religion in the three kingdoms, and tended to plunge multitudes into eternity in an act of sinning. The principal Synods in the nation, and some Presbyteries in others, solemnly thanked the Commission for their faithfulness, who, being hereby encouraged, boldly insisted that the Parliament should clear the lawfulness of the war before they proceeded any further. For this purpose, the Parliament published a large, but very uncandid, *declaration*, in which they accused the English of several breaches of their former *treaty and solemn league*, and declared their intentions to require the English Parliament to take effectual methods for making all their subjects swear the *solemn league*, and for establishing fully *Presbyterian government*, the *Directory for worship*, and *Confession of Faith*, and causing the same to be every where received; and for suppressing *Socinianism*, *Arminianism*, *Arianism*, *Anabaptism*, *Antinomianism*, *Familism*, *Brownism*, *Independency*, and other heresies and schisms, and for suppressing *Popery*, *Prelacy*, and the *service book*; and that his Majesty be allowed safely to reside in or near London, for the purpose of his Parliament's treating with him, in order to the establishment of religion and peace; and that all the members of Parliament may attend it, and applications be made to his Majesty without any hindrance; that the Sectarian army under General Fairfax be disbanded, and none but such as take the covenant, or are well affected to religion, be hereafter employed, either in the army or to command

in garrisons. They further declared, That they did not intend to make war upon any of the English that adhered to their covenant, but to maintain their liberty; that they would enter into no association with Papists, Prelatists, or others who refused to take the covenant; nor allow any but such as were faithful to it to have any trust, or command in this war; that they would endeavour to rescue his Majesty from the Sectarians, that he might freely concur with his people in promoting the ends of the *solemn league*; that though they would immediately put the kingdom into a posture of defence, they would not begin a war, till the lawfulness of it should be fully cleared, and reparation of injuries unsuccessfully sought in a peaceable manner; and that, in their whole conduct, they would carefully prosecute the ends of the *solemn league* and covenant with England.

Not satisfied with this declaration, the Commission, April 28, remonstrated, That the breach of covenant was not chargeable upon all the English, but merely upon the Sectarians, as it was no less upon the malignants in Scotland; that such as encouraged his Majesty to decline giving satisfaction, relative to his securing of religion, hindered his deliverance; that they could not prove upon the English Parliament any such breaches of treaty as could be sufficient grounds of a war with them; that it would be inconsistent to desire the English Parliament to hold all the refusers of the *solemn league* as enemies to religion and their country, while no such penalty had ever been executed against the shifters of it in Scotland; that they ought not to insist for his Majesty's being allowed to reside in or near Lon-

don, without insisting for his giving satisfaction to his Parliament, concerning the security of their religion and peace of the kingdom; that there was as much need for preventing the rise of a Popish or Prelatical party in the army, as for disbanding the Sectarians; and that the proposed engagement in war with the English, plainly tended to prevent the disbanding of the Sectarian army.—Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the Scotch Parliament transmitted their demands to the English Parliament, and published their above mentioned *declaration*. The Commission, heartily grieved herewith, emitted a declaration, bearing, That they were ready to agree to the nation's engaging in a war with the English, if they were satisfied concerning the sufficiency of the grounds, and the lawfulness of the means for carrying it on. But as things stood, they reckoned the engagement dangerous to the reformed religion, prejudicial to the true interests and liberty of this church, favourable to the Popish, Prelatic, and malignant party, inconsistent with the union of the kingdoms, and the satisfaction of the Presbyterians in England, and therefore contrary to the word of God and our solemn covenants; and that the managers of it pretended zeal against the sectarians, merely for a cloak to the favour which they intended for malignants; and had even lately pled, that Scotland was in no danger from the sectaries. Highly offended with the faithful opposition of the Commission, the Parliament sent letters to the several Presbyteries, complaining of it;—in answer to which the Commission published a *vindication* of themselves.

Several synods, presbyteries, and shires, again petitioned the Parliament, that religion might be secured, and the union of the kingdoms preserv-

ed, and no war commenced without very weighty grounds, maturely considered. The Parliament, after they had framed an answer to these, laid it aside, and pretended to ask the advice of the Commission concerning the proper method of securing religion. After testifying their regard to the Parliament, and to his Majesty's liberty and honour, they advised that these petitions should be granted; that the surprising of Berwick and Carlisle be disclaimed, and no longer continued; that all peaceable methods of treating with England, and supplication to his Majesty be further tried, in order to compose differences; that his concessions mentioned by Loudon be declared unsatisfactory; that they declare against any engagement for restoring him to his house with freedom and safety, which is almost equivalent to his having the exercise of his royal power, before he gave it under his hand and seal, That he shall, for himself and his successors, agree to the acts of Parliament enjoining the *solemn league and covenant*, and fully establishing *Presbyterian government*, the *directory for worship*, and *confession of faith*, in all his dominions, and never make opposition to, or endeavour a change of any of them; that they should make it evident, that they have no intention to enable his Majesty to bring the proceedings of both nations, relative to the *solemn league*, into question, or to abridge the power of his Parliaments; that they should take proper methods to suppress such Papists, Prelatists, or malignants, as had, or might take arms to plunder and murder their fellow subjects; that nothing be done which may infringe the union of the two kingdoms, or disoblige the Presbyterian party in England; that all putting

of such as had been indifferent neutrals, or opposers of a covenanted reformation, into places of power and trust, should be quickly remedied; that there should be no engagement for the war without a solemn oath, in which the church should have the same direction as in the *solemn league*; that such as have been oppressed for not contributing to the levies for the army be refunded, and no such thing permitted for the future; that the profaneness and insolence of soldiers be severely punished; that nothing be enacted detrimental to the liberty of the church, and no arbitrary power entrusted to their officers or agents; or an oath imposed tending to ensnare the consciences of the subjects.

Regardless of these advices, the Parliament appointed an army to be immediately raised under the command of Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Callender as his lieutenant; and laid an enormous tax upon the nation, for defraying the expenses of the war. Argyle, Sutherland, Cassilis, Eglington, Loudon, and Lothian, with many other Lords, Barons, and Burgesses, protested against their *engagement*. Colonels Ker, Strachan, Halket, and other officers, refused to serve in it; and had their places filled with scandalous malignants. Such as refused to pay the new tax, were terribly oppressed and spoiled by soldiers quartered upon them. The Parliament next prepared a *declaration* to be sent into England, recounting all that they thought criminal in the conduct of the sectaries, and pretending that, as they had got no satisfaction to their former demands, they had been necessarily obliged to this engagement in war; that they intended to preserve the reformation of religion as established by law in

Scotland, and to rescue his Majesty from his base imprisonment, that he may with safety and honour come to one of his houses in, or near London, where he may treat with his Parliament; and to restore freedom to his English Parliament, that they, together with the Scotch, might conclude the treaty with their Sovereign, answerably to the petitions presented to him by the city of London, at Oxford and Newcastle; and to procure the disbanding of the army under General Fairfax—and that none but covenanters, and well affected to religion and Presbyterian church government, might hereafter be employed in troops or garrisons. Notwithstanding all these pretences, many notorious malignants were principal agents in carrying on this engagement. Hence the more serious covenanters generally disliked, and, as they had opportunity, opposed it.

The General Assembly, which met July 12, 1648, approved and ratified the proceedings of the late commission. The committee of Estates, which the late Parliament had entrusted with the execution of their designs, demanded, what they thought necessary for securing of religion? The Assembly replied, that they knew no possibility of securing religion, while this unlawful engagement was carried on, since none of the just desires of the late commission had been granted; that it was plainly calculated to break the union of the two kingdoms; that all proper means to prevent a war have been neglected, and malignants and incendiaries have been joined with; that it hath been carried on in the way of polluting men's consciences by unlawful bands and oaths, and of oppressing such in their persons and estates as had been most zealous for the

covenanted interest,—and of remarkable encroachments on the liberty of Christ's church. The committee therefore required them, to demonstrate from the word of God the unlawfulness of their *engagement*, and what interest the church had in the undertaking of wars; in answer to which the Assembly emitted a large *declaration*, plainly illustrating both these points from the scripture. And, as the Parliament had required all the subjects, under pain of being held enemies to their king and country, solemnly, by their oath and subscription, to acknowledge all their acts relative to the engagement to be lawful, and to engage to prosecute the same as a most proper mean of remedying former evils, and of preserving his Majesty's authority, along with the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, the Assembly declared, That a sinful oath, tending to draw the subjects from their former principles and covenant with God, and importing a solemn approbation of acts, which they had not yet seen,—of acts made in opposition to the known mind of the church, and sinful in several respects; and they warned all concerned to forbear swearing of it, under pain of censure; and they earnestly besought the committee of Estates, to consider what guilt they would incur by imposing such a sinful bond. They also remonstrated to his majesty, that his concessions were not satisfactory; and that the present engagement in war was not a proper mean of his deliverance; and that by his former refusals to hearken to their advice, he had occasioned the death of many thousands of his subjects, and the fearful increase of Popery, profaneness, and many other abominations in his kingdom; and they besought

him deeply to repent of his wickedness, secret and open, as a true mean of restoration to his throne.—They appointed all ministers, under pain of censure, to preach against the above engagement and bond, as well as the Sectarian errors, and increasing profaneness. They appointed, that none but elders approved by the minister and session, be admitted into the Assembly as commissioners from burghs ; that commissioners report their whole procedure to the next Assembly at their first meeting ; that no collections for the poor be made in the time of God's worship ; that no deposed ministers be reponed without the consent of the Assembly, or if malignant, to his former congregation ; that forty Highland boys be educated for the ministry at the public expence, in order to plant the vacant congregations in that country ; that all students, at their entry to the college, and others at their admission to the Lord's table, take the covenant ; that *duellers* be censured in much the same manner as *fornicators*. They approved the *Larger and Shorter Catechisms* compiled by the Westminster Assembly, and prohibited an erroneous catechism then published. After consideration of the prevalent sins of that time, they pointed out proper remedies, civil, domestic, and ecclesiastical, and approved several overtures relative to excommunicated persons, Papists, and their children. They returned friendly answers to several letters sent them from the Westminster Assembly, and appointed their commissioners in it to exert themselves to their utmost for promoting a full and fixed uniformity in religion. And, as the times were so critical, they appointed a large commission of 100 ministers, and 60 elders, of

whom 13 ministers, and four elders were declared a quorum.

Notwithstanding all opposition, duke Hamilton, Lanark his brother, and their friends, carried on the *engagement*, and invaded England, still pretending regard to the covenant and Presbyterian government. But so abandoned were many of their soldiers, that they fell upon a multitude of sincere covenanters, when assembled at a sacramental occasion at Machlin, and killed and wounded a number of them. At Carsphearn, they fell upon another assembly employed in sacramental work, and devoured the elements. About the middle of August, their *engagement* issued in the slaughter and rout of their army by Cromwell at Preston, and in imprisonment and death to Hamilton and other commanders of it; and not long after, in the ignominious death of Charles, who had planned and pushed them to it. Sir George Monro had brought his army from Ireland to assist them: but, after murdering a number of his fellow-covenanters in the west, that opposed the *engagement*, Argyle, Cassils, and Lowdon, and their friends, obliged him to return back. After routing the engagers, Cromwell had directly marched his army into Scotland, had not Argyle and his party, who now prevailed in the Committee of Estates, represented to him how earnestly the Assembly, and a considerable body in the Parliament, had opposed the *Hamiltonian engagement* and invasion of England.—In the beginning of October, the Commission of the General Assembly appointed a *renovation of the solemn league and covenant*, with a solemn acknowledgment of preceding breaches of it, and *engagement to duties*, which the Com-

mittee of Estates ratified, without annexing any penalty, and which was pretty generally complied with through the land. Many scandalous clergymen were soon after deposed, and the rest, by frequent inquiries, excited to their work; and, for a year or two, the preaching of the gospel was very remarkably blessed through the land. After publishing a tract against *association with malignants, idolaters*, and the like, and leaving a dying testimony against the same, Mr. G. Gillespy, moderator of the preceding Assembly, died, greatly lamented.

The Committee of Estates called a Parliament, but secluded from it such as had voted for duke Hamilton's *engagement*, many, if not most, of whom professed their willingness to have no more share of the public management. After spending a day in solemn humiliation and fasting, they renewed their covenants with God and one another, as directed by the Commission. They repealed all the acts of the last meeting of Parliament, and of their Committee of Estates, which authorized or promoted Hamilton's *engagement*. They approved the protestation which had been taken against it, and the opposition made to it at Machlin moor. They, by an *act of classes*, and another for *purging the army*, secluded the promoters of it, and all malignant and scandalous persons from all places of power and trust, and even from the army, till they give proper evidence of repentance. They approved the Commission's solemn testimonies against the toleration of errors and sectaries in England. They enacted, That before any future king be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall, by oath, and under his hand and seal,

declare his allowance of the *national covenant*, and of the solemn league, and oblige himself to prosecute the ends of the same, in his station; and that he shall, for himself and his successors, agree to acts of Parliament, enjoining the *solemn league and covenant*, and fully establishing *Presbyterian government*, the *Directory for worship*, *Confession of faith*, and *Catechisms*, as approved by the General Assembly and Parliament,—in all his dominions; and that he shall observe these in his own practice and family, and never make opposition to, or endeavour any change of them; and that he shall leave all counsel and counsellors prejudicial to said religion and covenants, and shall give satisfaction to his Parliament as now constituted, in what other things they find necessary for the civil and religious welfare of the nation;—and agree, that all civil matters be determined by the Parliaments of this kingdom, and all church affairs by the General Assemblies. They ratified three acts of the Assembly and Commission, approving the *larger and shorter Catechisms*, and enjoining the *renovation of the covenant*. They enacted, That drunkenness, profane swearing, scolding, obscene language, uttered or printed, mocking at piety, and drinking of healths, be punished, and the guilty, upon their fourth conviction, to be imprisoned, till they find security for their good behaviour, under pain of L.400 to noblemen, 400 merks to barons, 200 merks to gentlemen, heritors, and burgesses, L.40 to yeomen, and L.20 to servants;—that such as married in a clandestine manner should be imprisoned three months, and be fined, noblemen in L.5000, barons and landed gentlemen in 5000 merks, gentlemen and bur-

gesses in 2000 merks, and others in 500 merks, to be paid before they should be liberated; and that such as, according to the act of 1645, are nominated to lift the fines or inflict corporal punishments on scandalous persons, accept that office, and deliver up the fines to the kirk sessions for the use of the poor, except the tenth part, which is allotted to the officers employed in executing that work;—that going of mills and salt-pans, or fishing of salmon, or other unnecessary labour on the Lord's day, be punished; that all blasphemers, and revilers, and obstinate deniers of God, or of any of the persons of the Trinity, and all worshippers of false gods, cursers and beaters of parents, or guilty of incest, be punished with death; that none but such as are of a blameless conversation, and apparently well affected to the covenanted reformation, be admitted to, or continued in any place of power, or trust, in the state, army, or burghs;—and that all commissions, patents, honours, offices, or gifts, received from his majesty before he give satisfaction to his Parliament, are null and void, and the seekers thereof censurable. They made an act for contributions of assessments on parishes, and for withholding of supply from sturdy beggars, and for relief of such poor as are willing, but unable to work,—and for relief of such as through shipwreck, burning, devastation, or the like, are reduced to poverty. In fine, they abolished patronage as a *Popish corruption*, contrary to the second *Book of discipline*, and to several acts of Assembly, and prejudicial to the liberty of the Christian people, and the free calling and entry of ministers,—and declared, That admission by the Presbytery, upon the call of the congregation,

shall give ministers sufficient right and title to their manses, glebes, and stipends;—meanwhile declaring the patron's right to the tithes as before; and recommending it to the General Assembly to establish a proper rule of calling ministers, giving to Presbyteries and congregations their respective powers in that matter.

This Parliament had scarcely begun their above work, when they received information, that the Sectarian army in England had extruded all the hearty friends of monarchy from their Parliament at Westminster; had brought back his Majesty from the Isle of Wight, to which he had fled from them; and appointed an high court of justice to try him for his life. Shocked with these things, both church and state appointed their commissioners at London to exert themselves to their utmost for preventing his trial. In their remonstrance of January 6th, 1649, these commissioners, in name of the kingdom of Scotland, represented to the House of Commons, the several engagements the two kingdoms had lately come under, with respect to religion and the preservation of his majesty's person; and earnestly insisted, That no violence should be done to him, and nothing at all, without the consent of both kingdoms. Upon the 16th of January, the Commission published a *testimony* against the errors and conduct of the Sectaries, and a *warning* to their fellow covenanters in England, which were presented to the House of Commons, on January 26.—Finding the Sectaries determined to have his Majesty's life, the Scotch commissioners at London, in name of their Parliament, in January, presented to the Speaker of the House of Commons, a solemn protestation against it; and, des-

pairing of success with them, as the army had now modelled them, they, upon the 29th, remonstrated to general Fairfax against the putting of his Majesty to death, as horrid and scandalous. He was nevertheless beheaded next day, pretending to die a martyr for the laws and liberties of his people, of whom his stubbornness, pride, and treachery had produced the terrible oppression, and plunder, and even the death of perhaps *four hundred thousand* in Britain and Ireland.

Informed of his exit, the Scotch covenanters, infatuated with zeal for their royal family, immediately proclaimed Charles, his eldest son, then about eighteen years of age, their King, and promised to defend him according to the *solemn league* and covenant; but declared, that he behoved to give satisfaction concerning religion and the unity of the kingdoms secured by that covenant, before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power; an information of which they transmitted to him at the Hague, by Sir Joseph Douglas, along with a faithful warning from the Commission. And as the English House of Commons had excluded him from their crown, they transmitted to them their proclamation of him, along with a solemn remonstrance, in which they represented how the English Parliament had all along, from 1642, solemnly declared, that they intended no hurt to his Majesty's person, or abridgment of his authority—no commonwealth form of government—or toleration of heretics, blasphemers, or the like;—and remonstrated against the violence done to his late Majesty, and insisted on their proclaiming his son to be their King, and that no toleration should be given to heretics or blasphemers. Highly offended with these free-

doms, the Sectarians, who now ruled as they pleased, imprisoned the Commissioners from Scotland. But, being quickly convinced that this was an infringement of the law of nations, they conveyed them safe to their own country. Meanwhile, the Scotch Parliament had dispatched the Earl of Cassilis and George Winram, along with Messrs. Bailie and Wood, from the church, to obtain proper satisfaction from Charles at the Hague. But Montrose, and a number of English malignants, buoying him with hopes of an unhampered access to Ireland, whence, by the assistance of Ormond and his malignant or Popish friends, he might force his way to the English and Scotch crown, without any conditions, despised the covenanters' proposals.

The General Assembly meeting in July, approved and ratified the deeds of the late Commission, and approved the conduct of their Commissioners which had been sent to deal with his Majesty. They prescribed censures for such as had assisted Montrose, and served in Hamilton's engagement; and that the principal offenders be not re-admitted to communion in sealing ordinances, but by the General Assembly or their Commission, and others by Presbyteries. They published a solemn warning relative to the present dangers, and the necessary duties of ministers and others with respect to them; and particularly the necessity of obtaining proper security from his Majesty relative to religion, and the exclusion of all malignants from places of power and trust, before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power. They wrote a brotherly exhortation to their friends in England, bewailing the broken state of their church and king-

dom, and beseeching and encouraging them to cleave to their duty according to their covenant with God. In a letter to their young King, they declared their detestation of the murder of his father, and lamented that he himself had contemned the representations presented to him by the church's Commissioners;—held an intimacy with Montrose, a perjured murderer of many thousands of his best subjects, and approved his conduct;—and had settled a peace with the Popish murderers in Ireland, and granted them a peace, and the full liberty of their idolatry and other abominations;—and besought him, as he regarded his own and his kingdom's happiness, to submit to the laws of Christ, and the counsels of truth and peace. They prohibited all *promiscuous dancing*, as productive of scandal, immodesty, or lasciviousness. They thanked the Parliament for their abolishing of Patronage; begged that the tithes belonging to the church might not only be applied for ministers stipends, but also to bear other pious expenses in parishes; and they appointed, that in electing of ministers, the Session should be the proper electors; but the members of the congregation should be asked their consent. If the greater part of a congregation dissented from the choice of the Session, unless it was plainly causeless prejudices, the candidate was to be laid aside. But if only a lesser part dissented, except where the grounds were plainly relevant and weighty, the Presbytery should proceed to the trials and ordination, but in such a manner as tended to bring all parties to an harmonious agreement.

Next year, 1650, the Parliament again dispatched the Earls of Cassilis and Lothian, Alex-

ander Brodie, and George Winram, Lords of Session, with Messrs. John Smith and Alexander Jaffray, along with Messrs. John Livingston, James Wood, and George Hutchinson, to Breda, to try if they could persuade their young King to accept of the terms, upon which they had agreed to admit him to exercise his royal power. Partly by the treachery of Lothian and Winram of Libberton, and partly by Charles's expectations that Montrose, whom he had appointed to invade Scotland from the North, with such foreigners as he could get, would procure his unlimited admission, he held off from compliance till the time was almost wholly elapsed. But understanding that D. Lesly had taken Montrose prisoner, with his commission on him, and scattered his 3000 foreign mercenaries; and that Cromwell's success in Ireland had rendered him altogether hopeless of availing himself of that kingdom; and finding, by Libberton's treachery, that the Scotch Committee of Estates had ordered their Commissioners to break off all treaty with him, on account of his empowering Montrose to attack them by violence—he pretended to comply with all their proposals, engaging himself to remove from his counsels all that stood excommunicated by the kirk;—to take the *national covenant* and *solemn league and covenant*, and prosecute the ends of them;—and to ratify and approve all acts of Parliament enjoining *these covenants*, and establishing *Presbyterian government*, the *Directory of worship*, and *Confession of faith*, and *Catechisms*; and that all civil matters should be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments, and all ecclesiastical ones by the General Assemblies. Notwithstanding all this, he

continued till the very last, to use the English liturgy at Breda, in opposition to all that the ecclesiastical Commissioners could say to the contrary. On his passage, he had shewed some unwillingness to take the covenants; but his malignant friends persuaded him to comply. Accordingly, at his arrival in the mouth of the Spey, June 23, 1650, he declared his willingness to swear them; and Mr. Livingston, who had with reluctance, and not without being decoyed into the ship, come along with him, as he thought they were bringing the *plague of God* to their country, after a faithful sermon, administered the *national covenant* and *solemn league* to him, which he swore in the following words subjoined to them: “ I
“ Charles, King of Great Britain, France and Ire-
“ land, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath,
“ in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher
“ of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the
“ *national covenant*, and of the *solemn league and*
“ *covenant* above written, and faithfully oblige
“ myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my sta-
“ tion and calling; and that I, for myself and suc-
“ cessors, shall consent and agree to all acts of
“ Parliament enjoining the *national covenant*, and
“ *solemn league and covenant*, and fully establish-
“ ing *Presbyterial government*, the *directory of wor-*
“ *ship*, the *confession of faith* and *catechisms*, in the
“ kingdom of Scotland, as they were approved by
“ the General Assembly of this kirk, and Parlia-
“ ment of this kingdom; and that I shall give
“ my royal assent to the acts of Parliament en-
“ joining the same in the rest of my dominions; and
“ that I shall observe them in my own practice
“ and family, and shall never make opposition to
“ any of these, or endeavour any change thereof.”

—This oath he immediately subscribed, and in other things submitted as pleasantly as he could, and even parted with the new Duke of Hamilton and with Lauderdale, and other favourites. But hating every thing that looked like strictness in religion, and especially the faithful reproofs, which he received from time to time, he was heartily wearied of his new attendants.

Charles having refused to subscribe and publish an acknowledgment of his own and his father's wickedness, and declaration of his future resolutions, offered to him by the Committee of Estates, and Commission of the General Assembly, many of the members of which exceedingly suspected him, the Commission meeting at the *West kirk* of Edinburgh, August 15, 1650, declared, That this kirk or kingdom did not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest, nor would fight, but merely upon their former grounds and principles, in defending the cause of God and the kingdom, as they had done these twelve years past; and that, as they disclaimed the sin of the King and his house, they would not own him or his interest, but in subordination to God, and so far as he disclaims his own and father's opposition to the work of God and to the covenant—and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they would quickly manifest the same to Cromwel, who, marching to invade their country, had, in papers transmitted to them, charged them with the contrary. The Committee of Estates, that same day, approved and heartily concurred in this declaration of the state of any war for defending his Majesty.—Charles, though heartily sorry, that he could not get his malignant friends into places of power and

trust—to engage the covenanters to withstand Cromwel, who was fast approaching, published a most solemn *declaration* at Dunfermline, August 16, blessing God for recovering him from the snare of his malignant counsellors; confessing and bewailing his own and his father's hearkening to evil counsels, and opposition to the work of reformation, and to the solemn league and covenant, as well as the idolatry of his mother, and toleration of it in their family; and his own encouragement and countenancing of the Irish Papists;—and declaring his deliberate, and judicious, and candid approbation of the *national covenant and solemn league and covenant*, and his firm resolution, in the Lord's strength, to prosecute the ends thereof in his station, really, constantly, and sincerely, all the days of his life; and that, in order to this, he will have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant, or friends but the friends of it; and that, as he now detested all Popery, superstition, idolatry, Prelacy, error, heresy, schism, profaneness, he would, to the utmost of his power, labour to extirpate them from all his dominions; and begging and requiring all such of his subjects, as had formerly opposed the covenants and cause of God, to lay down their enmity, and all regard to human interest, as opposed to the interest and honour of God; and professing that he would only reckon these his best servants and most loyal subjects, who served him, and sought to promote his interests, in subordination to the glory of God, and the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ. Mr. Patrick Gillespie obstested him, in the name of Christ, not to subscribe this declaration, no, not for three kingdoms, if he had the smallest hesitation in his mind concerning

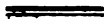
the righteousness of it. But Charles repeatedly declared, that he was *satisfied in his mind with it*, and therefore would subscribe it. Not long after, he solemnly declared his great obligations to the Marquis of Argyle for his faithful endeavours to restore him to his just rights, and promised him his highest favour and friendship, and dignities which he could confer, together with payment of L.40,000 of debt; and, it is said, secretly promised to marry his daughter.

After victory had, for eight days, seemed to incline to the side of the Scots army, commanded by David Lesly, the committee of war obliged him to leave the hill, where he had advantageously posted his troops, in order to prevent Cromwel's escape from Dunbar, Cromwel, with his half dead forces, overpowered the larger army of the Scotch covenanters, and entirely routed them, Sept. 3. No doubt Cromwel, who had been before in such desperatelike circumstances, mightily rejoiced in his victory: but perhaps not so much as Charles did over the death and captivity of so many of his covenanting subjects, that seemed so bent to restrain his vicious inclinations. After two days spent in solemn fasting, and after he had relinquished the covenanters at Perth, in order to throw himself into an army of malignants, which he expected Middleton had raised for him in the North, and being obliged by disappointment to return to Perth, Charles was solemnly crowned at Scoon, January 1, 1651, and again swore the covenants, as he had done about six months before. And not long after, he and his Parliament, in June, ratified all his preceding treaties, transactions, engagements, and actions, and enacted them into a perpetual

law: and it was expressly provided, That in all succeeding Parliaments, every member, before they entered on business, should subscribe the covenant: and without this, the constitution of the Parliament was declared void and null.



CHAPTER VI.



By the rash Admission of K. Charles II.—by public Resolutions of the Commission to please him—by his unlimited Restoration—Re-establishment of Prelacy—Imposition of sinful Oaths and Declarations, and Bonds—And terrible Persecution of all faithful Adherents to their Covenants with God—and even by his Indulgencies of the less Faithful—and by the Labours of K. James VII. to introduce Popery, the once attained Reformation is almost entirely ruined, between 1651 and 1688.

THESE solemn transactions of Charles and his malignant friends, were but a scene of shocking dissimulation. In consequence of the route at Dunbar, and of a lesser defeat at Hamilton a little after, it was pretended, that the English could not be resisted, unless all able to bear arms should be raised without distinction; and Charles and his Parliament at Perth, required the *quorum* of the Commission, which had met upon a sudden call at that place, December 14, 1650, to determine what persons might be admitted to rise in arms to assist the standing forces against the ar-

mies of the English sectaries, who, contrary to the *solemn league and covenant*, had most unjustly invaded, and were destroying the kingdom? To this the Commission replied, That, in this case of so great necessity, they could not be against raising all able to bear arms, excepting excommunicated, forfeited, or notoriously profane or flagitious persons; or who had been long continued and inveterate opposers of the covenant and cause of God; providing always, that none should be put into such trust and power, as may be prejudicial to the cause of God; and that such officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and particularly such as have suffered in former wars, be preferred. In consequence of this *resolution*, several of the general officers, and more than half of the colonels employed were malignants, and not a few of them such as had been with Montrose.—These proceedings were exceedingly offensive to many ministers and Presbyteries, particularly to those of Stirling and Aberdeen, which represented their dissatisfaction to the next meeting of the Commission. For their public testimonies against them, Messrs. Guthry and Bennet of Stirling, were called before Charles and his *committee of Estates* at Perth. But they, by repeated protestation, declined the jurisdiction of his Majesty and his Committee as not proper judges in matters of doctrine, which pertained to the church. Meanwhile, the Commission, provoked with the opposition of ministers and Presbyteries to their answer, published a vindication of it, prohibited all ministers or preachers to speak or write against it, and ordained Presbyteries to censure such as opposed it; and, to prevent their being members, ordained all such as

opposed it, to be cited as scandalous to the next Assembly at St. Andrew's.

Highly pleased, that he had thus sent the covenanting clergy a tearing of one another, and especially trampling the strict party, whom he most heartily hated, under their feet, he, and the malignants, whom he had got into the army, in order that they and their friends might get into the judicatures, required the Commission to determine, whether, for the more effectual prosecution of the *public resolutions* for the defence of the King and kingdom, such could lawfully be members of the Committee of Estates, who were debarred from public trust by the *act of classes*, providing they have since satisfied the kirk for their offence, and been admitted to enter into covenant? And whether it would be sinful to repeal the act of classes? To these the Commission replied, That as their solemn covenants and declarations mentioned as grounds, in the *act of classes*, did not particularly determine what time such persons should be excluded from places of trust, for by-past offences, but only bind to the due punishing of offenders, and to purge judicatories and places of power and trust, and to endeavour, according to the law of God, to have them filled only with such as are of known affection to the cause of God, and of a blameless, Christian conversation—nothing hindered the Parliament to admit such secluded persons to be members of the Committee of Estates, and to take off the censures inflicted upon them by the act of classes, providing they have satisfied the church for their offences, and have renewed and taken the covenant, and be qualified for such places, according to the word of God, and late *acknowledgment of*

sins, and engagement to duties. In consequence of this answer, the act of classes was repealed, and multitudes of malignants and profane persons, upon a mock profession of repentance, were admitted members of Parliament and Committee of Estates, and into places of power and trust, and soon had the whole management of the nation in their hands. Thus multitudes *then, and ever since,* have been admitted to be the *ministers of God for good* to the nation, in a way of trampling on the law of God, and plain violation of our solemn covenants with him. No wonder, therefore, that so many of them prove a curse to us instead of a blessing. Nor is it any wonder, that the synod of Glasgow, and especially the forces of the five south-western shires, presented such *remonstrances* to the Commission and Committee of Estates at Perth, against the rash admission of Charles to his crown, without any proof of his sincerity, and against all junction with his favourite malignants, the last of which Charles and his Committee of Estates voted to be *treasonable*: but, about fifteen members, who disliked the paper itself, dissented.

As the Commission, to maintain their own ground, had enacted, that none who opposed their resolutions should be admitted members of their ensuing Assembly, and had wrote circular letters to Presbyteries for that effect, and to cite the more active opposers as pannels to the bar, their own party punctually obeyed them. In Presbyteries where they had a majority, none but friends of the *resolutions* were chosen for their Commissioners; and where they were the minority, they either protested against the choice, or withdrew and elected one by themselves. When the As-

sembly met at St. Andrew's, July 18, 1651, a considerable body of ministers presented a petition, earnestly beseeching them, That, as the act and letter of the Commission had hindered the free election of Commissioners, by which many of the most eminent abilities, and constant faithfulness and zeal, had been secluded, and as many elections were questionable, on account of their not being made in due order, or of persons qualified according to the constitutions of this church; and as many Commissioners were hindered from attendance by the English troops, who were masters of almost all the country south and westward of the Forth—the meeting might be adjourned for a time, and the act and letter of the Commission declared no bar of electing such for members as remain unsatisfied with the *public resolutions*; and that it might be recommended to Presbyteries to elect men of approved abilities and integrity, against whom there could be no exception by the acts and constitutions of this church; and that, in the mean time, a solemn fast be observed through the whole land in order to entreat the Lord to shew the causes of his contending; and that by his giving light on all hands, he would graciously heal their divisions. The prevailing party, many of whom had been long galled with the faithfulness and credit of the *anti-resolutions*, scorned to regard this request; but, having constituted themselves, and resolved to proceed to business, sustained the elections of such Commissioners as they hoped would favour the *resolutions*, and of as few others as possible. Their opponents therefore solemnly protested, that the meeting could not be held a *free and lawful* General Assembly of the church of Scotland—in re-

gard, that the free election of Commissioners had been prelimited by the letter and act of the Commission above mentioned; in regard many Commissioners could not attend on account of the motions of the English army in the country; and in regard that many of the Commissioners of the preceding Assembly had betrayed their trust, and had, in their remonstrances and papers, stirred up the civil magistrate against their brethren who remained dissatisfied with their *public resolutions*; and who, by their above mentioned act and letter, had prelimited the freedom of the court, were admitted members of it, and their moderator chosen to be moderator of it, notwithstanding they had been regularly and timeously excepted against as not admissible, till their proceedings should be tried and approved by the Assembly; and in regard, that his Majesty, by his letter, and his Commissioner, by his speech, have excited them to persecuting measures against such as remain unsatisfied with the proceedings of the late Commission, before they be tried and approved by the Assembly itself: And they protested in their own name, and of all ministers, ruling elders, and others, in the church of Scotland, that should adhere to them, That, as this meeting of Assembly was not *free, lawful, or valid* in its constitution, they had no power of jurisdiction in determining controversies—making acts—emitting declarations—judging protests, appeals from, or proceedings of inferior judicatories—censuring persons or paper—or in issuing forth Commissions: And particularly they protested, That they might not proceed to approve or justify the deeds of the late Commission, which contained many things contrary to the trust commit-

ted to it, in allowing and carrying on a conjunction with malignants, and bringing them into places of power and trust, in the army and judicatories, contrary to the *word of God, solemn league and covenant, late acknowledgment of sins and engagement to duties*, and to the constant tenor of former declarations, warnings, remonstrances, causes of humiliation, supplications, acts, and constitutions of this church; and further protested, That all their determinations, acts, ratifications, declarations, sentences, censures, or commissions, should be held *null and void*, no way binding on the church of Scotland—and that it should be free for themselves and all such as adhered to them, to exercise their ministry, and enjoy their Christian liberty according to the word of God, and our covenants, and other acts and constitutions of this church; and that it shall be free for them to choose Commissioners, and meet in a free, lawful General Assembly, when the Lord shall give opportunity for it. Lord Warriston, by a letter to this Assembly, represented, in a multitude of constitutions of this church between 1560 and 1650, how faithful ministers had withstood the civil magistrate's judging of their doctrine by themselves, and how, by protestations, the Lord had, from time to time, kept up a testimony for his truths and cause; and he protested against the Assembly's ratification of the paper, in which the late Commission had approved to the Parliament their confinement of the ministers of Stirling, for their preaching against the countenancing of malignants, or of any other paper of theirs, prejudicial to the cause of Christ.

Regardless of all opposition from their pious opponents, the Assembly pushed forward in establishing themselves, and gratifying Charles and his malignant dissemblers. They deposed *three*, and suspended *one*, of the ministers who had protested against the validity of their constitution, and ratified all the proceedings of the late Commission. Their opponents therefore quickly published their proofs, that this meeting was no free lawful General Assembly of the church of Scotland, *viz.* 1. That the Commission, by their act and letter to Presbyteries, had plainly restricted the freedom of the election of the members of it, in directing them to choose none but such as concurred with the *public resolutions*; and had intimated, that dissenters from these *resolutions* ought to be looked on, not as fit to be members, but as transgressors to be cited as pannels; had declared, that, if any such should be chosen, they would not be admitted to be judges, but obliged to answer at the bar as guilty offenders; and that Presbyteries, which should choose such, should be looked upon as disobedient contemners of the public order of the kirk. 2. That many, who had been excepted against, as guilty of betraying their trust, and of a scandalous apostacy from their sworn reformation, and conspiring with the enemies of our religion,—had, contrary to the constitutions and former practice of this church, been sustained members, without trying their conduct, the facts and sinfulness of which was offered to be proved; and even been admitted to judge of the relevancy of the objections offered against their being sustained judges. 3. There was no proper freedom of debate on the princi-

pal points necessary to be handled, as the Commission had stirred up the civil magistrate against their brethren who disapproved their *public resolutions*; in consequence of which the ministers of Stirling had been confined, and the Parliament had ordered all such to be proceeded against as enemies to religion and the kingdom. The Commission had, by their warnings and letters, stirred up Presbyteries to censure them, or cite them to the Assembly as scandalous transgressors, and many of them had been cited accordingly. The king, by his letter, and his commissioner, by his speech, had stirred up the Assembly to take such severe methods with them, as might deter others from ever doing the like:—all which the Assembly had first connived at, and then approved.

4. Persons were not allowed to speak their mind in this Assembly, and the letter of Lord Warriston, who was an elected commissioner, and had been singularly faithful and active, and acquainted with the constitutions of this church, was obstinately refused a reading.

5. On account of the roving bands of the English, and even of the Scotch army in the heart of the country, many members could not attend, and none at all from nine or ten Presbyteries; and, even in their return home, his Majesty and his Committee of Estates had apprehended and confined severals, because they had not shewed themselves friendly enough to the *public resolutions*.

6. That the members of the late Commission, before any approbation of their proceedings, were admitted as judges of a protestation, which insisted, That these proceedings should not be ratified, because contrary to the word of God, and their solemn covenants and constitutions, and in judging of

the Protestors, in order to censure. Nay, that the committee, which managed the condemnation of the protestation, chiefly consisted of members of the Commission. The Resolutioners, for whom it is shocking to find not only Bailie, but Dickson and Douglas, zealous advocates, published a vindication of their Assembly and conduct, and condemned the above mentioned protestation as highly criminal. But their reasonings were sufficiently refuted by their opponents.

Charles and his army being entirely routed at Worcester by the English forces, Sept. 3, 1651, such as had been appointed members of the Commission by the Assembly 1650, and sundry of their friends, who disliked the public resolutions, soon after drew up a Representation of the *causes of God's wrath* against the nation, and an *acknowledgement of the sins of the ministry*, the most full and candid, perhaps, that ever was published in the Christian church. In their *Causes of God's wrath*, they mention, and illustrate by instances and aggravations, and by many scripture proofs of their sinfulness and ruinous influence, the following, *viz.* Gross ignorance ; looseness and profanity in opposition to all God's commandments ; the despising and neglecting of Jesus Christ, and his word and ordinances ; neglect of family religion and the power of godliness, or even loathing and bearing it down ; base love of the world, issuing in covetousness and oppression, and even perjuries ; abuse and prostitution of the public faith of the kingdom ; hypocritical, carnal, and selfish prosecution of covenanting, and other necessary and religious duties ; deep security, impenitence, obstinacy, and incorrigibleness under manifold signs and tokens of the Lord's anger ;

fearful backslidings from attained reformation and covenant engagements, in falling from once attained singleness and honesty of heart, fervency, zeal for God, spiritual liveliness, tenderness of conscience, and purity of conversation ;—in some falling off more secretly, and others more openly to the malignant party, headed by Montrose, and afterward by duke Hamilton ;—in neglecting, hindering, or condemning the purging of the judicatories and army in 1649, and afterward, according to covenant engagements ;—in agreeing to invest, and actually investing the king with the government of the nation, notwithstanding many clear evidences of his disaffection and enmity to the work and people of God ;—in refusing manifold discoveries of guilt given in testimonies of Synods, Presbyteries, and other remonstrances and representations ;—in the *public resolutions* of both kirk and state, for bringing malignants into the army and into places of power and trust ;—in joining in arms with the forces of the king, after the malignants had the principal management of them, and were by them carrying on their own ends ;—the prelimiting and corrupting of the General Assembly,—rati-fying former defections, and commencing persecution against the faithful opposers thereof,—In the *Acknowledgement*, they point out the sins of ministers, before their entrance into their office,—in their entering into it, and during their continuance in it,—in their private and their social conduct,—in their ministerial work, preaching of the gospel, dispensing the sacraments, visiting families and sick, catechising, ruling and censuring, and in respect of public matters.

Notwithstanding General Monk had subdued these parts of the nation which Cromwel had left unconquered, and all the counties had, on the 2d April, 1652, acknowledged the sovereignty of the English, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh in July. Lord Warriston, Messrs. Andrew Cant, John Livingston, Samuel Rutherford, and thirty-two others, presented to them a representation, protest, and proposals signed by sixty-seven ministers, and ninety-five ruling elders, probationers, and others, in which they lament, The great inward and open apostacy from once attained reformation, and that an approbation of the *public resolutions* was now considered as the principal qualification of candidates for the holy ministry, or of screening scandalous ministers from censure, and that notwithstanding the changed circumstances of the kingdom by the prevalence of Cromwel and his sectaries, and the complete rout and flight of King Charles, so much use had been made of the authority of the last year's Assembly, begun at St. Andrew's, and thereafter removed to Dundee;—and earnestly and solemnly beseeching them, That since many commissioners were restrained from attendance, and the far greater part of the commissions of those that had come up, were controverted by dissents and protests at their election; and, since their former conduct had so much hindered reformation, and the edification of souls,—they would not constitute themselves into an Assembly, but appoint a free and friendly conversation, in order to remove difficulties, and fall on some healing overtures. And they laid before them the following Proposals for removing offences,

and restoring mutual harmony and confidence, 1. That they will give proper evidence of their approbation of, and adherence to the *national covenant* and *solemn league*, late *acknowledgment of sins* and *engagement to duties*, and other laudable acts of uncontroverted Assemblies, and act according to them in dispensing of sealing ordinances, censuring offenders, or absolving penitents. 2. That it be considered, how, after our sad defection and fearful judgments, we may honour the Lord, obtain his favour, and prevent like apostasy from him. 3. That a proper method be established for securing against error, heresy and schism on the one hand, and against the danger of malignancy on the other; and that proper marks be fixed, by which malignants may be known and judged. 4. That proper methods be taken, according to the rules of this church, for purging out intruders and scandalous persons from the ministerial office; and that none be hereafter admitted, but such as have the *positive* qualifications required by the word of God and constitutions of this church. 5. That proper rules be fixed and practised for censuring of scandals, and debarring the ignorant and profane from the Lord's table. 6. That care be taken, that none be absolved from censure, but such as give that evidence of their repentance, which the word of God and constitutions of this church require. 7. That an effectual course be taken to prevent further hurt from the controverted constitutions and procedure of the Assembly at St, Andrew's and Dundee, and for securing the right constitution of the Assemblies in time coming.

These requests and proposals being altogether disregarded, they presented another paper, in

which they observe, how they had been contemned ; how an Assembly indicted by the null meeting of Dundee, had been pretended to be the only method of healing their divisions ; how these, once hearty promoters of Prelacy, having gotten the ascendant in judicatories, had more than ever manifested their contempt of their covenant engagements, and covenanted reformation,—and had become persecutors of such as were endeavouring faithfully to adhere to the Lord and his cause, according to their solemn vows :—they declare their adherence to their former testimonies against their apostacy, and protest, That the constitution and acts of this Assembly shall be held *null and void*, and not binding by virtue of any authority derived from them. 1. Because it derived its indiction and authority from the pretended Assembly of St. Andrew's and Dundee last year. 2. It is for the most part constituted of the same kind of persons as it, who have begun, supported, and carried on a course of defection, contrary to the word of God, and the covenants and constitutions of this church. 3. Because, by the act of that pretended Assembly, last year, which required all Presbyteries and Synods to inflict censures upon all ministers, probationers, students, and private Christians, who opposed the *public resolutions*, and did not acquiesce in their acts,—all opposers are rendered incapable of election, and in consequence of it, several Synods and Presbyteries, in their approbation of the deeds of that Assembly, had made several prelimitations. 4. Many Presbyteries had refused to send up commissioners to this meeting, as a General Assembly of the church of Scotland ; and the election of such as have come up as commis-

sioners, is generally controverted.—Regardless of all these things, the Assembly proceeded to business, and enacted, That scandalous ministers or others should be duly restored to their office and church fellowship, not without evidence of thorough repentance; and that none should be licensed to preach the gospel, or ordained to be ministers or ruling elders, or be commissioned to Presbyteries or Synods, before they give it under their hand, that they approve of the *public resolutions*, or at least will never make any opposition to them:—but refused to approve a declaration in favours of Independency and toleration of errors, which some of the English had presented to them.—Finding the Scotch clergy extremely attached to their king, Cromwel would not allow them to hold any more General Assemblies; and sometimes his officers drove them out of their Synods. This did the less hurt, as the resolutioners, in their courts, chiefly aimed at supporting their own authority, and crushing their protesting brethren.

Deprived of civil assistance from Charles and his malignant favourites, to persecute the *protestors* by fines, imprisonment, or death, the public resolutioners persecuted them with manifold reproaches, as ruiners of their king and country,—as favourers of the English sectaries and their usurpations,—as renters of the church, and the like; and laboured to their utmost to keep these of their principles from any ministerial charges, which, in divers places, occasioned a protesting minister and a resolutioner in the same congregation. So terrible were their torrents of reproach and calumny, that even Principal Bailie, notwithstanding all his coolness, prudence, piety,

and learning, appears, in his letters, ready to receive and spread ill-grounded calumnies, to blacken the characters of his most eminent, and, a little before, dearly beloved brethren. The uncommonly meek and calm Mr. Guthrie of Stirling he represents as a kind of forward flaming fire-brand; the almost too peaceful Mr. Livingston as a violent pusher; the pious and learned Mr. Simson of Airth as an arrant fool; holy Rutherford, and uniting Durham and Blair as working the ruin of the church; great M'Ward as guilty of being Rutherford's servant; and pious Andrew Gray and Hugh Binning, whose sermons the Lord then, and since, hath so remarkably blessed, as romantic, new-fashioned, and unsubstantial preachers; and in short, the protestors' settlements of ministers, carriage in judicatories, and at solemn fasts, and sacramental occasions, which were attended with such marvellous powers from on high, as a scene of disorder, pride, and selfishness.

But the more their brethren reproached and persecuted them as they could, the more the Lord countenanced their labours, and made them sing as in the days of their youth, about 1638 and 1649. Remarkably warned of, and dreading times of restraint, they were exceedingly diligent in their ministrations, and these were attended with amazing success. Multitudes of the most serious attended their many *solemn fasts* and their sacramental occasions; and so marvellous was the influence they felt, that they were often in a kind of spiritual trance the whole time. After one sacramental occasion, about sixty of the aged hearers earnestly applied themselves to learn, that they might *read* the word of God.—“ I have been many years” says Mr. Kirkton in his MS. Me,

moirs "in a parish, where I never heard an oath; and one might have rode many miles without hearing one. In a great part of the country, one could not have lodged in a family, where God was not daily worshipped by reading, signing of Psalms, and prayer. People were generally so sober, that the inn-keepers complained of the ruin of their trade." The Lord also gave them peculiar favour in the sight of the English invaders, who relished their unfavourable apprehensions of King Charles, and his malignants, Prelatists, and Papists—and repeatedly offered them the government of the country, which they always refused. And indeed none were more zealous against compliance with Cromwel and his secretaries, or for continued praying for Charles, than Lord Warriston, Mr. James Guthry, and other principal men among the *protestors*. Even Argyle fell under their frown for some involuntary compliances that he had made.

The English had the whole civil government of the nation in their hands. No newly placed minister could plead in law for his stipend without a warrant from some of their judges. The English Parliament even gave their judges and sequestrators a power to put out scandalous ministers or teachers in universities, and prohibited ministers' public praying for Charles, as their King, under pain of losing their stipend. This both protestors and resolutioners refused to comply with; and such was their zeal for their wicked and treacherous Prince, that the Lord's Supper was not dispensed for some years in Edinburgh and several other places, because they scrupled to admit the magistrates to it, who had been obliged to crouch under the English con-

querors. By means of Durham, Blair, and some other pacificators, the protestors and resolutioners had several conferences in order to agreement in 1655; and the matter was carried up before Cromwel, who had usurped the government of Britain; but without any effect. Wearied of the scrupulosity of the protestors, and courted with large offers by Sharp, afterward archbishop, in name of the resolutioners, he gave both parties an equal liberty. As he indulged the sectaries, which abounded in his time, with liberty to spread their principles, and to restrain the Presbyterians from foisting into their causes of fasting any thing in favours of Charles or against himself or his government, had taken the power of appointing general fasts, and fixing the causes thereof next to wholly into his own hands—Rutherford and sixteen other protestors, in the counties of Fife and Perth, emitted a solemn *testimony* against these things, and in behalf of their covenanted reformation.

During the confusions which happened after Cromwel's death in 1658, both protestors and resolutioners appeared pretty calm, and agreed to bury their differences.—Instigated by Messrs. Robert Douglas, and James Sharp, Monk, who had commanded the English forces in Scotland for several years, undertook to restore Charles to his throne, and, by the vilest perjury and treachery, got it accomplished. Charles himself was wearied of his miserable and pinched circumstances abroad, and stuck at no dissimulation by letters, to persuade the nation of his virtues and good intentions. The nobles at home disdained crouching to Englishmen of no rank in the world. The subjects in general were tired of an unset-

tled government. Such as thought they had served Charles, though but in pillaging their neighbour's houses, expected that he would richly reward them: his friends in general highly extolled his excellencies. And though, in his travels, he had solemnly professed himself a Papist, some divines represented him as the great instrument by which God would fulfil the promises of Antichrist's destruction. Sharp, whom the resolutioners chose for their agent to concert matters with General Monk and Charles, and to take care that no injury might be done to their church, notwithstanding his most solemn professions of sincerity, betrayed them, and concerted with Charles how to introduce Episcopacy, in reward of which Charles gave him twenty chalders of corn, and the archbishoprick of St. Andrew's; and, in the mean time, stirred them up against the protestors, whom he represented as abhorred by his Majesty; so that it is hard to say if the Prelatic persecution made their circumstances a whit worse than the resolutioners would have made them.

Convinced that the protestors would oppose their introduction of Prelacy, Charles and Sharp heartily agreed to ruin the principal of them as quickly as possible. Charles therefore gave orders to imprison the Marquis of Argyle, Lord Warriston, Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh, and Sir John Chiesly, who shewed the most bold opposition to the beheading of his father; while he advanced to honour Sir John Fletcher, who had, among the first, abjured himself, and Middleton and Sharp, who had shewed not a little forwardness in taking the *engagement* of fidelity to the English commonwealth.—Some-

time after, a solemn thanksgiving for Charles's restoration, at Edinburgh, the afternoon of which was spent in horrid drunkenness, debauchery, and madness—the Committee of Estates appointed by the Parliament in 1651, all the members of which had concurred with their Sovereign in taking the *national covenant* and *solemn league*, and some of them had advised him to make that *solemn declaration* at Dunfermline, August 16, 1650, met on the 2d of August 1660.—Finding that the resolutioners would neither join with their protesting brethren to form a supplication to his Majesty, nor form one by themselves, Mr. James Guthry, and nine other ministers, and two elders, met in a private house in Edinburgh, to form a draught of a supplication to be laid before a larger meeting of their brethren, particularly the synod of Glasgow. In this draught, they represented to his Majesty, how hateful the procedure of the late usurpers had been to them, in offering violence to the Parliament of England, in murdering his royal father, and in secluding himself from his government, and in their impious encroachments upon the kingdom of Jesus Christ, &c.—how thankfully they acknowledged the Lord's signal preservation of his Majesty's person, and in restoring him to his throne;—how they did, and resolved to pour forth their fervent supplications to God for him; and hoped, that he would protect, countenance, and encourage them as their gracious Sovereign—what dangers threatened religion and the work of reformation in these kingdoms, from the unremitted endeavours of Papists, Prelatists, and malignants on the one hand, and of the sectaries on the other; and therefore humbly besought his Majesty to

employ his royal power for the preservation of the reformed religion, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government in the church of Scotland; and for the reformation of religion in England and Ireland;—and that all places of trust might be filled with such as have taken the covenant, and are of approved integrity and known affection to the cause of God;—and that his Majesty would remove the *ceremonies* and *service book* from his church and family, and from other places of his dominions, and publicly signify his approbation of the covenant, into which he had so solemnly entered, and of his purpose to adhere to it—as it was the desire of their soul, that he might be like David, a man according to God’s own heart, and to Solomon, of an understanding heart to judge the Lord’s people, &c. The committee, hearing of their meeting, caused apprehend them all, except one elder that escaped, and without hearing them, imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence the Parliament next year liberated them all, except Mr. Guthry. Next day the committee emitted a proclamation against all unlawful meetings, without his Majesty’s special authority, and against all seditious petitions and remonstrances, as every faithful one was now called.

By a flattering letter directed from Charles to the resolutioners of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which he promised to support their cause, and maintain their religion as by law established;—by a proclamation against Rutherford’s *Lex rex*, and the *causes of God’s wrath*, as containing many things injurious to his Majesty, and laying the foundation and seeds of rebellion, and the burning of what copies they could find, at Edinburgh,

by the hangman;—and by a proclamation against *remonstrants* and their *adherents*;—and by the confinement or imprisonment of some gentlemen or ministers, that they might have no influence upon the elections for the ensuing Parliament, or citing them to it as criminals—preparations was made for its being wholly complaisant. Great care was taken that none should be elected commissioners, but such as should in all things be subservient to the will of the court. For this reason, it seems none else could be found fit in the burgh of Lanark, but their *piper*. And care was taken to have the elections of those that were otherwise disposed set aside. The most part of the members were absolutely infamous, who wallowed in profaneness, whoredom, and drunkenness. Only Loudon, Cassilis, Sutherland, Crawford, Borthwick, Torphichen, and a few other old covenanters, who often dissented from the deeds of the rest, retained their wonted sobriety. And indeed, drunkenness, whoredom, cursing, and blasphemy, were now reckoned badges of loyalty; and piety, or even common gravity, a mark of rebellion. Charles himself appears to have been a profligate atheist, abandoned to profane swearing, drunkenness, and whoredom, and capable of the most base dissimulation. Sharp, his director and agent, was chiefly remarkable for activity, craft, and dissimulation. Such as were intimately acquainted with him reckoned him a downright atheist, who affected to believe that there was neither God, heaven, nor hell; he used no private prayer, and scarcely had prayer in his family once a-month; he lived, who knows how long, in whoredom with one Isabel Lindsay, and, with his own hand, strangled the child which

she bare to him. And there is not a little ground to believe, that he had entered into a solemn compact with the devil, in order to preserve his life and carry on his designs.

The Parliament having met on the 21st of January, 1661, after a faithful sermon from Mr. Robert Douglas, would choose their after preachers for themselves; who, by their fulsome harangues, excited them to render his Majesty absolute, and to establish some greater authority in the church to keep her ministers in order. Highly pleased with such stuff, the Parliament appointed a new *oath of allegiance*, acknowledging the King's supremacy over all persons, and in *all causes*. They enacted, That no conventions, leagues, or bonds, should be made without his Majesty's consent, and prohibited the renewing of the solemn league and covenant, or any other covenants or public oaths concerning the government of the church or kingdom, without his special warrant and approbation; and appointed all persons in public offices to swear the *oath of allegiance or supremacy* before mentioned, and subscribe the *declaration* asserting his Majesty's prerogative; bearing, that it was his and his successors' sole right, to choose and appoint officers of state, privy counsellors, and lords of session;— and to call, hold, and dissolve all Parliaments and other conventions of the states; that no acts of Parliament are binding without his special approbation or commission; that the power of making peace or war doth only reside in him, and his heirs and successors; that it is *high treason* for any subjects to rise or continue in arms without his authority, or to meet for determining any matters, civil or ecclesiastical, except in

the ordinary judgments, or to make leagues and bonds, without his special consent; that the solemn league and covenant, and all treaties following upon it, are *not obligatory* upon any of the subjects of this kingdom; and that none could lawfully require the renewing of said covenant, or any other covenant, or renew the same, without his Majesty's special warrant and approbation: They declared the Convention of Estates 1643, which enjoined the solemn league and covenant, and all the Parliaments between 1640 and 1649 inclusively, *void and null* in their very *constitution*, and so their deeds of no authority. They declared, that the Protestant religion was settled as before 1638, and the government of the church should be secured as his Majesty found most proper. They appointed the 29th of May to be kept as a *yearly thanksgiving* to God; and by the preamble of this act, they laboured to bring in God and all the subjects as approvers of their forementioned acts, and as solemn reproachers of the whole covenanted work of reformation. And, in fine, they restored Patronages, and required all presentees to take the above *oath of allegiance and declaration*. The Parliament confirmed their statutes with the blood of the Marquis of Argyle, whose estate Middleton the president expected, and of Mr. James Guthry, and with the harrassment, imprisonment, or banishment of his fellow petitioners, and other protestors;—most of whom had suffered for their attachment to his Majesty, during Cromwel's usurpation. Had not God removed Rutherford by a triumphant death, he had also been sacrificed. Meanwhile, by the influence of the resolutioners, and by the court's dissolution of synods, and by the general fainting

of ministers, or their divisions among themselves, not one judicial testimony was lifted up against the wickedness of the Parliament in Scotland.

After the rise of the Parliament, Charles, instigated by Middleton and Sharp, and assured that the best part of the nation earnestly wished it, and that not so much as twenty of the resolutioners would oppose it,—by a proclamation, founded on his newly established supremacy,—established Episcopalian government. Sharp was made archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Fairfoul of Glasgow, under whom twelve others were made bishops. None of them had the least appearance of seriousness, except Leighton of Dumblain. Meanwhile the Earl of Tweeddale was imprisoned for some words he had spoken in favours of Mr. Guthry, and his not voting for his death. The privy council emitted a proclamation, prohibiting the election of any for magistrates or counsellors in burghs, that were not hearty for bishops and the king's arbitrary power. And to prevent the printing or spread of such scandalous and seditious papers, as Argyle's and Guthry's dying words, the *Covenanters' Plea*, &c. they prohibited the printing of any books or papers, without warrant from the king or Parliament. They soon after prohibited all ecclesiastical meetings in Synods, Presbyteries, and sessions, till authorised by the archbishop and bishops. Presbyteries were prohibited to ordain ministers; and if they but begged leave to represent their grievances, it was held seditious or treasonable. Lord Loudon, and soon after Mr. Bailie, died of grief, for the alterations they saw made in both church and state. Messrs. Dickson, Douglas, and Wood, too late, became sensible of their mistake in sup-

porting the *public resolutions*, while others were fretted to see the pre-apprehensions of the protestors so fearfully verified, and to hear themselves blamed by them for bringing matters to this dreadful condition.

The Parliament meeting on May 8, 1662, admitted the newly consecrated bishops to their seats with great pomp and ceremony; and then re-established the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as founded upon his Majesty's inherent supremacy over the church;—declared it high treason for subjects, on any pretence, to enter into leagues or covenants, or take up arms against the king or any commissioned by him; and that the *national covenant*, as explained in 1638, and the *solemn league and covenant* were *unlawful oaths, no way binding* on such as had sworn them;—and repealed all acts civil and ecclesiastical approving these covenants; particularly the seditious meeting of the Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, and all the acts and deeds thereof; and declared, that if any spoke, wrote, printed, or prayed against his majesty's supremacy over the church, or against the Episcopalian government now established, he should be incapable of any public trust. They next appointed all those ministers, who had been ordained since 1649, many of whom had suffered much for their attachment to Charles, under Cromwel, to get presentations from their patrons, and renouncing their former ordination, to receive admission from their bishops; and that all ministers, under severe penalties, should attend their bishop's Synod, and assist him in all things he required; and that all masters of colleges, who did not submit to *Prelacy*, should be turned out,

and none be allowed to preach, keep schools, or teach children of quality, without the bishop's licence. They further appointed all persons in public trust, to subscribe a *second declaration*, bearing, That they judged it unlawful, upon any pretence, to enter into leagues or covenants; or to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and that all the convocations, petitions, and protestations for beginning and carrying on the late troubles, (i. e. covenanted reformation, between 1637 and 1651) were unlawful and seditious, and particularly that the *national covenant*, as sworn and explained in 1638, and the *solemn league and covenant*, were, and are, in themselves unlawful oaths, and imposed upon the subjects contrary to the fundamental laws and liberties of the kingdom, and *no way bind* any that swore them, to endeavour any alteration of the present government of either church or state. After the act of *indemnity* had been so long delayed, in order to terrify people into compliance, it was now passed, with an exception of about 800 persons, some of whom were dead, and others were infants, or had never existed, on whom was laid a fine, of about L.85,000 Sterling, which Middleton hoped to get for himself: and besides, twelve persons were, by ballotting, to be excluded from all places of power and trust.—They also issued a *proclamation*, bearing, That all ministers, who did not observe the *anniversary thanksgiving*, on the 29th of May, should be deprived of their benefices.—To testify their loyalty, the magistrates of Linlithgow, with great parade, burnt the covenants, which themselves had sworn, along with *Lex rex*, and the *causes of God's wrath*, &c.

A number of ministers had been summoned to the Parliament for a terror to others, that might incline to adhere to their old principles. The day after the Parliament rose, the privy council met, and appointed all parsons, vicars, and ministers, to attend upon their diocesan Synods, the diets of which were then appointed by the bishops and archbishops. To enforce this act, and put honour on the bishops, Middleton the commissioner, and Glencairn the chancellor, with the Earls of Morton, Linlithgow, and Callender, and Lord Napier, took a tour to the west of Scotland, where, in their different lodging places, they wallowed in drunkenness, gluttony, and profaneness, and at *Ayr*, about midnight, drank the *devil's health* at the cross. In consequence of the archbishop's complaint, That none of the ministers ordained since 1649 had owned him for bishop; and that he and his fellow bishops would be mere cyphers or objects of hatred, unless more effectual methods were taken to enforce submission to them, the council met at Glasgow, October 1st: and while most of the members were mortally drunk, enacted, that all such ministers as did not, before the end of that month, apply to their bishops for *collation* and *admission*, should be deprived of their stipends for the present year, and removed from their parishes and Presbyteries; and never after exercise any part of their ministerial office; and that such of their parishioners as afterwards repaired to their sermons, should be punished as frequenters of conventicles. As several of the ministers had retired from the country to Edinburgh, the council required the magistrates to oblige all the inhabitants every evening to give an account of all their

lodgers, under what penalties should be thought proper. They appointed all the ministers of Edinburgh, who did not comply with Prelacy, to desist from exercising their ministry, and leave the city before Martinmas next: and commenced a process against Sir James Stewart the provost, and his son, for entertaining Mr. Hugh M·Kail, and against Messrs. Donald Cargil, John Brown, and John Livingston, and sixteen other ministers, in order to force them to comply with the bishops, or banish them from the kingdom. By such means, above three hundred ministers, generally of remarkable piety, gifts, and diligence, and most of them great sufferers for their attachment to Charles, during the usurpation, were driven from their charges, and their places filled with men shamefully ignorant, many of them a scandal to human nature in vice, and others of them of the most violent and persecuting tempers; and all of them, by the bishops and their assistants, forcibly intruded upon congregations: No wonder then, that such as had any regard to the laws of Christ scrupled to hear them, and resorted to such opposers of Prelacy as were not yet cast out, or to the family worship of the ejected ministers, in such numbers, that the houses could not contain them; from which field meetings gradually originated.

After Middleton had established Prelacy, he himself was disgraced; and soon after died miserably at Tangier, killed, according to his former imprecation, by the broken bone of that arm, which he had held up, in swearing the covenant; and Lauderdale his opponent became prime minister in his stead. After the council had commenced further processes against forty more mi-

nisters in Galloway, and the diocese of Dunkeld, and given orders to Sir James Turner, a savage commander of the military, to suppress all private religious meetings for instruction, prayer, or conference, the Parliament met June 18, 1663, and enacted, That all non-conform ministers that shall presume to exercise their office *in any manner*, shall be punished as seditious persons; and all with-drawers from the conform incumbents of their own parish, be punished,—every nobleman, gentleman, or heritor, in the fourth part of his yearly revenue, every yeoman or tenant, in about the fourth part of his moveables after his rent is paid; and every burgess, with the loss of his freedom, and the fourth part of his moveables, together with such corporal punishment as the council find proper: They appointed all persons in public trust, to subscribe the declaration of last year; and that if any elected to be counsellors or magistrates in burghs, refused to sign it, they should be for ever incapable of being magistrates or of merchandizing. They appointed a national Synod of bishops, &c. but which could enact nothing that the king or his commissioner was unwilling to confirm;—and which indeed never met. They ordered a levy of 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, to be ready to serve his Majesty in any part of his dominions, as he should find necessary.—Lord Warriston, whom Charles's physician had attempted to poison at Hamburgh, and then taken from him sixty ounces of blood, being apprehended in France, was, notwithstanding his weakness of body and mind produced by the poison and loss of blood, sentenced to death, and his head to be fixed on the Netherbow port, along with Mr. Guthry's.

—The privy council commenced a prosecution against sixteen ministers for continuing to exercise their office, and against William Gordon of Earlstoun, for refusing to hear the curate of his parish; and emitted a proclamation, That all ministers that did not duly attend the bishops' courts, should, within twenty days, remove themselves, families, and substance, out of their respective parishes, and not reside within twenty miles of the same, nor within six miles of any cathedral church, or three miles of any royal burgh;—and enacted, That all persons who shall come from Ireland without sufficient testimonials, and do not return within fifteen days, shall be imprisoned, and treated as seditious;—and that all persons that, notwithstanding three admonitions given by their minister, withdraw from public worship, shall upon his attestation, be prosecuted according to law; and that all noblemen, sheriffs, and officers of the army, shall assist ministers in their prosecution.—In consequence of this, the curates in the west and south, after sermon, called over the roll of their parishes, and delated whomsoever they pleased of the absents to Sir James Turner, the profligate and barbarous commander of the forces in that country; who, together with his soldiers, judged and punished them as they thought fit; and, by this means, and by raising the fines imposed by Middleton's Parliament, plundered and ruined the country.

By Bishop Sharp's instigation, Charles appointed a *High Commission* court in 1664, consisting of nine bishops, and thirty-five laymen, and of which one bishop and four others were a *quorum*, having power to prosecute, suspend, and depose

ministers, and to fine, imprison, &c. them and others, who continued in their non-conformity to the religion established by law; and appointed the officers of the army or militia, and lords of privy council to assist them, in apprehending and punishing of such delinquents. In consequence whereof, persons were called before them without information, accusation, or witness; and required to answer whatever questions were proposed. If any offered any legal defence, he was required to take the *oath of supremacy*, the refusal of which was reckoned sufficient guilt. They, in the manner of the Spanish inquisition, and the privy council, in their wonted manner, proceeded to ruin every serious opposer. Such non-conform ministers, as yet remained in their charges by the favour of some of the nobility, or the like, were driven from them, and soldiers were appointed to force people who absented from the sermons of their intruded curates, to pay twentypence for every time they should be absent. Besides several proclamations for enforcing or executing the above mentioned acts of Parliament against non-conformists and preachers, or attenders upon religious meetings not allowed by law, they emitted one against Brown's *apologetical relation of the sufferings of the faithful ministers and professors of that period*, and ordered it to be burnt in the street of Edinburgh by the hangman; and all that had copies of it to deliver them up to their sheriffs, or be liable to a fine of L.2000 Scots: and Mr. James Guthrie's widow and daughter were prosecuted for having it.

In 1666, the remains of the fines imposed by the Parliament of 1662, for some trifling compliances with the English usurpers, or the like, were exacted with rigour by the King's troops, who

took free quarters till they got them : no excuse was accepted, unless by taking the oath of supremacy, and subscribing the declaration ; and such as could neither pay their fines, nor entertain the troops, were dragged to prison. Sir James Turner and his soldiers were empowered to fine the west country people for non-attendance on the ministrations of their profligate curates, and even to fine gentlemen, if their ladies or servants did not attend ; and to quarter on tenants, if their landlords withdrew. No widowhood or poverty excused from the fines. The soldiers snatched the meat from the mouths of innocent children, and gave it to their dogs ; and when they had consumed all their provisions, they sold or burnt the furniture. In this manner, Turner and his troops levied almost L.60,000 Scots, from the two shires of Galloway and Dumfries for their non-conformity.—Being obliged to give up the infamous *High Commission*, two regiments of foot, and six troops of horse were raised, under General Dalziel, a profligate savage, educated in the military service of Russia, in order to force the non-conformists to hear the curates: the council emitted a proclamation, requiring masters to answer for the conformity of their servants, and heritors for that of their tenants, and give bond accordingly, under pain of horning.

Sir James Turner, though it is said he scarcely acted up to his orders, had almost wholly ruined the south-west of Scotland, and obliged multitudes to leave their houses, and wander among mosses and mountains. Four countrymen in Galloway, being informed that his merciless soldiers had apprehended a poor old man, and were going to roast him naked upon a red-hot

gridiron, went and begged them to let him alone; but, instead of hearkening to this humane desire, the soldiers fell upon the men, who, getting the better of them, disarmed them, and relieved their friend; and fearing that the other soldiers in the parish would fall upon them, they, and seven or eight more, surprised the party, which all laid down their arms, except one that was killed. The countrymen about, apprehending that Turner would cruelly resent what had been done, upon them, without loss of time, went to Dumfries and surprised him, and disarmed his troops without hurting any of them but one that was wounded;—and then, at the cross, publicly drank the King's health, and prosperity to his government. Informed hereof, the council published a proclamation, which could not reach those concerned till it was too late, requiring them to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves to his Majesty's Lieutenant-General, or some other officers, within twenty-four hours, and prohibiting all persons to assist, harbour, or keep any correspondence with these rebels, but containing no promise of indemnity in case of surrender. After some deliberation, that persecuted handful formed themselves into a small army, and resolved to march towards Edinburgh, in order to give their persecuted friends an opportunity to join them; and at Lanark, being about 1500, they renewed their solemn covenant with God; and, about the same time, drew up a manifesto nowise disowning his Majesty's authority, but bearing, that they had taken up arms to defend themselves and their persecuted brethren, in their adherence to their covenants, into which the King himself had solemnly entered, and to protect them-

selves and friends from such cruelty and violence as they had for some time past suffered. As Dalziel, with Charles's troops, marched up towards them, they marched eastward, by Bathgate, till they came to Collington, about three miles from Edinburgh. Greatly diminished by their fatigue, in marching so far, in one of the last nights of November, and disappointed of their expected assistance from the Lothians, they, about nine hundred, marched by the east end of Pentland hills, where, while they were quite dispirited and fatigued, and expecting a peaceful negotiation, Dalziel, contrary to his promise of a cessation of arms, fell upon them, and killed fifty of them, and took as many prisoners. But the country people in the neighbourhood killed and took prisoners not a few more. Notwithstanding, Charles himself was so ashamed of the illegal cruelties proved against Sir James Turner, that he dismissed him from his service, yet the privy council, to whom, just before their skirmish at Pentland, the poor people had begged leave to represent their grievances for two or three years, persecuted, murdered, imprisoned, forfeited, or banished them that had taken arms, or that gave them any harbour or lodging. And such as got an indemnity, had it, at the expense of wounding their conscience, by subscribing what they called the *bond of peace*, in which they engaged for themselves and these under them, to *live peaceably*; that is, to bear no testimony against the abominations established by law.

As the nobles were wearied of persecuting ministers and people merely for not hearing of curates, many of them shamefully ignorant or profligate; and as it was expected that it would di-

vide and weaken the Presbyterian party, Charles, moved by Tweedale, by a letter in 1669, granted an INDULGENCE to them, under certain conditions, which, through the opposition of the bishops and their clergy, had no small difficulty to obtain the approbation of the council. In consequence of this, about forty-three Presbyterian ministers were indulged either in their own parishes when vacant, or in some other parish, as the council judged meet. Another indulgence was granted to about eighty, in 1672, to keep matters quiet, while Lewis of France, and Charles, his pensionary, laboured to destroy the Dutch nation, which kindly sheltered their persecuted Protestant brethren. Some few of the persons, to whom these indulgences were offered, refused to accept them. Some of them that did accept, testified against the conditions, or betook themselves to silly shifts to quiet their conscience, and cover their shame; while a considerable number boldly pled for their own compliance, and raged at the field preachers, who testified against it. It was pled in favours of it, that magistrates, for ends known to themselves, may prohibit ministers to preach for a time, and afterward permit them to preach; that though magistrates have not power to silence ministers altogether, yet they have power to prohibit the public exercise of their ministry, and again, when they think fit, to grant that liberty unto them; that the second book of discipline allows magistrates to place ministers, when the kirk is corrupted, and all things are out of order; that Kings Hezekiah and Josiah reformed the Levites, purged the temple, and appointed the courses of the priests and Levites; that several of the indulged were sent to their own char-

that if the indulgence be rejected, because it proceeds from the King's supremacy, then he will banish all preaching out of his dominions, commanding to preach by virtue of his supremacy, that the preaching of the gospel is so important and necessary, that many things may be tolerated with, in order to obtain it; that the making use of his Majesty's present favour doth not homologate the exorbitancies under which we have groaned; that the rulers did not permit the indulged ministers to particular charges of press deputation, but only by permitting allowing them to exercise their ministry; that, after the ruin of our liberties, we accept a relaxation, which is sinful on the ruler's part; that, though the magistrate's principle design in these indulgences be to establish a civil supremacy over the church, yet the acceptance of them cannot imply an approbation of the design; that, as the magistrate proposeth an indulgence by command, obedience to the magistrate and cannot imply an engagement to the conditions annexed; that, notwithstanding his claiming his supremacy to the highest, the King hath not assumed the power of church order or administration of word and sacraments; that the indulged ministers plainly owned, that the ordinance of Christ is the only proper foundation, on which the exercise of their ministry, by the concession of this licence, doth subsist, and the magistrate's allowance is but merely the removal of former unjust restraints; that acceptance of an indulgence imported no subjection of the clergy to the arbitrary will of men, but rather a knowledge that our persons are in subjection to them.

On the other hand it was pled, that the proclamation for the indulgence plainly flowed from the King's supremacy over the church, and maintains his council's power to depose ministers from, and restore them to the exercise of their ministry, as they find proper; and that it was granted to some ministers to prevent others from preaching to any but their own families: and that it was clogged with several sinful conditions, as, that they behoved to utter nothing against *Prelacy*, or the King's *supremacy*; that, unless they attend the bishops synods and Presbyteries, they must confine themselves to the parishes in which they preach; that they should admit none to sealing ordinances, or to marriage, who belonged to any other established, or indulged minister, without his allowance; that they give no countenance to people of other congregations coming to hear them; that they all administer the Lord's supper on the same day; that they preach only in their own churches, under pain of being held keepers of conventicles; that all matters of discipline, which formerly belonged to Presbyteries, must still belong to the Bishops, Presbytery of the bounds, or next to it:—that therefore, 1. The *acceptance of the indulgence* reflected dishonour upon Jesus Christ, the only King and head of his church, as it practically declared, that the accepters did not hold their ministry wholly and only of Jesus Christ; that they hold the exercise of it from the magistrates either solely or in conjunction with Christ; that thus they receive the office or exercise of their ministry from men, who, in this deed, neither do, nor can act in a subordination to Christ, as the head and fountain of all church power; that thus they acknowledge all

the rules and directions prescribed by them for ordering of the exercise of the ministry, to be insufficient; and that not Christ alone, but magistrates, have power to prescribe the qualifications necessary for the exercise of the ministry; that not Christ alone, but magistrates also, have power to prescribe how he will have such an officer set over such a particular flock; and that hereby they concur with limitations in, and about the dispensation of Christ's spiritual ordinances, not prescribed by himself, nor by any ministerial power subordinated to him, but in opposition to him, both in matter and manner. 2. It is contrary to Presbyterian principles; such as, that it belongeth to the church, and to church officers, to try and examine qualifications of such as are to exercise the ministerial office, and, by explaining and applying Christ's rules, to declare who are fit and qualified for it; that it belongs to the church, or church judicatories, to convey ministerial office and power to persons qualified, and to grant them a protestative mission, authorising them to exercise their ministerial function; and to plant and transplant ministers to particular charges, or loose their relation to them, as the good of the church requireth; that it belongs to church judicatories to give injunctions concerning the exercise of the ministry and dispensation of the ordinances of Christ; that the power of censuring, suspending, or deposing ministers, belongs to the church, not to a King or his council. 3. It supports and confirms the King's Erastian supremacy. The acceptance of it, made the subsequent act, of almost unlimited headship over the church, necessary to warrant the granting of it; and that *act of supremacy* alone makes the King's indul-

gence a legal deed, and secures the indulged from being held seditious persons in the eye of the law. All the particulars included in the two preceding arguments, belong to the King's claimed headship over the church. The matter of the indulgence is the very matter of the supremacy allotted him to settle, enact, and emit constitutions, acts, and orders concerning matters, meetings, and persons ecclesiastical, according to his royal pleasure. The acceptance of a benefit flowing from an usurped power, manifestly homologates that usurped power. 4. It wrongs the people concerned in them, in practically giving up their former relation to their flock, and taking a new charge without any call from the people. 5. While it plainly confirms and adopts the Erastian principle of the dependence of the ministry upon the magistracy, and the necessary support of it on the magistrate's will, it tends to the remarkable hurt of the church. Magistrates thrusting out faithful ministers, and putting in whom they pleased in their room, did, under the Arian Emperors, and even under King James, much hurt to the church. According to his method, magistrates may quickly deprive us of faithful, or even Protestant ministers, and plant naughty, erroneous, or Popish priests in their stead: nay, by the indulgence, the most part of non-conform ministers are shut up in one corner by two's or three's, in a parish, while the rest of the land is given up to the will of Prelatists, Papists, or Quakers. It is intended to restrain these field meetings at which multitudes of souls have already found so much spiritual benefit. It tends to introduce the subjection of all ministers to the council in ecclesiastical affairs. It encourageth

others to enter into the ministry upon base conditions. It abandons the discipline of the church to the bishops and their curates. It gives up with an ordination of a faithful succession of faithful ministers to the church. 6. It gives up with all our own and our fathers sufferings for our opposition to patronage or Erastian encroachments of King or council on the power of Christ and his church, and for the sole headship of Christ, or for Presbyterian government. 7. It strengthens the hands of Prelatists, as hereby ministers imprison themselves in congregations under their influence. It tempts them to seek collation from bishops. It withdraws them from helping their faithful suffering brethren, and leaves the curates in quiet possession of the most of the nation, and secures it to them in all time coming. It encourageth a kind correspondence with curates, and diminisheth zeal against them. It justifies them in accepting Prelacy from the same fountain of the King's supremacy. The conditions, under which the indulgence is accepted, mightily strengthens their hands. 8. It is contrary to our covenants, in so far as they bind to the doctrine of Christ's being the *only head* of the church, and to maintain Presbyterian government, and the liberties and privileges of the church of Scotland, and abjure Prelacy and Erastianism. 9. The accepters of this indulgence condemn themselves, in so far as they had, or have any regard to field or house meetings for religious worship; or have or do condemn the King's ecclesiastical supremacy, or the entry of curates by the bishops; or have refused to continue with their parishes on the footing of a new appointed presentation; or have refused to join with bishops and their curates in Presbyteries and

sydods, according to Bishop Leighton's proposals of *accommodation*; or have, or do scruple at the bishops' collation of their office upon them.

10. It is prejudicial to field meetings, which have been remarkably blessed by God to the edification of multitudes. The King's letter represents it as contrived and granted in order to suppress them utterly. It draws off the accepters from preaching in the fields, and if all named by the council had accepted, few had been left to carry on that necessary work, to which God seems to be loudly calling. The acceptance of it by so many, encourageth the rulers in prosecuting their designs against these meetings, by the most cruel and bloody acts. It withdraws the people from these meetings, and so rents them asunder. It materially condemns these meetings as unlawful and seditious, and exposeth such as scruple to hear the indulged, to the fury of their adversaries.

11. The acceptance of that indulgence is exceedingly offensive. It grieves and discourageth such ministers and people as scrupled at, or thought it unlawful. It violated the accepters' sacred bonds of unity; and, by withdrawing from the brethren, particularly such as preached or heard at field meetings, they weakened their hands. It encouraged the Prelates and rulers to proceed with an high hand, in their apostacy and persecution. It will tempt posterity to submit to magistrates' imposition of ministers, in what manner, and under what restrictions they please. It will grieve and stumble our Protestant brethren abroad, to understand, that after all the faithful contendings of Scotch ministers, from the reformation till now, so many, after a short struggle, have so fearfully complied upon a small temptation.

No wonder then, that Messrs. John Burnet, Donald Cargil, and eight or ten others refused to accept this indulgence. Being unable to attend the council, Mr. Burnet sent his reasons of refusal to the chancellor, bearing, that as Christ alone was the sole head of the church, all ministerial office, and power of exercising it, flowed from him; whereas the indulgence flowed from that absolute supremacy which his Majesty claimed, and had been affirmed to him by Parliament, as an inherent right of the crown;—that he could not so much as interpretatively condemn field meetings, which had been always peaceably attended, and been remarkably blessed by God;—that he reckoned there was still a pastoral relation standing between him and his former flock, of which not fifty, out of twelve hundred examinable persons, had ever yet submitted to the curate placed among them—so no relation could be fixed between him and another congregation, by an act of a mere civil judicatory;—that his confinement did not merely confine his person, but even his office, and the gospel itself; and so hindered him from the duty he was called to for the good of the church, which was now in hazard to be swallowed up by Jesuits, Quakers, &c.; and while three parts of the kingdom were groaning under the want of the faithful preaching of the gospel, a few shires in the west were made the common jail of all the ministers permitted to preach; that he looked on a permission to preach without any call from the people, authority or assistance of a Presbytery, and without the exercise of church discipline and government, as very lame, and the restrictions annexed to it, as an heavy yoke.—The other refusers of the indulgence drew up a paper of much the same import; and in which

they begged the council to believe, that their non compliance flowed from real tenderness of conscience; and that by their influence and dealing with his Majesty, they might have an unrestrained liberty to preach to their flocks, or others, as providence called them, in a peaceable manner, for the edification of the body of Christ.

Several of the compliers with the indulgence formed a paper of grievances to be given in to the council, when they received it, as a testimony against the evils implied in the grant of it, bearing, that however thankfully they received his Majesty's permission to exercise their ministry, yet they disliked that Erastianism, which appeared in the grant of it; that, though they disallowed all tumultuary and seditious meetings of subjects, yet they could not condemn the field meetings for preaching and hearing the gospel, *as such*, and were grieved that the grant of their indulgence did so;—that the indulgence breaks the relation between ministers and their former flocks, and deprives the people, to whom they are appointed, of any free call; that it shuts them up sometimes, by two's or three's, in a parish, where one might serve, and imposed on them flocks belonging to faithful brethren; that it confined them as evil doers, without any trial or conviction of guilt, and hindered them from meeting in judicatories or even mutual converse, and restrained the faithful preaching of the gospel from a great part of the nation; and exposed such as did not comply, to far greater sufferings than formerly; that it entirely cut off from the people all hope of having their faithful pastors restored to them; and that all their restrictions were plainly formed in favours of the Prelatic party, and to the

disadvantage of Presbyterian ministers and people implied a subjection to Erastianism, and some of them thrust the accepters into a direct and formal subjection to Prelacy.—After they had in several meetings, considered this paper, they dropt it altogether for want of harmony, with respect to it.—They agreed, that when they appeared before the council, to receive their licence, and instructions, Mr. George Hutchinson should, by a speech, in their name, give some testimony against the Erastianism and sinful restrictions connected therewith. But by neglecting to speak at the beginning, and by delivering himself in an obscure equivocal manner, it was to little or no purpose. Meanwhile, Mr. Alexander Blair honestly told the council, that as he looked upon himself as an ambassador of Christ, he could not receive instructions from them, for regulating him in the exercise of his ministry, and let fall their instructions: on account of which the council ordered him to prison.

While the outed ministers were sadly divided about the *indulgence*, great pains were taken to decoy them and the people into, at least, a partial submission to Prelacy. Dr. Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, and other popular preachers, were sent to the West Country, to preach in the several kirks, in hopes that this would bring the people to a liking of Episcopal preachers. But few heard them, except some of the younger sort, out of curiosity. Burnet says, that he and his brethren were amazed to see poor common people, even cottagers and servants, so capable to argue upon church government, and the power of Princes in matters of religion. This failing, Leighton of Dumblain, now administator of the

Archbishopric of Glasgow, proposed an *accommodation* to the Presbyterian ministers, allowing them to retain their own principles, and to protest against what they thought wrong in Prelacy, and then, like their fathers before 1638, to concur in Presbyteries, which had constant moderators. The Presbyterian ministers, indulged and not indulged, after several conferences, declined compliance, and the more readily, as Leighton, with all his high pretences to religious peace and piety, would not or could not assure them, that the bishops, who moderate, should not have a negative over the synod's decisions.

But force was the principal mean used for causing both ministers and people to submit to what the court pleased. As Charles's first indulgence of the Presbyterian ministers at his own hand, by his council, had exceeded the limits of the supremacy which had been formerly allowed him by the Parliament, and was contrary to the laws establishing Prelacy, the bishops complained of it, as an illegal trampling on their power.—The Parliament 1669 therefore asserted him and his successors to have an *unlimited supremacy* over the church, as an *inherent right* of the crown, by which they might order and dispose of the external government of the church, and settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders, concerning it, and the persons employed in it, and all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proposed and determined in them, as they pleased; and rescinded all laws, acts, and clauses thereof, and all customs and constitutions, civil and ecclesiastical, which are contrary to, and inconsistent with his Majesty's supremacy as now asserted. This Parliament also ratified some acts of

the privy council, requiring all the inhabitants of the south-west of Scotland, under severe penalties, to deliver up their arms; and that if parishioners permitted any hurt to be done to the violent persecuting curates, they should be reputed as having art and part of the crime, and be liable for all damages; and forfeiting the estates of such as had been concerned in the late rising of Pentland hills. Soon after, the council in 1670; to please the bishops and their curates, prohibited the indulged ministers to lecture or expound a portion of Scripture before the forenoon sermon, under pain of being forbidden the exercise of their ministry, within this kingdom. The soldiers were appointed to apprehend the ministers, heritors, and tenants, that presumed to attend the field meetings for preaching of the gospel, and to cause them appear before the council, along with a list of witnesses against them.

Mr. John Menzies, minister of Caerlaverock, near Dumfries, shocked with the severities used against Presbyterians, while Papists, who abounded and promoted their idolatry and superstition with great zeal, remained unmolested, presented a solemn testimony against Prelacy to his Presbytery, and Messrs. Alexander and John Carmichaels, Thomas Forrester and others, afterward deserted the Prelates. But none of these things moved the persecutors to moderation.

The Parliament, 1670, enacted, That whosoever refused to be witnesses, even against their nearest relations, with respect to breaches of the public laws of the kingdom, and particularly their attendance at field preachings, should be fined, imprisoned, or banished;—that if any outed minister not licensed by the council, or tolerated by

the bishop, presume to preach, expound the scripture, or pray in any meeting, but in his own house, and where only his own family are present, he shall be imprisoned, till he find bail not to keep another conventicle, under the penalty of 5000 merks, or else consent to leave the kingdom, never to return without his majesty's licence; and that these present at house conventicles be fined,—heritors in a fourth part of their yearly rent, tenants in L.25, and cottars in L.12 Scots,—and that every minister or preacher at field meetings, be punished by death and confiscation of goods, and these present be fined in double of the above for house meetings; and that every apprehender of a field preacher should have 500 merks of reward; and the sheriffs, stewards, and lords of regalities, all the fines below these of heritors for themselves;—that every person, who procured baptism for his child by any unlicensed or unauthorized minister and not in a regular manner, shall be fined, heritors in a fourth part of their yearly rent; every person above a tenant in a L.100 Scots; every inferior merchant, tenant, or considerable tradesman, in L.50; every meaner burgess, tradesman, or cottar in L.20, and every servant in half a year's fee; and sheriffs, stewards, and lords of regalities, to have all fines below these of heritors, as their encouragement to diligence in their execution of this act;—that all subjects of the *reformed religion*, who do not frequent the ordinary meetings for divine worship in their own parish churches, for every offence, be fined, heritors in an eighth part of their yearly rent; every person above the degree of a tenant, in L.12 Scots; every tenant or considerable tradesman and inferior merchant in L.6;

and all below that station in L.2 Scots.—As an addition to these persecuting acts, the Parliament 1672, enacted, That none should be officers of the militia but Episcopalians; and both officers and soldiers take the *oath of allegiance and declaration*, under pain of imprisonment and banishment; that none but those authorized by law, should ordain any to the ministry; and all ordinations by Presbyterian ministers since 1661, be held *void and null*; that all that had not a certificate from their parish minister that their children were baptized within thirty days of their birth, should be fined, heritors in a fourth part of their yearly rent; merchants in L.100 Scots; &c. and that all that did not observe the anniversary of the 29th of May, should be fined, or otherwise punished.

Dreadful were the severities carried on against the non-conformists. While the indulged ministers were disliked by many of the people, for their want of due faithfulness, they were not a little harassed by the council for their lecturing,—baptizing of children not belonging to their parishes,—giving some testimony against the apostacy of the times, and for not observing of the *anniversary thanksgiving* on the 29th of May, or the like. The refusers of the indulgence, and all that preached at, or attended field meetings, were still more cruelly persecuted, by fines, imprisonment, or banishment. Many were the exorbitant fines imposed upon gentlemen, and others, in the shires of Dumbarton, Lanark, Ayr, Galloway, Dumfries, and Renfrew, for mere non-conformity to Prelacy, and non-attendance on the ministrations of ignorant and profligate curates. These of eleven gentlemen in the shire of Ren-

frew, amounted to near L.31,000 Sterling.— Finding that, notwithstanding, the field meetings more and more increased, the council in June 1674, emitted two proclamations, the first of which requires heritors to become bound for their tenants, and tenants for their families, cottars, and servants, that they should not, under the pain of L.25 Scots for each tenant,—L.12 for each cottar,—and a fourth part of their year's fee for each servant, and the half for each wife or child, be present at any house conventicle, nor at any field conventicle, under the penalty of the double. If tenants refused to give bond to their heritors, their whole property was to be forfeited for them, and no new leases were to be granted without such engagement. And all magistrates had an unlimited power to require every person whom they suspected, to give security for their good behaviour in this matter. The other imported, That all those that should apprehend convocators to, or attenders on conventicles, should be rewarded with their fines or forfeited property; and whoever should apprehend any minister at conventicles, should have 1000 merks, and 2000 for Messrs. Welsh, Semple, and Arnot.—They fined eleven gentlemen in Fife, in about L.7000 Scots, for attending conventicles, and because one of them had harboured Mr. Welsh; and denounced forty or fifty more, and soon after fifty more, who compeared not, *rebels*.—The field meetings still increasing, and being attended with remarkable countenance from God, several conform ministers attended them, and joined the sufferers. The council, finding that they could not get all the attendants prosecuted, not a few of which were ladies and their children, they raised new regi-

ments of soldiers, and stationed them in a considerable number of garrisons in these places where conventicles were most commonly held, in order that they might deter from them or rush forth upon the people, while they were met for public worship; and the country about was required to furnish them with all things necessary. In consequence hereof, some of the sufferers began to take arms with them to their meetings, in order to defend themselves, if attacked. They also issued forth letters of *intercommuning* against about ninety or an hundred ministers, gentlemen, ladies, and others for preaching, or hearing at conventicles, or not appearing when summoned, to renounce their principles, or fall a sacrifice to their persecutor's rage. These letters cut them off from all society in the kingdom of Scotland; and it was declared, that whosoever should receive, harbour, or converse with them by word or writ, or supply them with meat, drink, clothes, or any other necessaries of life, should be prosecuted with rigour as guilty with them of the same crimes; and all sheriffs, &c. were ordered to apprehend them wherever they could be found. This year the fines levied by the Earl of Hume in Berwickshire, amounted to near L.27,000 Scots. Meanwhile, God remarkably countenanced some sacramental occasions among the sufferers, especially one in Elginshire, where the real Christians were generally so filled with the consolations of Christ, that they scarcely knew, whether they were in the body or not; and not a few were delightfully converted to the Lord.

The council had a little before enacted, that every proprietor, on whose ground a conventicle or field meeting for preaching the gospel was

held, should pay L.50 Scots of fine, and had rigorously prosecuted, fined, or imprisoned such ministers or attendants on such meetings, as they could find, and had punished several of the indulged ministers with the want of a year's stipend, and of it in all time coming, unless an order for payment were granted by the council,—they, at last, in 1677, projected the raising of 8000 savage Highlanders to march into the south-west counties of Scotland, and there, by free quarters, plunder, murder, or whatever way they pleased, to force people to hear the curates, and oblige heritors to bind themselves for their tenants, and tenants for their families and cottars, behaving themselves answerably to the laws. The Highland host and regular forces, to the number of 10,000, with such a train of artillery as if they had intended to besiege fortified cities, marched thither; but, notwithstanding all their free quartering, plunder, and other oppressions, the heritors, and several noblemen among them, refused to give bond for the conformity of their families or tenants; nor could the people be got provoked to take arms in their own defence, which would have given the managers an handle to murder them, or by forfeiture deprive them of every thing belonging to them. After some weeks, the managers being ashamed of their horrid cruelties, and shameless robberies, ordered the Highlanders, all but 500, home. They carried along with them horses and goods to the utmost of their power. To mention particular plunders would be endless. From the three small districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, they destroyed and carried off about the value of L.140,000 Scots. The council pushed on the subscription

of the bond above mentioned, though generally without the success they wished, notwithstanding they insisted, that such as refused, should give lawborrows, or security for their kind behaviour to his majesty. The refusers, and sundry noblemen among them, were cruelly prosecuted. The *bond* and *highland host* being found ineffectual to put a stop to field meetings, or force people to hear the profligate and persecuting curates, a Convention of Estates was called in 1678, which imposed a cess of L.360,000 yearly, for the space of five years, in order to maintain a standing army for the suppression of field conventicles. The payment of this cess, as the indulgence had done before, to the great joy of the bishops, occasioned warm contentions among the Presbyterians. Some thinking it lawful to pay it, as a tax laid on by authority, even as Christ paid tribute to Cæsar, and advised others to do the same;—others thinking it unlawful, as an imposition of tyrants, and plainly intended to promote wicked ends. After the council had ordered sixty-seven of the imprisoned sufferers to be transported to Virginia, as a kind of slaves, and whom providence relieved at London; and had levied more troops, and formed a new military oath for securing the soldiers' full execution of the cruel work committed to them, and prosecuted many particular persons, and punished them by fines, imprisonment, or the like, a few of the sufferers, who had formed a resolution to kill one Carmichael, who had, for a considerable time, most furiously persecuted the non-conformists in Fife, fining, and imprisoning multitudes, and torturing servants to make them discover their masters or their property, and beating wives and children to

make them inform against their husbands and parents,—not to mention his rapes, adulteries, and like abominable wickedness. After they had in vain searched for him, where they were informed he was to hunt that day, and were just going to separate, they were unexpectedly informed, that archbishop Sharp was at Ceres, in his way home to St. Andrew's. They thought that God had delivered into their hand this perjured destroyer of their church, arch-persecutor, and murderer of multitudes of their brethren, and who sought their own life; and so reckoning themselves in an open state of war with him, resolved to take away his life, which they did, not without some difficulty, about a mile south-west from St. Andrew's. It is certain, he richly deserved to die by the hands of public justice in the most shameful and miserable form. But how far, in their circumstantiated case, it was lawful and prudent for these persons to take away his life, I leave to the judgment of God, whose providence preserved all that had an active hand in it from the fury of their murderous persecutors, notwithstanding all they could do to apprehend them. It nevertheless gave the managers, who represented his death as a kind of martyrdom, an handle for proceeding in, or increasing their cruelties, and for ensnaring many with that question, *Whether the killing of him was murder or not?*

The council having emitted a proclamation prepared by Sharp, before his death, representing field conventicles as tending to the ruin of the Christian religion, the introduction of Popery and heresy, the subversion of monarchy, and the contempt of all laws and government; and appointing all judges and officers of the army to pro-

ceed against all that went to them with arms, as traitors, and to execute the laws against all other attendants on them.—The persecuted, whose numbers daily increased, therefore found, that their safety was promoted by their attending in large multitudes. Pushed by Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preston, and the lady of Earlstoun, a pious Christian, but perhaps too rash and headstrong, a number of them agreed upon a solemn testimony against the apostacy, wicked laws, and cruel persecution of the managers; and he, and about eighty armed men, published it at the cross of Rutherglen, on the anniversary thanksgiving for Charles's restoration, May 29, 1679, and burnt a copy of the wicked acts, against which they testified. This more and more provoked the fury of the managers. Graham of Claverhouse, afterward Viscount of Dundee, a most cruel and bloody monster, having an unlimited power to kill and destroy all that he found in arms, seized Mr. King, and about fourteen others, who neither were in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge; and driving them before him, bound two by two, attacked a field-meeting near Drumclog the day after, being Sabbath, but was defeated with the slaughter of twenty, if not near forty, of his soldiers. Claverhouse escaping to Glasgow, alarmed the troops that were there. Hamilton and his friends, flushed with their success, and perhaps too dilatory in their pursuit, entered into Glasgow, next day; but after the loss of six or eight, were, by the firing upon them from the houses, obliged to retreat to Hamilton, where they formed a sort of camp for their own defence.

The council, by proclamation, required all those who had taken arms, to lay them down, and surrender themselves to some officer of the army or magistrate, within the space of twenty-four hours, but promised no indemnity;—and required all heritors and heads of families to permit none of their tenants, children, or servants to join them, under pain of being looked upon as disaffected persons;—and farther required all the militia in the kingdom, to join and act with the regular forces, under severe penalties; and all heritors and freeholders to attend the King's host. Finding, that those who had appeared in arms, had nothing to expect but tortures and death, their friends hastened from all places around to defend them, if possible, in so much, that the King's troops, fearing an attack, retreated from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and begged that assistance should be sent them from England. To render him odious to the non-conformists, both in England and Scotland, Charles, his father, appointed the Duke of Monmouth to command the army; and the council insisted that the barbarous Dalziel should be his lieutenant. Meanwhile, the divisions which took place among the sufferers, who were once about four thousand, but many of them poorly armed, relative to the making of the *indulgence* a cause of fasting, and the owning of Charles's *kingly authority*, made many leave them, and dispirited such as remained, that few of them behaved with any courage, and so were easily routed at Bothwel-Bridge, four hundred being killed, mostly in the pursuit, and twelve hundred surrendered prisoners, who were stripped almost naked, and obliged to lie flat on the ground for a considerable time; and if any

but raised himself a little, he was shot dead in an instant. Some of the officers proposed to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, and all the country about Bothwel-Bridge. But Monmouth rejected their motion with indignation.—His compassion to the sufferers issued in his being quickly recalled, and Dalziel, who was as cruel as either managers or devils could have wished him, made General of the forces in his stead.

Dreadful was the case of the prisoners at Edinburgh. Many of them were tried and executed: others were shipped off for Virginia to be slaves, and, after most barbarous usage, were mostly drowned in a storm on the coast of Orkney, the Popish captain having obstinately refused to open the hatches, to give them an opportunity to escape, as himself and the sailors did. Struck with horror at the cruelty, a sailor risked his life, and, by cutting through the deck, got about fifty of them out alive, while some hundreds were thus wilfully drowned in the hold. Not only they who had been in arms, in the affair of Bothwel, but such as had harboured or assisted them with meat or drink, or who had not attended the King's host, according to the proclamation, were cruelly prosecuted, and their estates or property forfeited, and given to such persecutors as his Majesty and the council thought fit. Some that were thought less guilty, were released upon signing a bond, in which they acknowledged the rising at Bothwel-Bridge *rebellion*, and engaged never more to take up arms without, or against his Majesty, or his authority, even in self-defence; but they were to have no benefit of the indemnity, if ever they should be found in arms at any field conventicle. Many choosed rather to continue prisoners,

and hazard even life itself, than subscribe such a bond. About the same time, indulged ministers were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged themselves to live *peaceably*, (*i. e.* give no plain testimony against the managers' apostacy and persecution) and to present themselves before the privy council, when called, and to have sureties, who should engage themselves, their heirs, and successors, for their so doing, under pain of paying six thousand merks Scots, if they did not present them to the council. These bands, most of the ministers thought lawful, in their present circumstances. But others, chiefly the author of the *Banders disbanded*, shews that it was sinful, scandalous, and inconvenient to comply with them.

An indemnity was published, but with so many exceptions of ministers and heritors, who were concerned in the rebellion, or any way contributed to it, or who did not come to assist the King's host, and loaded with the condition of engaging never to bear arms against the King or his authority, nor to be present at field conventicles, that it was almost good for nothing. Meanwhile, Claverhouse, with his dragoons, terribly oppressed the west country by free quarters, plunders, tortures, and murders. Circuit courts were appointed rigorously to punish all such as did not lay hold on the indemnity; and all, who had been concerned in the risings of Pentland and Bothwell, and the murder of the archbishop, or had any way supplied or corresponded with them. The proprietors of the grounds, on which any of the murderers of the archbishop lived, who were particularly described, were commanded to apprehend them, and present them to the *circuit*:—

and if they fled, their wives, children, and servants, were to be driven from the place. A reward of ten thousand merks was offered to those who should bring in any of these murderers, dead or alive, particularly John Balfour of Kinloch, and David Hackstoun of Rathillet, (who had refused to have any hand in the slaughter, lest it should be said private injuries, done to him by Sharp, had influenced him.) Great numbers were condemned and executed, sometimes merely because they scrupled to acknowledge the slaughter of the archbishop to be *murder*, and the rising at Bothwel *rebellion*, or would not take the *bond* prescribed by the council

Next year, 1680, Charles and his council agreed to appoint the soldiers to attack all those that had been forfeited by the Parliament or criminal court, all ministers and heritors who had been in the rebellion, or heritors who had contributed any thing to it; all rebels, who had not taken the *bond*, or had been at field conventicles since the 27th of July last; all those who had injured the Episcopal clergy; all assassins, especially the murderers of the archbishop; and appointed the mansion-houses, castles, or towers standing on the forfeited estates, to be used by the forces as garrisons, from which they might be ready to sally forth upon the above and like persons. A paper found upon Henry Hall, when he was apprehended at Queensferry, and a declaration published at Sanquhar, in which all allegiance to King Charles was renounced, and especially the solemn excommunication, and deliverance to Satan, of King Charles, Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, Sir George M'Kenzie, the King's advocate, and General Dalziel, on account

of their respective horrible crimes, by Mr. Donald Cargil, at the Torwood, not only terribly infuriated the persecuting managers, but drew upon the strict party loads of reproach from their indulged brethren. But it is certain that, in all these cases, what was done, was upon *just causes*. It is certain, the actors were in uncommon circumstances, when both church and state were really unhinged by persecution, apostacy, and tyranny. How far then private persons, or one minister might lawfully, or even prudently, do what pertained to the Estates of the nation, or a church judicatory, is not safe for us to judge, unless we were certain we had an equal measure of the directing Spirit of God. It is certain, the nations of England and Scotland, about eight years after, practically approved the rejection of Charles's tyrannical authority; and that God, in his providence, appeared to approve that excommunication, in the miserable ends of those that were laid under it, as Cargil had foretold.

Meanwhile, multitudes of gentlemen were forfeited in their absence, for their supposed accession to the rising at Bothwel. The soldiers killed or took prisoners the outlaws wherever they could find them; and if a person was but observed with a Bible or other good book in his hand, he was in danger of his life.—At Air's moss, in Kyle, Bruce, with about a hundred and twenty dragoons, attacked about forty sufferers, and killed nine, among whom was Richard Cameron, a preacher, and his brother Michael, and took Hackstoun of Rathillet, and others prisoners. After much torture, Hackstoun was condemned, hanged with uncommon cruelty, and, before he was dead, his heart was taken out by the hangman,

and held up, on the point of a knife, on all the sides of the scaffold, and then burnt; and after that, his head fixed on the Nether Bow, with Mr. Cameron's and others, and one quarter of his body fixed up at St. Andrew's, a second at Burntisland, a third at Leith, and a fourth at Glasgow.—Before now, the managers had scarcely stuck at any thing false, unjust, base, or barbarous. Notwithstanding their marking of it in their register of council, Rothes, Lauderdale, and Halton, his brother, and Archbishop Sharp, had perjurally deposed against James Mitchel, that they had never given him a promise upon of his life, condition of his candidly acknowledging that he discharged a pistol at Archbishop Sharp, several years before his death.—When they could not find witnesses, they tortured people to force them to confess what they pleased. They falsely marked the acknowledgments they made. If they could find nothing else, they required them to take some of their unhallowed *oaths, bonds, or declarations*, that either compliance might wound their conscience, and divide them from their fellow sufferers, or their refusal might be a handle for fining, imprisonment, banishment, forfeiture, confiscation of goods, or the like. Their servants in the army acted up to their heart's content, in oppressing the people, till the whole of Scotland, southward of the river Tay, was generally rendered absolutely miserable by plunder, oppression, and bloodshed, &c. But when the Duke of York, a zealous Papist, little better than banished from England, came into Scotland, in 1681, he rendered the persecution hotter than ever. No less than twenty men and women were formally condemn-

ed and executed, of which Mr. Cargil was one, in this one year, for cleaving to Christ.

The Parliament sitting down on the 28th of July, after a cold ratification of all former laws relative to religion, asserted, That the Kings of this realm derive their royal power from God alone, and succeed lineally thereto, according to their known degrees of proximity of blood; and that none can attempt to alter or divert it, without involving the nation in perjury and rebellion, and exposing them to all the fatal and dreadful consequences of a civil war. They next offered a new supply to the King, in order to support his army in bearing down field conventicles, and doubled the fines for attending them: and burgesses, besides their former fines, were to lose burgesship, and be banished from the town. This Parliament also formed a TEST for all that should be capable of any office in church or state, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, and from which none but the King's *lawful* sons and brothers were exempted; in which they solemnly swore, That they owned and professed the true Protestant religion contained in the old *Scotch Confession of Faith*, and believed it to be founded on the written word of God, and that they should adhere to it in all the days of their life, and educate their children in it, and never consent to any alteration contrary to it;—and renounced all Popish and fanatical principles contrary to, or inconsistent with said Protestant religion and Confession of Faith;—and swore and affirmed, That Charles II. is the ONLY supreme governor of this realm, and in all causes *ecclesiastical* as well as civil;—and promised to assist and defend all rights, jurisdictions, prero-

gatives, privileges, pre-eminencies, and authorities belonging to him, his heirs and lawful successors;—and further affirmed and swore, that they judged it unlawful for subjects, upon any pretence whatsoever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to couvocate or assemble in any meeting, to consult or determine in any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, *without his Majesty's command, or express licence*, or to take up arms against him, or any commissioned by him, and that they should never so rise in arms, or enter into such covenants or assemblies; and that there lieth no obligation upon them, from the national covenant, or solemn league, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any alteration in the government either of church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom; and that they shall, to their utmost, defend, assist, and maintain his Majesty's jurisdiction, aforesaid, against all deadly, and shall never decline his Majesty's power and jurisdiction, as they shall answer to God.

This oath was a medley of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and self-contradiction. After swearing to the Protestant religion, the sole headship of Christ over his church, and the duty of subjects to repress tyranny, and defend and save the lives of oppressed innocents from tyrants, the national covenant, that great bulwark against Popery, is renounced, the utmost extent of the King's absolute supremacy over both church and state sworn to, and the bringing in of a Popish successor—and all taking up arms in self-defence, against the King or his officers, or doing any thing for rendering the government of either church or state more perfect, is abjured. Many of the curates themselves exceedingly scrupled at it. But, by an act of council, which had no

power to explain an oath imposed by Parliament, especially one which the taker swore that he took in the *literal* sense of the words, declaring, That the oath did not bind to every particular article of the *confession*, but only in so far as it contained the doctrine upon which the Protestant churches had settled the *reformation*—and that the TEST did not cut off such rights as the primitive church enjoyed for three hundred years after Christ—and assuring, that the King never intended to change the government of the church, all of them, except about eighty, swallowed it, rather than lose their stipends, and expose themselves to persecution. The conform ministers of Aberdeen drew up several queries against it, importing that they knew not how to swear, that the said confession is the true standard of the Protestant religion, which forbids resistance of magistrates, only while they pass not over the bounds of their office, and declares the *bearing down of tyranny* a good work, and yet abjure all resistance of magistrates on whatever pretence; or, to swear that the King is the ONLY supreme governor over all persons, in all causes, when the said confession obliged them to believe, that Jesus Christ is the *only head* of the church; or, how to believe the present established government of the church to be of divine and apostolical authority, and yet that the King had power to alter it at his pleasure; or to swear to it, if it was so indifferent, as that he might change it at his pleasure; or, how to swear to defend all the King's privileges, and prerogatives, before they had considered and found them all consistent with the *principles of religion*;—or, how to abjure, as *unlawful*, all entering into covenants without the King's consent, when it was certainly lawful

to enter into a covenant with Christ, or with one another, for casting off the yoke of heathenism or Popery, even contrary to the command of earthly Sovereigns;—or, to abjure, as *unlawful*, all meetings of subjects to consult or determine in all matters of state, civil or ecclesiastical, as these comprehend all meetings for the worship of God, or ordinary exercise of discipline; or, to swear, that they were under no obligations to endeavour any alteration of the government in church or state, unless they were certain that the constitution was absolutely perfect, and suited to every circumstantiated case, contrary to said *Confession of Faith*—This opposition of the curates exposed them to no small trouble and harassment, and about twenty of them were obliged to quit their charges.

The Duke of Hamilton, the Duchess of Rothes, whose husband had lately died under great horror, amidst the prayers of her Presbyterian ministers, Hopeton, and several other persons of rank, also declined taking this TEST The Duke of Queensberry was allowed to take it, with an explication. The Earl of Argyle, being, through the hatred of the Duke of York, required to take it again and again, a month before the time prescribed by law, ventured to take it with this explication, *as far as consistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion and his loyalty to the King*. For this he was immediately prosecuted, as a depraver of the King's laws, and condemned to death as a traitor. But he escaped from prison, and fled to Holland—while not a few others, who refused this test, were turned out from their civil offices, and these filled with such as York and his party thought sufficiently disposed to op-

press and murder every true Protestant. The Laird of Meldrum, who had extorted about L.100,000 Scots from the shire of Teviotdale, and who had lately got his oppressive powers against the faithful nonconformists enlarged, was appointed sheriff-depute in East Lothian. And while the council and justiciary court proceeded in their forfeiting, imprisoning, banishing, or murdering work, Claverhouse, Grierson of Lagg, and other officers of the army, held military courts in the south and west parts of the kingdom, to which they summoned all men and women above sixteen years of age, and caused them to swear, sometimes under very odd and dreadful imprecations, whether they had ever been at *field meetings*, or countenanced any who frequented them? and what they knew of their neighbours or others in the parish?

The indulged ministers having gone far in their sinful compliances with defection, and those that were not indulged, forborne to preach in the fields, but only in houses, because of the fury of the managers against field meetings, the more zealous sufferers had none whom they could hear, without scruple, after the death of Cameron and Cargil, they therefore resolved to unite themselves more closely by a general meeting, once every three months, of correspondents from their particular meetings, for prayer and spiritual conference. In these meetings, which continued from 1681, till after the revolution, they agreed upon such testimonies against defections, or supplications for reformation, as they judged proper; they concerted schemes for obtaining gospel ministers whom they could hear with freedom, and for having Mr. James Renwick and other students, taught

and ordained in Holland, for their service; they laboured, by representations, to vindicate themselves to their friends in Holland, and other places, from the invidious reproaches cast upon them by the persecutors, and by the indulged, and other lukewarm Presbyterian brethren. Nevertheless, it had perhaps been better they had dealt less in some ticklish debates. One of their first productions was their declaration published at Lanark, January 12th, 1682, in which they, in an answerableness to the disjointed and confused condition of both church and state, professed to cast off the authority of Charles Stewart, because, in his first Parliament, he had unhinged that excellent constitution of church and state, which their ancestors had formed and established; he had exalted himself into an unlimited supremacy in all matters, civil and ecclesiastical; he had adjourned and dissolved Parliaments at his pleasure; he had fearfully oppressed and persecuted the godly for conscience' sake; he had heavily taxed his subjects, and dilapidated the revenues of the crown, for keeping up a *brothel*, rather than a court; and had in the late Parliament secured the succession of the crown to his Popish brother, formed the test, &c.—And they burnt the TEST and *act of succession*. This conduct, and especially as several expressions of the declaration were very incautious, more and more enraged the managers, and the council appointed this and the *declarations* of Rutherglen and Sanquhar, along with the solemn league and covenant, to be publicly burnt by the hangman, at the cross of Edinburgh, with great solemnity. The bailie, who delivered the covenant into the hand of the hangman for this purpose, soon after had all his houses

in the Parliament close, which were reckoned the most stately in Europe, burnt to ashes, by unaccountably kindled, and unquenchable flames, which did scarce hurt any other.

Thenceforward to the death of Charles in 1685, there was a constant scene of the most horrid oppression, murder and assassination of the saints of God, and of all such as shewed them any favour. While Meldrum, Claverhouse, Grierson, White, and other officers of the army, and others of like bloody dispositions, held their circuit courts, through a great part of the south, and especially south-west of Scotland, particularly in the shire of Lanark, where the declaration had been proclaimed, and had lists of such as belonged to the societies, or who had shewed them any favour, in so much as permitting them to travel through their fields, and had not raised the *hue and cry* against them, and laboured to raise the country against them, or of such as did not constantly attend their parish churches—presented to them by the clerks of the places, or curates of the parishes—and fined, imprisoned, tortured, or killed them, as they pleased. Wives were prosecuted for holding any converse with, or giving any supply to their outlawed husbands, or parents with their children. Such as appeared not, were forfeited or denounced *rebels* and *outlaws*, or inter-communed in their absence. Such as did appear, and disproved that which had been laid to their charge, were never a whit better, unless they took the *test*, which was appointed to be tendered to all suspected persons as a trial of their loyalty. The council enacted, that it should be held *treasonable* for any to say, that they owned the King's authority *according to the covenants*. Nothing would

please them from the prosecuted sufferers, but an owning of it without any limitation.

Mr. Renwick, having got ordination, came from Holland in 1688, and preached in the fields. He was speedily intercommuned, and they that attended his sermons furiously sought for, by every method, to their utter destruction. While the seaports were shut up, that they might not escape out of the kingdom, they were every where pursued by the merciless soldiers. Every neighbour was sworn to discover them, and bound up from giving them meat, drink, or lodging. Informers were hired to find out their lurking places, and what persons were inclined to shew them any kindness. They were put from under the protection of the laws of their country. No terms were allowed them, but a renouncing of their principles, and by horrid oaths, involving themselves in the most dreadful perjury. The correspondent societies therefore published an *apologetical declaration*, in which they warned all such as should hereafter, by their commands, informations, apprehensions, or murders, manifest that they maliciously thirsted for their blood, might lay their account, that they would avenge their conduct in proportion to the degree of it, to the uttermost of their power. By this they hoped to deter, at least informers and country people, from hunting them out. But the council improved it, as an excitement to empower every soldier in the kingdom to kill directly in houses or fields, every person that declined to answer their queries to satisfaction, concerning his owning of the King's authority—and that the killing of Bishop Sharp was murder, and the rising at Bothwel Bridge rebellion, and concerning their renunciation of the

covenants, as unlawful and unbinding oaths;— and to impose an *oath of abjuration* renouncing said declaration, as if it declared war against his Majesty, and asserted it lawful to kill all such as serve him, in church, state, army, or country, on all the subjects on the south of Tay, as the foundation of their having a certificate or free pass to travel unmolested;—and certify, that if any travel without such a certificate, that they have taken said *oath of abjuration*, they shall be holden as communers with the execrable rebels, who published the *declaration*, and prohibit every subject to harbour, lodge, or entertain any person whatsoever, unless they have such certificates:—and enact, that if any heritor, factor, or chamberlain, do not bring all the inhabitants on their lands, before the privy counsellors, or other commissioners, to take this *oath of abjuration*, they shall be holden as guilty of the principal crimes of rebellion and assassination, and be punished accordingly: and further required, that all those who had certificates, as above, should swear, when required, that their certificates were genuine, and that they were the persons mentioned in them; and to offer a reward of five hundred merks Scots, to any who should discover any person who had a hand in framing said apologetical declaration, or was a member of the said societies.—The indulged ministers, who had carelessly beheld the sufferings of their more cruelly persecuted brethren, if not sometimes rejoiced at them, and added to them by their malevolent reproaches, had now a larger share of hardship than ever before. The council, in the end of 1684, appointed all of them to be ejected from their charges, because they had not duly observed their *instructions*, and some of them

had not observed the *anniversary fast*, in September last, and required them to give bond not to exercise their ministry in Scotland; and because they would not comply, a great number of them were imprisoned.

CHARLES having been, it is said, poisoned by his brother, and certainly got his mittimus into eternity in the Popish form, JAMES was solemnly proclaimed king, and an oath of unlimited obedience included in the proclamation, February 10, 1685. But he was never so complaisant, as to take their *coronation oath*. Some imprisoned gentlemen, and a number of indulged ministers, were released: but the persecution against *field conventicles*, and such as favoured them, still raged: many were murdered by Claverhouse, Grierson, Douglas, and other officers and soldiers; and not a few in Elginshire sadly harassed by the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and major-general Monro. The laird of Brody was fined in 20,000 merks, for having a conventicle in his house, which was given in compliment to colonel Maxwell, a Papist. The laird of Grant was fined, because his lady, who was in a bad state of health, had not attended her own church for some time, nor the neighbouring church, at six or seven miles distance, when her own was eighteen months vacant. On March 2, the new king's indemnity was published, but it excepted so many of the principal sufferers, that it was of little value. And none could have any benefit by it, without taking the oaths of that period.

The Parliament having sat down, April 28, 1685, made a cold and short act for the security of the Protestant religion. They owned his Majesty's unlimited and absolute authority, and de-

clared their abhorrence of every principle contrary to it; and convinced that no person or collective body could partake of any power and authority but in dependence on him, and by commission from him, they, for themselves and the whole nation, offered their lives and fortunes to defend and maintain him and his heirs, and lawful successors, in the possession of their crown, sovereignty, prerogatives, &c. against all mortals. For facilitating processes for treason, they ratified the former custom of proceeding against prisoners in twenty-four hours; but, for the future, allowed them to be cited in forty-eight hours:—and appointed such as refuse to swear as witnesses in cases of treason, conventicles, or church irregularities, to be punished, as guilty of those crimes in which they refuse to be witnesses. They declared it treasonable to give or take the *national covenant*, as explained in 1638, or the *solemn league and covenant*, or to write in defence of them, or to own them to be *obligatory* upon themselves or others. They declared it legal, and to be observed in all time coming, that husbands be fined for their wives' withdrawment from hearing the curates. They enacted, that the not revealing of supplies given to, or demanded for, traitors, be held and punished as treason;—that all who shall *preach* at a *house conventicle*, where *five* more than the family are present, or that shall be present as *hearers* at a conventicle where any are hearing without doors, shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods;—and that all who refuse to accept the office of magistrates, justices of peace, constables, officers of the militia, or any other employment assigned them by the king or his council, shall be fined

for their contempt. They appointed all *Protestant* heritors, life-renters, &c. except women, to take the *test* before such a time : and empowered justices of peace to proceed against church irregularities, and to have the fines of all below heritors, for their encouragement to diligence. They appointed all the subjects to take the *oath of allegiance* or *supremacy* formerly mentioned ; and ratified all that the council, the justiciary, and their commissioners had done, in banishing, imprisoning, or fining the refusers of said oath. They approved and confirmed the decision of the council, making it treason to refuse to disown the Societies' *apologetical relation*. They appointed all proprietors of lands or houses to insert in their tacks an express clause, by which the tenant shall bind himself, that he, his family, cottagers, and servants, shall live peaceably, free of all *fanatical* disorders, under pain of losing the half of their moveables, each for his own fault. They ratified the act of council for raising the *hue and cry* against all outlawed persons, particularly such as befriend *field conventicles*. They enacted, That all masters of ships, at their launching and landing, bring all their passengers before the next magistrate to give an account of themselves. They made an act for securing the present council, and all committees, judges, or officers of the army, or other commissioners under them, against all pursuits or complaints of commissions or omissions, in his majesty's service.

The earl of Argyle, in order to make a diversion in favours of the duke of Monmouth's attempt upon England, having landed with about 300 men in the west of Scotland, was quickly apprehended, and all his friends either apprehend-

ed or dispersed. This gave the council some work to execute him and his principal assistants, and to transport the rest, whom they apprehended, to America. But none of these things abated their rigour against field meetings, and such as attended on, or any way favoured them. Claverhouse, Westraw, and their military judges, murdered them as fast, in the fields or their own houses, as ever; and often would not so much as give them time to pray before death. According to order, they drowned two women in Galloway, by tying them to a stake within the sea-mark, merely for refusing to take the *Abjuration*.—Prisoners were crowded together, almost starved, and driven from one prison to another. Many were banished to the plantations, for refusing the oaths of *Supremacy* and *Abjuration*, and the *Test*, some of whom survived manifold hardships, and returned after the Revolution.—Though the correspondent societies did not join with Argyll, as they thought he and Monmouth went upon too broad a bottom, they published a *declaration*, in which they disowned the royal authority of James, on account of his being an excommunicated Papist, and murderous idolater; and declared their detestation of *Popery*, *Sectarianism*, and *malignancy*.—and their detestation of all *murderous* and *assassinating* principles, and all manner of *robbing* of open enemies or others, and all unwarrantable practices, such as the killing of the curate at Carsphearn,—which had been falsely charged upon them.

Toward the end of this year, James began to exempt his favourites, Papists or others, from taking the *Test*, while he required it to be imposed on all others, as the Parliament had order-

ed. But the persecutions against the supporters of *field conventicles*, and against the partizans of Argyle, were carried on with great vigour. John Nisbet of Hardhill, and Edward Marshall, were publicly executed. Others were more privately murdered, or died in prisons, and others scourged or banished for their non-conformity. Notwithstanding Sarah Stewart attended the curate herself, she had her house plundered, she was driven, with a sucking child, leaving other three babes behind her, to the prison of Wigton; and lay there eleven weeks, because she would not engage to discover her husband, and never to converse with him.—The soldiers continued to plunder the poor non-conformists in the cruellest manner.—Meanwhile, many who had been with Argyle, or favoured his cause, were obliged to hide themselves in dens and caves of the earth, and others were forced to pay prodigious compositions for their fines. About eighty of them, mostly of the name of *Campbell*, were indicted, and sentenced to be executed, when apprehended.

In the three following years, 1686—1688, the registers of the privy council are wanting.—And to lull the nation asleep, for the more peaceable introduction of Popery, James and his agents abated their persecuting rage. But the contentions between the persecuted themselves rather increased. The most false and groundless reproaches were invented and spread against Mr. Renwick and his friends. These had not a little alienated holy Mr. Peden from him; but Mr. Renwick's conference with him on his death-bed, fully removed all his prejudices, and made him sorry that ever he had so credited these misrepresentations of him. One of the ministers, who

came over with Argyle, provoked that Mr. Renwick and his friends did not readily join that nobleman, accused them of overturning Presbyterian government, and setting up a popular confusion instead of it,—committing the trial and censure of scandals to men that were not church officers;—of thrusting themselves into the magistrate's room, as a *convention of Estates*, and managing both civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the same persons, and in the same Assembly;—and of imposing unhappy restrictions on ministers, in the exercise of their ministry, and requiring all to be disowned who were not precisely of their judgment with respect to debated points. Alexander Gordon, John Dick, and Robert Cathcart, exceedingly misrepresented and reproached Mr. Renwick and his adherents, both in Scotland and Holland, as, contrary to our covenants, acting like Papists, who believe their church infallible,—in declining to hear a minister, be he ever so faithful, for the least alleged personal failing;—like Independents, taking upon them to depose ministers, and differing little from the Separatists;—in sending over a youth scarcely read in the common heads of divinity, to be ordained at Groningen in Holland, a most corrupt church; and setting him up, as Jeroboam did his idol calves, instead of the faithful ministers of the church of Scotland;—and in judging of faults, dispensing censures, and making ecclesiastical laws and acts, as if they, though laics, were a General Assembly. These odious calumnies obliged Mr. Renwick and his friends to publish their *Informatory Vindication*, from which, as well as from *Renwick's Life*, and the *Minutes of their general Correspondence*, lately published, it is abun-

dantly manifest, that Mr. Renwick was a young man of uncommon piety, solid judgment, and great candour, humility, meekness, and prudence, with whom none of his reproachers, for ought I know, were worthy to be compared; that, by the kind providence of God, and the pious condescension of the Dutch ministers concerned, he got his instruction and ordination in a cleanly manner; that neither he nor his friends ever thought every personal failing of a minister a cause of deposing him, or even so much as of withdrawing from him in the most broken state of the church; that, in their correspondent meetings, they did not judge either of scandal or censure of offenders, but of their own duty with respect to them, whether the scandal was such as to warrant their withdrawment from them; which power the Scripture allowed them, Rom. vi. 17. 2 Thess. iii 6, 14; that, though they had rejected the authority of the present magistrates as tyrants, who had no authority from God, nor according to the good laws of the land, yet they had no more set up themselves or meetings in their room, than those who had declined the authority of the bishops had thrust themselves into their episcopal office; that they never intended to lay any restrictions on ministers, but only desired, That they would declare the whole counsel of God, and would freely preach up all duties, and down all sins. Mr. Renwick and some of his friends, having afterward met with Robert Cathcart, attacked him on his *defamatory information*, which he had been so careful to spread far and near: he was obliged to excuse himself by saying, That he had wrote of them not as what they were, but what they would be.

How villanous such conduct, and how shameful for Wodrow to give him and his Information such honourable place in his history!

While Mr. Renwick was thus abused by widespread calumnies, and sometimes by protestations against his preaching at places, given in by fellow-sufferers, especially apostates from the correspondent societies, King James laboured with all his might to have all the penal laws against Popery annulled, in order that it might be speedily established. Their Arminian principles, unconcern about any thing serious, and lust of court favour, and the promotions which they expected from it, made most of the established clergy ready to comply with his intentions. He therefore summoned a Parliament to meet in April 1686. Great care was taken to prepare the members for compliance with his will. But Whitford, son to one of the former bishops, who had long before turned Papist, and had been concerned in the massacre of the remains of the Waldenses in Piedmont, having, notwithstanding all that the Popish priests could do or say, died in great horror, a few days before the Parliament, confessing his execrable murders, and crying out against Popery as that *bloody religion!* Sir Robert Sibbald, a most learned antiquary and physician, having been lately persuaded, by the Earl of Perth, to turn Papist, had scarcely done so, when he was ashamed of his conduct, retired to London, and after some months retirement from company, and close study, became so fully convinced of the errors of Popery, that he could not be easy, till he had come down to Edinburgh, to make a *public recantation* in the church, a few weeks before the Parliament met. These events, so circumstan-

tiated, awakened many, especially of the laity, to their old zeal against Popery. Notwithstanding James's earnest letter, and all that his agents could deal with members, by promises or threatenings, the Parliament refused to repeal the penal laws. Some of the principal opposers were therefore turned out of their places, which they held under the crown, and their places, especially in the privy council, supplied with Papists. At the same time, Popish books were industriously dispersed through the nation, while all printing or selling of any thing contrary to his Majesty's absolute dispensing power, or to his Popish religion, was carefully repressed.

Having got the council modelled to his mind, James continued his zeal against *field conventicles*. £.100 Sterling was offered to any that should bring in Mr. Renwick, either dead or alive, and some of his friends were murdered in the fields. Some also of Argyle's assistants were condemned to death in their absence. But, encouraged by the English judges, to believe it an inherent right of the crown to dispense with all laws, James required the council to support and maintain his *innocent* catholics, who, amidst all the unnatural rebellions raised against himself, his royal brother, and father, had still adhered to the royal interest, supported the crown, and died for the peace of their persecutors, against all the penal laws, and in the free private exercise of their religion in their own houses; and to take under their special protection and care, his chaplains and others, whom he had appointed to celebrate the worship of God, in the Popish manner, in his chapel at Holyroodhouse, and to take care to punish all preachers or others, who should insinuate that he intended to make any *violent* alteration

of the established religion. In February 1687, after recommending it to the council to root out the *field conventicles*, with all the severity of the laws, and the most rigorous prosecution by the forces—he, by his sovereign authority and *absolute power*, granted a TOLERATION to *moderate Presbyterians* to meet in their *private houses*, and hear such ministers as accepted the *indulgence*, and said or did nothing seditious or treasonable, contrary to the peace of his reign;—and to *Quakers*, &c.;—and to Papists—so that they shall be as free in all respects, as any Protestant subjects, to exercise their religion, and enjoy all offices, benefices, &c. which he might think fit to bestow upon them:—and, by the same absolute power, suspended, stopped, and disabled all laws, customs, or constitutions against any Papists, and cased, annulled, and discharged all oaths, by which any subjects were disabled from holding places, &c. and all laws enjoining the said oaths; and in place thereof, only require them to swear an oath, bearing, that he was rightful King, or supreme governor of these realms, and of all persons therein; and that it is unlawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to rise in arms against him or any commissioned by him; and that the swearers should never so rise in arms, nor assist any that did so, nor ever resist his person or authority, but should, to the utmost of their power, assist, defend, and maintain him, and his heirs and lawful successors, in the exercise of their ABSOLUTE power and authority, against all deadly. The council having published this proclamation with all solemnity, returned him an answer approving it, and intimating their readiness to prosecute the ends of it, and thanking him for his *royal word* for maintaining the Protestant

religion, as the best security they could have. Duke Hamilton and the Earls of Panmure and Dundonald, having refused to subscribe this answer, were by him quickly turned out of the council. And the council was required to suffer no Presbyterian minister to preach without their allowance, nor until they had sworn the above-mentioned oath to maintain his unlimited and irresistible power. But quickly after, he allowed the Presbyterian ministers to preach during his pleasure, and so long as they behaved agreeably to his will, without taking this oath. Amidst all this lenity, sixteen men and five women were banished to America, because they would not own the present authority to be according to the word of God, nor condemn the *Sanquhar declaration*, nor engage never to hear Mr. Renwick.

Finding that his two former *indulgences* had little effect, James, in July 1687, caused his council proclaim a third, in which he declared his protection of the bishops, &c. in the free exercise of *their* Protestant religion, and his suspending, stopping, and disabling, by his absolute power, all penal laws made against any for non-conformity to the established religion—and allowed all his subjects to meet and worship God after their own way, in private houses, chapels, or places hired and built for that purpose, providing that his counsellors or sheriffs be informed of such houses, and of the names of the preachers; and that these meetings be peaceably and openly held, and all persons freely admitted to them, and nothing taught which may any way tend to alienate the subjects from him, or his government—but commanding all the judges, magistrates, and officers of the army, vigorously to prosecute all such as

were guilty of preaching at, or attending *field conventicles*. Upon this, most of the Scotch ministers who had been banished, or had retired to other countries, returned home; and, at a meeting of Presbyterian ministers at Edinburgh, a considerable number agreed not only to accept the *toleration*, but also to present an *address of thanks* to James for it, which they not very candidly subscribed, in name of their brethren, as well as their own. After this, the Presbyterian ministers began to hold presbyteries and synods, as their circumstances permitted.—Mr. Renwick and his followers, who were as much exposed as ever, paid no regard to this toleration, but published a *testimony* against it, and were much offended with those Presbyterian ministers who had complied with, and solemnly thanked James, on account of it. They looked on the *granter* as one with whom they could not communicate in any such transaction, being by his principles bound to keep no faith with heretics, and having repeatedly shewed his treachery and dissimulation;—and as an apostate, bigotted, and excommunicated Papist, and, as such, under the curse of Christ, as well as under the imprecations of his grandfather, who wished the curse of God to fall upon such of his posterity as should, at any time, turn Papists. They looked on him as no magistrate; but, by the laws of the land, incapable of government, having neither given, nor being capable to give the security required by the coronation oath. They looked on the toleration itself, as plainly proceeding from his usurpation of an absolute and unlimited power, inconsistent with the law of God and liberties of mankind; that it implied in it a dispensation of all the penal laws against Pa-

pists, and its proper tendency was to introduce a lawless loyalty, establish royal tyranny, and unite the hearts of Protestants to Papists as safe neighbours. They observed, that, by means of it, Papists were encouraged, their numbers increased, and the executive power lodged in their hands, &c. They considered it as dishonourable to the cause of Christ, to be merely tolerated under the notion of a crime, and the exercise of it clogged with unlawful restrictions of speaking nothing against Popery, Prelacy, or absolute power of Kings. They looked on it as extending not only to archbishops and bishops, but to all Quakers and Papists, and so opening a door for all blasphemy and idolatry.—They looked on the acceptance of it as a scandal, which could not but offend the generation of the righteous. They considered the *addresses* of thanks made on this occasion as a train of fulsome and blasphemous flatteries, to the dishonour of God, the reproach of his cause, the betraying of the church, the hurt of the nation, and the exposing of the addressers to contempt. With respect to the ministers' *address* above mentioned, they observed, how contrary it was to Presbyterian principles to congratulate an antichristian usurper, for undermining religion and overturning laws and liberties;—to justify the abrogation of the national covenants, in giving thanks for a liberty, by which all the laws confirming them, or confirmed in them, are cased and disabled;—to thank their King for opening a door for bringing in Popery, which, by their solemn covenants with God, they were deeply engaged to extirpate. Thus, like the body of the English dissenters, Renwick and his friends had no freedom to accept of liberty, at the ex-

pense of the free introduction of Popery, and the enslaving of their nation. They also solemnly asserted the *perpetual obligation* of the *national covenant* and *solemn league*; and the propriety of keeping up field meetings for gospel ordinances, as a retaining of that liberty which Christ had given, whether magistrates will or not;—as a public testimony against the public dishonours done to Christ; as a testimony against the Popish toleration, and as a public testimony for the *headship* of Jesus Christ *alone*, in opposition to the injuries done him, and for our covenants, which are declared criminal by the same law which prohibits these meetings;—and in order to prevent the discouragement of friends to a covenanted work of reformation, and the hardening of enemies, and encouraging them to banish all meetings out of the land.

Soon after, Mr. Renwick, who had been marvellously preserved, notwithstanding about fifteen or twenty desperate searches for him, was apprehended in the beginning of 1688. Notwithstanding none had spoken before the council or judiciary with more boldness and freedom, yet such was the sense, meekness, and candour with which he answered their questions, and spake in his own defence, that even his persecutors were affected, and behaved with uncommon mildness to him, who had for several years been the distinguished butt of their malice. He, like the Marquis of Argyle, Messrs. Guthry, Cargil, Kid, King, and the other martyrs, had his soul ravished with the consolations of Christ for some time before, and at his death. And after it, few, except some of the Presbyterian ministers who had been *indulged* and *thanked* James for his toleration, and the Pa-

pists, spoke of him without reverence or regard. Nay, the faithful sufferers in general, at their public worship, their society meetings, and private and secret exercises of religion, had generally such gales of divine influence on their souls, as balanced all their outward troubles. Even in this world, they received their hundred fold with persecution. So good a master is Christ to his faithful servants.

Meanwhile the Romish priests bestirred themselves to their utmost, to fill the country with *catechisms* and *manuals of devotion*. James and his agents laboured to cramp the liberties of the Presbyterians as much as they could, and to prosecute and turn them out of their preachinghouses, on any frivolous pretence; and still more eagerly prosecuted the followers of Renwick. James declared his dissolution of all judicatories and magistrates in royal burghs, and that he would maintain all his former proclamations; and threatened those that would not comply with his measures. To debar Mary and Anne, his two Protestant daughters, from the succession to the crown, a pregnancy, and at last a delivery of a son by his queen, was publicly asserted, and solemn thanksgivings to God, on that account, appointed. But most of the Protestants believed the whole to be an imposture, instead of the miraculous effect of a vow her Majesty had made to the Virgin Mary of Loretto.—Informed that William Prince of Orange, the husband of his daughter Mary, invited by many persons of rank, intended to invade Britain, and at least procure the subjects' security for their religion and liberties, he amused the English with hopes of a Parliament, and pretended to ask the advice of the

and circuit courts, making some incur forfeiture of life or property for the most general and harmless converse with their nearest relations outlawed;—empowering officers and soldiers barbarously to destroy, hang, shoot, and drown the subjects, without any form of law, or any respect to age or sex—not giving some of them time to pray to God for mercy; and all this for no other reason, but because they would not satisfy them in such questions as they proposed to them without any warrant of law, and against the common interest of mankind, which frees all men from being obliged to discover their secret thoughts—besides a great many other violences and oppressions, &c.—The council emitted a proclamation to prevent the spread of it; but it made people the more fond of seeing it.

Notwithstanding their deep poverty, the followers of Mr. Renwick, who had Mr. Linning ordained for them in Holland, as his successor, had, a little before, collected L.240 Sterling, and therewith ransomed a number of their brethren, that had been transported to be slaves in Barbadoes. They had scarcely heard of William's landing in England, when they warned the western curates, peaceably to leave their charges; and some who did not, were more sharply used. They also laid out themselves to destroy all monuments of Popish idolatry, not only in the west, but some of them in Edinburgh. They, but with too little unanimity, renewed the covenants at Lesmahago. They used what influence they could, to have proper persons elected to be representatives in the convention of Estates; and with no great unanimity raised a number of men to guard it, and

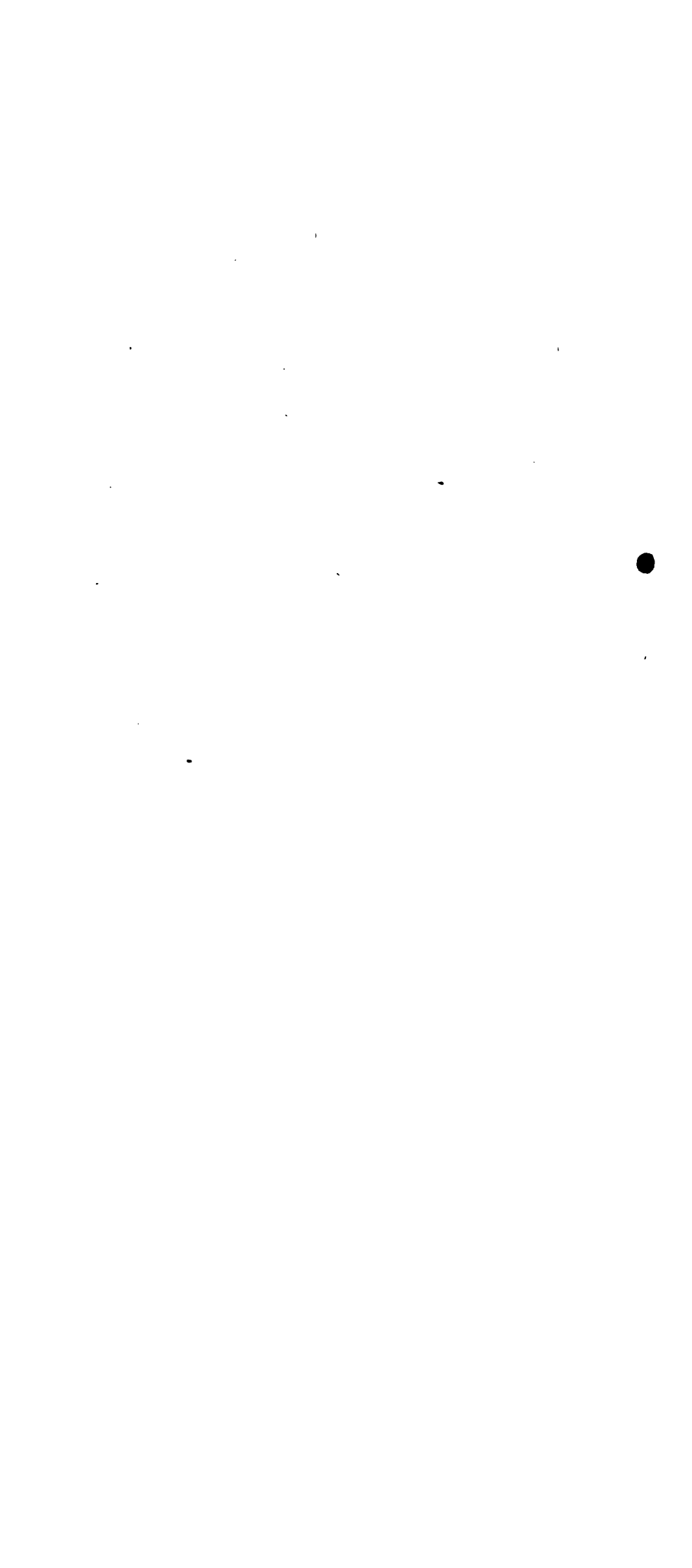
otherwise promote the establishment of William on the throne. Many of them were formed into their regiment under Lord Angus, which served against Claverhouse and his malignants; but while their junction with the established forces displeased many of their friends, they were not over well used by the managers of the state and officers of the army at the battle of Gillicranky, &c. These societies prepared an ADDRESS to the Prince of Orange, in order to have their grievances redressed; but, by reason of their divisions among themselves, and some incidents which retarded it, till it was too late, it was never presented, as neither was their petition to the convention of Estates. They drew up a petition to the Parliament 1690, in which they complained that the redress of grievances had been so long delayed; that, though Prelacy had been abolished, yet many wicked acts supporting it, and suppressing Presbyterian government, were not yet repealed, and many of the curates continued in the peaceable possession of those churches into which they had been intruded; that many acts or forfeitures stood unrepealed; that many acts condemning our covenants and covenanted reformation as rebellion, and imposing wicked oaths and bonds, stood yet unrepealed; that many, who had been active in the late persecuting times, and even murderers of their brethren, were continued, or admitted to places of power and trust—and craved, that these grievances may be redressed; and that Presbyterian government may be restored as it was established in 1649; that a full and free General Assembly of Presbyterian ministers and elders be called,

with full power to order church affairs, cognosce public scandals, remove intruders from churches, and plant them with faithful ministers; that patronage, the King's *supremacy* over ecclesiastical causes, and all *indulgences* proceeding from it and the late *toleration*, proceeding from absolute power, be condemned, as contrary to law, and abolished; that some proper method be devised for renewing of the covenants; and the administration hereof left to the General Assembly. This petition was presented to the committee for the church, but disregarded by most, and never presented to the Parliament.

Meanwhile, another *address* was drawn up in name of many thousands, representing to William, still Prince of Orange, how the prevailing party, who had apostatized from their former reformation, had, by laws, bonds, and oaths, excluded such as were able and faithful, from all places of power and trust both in church and state; had invested the King with an absolute supremacy over both church and state, by which he might dispense with all laws, and issue forth what commands he pleased, to be obeyed without gainsaying; had enacted and executed many laws, persecuting men by fines, imprisonment, death, or the like, for their adherence to the true religion, and particularly for preaching and hearing the gospel; had annulled all the reforming Parliaments between 1638 and 1650, and all their acts, though part of them had been ratified by the King; had terribly oppressed the nation by enormous taxes, and by annexing to the crown (or bestowing on favourites) the estates of such as they pleased to punish with forfeiture; had required persons of all sexes, degrees, or quality, to depone against

delinquents, their nearest relations; and that such as refused to depone against themselves, should be holden guilty of what was inquired at them; and that masters be answerable for their tenants, wives, children, servants, and cottars, that they shall not attend conventicles; had indemnified all judges and officers of the army, against all pursuits that can be raised against them, for what they do, or omit, in serving his Majesty—even in wounding and killing such as fled from their barbarities, &c. &c. These things they illustrate from the several ACTS of that period, and from the practices of the managers. And they supplicate, that a free Parliament may be speedily called, in which no bishop or evil counsellor may sit; that the public oaths may be laid aside or rectified; that Prelacy may be abolished, since it had always been a grievance in this land, and was contrary to the word of God and our solemn covenants; that Presbyterian government be restored, as in the reformation period, and renewed in 1638, and continued till 1660; that such Presbyterian ministers as are yet alive be restored to their charges, and the present curates, who are generally intruders or scandalous, be liable to the judgment of the church judicatories; that *patronages* be abolished as in 1649; that the subjects be restored to their several civil rights, and fines and forfeitures restored, &c. Whether this large and sensible paper was presented to William I know not. But the Presbyterian ministers presented a short one, in which, after congratulating his appearance for their relief, and apologizing for their compliance with the late toleration, they beseech him to take effectual methods for delivering them from the yoke of Prelacy, which had

been obtruded contrary to the will of the church, and to the genius of the nation—and for restoring Presbyterian church government, and Presbyterian ministers that were still alive, to their former charges.



CHAPTER VII.

King William being enthroned, Prelacy is abolished, and Presbytery re-established—Many, but not all, grievances redressed—Many good Acts of Assemblies—Religion almost at a stand for above twenty years—but afterwards much hurt by the Union Settlement—By the Abjuration Oath—Toleration Act—Restoration of Patronage—Condemnation of the Marrow—Simson, Glass, Campbell, Wishart, &c.'s Errors—Manifold Divisions thereby occasioned.

THE Convention of Estates having met in April 1689, found that James, being a professed Papist, had assumed the royal power, and acted as King, without ever taking the coronation oath required by law; and had invaded the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy to an absolute and despotic power; and had exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation; and inverted the ends of government, by which he had forfeited the crown—and the throne was

and, and declared it high treason to disown or repugn the same ; appointed the new oath of allegiance to them, to be sworn by all in public ; and rescinded all preceding laws and acts of Parliament, in so far as they imposed any other oaths of allegiance, supremacy, declarations, and test, except the oath of fidelity in administering particular offices. They abolished Prelacy as a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation.—

In their second session, April, 1690, they rescinded the act of 1669, which established the king's unlimited supremacy over the church ; they restored the ministers that were thrust from their charges since 1660, to them. They ratified the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, engrossing it into their act, as the public confession of the Scotch church, and restored Presbyterian government as agreeable to the word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true godliness, as was settled in Act 114 of the Parliament 1692 ; reviving said act, in all its heads and clauses, except that part of it which relates to patronage, which they afterward rescinded ; and placed the power of electing ministers in Protestant heritors and ruling elders, leaving to the congregation to give their consent or their dissent, supported by reasons to be judged by the presbytery. They lodged all the power of church government in the restored Presbyterian ministers, and ministers or elders admitted by them, and allowed them to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, and erroneous ministers, and appointed their first General Assembly to meet at Edinburgh on the third day of October next.

ed by him restored to what it was in 1592,—the discipline so retrieved, that all ecclesiastical courts may, without restraint, assert all the authority, and exercise all the power, with which he hath entrusted them,—Erastian usurpations are abrogated,—the church's *intrinsic* power redintegrated, and the corruptions introduced by compliances so far abdicated, that they are not in the constitution of the church, and do not continue to be the scandal and snare of the times;—and lamenting, That in zeal to purge out corruptions,—in acknowledging all former attainments in reformation,—in renovation of our solemn covenants with God,—and in faithful testifying against all corruptions of great or small;—the glory of the church appeared much inferior to what it had been in former times;—they therefore beseech the Assembly, that in order to a happy and desirable communion of all the friends of a covenanted work of reformation,—the several steps of defection in the preceding period be diligently inquired into, confessed and condemned; particularly ministers laying aside the exercise of their ministry at the command of the magistrate,—giving way to, not testifying against, but even submitting to, and encouraging others to submit to the ministry of the curates, who were manifest intruders;—Erastians both in principle and practice,—schismatics, who caused divisions and offences contrary to the received doctrine and order of this church,—perjured covenant breakers,—in several points erroneous,—and in several respects scandalous; and while the hearing of and submitting to them was required as an evidence of hearty compliance with Erastianism and Prelacy, and of yielding to the rescinding of our co-

venants,—and gave offence, hardening those that complied with Prelacy, and weakening the hands and condemning the sufferings of such as opposed it,—and amounting to a preferring of them to the faithful ministers of the true church of Scotland, as the case was circumstantiated. 2. The horrid violations of our solemn covenants with God; and substituting in their rooms, such *oaths*, *bonds*, and *tests*, as solemnly renounced them, and obliged to contrary courses,—all which inferred or implied a sinful confederacy with the wicked managers in promoting a course of apostacy from God,—were, in the sense of the imposers, condemnatory of, or contradictory to the covenants, and some part of the covenanted reformation,—were imposed by the malignants without consent of the church, and could not be sworn in truth, judgment and righteousness. 3. What injuries had been done to Christ's incommunicable headship over his church by the king's usurped supremacy, and what proceeded therefrom; particularly the *indulgences*, the plain end of contriving and granting which was to advance and establish the *supremacy*, and divide Presbyterians among themselves; and the granting of which included an exertion of the whole power of the supremacy, in taking away and restoring at pleasure the power of Christ's stewards; and the acceptance of which was considered by the granter, as implying a submission to all the sinful restrictions contained in his grant,—and was a faint yielding to prevailing Erastianism, and defection from former ministerial freedom and faithfulness; and thus hardened Erastian enemies, stumbled real friends, and offended posterity. 4. The late toleration,

and addressing for it, and acceptance of it, which plainly proceeded from an usurped absolute power, and was intended for the introduction of Popery and slavery ;—was extended not only to Prelacy, but to Popery, Quakerism, and all idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy, contrary to the word of God, our confession and covenants ;—was clogged with such limitations as exceedingly hampered the freedom of the ministry ;—and was exceedingly scandalous, disgraceful to the Protestant religion, as if it were only to be suffered as an evil thing ; confounding and grieving to our true friends ; and occasioned disdainful insulting of Prelatists and Papists over Presbyterians and covenanters. 5. General want of zeal and faithfulness in renewing our covenants with God, notwithstanding they have been so fearfully broken and affronted. 6. Too general silence, or only ambiguous speaking against the crying sins of the preceding period, which cannot be controverted among Presbyterians, as imposing and taking bonds contrary to the covenants and work of reformation, in order to shift persecution, or to purchase preferments ;—manifold forms of persecution, and even shedding of the blood of multitudes for righteousness' sake. 7. That many who had sworn the wicked oaths, and sundry ways persecuted the godly, were admitted to sealing ordinances ; and that many, who had habitually complied with prelacy, and borne office under it, and had taken the above-mentioned oaths and bonds, were admitted to be ruling elders ; and some who had been trained up to be curates admitted to the ministry, without any proper evidence of their repentance.—And though they did not plead, That every one of these offences,

or every degree of any, should be proceeded against by disciplinary censure; yet they pled, That as the Convention and Parliament had found prelacy, supremacy, and the like, contrary to the laws of the land, the Assembly would find these, and the fruits thereof, contrary to the laws of Christ, and state them as causes of a solemn general fast;—that proper methods be taken for renewing our covenants in a manner accommodated to their circumstances,—none being forced to swear or subscribe, or so much as admitted, unless they appear to have a competent knowledge and sense of the sins acknowledged, and duties engaged to therein; and that, in answerableness to the allowance of Parliament, due care be taken to purge out all curates that are either *insufficient, negligent, erroneous, or scandalous*, as the continuance of such had done much hurt after 1638;—the people are perishing in ignorance and irreligion under their ministry, and their continuance will exceedingly obstruct the planting of the Lord's vineyard with faithful pastors.—This *large paper* was given into the committee of overtures, and read by them; but, in their report of the impropriety of reading it, it was carried by one vote in the Assembly, that it should not be read there. The printed act of Assembly says, that the committee of overtures represented, that though this paper contained several good things in it, yet it also contained several peremptory and gross mistakes, unseasonable and impracticable proposals, and uncharitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contention than to compose divisions. But Mr. Linning, in his preface to Shields on *Church communion*, strongly avers that these

words were not in the original minutes, but afterwards fraudulently foisted in by the clerk, and the correctors of that act for the press.

In their *short paper*, they do little more than intimate, That, after laying their *larger paper* at the feet of the Assembly, to be disposed of as they should judge proper, they declared their subjection of *themselves* and doctrine to the judicatories, and promised to live in union and communion with, and subjection and due obedience to, the authority of this church. This the Assembly accepted of, and received them into church fellowship with them. The societies with which Messrs. Linning, Shields, and Boyd were connected, likewise gave into the committee of overtures a pretty large representation of their grievances, the substance of which was much the same as that of their preachers. It was ordered to be put into the hands of those that were to draw up the *Causes of the general fast*, that they might make a proper use of it. Notwithstanding they were not satisfied, many, if not most of these societies, especially where they had more godly and faithful ministers in their parishes, joined in the establishment, giving in testimonies against what they took to be wrong, to the ministers or sessions, at their junction.

This Assembly ordered Presbyteries to censure the late incumbents, or others who should not observe the fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the church, or should privately administer the sacraments, celebrate clandestine marriages without due proclamation of banns, or be guilty of any other irregular carriage. They appointed, that all probationers licensed to preach, all entrants into the ministry, and all other ministers

to purge out all who, upon due trial, should be found *insufficient, negligent, scandalous, or erroneous*;—to take care that none should be admitted by them to ministerial communion, or a share of church government, but such as are found to be orthodox in their doctrine, of competent abilities, of a pious, loyal, and peaceable conversation, and of an edifying gift, and who may be expected to be true and faithful to God and the government, and diligent in their ministerial work; and to proceed very cautiously in receiving information and inflicting censures on the late conformists, that none may have ground to complain.

No part of their work required more candour and faithfulness than their act for a general fast, and nowhere were they more deficient. They indeed assign as grounds of humiliation, that the nation had dealt treacherously with God, and been unstedfast in his covenant;—the interests of Christ, and privileges of his church, had been sacrificed to the lusts of men; the King's supremacy over the church advanced in such a way, and to such an height, as no Christian church had ever acknowledged; the government of the church altered, and Prelacy, which hath been always grievous to this nation, introduced, and many of the then standing ministry of Scotland had suddenly and readily complied with it; many faithful ministers had thereupon been cast out, and insufficient and scandalous men intruded on their charges; and many families ruined, because they would not own them as their pastors; ungodly, unlawful oaths and bonds had been imposed and taken, and many ruined and oppressed for not

tions concerned. The sentiments of most of his courtiers were much the same. Many persons of rank were so concerned about their own temporal deliverance, and getting back their forfeited estates, that they much overlooked the spiritual interests of the church. Not a few of the ministers wanted proper zeal, and others were loth to break with them. Wearied of their long and dreadful persecution, which had murdered or rendered outwardly miserable about eighteen or twenty thousand in Scotland, and sixty thousand in England, the Presbyterians were generally willing to take up with less than they wished, rather than to provoke William and the great ones to frown upon them, and disturb their quiet. Hence the reformation which took place between 1638 and 1650 was wilfully overlooked, and the wicked acts of Charles's first Parliament, in so far as they buried it, or the Parliaments which established it, left unrescinded. The Parliament laid aside a draught of an act, which but debarred such as had been active in the persecuting work from places of power and trust. As the state did not rescind all the laws in favours of Erastianism, or against our covenants, the church did not so plainly assert the *sole headship* of Christ over his church, and her *intrinsic* power to manage all her spiritual concerns independent of the magistrate, nor the *divine right* of Presbyterian government, nor the *perpetual obligation* of our solemn covenants, as the opposition thereto in the preceding period called for: nor were either church or state much inclined to put their necks afresh under this yoke of God.

No doubt, encouraged by his courtiers, King William laboured to render the Presbyterians and their judicatories as dependent on the civil authority as he could. By keeping the curates in their churches, allowing them their stipends, and even procuring for many, perhaps some hundreds of them, an easy access to the established church, he laboured to promote his own carnal interests. By two letters to their Commission, and another to the *Assembly*, 1692, he strongly urged Presbyterian ministers to proceed further in assuming these Episcopalian curates into a share of the established church government. And, because the Assembly did not seem so forward in this matter as he wished, the Earl of Lothian, his commissioner, dissolved their meeting without naming any future diet. Mr. Crichton, their moderator, remonstrated against this dissolution, and in their name boldly declared, *That the office-bearers in the house of God have a spiritual* INTRINSIC *power from Jesus Christ, the ONLY HEAD of his church, to meet in Assemblies about the affairs thereof, the necessity of the same being represented to the magistrate; and craved, that the dissolution of this Assembly without indicting a new one to a certain day, might not be to the prejudice of our yearly General Assemblies, granted us by the laws of the kingdom—and named the 2d of August next year for the diet of their next meeting. To this remonstrance all the members declared their adherence. This free, faithful, and open testimony for the sole headship of Christ and intrinsic power of his church, much gladdened the hearts of the godly, who were grieved for the neutrality and indifference about the cause of Christ which then prevailed. But some ministers,*

addicted to the court, clandestinely apologized for this honest dealing to his Majesty, as if it had been improper; nor did any of them hold their appointed meeting of Assembly next year.

Not only did King William, five or six times in his reign, adjourn the meeting of the General Assembly, and was too readily obeyed, but the Parliament 1698, by their 6th act, appointed the new *oath of allegiance*, together with an *assurance*, sincerely acknowledging William and Mary the only lawful and undoubted Sovereigns of this realm by *right*, as well as by *possession*, and faithfully engaging to maintain their title and government against the late King James, and all his adherents, and all others—to be taken not only by all noblemen, and all civil and military officers, but also by all ministers of the gospel, clerks of church judicatories, precentors, and voters in the election of ministers, under pain of their being deprived of their offices and salaries, or banished, or otherwise punished, as the privy council should judge proper. By their 23d act, *for settling the quiet and peace of the church*, after a solemn and perpetual confirmation of act 5th, 1690, ratifying the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Presbyterian government, in all the heads, articles, and clauses thereof, they further enacted, That none, who had not first taken and subscribed the *oath of allegiance*, and subscribed the *assurance*, and also subscribed the Confession of Faith, *as the confession of his faith*, and acknowledged Presbyterian government, as now settled, to be the only government of this church, and promised to submit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof—be admitted, or

hereafter continued, a minister or preacher within this church; and that all the curates who had not yet been assumed by the Presbyterian courts, should, within thirty days, offer themselves for admission on the above terms; that if they did so, they should have their Majesties' protection, unless they should, within thirty days after their said application, be proved *scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient*: And farther ordained, That the privy council, and all other magistrates, judges, and officers of justice, give all due assistance in rendering the sentences of church judicatories effectual. By their 27th act, 1695, the Parliament again required all ministers, Presbyterian and Episcopalian, who had not taken the above-mentioned engagements to the government, to qualify themselves without delay, under pain of deprivation from both *office and benefice*. The Parliament of 1698, appointing a monthly fast on account of the war with France, and other grounds, had been less disliked by many, had not one publicly declared end of that war been to cause Lewis XIV. of France make *reparation to the holy See of Rome* for whatsoever he had acted against it, and make void all the infamous proceedings of the Parliament of Paris against the *holy father Pope Innocent XI*.

The bulk of the Presbyterian ministers did what they could to comply with his Majesty's pleasure. They pretended, that the *oath of allegiance* and the *assurance* were imposed on them as subjects, and not as a condition of, or qualification for their holding or exercising their office. But the words of the act imposing them, and especially the exclusion of Mr. James Hogg from sitting in the Assembly 1695, by the King's

commissioner and advocate, on account of his want of that legal qualification, plainly manifested the contrary. These ministers not only frowned on, reproached, and harassed Mr. Hogg, and others no less loyal than themselves, because they looked on the imposition of said oath and assurance as a political snare, disgracing their office, and making them liable, on every change of civil government, solemnly to acknowledge the rights of the present governors; and as an Erastian addition to the ministerial qualifications prescribed by Jesus Christ. Several processes were at once commenced against the eminently pious and useful Mr. John Hepburn of Orr, in Galloway, on account of his open and perhaps sometimes imprudent testimonies against the taking of that oath, and other defects of the revolution church, and his preaching and baptizing within the bounds of some of his laxer brethren. After suspending him from the exercise of his ministry, they stirred up the magistrates to punish him with a long imprisonment at Edinburgh. He at length submitted, and was restored to the exercise of his office; but, returning to his reprehended conduct, he was deposed in 1705, as one that obstinately continued in erroneous opinions and schismatical courses. In 1694, the Assembly agreed on a FORMULA for the reception of the curates, in which, answerably to the command of the Parliament above-mentioned, they should declare their belief of the whole doctrines contained in the *Confession of Faith*, and engage constantly to maintain them, and should acknowledge Presbyterian government now settled by law, to be the only government of this church, (N. B. not the only government prescribed by

Christ in his word) and engaged to submit to and concur with it, and to observe an uniformity of public worship, as at present performed and allowed in this church.

Meanwhile the Parliament made sundry good acts for confirming the laws in favours of the Confession of Faith and Presbyterian church government; and for restraining blasphemy, profaneness, clandestine and irregular marriages, spread of Popery, and holding of weekly markets on Saturdays and Mondays, in towns;—and for settlement of schools and encouragement of preachers, particularly in the *North*, &c.;—and application of vacant stipends to promote such purposes. The Assembly fixed the proportion of commissioners to its meetings, viz. two ministers and one ruling elder, from Presbyteries of not above twelve ministers; three ministers and one elder from Presbyteries of not above eighteen ministers; four ministers and two elders from Presbyteries of not above twenty-four ministers, and so proportionally in larger Presbyteries; and that none should be admitted members but ministers and ruling elders. Finding that the Assembly of 1642's burdening their allowance of transportation, in some cases—with burghs maintaining of students of divinity at the universities, in order to prevent the need of it, as much as possible, and that the Commission of 1650's lamenting over the sinfulness of frequent transportations, even to eminent charges, had not effectually restrained vacancies from troubling their neighbours and judicatories with attempts to procure ministers, probationers being scarce, from other congregations, they, by act 6th, 1694, recommended to all vacant congregations, not to call any settled

minister from any other congregation, till they had first seriously, but without success, endeavoured to be supplied with a free object. And, for preventing transportation, they afterwards, in their *Large Overtures concerning discipline and government*, declare the power of supplying vacancies to belong only to their own Presbytery, and that no minister of another Presbytery ought so much as occasionally to preach in them, but with advice of the neighbouring ministers, and the *harmonious* consent of the elders;—and that Presbyteries should labour *by all means to prevent transportation* of ministers who are already usefully settled; as transportation is often a *great grievance*, and is *seldom* to be practised. They appointed every minister to lecture a considerable portion of scripture, according to the Westminster *directory for public worship*; that candidates for preaching the gospel be sufficiently known to be of a sober, grave, prudent, and pious behaviour, and like to be useful and edifying in the church, and be duly attested in order to licence, or when removing from one Presbytery to another; and that no minister employ any in his own pulpit, but with the consent of the Presbytery; that great caution be used, both in admitting and censuring of curates; that no minister be hastily censured for not qualifying himself according to the civil law; that, in order to restrain the abounding profaneness, ministers preach plainly and faithfully against it, judicatories impartially exercise discipline against offenders—proper testimonials be required on a person's removal from one place to another—ministers and elders take care that the worship of God be daily performed in families—

none be ruling elders who do not make conscience of this necessary duty—none grossly ignorant or scandalous be admitted to the Lord's Table—and ministers and sessions apply to magistrates for execution of the acts of Parliament against profaneness. They further appointed, that preachers in vacant congregations, particularly in the *North*, should have a proper allowance out of the vacant stipends; that all intrusions of curates or others into vacant congregations should be carefully prevented; that Presbyteries carefully maintain exercises and additions, by members at their meetings—have frequent privy censures—and maintain bursars of divinity at colleges; that the Irish or Gaelic *Psalms* and *Catechisms* be used where that, and not the English language, is understood; and that no preacher who understands the Irish language be settled in the low country.

The Assembly 1695 prescribed forms of commissions for members sent to their meetings; established directions how to deal with trafficking Papists and Quakers—and for transmitting proposals of new acts concerning doctrine, worship, discipline, or government to Presbyteries, to be maturely considered by them, before they be enacted by the Assembly as *binding rules*. They appointed forty-four ministers to go and preach in the *North*, one-half of which, in the present necessity, might be transported thither, if they got calls; that in Presbyteries where two-thirds of the congregations were settled, one-fourth part of the ministers should go north and one-eighth part be transported; that, in order to content the deprived parishes, their next minister should be declared intransportable, without their consent,

unless he had insupportable grievances;—that ministers should preach catechetical doctrine; that no ministers, sessions, elders, Presbyteries, or synods, should give recommendations for charity without their own bounds; that ministers labour to their utmost to restrain the spread of deistical opinions, or any other errors contrary to the *Confession of Faith*; that great care be taken that none be licensed to preach the gospel, or ordained to the ministry, but on proper trial of their abilities, piety, and good behaviour—particularly of their knowledge of the Scriptures in their original languages, if not also in the Syriac and Chaldaic, and of the principal controversies respecting doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; that synods and Presbyteries take care to prevent the commission of irregularities by vagrant ministers; and that ministers be very cautious in recommending persons to public offices in the church without consulting the Presbyteries concerned.

In 1697 the Assembly appointed that a roll of probationers and of students of divinity, who do not attend the professors that teach it, be yearly presented to the Assembly, read before it, and registered in the minutes of it;—that the *large overtures concerning the discipline and method of proceeding in ecclesiastical judicatories* should be transmitted as overtures from private hands to the several Presbyteries, that they may send their observations on them to the Commission, which is to prepare them for the consideration of the Assembly; that *ruling elders* and *deacons*, who neglect the *daily worship* of God in their families, be seriously admonished or rebuked, and be removed from their office, if they continue in

that sin; and that this act, together with that of 1694, *against profaneness*, be read from the pulpit, in every congregation yearly, on the first Sabbath of May; that ministers punctually fulfil their appointments to preach in vacant congregations; that no novations in doctrine, discipline, worship or government, be enacted by the Assembly, till the matter have been maturely considered by Presbyteries; that commissioners to the Assembly duly attend the several meetings of it; that ministers, sessions, and Presbyteries, exert themselves for restraining the abounding of swearing, cursing, Sabbath-breaking, profane withdrawal from and contempt of gospel ordinances, or mocking at religion and the exercises of it, together with fornication, adultery, drunkenness, tippling, deism, blasphemy, and other abominable sins—and deal with magistrates, faithfully to execute the laws against such vices; and that this act be every year read from every pulpit at Whitsunday and Martinmas. They also laboured to supply the army with preachers, and the North with ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters; and recommended to Presbyteries to be very cautious in either censuring or admitting the still outstanding curates.

Finding that former appointments of ministers to preach or be settled in the *North*, had exceedingly failed, the Assembly 1698 formed a number of overtures for the supply of that poor, destitute and ignorant country, and appointed *twenty* probationers to go and preach in it. They appointed the above-mentioned *large overtures* to be further considered by Presbyteries; and afterwards framed others for the repression of profaneness—checking the spread of Popery, and

preventing marriage without proclamation of banns for three several Sabbaths. Not a few serious people, especially in the south and west, still scrupling to join the established church, on account of her original defects and superadded blemishes, the commission published their *seasonable admonition*, in which they very plainly asserted the *sole headship of Christ* over his church, *her intrinsic power* derived from him, and *the divine right of Presbyterian church government*, and laboured to shew that the church was in such a state of purity that she may be safely joined with, and could not, without sin and danger, be deserted.

The Assembly 1699 chiefly occupied themselves in forming *acts* and *overtures* against profaneness and Popery, and for the spread of Christian knowledge in the North, and for that end planting schools and ministers there,—and for causing all ministers, probationers, and school-masters, subscribe the *Confession of Faith*. They also transmitted to Presbyteries several *overtures* concerning the revival of the registers of judicatories,—school-masters' diligence in teaching the principles of the Protestant religion,—and concerning witchcraft,—obstinacy in scandal,—Papists' renunciation of their delusions,—and concerning the making and observation of acts of Assembly. The Assembly 1700 did little more than form the last mentioned *overtures* into acts, and make further provision of ministers for the North. The Assembly 1701, moreover, condemned an *Apology for M. Antonia Bourignon*, which denied God's permission of sin, or infliction of punishment for it,—ascribed to Christ two human natures, one formed from Adam before the

King William dying just after the Assembly 1702 had convened, they did nothing that needs to be here recorded. Queen Anne having succeeded him, several Synods, dreading her unfriendly disposition, thought proper to form acts expressly asserting *Christ's sole headship* over his church, her *intrinsic power*, and the *divine right of Presbytery*: and some of the more zealous ministers thought to have pushed an act of that kind in the Assembly 1703. But, to prevent it, the haughty Earl of Seafield, her commissioner, dissolved their meeting, when they had done little more than to form some directions for planting of ministers in the North,—and to draw up an address to her majesty in favour of their Presbyterian government, and representing the extraordinary growth of Popery, the disorderly behaviour of the curates, and the abounding of immorality and profaneness;—and had given some recommendations for supplying and preserving the registers belonging to the Assemblies, and their committees and commissions, part of which had been destroyed by the dreadful fire in 1701; and concerning the *Large Overtures* of 1697.—Many protestations from all corners of the house were offered against this dissolution of their meeting, and for the *intrinsic power* of the church. But Mr. Meldrum, the moderator, was so overwhelmed with abuse by the commissioner, and with confusion, that he concluded with prayer, before any thing could be regularly marked. Ever since, I think, the General Assemblies have been first dissolved by the moderator in the name of Christ, and then by the commissioner in the name of the sovereign.

Probably to lull the Presbyterians asleep, one act was made by Anne's Parliament, in 1702, and another in 1703, ratifying all former laws in favour of the *Confession of Faith*, and *Presbyterian church government*, particularly the act 5th, 1690. Many had fearful apprehensions of a design to have Prelacy *tolerated*, if not *established* by the Parliament 1703, but the Lord threw the members into such heats and confusions, as issued in declaring it treasonable to alter the government of the church. Nevertheless, a treaty of an incorporating union with England was almost immediately after projected, and, notwithstanding much opposition, carried on and concluded. When it was laid before the Parliament in 1706, and the majority of members appeared to favour it, both ministers and people were exceedingly concerned, and presented addresses against it. The Commission of the General Assembly sat during the whole session of Parliament, and was uncommonly numerous. They first presented an *address* for an unalterable establishment of their religion, in the present and all succeeding generations, as far as human laws could go. To satisfy them, the Parliament enacted, That the perpetual establishment of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and Presbyterian government of this church, should be held as an unalterable, fundamental, and essential condition of the intended *union*, if it should be concluded. Many thought that this would be a better security for their religion than any act of the Scotch Parliament alone. But the most part of the true Presbyterians still continued averse to an *incorporating union*, or coming under the jurisdiction of a British Parliament, in which the English Prelatists

would be ten to one of the Scots. Notwithstanding great opposition from noblemen and gentlemen, who expected temporal advantages by promoting the union, the Commission presented a *second address*, in which they represented the danger they would be in of oaths, tests, and impositions inconsistent with their principles; and that it was contrary to their principles and covenants to approve of the civil power of bishops, to twenty-six of whom the nation would be subjected in the British Parliament. To this they got no answer, but a clause inserted into the act for securing the church, bearing, *That no oath, test, or subscription, should ever be imposed within the bounds of this church and kingdom, contrary to our Presbyterian establishment*; but leaving Scotchmen liable to such impositions in any other part of the British dominions. The Parliament thereafter declared, that the Parliament of England might provide for the *security* of their church within that kingdom, as they should think expedient. By this, they, contrary to the word of God, and our solemn covenants with him, particularly the solemn league, consented to the securing of *Pre-lacy* and the *ceremonies* in England, as an essential and fundamental condition of the union. The Commission being informed of this, notwithstanding great opposition, presented a *third address*, craving, That there might be no such stipulation or consent to the establishment of the *hierarchy* and *ceremonies* in England, as they would not involve themselves and the nation in guilt. But the expectation of £400,000 Sterling, to balance the loss of Darien to the Spaniards, through the treachery of the English, and the hopes of worldly advantages from the

court, or in point of trade, made most of the Parliamenters overlook every thing religious,—so that the perpetual establishment of *Episcopacy* and the *ceremonies* in England, as well as of *Presbyterian government* and the *simplicity of gospel worship* attending it in Scotland, were both fixed as fundamental and unalterable conditions of the union ; and each nation, by a solemn deed of their Parliament, guaranteed to the other an establishment of religion not a little contrary to their own.

Besides their labour in prosecuting and deposing Mr. John M'Millan in 1708, who, besides declaiming against the defects and blemishes of the Revolution church, denied the authority of the civil magistrates, because of their not taking the covenants, and wanting other qualifications required in Scripture, and by the laws between 1688 and 1650,—and of Mr. John Hepburn in 1705, on account of his relapsing into his former conduct,—the principal appointments of the Assembly in 1704 are, That ministers should lecture a considerable portion of scripture at a time ; that none should be commissioners to the Assemblies but such as have subscribed the *Confession of Faith*, and have relation to, and reside in, the place from which they are sent ; that scandalous persons, who turn Papists to escape censure, be excommunicated ; that excommunications be intimated in the bounds of Presbytery, Synod, or through the whole kingdom, as may best correspond with the obstinacy of the scandalous person ; that candidates for licence and ordination be very strictly tried, and that Synods take care that it be so ; that Synods call Presbyteries to account with respect to their diligence in the

restraining of profaneness, and causing the acts made against it to be read from all their pulpits twice every year; that Synods and Presbyteries carefully observe, that none be permitted to vent any Arminian, Arian, or Socinian errors; that students who understand the Irish language, be preferred to bursaries in colleges before any others; that Presbyteries earnestly travel in collecting money from noblemen and others, in order to raise a fund for the establishment of schools in the *Highlands*, and forming libraries there; that proper means be concerted for printing a new edition of the *Irish* or *Gaelic Bible*, and for translating the *Confession of Faith* and *Larger Catechism* into that language, and for rendering the *Psalms* and *Shorter Catechism*, already translated, more generally useful; that care be taken to repress Popery, and prevent Protestants marrying with Papists; that an exact *Form of Process* be speedily and carefully drawn up, and great pains used for recovering registers and other papers belonging to the church; that Presbyteries and ministers see to the erection of a school in every parish, and that the youth be properly taught in schools as well as in colleges. About this time, the *Large Overtures* were again published in a more correct state. They contained directions for the right constitution of church JUDICATORIES in general, and respecting their moderators, clerks, registers, proceedings, behaviour of members in them, and conclusion of their meetings,—and more particularly for the constitution of KIRK SESSIONS,—election and ordination of elders and deacons,—marriage,—admission of infants to baptism,—admission to, or debarring from the Lord's table,—procedure with

drunkards, swearers, profaners of the Lord's day, fornicators, adulterers, and other unclean persons,—privy censures :—for the constitution of PRESBYTERIES,—licensing of preachers, planting of vacant congregations,—ordination or transportation of ministers, appeals and references from sessions, censuring of gross scandals, from which sessions do not absolve,—processes in order to the greater excommunication, Presbyterian exercises,—privy censures :—for the constitution and opening of Synods,—procedure of their committees,—procedure in processes,—privy censure of Presbyteries,—and conclusion of their meetings :—and for the constitution and opening of GENERAL ASSEMBLIES,—procedure of their several committees,—procedure in their own work,—appointment and procedure of Commissions,—and concluding their meetings.—But the indolence of Presbyteries, the restoration of patronages, and the embarrassment of the Assemblies with other business, hindered the establishment of many of these excellent directions from being formed into standing rules.—Most of the acts of the Assemblies 1705 and 1706 were little more than enforcements of preceding ones relative to profaneness, &c.—and for calling in the assistance of magistrates to prevent abuses at *penny weddings*, and for recommending the lately composed *Scripture songs*; for giving in of Overtures and References to the Assemblies, and the exact registering of the minutes of church courts; and for strict admission to the Lord's Supper; parochial visitations,—and ministerial visitation of families.—The most important acts of the Assembly 1707 are these, largely directing how to prevent the increase of Popery, and es-

tablishing a most excellent *Form of Process*, chiefly extracted from the *Large Overtures*.

While the perjury and other evils of the union settlement more and more confirmed Messrs. Hepburn and M'Millan in their former courses, the established church, in her Assembly 1708, established excellent rules for ministers' visitation of families; they formed new acts for preventing the profanation of the Lord's day, and other impieties; they enjoined Presbyteries to beware of rashly licensing or ordaining any candidates, whose qualifications were doubtful; they recommended their forming an Overture for preventing *competition of calls*, or giving a *second call* to any candidate before his former one was finally discussed; they empowered their Commission finally to examine and establish the public use of the *scripture songs*, which had, for several years, been under consideration. In 1709 they recommended the utmost reverence in the public worship of God, and ordered a warning to that purpose to be read from every pulpit; they earnestly called all under their inspection to concur in promoting the erection of a *Society for propagating Christian knowledge* in the *Highlands* and *foreign parts* of the world, and required ministers and elders to collect what they could from their people, as a fund for supporting this excellent design: They recommended to each Presbytery to form a library for itself, out of the books sent by friends from England, and such others as they could obtain. They, as had been repeatedly done before, required Presbyteries carefully to examine the *Large Overtures*, that they might have them speedily established as a *complete directory* for their judicial procedure.—The Assem-

bly 1710 formed some new overtures for preventing the licensing of too many, or unqualified preachers. They required all general fasts, appointed by either church or state, for just and necessary causes, to be duly observed. They appointed all ministers in whose bounds Bourignian errors are spreading, to preach particularly and faithfully against them; and all Presbyteries in whose bounds they are vented, carefully to cause all schoolmasters, teachers, chaplains, and governors of youth to subscribe the *Confession of Faith* as the *confession of their faith*; and that no heritors or heads of families retain in such stations any that refuse their subscription: that Presbyteries transmit to the Commission an exact and full account of the principal propagators of these errors, and the professors of divinity publish a full collection and nervous confutation of them. They formed directions for disposing of bursaries in colleges to students, especially such as had the Irish language. In answer to a representation of the society for propagating Christian Knowledge, they appointed all those who had not made the above recommended collections, to do it without further delay, and enjoined Synods to point out to the Society what places had most need of schools and catechists. Almost every Assembly, for a considerable number of years, issued recommendations for the assistance of that useful Society, with collections of money or otherwise. The Assembly 1711 recommended to Presbyteries to have the Lord's Supper so administered in their bounds, that people might have access to it every month of the year. They earnestly enjoined Presbyteries to labour, to their utmost, to have the worship of God set up, and

daily performed, in all the parts of it, in every family in their bounds. They formed a new act for the cautious and careful procedure of Presbyteries in trying, licensing, and ordaining candidates for the ministry; and established a FORMULA of questions and engagements for them at *licence* and *ordination*, in which they solemnly declare, That they believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and only rule of faith and manners; that they sincerely own and believe the WHOLE doctrine contained in the *Confession of Faith*, and will, to the utmost of their power, constantly maintain the same, along with the purity of worship presently practised in this church,—and disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Bourignian, and other doctrines, tenets, or opinions whatsoever, inconsistent with, or contrary to said *Confession of Faith*;—that they believe the Presbyterian government and discipline of this church to be *founded on the word of God*, and will maintain, support, and defend the same all the days of their life;—that they will meekly submit themselves to their respective judicatories, and maintain the unity and peace of the church, and follow no divisive course from her established doctrine, worship, discipline, and government;—that zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, are their great motives and chief inducements to enter into the holy ministry, and not any worldly designs or interest;—that they have used *no undue methods, either by themselves or others*, in procuring their call; that in the strength of Christ they will live an holy and circumspect life, and faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully discharge all the parts of the mi-

Christ the *only head* of his church, to meet in Assemblies about the affairs thereof. Many protestations of the same kind were made in the Assembly 1703, when the Queen's commissioner dissolved it. The Assembly 1704 plainly told her majesty, that they were now again met in a national Assembly in the *name of the Lord Jesus Christ*.—and approved several Synod books, which contained new acts asserting Christ's *sole headship* over his church, her *intrinsic power*, and the *divine right of Presbytery*. The Assembly 1705, in their 5th act, expressly assert the Lord Jesus Christ to be the *alone king and head* of his church. The Assembly 1707, in their 11th act, expressly declare, *That our Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted a government and governors ecclesiastical in his own house, with power to meet for the order and government thereof*. At the conclusion of each Assembly, the moderator, before the king's commissioner, publicly declares, that as the Assembly met in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only king and head of his church, so they part in the same.—The Commission 1698, in their *Seasonable Admonition*, publicly declare, *We do believe and own, that Jesus Christ is the ONLY HEAD and KING of his church; and that he hath instituted in his church officers and ordinances, order and government, and not left it to the will of men, magistrate, or church, to alter it at their pleasure. And we believe this government is neither Prelatical nor congregational, but Presbyterian, which now, through the mercy of God, is established among us; and believe we have a better foundation for this our government than the inclinations of the people, or laws of men.* This *seasonable Admonition* was ratified and ap-

proved by the Assembly 1699, act xii. By the above mentioned FORMULA of 1711, every candidate licensed to preach, or ordained to the ministry, is required solemnly and publicly to avow, That the Presbyterian government and discipline of this church are *founded on the word of God*.— All along to 1710, the Assemblies, in their causes of fasting or otherwise, more or less acknowledged the binding obligation of our public covenants. In act 5th, 1700, they lament our continued unfaithfulness to God, notwithstanding our *solemn covenants* and engagements to the contrary. In act 9th, 1710, they say, Our sins are the more aggravated, that they are against so *solemn* and repeated *vows*, and *engagements*, and *covenants* with God, which have been openly violated and broken by persons of all ranks, and treated with public contempt and indignities. To these two acts they, for several years after, refer in their causes of fasting. In act 7th, 1710, they say, The crying sins both of former and present times are highly aggravated by the violation of our *solemn covenants* and engagements to the contrary.

But, by this time, the temporal advantages of our incorporating union with England began to be more and more overbalanced by the introduction of sinful corruptions from that country. The Sabbath began to be greatly profaned by driving of cattle and other unnecessary labours. The societies for reformation of manners gradually dwindled away. Our nobility and gentry, by little and little, gave up with family religion, and dropt the very form of godliness. Spending much of their time in England, they either contracted a liking to the hierarchy and superstition there used, or lived much in the neglect of public worship; and being there under no ministerial in-

spection, they and their families followed their own inclinations without controul.—Public oaths in qualifying men for civil offices, or in collecting of taxes, were exceedingly multiplied, and much perjury thereby increased. The *abjuration oath*, which had for some years been used in England, was extended to those in places of power and trust in Scotland, to be taken along with the *oath of allegiance* and the *assurance*. The episcopalian party introduced the English ceremonies and service, which their fathers had refused. And notwithstanding the Assembly 1707 made an act against it, and the commission used some means to prevent it, they were but the more forward to set it up, or extol it, and to rail at the gospel simplicity of the established worship. Nay, the idolatrous worship of the Papists was openly practised and connived at. A superstitious form of swearing, by *laying the hand on* and *kissing the gospel*, was introduced into some of our civil courts. Such Scotsmen as served the sovereign in England or Ireland, were required to take the Lord's Supper in the English manner, as a test of their loyalty, and otherwise conform to the liturgy and ceremonies. An observation of superstitious holy days was encouraged by the vacation of our civil courts in the end of the year, &c. Addresses to the House of Peers were rejected, unless they were directed to the *Lords spiritual* as well as temporal.—Strongly attached to their Popish pretender, many of the episcopal clergy, of whom, in 1707, 165 still retained their churches and stipends, began to plead for a *middle state* of souls after death, and *prayers for the dead*;—the Lord's Supper being a *propitiatory sacrifice* for sin;—the *mixing* of the sacramental

wine with water; the necessity of *absolution by a priest*, and *confession of sins to him* in order to forgiveness of them; the *anointing with oil* in baptism and other cases;—the *necessity* of episcopal ordination and baptism to salvation;—the *bowing* towards the altar, and at the name of Jesus;—the reception of the *meaning* of the scriptures *from the church* or clergy;—and the rejection of the Athanasian creed, concerning the Trinity, used in the English service, and to recommend Popish books containing *devotions* and *prayers* to the virgin Mary and other saints.

Meanwhile, contrary to the most solemn security granted to the Presbyterian establishment in the treaty of union, the British Parliament, 1712, granted the episcopalians an almost unbounded *toleration*, providing their clergy took the oaths to the government, and prayed for Queen Anne, who was now straining every nerve to bring her Popish supposed brother to the throne—prohibiting magistrates to oblige them to appear before any established church judicatory, and required them to protect them in their public worship, so long as they did not turn Papists or blasphemers. To protect such of them as should scruple at the *oath of abjuration*, which solemnly renounced their Popish pretender, and avowed the rightful succession of the elector of Hanover to the crown in his stead, the Parliament, now managed by Jacobitical influence, imposed that oath upon every Presbyterian minister, under a very heavy penalty, if they should continue to officiate without taking it. By the imposition of this oath, *ambiguous* or *dangerous* in several of its expressions, and expressly said in the English act, first imposing it to be calculated for the *perpetual*

maintenance of the church of England as by law established, and in which one had to swear to maintain the succession of the British crown as limited by two acts of the English Parliament, one of which expressly provided, that the successor should be of the communion of the church of England, and swear to maintain her as by law established, the Presbyterian clergy would either, by their general refusal, give the court a handle to overturn their establishment, or at least be divided and weakened, and the refusers appear as disloyal as any of the Jacobites, though their scruples were very differently founded. And, to provoke the Presbyterians the more, the Parliament restored patronages in their whole extent, providing only, that patrons took the oaths to government, and did not profess themselves Papists. The Jacobites' doctrine of unlimited obedience to Sovereigns, and their distinction of them by right and by actual possession, qualified multitudes of them in Scotland, as well as in England, to swear the oath of abjuration, when imposed by authority, and now plainly enough imposed, as a mean of enthroning their Popish pretender.

These acts, so hastily passed, exceedingly alarmed the Scotch Presbyterians. The *toleration* enervated their discipline, and encouraged the Jacobites in their rudeness and insolence towards the established religion and clergy, and opened a door for almost every error and abomination in the worship of God. The *restoration of patronage* was calculated to fill the church with Jacobitish or naughty clergymen by means of solicitations or simoniacal pactions, and so occasion much perjury in their ordination vows, and render their

ministrations contemptible, useless, and hurtful. The *imposition* of the *abjuration oath on ministers*, as a condition of their entrance to, or exercise of their office, rendered them more and more the slaves of an Erastian court—tended to debauch their consciences, in taking oaths without any necessity, or even without due certainty of their lawfulness, or any plain tendency to the honour of God, and to diminish their zeal for their covenanted reformation and Presbyterian government, and render them approvers of the perjurious settlement of religion by the incorporating union with England; and threatened, as it soon actually did, to produce the most mournful divisions among ministers, or between them and their hearers. To prevent the passing of these acts, the Commission transmitted solemn *addresses* to her Majesty, pleading the laws perpetually confirmed by the union settlement in opposition to the intended toleration and restoration of patronages, which addresses the Assembly approved, and seconded with an *address* of their own. The Commission also addressed her with respect to the *abjuration oath*, and, in a solemn profession of their loyalty, declared their sense of it—which she said was acceptable to her. Hereupon the Assembly, in another *address*, begged that she would interpose her influence for preventing the prosecution of scrupulous refusers of it. Messrs. Carstairs, Blackwell, and Bailie, were sent to London to present these *addresses*, and to agent their cause; but all to no purpose.

As the *abjuration oath* produced the most disagreeable divisions, the Assemblies, 1712, 1713, 1714, and 1715, by express acts, recommended and obtested all ministers to cultivate peace and

harmony, notwithstanding their different views or practices with respect to it. The other more remarkable acts of these Assemblies were, for assisting and encouraging the *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*; for regular admission of infants to baptism; for more frequent administration of the Lord's Supper; for purging the scandals of soldiers; for directing the visitors of synod registers; for regulating the licensing of preachers, and discouraging unworthy burars; and for execution of former acts to prevent the growth of Popery. The Commission, 1713, emitted a *seasonable warning* to be read from every pulpit, entreating people to beware of being deluded by the subtile pretences of the Jacobites, who really laboured to bring them under the yoke of a Popish pretender; and the Assembly, 1714, presented an address to her Majesty, representing the alarming increase of Popery. About this time the curates were become extremely insolent and abusive, intruded themselves into vacant congregations, and encouraged their followers to mob such as were appointed by their Presbyteries to preach in them. But most of them joining in the rebellion, 1715, they were turned out of their kirks by the Magistrates.

After the accession of King George I. to the throne in 1714, the Assembly 1715 transmitted to him and the members of Parliament, a new representation of their grievances, relative to the *toleration* and *abjuration oath*, *patronages*, and the *sacramental test* imposed on Scotchmen while serving the Sovereign in England and Ireland. He got his Parliament, that year, to turn the as of reduplication on the two English acts men-

tioned in that oath into WHICH, and to declare that it was not intended to oblige his subjects in Scotland to any thing inconsistent with their legal establishment of their religion. And as, notwithstanding this, many still scrupled at that oath, the Parliament, 1719, removed all mention of their English acts out of the form of it imposed upon ministers and schoolmasters. In consequence of this, the most of the ministers took it, and the few that did not, became disliked by their brethren, but more esteemed by many of the people. About the same time, the Parliament enacted, That all presentations given by patrons to candidates for vacant congregations should be of no effect, unless the presentee accepted or declared his willingness to accept, which it was, for a time, expected few or none would. At least the church had full power to prohibit candidates to accept presentations, until they had first the call of the congregation.

The union settlement, and especially ministers taking the oath of abjuration, having given new ground of offence to Messrs. John M'Millan, late minister of Balmaghie, John Taylor of Wamphray, John Hepburn of Orr, and James Gilchrist of Dunscore, as well as to Messrs. John M'Neil and John Adamson, preachers—they went about inveighing against the same. On this account the Assemblies 1715, 1716, 1717, and their inferior judicatories, prosecuted them with no small severity. No less than about twenty-four acts and overtures were passed against these pious, but sometimes imprudent and mistaking friends of our covenanted reformation, eleven of which respected Mr. Hepburn, and nine Mr. M'Millan. Mr. Hepburn had been driven from

his charge, and suffered a long imprisonment, besides many other harassments. Mr. M'Millan had been driven from his charge, and another thrust into his place. Mr. Gilchrist was deposed and laid under a sentence of excommunication, appointed to be intimated in all the parish churches in Scotland. Meanwhile these, and the two following Assemblies, made acts for assistance to the *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, and for the speedy settlement of ministers in the *Highlands*—and against Popery and profaneness;—and repeatedly enjoined Presbyteries, without delay, seriously to consider the *large overtures* above-mentioned, in order to their being established as a *complete directory* for discipline and government;—and prohibited prelati- cal curates or Presbyterian separatists, to exercise discipline on any members of this church. The Assembly, 1718, issued a recommendation for providing a fund for supporting the indigent widows and orphans of ministers. The Assembly, 1719, enjoined every minister to take care to have *deacons* as well as *ruling elders* in his congregation. They issued a solemn warning against smuggling of goods, and perjuries at custom-houses, in matters of trade, to be read in all the parishes of Scotland, and enjoined synods, Presbyteries, and sessions, to execute the acts of Assembly against abuses at penny-weddings, and to apply to the magistrates to execute the civil laws against such as are found guilty. They also framed an overture for regulating the settlement of vacant congregations, especially where the patron's delay for six months had put the matter in the hands of the Presbytery, in which elders, and especially heritors, a majority of whom is required, are repre-

sented as the proper *electors*, though, especially where there are no elders, heads of families, and persons of good reputation in the congregation are to be regarded.

But the principal business of these Assemblies respected the *doctrine* of the church. In 1714 there commenced a flagrant report, that Mr John Simson, Professor of divinity in the college of Glasgow, had taught Arminian and other gross errors. Mr. James Webster, a most pious and zealous minister of Edinburgh, finding by converse with him, that there was too much ground for this report, laid the matter before the General Assembly. They unreasonably burdened him with the prosecution of Mr. Simson before his own Presbytery of Glasgow. Notwithstanding all his subtile shifts and quibblings, it was found evident, from his answers to his libel, and his letters to Mr. Rowan, that he had taught, That nothing is to be admitted in religion but what is consonant to reason;—that regard to our own happiness in the enjoyment of God ought to be our chief motive in serving him, and that our glorifying of God is subordinate to it;—that the heathen may know, by the light of nature, that God hath provided a remedy for sin, and if they would pray sincerely for the discovery of the way of salvation, he would grant it to them; that if men would with diligence, sincerity, and faith, use the means for obtaining saving grace, God hath promised to grant it to them; and that the using of these means, in this manner, is not above the reach of their natural powers;—that there was no proper covenant made by God with Adam for himself and his posterity; and that he was not our federal head; that it is inconsistent

with God's justice and goodness, to create souls wanting original righteousness, and that the souls of infants since the Fall are created pure and holy;—that it is probable, there are more of mankind saved than damned; and it is more than probable that baptized infants, dying in infancy, are all saved;—that there is no sinning in hell after the last judgment, &c. all which erroneous tenets were fully refuted by Messrs. M'Laren and Flint, ministers of Edinburgh. But such was the power of his friends in the Assembly 1717, which concluded his process, that in their 9th act, they only say, that he had given offence, and had vented some opinions *not necessary* to be taught in divinity, and that have given more occasion for strife, than to the promoting of edification; that he had used some expressions that bear, and are used by adversaries in an unsound sense, though he disowns that unsound sense; and for answering the objections of adversaries, he had adopted some hypotheses different from what are commonly used among orthodox divines, and are not *evidently* founded on Scripture, and tend to attribute too much to natural reason and the power of corrupt nature, which undue advancement of reason and nature is always to the disparagement of revelation and efficacious free grace; and therefore prohibit him to use such expressions, or to teach, preach, or otherwise vent such opinions, propositions, or hypotheses, as aforesaid.

But the Assemblies were far from being equally kind to such as earnestly endeavoured a clear illustration of the doctrines of God's free grace reigning through the righteousness of Christ. Mr. *Hamilton of Airth* having published a cate-

chetical treatise concerning the *covenants of works and grace*, and the sacraments of *baptism and the Lord's Supper*, in a more evangelical strain than some wished, the Assembly, 1710, prohibited all ministers or members of this church to print or disperse in writ any catechism, without the allowance of the Presbytery of the bounds, or the Commission. The Presbytery of Auchterarder having begun to require candidates for licence to acknowledge it *unsound to teach that men must forsake their sins in order to come to Christ*, the Assembly, 1717, on the same day they had dealt so gently with professor Simson, declared their abhorrence of that proposition as *unsound and most detestable*—as if men ought only to come to Christ, the alone Saviour from sins, after they have got rid of them by repentance. Mr. James Hogg, one of the holiest ministers in the kingdom, having published or recommended a celebrated and edifying tract of the Cromwellian age, called the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, the Assembly 1720, fell upon it with great fury, as if it had been replete with Antinomian errors, though it is believed many of these zealots never read it, at least had never perused it, in connection with the *2d part* of it, which is wholly taken up in manifesting the obligation, meaning, and advantages of observing the law of God. They condemned the offering of Christ as a Saviour to all men, or to sinners as such—and the doctrine of believers' full deliverance from under the law as a broken covenant of works. They asserted men's holiness to be a federal or conditional mean of their obtaining eternal happiness. They condemned these almost express declarations of Scripture, that believers are not under

the law ; that they do not commit sin ; that the Lord sees no sin in them ; and cannot be angry with them—as *Antinomian paradoxes*, and condemned the distinction of the moral law as a *covenant of works*, and as a *binding rule of duty in the hand of Christ*, in order to explain these expressions. Messrs. James Hogg, Thomas Boston, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskines, Gabriel Wilson, and seven others remonstrated to the next Assembly against these decisions, as injurious to the doctrine of God's Grace ; and, in their answers to the Commission's *twelve queries*, they illustrated these doctrines with no small clearness and evidence. Perhaps influenced by this, as well as by the wide-spread detestation of their acts, 1720, on that point, the Assembly 1722 re-considered the same, and made an act *explaining and confirming* them. This was less gross and erroneous. Nevertheless the twelve representers protested against it as injurious to truth ; but this protest was not allowed to be marked. The moderator, by the Assembly's appointment, rebuked them for their reflections on the Assembly 1720, in their representation, and admonished them to beware of the like in all time coming ; against which they protested. Mr. Wilson having preached an excellent sermon before the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, in 1721, in which he had freely hinted his dislike of the legal doctrines and other corruptions then prevalent, after two years harassment before the synod and Commission, he was at last dismissed by the Assembly 1723 with an admonition.

Little more of importance was done in these Assemblies, unless that about L.4200 Sterling were collected for the persecuted Protestants of

Lithuania, and four of their students appointed to be supported by bursaries while attending the study of divinity at the college of Edinburgh. Several acts were made for preventing the increase of Popery, and, in 1722, they represented to his Majesty the danger of his government by it. Other acts were made against profaneness, and for assisting the *Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, and for planting proper ministers and teachers in the *North*. They enacted, That none should be admitted to, or continued in, the office of elders or deacons, unless they were circumspect in their walk, punctual in their attendance on ordinances, and strict in their observation of the Lord's day, and in regularly keeping up the worship of God in their families; and that none should be sent to, or admitted members of the General Assembly, unless they were attested by the Presbyteries, &c. as thus qualified.

Many of the clergy, perhaps fond of avoiding every appearance of good will towards the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, seemed now more legal and Baxterian in their doctrine than formerly. This induced multitudes of serious Christians, who had been formerly not a little disgusted by their swearing of the *abjuration oath*, to leave them, and hear the representers and their friends, whom the late dispute, and their harassment attending it, had made to search and see further into gospel truth. These, notwithstanding their eminent exemplification and earnest urging of gospel holiness, were exceedingly traduced by the prevailing party, as *new schemers*, and *Antinomian* encouragers of a licentious life. They had probably been more abundantly reproached and

harassed, had not the managers got their hands full of other business. Mr. Hepburn, above-mentioned, dying, his friends in Angus-shire almost persuaded Mr. Francis Archibald, minister of Guthry, into their sentiments. By this and some concurrent circumstances, more than ordinary noise concerning the *national covenant* and *solemn league* happened in that country. Roused hereby, Mr. John Glass, a young popular preacher in it, set himself to rail at these covenants, as unwarrantable under the New Testament, and not obligatory, and even against some articles of the *Confession of Faith*. He further taught, that national churches are unwarrantable under the New Testament; that the kingdom of Israel was of an ecclesiastical nature, and its officers church officers; that then church and state were the same; and both entirely typical; that the Old Testament church was an earthly kingdom; that all church covenants that bring her into any connexion with the state, are legal and earthly, and means of introducing profane persons into her. By his address he decoyed Mr. Archibald into his notions, to which they soon added others, as that Confessions of Faith ought not to be subscribed; that only congregational churches are warranted under the Gospel; that illiterate men are fit for preaching the Gospel; that Christian congregations have power to ordain their own teachers; that all members have a share in governing the church; that Christian magistrates have no more power about religious matters than other men, and ought not to employ their power for advancing religion, or for restraining or punishing heretics, or for giving more encouragement to good Christians, than to

other good subjects. Notwithstanding all means for reclaiming them, they obstinately went about preaching their principles in fields and streets, or printing pamphlets in favours of them. They were therefore suspended in 1728, and because they contemned this censure, they were, about two years after, deposed. But notwithstanding their laying out themselves to their utmost, to erect independent churches of a new form, in every corner where they could find any encouragement, the Assembly 1739 reponed them to their office, though not to their charges.—On the other hand, it began to be loudly reported, that professor Simson had not only continued to disregard the prohibition of the Assembly 1717, and teach his above-mentioned errors—but also had taught, that *Jesus Christ is not necessarily existent;—that the persons in the Godhead are not the very same in substance;—that necessary existence, supreme Deity, and being the only true God, may be taken in a sense importing the personal property of the Father, and so not belonging to the Son or Holy Ghost.* Both libels were fully proven against him; but the first was left undiscussed. In consequence of his declaring his mind on the latter points in orthodox language, and after much quibbling and tergiversation, professing his sorrow for some of the offensive expressions proved against him, the Assembly 1728, *suspended* him from all exercise of any ecclesiastical power or function till another Assembly should think fit to restore him. And the Assembly 1729 further declared, that it was not fit that he should be any further entrusted with the training up of students for the holy ministry. This *slight censure* of an Arminian, and an Ari-

an blasphemer, exceedingly grieved and offended multitudes of the more serious.

Scarcely was this prosecution of Professor Simson finished, when Mr. Campbell, professor of church history in the college of St. Andrew's, began, from the press, to ridicule close walking with God, and acknowledging him in all our ways, as enthusiasm, and to aver, that in the interval between Christ's death and resurrection, his disciples looked on him as a cheat and impostor;—that self-love is the chief motive and standard of all virtuous and religious actions;—that the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul cannot be known by the light of nature; that notwithstanding the laws of nature are a certain and sufficient rule to direct rational minds to happiness, and the observation of them is the great mean of our real and lasting felicity. For these he was processed before the judicatories; but, by his artful colourings of his tenets, and pretences to adhere to the *Confession of Faith*, as Professor Simson had always done, he not only escaped censure, but drew the Assembly, 1736, which finished his process, into an approbation of his doctrine concerning *self love*.

Dr. William Wishart, late principal of the college of Edinburgh, was soon after found to have taught from the press, That men are not altogether, if at all, vitiated with original sin; that the light of nature may, in some instances, be sufficient to lead mankind to complete happiness; that freedom of inquiry should never be restrained by any *Formula* of doctrine, or *Confession of faith*; that the minds of children should not be biassed to the principles of a party, by learning catechisms by heart; that civil magistrates have

no power to punish heresies of any kind, but their jurisdiction reacheth only to those crimes that are committed against the state; and that all men ought to have full liberty to speak and write as they please, provided their sentiments do not endanger the welfare of civil society.—His process came before the Assembly 1798; but his artful colouring of his errors, and his profession of adherence to the *Confession of Faith*, brought him off, without any censure; in consequence of which, he soon after, from the press, recommended Dr. *Whichcot's* sermons to the students of divinity to form upon,—without the smallest warning against the Arminian and Socinian errors therein contained, viz. *That as to moral duties, we have the full concurrence of all heathen authors that are any whit reformed; (according to which, dependance on Christ, walking with God, or worshipping him in three persons, in and through Christ as mediator, and the like, are not moral duties.)—that the great differences between men in the several ages of the world, have not been about any necessary truth or any thing plainly declared in scripture, (according to which, the doctrine of three distinct persons in the God-head,—the true and supreme God-head of Christ,—the necessity, reality, and vicarious nature of his satisfaction for our sins,—free justification by his imputed righteousness,—regeneration and sanctification by the almighty influence of his spirit; and of original sin imputed or inherent,—men's natural inability to will or perform that which is naturally good, &c —are all excluded from being necessary truths, or clearly revealed in the scripture,)—that no perfection of God's nature inclines him to punish sin, but to be reconcileable to all that repent;—that that repentance, which is in*

the power of every man, is the term or condition of the new covenant, renders men objects of the divine compassion, and removes the necessity of divine punishment;—that to be accepted in and through Christ, or justified through his righteousness, is to be assured, that God through the perfection of his own nature, is reconcilable to sinners, and is absolutely resolved and engaged to pardon their sin in and through Christ, to all who repent and believe; that religion is just a moving according to reason; that if men use their natural powers aright by consideration, they may spiritually understand the scriptures, and make room for, and render the influence of God's grace effectual, and find him their superlative delight, &c. &c.

While the errors that were creeping into the church, were so tenderly handled, and the spreaders of them dismissed from the bar of General Assemblies on the easiest terms, they, who set themselves against the growing defections, were not a little oppressed. For about a dozen of years after patronages had been restored by the Parliament, no candidates had courage to improve a presentation for their own intrusion on reclaiming congregations. At first, one or two probationers began to accept presentations: but the outcry against them was so great, that they soon retracted and passed from them. But Mr. Chambers, Principal of the college of Aberdeen, having accepted a presentation to *Old Machir*, probationers and others took courage, and followed his example; and though they, at first, qualified their acceptances, with having the people's consent, yet they would not retract, after the people had shewed their aversion. About 1729 and 1730, intrusion of ministers upon the

footing of presentations was become pretty common, and were warmly supported by the Assemblies, and especially by their commissions. This rendered the attempts of some Presbyteries and Synods to restrain them ineffectual. The king, having the patronage of very many parishes in his hand, such ministers as expected favours from the court, promoted the intrusions with all their might; and, in judicatories, and printed pamphlets, denied and railed against the right of the Christian people to elect their own pastors; while Messrs. Currie, Hill, and others, laboured to establish that right.

Finding that they were like to be much troubled with remonstrances, dissents, and protestations, in Assemblies, Commissions, and inferior judicatories, the Assembly, 1730, refused to record them, and to prevent any standing testimonies against their refusing to assert the truth, in direct opposition to professor Simson's errors and blasphemies, and their violent procedure in the intrusion of ministers, they enacted, that no reasons of dissent or protest should be recorded in their minutes. Several remonstrances and petitions were given in to the Synods of Merse and Lothian, as well as to the Assembly 1731, but no way regarded. A remonstrance by forty-two ministers and three elders, and another by about 1600 Christian people, many of them ruling elders, were presented to the Assembly 1732, in which they represented the many abounding defections, which grieved their spirit, as well as dishonoured God, and tended to the ruin of his church, and begged, that the Assembly would address his majesty and Parliament, for rescinding their acts imposing the *sacramental test* on

the members of this church;— establishing the *toleration*,—restoring *patronages*, and for laying aside the new form of swearing in the gospels, —and for allowing the addresses of this church, though not directed to the *spiritual Lords*; that the Assembly would exert themselves to put a stop to the intrusion of ministers on reclaiming congregations; would restrain commissions from countenancing it, even where neither the Presbytery nor congregation, in the least, concur in the call, trial, or ordination, of the candidate; that no appeals from Synods be judged by the commission, unless the members of that *sederunt* be supernumerary to these of the Synod, in ministers, as well as elders; that, if any of the actings of the commission be contrary to the constitutions and known principles of this church, they shall be reversed, and themselves censured; that instead of judicatories being condemned any more for testifying their displeasure at candidates's offensive acceptance of presentations, none may be licensed or ordained, that favour that course; that the seventh act of Assembly 1730, prohibiting the recording of reasons of dissent may be repealed; that, according to the injunction of some former Assemblies, an act may be made to restrain the legal and heathenish manner of preaching lately introduced by some young ministers and preachers;—and that a solemn warning be emitted by the Assembly against Professor Simson's errors, and others, which are spread through the land, in order to prevent the infection of them. But neither of these remonstrances were allowed so much as a hearing. But, in consequence of an overture of the preceding Assembly, not a little worse than that of 1719,

and contrary to the instructions of most part of Presbyteries that sent any, they enacted, that *Protestant heritors, of any denomination or character, and elders, should be the only electors of gospel ministers*. This act was reckoned by multitudes an overturning of Christ's spiritual kingdom, and a robbing of his people of their spiritual rights, in his name and under pretence of his authority. But the next assembly prohibited the Presbytery of Dunfermline, and by consequence all others, to administer sealing ordinances to any, whose conscience hindered them to submit to the ministrations of an intruder violently imposed upon them.

Several ministers, in sermons before synods or Presbyteries, as well as others, testified against this act of 1732, respecting the election of ministers. Among others, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, whose evangelical, clear, and majestic manner of preaching, made him highly respected by the people, but disliked by many of his brethren, in his sermon, before the synod of Perth, in October, 1732, testified against that act, and patronage, and some other prevalent corruptions. After three days' warm disputation, the synod appointed him to be rebuked at their bar for the matter and manner of the quarreled parts of his sermon. Twelve ministers and two elders dissented. He appealed to the next Assembly, but instead of receiving any redress or protection, he was ordered to receive a rebuke. Persuaded that the truths of God, which he had maintained in his sermon, were hereby injured, he protested that, without violating his conscience, he could not submit to the Assembly's sentence—and that he should be at liberty to give like testimonies

against the act, 1732, or other defections, on any proper occasion. Messrs. William Wilson of Perth, Alexander Moncrief of Abernethy, and James Fisher of Kinclaven, for exoneration of their own consciences, also protested against the sentence. Without allowing these four ministers to attempt any defence of their conduct, the Assembly appointed their Commission, in August next, to proceed against them, by suspension or higher censure, if they did not retract their protest, and profess their sorrow for taking it. When the Commission met, these ministers were, with great difficulty, allowed to represent their minds, and adhering to their protest, they were all suspended from the exercise of their ministry. The Commission, in November, finding them still impenitent, did, by their moderator's casting vote, loose them from their relation to their congregations. They protested for the *validity* of their office and *continued relation* to their congregations, and declared a *SECESSION*, not from the constitution of the church of Scotland, but from the *prevailing party*, in her judicatories, ay and until they should return to their duty—because, 1. They were breaking down her Presbyterian constitution of church government—in trampling on and making decisions contrary to the order prescribed by her *barrier laws*, enacted in her purest times, for securing due deliberation in forming standing laws and general rules—in exercising a lordly power over the consciences of Christ's people, empowering heritors and elders to impose on them whatever spiritual guides and pastors they pleased—in promoting violent intrusions of ministers on reclaiming congregations;—in censuring and eject-

ing ministers merely for their protesting against a sinful act of Assembly;—in allowing the Commissions to usurp the power of Presbyteries in the settlement of pastors, if they refused to carry on violent intrusions—and in threatening the highest censures to such as administered the seals of God's covenant to those whose conscience hindered them from submitting to the ministry of intruders. 2. They were pursuing methods evidently tending to corrupt the doctrines contained in their own *Confession of Faith*—in so easily dismissing the process against Professor Simson, and refusing judicially to *assert the truth* in opposition to his errors and blasphemies—in caressing Mr. Campbell while he spreads his erroneous tenets—and in permitting or encouraging preachers to entertain their hearers with dry harangues of almost mere heathen morality instead of the gospel of Christ. 3. They were imposing on ministers sinful terms of communion, and breach of ordination vows, in requiring them to forbear proper and zealous opposition of the prevalent course of apostacy from the doctrine, worship, government and discipline, of this church. 4. They continued obstinate in their evil courses, notwithstanding all ordinary means used to reclaim them.

Deeply affected with this rent, the honest party in the church, exerted themselves, to their utmost, in the choice of proper members for the next Assembly, in order to have the leading grievances redressed, and the breach healed. The Assembly 1734, not without great opposition, laboured to give an effectual check to the prevalent course of defection. They renewed and

strengthened the old acts of Assembly 1639, 1641, 1695, 1697, 1700, and 1705, which had been made to be *barriers* and fences of our constitution against *innovations*. They rescinded the 7th act of Assembly 1630, which hindered members to testify against wrong deeds of judicatories, by recording their reasons of dissent, because it was not made according to these *barrier* acts. And, upon the same account, they repealed the 8th act of Assembly 1732, above-mentioned, because it gave too much countenance to violent settlements, and too much power to disaffected heritors, and was unfavourable to the liberties of the Christian people. They reversed a violent settlement of Auchtermuchty, made by the commission against the will of the congregation and Presbytery, and thus declared the deeds of the commission reversible. They had probably cast out some other intruders, if complaints had been regularly tabled before them. They laid commissions under some new regulations, and prohibited them to execute any settlements, when the Presbytery or Synod of the bounds declined it. They empowered the Synod of *Perth* and *Stirling* to restore the four ejected ministers to their charges, without requiring any acknowledgments from them,—which was soon after done. They, by an act, declared, that due and regular ministerial freedom was still left entire, notwithstanding the acts of 1733 against them. They appointed a committee to form an overture for the right preaching of the gospel, and for restraining the new-fashioned, legal, and heathenish harangues. They enjoined their commission to appoint a *national fast*, which had been for many years neglected, that all ranks

might mourn for the prevailing defections of the church and land, which they quickly did, but many of the court party neglected to observe it. They also empowered their commission to *address* the king and Parliament for relief from patronages, which they did, but in vain. The Assembly 1735, appointed the Synod of Fife to grant sealing ordinances to the people of Kinross, as they shall find most for edification—and letters were sent to some Presbyteries, allowing them to treat others who had been oppressed by violent settlements, in the same manner. The Assembly 1736, by an act, declared it the principles of this church, *That no minister should be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation.* By their 7th act, they enjoin ministers and preachers to warn their hearers against any thing that tends to Atheism, Deism, Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Bourignianism, Popery, Superstition, Antinomianism,—and to insist in their sermons on man's lost estate by nature, the necessity of supernatural grace, and of faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ,—and chiefly labour to lead sinners from the covenant of works to ~~that~~ of grace for life and salvation, and from sin and self to Christ as a surety and saviour;—and in pressing holiness, to shew them their inability for and aversion to every thing spiritually good, and that union with Christ is the true and only source of all grace and holiness—and that men's best performances and attainments are but loss and dung in point of justification before God. And they enjoin professors of divinity to instruct their students in preaching the gospel according to this act; and require Presbyteries, at their pri-

vy censures, to inquire concerning the observation of it. But the countenance given by these two last Assemblies to some violent intrusions, or to Professor Campbell's errors, made their good acts little regarded; and made the four seceding ministers lose all inclinations or hopes of returning to the fellowship of the church.

Meanwhile, one captain *Porteous*, a most abandoned profligate, had been condemned to death for several murders, but had been reprieved for a time, by the interest of some great men. Provoked hereby, the mob, conducted by some skilful leaders, hanged him at Edinburgh in September, 1736. Enraged by their bold conduct, and perhaps, groundlessly apprehensive that some of the more strict ministers, who detested the reprieving of such a notorious murderer, had encouraged the mob, the king and Parliament, having framed an act for the discovery of his murderers, appointed all the ministers of Scotland to read it in the time of God's public worship in their churches, every first Sabbath in the month, for a whole year, beginning in August, 1737, under this penalty, for the first day's neglect, *That they shall be declared incapable of sitting or voting in any church judicatory.* Many ministers, looking on several things in the act as inconsistent with justice and equity; and that it was not proper for Christ's ambassadors of the gospel of peace, to become heralds or executors of the sanguinary laws of men; that the reading of such a civil act from the pulpit, on the Lord's day, in the time of divine service, was a profanation of his Sabbath and worship; and that they could not acquiesce in the penalty annexed to the first ne-

glect, without practically owning the civil magistrate *head of the church*, having power to fix the qualifications and conditions of ministers' exercise of their office in governing the church of God, which they reckoned, at once contrary to the established doctrine of this church, and to their own solemn engagements to maintain it. Many others, especially such as had, or wished for, court favour, made a shift to come over those scruples, and read at least part of the act, the whole or part of the time. These different views and practices produced some alienation between the parties for a time; but, after a few years, they harmoniously agreed to bury it in oblivion.

The Seceding ministers' publication of their *second Testimony*, in which they had represented the backslidings of church and state from their covenanted doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and laudable acts and constitutions for supporting it, more plainly than most of the established clergy wished,—and their supplying of people with sermon, who could not submit to intruders, or scrupled to hear the readers of the act concerning captain Porteous,—having highly displeased the ecclesiastical managers,—the Assembly 1738 therefore appointed their commission to libel and cite them to the next Assembly. When they, now increased to the number of eight, appeared at the bar, they were informed by the Assembly 1739, that they were ready to drop all that was contained in their libel and every thing bygone, and receive them with open arms, providing they would, for the future, forbear all separating courses, and join in the communion of the church. But, instead of such compliance, these ministers solemnly declined the

Assembly and other established judicatories, as not right constitute courts of Christ in their present condition, because instead of purging out, they received and supported, intruders and other scandalous persons, as members; because they had generally, for many years past, been active in carrying on a course of defection, tolerating the erroneous, countenancing error, and enacting laws, by which the liberties of Christ's ministers and people were suppressed; and because, by their reading of the Parliament's act concerning captain Porteous, they had submitted themselves to the civil magistrate, as *head of the church*, instead of Christ. This *declinature* so galled the managers and others of the prevailing party, that, without finding them guilty of either error in doctrine, or scandal in practice, the Assembly 1740 deposed them from all exercise of their ministerial office in this church.

Since that period things have been nothing bettered, but rather grown worse. While practical godliness in persons and families hath sadly decayed, and error and impiety of almost every kind have prevailed, and become fashionable, settlements of ministers have proceeded on the footing of Patronage. But long custom hath rendered these, and all their soul-ruining consequences, less affecting, even to many of the godly. Errors, and even scandalous practices, unless extremely gross, ordinarily pass uncensured. Violations of these commands, which immediately respect God himself, are by many reckoned very venial, or no transgressions. Little more than gross acts of murder, or approaches to it; gross and notorious uncleanness, and especially direct theft and robbery, is practically held as either

censurable by the church, or punishable by the state. The Seceders have now about two hundred ministers settled in Britain and Ireland, besides others in America. But their falling from their first love, indulgence of conformity to the world, and their angry divisions about things which many of themselves do not fully understand, have exceedingly marred their usefulness in maintaining Christ's injured truths, and winning souls to his service. The Reformed Presbytery was formed about 1743, by Mr. John M'Millan above-mentioned, and Thomas Nairn, who left the *Secession*. In many things they resemble the Seceders, but differ from them, in impugning the present civil government. Their splitting into parties, on a debate concerning the *extent of Christ's death*, weakened these *old dissenters*, as they call themselves, and retarded their increase. The Presbytery of Relief originated from Mr. Thomas Gillespy, whom the General Assembly in 1751 deposed, because he would not, contrary to his conscience, assist in a violent intrusion,—and some other ministers of the church of Scotland, who, at their own hand, left their established charges, and took up with such people as invited them in other places. Their scheme of admitting persons of different denominations to sealing ordinances, and giving their people an answerable allowance in hearing and joining in sealing ordinances, is exceedingly suited to the taste of the age.—But divisions and other incidents have not a little retarded their expected increase. Besides all these, there are, I think, between twenty and thirty thousand Papists, who, notwithstanding all the laudable

diligence of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in that country, do chiefly swarm in the north. How many Episcopalian minsters or people there be in Scotland at present, I do not certainly know.

END OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession, by the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, is so intimately connected with the History of the Church of Scotland, that it has been thought proper to annex it to the present volume.— And the Publishers flatter themselves that it will be considered, by the Public, as a valuable addition to his History of the Scottish Church: the work of “a man who,” says one of his biographers, “though firm in his adherence to what he judged to be truth, and strenuous in its defence, was at the same time the friend of forbearance both in principle and practice.”

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SECESSION.

BY
MR. JOHN BROWN,
LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT HADDINGTON.

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AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
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THE connection of the *Secession* with former events, renders necessary a rehearsal of a variety of facts, prior to the date of it.—Our reformers not only published, but procured the establishment of the doctrines of Christ, maintained by Calvin, in their Confession of Faith: they also introduced his scriptural plan of Presbyterian church-government; according to which, every minister has equal power, and according to which the ecclesiastical courts of Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, are held of divine authority; and subordinated the former to the latter.

The great lines of this plan they marked out, in their first book of discipline: a more clear and distinct delineation thereof they gave in their se-

cond; which every minister among them was required to subscribe. An express parliamentary ratification of this form of church-government, they, after no small struggling, at last obtained in 1592. In direct contradiction, however, to their second book of discipline, patronage was confirmed, and sundry other evils not fully abolished.

Quickly after, partly by fraud, partly by force, King James gradually pulled down the Presbyterian form of church-government, and set up the Episcopalian in its stead. He assumed a spiritual headship over all persons and causes in the church. This the parliament required many of the subjects to acknowledge by oath. The simple and scriptural form of worship, introduced by our reformers, he began to exchange for the superstitious one of the English. By his influence, a general assembly at Perth, chiefly composed of his own creatures, admitted the five subsequent articles, viz. kneeling at the Lord's Supper; private administration of it to sick persons; private administration of baptism to distressed infants; confirmation of children by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop; and the annual celebration of five holidays, commemorating the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost. These, from the place where they were enacted, are ordinarily termed, *The Articles of Perth*.

JAMES had not finished his intended modelling of our church, when death cut him off. His son Charles I. with the assistance of Archbishop Laud, bestirred himself, to render her altogether *English*, or rather a little *more Romish*. Fired with indignation at the tyrannical imposition of

half-popish canons and liturgy, many of all ranks in Scotland took the alarm. With the most bold, though patient struggling, they at last obtained the royal indiction of a free assembly and parliament. The assembly meeting first in 1638, had plenty of rubbish to remove:—The national covenant, sworn a little before, referred a vast deal of matter to their consideration. The six packed meetings of the general assembly, which assisted King James to deform the church, they annulled. The liturgy, the book of canons, and of ordination; the unlawful oaths of entrants to the curacy; the office of Bishops; the High Commission-court; and civil offices of kirkmen, they condemned. The most active ringleaders in the former apostacy, they censured. All the Bishops were cited to their bar; and, notwithstanding of whatever themselves, or the King's commissioner could do, in their behalf, nine of them were excommunicated, three of them deposed from all office in the church, two of them deposed from their Episcopal function, and suspended from the ministry. The assembly, moreover, restored kirk-sessions and synods, provincial and national, agreeable to the order prescribed in the second book of discipline; and revived or enacted a number of excellent rules for maintaining the order and purity of the church. They not only continued their meeting after the King's commissioner pretended to dissolve it, but expressly affirmed their divine, ecclesiastical, and civil authority, to hold general assemblies, whenever it is necessary. They nevertheless avowed that the King, though a bigot for Prelacy, had power to call and convene such courts; and in case he called one next year, they agreed to desert the diet,

which themselves had fixed, and observe that which his Majesty should appoint.

This faithful assembly of Glasgow, King Charles proclaimed to be, after his Commissioner's dissolution thereof, an unlawful and seditious meeting; nor did any of the reforming parliaments ever acknowledge its authority. The substance of its principal acts the assembly 1639 threw together into a new act, and softened some of the expressions. This the parliament 1640 explicitly ratified. They also revived the fore-mentioned act of 1592, in all the points and articles thereof; and expressly declared, that the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this kirk, stands in her sessions, Presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. With one consent both church and state went forward, promoting reformation, and suppressing Popery, Prelacy, and profaneness; and prompted their neighbours in England and Ireland to follow their example. The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, with their Directory for Worship, were ratified by both church and state. The Westminster *Form of Church-government* was expressly received by the church; but never ratified by our state.

For eleven years of this reforming period, patronage retained its legal force; nay, by some acts, both church and state, directly or indirectly, approved it. Care was, however, taken, that no minister should be obtruded upon the Christian people against their will. In 1649, the parliament entirely abolished it as a Popish custom, and an oppressive grievance to the people of God. In consequence hereof, the assembly that year framed a Directory for the election of ministers;

which, it is presumed, ascribes to the session more power than is allowed them, by the oracles of Christ.

Nothing so much distinguished our ancestors, as their public covenanting with God. Divinely assured, that, in the days of Moses, Joshua, Asa, Joash, Josiah, and Nehemiah, the Hebrews had, with his approbation, thus dedicated themselves and their seed to the Lord: Convinced that public covenanting is no where, in the sacred page, represented as a ceremonial service, and so must be equally lawful under the New dispensation as under the Old: Convinced that it was expressly promised to take place under the Gospel*; and, with apostolic approbation, was probably practised in the Macedonian church†: Convinced, that if subjects, on proper occasions, may enter into a solemn association and bond, to promote the service, honour, and safety of their Sovereign, the professed subjects of Jesus Christ, may, in a social manner, devote themselves to promote his interest and honour: Convinced, that if a number of purchasers at once may take out a charter for their property, wherein they constitute themselves and their heirs the vassals of a Prince, Duke or Lord; there can be nothing unreasonable if a number of men take hold of the everlasting covenant, and God in it, for their God, and the God of their seed; and hereon devote themselves and posterity to be his honourable vassals and servants: Convinced, that if one man may solemnly devote himself to his Maker, hundreds, nay, thousands, may do so together; Convinced, that if one, or more, may in baptism

* Isa. xix 18, 21.

† 2 Cor. viii. 5.

surrender his seed to the Lord, a whole nation may surrender their posterity to him;—therefore they did so in their public covenants.—Always supposing such vows good in their matter, plain in their form, seasonable in their juncture, and taken in truth, judgment, and righteousness, our ancestors were convinced, the three first precepts of the moral law approved thereof. The first requires us to avouch the Lord to be our God;—why may not a number do this together? The second enjoins our receiving, observing, and keeping pure and entire, the ordinances of God's worship;—why may we not vow to be faithful to this trust, and to cleave to the Lord? Especially, when the third requires us to *swear by his name, and vow to the mighty God of Jacob.*

Our ancestors knew, that the *seasons* of public covenanting, specified in Scripture, were after signal deliverances; amidst threatenings of sore trials and heavy judgments; or when earnestly endeavouring to withstand, or reform from signal corruptions. They thought the occasions whereon they practised it, tallied therewith. When the Popish powers abroad were forming their league, to extirpate the Protestant cause, and its adherents; was it unseasonable for King James, and his council, prompted by the church, to set on foot the national covenant, or for the church to require the subscription thereof?—When King Charles, Archbishop Laud, and their creatures, combined to bury the pure worship of God, the Presbyterian form of church government, and the civil liberties of the nation, was it unseasonable for the tables of the nobles to set on foot the renovation of the national covenant;

and stir up their brethren, to swear to maintain these valuable points ?

With respect to the *matter* of their covenants, our fathers were ready to defy their adversaries, to show them any thing *renounced*, that was not prohibited by the divine law ; or any thing *espoused*, that was not therein required. In 1580 and 1581, Popery in general, and in many particular heads, was abjured ; and the Protestant religion, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, then professed, was sworn to. In 1590 an engagement to defend the King's person and authority was subjoined. In 1596 they confessed their various sins, and engaged to walk more circumspectly for the future. In 1638 the maintenance of the true Protestant religion, and of the civil authority of King Charles, then a Prelatic persecutor ; an opposition to Laud's canons and liturgy ; and a forbearance of some novations already introduced, till tried and allowed in a free general assembly : together with the leading of holy and exemplary lives ; and the assistance and defence of one another, in fulfilling these vows—were sworn to and engaged. Episcopal government, the five articles of Perth, and the civil places and power of kirkmen (whose lawfulness was left undetermined in the covenant 1638, in order that Episcopalians, as well as others, might take it) being condemned by the assembly that year, the covenant was afterward subscribed, as importing a renunciation of these novations.

In the solemn league, most of the Scots, and multitudes in England and Ireland, swore, in their places and callings, to endeavour the preservation of religion in Scotland, and the refor-

mation of it in England and Ireland, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and so promote an uniformity of religion in all the three kingdoms, that they and their children might live together in faith and love, and the Lord delight to dwell among them.

They engaged, in their respective stations, to endeavour the abolishing of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, or whatever else is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness. They swore to promote the peace of the nation; to support the authority of the King, and the privileges of the parliament; and to promote union among themselves in prosecuting these laudable ends.—In 1648 the Scots, purged of many rotten-hearted professors, by the English defeat of Duke Hamilton's engagement, undertaken in favour of King Charles I. made an extensive acknowledgment of their breaches of the solemn league: Error, heresy, schism, Independency, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Familism, Libertinism, Scepticism, and Erastianism, then rampant in Britain, were abjured; the maintenance of King Charles, still a strict Episcopalian, his authority, and of the liberties of both church and state, was engaged to. What thing *unlawful* is here espoused? What thing *lawful* is here renounced? What is here sworn to, that is not implied in the ordination vows of every minister of the established church? What that is not implied in every candid adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith? What that is not implied in every proper baptismal engagement?

Whatever rigour they used, in imposing these covenants; whatever allowance they gave any to

swear them, who did not understand them, or who did not appear inclined to perform his vows, must never be justified. It is certain they were less culpable on these heads than many suppose. Notwithstanding of the compulsory laws, I scarce find an instance of any forced to take the covenants, except by Montrose and Monro, who were military men, and both of them at last noted enemies to the genuine covenanters. It is certain multitudes took these covenants with cheerfulness, knowledge, and candour; and that surprising evidence of sobriety, and serious godliness, appeared among them; prayerless and profane persons, or families, were held as a detestable nuisance. Their very armies resembled a congregation of saints. Multitudes suffered to the death, for adhering to these vows, and died rejoicing in God their Saviour. Whom God thus honoured, let not us dare to calumniate as fools, and lavish of their lives.

The *ratification* of these covenants by the state; on some of the covenanting occasions, no doubt inferred a civil security of the religion therein espoused, even as the ratification of the Confession of Faith, and other subordinate standards, inferred a civil security to the Protestant religion therein exhibited. But as the latter makes not the Protestant religion a mere *state religion*; neither did the former render the covenants merely *state covenants*. In the *national*, the covenanters expressly declare, that therein they join themselves to the true protestant church, *as lively members of the same in Christ their Head*. Times without number, they represent their engagements *as covenants WITH GOD*, which necessarily infers their reckoning them *religious*,

would have been the same, suppose they had never been thought of, and is entirely *divine*. The law of God warrants the constitution of the obligation of lawful covenants to duty; and when it is constituted requires the fulfilment thereof; and enforces the same with a divine sanction of rewards, in case of fulfilment, and of punishment, in case of breach. But this obligation, and which alone is *the obligation of the covenant*, hath no existence before the first covenanting act, and is constituted by it. The divine obligation of the moral law extends equally to all men. The obligation of covenants being constituted by a human act, in obedience to the law of God, extends only to such as either immediately or mediately engage in those covenants*, and relates only to this imperfect state.

That the obligation of the national covenant and solemn league is perpetual, binding the whole nation, in this and succeeding ages, is evident.

1. The things covenanted are duties required in the law of God; and so it cannot but be for the honour of God, and the good of the nation, and every person therein, they be perpetually observed.

2. These covenants were public deeds of our fathers, who had power to dedicate us to the Lord, in that manner, as well as in baptism.— And from God's ancient grant of the nation to his Son, Psal. ii. 8. Isa. xlii. 4. &c. they had strong encouragement to do so. The covenanting work in Scotland was so often repeated, and on some occasions, particularly in 1638, so uni-

*. See Synod's Catechism on third Command.

versal, that it is scarce probable there is a Scotch family on the continent, which is not descended from some covenanter*.

3. These covenants were public deeds of the representatives of both church and state, acquiesced in by the subjects, and so *as binding* as the covenant of Israel with the Gibeonites, which was only sworn by the Princes of the congregation, Josh. ix. and yet continued binding on the whole nation four hundred years afterward, 2 Sam. xxi.

4. These covenants were public deeds of the body of the adult members in both church and state, and often repeated and ratified by the supreme authority of both, and so binding upon the whole church and nation, and their posterity after them, Deut. v. 2, 3. and xxix. 1—15† Even the public curse imprecated by the Jews, met at the passover, Math. xxvii. 25. hath affected their whole nation and their posterity. Without supposing that public covenants of parents, and of representatives of church or state, or of the greater part of a society, were binding on their descendants, the body represented the whole society, and such as accede thereto, there could be no dependence on public covenants

* See Rapin, vol. ii. fol. 303. Hume's Hist. on ann. 1638, p. m. 257. Neal's Hist. Puritans, vol. ii. p. m. 259. 260. 261. Dickson, Henderson, and Cant's Answers to, and Replies of, Doctors of Aberdeen, p. 4, 40, 44 77. 97. Spang's *Historia Motuum*, p. 60. Brown's *Apologetical Relation*, p. 48. Hind let Loose, p. 77. 514—520. Livingston's *Life*, p. 22. Bishop Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 35. Stevenson's *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 291—297, 311, 445. Willison's *Testim.* p. 7. Wilson's *Defence*, p. 240—243. Cruickshank's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 33.

† For proof of the perpetual obligation of these covenants, see Timotheus's *Covenanters' Plea*, Croft's *Fastening of Peter's fetters, Hind let Loose*, p. 514—520. Brown's *Apologetical Relation*, p. 327 to 414. See also Brown's *Letter on the perpetual obligation of the Scotch Covenants*, Walker's *Sermons*, both lately published.

and treaties in, or between societies. Whenever the immediate covenanters, or often a few of them, died or lost their power, the obligation of the treaties would be voided, and so all things kept in confusion.

Twelve years of reformation were scarce elapsed, when all the above advances therein began to be plucked up by the roots. To support King Charles II. against Cromwell, but contrary to solemn engagements, wicked malignants were received into places of power and trust. By this, both church and state were thrown into fearful disorders. Those of the general assembly, who countenanced this promiscuous admission, were called *Resolutioners*: these who warmly opposed it, were designed the *Protesters*. The nation was overspread, and torn asunder by the warmest animosity, and the mutual censures betwixt them. Cromwell having routed their King, and forced him to flee the country, restricted both parties.

When Charles II. was restored to his kingdom, *anno* 1660, he, and most of his subjects, profanely trampled on their solemn vows. Zealously, and at no small expense, had the covenanters supported his interest, and promoted his restoration: Destruction and ruin were their only reward. Their covenanted reformation, from 1637 to 1650, was declared null and void; and much of it rebellious and treasonable. Their covenants were declared unlawful, and not binding on the swearers; many of the subjects were obliged solemnly to renounce them as such; by order of authority they were publicly burnt; and it was declared treasonable to give or take them. Episcopacy was restored and advanced. The

King was declared supreme head of the church in all causes, to whom the ordering of her whole external government did solely belong, as an inherent right of his crown. By oaths, declarations, or tests, the subjects were required to justify these odious crimes. Such as faithfully opposed, were fined, imprisoned, tortured, banished, or murdered, under, and without colour of law. At the very beginning, about two-thirds of the ministry complied with the court. Not a few others, too cowardly, deserted their judicatures and flocks: many accepted of an indulgence to preach, flowing from Charles's supremacy, and hampered with sinful restrictions, as, that they should not meddle with the Sovereign's spiritual headship; should not marry, or admit to the seals of the covenant, any who resided in the congregations of curates, unless attested by them; should either attend the Prelatic courts, or confine themselves to their own parish, &c. They afterward thanked the Duke of York for his toleration, clearly founded on his claim to absolute power, and calculated to introduce the whole delusion, idolatry, and tyranny of Antichrist.

In 1688, when James and his agents were just going to wreath the yoke of Popery and slavery about our necks, God ejected him from his throne, and crushed his designs. The parliament which met thereafter, abolished prelacy, the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, the Yule vacance, together with the persecuting acts of the preceding period. Its wicked oaths and declarations, they discharged; and, in room thereof, appointed a simple oath of allegiance, and a solemn declaration of fidelity to our Sovereign King Wil-

liam. They revived and confirmed all former laws, in so far as against Popery, and for the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant religion. They ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith, and engrossed it into their act. They ratified and confirmed Presbyterian church government and discipline, *as agreeable to the word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true piety and godliness, and the establishing of peace and tranquility within this realm.* They revived the 114th act of the parliament 1692, in so far as it established the same; and rescinded all acts and laws in so far as contrary to said Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government and discipline. The government of the church they lodged in the hands of such ministers as had been ejected for opposing Prelacy. They abolished patronage; but lodged the election of ministers in the hand of heritors and elders, with the consent of the congregation. They made a variety of excellent acts against profaneness and blasphemy. Queen Anne's first parliament further ratified the true Protestant religion, together with the worship, discipline, and government of this church; and declared the unalterable continuance thereof an *essential and fundamental* condition of the union, in all time coming.

In 1690, the General Assembly spent the first day of their meeting in solemn fasting, and lamenting over the sins of the land. The former assemblies concerned in the above-mentioned public resolutions, were given up to oblivion. Whatever censures the resolutioners or protesters had passed upon one another, were declared null and void. In the act for a national fast, a multitude of the abominations of the persecuting pe-

riod were condemned and lamented. The parliament's settlement of religion was acquiesced in without any complaint. In the acts of this, and other subsequent assemblies, we find a variety of occasional hints, implying an acknowledgment of the authority of the general assemblies from 1638 to 1650. Till after 1710, especially in acts for fasting, we find frequent hints of the binding obligation of our covenants. In the Commission's *Seasonable Admonition*, ratified by the assembly 1699, and in some acts of following assemblies*, we have as full an assertion of Christ's sole headship over his church; of her intrinsic power; and of the divine right of Presbyterian government, as can be met with in the records of this church. In 1706 the Commission remonstrated against subjecting the nation, in any degree, to the authority of the English Bishops, as spiritual lords in the British parliament; and against making the confirmation of Prelacy in England an essential condition of the union. In 1711, the Commission, and in 1715, the Assembly, warmly remonstrated against the British parliament, their granting a toleration to all sects, except Papists and blasphemers; and against their restoring of patronage.

King William and his managers were far enough from being hearty friends to a covenanted reformation, or willing to allow of the ejection of loyal Episcopalian clergy, whose lives were tolerable. For fear of provoking him and his agents to oppose or subvert the establishment of Presbyterian government and discipline, the principal promoters of the revolution minced matters,

* Admon. p. 5. Ass. 1705. act 7. 16. Ass. 1707. act 11. Ass. 1711. act 10.

as far as their consciences would permit. Hence a number of well-disposed persons in the revolution church, thought the procedure of both parliament and assembly defective. Considering the horrid wickedness of the persecuting period, they were displeased that the threefold representation of grievances, especially that by Mr. Shields and his brethren, presented to the assembly 1690, was refused to be read or considered; that the wicked oaths, acts, indulgencies, and persecution, and other evils of that period, were not more fully and plainly condemned, and the testimonies of the martyrs against them clearly approven. Considering the indignity done to the work of reformation between 1638 and 1650, they were persuaded it ought not to have been so much overlooked, or left under any slur, but solemnly and plainly approven. Considering what daring indignity had of late been done thereto, they thought the sole headship of Christ over his church, together with her intrinsic power, and the divine right of Presbytery, should have been more clearly, and still more solemnly, asserted, in acts made for that very purpose. They were grieved that our covenants were not more solemnly and particularly approven, and their obligation upon posterity more fully asserted and evinced; and that no steps were taken towards the renovation thereof. They were offended that noted persecutors possessed civil places of power and trust, and were so easily admitted to sealing ordinances, and even to the office of elders in the church:—offended that the Bishops' early flight to England, and the favour of some great men, screened them from church-censure; and that many curates were admitted by the church into

ministerial fellowship, without any *express* renunciation of abjured Prelacy, or profession of sorrow for their compliance with it. They were offended that the meetings of the General Assembly were so tamely dissolved, or prorogued, at the will of King William, or Queen Anne.

It is easy to see that such persons would heartily detest the parliament's consenting to the confirmation of Prelacy in England, as an essential condition of the union; and reckon it contrary to Scripture, and a plain burial of the solemn league, wherein we are engaged to endeavour the reformation of England from Prelacy:—would be grieved with the introduction from England, of the abjuration-oath, as a qualification for civil offices; of custom-house-oaths; of unnecessary repetition of oaths; of superstitious swearing by touching and kissing the Gospel; and of Scotsmen's receiving the Lord's Supper in the English manner, as a qualification for civil offices, while serving the Sovereign in England; and with the parliament's restoration of patronage, and the superstitious Yule vacance of our civil courts; and with their granting an almost unlimited toleration. But it was the imposition of the abjuration oath, especially upon the ministry, which then occasioned the most mournful offence and division in the church. Every true Presbyterian heartily abhorred Popery, and detested the Pretender for its sake: but knowing that God had expressly prohibited the taking of his name *IN VAIN*, and that he will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name *IN VAIN*, *Exod. xx. 7.*—that forwardness in swearing oaths is marked as part of a wicked man's character, *Eccl. ix. 2.* and great caution therein as part of

the character of a saint, Gen. xxiv. 2—9. Knowing that every oath ought to be for confirmation, to make an end of strife, Heb. vi. 16. and so ought, as far as the terms can admit, to be taken in the sense of the imposer;—that it ought to be sworn in *truth*, and in *judgment*, and in *righteousness*, Jer. iv. 2. and with a single eye to the glory of God, 1 Cor. x. 31. Knowing that we in this land can take no oath contrary to our public covenants, the national and solemn league, wherein we abjure Popery, Prelacy, superstitious ceremonies, Erastianism, schism, &c. without involving ourselves in the most fearful perjury;—many truly loyal, judicious, and godly ministers and Christians scrupled at taking it, or even at joining in church-fellowship with these ministers who took it. Besides other objections.

1. They thought that oath **UNNECESSARY**, and so a taking of the name of the Lord their God **IN VAIN**;—as every thing lawful therein contained, is just the moment before sworn in the **ALLEGIANCE**, and solemnly engaged to in the **ASSURANCE**. It moreover appeared to them, that this oath was of no use to exclude treacherous Jacobites from places of power or trust, or to secure the Protestant succession in the family of Hanover.—The imposition of it both in 1702 and 1711 being chiefly owing to Jacobitical influence; and none make less scruple to take it than most of the Jacobites.

2. Notwithstanding the jurants being obliged to profess, upon oath, that every word in it has a *plain* and *common sense*, in which they swear they take it, *without any secret reservation whatsoever*, they found in it several expressions which they deemed *unsafe*; as to swear the sovereign

to be **LAWFUL** and **RIGHTFUL** king of **ALL** the dominions and countries belonging to Great Britain; as they hardly knew what countries Britain claimed; or the lawfulness of her claim to some of them; nay, suspected her claim to some of them to be merely founded on treachery and violence:—to swear they would to the utmost of their power defend the sovereign against all attempts which should be made against his **DIGNITY**, which they were certain, in the original form of the oath, included his spiritual headship over the church, as well as his civil supremacy; and in most part of his dominions certainly retains the same signification; nor hath it ever been declared, that it hath not that signification when the oath is sworn in Scotland:—and to swear they would do their best endeavours to disclose **ALL TREASONS**, *i. e.* whatever was declared treason by the Scotch, English, and British laws; when they had scarce access to examine all these laws, and were scarce satisfied that every thing they declared *treasonable* was really so.

3. As the parliament of England, in their original imposition of this oath, had expressly declared, that one end thereof was the *perpetual maintenance of the church of England, as by law established, i. e.* as corrupted with Popish Prelacy and ceremonies.—And in this oath the jurant swears, that he will to the utmost of his power maintain the limitation and succession of the British crown as it is, or which stands limited by an English act, which expressly requires the Sovereign to *be of the communion of the church of England, and to swear to maintain her as by law established*;—they thought the oath engaged them indirectly to support Prelacy and the cere-

monies in England, and to endeavour to shut up the King to swear a sinful oath, and practise unlawful church-fellowship as a condition of enjoying his royal powers and privileges.—This they looked upon as contrary to Scripture, 1 Thess. v. 22. Eph. v. 11. Col. ii. 20, 21. Luke xxii. 24—27. and expressly contrary to our covenants, whereby Prelacy and ceremonies, whether in Scotland or England, are abjured as sinful, and to be extirpated. Many even thought that a swearing to maintain the succession of the crown against all others, to *the heirs of the body of Sophia*, upon the simple condition of their being *Protestants*, was unlawful, as being contrary to some fundamental laws of the kingdom; and as it might, in a variety of supposable cases, involve the adherent to this oath, in unreasonable conduct.

4. When they judged the swearing of this oath an unnecessary taking of God's name in vain; when they looked on the above and other expressions of it as obscure or unsafe; when they looked on it, as including an engagement to the indirect and mediate maintenance of Prelacy, and the ceremonies in England; and when they moreover knew, that, contrary to manifold laws of God, Lev. xix. 14. Deut. xxvii. 18. Rom. xiv. 13—22. and xv. 1—3. 1 Cor. x. 23. 31—33. and viii. 9—13. Rom. xvi. 17, 18. Matth. xviii. 6, 7. they would, in taking it, lay stumbling-blocks in the way of others; encourage or harden some in taking it rashly and ignorantly in the too common manner; or, in taking it frequently, perhaps several times in one day or week, to qualify them for different offices in the state; or give occasion to contention, schism, evil-speaking, and mutual

reviling, in the societies wherewith they were connected—they could not allow themselves, for fear of any human penalty, to take it HEARTILY and WILLINGLY, as every jurant has to swear he doth.—To these reasons, a variety of answers were published; but destitute of that candour or clearness necessary to satisfy a duly tender and well-informed conscience, in the awful and solemn point of an oath.

While the affair of the abjuration-oath continued rending the church, Mr. John Simson, professor of divinity at Glasgow, in his defences to the assembly, against Mr. James Webster, maintained, that Heathens have an implicit discovery of redemption through Christ: that if they, or others, with such moral seriousness, as they are by nature capable of, use the means of happiness they have, they shall certainly obtain saving grace and endless felicity: that all infants have their souls formed as pure and holy as Adam's was, and dying in nonage, shall probably be saved: that no proper covenant of works was made with Adam, as the representative of his posterity: that our own happiness ought to be our chief end in the service of God: that there is no immediate precourse of God attending, and influencing the acts of his reasonable creatures: and that there will be no sinning in hell after the last judgment.—After tedious altercations, at various meetings, the assembly 1717 found these positions no more but *opinions not necessary to be taught in divinity; opinions not evidently founded in Scripture, and some of them tending to attribute too much to the power of corrupt nature:* and they discharged him, or any other under their inspection, to propagate them.

That very day, however, they condemned, as *most unsound and detestable*, this proposition, *That it is unsound to teach, We must forsake our sin in order to come to Christ, and to instating us in covenant with God.* This was thought a plain affirming, that we ought to forsake our sin, saving ourselves from the love, power, and practice thereof, before we come to Christ, as the only Saviour; or have any interest in his new-covenant blessings. To give a check to this, and other legal errors, then too rampant, a noted English treatise, entitled, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, was republished, with a recommendatory preface by Mr. James Hog, one of the holiest ministers in the kingdom. For about eighty years this treatise had maintained a considerable character with the serious: now, the Assembly 1720, many of whose members, it was shrewdly suspected, had never much, if at all, perused it, condemned a great number of passages therein, and charged ministers to warn their people against reading it. In this hasty attack, they too plainly condemned the offering of Christ as a Saviour to *all men*, or to men *as sinners*; and the maintaining, that believers are fully delivered from the commanding and condemning power of the law as a covenant of works. They too plainly asserted our holiness to be a federal, or conditional means of our obtaining everlasting happiness; and that slavish fear of endless misery, and legal hope of future blessedness, ought to influence the saints in their study of gospel-holiness.—These almost entirely scriptural expressions, that *believers are not under the law, and do not commit sin; that the Lord sees no sin in them, and cannot be angry with them*; they de-

clared Antinomian paradoxes. The distinction of the moral law into the forms of a covenant, and of a rule of duty in the hand of Christ, used in order to explain these expressions, they utterly condemned. Messrs. Thomas Boston, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskines, with nine others, remonstrated against this decision; and in their answers to the Commission's twelve queries, with no small evidence elucidated the truth. The Assembly 1722 resumed the affair, rebuked the twelve representers for some expressions in their representation, and made an act explaining and confirming the act of 1720 relative thereto. This, though not so gross as the former, the representing brethren protested against, as *injurious to truth*; but the Assembly refused to mark their protest. Not a few ministers, in order to avoid the most distant appearance of favouring the MARROW, seeming to become more legal in their doctrine than formerly, great numbers of serious Christians crowded after the representers and their friends. These, notwithstanding of their distinguished holiness of practice, and zealous recommending of it to their hearers, were exceedingly traduced, as new schemers, and Antinomian encouragers of a licentious life.

Probably their reproach and trouble had been more extensive, had not a flagrant report spread abroad, that Mr. John Simson not only contemned the Assembly's prohibition, and taught his fore mentioned errors; but had taught, that Jesus Christ is not necessarily existent: that the persons in the Godhead are not the very same in substance: that *necessary existence, supreme Deity*, and being the *only true God*, may be taken in a sense importing the personal property of the Fa-

ther, and so not belonging to the Son and Holy Ghost.—The teaching of these Arian tenets was sufficiently proved against him. But to the Assembly he presented declarations in orthodox language; and after much quibbling, professed his sorrow for some of the offensive expressions that were proved against him. When the process had continued more than two years, the Assembly 1728 suspended him from the exercise of all ecclesiastical function, till another assembly should think fit to take off the sentence. The Assembly 1729 further declared, that it was not proper to entrust him any more with the training up of young men for the holy ministry. The libel relative to his continuing to teach his former errors, was fully proved, but left undiscussed. Many were offended, that his blasphemy and error were so slightly censured.

Not long after, Mr. Campbell, Professor of church history in the university of St. Andrew's, in his printed tracts, ridiculed close walking with God, and consulting him in all our ways, as *enthusiasm*. He averred, that, in the interval between Christ's death and resurrection, his disciples looked upon him as a downright impostor. He maintained that self-love is the chief motive, and standard of all actions, religious or virtuous. He asserted, that the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, cannot be known by the light of nature: and that the laws of nature are a certain and sufficient rule to direct rational minds to happiness; and our observation thereof the great means of our 'real and lasting felicity.—These he so varnished over, in his defences, that he never was censured on account of them. This added to the former offence.

The mal-administration of church-government was now become notorious and glaring. For about thirteen years after Queen Anne had restored patronage, none accepted the presentation unless he had the call or consent of the Christian people. The British parliament in 1719 expressly declared, that unless the candidate accepted, the presentation was null. How easily then might the church have restrained her candidates from accepting! But it was, and is more and more otherwise. During Mr. Simson's last process, the violent intrusion of presentees upon reclaiming congregations began. To cut off standing testimonies against their own sinful conduct, the Assembly 1730, by an express act, discharged marking the reasons of any protest or dissent in their minutes. Nay, in this and some subsequent Assemblies, it became fashionable to refuse to record the dissents or protests themselves. Against this, and other growing defections, about forty ministers, and sixteen hundred people, presented a warm remonstrance to the Assembly 1732, and begged a judicial assertion of truth, in opposition to Mr. Simson's errors. These representations the Assembly refused to hear: and, contrary to instruction from the far greater part of presbyteries which sent any, they enacted, that Protestant heritors, whether prelatie Jacobites or not, and elders, should be the sole electors of gospel-ministers. This act was reckoned an overturning of Christ's spiritual kingdom, in his own name; and a robbing his people of their spiritual privilege, un'ler pretence of his authority. Next Assembly, under pain of the highest censure, prohibited the Presbytery of Dumferline, and by

consequence every other, to allow sealing ordinances to such whose conscience could not submit to the ministry of a presentee, violently obtruded upon them. According to this, many behoved either to trample on their conscience, and the Christian law, or to be held as Heathen men and publicans.

Meanwhile Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, in a sermon before the Synod at Perth, October 1782, decried patronage, and the Assembly's above-mentioned act, relative to the election of ministers, and some other prevalent courses of defection. After three days of warm disputation, the synod ordered him to be rebuked at their bar, for the *matter* and *manner* of his sermon. Twelve ministers and two elders dissented. Himself appealed to the ensuing general Assembly. But, instead of redress, that supreme judicature appointed him to receive a rebuke at their bar. Conceiving the truths of God affirmed in his sermon were hereby injured, he protested, that without violating his conscience he could not submit; and that he should be at liberty to give a like testimony on every proper occasion. For their own exoneration, Messrs. William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief, and James Fisher, adhered to his protest. Without allowing these four brethren to attempt a defence of their conduct, the Assembly appointed their Commission to proceed against them, in August next, by suspension, or higher censure, if they did not retract their protest, and profess their sorrow for taking it. In August, being hardly permitted to declare their mind, and still adhering to their protest, they were suspended from the exercise of their office. In November, the Commission still finding them

impenitent, did, by their moderator's casting vote, loose their ministerial relation to their respective congregations. These four brethren protested, that their office, and their relation to their congregations, should be held as valid as if no such sentence had been passed; and they declared a SECESSION, not from the *constitution* of the church of Scotland, but from the *prevailing party in her judicatures*.

That they might regularly adhere to their principles, and afford relief to such as were oppressed with intrusions, they quickly after, with prayer and fasting, constituted themselves into an ecclesiastic court, which they termed, *the Associate Presbytery*. Their minutes bear, that Messrs. Wilson and Moncrief, soon after, framed their first testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland; and that this was judicially approved 1734, in their meetings at Colfargy and Dunfermline. Herein they exhibit their reasons of secession, and which readers ought carefully to observe, viz.

1. That the *prevailing party*, in the established judicatures, *were breaking down the Presbyterian constitution of church government*, by their trampling upon, and making decisions in an order quite contrary to that prescribed in the *barrier acts* of this church, in her purest times, enacted to secure due deliberation, in the appointment of standing laws, and general rules; by their exercising a lordly power over the consciences of Christians, empowering heritors and elders to impose on them their spiritual guides; by their promoting the violent intrusion of presentees upon reclaiming congregations; by their censuring and ejecting ministers, merely for protesting

against a sinful act of the General Assembly ; by their allowing the Commission to take into their own hand the Presbytery's power in settling a pastor, if the expeding a violent intrusion was by the Presbytery refused ; and by their threatening the highest censure to these who administered sealing ordinances to such as could not, in conscience, submit to the ministry of intruders.

2. That said prevailing party *were pursuing such methods as had an evident tendency to corrupt the doctrines of truth, contained in their own Confession of Faith*; in their so easily dismissing the process relative to Professor Simson, and refusing judicially to assert the truth in opposition to his errors ; in their caressing Professor Campbell, while he spread his erroneous tenets ; and finally, in their permitting or encouraging preachers to entertain their hearers with dry harangues, of almost mere Heathen morality, instead of the gospel of Christ

3. That they *were imposing upon ministers sinful terms of communion*, even the breach of their ordination-vows, in forbearing a proper opposition to the prevalent course of apostacy from the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this church.

4. That they *were continuing in those evil ways, notwithstanding of the use of ordinary means to reclaim them*. And which LAST they took, as bringing the matter to a crisis, leaving no probable view of redress, but in a way of separation.—In this testimony, the seceding brethren, as on many other occasions, declared their zealous adherence to their ordination vows, and to every subordinate *standard* espoused in their mother-church. They likewise avowed their intention

to maintain church-fellowship, with all these of her ministers, or members, who faithfully opposed. and groaned under the prevalent course of defection, as opportunity should permit.

In 1734 the Assembly was very different from some of the preceding. The better part had vigorously bestirred themselves in the choice of the members. Sundry corrupt and tyrannical courses received an observable check. The Synod of Perth was appointed to reponne the seceding brethren to their respective charges: but as this appointment represented the reposition as effected without condemning the act of the preceding Assembly, or the conduct of their Commission, these brethren accounted it as an act of favour, rather than of justice; and so deemed the truths, which suffered along with them, not duly vindicated. Hence they forebore returning to the established judicatures upon such a foundation. They published the reasons of their conduct, and the terms upon which they were willing to accede to the judicatures. About two years and a half, however, they kept their meetings of Presbytery, for almost nothing but prayer and conference; waiting, and wishing, for an opportunity of an untainted return.

But observing the established judicatures fast relapsing into, or proceeding forward in, their former defection;—observing that Professor Campbell's sentiment of self-love being the great standard and motive of all actions, religious and moral, as varnished over by him, was inconsiderately approven by the Assembly 1736; and observing that the excellent acts of that Assembly *against intrusions, or for orthodox preaching,* were generally disregarded;—they began to supply

with sermon such oppressed Christians as petitioned for it; and Mr. Wilson was appointed to educate students for the work of the ministry, in connection with them. Meanwhile Messrs. Ralph Erskine and Thomas Mair, ministers, acceded to the Associate Presbytery, declaring that they joined them not as different from, but as a part of the church of Scotland, witnessing against the corruptions of the prevailing party in her established judicatures; that they intended no withdrawal from such godly brethren in the ministry, as were groaning under, and wrestling against the then prevailing course of backsliding; and that they resolved to return to the above-mentioned judicatures, whenever these returned to their duty.—This form of secession the Associate Presbytery cheerfully acquiesced in; and declared to be in effect the same with their own.

About the same time, the Associate Presbytery published a *SECOND TESTIMONY to the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of the church of Scotland*. It was not designed to state the grounds of secession;—for the defections of the prelatie persecutors, and of the civil government, from neither of which they made their secession, were therein rehearsed and condemned;—but was designed and calculated to represent the grounds of the Lord's controversy with the generation; calculated to give a judicial approbation of former steps of reformation, and to condemn the steps of apostacy therefrom; and to condemn the prevalent errors of the time, and expressly assert the truth, in direct opposition thereto.

In this testimony, they marked out and condemned the leading defections of both church and state, from 1650, when the apostacy remarkably began, to 1736 They expressly condemned the errors of Professors Simson and Campbell; and shewed their contrariety to the word of God, and the standards of this church. They solemnly asserted, that the Old and New Testaments are not merely a *sufficient*, and the *principal*, but the ONLY RULE to direct us, how to glorify God, and enjoy him: that Jesus Christ is the supreme, the only true God; the same in substance and dignity with his eternal Father: that God from all eternity decreed all things according to the counsel of his own will; and elected a certain number of mankind to everlasting life, of his mere good pleasure, without any regard to their future good works, as the condition or ground of his choice: that God entered into a covenant of life, upon condition of perfect obedience, with Adam, as the representative of all his natural seed: that by Adam's breach of that covenant, in eating the forbidden fruit, all men are conceived and born in sin; are by nature children of disobedience and wrath; and can do nothing spiritually good: that though there be no *necessary* connection between the natural seriousness of unregenerate men, and their obtaining of saving grace; yet it is their duty carefully to attend the ordinances of the gospel, as the means whereby God conveys his converting Spirit and influence; that the light of nature is not sufficient to guide fallen men to any true or lasting happiness: that Christ assumed our nature; is very God, and very man, in two distinct natures, and one person for ever: that he, as surety, undertook

for all the elect, and them only, and gave to the law and justice of God whatever obedience and satisfaction they could require of us : that his surety-righteousness, imputed to us, is the only foundation of our forgiveness of sin, acceptance into favour with God, and title to eternal life, and not any thing wrought in, or done by us : that want of conformity to God's law, in heart or life, is truly and properly sin ; and that sinning and suffering will be the misery of the damned in hell through all eternity : that all believers in Christ are fully delivered from the moral law as a covenant of works, so as to be thereby neither justified nor condemned : but are for ever under it, as a binding rule of obedience, given by ЯКНОВАН the Creator and Redeemer of man : that God needs nothing from, nor can be profited by, any creature ; and therefore rewards their good actions merely of his own free-will and gracious bounty : that not self-interest or pleasure, but the holy law of God, is the supreme and sole standard of all actions, religious or moral : that not self-love, but a view of the glorious excellencies of God, as revealed in Christ, and a kindly regard to his authority, are the leading motives of our love and obedience to him : that no believer can ever totally or finally fall away from his state of grace ; nor did Christ's disciples, while he was in the grave, account him a downright impostor : that Jesus Christ *alone* is the King and head of his church ; to whom *alone* it belongs to give unto her, laws, ordinances, and officers ; and to whom *alone* her officers are subject in their spiritual ministrations : that Christ hath in his word prescribed a particular form of government for his church, distinct from, and

not subordinate to, the civil magistrate: that the form of government appointed by him to continue in his New Testament church till his second coming, is the Presbyterian, according to which there is no office above that of a pastor; and congregational sessions, consisting of a minister or ministers, elders and deacons, which are subordinated to Presbyteries, or classes, and these to Synods; and he hath appointed no other form either Independent, Episcopalian, or Erastian: that Christ hath entrusted this government, not to all church-members, but to office-bearers, whose power is entirely subordinated to the laws declared in his word: that these officers have power and warrant from Christ, to hold General Assemblies, and other ecclesiastical courts, as often as is necessary for the good of the church: that Christ's kingdom, being of a *spiritual* nature, the ministers, and other officers thereof, ought to be set over congregations, by the call and consent of such therein, as are admitted to full communion in all her sealing ordinances, *no person's vote being preferred upon any SECULAR account.*

Along with this assertory declaration of truth, they condemned and declared their detestation of the contrary errors. They professed their hearty adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Directory for Worship, and Form of Church Government. They declared their adherence to the National Covenant, as explained to abjure Prelacy, the civil places and power of kirkmen, and the Articles of Perth; and to the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms; and to every act of Assembly, or other testimony, in so far as calculated to promote or maintain their

fathers' covenanted work of reformation. And, finally, they, in their judicative capacity, declared their adherence to the representations presented by them to the Commission of 1733; to their first testimony; and to their reasons of not acceding to the judicatures of the established church: and so made those papers as really parts of this testimony, as if they had been wholly engrossed therein.

This testimony, as Mr. Wilson, its principal drawer and defendant, observes, was never intended for a *new standard*, but for a public adherence to such as had been long acknowledged by the nation. The extent of it, especially when considered as comprehending the three pamphlets just now mentioned, made it very unfit to be adopted as an ecclesiastical standard. Persons, however, who acceded to, or joined with the seceding brethren, commonly professed their approbation thereof. *so far as they understood it*; but it must not be imagined they were required to believe the real certainty of every narrative of fact therein contained. To have demanded a religious adherence to narrations of fact, depending entirely on the testimony of fallible historians, would have been antichristian tyranny. Knowing the hundreds and thousands of mistakes observed in the most noted histories; knowing the ignorance and fallibility of mankind; the seceding ministers abhorred the thought of having their followers' faith to stand in the wisdom or authority of men; and not wholly in the wisdom, power, and veracity of God. Mr. Wilson openly averred, that Mr. Currie's charging this testimony with twenty-four historical mis-

takes, no way affected its proper substance ; but was a mere wrangling about circumstances ; and that the plain meaning of people's approving of it at their accession, was their signifying *their conjunction with the Associate Presbytery, in the same confession of the truths of God held forth from his word, in our received standards.* Now, it is notour, that not the word of God, but acts of Parliament, or Assembly, or like fallible vouchers, support the historical narrations therein contained.

Though plenty of objections were mustered up against this testimony ; some reckoning it sinfully defective, and others reckoning it as much redundant ; yet the prevailing party of the ministry in the nation, proceeding on in their defection, and a multitude of them giving new offence, by reading from their pulpit, on the Lord's day, an act of Parliament for discovering the murderers of Captain Porteous, in which that civil court had claimed a spiritual headship over the church, constituting themselves judges of ministers' qualifications to sit in her courts, and threatening ecclesiastical censure, if their civil authority was not obeyed ; two ministers, and a multitude of elders and private Christians, joined the seceding brethren. The reading of Porteous's paper from the pulpit, in the time of divine service, they reckoned a very criminal profanation of the Christian Sabbath ; and a subjection of the readers to the Parliament as their *spiritual head.* The offended people warmly petitioned the Associate Presbytery to afford them sermon, and hold fasts with them, that they might mourn over the apostacy and wickedness of the times.

Their requests were granted, but not without much deliberation.

These people were far from accounting their leaving of their ministers unreasonable or groundless. They knew God had commanded his people to come out of a corrupt church, that they might not be partakers in her plagues*; that he had commanded them to withdraw from brethren walking disorderly†; that he had charged them to mark such, as by their evil courses caused offences, and to avoid them‡; had charged them to beware of the legal leaven or doctrine of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod||. In vain you told them that Jesus Christ, and his prophets and apostles, maintained communion with the Jewish church: they knew the qualifications of New Testament ministers did not turn upon natural descent and ceremonial purity, so much as under the Old; but upon things spiritual and moral. They knew men did not now cut off themselves from all public ordinances, by withdrawing from a particular national church, as they did when there was but one tabernacle or temple, wherein God caused his own name to dwell. They defied you to prove, that Jesus, and his prophets or apostles, countenanced the corrupt party in their time: they granted that he, just before his death, required his disciples to regard the civil rulers who *sat in Moses' seat*: but they challenged you to prove, he required them to hear the ecclesiastical officers who *sat in Aaron's*: they challenged you to prove, that Nicodemus, and Joseph of Ariumatha, sat in the

* Rev. xviii. 4.
|| Mark viii. 15.

† 2 Thes. iii. 6.

‡ Rom. xvi. 17.

Jewish Sanhedrim, after it condemned the Lord of glory; or, though they had continued in this civil court, with very wicked companions, to prove from thence, our duty to continue in a particular church, or with a particular part thereof, obstinate in their wickedness and apostacy. In vain you told them, God, in the apostolic age, enjoined no separation from the churches of Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Pergamos, and Thyatira, notwithstanding of the various corruptions therein: for they believed no particular church was to be separated from, till she appeared obstinate in apostacy; and they defied you to prove that any of these churches continued obstinately deaf to the apostolic admonitions given them. In vain you told them, that their withdrawal was a breaking up of the communion of saints, and an interpretative condemnation of Christ for holding communion with any who did not withdraw along with them: they knew God had charged them to withdraw even from BROTHERN who walked disorderly: they challenged you to shew, how one, who was bound by the word of God, and solemn covenant with him, to maintain the doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith, and Presbyterian government, could, without any disorder or degree of scandal, countenance or bid God speed a minister who was obstinately overthrowing said doctrine or government: they knew God had charged them to *buy the truth*, and not sell it; no, not though it were to obtain fellowship with good men: they knew not how *inward* grace, which lies in the hidden man of the heart, could be the term of visible church communion, especially to such as cannot search the heart, and try the reins

of their neighbour: they challenged you to prove that there is no real saint in the Popish church, from which, notwithstanding, God expressly requires us to withdraw; or to prove that Luther and Calvin's obedience to that command, amounted to a breaking up the communion of the saints, and was an interpretative condemning of Christ, merely because some saint, whom he loves to the end, and waters every moment, sinfully disobeyed his solemn mandate, and did not come along with them. "Do we," said they, "condemn Christ for retaining his saints always in his everlasting arms, if we refuse to sit down with them at a communion table, that moment they commit adultery, as David; idolatry, as Solomon; or, with curses and oaths, deny their Master, as Peter?"

They knew the grounds of separation from a church, ought always to be solid and weighty; such as heresy in doctrine, idolatry in worship, tyranny in government, violent intrusion of pastors, scandalous lives of the ministry, or sinful terms of communion: they thought they had several of these in their case. Knowing what vows their ministers came under at their ordination, they reckoned them guilty of perjury and scandal, if they were notorious breakers thereof. If their pastor entertained them with legal and Arminian harangues, instead of the gospel of Christ, they thought it full time to flee from the poison, and go where they might have food for their souls. If, through his unfaithfulness, they, at the Lord's table, were in danger of having the elements to receive from an elder known to be a profane swearer or drunkard, and to give to a fellow-communicant, as well known to be a grossly ignorant, or almost a prayerless person, they

thought their condition very unhappy. If he habitually accommodated the censures and other ordinances of the church, to the humours of his hearers, especially the great, they suspected the *man-pleaser* could not be a servant of Christ. If he was extremely slothful and careless, or more given to his farm or carnal employment, they suspected Christ had not sent him, as he had not given him a spirit for, and love to his work. If their pastor had a better personal character than some others, but prostituted this gift of God, to support such as were naughty, by assisting at their communions, or conniving at their sinful procedure in judicatures, they reckoned this a plain bidding of them God speed, and so accounted him a noted *partaker in their evil deeds*: *A little leaven, said they, leaveneth the whole lump.*

Nothing they more objected to than the violent intrusion of a pastor, by the power and influence of a patron. They knew the sacred oracles assign the choice of church-officers to adult church-members, free of scandal. The hundred and twenty disciples at Jerusalem, chose candidates for the apostleship*. The multitude of the Christian people chose their deacons, and the apostles ordained them†. In all the churches elders, or presbyters, *were ordained by the election or suffrages* of the professed believers‡. Christ charges his people to *try the spirits*||; a sure proof they have some capacity for it: but to what purpose should they TRY them, if they have not power to choose the fit, and refuse the improper, but must accept whoever is imposed upon them? Christ's *kingdom* himself declared with his dying

* Acts i. 15—26.

† Acts vi. 1—6.

‡ Chap. xiv. 23. Ga

§ 1 John iv. 1.

breath, *is not of this world*, John xviii. 36.; how then is it possible for civil property to constitute one a member, far less a ruler thereof? How can civil property, however considerable, enable the patron to discern better than themselves, what minister's talents are best suited, and most edifying to the souls of such as are *taught of God*? Will his civil property qualify him to answer to God for all these souls, over whom he imposes a pastor? Can civil property exalt a man in spiritual things above God's poor ones, who are *rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom*, which he hath promised to them that love him? Is God a respecter of persons? If he condemn the preference of a rich man to a poor, in respect of a seat in our worshipping assemblies*, is it possible that he, for the sake of civil greatness, will give any man power to dispose of the souls of his people, into the hand of such spiritual physicians, guides, and governors, as the man pleaseth? If one may choose his natural physician, is it reasonable to deny him the choice of one for his soul? In a voluntary society, such as the church, how can one have the relation of a minister to a congregation thereof, fixed, without, or contrary to their consent? How can we believe him a messenger of Christ? How can we pray for, or in faith hear him *as such*, for whom Providence would never open a regular entrance, but he was obliged to be thrust in by the window, as *a thief and a robber*? In vain you told them of the great man's superior learning; they had read in their Bible, that the mysteries of the kingdom are often *hid from the wise and prudent* of this world, and re-

* James ii. 1—13.

vealed unto babes ; and that not many wise men after the flesh, not many noble are called. In vain you told them, that a great part of the congregation were the patron's tenants or servants ; their Bible informed them, that in Christ there is neither male nor female, bond nor free ; but Christ is all and in all. In vain you told them, the rich paid most, or all of the stipend ; they knew the contrary ; that heritors purchase the lands with the burden of the stipend thereon, and so obtain them at the less price : their Bible informed them, it was a sorcerer's, not a Christian principle, that the spiritual gifts of God, or privileges of his church, can be purchased with money. In vain you told them, that the residence of the great was more fixed than of the poor cottager ; they shewed you instances of the poor remaining in the same parish from generation to generation, while the rich had often changed their property : they pointed out the poor man, who more attended the gospel, and more prayed for success to it, and was more a comfort to his faithful minister, in one year, than sundry great men and patrons in twenty. To as little purpose you told them that the civil law compelled to settle the presentee, be the opposition what it would ; they knew the contrary ; and moreover their Bible had taught them, that we ought to obey God rather than men.

For what simony, sacrilege, perjury, and cruel wasting of the church, said they, doth patronage open a door ? To please a friend, to gratify or reward a chaplain, the presentee is complimented with the sacred function : the souls of men are sold over to his care, and the devoted revenues secured to his purse : and what hinders him to

return some obsequious compliance, or carnal acknowledgment, for the presentation he receives? How readily are the honour of Christ, and the salvation of men, thus betrayed into the hand of their open adversaries? A notorious infidel, a blasphemer, a profaner of the Sabbath, an atheistical neglecter of the worship of God in his closet and family, an unclean whoremonger, an habitual drunkard; in fine, one who has not so much religion as, with Satan, to *believe and tremble*, if he is a patron, chooses ambassadors for Christ, and pastors to the souls of his people. Will this man commit the presentation for the ministry to FAITHFUL, or not rather to erroneous, complaisant, and naughty men?

By patronage, how readily may one be admitted to the sacred office, who, at his ordination, will solemnly declare and vow before God, angels, and men, that he believes the whole doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith to be founded on the word of God; and that he will maintain and defend it in opposition to all Popish, Arian, Arminian, and other errors: and yet, in contradiction to his sworn confession, will that moment believe, and will afterward habitually or frequently preach to his people, Arminian and other errors:—in contradiction to his sworn confession, will indulge his hearers in the neglect of Sabbath-sanctification, and of the daily, secret, and private worship of God:—in contradiction to his sworn confession, will habitually baptize the children of such whose gross ignorance unfits them to profess their faith, and whose notour wickedness demonstrates, they intend no obedience to Christ;—and will admit, perhaps, without any

trial, to the *Christian feast*, persons who know not the very first principles of the oracles of God; or who are openly wicked, swearers, drunkards, whoremongers, &c. ?

How readily may one be admitted, who, at his ordination, will solemnly avow that he believes the Presbyterian government and discipline to be founded on, and agreeable to the word of God; and engage that, to the utmost of his power, he will maintain and defend it all the days of his life; while, in contradiction thereto, he that very moment improves a Popish presentation, as the whole or chief part of his call to that office, and intends to encourage others in doing the like:— in contradiction to his vow, is constantly disposed to ridicule our covenant-engagements, to maintain said government and discipline; and our martyrs who suffered in adherence thereto; and, as oft as occasion permits, will assist in breaking down various points of Presbyterian government; will pervert the discipline, overlooking or protecting those guilty of error and scandal, and censuring the conscientious adherents to truth; or at least without protesting against, or inward grief for them, will witness attacks on the doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of Christ ?

By patronage, how readily may one be admitted to the ministry, who, at his ordination, will solemnly affirm, that zeal for the glory of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of the salvation of men, not any worldly interest or view, are his chief motives to undertake that office; and that he hath used no undue means, by himself or others, to procure his call; while it is notourly known he, by himself or friend, solicited, at least

accepted, a Popish presentation, to procure, or rather instead of, a call; and whose future unconcern for his flock, attended with a sharp lookout for his stipend, will plainly manifest, that not zeal for the glory of God, love to Christ, or desire of men's salvation, but worldly views and interest, were his chief motives to undertake that work?

Hereby one is readily admitted to the sacred function, who, in his ordination-vows, will solemnly engage to rule well his own family; to live a holy and circumspect life; and faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully to discharge all the parts of his ministerial work; who, in contradiction to these vows, will frequently indulge himself in such loose and carnal behaviour as no way becomes a follower and messenger of Christ; will too often neglect the morning and evening sacrifice of secret or family worship; will almost wholly neglect the religious instruction of his children or servants; will witness his hearers profanely swear, or prostitute the Sabbath, without administering a shadow of reproof to them; will flatter men, especially if great, in a sinful course, and encourage them to hope that their good works will recommend them to the favour of God;—who will, in Jesus' name, attest elders to the General Assembly, as persons of a sober and Christian practice, strict observers of the Sabbath, punctual attenders upon public ordinances, regular maintainers of the daily worship of God in their families, when he knows for certain the truth of the very reverse; will cheerfully, and without trial, admit vile persons to partake of the sacramental food of the children of Christ; will spend his precious, his devoted

hours in idle chat, or in overseeing farms, or perusing romances and plays; and by neglecting to visit his people, even when sick and dying; by neglecting to catechise them, especially such as are of age or high rank; and by his preaching about an hour on Sabbath, for the most of the year, and the like; will plainly shew the ministerial work to be, not his pleasure, but his task, which, for the sake of his benefice, he must undergo.

In fine, said they, by patronage one may be admitted for a Presbyterian minister, who, if searched out, may be found an almost Papist or Heathen; for, does he not seemingly believe the lawfulness of Jesuitic equivocation, or the validity of Popish dispensations to sin, who, in the above manner, solemnly vows, and constantly practises the very reverse? If he contemn, if he jest at part of the sacred page; if his sermons and practice mark him determined to know every thing rather than *Jesus Christ, and him crucified*; has he not practically denied the Christian faith, and become worse than an infidel? If he harangue upon the dignity of our corrupt nature, upon our ability to do works spiritually good, and their influence to recommend us to our Maker's indulgence and favour, passing in silence the imputation of a Saviour's perfect righteousness, and the free and all-powerful operation of his Spirit; is not this the sum of the abjured Popish, Pelagian heresy? Is not the denial, or passing in silence the appropriating work of saving faith, much of the same import with holding the general and doubtful faith of the Pope? If he assist in deposing a brother for conscientious refusal of an appointment, not warranted in the

word of God; is he not guilty of abjured Popish tyranny against Christian liberty? If he, even without trial, admit the grossly ignorant, and notoriously wicked, to the seals of the new covenant, infers not that his Popish belief that the very act of receiving the sacraments is profitable, be the manner of doing it what will? Doth not even the private administration of baptism flow from, and tend to confirm, the Popish tenet, of that ordinance being absolutely necessary to salvation? If a minister entertain his people with flighty language, which they do not understand, is that much different from the Roman service in an unknown tongue? If, instead of the heart-searching and affecting truths of God, he amuse them with antic gestures, and foppish elocution, wherein are these preferable to Romish beads? Is not his withholding from them proper instruction, and carelessly suffering them to continue in gross ignorance, a practical holding of his Holiness's maxim, that *ignorance is the mother of devotion*? If he dismiss from public censure, without appearance of sorrow for the offence; or, if he accept or allow the acceptance of money, instead of public satisfaction for scandal, gives he not in to the abjured Popish penance? If he pursue for, if he cheerfully accept his benefice, while he doth as little for it as possible, is not this an imitation of the Romish lazy monks?

To such purpose reasoned the people who left their pastors and joined the secession. Too many of the above-mentioned possible fruits of patronage they thought plainly marked in the conduct of several of the intruded. Where no violent intrusion took place, it was not always the worst minister who lost the greatest number of

his people to the seceders. The general prevalence of gross ignorance, and loose living, in a congregation, often proved an effectual bulwark against the progress of the secession. But where a diligent pastor had trained up his people in the knowledge of their standards; if he died, or stumbled into some leading defection, there was oft a crowding towards it. Not a few, at the first, represented their grievances to their pastor, before they left him. These generally obtained but small satisfaction; and some of them were excommunicated for their pains; so the course came to be frequently disused*.

Many who left their established pastors, thought they were bound to train up their children in the way wherein they should go, that when old, they might not depart from it. They thought themselves obliged to train up their children witnesses for God, as well as themselves. They durst not hazard their childrens' souls with a naughty, legal, or lazy pastor; or who had no token of a mission from Christ; or who prostituted his good character, by assisting the naughty on sacramental occasions, &c. any more than their own. They knew not how what was poisonous, hurtful, or inexpedient to the aged, could be nourishing, harmless, and fit for the young. Their cause they accounted the cause of God; and trembled at the thought of having a hand

* A late author proposes the hurt done to the wealth of the nation, by the Secession, in the payment of stipends to so many seceding ministers, as a powerful reason for endeavouring to crush the Secession: but let him know, that if seceders act in character, they can easily save as much time and expense, from the service of Satan, in the articles of pride, drunkenness, &c. as will fully answer what is required for their peculiar circumstances in religious affairs; and, it is believed, that authority meets with as few seceders either bankrupts or beggars, as he does of his own party.

in its dropping, and being buried in their house. The scripture had informed them that children left to themselves bring their parents to shame. They observed that few seceders' children whom, while under age, their parents had not trained up in their own way, comforted and honoured these parents with much appearance of serious godliness: and therefore they caused their little ones attend the seceding preachers as well as themselves.

Numbers of them even carried their seceding views into the affair of their marriage. In obedience to our valuable laws, civil and ecclesiastical, they so generally detested clandestine marriages, that for many years an instance of it was scarce found among them. Clandestine marriage they looked on as **SINFUL** in a variety of respects.

1. **SINFUL**, as contrary to the very law of nature, which suggests, that an entrance into the nuptial state should be public, in order to prevent future solicitations of persons concerned, to uncleanness, or marriage with another. Hence it is the common law or custom of every nation under heaven, except where the sexes live in the manner of beasts, to have marriage publicly intimated or celebrated. Thus even nature itself teaches us, 1 Cor. xi. 14.

2. **SINFUL**, as it is a rebellion against the prudent regulations appointed, repeatedly appointed, in this and other Christian kingdoms and churches, in the purest of times. In these clandestine marriage hath been, not by a few weak individuals, but by the collective wisdom of both church and state, prohibited under severe censures and penalties, as a scandalous and criminal

nuisance to both. Their lawful statutes God himself adopts, and commands us to obey for conscience sake, and under pain of damnation, Rom. xiii. 1—5. 1 Pet. ii. 13. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

3. **SINFUL**, as contrary to the manner of marriages approved in Scripture. Both in the Old and New Testament, **BETWOTHING** is represented as antecedent to marriage, Exod. xxi. 8. and xxii. 16. Lev. xix. 20. Deut. xx. 7. and xxii. 23, 27, 28. and xxviii. 30. Matt. i. 18. The marriages of Jacob, Gen. xxix. 22. Sampson, Judg. xiv. 1—8. at Cana of Galilee, John ii. 1—11. were public. The allusion to marriage, Psal. xlv. 9—15. Christ's parables of the children of the bride-chamber; marriage of the King's son; and of the ten virgins, Matt. ix. 15. and xxii. 1—13. and xxv. 1—13, do all suppose the universal custom of public marriage.

4. **SINFUL**, as it includes a rash and indeliberate rushing into a most important state of life, deeply connected with the glory of God, the order of his church, and the temporal, spiritual, and eternal happiness or misery of the persons concerned, and their seed;—contrary to all these Scriptures which require discretion, deliberation, and circumspection and wisdom in our conduct, Psal. cxii. 5. Eccl. v. 2. Isa. xxviii. 16. Prov. xix. 2. Eph. v. 15.

5. **SINFUL**, as it deprives parents of their due honour and authority, and robs them of their most precious property on earth—their children. When God created Adam and Eve, he, as their parent, formally joined them in marriage, Gen. ii. 18—25. Nothing is more plainly commanded of God, than that parents should have a principal hand in disposing of their children in mar-

riage, Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 8. 1 Cor. vii. 38. How rebellious then, against him, must it be, for children to dispose of themselves, without consulting their parents! How base ingratitude thus to requite parents, who have with much labour, care, and expense, brought them up! How dishonest to dispose of that property of their parents, which is dearer to them than either money or goods, without their consent; and that, too often, to the spiritual, if not temporal and eternal ruin of themselves and their seed! How contrary this to God's command of honouring, obeying, and dealing honestly with parents! Exod. xx. 12. Eph. vi. 1, 2. Prov. xxviii. 24.

6. SINFUL, as therein a solemn oath is profaned, being used in an ordinance of Satan, an irregular method of marriage, and given to one who is ordinarily no more than a profligate vagabond, who basely takes upon himself to administer the same without any authority from either church or state. How directly contrary this to that awful command, *thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God IN VAIN, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain!* Exod. xx. 7.

7. SINFUL, as it is a manifest fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. It is plainly an institution of the prince of darkness, calculated to cover antecedent fornication, or to introduce persons into a state and life of adultery with such as stand married to some others; and, by means of it, I have known one man married to three or four wives, all alive at once. It is a Satanical invention for the speedy gratification of burning fleshly lust, and for catching a claim to some external property, in a manner indirect and dishonest.

Suppose some should have none of those base ends in view, yet herein they put on the shameful badge, and render themselves so like the others, that the world cannot distinguish between them; and so they justify, encourage, and harden them in their sin;—in much the same manner as one would encourage and harden people in whoredom, should he, while his own house is at hand, wittingly take his lodging and victuals in a public stew, suppose he should never so much as touch one of the harlots within. In this light, how contrary are such marriages to 1 Thess. v. 22. *Abstain from all appearance of evil*: Eph. v. 11. *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them*? And how plainly *a consenting with thieves, and partaking with vile adulterers*? Psal. l. 18.

8. And hence SINFUL, as it imprints a very public and lasting blot upon our Christian character, which is very precious, and, as well as our body and soul, is in baptism devoted to God. How contrary to Scripture, Prov. xxii. 1. Eccl. vii. 1. do devote that character, which ought to be an ornament to Christ and the Gospel, Tit. ii. 10. to be a chariot for Satan, in which he may ride triumphant against Christ and his church, and insult the order and decency prescribed in his word!

9. SINFUL, as in the case of Christians it gives a most public offence to the church, and occasions a reproach and blasphemy of the name of God among the profane, contrary to 1 Cor. x. 31, 32. Rom. ii. 24. Matt. xviii. 7.

10. SINFUL, as directly contrary to the express laws of Christ, of marrying *only in the Lord*, that is, in the way of consulting the Lord for direc-

tion; with such only as appear to fear the Lord, and in a way calculated to bring the blessing of the Lord upon their family—and of *doing all things decently and in order—and to the use of edifying*, 1 Cor. vii. 39. and xiv. 26, 40.

11. SINFUL, as it implies a contempt of the awful warnings which God, in his word and providence, hath given against such marriages; and as, without a thorough repentance, it is calculated to bring the judgments of God upon the persons guilty, and their posterity after them. The only clear instances of such marriage, and in which the consent of parents was contemned, recorded in Scripture, are three; and all followed with the terrible vengeance of God. The professing descendants of Seth saw the irreligious daughters of Cain, that they were fair, and gratified their inclinations with an immediate marriage. What followed? An universal brood of graceless profligates for their children, and then an overwhelming flood to drown both parents and children, Gen. vi. 1—8.—Another instance is that of Esau. What followed? Grief to his parents, and an exclusion of himself and his posterity from the church of God, till their remembrance ceased from among men, Gen. xxvi. 34, 35. and xxxvi. Mal. i. 2, 3.—A third instance is that of Judah, who, at his own hand, in a rambling visit, married a Canaanitish maid. What followed? Most shocking scenes of wickedness and misery in his family, Gen. xxxviii.—On many such accounts did Seceders consider clandestine marriages as highly criminal. Many of them wedded only such as were of, or favourably disposed to, their own way. This, other circumstances suitable, they thought most agree-

able to the divine command, of being *equally yoked*, and of marrying none apt to seduce them from the way of the Lord. This course they thought most expedient to promote religious intimacy between husband and wife;—to promote harmony in their family-prayers;—and to secure the careful education of their children in the ways of truth.

The secession had not long continued, when the connexion between the ministers and people became considerably strict. To have a minister without the established church, and a people within it, they could not comprehend. While they had freedom to continue within, they reckoned it schismatic to own and support a minister without. To have connected themselves with a seceding minister, by giving him a civil bond for his stipend, they thought contrary to the nature of Christ's *kingdom*, which is *not of this world*, and too near a-kin to a giving, and an encouragement of him to take, the oversight of the flock for filthy lucre. A promise or vow at their accession, never to hear any but seceding ministers, was, that I know of, never required. The influence of conscience, real or professed, was their bond of connexion. By this the people left hearing many in the establishment, because they thought them not apparently messengers of Christ. They left hearing of others, because of their connexion with the former; or, because they did not see how hearing of them, could either tend to awaken to reformation any in the church, or to confirm any in the secession, which they took to be the way of the Lord. All the nation being under solemn vows to promote the covenanted work of reformation, such as were contem-

ners, of it, or careless about it, were by them thought not altogether *free of scandal* on that head. To admit to sealing ordinances, such whose most noted scandals they could have no influence to censure, or purge, was thought to involve in considerable perplexity. For seceding ministers to have judged of their fitness for the seals of God's covenant, who never committed themselves to their care, but continued pleased with their established pastors, might have appeared very assuming; and in some cases have occasioned disputes in their own congregation. From such views the seceding ministers were much on the reserve, with respect to the admission of these who were not of their body, nor disposed towards an accession thereto. It was suspected such a reserve was too hastily indulged in the breach of fellowship with Messrs. John Kid, James Wardlaw, and other worthy ministers, or people of that stamp, who remained behind them in the established church. This some of the seceders repented of, when they had not these, nor their equals, in the church, to hold communion with. It cannot, however, be denied, that some of these worthy ministers, by connecting themselves at sacramental, or other occasions, with intruders, or their abettors, gave too much provocation.

The plain, and as was reckoned, harsh dealing of the second testimony, with the crowding of the people after the seceding ministers, mightily provoked the managers in the established church. The eight brethren were libelled and cited to the Assembly 1739. When they compeared, the Assembly intimated their readiness to drop the libel, and every thing bygone, and to receive them

with open arms into full ministerial and Christian communion with them. This offer the seceding ministers refused to accept; and conceiving that the court chiefly consisted of intruders, and others active in the growing defection, they boldly declined her authority, as a *not right constituted* judicature of Jesus Christ. Provoked anew with this daring attack, the managers resolved to resent it with vigour. Without finding them erroneous in doctrine, or scandalous in practice, the next Assembly, 1740, deposed them from the ministerial office, as to the exercise of it in this church. The Assembly's restoration, *to the office of the ministry*, Mr. John Glass, an impenitent and furious independent, who had plainly broken his ordination-vows, and continued declaiming against Presbyterian government, reproaching our national covenanting, and setting up as many sectarian congregations as lay in his power, attended their prosecution against the seceding ministers. A notour evidence they were zealous for themselves, not for the truth.

These brethren had never given evidence that their secession was made for the sake of filthy lucre. They did not, before they took that step, in the manner of some since, secure themselves in larger stipends:—And now being deposed, they clave to their flocks, though, in sundry of them, the hope of subsistence was for the present pretty inconsiderable. The civil magistrate quickly turned them out of their kirks, and claims to their benefice. Their prosecution occasioned the increase of their followers. As their numbers increased, so did their trials. Some royal fasts being indicted, on account of the Spanish war, some

of their people, in a particular corner of the country, where the anti-government opinions considerably prevailed, solicited them to determine judicially, whether it was lawful for seceders to continue observing fasts and thanksgivings, even on grounds and causes specified by themselves, upon the days nominated by the King for such exercises. To this petition no answer was given, till a *pro re nata* or *interim* meeting of Presbytery, appointed for considering a different affair, and while fourteen of twenty-two members were absent*, Messrs. Thomas Nairn, Alexander Moncrief, and Thomas Mair, irregularly dragged in that question. When it was carried, I think by *four votes against three*, that in regard they conceived the established church-judicatures had surrendered their power of appointing fasts and thanksgivings into the hand of the Sovereign; and that the Sovereign had taken that power into his own hands, it would be a sinful conniving at his Majesty's exercising a spiritual headship over the church, for seceders to observe public fasts or thanksgivings on the diets named by him, even on causes or grounds of their own framing.

Three of the four who voted this decision, afterwards altered their opinion. And the deep

* The members present at this Presbytery, as marked in the original minute, now before me, besides Mr. Thomson, Moderator, were Messrs. Alexander Moncrief, Thomas Nairn, Thomas Mair, William Hutton, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskines, ministers, and Mr. James Wardlaw, from Dunfermline, ruling-elder: The first four of whom voted for that act, as far as it disallows Seceders observing fasts by their own authority, on days appointed by the supreme civil magistrate, and the three last voted against it. This meeting was held at Dunfermline, January 8, 1741. Many of the members went home the first week, as is evident from the number of absents. Messrs. William Wilson was at Perth; Mr. James Fisher was at Kinclaven; Mr. James Mair was at Linton, and Mr. Smiton was at Kilmaurs; and the whole elders were absent, except Mr. James Wardlaw.—The meeting was *pro re nata*, and therefore the appointment of the fast illegal.

silence concerning this affair, in the covenant acknowledgment of sins which they, some time after, drew up, plainly shews that the above-mentioned decision was far from being generally approved by the ministers. Numbers of the people, however, in different corners, once giving into a prejudice in favours of it, it was but in few places found for edification to observe public fasting or thanksgiving on the diets nominated by the King. The seceding ministers indeed failed not to recommend private fasting on such occasions; and to admonish their people to beware of offending others with any public labour. So that, excepting a few of the forward and less judicious, as little open offence was ever given to the government, on this head, by the seceders as by them who professed to be the most zealous observers of the royal fasts.

From a number of favourable reports concerning the English methodists, not a few of the seceders had judged them laborious reformers, and prayed for their success. By letters, Mr. Ralph Erskine corresponded with Mr. John Wesley, one, if not their principal leader. Informed by a private hand of his unsoundness, informed by Mr. Whitefield, that he and his brother *blasphemed the doctrine of election, and scarce preached one principle agreeable to the gospel of Jesus Christ*; and finding that Mr. Wesley declined giving him any satisfaction, with respect to his orthodoxy, he entirely dropped his correspondence with him. Nor indeed were the seceders sorry thereat, when they afterwards observed how Mr. Wesley copied after the Popish orders, in sending forth, or superintending a number of lay-preachers, labouring in different nations;—and had, in

the Popish manner, instituted a confession of heart-secrets, in the societies under his care, calculated to render them dissemblers, or to render him and his underlings so much master of their secrets, as should make it dangerous for them to desert his cause:—when they heard of his money-rated tickets for different degrees of saintship; when they observed what fulsome pride, what want of candour, what pretence to working of miracles; what estimation of Popish or Popish-like superstition, what vain and false characterizing of his followers, as a body of perfect, or almost perfect men; what extolling of Servetus, a most shocking blasphemer of the blessed Trinity, as a *holy and wise man*, appears in his public performances: when they observed how he taught, and recommended his preachers to teach in his societies, That orthodoxy, or soundness of opinion, is a slender part of religion, if any part at all: That God gives every man, in his natural state, a power to accept of an offered salvation: That every man, in his baptism, has a principle of grace infused into him, which cannot be lost but by a long course of sinning: That the fulfilling of the broken law, in its precept and penalty, by Christ, was not necessary to purchase our salvation: That not Christ's satisfaction to law and justice, but faith and repentance, are the terms of salvation to fallen men: That men have reason to complain, if Christ died not for all, and if all be not rendered able to receive him: That if God pass by nine-tenths of mankind, if he deny any soul what is necessary to his present good, or final acceptance; if he hate any we are bound to love, he cannot be infinitely good, nay, is worse than we are: That if God from eternity chose

some to everlasting life, and purposed to leave others to perish in their sin, he is an *almighty tyrant, and more false, cruel, and unjust, than the DEVIL*: That God's purpose of election consists in his choosing obedient believers, according to the foreknowledge of their good works; and our obedience to Christ is the cause of his becoming the author of eternal salvation to us: That no man is particularly elected till the day of his conversion to God: That it is better to be a Turk, a Deist, an Atheist, than to believe God has only chosen *some men* to everlasting life, and not others, or to believe that Christ did not die equally for all men: That to say the covenant of grace was made with Christ, and its condition exacted from, and fulfilled by him, in our stead, is *false*, and the very centre of Antinomianism: That the phrase *imputed righteousness* has done immense hurt, and tempts men to work all uncleanness with greediness; the nice metaphysical doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness leads men to licentiousness; the doctrine of the saints having a sinless obedience in Christ their Head, while they are notorious, that is, *manifestly* sinners in themselves, is calculated to please and encourage the vilest rakes: That not the imputed righteousness of Christ, but our faith, is our justifying righteousness before God: That our keeping of the commandments is undoubtedly the way to eternal life; that we are to obey the law in order to our final acceptance with God; our holiness, as well as the blood of Christ, will give us boldness in the day of judgment, and will be the ground of our being then pronounced righteous: That our salvation is by works as a condition; that we are rewarded of God according to our works, for the sake of our works, and according

to the merit of our works: That Heathens, who never heard of Christ, are accepted of God, for their fearing God, and working righteousness, according to the light they have: That there is no such thing as a state of justification, or sanctification, but men are every moment accepted of God or not, according to their temper or work: That our justification is incomplete at first, and is perfected by degrees; that to be justified is the same thing as to be born of God: That a man may be justified, and yet not have the Spirit, nor Christ dwelling in him: That we cannot possess justification or peace with God, without knowing that we do so: That we cannot be Christian believers, except we be free from sin: That the best of men do not complain of disorder in their affections; nor that, when they would do good, evil is present with them: That while our heart is perfect in piety or love, we may, in our life, be compassed about with sinful infirmities: That the doctrine of the unfailing perseverance of the saints is deadly poison: that the souls of believers, at their death, do not immediately pass into the heavenly glory, but to a middle state called Paradise: That church or state may impose indifferent ceremonies in God's worship, and exclude Christians from church-communion, merely because their conscience cannot comply therewith. On these, and many other accounts, the seceders have not a favourable opinion of Mr. Wesley, nor of the preachers he superintends, as it is feared they too much resemble their leader.

From Mr. George Whitefield's own missives to Mr. Erskine, and other reports, sundry, if not all of the seceding ministers, conceived no small re-

gard for him. But finding, by converse with him, that he decried every particular form of church-government, as a *mere human device*; finding, in his sermons and journals, a number of hints, which they deemed not agreeable to the word of God; and exceedingly offended with his printed account of God's dealing with his soul, wherein they thought he had shown a strange fondness to run the parallel between himself and Jesus Christ; had represented Popish, and some other bad books, as the darling directors of his spiritual exercise; had founded his call to the ministry upon early stirring of his affections, idle tales, dreams, or impressions; had represented abstinence from flesh in Lent, living on coarse food, wearing of woollen gloves, a patched gown, and dirty shoes, as *great promoters of the spiritual life*; had averred, that in his unconverted state, he had endeavoured to do all to the glory of God; was built up in the knowledge and fear of God; received abundant grace, in receiving the Lord's Supper; and increased in favour with God and man; had represented his conversion as if begun in an uncommon drought and clamminess in his throat, and which, by means of his casting himself down on the bed, and, in imitation of Jesus Christ, crying out, *I thirst*, was removed, and succeeded with a ravishing joy, and rejoicing in God his Saviour, by which his conversion was finished; and pretended to have been guided by the Spirit, and by watching and reading the Scripture on his knees, *in the minutest circumstance*, as plainly as the Jews, by consulting the Urim and Thummim, &c.: These, and the like things, together with his *letter and extract*, wherein he insisted for joining Christians of all deno-

minations, Papists or Protestants, Quakers, Arians, Arminians, &c. if not also Jews and Heathens, into one religious society, without minding their different sentiments; provoked the seceders to turn their regard into dislike, and warm opposition.

In 1742 a surprising commotion, in the souls and bodies of men, happened in various places of the nation, as they attended upon sermons. This many extolled as a wonderful work of the Spirit of God. The seceders allowed that the lives of many were reformed by it for the present; and that truly divine and converting influence might attend the gospel truths preached on these occasions: yet, because of the bodily convulsions, the disorderly noise, the imaginary views of Christ as man, the dislike to a covenanted work of reformation, and the proud boasting, which they thought attended it, they accounted it mostly delusive. Amidst the warm contention on so critical a topic, it is possible both parties run into extremes, and became stumbling-blocks one to another. But multitudes of the subjects of this famed influence returning to their wonted course, the seceders were thereby not a little confirmed in their own sentiments thereof.

Meanwhile they had another trial from among themselves. It was their earnest prayer to God, that he would make our Sovereign, King George, and every subordinate magistrate, hearty friends to, and promoters of a covenanted work of reformation. They were, however, firmly persuaded, that difference in religion did not make void, or in the least annul their just power and authority. They zealously testified against such in the land, who denied their civil authority in

things lawful. Such were often publicly debarred from receiving the Lord's Supper with them. In the late rebellion, many of them voluntarily bore arms against the pretender; not one of them appeared on his side. Numbers of them suffered considerable hardships, rather than do any thing tending to the support of his army or cause. Mr. Thomas Nairn, however, one of their ministers, presumed to assert, that none but a covenanted Presbyterian could be the lawful Sovereign of this realm. Quickly his brethren prosecuted him with vigour, and expelled him from their society. They judicially refuted his sentiments, and published a large declaration, wherein they shewed, from the word of God, our subordinate standards, and covenants, that the whole nation ought, for conscience sake, to obey the present civil government, in all things lawful. Nor, in respect of obedience to our laudable civil laws, are they, or their people, afraid to risk a comparison with any party in the kingdom.

After about seven years advisement, the seceding ministers agreed on a bond for public covenanting with God; and in the end of 1743 themselves began to swear and subscribe it. Next year their act of Presbytery, relative thereto, together with a judicial vindication of gospel-truth from the injuries done it, by the General Assembly 1720 and 1722, was published by them. Their covenant-bond had been abundantly short, and mostly plain, had it not reduplicated upon a long confession of sins, of which it is probable few of their people could *fully* know the import and certainty. It must not be imagined the seceding brethren inserted, into this confession, such a multitude of historical hints, that people might

swear to the truth, the fact thereof. To have sworn many of these historical articles in truth, righteousness, and judgment, was absolutely impossible: they had no vouchers for them but the fallible testimony of men. Besides, to swear the certainty of facts in an oath directed to God as the party, appears a blasphemous attempt to certify the Omniscient, and teach the Almighty knowledge. It was necessary, however, that people should have a considerable knowledge of, and certainty for what they solemnly confessed to God, lest their confessing work should partly amount to a hypocritical slander. The presbytery's act, constituting the swearing of this covenant the term of ministerial and Christian communion with them, was not a little condemned. It was by many thought quite unreasonable, that a person zealously attached to divine truth, nay, to our subordinate standards and covenants, and of an eminently holy practice, should be excluded from church-fellowship with them, merely because he could not understand the meaning or certainty of every thing in this bond and acknowledgment of sins; or would not confess or swear to God what he understood not. Not a few of the seceding ministers were afterwards sensible of the sinfulness of this act: nor do I know that ever the most zealous for covenanting, did, with respect to the admission of their people to sealing ordinances, act up to the tenor of it.

To punish the Seceders's pride of their success; their want of due tenderness to, and concern for those who remained behind them in the established church; their slightly laying to heart the sins of the land, which they professed to wit-

ness against; and their sad neglect to *do more than others*, in a holy and exemplary practice, the Lord gave them up to a most unchristian contention and breach among themselves. In 1745 their ministers were so increased as to constitute three presbyteries under one synod. Their synodical work commenced with an inquiry into the lawfulness of some oaths, not imposed by Parliament, but used in the land. They were of opinion that the MASON-OATH implied in it an ignorant, childish, and superstitious profanation of the name of God, and therefore harmoniously agreed to take pains to prevent any of their people having afterward any hand in the swearing thereof.

With respect to the oath imposed in some burghs, there was the warmest contention in their synod. The great point of debate was, whether it was lawful for a seceder to swear that clause, *I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof; I shall abide at, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry.* Messrs. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskines, James Fisher, and others, contended, that since it was *the true*, the divine religion, professed and authorised in Scotland, ITSELF, and not the human and *faulty manner* of professing and settling IT, that was sworn—the words of the oath not being, *as presently professed and authorised*, but words of a very different import: that since, in their secession, they had never pretended to set up a new religion, but to cleave closely to that, which they had before professed: That since, in their various testimonies, they had solemnly approved the doctrine,

worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland; had solemnly declared their adherence to the standards avowed by the established church, and no other; had so often declared their adherence to the ordination vows, which they had taken in the established church, whereby they were sworn to that very religion, doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, professed and authorised in the realm: That since, though they had stated a quarrel with the manner in which the true religion is presently professed and settled, and had testified against the corruptions of both church and state, yet they had been so far from stating a quarrel with *the true religion itself*, professed and authorised in the realm, that they had but two years before, in their declaration of principles against Mr. Nairn, judicially declared the religion presently authorised to be their own, solemnly thanking God, that OUR RELIGION has such SECURITY *by the PRESENT civil government, as no nation on earth enjoys the like*; therefore they pled, that the synod could not, without the most glaring self-contradiction, prohibit the swearing of the above clause, as, *in itself*, sinful for a seceder.—Messrs. Alexander Moncrief, Thomas Mair, Adam Gib, and others, no less warmly contended, that this oath being administered by these of the established church, and ought to be understood in the sense of the magistrates, for whose security it is given; and the true religion mentioned in it to be understood as duplicating upon every act of Parliament or Assembly inconsistent with the law of God; and as including all the corruptions of both church and state: and so natively inferred, that the

swearing of the disputed clause imported a solemn renunciation and dropping of the whole of their testimony. They contended, that the words *true religion, presently professed and authorised*, in a time of reformation, would reduplicate only upon good acts of Parliament and Assembly; but in a time of deformation, reduplicated upon all the bad.

After no small disputing, the defenders of the clause, and now called *Burghers*, for the sake of peace, offered to condescend to an act discharging seceders to swear this clause of the oath, as *inexpedient* for them in the present circumstances, viz. of strife and contention about its meaning. This proposal the antiburghers rejected. Nothing would please them but an act declaring the present swearing of it sinful for seceders, and inconsistent with their testimony and covenant-bond. In a meeting of Synod, April 9, 1746, they carried a *decision* to their mind. A number of the burgher ministers and elders protested against it; and soon after gave in their reasons, importing, that it was sinful in itself, contrary to Christian forbearance, tending to rent the church, enacted contrary to the order prescribed in the barrier acts, and carried by a catch, when many members were absent. Contrary to order, the Antiburghers neglected to have their answers to these reasons ready against next meeting of Synod; and some of them having, in the meanwhile, publicly debarred from the Lord's Table such as maintained the lawfulness of the burghess-oath, a question was introduced, whether the above decision, condemnatory of the present swearing of the religious clause of some burghess-oaths, should

be a term of ministerial and Christian communion with them? Conceiving that there is a wide difference between enacting a deed of Synod, and making that deed a *term of church-communion*, the seven burgher ministers who had protested against the former decision, considered this as a *new* question, and so claimed a vote therein. After too much unchristian altercation, at two different meetings of Synod, and notwithstanding of a dissent and protestation of the Antiburghers to the contrary, it was voted and carried, that the decision condemnatory of a present swearing of the religious clause of some burgher-oaths *should NOT be a term of ministerial and Christian communion with them, at least till the affair should be maturely considered in presbyteries and sessions, and their opinion (not decisive judgment) returned; and further means of unanimity, by prayer and conference, essayed.* No sooner was this sentence carried, than Mr. Thomas Mair protested, that hereby the Burghers had forfeited all their synodical power and authority; and that the whole power of the Synod devolved upon himself and his party, and such as clave to them: all of whom he, though not moderator, called to meet to-morrow in Mr. Gib's house, in a synodical capacity; and then, with twenty-two more, without either moderator or clerk, withdrew from thirty-two of their brethren, constituted in the name of Christ, with their moderator and clerk among them, viz. Mr. James Mair, moderator; with Messrs. E. R. H. and J. Erskines, J. Fisher, J. Macara, D. Smiton. I. Paton, A. Black, D. Horn, D. Telfer, W. Hutton, J. Smith, J. Johnston, A. Thomson, ministers; T. Ford, R. Lees, A. Douglass, W. Manderston, J.

Moubray, J. Bengo, R. Wishart, G. Coventry, D. Millar, R. Paterson, J. Marshall, S. Harper, J. Reder, J. Calendar, W. Millar, J. Millar, elders. All these are marked in the minutes as present* ; nor is there the smallest probability that any of them would go off, when such an important question was the subject of debate.

Next day the burghers met synodically, according to adjournment, in the ordinary place. Upon the foundation of Mr. Mair's declaration, the antiburghers constituted themselves into a Synod in Mr. Gib's house. Here they sustained themselves judges of their own answers to the burgher's reasons of protest above-mentioned ; and of their own dissents and protests. They determined that the burgher ministers had forfeited all power belonging to their office ; and that no seceding Presbytery or Session, except constituted in subordination to their present meeting, could be a lawful court of Christ. This act was the basis of their after meetings of Sessions and Presbyteries. Hence the Antiburghers on south of Forth deserted their appointed diet at Stow, and constituted their Presbytery elsewhere. These on the north absolutely refused their burgher brethren a seat in their court ; nay, even these of them, who had not voted in what they accounted the criminal decision. In the west they had no Presbytery, till some ministers withdrew from the Burghers. None of them would sit in Session with such elders as refused to approve the constitution of Synod in

* The original minutes, which are a far better authority than Mr. Gib, affirm, that Mr. Henry Erakine was chosen to assist Mr. Hutton as clerk, at the first sederunt of that meeting of synod.

Mr. Gib's house, and were for holding any church-fellowship with the Burgher ministers. They soon after began to seclude from the sacraments, such of their people as opposed the division, and were determined to hear both sides, as opportunity should permit. These being thus driven away, went over to the Burghers.

Had the body of the Seceders refused to side themselves, and obstinately continued hearing the ministers on both sides, it might have contributed to a speedy harmony as to the most. But it was otherwise; and mournful was the stumbling, and the alienation of heart that took place: multitudes were perplexed how to side themselves; and no doubt many did it entirely by guess: the most ignorant of the dispute were generally the fiercest bigots. To remedy these unhappy disorders, the Burgher ministers twice begged of their brethren an extra-judicial meeting for prayer and conference, in order to regain harmony in the cause of truth. Unwilling to convince their brethren of the crimes they had laid to their charge, or conscious of the want of sufficient arguments for that purpose, or from some other motive, the Antiburghers returned no other answer, but that they could not, in consistence with their testimony, comply with any such proposal; and that their brethren's only method of peace was to appear penitent pannels at their bar. To this they were, with all expedition, libelled and cited. None of them appeared except Mr. William Hutton. He did it, not to answer his libel, but to make a bold attack upon the constitution of their Synod, as schismatical, and contrary to Presbyterian parity;—as founded on the overthrow of the office of el-

ders, and the unnatural murder of their brethren's sacred office, &c. A speedy excommunication was his reward, and the most noted reply he ever received to his speech. This constitution of synod, the rest of the Burgher brethren judicially declared null and void, contrary to scripture and reason. Meanwhile the Antiburghers, to support their cause, prosecuted their Burgher brethren with deposition and excommunication, till they had delivered them over into the hand of Satan, and cast them out of the church, as Heathen men and publicans. After employing themselves, about two years, in this censuring work, they were obliged to acknowledge, That themselves had all along been lying under the scandal of partaking with the Burghers in sundry of their censured crimes: from this scandal they, at a meeting of synod, purged one another, by judicial rebukes and admonitions. How scandalous persons were fit to censure others, or to purge one another, was, at least by the Burghers, not well understood. By no small prayer and fasting, the Antiburghers implored the blessing of Heaven upon their excommunications. But God appeared to refuse binding in heaven, what they had bound on earth. The censures seemed to have no other effect, than to constitute the objects, a kind of bugbears, to the Antiburgher people. Whatever abhorrence they endured from their brethren, the Burgher ministers, as helped of God, held their judicatures, and exercised their ministry as before. The Messrs. Erskines, and others, lived as holily, preached as edifyingly, and died full as comfortably, as their excommunicators. Nor did it escape unobserved, that Mr. Thomas Mair, who founded the excommu-

nicating court, was, not many years after, obliged by his conscience, publicly to declare, he had been verily guilty concerning his Burgher brethren's blood; and was himself ejected by his Antiburgher brethren, as an erroneous person, for maintaining that Christ, in *some sense*, died for all mankind.

Nothing since transacted on either side, is much worthy of our notice. Permit me only to essay an impartial account of the present agreement and difference of the two parties. The congregations belonging to both are about two hundred, or more: in some of these are thousands of members; but the greater part fall much below that account. Which party have the greatest number of followers, I know not; but their teachers of philosophy and divinity, at their rupture, happening to be on the Antiburgher side, almost all the then students went along with their masters; and to this day, that party has the greatest number of ministers, though even here the Burghers seem to gain ground. Since 1747, both have had their respective Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions: both have supplied the malcontents, in their opponents' congregations, with sermon: both constantly avow their adherence to the Scriptures, as the **ONLY RULE** of faith and practice: both avow their adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and to the Directory for Worship and form of Presbyterian church-government thereto subjoined, and to the National Covenant of Scotland, and Solemn League of the three kingdoms. And they believe few decry Confessions of Faith for subordinate standards, but in order to vent some erroneous dream. With

both, I hope, the gospel is preached in purity, and endeavours used to commit the ministry only to serious and faithful men. With both, ministers deliver three public discourses on Sabbath, through the most, and not a few through the whole of the year. With both, I hope, ministers endeavour publicly to catechize, and privately to visit their congregations, at least once a year, without respect of persons. With both, the private administration of baptism is detested, and shunned as an abjured relic of Popery. With both, ministers dispense the Lord's Supper once, and sundry of them twice, a year.—Neither party *allow themselves* in admitting to the sacraments, such as have no visible appearance of saintship, nor without examination into both their knowledge and character:—and gross ignorance of the Christian faith; neglect of secret and family worship; cursing or swearing in ordinary conversation, or even in passion; playing at cards or dice; idleness, or unnecessary labour or travel on the Lord's day; apparent hatred of others, or notour neglect of relative duties to them, or squabbling with them; drunkenness; promiscuous dancing; obscene language, or other apparent approaches to uncleanness; clandestine marriage*, fornication, dishonesty, smuggling, lying, reviling, and the like, are, with both, accounted scandals, sufficient to exclude one from the sacraments, till he, in a proper manner, profess his sorrow for his offence, and resolution to guard against the like for the future. Their discipline is much the same with what was once universally practised in the church of Scotland, but now almost generally disused.

* See above, p. 50—55

Hence sundry of the less conscientious Seceders, falling into scandal, return to the established church, that they may altogether avoid, or only receive a very slight censure.

From a view of their agreement in so many points, impartial beholders can hardly fail to think that, would both parties, with due earnestness, search out their own evils, and be affected therewith; would they seriously consider what hurt their division, and vain jangling have done, and are like to do to the honour of Christ, the life of religion, and the souls of men, and how they will answer at his tribunal for their concern and hand therein; would they soberly consider what Christ has done and doth to promote peace, and what he requires them to do; would both entirely lay aside their pride and prejudice, and often meet for mutual prayer, and Christian conference, especially on what they agree in, they would certainly, ere it was long, consign their censuring, division, and dry, or almost unintelligible disputes, to everlasting oblivion; and return, as brethren, to join together, in the fear and service of God.

But, through mistake and prejudice, their differences at present, seem, at least to themselves, not inconsiderable. The Antiburghers still continue upon their quarrelled constitution of Synod in Mr. Gib's house, wherein about two-fifths of the Synod met by themselves, and assumed the whole power of it: they continue approving and praying for a blessing on the excommunication, and other censure, which they, while confessedly under scandal themselves, passed on their brethren, who never once acknowledged the authority of their *separate* courts. They contend

that the constitution of the revolution-church was Erastian, founded on the will of the civil magistrate and inclinations of the people, and therefore can never lawfully be joined with. They contend that their own religion is different from that professed in the established church, and authorized by the laws of this realm; but, though repeatedly called, have not hitherto marked out one *divine truth* professed by them, which is not contained in the publicly acknowledged standards of religion in the nation. They profess a very high veneration for their second testimony, as if it were one, if not a principal, standard; and they reckon it no small crime to find fault, even with an historical expression thereof; but they renounce their ordination-vows, the first testimony, and the representations expressly adhered to in it, *in so far* as these approve the constitution of the revolution-church, and the religion presently professed therein. At licence, and at ordination, their candidates solemnly avow their approbation of the Associate Presbytery's declaration of principles against Mr. Nairn, (in p. 50. of which they thank God that the seceders' own religion has such SECURITY by the present civil government, as no nation on earth enjoy the like;) and also declare, that they believe it sinful, inconsistent with their testimony, and bond, for any seceder to swear to the *true religion presently professed and authorised in the realm*. At least an indirect acknowledgment of the sinfulness of seceders' swearing the above-mentioned religious clause of some burgess-oaths is necessary, in order to a person's admission to sealing ordinances with them. They require a direct, or indirect approbation of their conduct, in separating

from, deposing, and excommunicating their brethren, for believing and affirming, that the true religion presently professed and authorised in Scotland, was the same with that of the seceders, and so safely sworn to by them; or, for insisting that such as were of that mind should not be excluded from the ministry, or seals of God's covenant. Public covenanting they reckon a very distinguished point of religion, and with great zeal instigate their people thereto; and represent the burghers as very wicked for not doing the same: it is shrewdly alleged, however, that these covenanters are generally far from being sufficiently instructed and tried at their admission, and that very many of them understand very little of their covenant-bond, or acknowledgment of sins; and so are nothing bettered in practice, but only become more remarkable in their conceit of their own covenanting, and a firm attachment to their party.

The Burghers having been the majority at the instant of the rupture, and keeping possession of the place and power of the Synod, continue still upon that footing: their brethren's withdrawal and constitution in Mr. Gib's house, they still account most unreasonable and absurd. Their above-mentioned deposition and delivery of them to Satan, with their fasting and prayer for the divine ratification thereof, they account a most fearful profanation of the name and ordinance of Christ. But they never attempted to censure their brethren, as they saw no warrant from Scripture to do so, while it was morally certain it would not tend to general edification. Had they any glimmering hope of success, they would even again supplicate their meeting with them,

for prayer and conference, in order to promote the healing of the torn body of Christ. However far they allow the glory of the covenanting period between 1638 and 1650, to exceed that after 1689, they believe the constitution of the revolution-church to have been not Erastian, but scriptural, and therefore lawfully joined with. And they intend to unite with the established judicatures, whenever they observe them earnestly reforming from the various and growing defections, introduced since the revolution. The covenants, and good acts of church or state, securing and establishing our standards, and what is contained therein, they reckon no articles of the true religion, professed and settled, but only human appearances, in favours thereof: and in this view they maintain the religion professed in the revolution church, to have been the very same with that professed betwixt 1638 and 1650, though the human manner of professing and settling it, by sinful and fallible men, was in some respects different. Since their standards of religion in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, are the very same with these publicly espoused in the established church, they generally think their religion is also the same with that of their brethren in the church; but they esteem their own manner of profession and adherence to it, to be more strict, and so think they ought to have the countenance of the civil rulers, rather than such who, contrary to solemn vows, practically tread the established standards under their feet. Their *second* testimony they reckon no standard, but a judicial declaration in favours of the public standards of the nation, and the truths therein contained. In its historical part,

they grant a few ill-guarded expressions, and mistakes as to fact: its assertory part they profess to cleave to without reserve.

Persuaded that Christians, equally candid and single in their aims, and equally zealous for the truth and honour of God, may have different views of the disputed clause in the burgess-oath, or of other human, nay, many divine expressions, they abhor making either the approbation or condemnation of that clause a direct or indirect term of church-fellowship with them: *him that is weak, or different from them in his faith*, about this point, they cheerfully admit even to the ministry; *but not to doubtful disputations*. Public covenanting, when seasonable, done by persons only who *have knowledge and understanding, and in truth, judgment, and righteousness*, they heartily approve. The continued obligation of their ancestors' o-venants they boldly maintain. At ordinations, and other occasions, they solemnly declare their adherence thereto. But, finding from Scripture, that it is not a standing, but occasional duty of religion, never, as appears, promoted by godly David nor Solomon, during the eighty years of their reign; nor recommended as a then present duty by Christ or his apostles, during the more than forty years of their ministrations; knowing that it is better not to vow, than to do it ignorantly, or without paying of vows, by a distinguished holy conversation; fearing the present broken and divided state of the godly, and of so remarkable restraint of spiritual influences, may not be altogether proper for it: Finding, that besides some few inadvertent expressions, the confession of sins published in 1744, and now used by their Antiburgher brethren, is such as they could scarce hope

to make the twentieth part of their hearers understand; and exceedingly stumbled at the manner in which this work is managed by their brethren, they have hitherto been afraid to proceed therein.

BRIEF CHARACTER, OR VIEW OF SECEDERS,

DRAWN FROM

The principal Decisions of their Supreme Judicatures.

IT is necessarily incumbent upon all those who profess to follow the Lord Jesus Christ, in an evil day,

1. Firmly to believe, earnestly maintain, and openly, in their profession and practice, bear witness for the truths of God revealed in his word; particularly such of them as are in danger of being murdered by opposition, poisoned by mixtures of error, or buried in careless oblivion, Prov. xxiii. 23. Psal. lxxviii. 3—8. Deut. iv. 9. and vi. 6—9. Isa. xxvi. 2. and xxxviii. 19. and lix. 13, 14, 15. Phil. iii. 16. and i. 27. 2 Thess. ii. 15. 1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. 1, 13. and ii. 2. and iv. 7. Heb. ii. 1. 2 John 4. 3 John 3, 4. Jude 3. Rev. ii. 13, 25. and iii. 3, 10. 2 Pet. i. 12.

2. Thankfully to commemorate, and dutifully improve, the singular favours which God hath bestowed upon their church or nation; particularly, those by which he hath put or kept them in the possession of his oracles, ordinances, and eternal salvation, Psal. lxxviii. 1—8. and cv. cvii. cxlv. and cvi. 1—5. 13. Isa. lxiii. 7. Deut. xxvi. 1—9. 1 Chron. xvi.

3. Mournfully to search out, confess, bewail, avoid, and practically testify against those steps of apostacy from once attained reformation, by which the truths of God have been injured, or his singular favours abused, Lev. xxvi. 40. 2 Chron. xxx. 22. Ezek. ix. 4, 6. and xvi. xx. xxii. xxiii. 2 Kings xvii. 7—23. Psal. lxxviii. cvi. Isa. i. ii. v. xxviii. lix. Jer. ii—xviii; with Exod. xx. 5. Matth. xxiii. 35. Eph. v. 7, 11. 1 Tim. v. 22.

Answerably hereto, they profess an hearty adherence to the Old and New Testament, as the only divine and infallible rule of faith and practice, 2 Tim. iii. 14—17. Rev. xxii. 18, 19. and to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Form of Presbyterian church-government, as founded on the

word of God, 2 Tim. i. 13. and to the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League of Scotland, England, and Ireland, as *religious vows*, whereby they are solemnly engaged to the belief and practice of whatever is authorised by the word of God, and is therefrom deduced into said *Confession of Faith*, *Catechisms*, *Directory for worship*, and *Form of church-government*, Psal. lxxviii. 10. and cxix. 106. Prov. xx. 25. Deut. xxix. 1—25. and xxxi. 20. Jer. l. 5—9.

As they consider themselves bound to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; to keep the word of Christ's patience, and be established in the present truth, Jude 3. Rev. iii. 10. 2 Pet. i. 12. Eph. iv. 14. Prov. xxiii. 23. they, in opposition to the errors presently rampant in the land, particularly maintain.

1. That Jesus Christ is the supreme and only true God, of the same substance and dignity with his eternal Father, Rom. ix. 5. Tit. ii. 13. John x. 30. Phil. ii. 6.

2. That God, from all eternity, decreed whatsoever comes to pass, Acts xv. 18. Eph. i. 11.

3. That God, of his mere good pleasure, without any regard to their future piety, as the moving cause, from all eternity elected a certain, but the smallest, number of mankind, to everlasting life. Eph. i. 3—6. Matth. xx. 16. Luke xii. 32.

4. That God entered into a covenant with Adam, as the representative of all his natural posterity; in which he promised him and them life temporal, spiritual, and eternal, upon condition of his perfect obedience; and denounced the contrary death, in case of the smallest disobedience, Gal. iii. 12. Matth. xix. 17. Gal. iv. 24. Hos. vi. 7.

5. That through his breach of that covenant, in his eating of the forbidden fruit, all men are conceived and born in sin, able to do nothing spiritually good, but are children of disobedience and wrath, Rom. v. 12—20. and viii. 3, 7, 8. Eph. ii. 1, 2, 3, 8.

6. That no light of nature, but the scripture alone, is sufficient to conduct fallen men to true and everlasting happiness, Acts xiv. 15, 16. and xvii. 30. Prov. xxix. 18. Eph. ii. 12. 2 John 9. Col. i. 26, 27, 1 Cor. i. 20—24.

7. That in order to redeem men from an everlasting state of sin and misery, and bring them to everlasting salvation, Christ, the only begotten Son of God, assumed our nature, and for ever continues to be true God and true man, in two distinct natures, and one person, Heb. ii. 8—16. Rom. viii. 3. Psal. ii. 6—11. Isa. vii. 14. and ix. 6. Rom. ix. 5. and i. 3, 4.

8. That he, as our surety, in the covenant of grace, from all eternity, undertook for all the elect, and them only, and in the fulness of time performed to the broken law, and offended justice of God, whatever obedience and satisfaction could have been required of us, Jer. xxx. 21. Psal. xl. 6—8. Isa. liii. and xlii. 21. Rom. v. 15—21. and viii. 3, 4. 2 Cor. v. 21. Gal. iv. 4, 5. and iii. 13. Heb. x. 10—14. 1 Pet. ii. 24. and iii. 18.

9. That his surety-righteousness, imputed to us by God, and not any thing wrought in, or done by us, is the foundation of our pardon of sin, acceptance with God, and title to eternal life, Rom. v. 15—21. Phil. iii. 9. Isa. lxiv. 6. and xlv. 24, 25. and lxi. 10. and liii. 5, 11. and liv. 17. Jer. xxiii. 6. Dan. ix. 24.

10. That though God hath not fixed any necessary and infallible connection between the natural endeavours of unregenerate men, and his bestowing of saving grace upon them, yet it is their indispensable duty, carefully to attend the ordinances of the gospel, as means appointed of God, for the effectual conveyance of his Spirit and grace, Psal. xxxiv. 11. Prov. viii. 34. Acts viii. 32. Isa. lv. 3. Matth. vii. 13, 14. Luke xiii. 24.

11. That though Jesus Christ laid down his life for the elect only, yet, in the gospel, he, and his complete righteousness, and everlasting salvation, are freely offered to all sinful men who hear it, so as each may warrantably receive him, his righteousness and salvation, to himself in particular, Prov. i. 22, 23, 24. and viii. 4. and ix. 4, 5. Isa. lv. 1—7. and xlv. 12, 13. and xlv. 22. John vi. 37. Matth. xi. 28. Rev. xxii. 17.

12. That in consequence hereof, there is, in the very nature of faith, a real appropriation of Christ, his righteousness and salvation, as in the gospel freely given of God to one's self in particular, John xx. 28. Jer. xxiii. 6. Isa. xlv. 24, 25. Zech. xiii. 9. Acts xv. 11. Gal. ii. 16, 20. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21.

13. That all believers, through their union to Christ, as the Lord their righteousness, who fulfilled the moral law as a covenant for them, are fully and irrevocably delivered from the law, in that covenant form, so as they can neither be justified or condemned, on account of their own works; yet they are for ever under that law as a binding rule of life, established by JEHOVAH their Creator and Redeemer, Rom. vi. and vii. 4. Gal. ii. 19. and iii. 13. and iv. 4, 5. 1 Cor. ix. 21. Luke i. 74, 75. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13.

14. That there can be no true turning from sin, before coming to, and uniting with Christ; nor ought we to attempt it, in order to pave our way, or to recommend ourselves to him; but as utterly ignorant, guilty, polluted, weak, and enslaved in ourselves, we ought to receive him as made of God to us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, that he may save and turn us from our sins, John xv. 5. Rom. viii. 7, 8. Matth. i. 21. and xviii. 11. Rom. xi. 26. Acts v. 31. Jer. xxxi. 18, 19, 20.

15. That the gospel, properly taken, is no new law, requiring of men faith, repentance, and sincere obedience, as the proper conditions of their salvation; but is God's infinitely gracious declaration, in which he manifests, gives, and offers to us, as sinful men, Christ, his righteousness and salvation, freely, without money, and without price, Luke ii. 10, 11. Isa. xlii. 1—7. and lxi. 1, 2, 3. and lv. 1—7. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rev. xxii. 17. John vii. 37, 38.

16. That gospel-holiness is at once, a distinguished privilege, a principal part of salvation, and an indispensable duty, and necessary preparation for celestial happiness; but is not a proper condition of our title to, or possession of it, 1 Thess. v. 23. 1 Cor. i. 30. 1 Pet. i. 15, 16. Heb. xii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 58. Phil. iii. 9. Tit. iii. 5—8. Rom. xi. 6. and v. 21. and vi. 23.

17. That believers being perfectly freed from the law, as a covenant of works, no slavish fears of falling into hell by their daily sins, or hopes of procuring heaven by their good works, ought to influence their obedience, but they ought always to act as united to Christ, and interested in his everlasting righteousness and salvation, Rom. v. 15—21. with chap. vi. and vii. 4. Tit. ii. 11—14. Psal. cxvi. 16. and cxix. 32. 1 John iv. 19.

18. That God needs nothing from, nor can be profited by, any creature; and so can only reward their good works of his own free will and bounty, Job xxii. 2, 3. and xxxv. 7. Luke xvii. 10.

19. That not self-love, interest, or pleasure, but the law of God is the sole standard by which the goodness of actions, religious and moral, is to be estimated and adjusted; and not self-love, but proper views of the excellencies of God as our God in Christ, and a regard to his authority, ought to be the leading motives of our obedience to him, Matth. xvi. 24. Deut. xii. 32. Exod. xx. 2—17. Tit. ii. 11—14.

20. That believers can never either totally or finally fall from their state of grace, or hold Jesus Christ for a downright

impostor, Jer. xxxii. 39, 40. Job xvii. 9. Prov. iv. 18. 1 Pet. i. 5. John iv. 14. and vi. 40, 54. and x. 28, 29. and xiv. 19.

21. That Jesus Christ ALONE is the King and head of his church, having power to appoint her laws, ordinances, and offices; and to whom ONLY her officers are subject in all their spiritual ministrations, Psal. ii. 7. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Ezek. xxiv. 23. Matth. xvi. 18, 19. and xxiii. 8—10. and xxviii. 18—20. Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 2—4.

22. That Christ, in the New Testament, hath prescribed a particular form of church-government, distinct from, and independent on the civil magistracy; which is the Presbyterian, and no other—to continue unalterable, till the end of the world, John xviii. 36. Matth. xvi. 18, 19. and xviii. 15—20. and xx. 25—27. and xxvi. 26—29. and xxviii. 18, 19, 20. John xx. 21, 22, 23. Acts i—xx. Rom. xii. 4—8. 1 Cor. iii—xiv. 2 Cor. ii. 1—8. Epistles to Timothy and Titus almost throughout, &c. &c.

23. That Christ hath not entrusted the power of church-government to magistrates, lordly bishops, or to believers in general; but to spiritual officers, pastors, elders, and deacons, appointed by himself—who have full power and warrant from him to hold spiritual courts in his name—Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, when necessary—but whose whole management must be regulated by his laws prescribed in his word, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11—14. 1 Thess. v. 12. 1 Tim. v. 17. Acts vi. 1—9. Matth. xviii. 15—20. and xvi. 19. 1 Tim. iv. 14. Acts xv. Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. &c. &c.

24. That Christ's kingdom being of a spiritual nature, her officers ought to be elected to their office by persons in full communion with her in all her sealing ordinances; no person's vote being preferred on any secular account, 1 John iv. 1. Acts i. 15—26. and vi. 1—6. and xiv. 23.

The Seceders also profess, thankfully to commemorate, and dutifully improve the singular favours of God, which he hath bestowed upon this church and land, and by which he hath put or kept us in possession of his oracles, ordinances, or other spiritual blessings; such as,

1. That notwithstanding our fathers' savage ignorance and barbarity, and their great distance from Jerusalem, the gospel of peace and salvation was, perhaps, within about forty years after our Redeemer's ascension, early introduced into our island, in fulfilment of his many precious promises, concerning the ends of the earth, and isles of the sea.

2. That notwithstanding all the united force and fraud of the Popish clergy, and of the courts of Scotland and France, the Protestant Reformation was, with great regularity, introduced into our country; and by manifold faithful wrestlings, against the rage of Papists, treachery of professed Protestants, and poverty and distress of ministers, carried on to further degree of purity than in any other Protestant church

3. That, as during the darkness and bondage of Popery, he had still given power to some in our land to witness for him, clothed in sackcloth; so, under the fearful apostacies, profaneness, and persecutions, between 1600 and 1637, and between 1660 and 1688, he had preserved for himself a number of faithful witnesses for his injured truths; afforded them singular measures of his Spirit and presence, and honoured them to win many souls to Christ.

4. That when Archbishop Laud, and our profligate Bishops, assisted by King Charles I. and his courtiers, had reduced our church and nation to the brink of Popery and slavery, the Lord wrought such a deliverance and reformation in 1633, as astonished every serious beholder, and confounded his enemies; and by the struggles and prayers of the then faithful managers, laid the foundation of these civil and religious privileges which we now enjoy.

5. That at the revolution in 1688, when our watchmen in both church and state were remarkably asleep, he redeemed us out of the very jaws of Popery and slavery, if not also of a bloody massacre; and that by means of our tyrant's own son-in-law, assisted by a train of almost miraculous providences, he re-established our religion and liberties, though not altogether in the former glorious manner.

6. That when Queen Anne and her courtiers had ripened their scheme for introducing a Popish pretender to the overthrow of our religion and liberties, the Lord, by her reasonable death—by the defeat of the rebels in 1715, as well as in 1745—and by the establishment of the family of Hanover on the British throne—hath preserved for us the enjoyment of our religion and liberties.

7. That when Arminian, Arian, and other errors, attended by outrageous ecclesiastical tyranny, threatened the ruin of religion in our land, the Lord gave us a little reviving in our bondage, in the rise of the Secession 1733; by means of which, however sinfully mismanaged, by both ministers and people, the doctrines of the gospel have been not a little made known, and probably the corrupt party in the church somewhat restrained from their error or wickedness.

8. That on several occasions, the Lord enabled our ancestors solemnly to infest themselves and their posterity in the grant which he had made to his Son, CHRIST, of the Isles, and utmost ends of the earth for his possession, and on several occasions to dedicate themselves and their seed to his honourable service; and countenanced them in so doing, not only in external smiles of providence, but by such remarkable outpouring of his Spirit, for the conviction, conversion, and reformation of men, as hath not been known in any period of the Christian church, since the apostolic age.

Reckoning themselves commanded of God, to mourn over their own iniquities, and the iniquities of their fathers and neighbours, they, in consequence of the above adherence, renounce every thing contrary thereto, whether in principle or practice, and profess to lament over the prevalency thereof, as a ground of the Lord's controversy with this church and nation. The errors they, according to their knowledge, condemn, are principally the Socinian, Arian, Arminian, Popish, Prelatic, and Sectarian.—Among the practical backslidings from the once attained-to, and covenanted work of reformation, which have happened in the preceding and present age, as abuses of the above-mentioned, or like singular favours of God, they enumerate,

1. The re-admission of wicked malignants to places of civil power and trust, in order to assist King Charles II. against Cromwell and his party.

2. Cromwell's toleration of manifold errors and heresies.

3. The restoration of King Charles to his power in 1660, without requiring any security for his governing the nation according to the good laws thereof.

4. The Parliament's disannulling all the laws which had been made between 1638 and 1650, in favours of a covenanted work of reformation, or the good order of the nation.

5. Their establishing the King's supremacy, or spiritual headship over the church.

6. Their declaring of the national covenant, as explained to abjure Prelacy, and the Articles of Perth, and the solemn league, to be unlawful oaths, and not binding on the swearers and subscribers thereof. Their requiring the subjects solemnly to renounce them, and making it treasonable to GIVE, TAKE, SPEAK, OR WRITE, in defence of them—together with the public burning of these solemn covenants with God, at Linnithgow and Edinburgh.

7. The restoration of Prelacy, after it had been found contrary to the word of God, and repeatedly abjured in solem covenants:—Ministers and others', neglect to give proper testimony against the introduction thereof; and too general compliance therewith; and the terrible persecution of such as faithfully opposed it.

8. The obliging of the subjects, by manifold oaths and declarations, to approve the various impieties of that persecuting period.

9. King Charles II.'s indulgences of Presbyterian ministers to exercise their office, which flowed from his blasphemous claim to ecclesiastical supremacy, and were clogged with several sinful restrictions; and King James VII.'s unlimited toleration, founded in his claim to absolute power, and plainly intended for the introduction of Popery, and Presbyterian ministers' thankful acceptance of the same.

10. That the revolution Parliament did not revive the legal securities given to a covenanted reformation between 1638 and 1650, but even left some bad laws at least not plainly rescinded.

11. That they did not duly resent the heaven-daring injuries which had been done to the national covenant and solemn league, nor abolished Prelacy, as contrary to the word of God, and these covenants.

12. That in the union settlement 1707, the Parliament, in manifest contradiction to the covenants, and the belief of the divine right of Presbytery, not only consented to, but *actually confirmed*, the perpetual establishment of Prelacy, and the ceremonies in England.

13. That the British Parliament restored patronage, and the superstitious Yule vacance; established a toleration of Prelacy, and every other form of religion in Scotland, only Popery and blasphemy excepted; and have repealed the penal statutes against witchcraft.

14. That they imposed the abjuration oath upon ministers and others; and in an Erastian manner, required the Scotch ministers to read from their pulpit, on the Lord's day, in the time of divine worship, a civil proclamation relative to Captain Porteous, under pain of seclusion from sitting in Presbytery.

15. That the Presbyterian clergy, at the Revolution, did not more plainly mourn over, and testify against the horrid branches of apostacy in the preceding persecuting period; and did not more readily and solemnly assert the sole headship of Christ

over his church, the divine right of Presbyterian government, and the intrinsic power of the church, which had been so daringly denied and renounced in the preceding period. Nay, did themselves too readily dissolve or prorogue their General Assemblies, in obedience to the Erastian requirements of King William and Queen Anne.

16. That instead of being duly censured, many who had plainly perjured themselves in their compliance with Pre'acy, and in taking the impious oaths and bonds, and even in persecuting the Lord's people, were admitted to church-fellowship, nay, to the office of elders or ministers, without proper tokens of repentance.

17. That the bulk of the ministry, to the no small offence of the godly, and renting of the church, complied with the Erastian and sinful orders of the Parliament, relative to the abjuration oath, and proclamation concerning Captain Porteous.

18. That in their rage against the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, the Assembly condemned a variety of precious gospel-truths; but have slightly censured, and more frequently screened from censure, such as have been pannelled at their bar for Arian, Arminian, or other errors; and have refused to assert the truth, in express opposition thereto.

19. Their violent and habitual promoting of patronage, and intrusion of ministers, ordinarily very unfit for the office; and persecuting of such as faithfully oppose it*.

These things, together with the so frequent repetition of oaths, relative to allegiance and trade; receiving of the Lord's Supper in the English manner, as a test of loyalty; swearing, by touching and kissing the gospels; repeated rebellion of a malignant party against our lawful Sovereigns of the family of Hanover, in favours of a Popish pretender; abounding ignorance of the Christian doctrines; neglect of God's worship in public, private, or secret; profane cursing and swearing in common discourse; open violation of the Sabbath; notorious neglect of relative duties; admission of insufficient and wicked persons to offices in church and state, or to the seals of God's covenant; drunkenness and bribery, deceit and profane swearing in the election of magistrates, or even of ministers; abounding murder, uncleanness, luxury, theft, smuggling, stage-plays;

* See these truths, mercies, and steps of apostacy, more fully represented in the re-exhibition of the Seceders' testimonies, particularly the second testimony; and in that most excellent act concerning the doctrine of grace, &c. and several church-histories.

games at cards and dice ; lying, reviling, backbiting, and covetousness, they profess to detest and mourn over, as causes of the Lord's wrath still standing against the generation. But it is not to be imagined, that every one hath an equal clear view of all these evils, particularly such as relate to former times ; nor that every one hath the same view of the sinfulness of each of these facts.

BRIEF EXPLANATION

OF

The Terms used in the preceding Pages.

ATHEIST. One who denies the being of God.

ARIAN. One who denies the equality of the Son to the Father in the Godhead; so called, from one *Arius*, who in the fourth century, disturbed the church by his heretical opinions on the subject of the Trinity.—The Arians are of two kinds. Both admit the pre-existence of Christ; but the proper Arians make him only a super-angelic being, the first and highest of creatures; whereas the Semi-Arians allow to him some of the perfections of Deity, and make him a kind of inferior God.

ARMINIAN. One who maintains the opinion of *Jacobus Arminius*, a Dutch divine. The leading principles of this sect, are known by the name of *the Five Arminian Points*.—They maintain, 1 Conditional election; 2. Universal redemption; 3. Free-will, or man's natural power to convert himself; 4. The resistibility of divine grace; 5. The possibility of falling totally and finally from a state of grace.

ANTINOMIAN. One who denies the obligation of the moral law on believers in Christ, and affirms that good works are unnecessary. The term is often improperly given to those who are advocates for the freedom and sovereignty of divine grace, although they maintain the necessity of good works.

ANABAPTIST. One who maintains that children ought not to be baptized; and that those who have had baptism administered in infancy, ought to be re-baptized.

ANTICHRIST. Literally, one who opposes Christ, a term used in the New Testament, and, by divines, generally applied to the Pope, and to that power which, as the head of the Romish church, he has usurped over the consciences of men.

BLASPHEMY. A general term, expressive of any indignity offered unto God himself by the tongues of men; as when things are said of him unworthy of his greatness, inconsistent with his holiness, reproachful to his character, or which manifest a contempt of his perfections, word, or works.

DEIST. One who professes to believe the existence and unity of the Deity; but who denies that he has ever given any written revelation of his will, and who refuses that the Scriptures are the word of God.

ERASTIAN, One who adopts the sentiments of *Erastus*, a German lawyer; asserting, that church-government and discipline are entirely to be regulated by the will of the civil magistrate.

EPISCOPALIAN. One who maintains that there ought to be in the church an order of officers superior to teaching elders, styled Bishops, in whom the government of the church is vested.

ENTHUSIAST. One who depends on private internal revelations, without regarding the written word; or, in general, who is guided by an over-heated imagination in matters of religion, without regard to Scripture, or common sense.

FAMILIST. One who is of that religious description known formerly by the style of *the Family of Love*; a species of Anabaptists, who made the whole of religion to lie in inward feelings of divine love.

HEATHEN. A general name for those nations which are ignorant of divine revelation, and live in superstition and idolatry.

INFIDEL. Any one who believes not in Jesus Christ, as the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world; nor in the Scriptures, as divinely inspired.

INDEPENDENT. One who accounts every particular congregation an entire and independent church; and refuses that the church ought to be governed either, on the one hand, by Bishops, or, on the other hand, by assemblies of ministers, known by the name of Presbyteries, Synods, &c.

JEW. One of the seed of Israel, who imagines that the Messiah has not yet appeared, and continues to worship God according to the law of Moses.

JESUIT. A member of *the Society of Jesus*: a Popish order, instituted with a view to oppose the Reformation; and whose principles are subversive of civil government, and confidence between man and man. The Jesuits, long troublesome to Protestants, became at last intolerable to Roman Catholics themselves, and some time since were destroyed.

TERMS USED IN THE PRECEDING PAGES. 95

JURANT. One who has sworn an oath.

LIBERTINE. One of loose principles in religion, and of loose practice.

MONK. One of the Popish religion, who has professed to renounce the world, has vowed celibacy, lives in a monastery subject to certain rules, is principally employed in offices of devotion, and is esteemed singularly pious.

PRELATE. A Bishop; so styled, because he is *preferred* in honour and power above his brethren in the office of the ministry.

PAPIST. A Roman Catholic; so styled, because he acknowledges the authority of the Pope.

PELAGIAN. One who follows the opinions of *Pelagius*, a heretic of the fifth century, who, among other things, denied original sin, and the necessity of the Spirit's operation in the soul in order to conversion.

PROTESTANT. One who professes the reformed religion; so styled, because the first reformers *protested* against the church of Rome.

PATRONAGE. The method of introducing candidates for the ministry into charges in the church, by the presentation of a *lay patron*, without regarding the choice of the people.

QUAKERS. A religious sect, who despise the written word, and the instituted ordinances of religion, and depend on internal revelations, and the motions of what they style the spirit within them; styled Quakers, because, at their first appearance, when the spirit moved them, they fell into tremblings, and shakings, and convulsive agitations.

SOCINIAN. One who espouses the opinions of *Socinus*, a heretic who appeared soon after the Reformation. Socinians deny that Christ existed before his incarnation, allow him to be only a mere man, reject his atonement, and consider him since his ascension as a *made* God.

SECTARIAN. One who adheres to a particular sect or description of Christians, different from that established by civil authority. The term is commonly used in a bad sense, as including the idea of separating from the established religion without sufficient reason.

SEPTIC. One who doubts of every thing, and believes nothing.

SCHISM. *Unlawful* separation from a church; or want of love and affection, while continuing in it.

TURK. An individual of an eastern nation, which has erected a great empire, called the *Turkish empire*, the capital of which is Constantinople. The term is frequently used to mean a Mahometan, because that nation are believers in Mahomet as the prophet of God.

FINIS.

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