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**BIOGRAPHIA
PRESBYTERIANA.**

VOL. II.

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BIOGRAPHIA
PRESBYTERIANA.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE LIVES OF
THE REV. MR DONALD CARGILL,
AND MR WALTER SMITH;
BY PATRICK WALKER. AND
THE REV. MR JAMES RENWICK,
BY THE REV. ALEX. SHIELDS.

EDINBURGH:
D. SPEARE, WEST REGISTER STREET;
AND J. STEVENSON, PRINCES STREET.
M.DCCC.XXVII.

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LIFE OF MR RENWICK.

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SOME
REMARKABLE PASSAGES
IN THE
LIFE AND DEATH

OF THAT SINGULAR EXEMPLARY HOLY IN LIFE, ZEAL-
OUS AND FAITHFUL UNTO THE DEATH,

Mr. *DANIEL CARGILL*;

WITH THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF A FEW OF HIS MANY
SENTENTIOUS SAYINGS THROUGH HIS LIFE,
AND AT HIS DEATH.

And with him Mr. *Walter Smith*, Mr. *James Boig*,
William Cuthil, and *William Thomson*, who hang all
upon one Gibbet, *July 27th*, 1681, at the Cross of
Edinburgh, and all their five Heads hashed and hagged
off upon the Scaffold by the common Hangman's
bloody Ax; the first three Heads fixt upon the *Nether-*
bow-port, and the last Two upon the *West-port*.

Also Twenty two Steps of thirty Years national Defections, and
Twenty four Rules for managing Society-meetings for Prayer and
Conference, composed by the foresaid Mr. *Smith*.

EDINBURGH,

Printed for, collected and published by, *Patrick Wal-*
ker; and to be sold at his House within *Bristo-*
port, at the Upper-gate of the *Gray-friars Church*.
MDCCLXXXII.

REVEL. iii. 10. *Because thou hast kept the Word of my Patience, I will also keep you from the Hour of Temptation, which shall come upon all the World, to try them that dwell upon the Earth.*

REVEL. xii. 11. *And they overcome by the Blood of the Lamb, and the Word of their Testimony, and they loved not their Lives unto the Death.*

JOB 17. 9. *The Righteous also shall hold on his Way, and he that hath clean Hands shall wax stronger and stronger.*

A FEW OF THE MANY

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

Long Life (being past sixty Years) and at his bloody Death, of Mr. Daniel Cargill, a Man greatly beloved indeed, who was born in the North, and was eldest Son of a singular godly Gentleman, and Heritor in the Parish of Rattray, some Miles from Dunkeld. He was commonly called Donald, but his baptized Name was Daniel.

First, **A**FTER he had passed his Courses of Learning at Aberdeen, he was established Minister in the Barony Parish of Glasgow, before, and at the unhappy Restoration of Charles II. May 29, 1660; and was publickly murdered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681, before many Witnesses, in that never to be forgotten, unheard-of 28 Years of reigning Tyrants, and raging Tyranny of prelatical Protestants upon Presbyterian Protestants.

It is a Loss, that I cannot give an Account how long he was fixed Minister in the foresaid Parish; only it is certain, it was before and at the unhappy Restoration, when Hell, Rome, and all their Proselytes and Favourites had their Invention upon the Rack, in their wicked crafty Counsels, how to stop and overturn our great co-

venanted Work of Reformation, wherein *the right Hand of the Lord*, that does *ever valiantly*, was and is remarkable to be seen in the Beginning and carrying on through all the Periods of this Church ; not only from *Paganism* and *Popery*, but also abjuring of *Prelacy*, both in the last Article of the National Covenant ; but more expressly in the second Article of the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three Nations, wherein all Ranks were, and are solemnly and perpetually bound, in their Places and Stations, to extirpate that old Strumpet Mother, and eldest beautiful Daughter of Antichrist, with which the blinded Nations have been and are sadly bewitched ; but vile, vile, lothsom and hateful in the Eyes of all the zealous serious Godly in *Scotland*, ever since the Lord made Light to arise to see her Abominations. And it hath been, is, and may be confirming and comforting to all the Lord's People, that our Reformation, in all the Steps thereof, hath been of and for the Lord, in that he raised up and continued such a Succession of earnest Contenders and faithful Witnesses through so many Ages, that none have exceeded them since the Apostles went off the Stage. Accordingly the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Faction, Enemies of God and Godliness, began their undermining Work (in the Year 1650 of our covenanted Reformation, that had flourished in a wonderful Manner from 1638, eleven Years,) in their publick Resolutions, as they were then called, in getting all Places of Power and Trust filled with Men of wicked and corrupt Principles and Practices, to make Way for their getting their chief Head *Charles II.* upon the Throne of *Britain*, which proved effectual, and got their hellish Designs accomplished ; which was foreseen, foretold and contended against by a Handful of worthy Ministers and Christians, in these Days called

Protestors or Remonstrators. Then, in the 60th Year, Cromwel the English General with his Ten thousand Men were called Home, who came to *Scotland* in the End of *July*, in the 50th Year, to arraign the Duke of *Hamilton*, and many Debauchees with him, which were faithfully witnessed against, invading their Kingdom in the Year 1648, and hindering their King from complying with the Parliament's Demands. In that 10 Years that they invaded our Land, they defiled it with Blood, Tolerations, and other Abominations, which was also faithfully witnessed against by a few of this Land. Next, there were so many in State and Church chosen to go to *Breda*, to transact with, and bring Home, their King, whom many of all Ranks were, and continue to this Day, lusting after that unhappy Race. Notwithstanding he had got a Dispensation from the Pope to come under the Oath of our Covenants, who pretended both he and his Father had signed for many Articles to *Popish* Princes, to carry on *Rome's* Interest ; which, as I said before, a Gentleman that writes upon Court-Affairs at that Time makes plain to the World. Of the Commissioners sent from *Scotland*, famous Mr. *John Livingston* was one, contrary to his Inclination : which, as he says in his Memoirs, he saw, and was fully perswaded, that there was nothing in all their Transactions but the Height of Treachery and Perfidy, that a little Time would discover, and was unwilling to have sailed the Seas with them : But after their King was gone a Shipboard, some out of Policy prest him to go aboard and take his Leave of him ; and, as soon as he went aboard, they sent off the Boat, and so came home fully perswaded the Plague of God was coming to *Scotland* ; nevertheless of his dissembling, deceitful, hypocritical, feigned-lipped Prayers in his Closet, a Partition-wall

betwixt him and the Commissioners sent to treat with him ; praying aloud for the Advancement of the Covenanted Reformation in *Scotland*, and for the perfecting the Work of Uniformity betwixt the three Nations, according to their solemn Vows in the Solemn League and Covenant.

2dly, Many also of the Godly at home saw Clouds gathering, and a terrible black Storm coming on. About this Time blest *M^cWard*, *Cargill*, and others through the Land, who were of one Heart and Soul, seeing with one Eye, thinking with one Mind, and speaking with one Breath, met at *Glasgow* to compare Notes, and set a Day apart for Prayer together, to be more and more confirmed of their Duty of giving Warning of the Sin and Danger of the malignant Courses driven on in that Day by Fraud and Force, especially calling home their Head, *C. II.* Mr. *M^cWard* was the first that prayed with more than ordinary Inlargement and Gale upon his Spirit, earnestly begging of the Lord, that, in Mercy, Love and Pity, he would seal, spirit, and fit a Remnant to stand stedfast, whatever, and from whatsoever Airth the Winds might blow ; and that there might be a Succession of faithful Witnesses raised up to follow the Lord fully in Life and Death : But *Charles* and his Interest came not in his Way. When ended, they challenged him for it ; he said, Let alone ; if it be with you as it hath been with me, they would all go the same Road ; and so it was with all of them : From whence they concluded, that it would be wasted Time and Prayers that were spent about him. Mr. *Cargill* after that was never heard pray for him in publick. His unhappy Birth and Restoration-day, *May 29th 1660*, which was enacted and made an anniversary Thanksgiving-Day, became a Trial to some, and a Land-sin and

Snare to many, and observed to this Day, by Castle-guns roring, though even upon the Sabbath, at Twelve of the Clock ; which Day was Mr. *Cargill's* ordinary weekly Sermon-day. His Kirk being very throng, with Tears he said, Do you expect more or better Preaching this Day than other Days ? or, is it upon the Account of your young King ? It is like that is many of your Erands ; for me, I desire to be found in the Way of my Duty, being our ordinary Day, otherwise I would not have preached a Word upon that Account. *Rejoice not, O Israel, as other People rejoice ; for thou art gone a whoring from thy God.* And this is the first Step of our going a whoring, which will make Way to lead and draw on too many long and great ; and whoever of the Lord's People are this Day rejoicing, their Joy will be like the Crackling of Thorns under a Pot ; it will soon be turned to Mourning ; he will be the wofulest Sight that ever the poor Church of *Scotland* saw. Wo, wo, wo to him ; his Name shall stink while the World stands, for Treachery, Tyranny and Leachery. I had this Account from several old Christians who were his Hearers that Day ; especially that serious, zealous Christian, *Robert Goodwin*, one of *Durham's* Elders, when in Prison with him.

3dly, From his Youth he was much given to secret Prayer, yea whole Nights ; and it was observed by some, both in Families, and when in secret, he always sat straight upon his Knees, without resting upon any Thing, with his Hands lifted up (and some took Notice he died the same Way with the bloody Rope about his Neck) especially after the bloody Murder of Mr. *Cameron*, and these Worthies with him at *Airds-Moss*, July 22d 1680, until the following *September*, that he excommunicated these wicked Men at the *Torwood*. He

was much alone both Night and Day, and spake little even in Company ; only to some few he said, he had a Tout to give with his Trumpet that the Lord had put in his Hand, that would sound in the Ears of many through *Britain*, and other Places in *Europe*. None knew what he was to do that Morning, except Mr. *Walter Smith*, to whom he imparted the Thoughts of his Heart : When he began, his best Friends feared that some wicked Person would shoot him ; his Landlord, in whose House he had been that Night, cast his Coat and ran for it. Some serious, solid Christians, yet alive, who were Witnesses to it, can testify, When he ended the Sentences of Excommunication, he said, That, if these unhappy Men die the ordinary Death of Men, God never spake by him. That Afternoon he preached upon that Text, *For the Lord will not cast off for ever ; but though he cause Grief, yet will he have Compassion according to the Multitude of his Mercies*. In which Sermon he touched neither the Tyranny nor Defections in the Land. This confirmed what he says in his dying Words, *However it be with me at the last, tho' I should be straitned by God, or interrupted by Men ; yet all is true, and shall be well : I have followed Holiness, I have taught Truth, I have been most in the main Things ; not that I thought the Things concerning our Times little, &c.*

Athly, The next Sabbath-day he preached at the *Fallow-hill*, in the West End of *Livingstoun* Parish, upon the Borders of *Clidesdale*. In the Preface he said, I know I am and will be condemned by many for what I have done, in excommunicating these wicked Men ; but, condemn me who will, I know I am approven of God, and am perswaded, that what I have done on Earth is ratified in Heaven : For, if ever I knew the Mind of

God, and clear in my Call to any Piece of my Generation-work, it was in that; and I shall give you two Signs whereby you may know that I am in no Delusion.

1. If some of these Men do not find that Sentence binding upon them ere they go off the Stage, and be obliged to confess it from their Terror, and to the Affrightment of others.

2. If these Men die the ordinary Death of Men, then God never sent me, nor spoke by me.

The first of these was clearly verified in the Case of my Lord *Rothes*, and the second was verified also, to the Remembrance of many yet alive. (1.) All know that *Charles II.* was poisoned. (2.) His Brother, the Duke of *York*, died in *St. Germain's* in *France*: I can give no Account of his Death. (3.) The Duke of *Monmouth* was execute at *London*. (4.) The Duke of *Lauderdale* turned a Belly-god, and died upon the Chamber-box. (5.) The Duke of *Rothes* died Raving, under the dreadful Terrors and Sense of that Sentence binding upon him, making his Bed shake, to the Affrightment of all that heard and saw him. (6.) Bloody Sir *George Mackenzie* died at *London*, with all the Passages of his Body running Blood. (7.) General *Thomas Dalziel* of *Binns* died with a Glass of Wine at his Mouth in perfect Health: But a more particular Account of these afterwards, if the Lord will.

5thly, I gave an Account in the Life and Death of Mr. *Cameron*, That upon the 18th Day of *July* 1680 they preached together at the *Kip-rig* in *Clidesdale*, which was Mr. *Cameron's* last Sabbath, and were to meet and preach at *Craigmad* in *Stirling-shire* the first Sabbath of *August*, but Mr. *Cameron's* Blood and others ran like Water on the 22d *July*: Mr. *Cargill* preached upon the 25th in the Parish of *Shots*, upon that Text,

Know you not that there is a great Man and Prince fallen in our Israel? He preached upon the 1st Day of *August* at *Craigmad*, and lectured upon the 22d Chapter of *Jeremiah*, and ran the Parallel in so many Particulars betwixt *Coniah* and *Charles II.* and in the End said, If that unhappy Man upon the Throne of *Britain* shall die the ordinary Death of Men, and get the Honour of the Burial of Kings, and if he shall have any to succeed him lawfully begotten, then God never sent me, nor spoke by me. The old, pious, praying Mr. *Reid*, late Minister in *Lochrutton* in *Galloway*, Mr. *Shiels* and *George Lapsly*, who lived and died at the *Bowhead*, heard him utter these Expressions: They were all at *London* in the Time that he was poisoned, who made all Search to know when, where or how he was buried, but could never find it out, being buried clandestinely; and all know that he had none to succeed him, although many said, and some write, That, if all the Women that he lay with in Adultery and Fornication had conceived and brought forth, his Offspring would have been as the Stars in the Firmament, spending his Time only with Wine and Women, unconcerned about Heaven or Hell, and easy about all Religions. Not driving on *Rome's* Interest, as they expected, and he engaged when abroad with the Popish Princes; His Brother the Duke of *York* being a sworn Vassal of *Antichrist*, and longing to be at the Throne, that he might be more active in all Mischiefs, made them all conspire to give him a Dose, and send him off. The foresaid Friends at *London* said to me, That it was commonly reported, that when he found the Poison working upon him, he sat up in his Bed, having one of his many Whores in Bed with him, as was his ordinar, and took a Snuff; and it being poison'd also, he fell a roaring, and said, *Oh mad Man that*

I have been, that have murdered my best Subjects, and banished my Son the Duke of Monmouth, and committed myself to the Hand of Murderers!

6thly, After that Excommunication in the *Torwood*, the full Account whereof is to be found in the *Hynd-let-loose*, written by famous Mr. *Shiels*, there was a Price of Six thousand Merks set upon his Head, for any to catch him quick or dead. The violent avowed Enemies were still in Search for him before this, but much more after, who, to gain the Prize, had curst *Doeg*-like Intelligencers every where lying in wait to betray him into their Hands; notwithstanding he was remarkably preserved, and many times narrowly escaped their Hands, until his Work was done, and his Hour come; and then suddenly and surprisngly was catcht, as afterwards I shall make plain.

Beside the narrow Escapes mentioned in the Relation given of him in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, there were other four, as follows, 1. His Horse was shot beneath him at *Linlithgow*-bridge, and he very narrowly escaped their bloody Hands. 2. At *Lowdon-hill*, which is before me to give an Account of. 3. At the *Queensferry*, June 3d 1680; when he, with *Henry Hall* of *Haughhead*, that worthy Christian Gentleman, were upon their Way from *Borrowstounness* to the *Queensferry*, these two Sons of Belial, the Curates of *Borrowstounness* and *Car-riden*, walking upon the Sea-side knew Mr. *Cargill*, and went in haste to *Middleton* Governor of *Blackness*, and informed him. He ordered his Soldiers to come after him; he followed hard to the *Ferry*, and got Notice where they lighted, came in, and pretended great Kindness, pressing them to take a Glass of Wine, until his Men came up: Then drew his Sword, saying, They were his Prisoners, *Haughhead* drew Sword to defend

themselves. The Women in the Town gathered ; one of them gript *Haughhead* to save him. One *Thomas George*, a Waiter there, behind his Back struck him upon the Head with the Doghead of his Carabin, and broke his Skull. The women carried him off, and some of them supported him to *Echlen*, near Half a Mile, to the House of *Robert Punton* my Brother-in-law, who was banished with Mr. Peden, as I mentioned before in his Life. The House of *Binns* being near, *Thomas Dalziel's* Dwelling-place (that bloody Tyrant, who was General to the Forces Twenty Years) and he having got Notice, came in great Haste and Fury, threatening great Ruin to that Family for taking in the Rebel ; and carried him back to the *Ferry*, and kept him all Night. There is an old Christian Woman (yet alive) who waited upon him all Night, which was a weary Night, he not being able to speak to her, passing all his Brains at his Nostrils, died To-morrow by the Way going to *Edinburgh*. None can give an Account how they disposed of his Corpse.

Mr. *Cargill* in that Confusion escaped sorely wounded, and crept into some secret Place in the South-side of the Town. A very ordinary Woman found him lying bleeding, took her Head-clothes and tied up the Wounds in his Head, and conducted him to *James Punton's* in *Carlowrie* ; he being a Stranger, and knew not who was Friends or Foes ; for which he said he was many Times obliged to pray for that Woman. Some say, After that there was a Change upon her to the better. He lay in that Barn till Night, and then was conducted to some Friend's House. Mrs. *Punton* gave him some warm Milk ; and a Chirurgeon came providentially to the House, who drest his Wounds.

General *Dalziel* came and called for *James Punton*,

and took him away to *Kirklistoun*: When set down, the Curate there (another of the Serpent's Brood, who inform'd him) came and accused him before the General for shewing Kindness to such a notorious Rebel, for which he was carried to *Edinburgh*, and cast in Prison, where he lay three Months, and paid a Thousand Merks of Fine.

Mr. *Cargill* the next Sabbath preached at *Cairnhill*, betwixt *Lowden* and *Tweeddale*, in his Wounds and Blood; for no Danger nor Distress could stop him in going about doing Good, and distributing Food to so many starving Souls up and down the Land. His time being short, that so he might finish his Course with Joy, he preached that Day upon that Text, *And what shall I more say? for the Time would fail me to speak of Gideon and Jephthah*. At Night some said to him, We think, Sir, Praying and Preaching go best with you when your Danger and Distress is greatest. He said, It had been so, and he hoped that it would be so; that the more that Enemies and all others did thrust that he might fall, the more sensibly and decernably the Lord had helped: And then (as his ordinar was) as it had been to himself repeated the following Words, *The Lord is my Strength and Song, and has become my Salvation*. That 118 Psalm was the last Psalm he sang on Earth, which he sang on the Scaffold.

7thly, In the Beginning of November 1680, Governor *Middleton* being frustrate of his design at the *Queensferry*, and affronted by a few Women, delivering the Prey out of his and his Soldiers Hands, consulted with *James Henderson* in the *Ferry*, and laid down a Hell-deep Plot and Trap to catch him, by forging and signing by different Hands in the Name of *Baillie Adam* in *Culross*, and *Robert Stark* in *Milns of Forth*, that serious zealous solid Christian, who had his great Share of the

Tyranny of that Time, and other honest leading Men in the Shire of *Fife*, for *Henderson* to come to *Edinburgh*, and make all Search for Mr. *Cargill*, to call him over to *Fife* to preach at the Hill of *Baith*: Accordingly he found him in the *West-Bow*, in a Chamber that the fore-said *Robert Stark* had taken for his Children at School; two of them are yet alive in *Edinburgh*, worthy of Credit, who will assert the Truth of this. Mr. *Cargill* was very willing to answer the Call: Some present observed, that *Henderson* was either in Drink, or confused, which made them jealous of Treachery. *Henderson* proposed, that he would go before, and have a Boat ready at the *Ferry* against they came; and, that he might know them, desired to see Mr. *Cargill's* Clothes. And Mr. *Skeen* and Mr. *Boig* being in the Room with him, in the mean Time he had *Middleton's* Soldiers lying in Disguise at the *Mutton-hole*, three Miles from *Edinburgh*, the Highway to the *Ferry*: There was an Ale-house upon the South-side, and a Park-dyke upon the North-side, and no eviting them. Mr. *Skeen*, *Archibald Stuart*, and Mrs. *Moor* and *Marion Harvie* took the Way upon Foot, Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Boig* being to follow upon Horses. When they came to the Place, the Soldiers gripped them: In the Confusion, Mrs. *Moor* escaped, and went quickly back, and stopt Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Boig*, who fled back to *Edinburgh* again. The Prisoners were brought to *Edinburgh*; Mr. *Skeen* and *Archibald Stuart* were execute at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, December 1. 1680; and *Marion Harvie*, with *Isabel Alison*, were execute in the *Grass-market*, January 26. 1681. However, *Henderson* got the Price of Blood, and bought or built a Passage-Boat, which he called *Katharine*; but many fear'd to cross the Water in her. *Henderson* after this turned miserable and contemptible

in the Eyes of all well-thinking Men, and, some affirm, died cursing, after he got that Reward for Treachery and the Price of Blood.

8thly, After this remarkable Escape, seeing nothing but the violent Flames of Treachery and Tyranny against him above all others, he alone keeping up the publick Standard of the Gospel at that Time, went to *England* for about three Months, where the Lord blest his Labours in the Ministry, to the Conviction and Edification of many Souls. In this none-such, melancholy, *Egyptian* Darkness, Mr. *King*, Mr. *Kid* and Mr. *Cameron* being publickly murdered; Mr. *Blackadder* and Mr. *Dickson* in the Enemies Hands; Mr. *Cargill*, *Douglas* and *Hepburn* gone of the Kingdom; the rest of the 30 Ministers, who preached in the Fields before *Bothwell-bridge*, being fallen in deep Silence and Compliance with the Enemies: In this Time, while Men slept, the Enemy sowed his Tares. In the Beginning of the Year 1681, the Devil began a new Project at *Borrowstounness* upon a few of these whom he could not drive to left-hand Defections, by injecting into them demented enthusiastical Delusions, driving them upon wild unheard-of right-hand Extremes, with a Spirit of Division and unwarrantable Separation from all that would not or durst not go up with them in every Jot; which began in *Holland* a Year before, which I have already given a true Account of; and which remains rampant in *Scotland* to this Day, and I sadly fear will outlive me.

John Gibb a Sailor in *Borrowstounness*, a great Professor, (but still some serious Souls jealous of him) drew about Twenty six Women and three Men with him, the greater Part of them serious, exercised, tender, zealous, gracious Souls, who stumbled upon that Stumbling-block laid in their Way, of Ministers Compliance, Silence and Unfaithfulness, who before the Break of

Bothwel-Bridge, for about eleven Years, had publickly preached the indispensable Duty of all the Lord's People to follow the Gospel, and defend the same: But a little thereafter, the Enemies gave an Indemnity, or third Indulgence to all Ministers who formerly preached in the Fields, to preach in Houses with the Cautionry-Band witnessed against in the *Banders disbanded*, which I have elsewhere mentioned. They so far complied with the Enemies Design and Desire to have their *Rendezvouze of Rebellion*, the Field-Conventicles (as then call'd) the Devil's grand Eye-sore, and great Vexation of all his Friends, the Foes of Reformation, that they would preach none without Houses, even these who formerly were most zealous and forward that Way, whose Names might be mentioned, and who would not set their Faces to Doors when there were any People without. These lamentable Things, together with the cruel Tyranny, shedding so much innocent precious dear Blood, made them split with Zeal, not only to cast off all that do not agree with them in every Thing, but also to utter strange Anti-Gospel Imprecations, disdaining and reproaching all others as Backsliders, stating their Testimony against all Crown-dues, Excise and Customs; and for that End would make no Use of Ale nor Tobacco, and other fool Things. These People at first were commonly called *Sweet-singers*, from their frequently meeting together, and singing these tearful Psalms over the mournful Case of the Church, *Psal.* 74, 79, 80, 83, 137. Thus they continued from the Beginning of the Year until *April*; then all with one Consent, that they might be free of all these foresaid Things, left their Houses, warm soft Beds, cover'd Tables; some of them their Husbands and Children, weeping upon them to stay with them; some Women

taking the sucking Children in their Arms to Desert-places, to be free of all Snares and Sins, and Communion with all others, and mourn for their own Sins, the Land's Tyranny and Defections, and there be safe from the Land's utter Ruin and Desolations by Judgments ; some of them going to *Pentland-hills*, with a Resolution to sit there to see the Smoke and utter Ruin of the sinful bloody City *Edinburgh* : But, if they had fulfilled their Resolution, they would have been sadly weather-beaten these 48 Years, being lately gone to their Graves, laying more Weight and Stress upon these Duties of Prayer, Fasting and Mourning, than upon Christ's Satisfaction, Obedience and Intercession, which alas, that legal formal Spirit is the Ruin and Plague of the greater Part of Preachers and Prayers abounding this Day, and ruining all the Churches. These were a Part of the Confession of some of these gracious Women, who came under the Power of such Delusions voluntarily before a great Multitude of People, upon the 3d Day of *March* 1689, at the black Hill of *Lesmahagow* ; and Matter of Mourning to this Day, some of them being yet alive. Immediately after they came to these Desert-places, they kept a Day of Fasting, and confessing of their Sins one to another ; Yea, some of them confest Sins that the World had not-heard of, and so not call'd to confess them to Men.

In the mean Time of their lying in this sad Pickle in Desert-places, the Man of God, blest *Cargill*, came down from *England* ; a happy Tryst to many godly zealous Souls, who had a Gale of Zeal upon their Spirits, and feared no Danger upon the right Hand, if they held off the Left. Immediately he was called to preach in *Darmade-Muir*s, by some who retained their former Zeal and Faithfulness. That Sabbath Morning, *John*

Gibb, David Jamie, Walter Ker, John Young, and Twenty six Women, were lying in the *Dear-slunk*, in Midst of a great flow Moss betwixt *Clydsdale* and *Lothian*, about a Mile distant. Mr. *Cargill* sent two Men, whose Names I could mention, to desire them to come and hear Sermon, and that he might converse with them, severals of them being his Acquaintance. *John Gibb* answered, He had left the Land, and deserted the Testimony ; they did not want him, nor no other Minister ; it was never better with them than since they parted with all of them. He came and stood upon a Chair, and had nothing to rest upon, with his Bible betwixt his Hands, as his Ordinary was at all Times when I heard him. I well remember, he sang the first Verse of the 37 Psalm, *For Evil-doers fret thou not, &c.* and lectured upon the 21 Chapter of 1 Kings from the 17 Verse, of what passed betwixt *Ahab* and *Elijah*, and *Ahab's* outward Humiliation, where he had many sententious Notes ; and preached upon that Text, *Amos* iv. 12. *Therefore this will I do unto thee, O Israel ; and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.* He insisted upon the foregoing Judgments that had proven ineffectual, and few had returned unto him ; but this was a nameless Judgment, or a non-such Judgment ; and made application to *Scotland* : When our Stroke came, he would not determine ; but, when it came, it would be a non-such Stroke. He went to *Darngavell* in *Cambusnethen* Parish, upon the Side of the Muir : He sent for them To-morrow ; when they came, they had a long Reasoning in the Barn ; the Sum and Substance of it is to be found in that Letter he sent to the Women in the *Correction-house*, which is published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*. Two Things they required of him, before they could join, and own him as

their Minister ; (1.) That he would confess publickly his Sin in leaving of the Land. (2.) That he would engage to preach to none but them, and those that joined with them. He answered, That he did not see that to be his Sin in leaving the Land in such a Time, and so short a Time, in his Circumstances ; and he hoped that he had been useful to not a few where he had been ; and to preach to none but them, was a dreadful Restriction upon his Ministry ; for his Commission was far more extensive, to go and preach, and baptize all Nations, and to preach the Gospel to every Creature ; and if his Trumpet would sound to the Ends of the Earth, he would preach Christ to all. *Gibb* and *Jamie* carried Pistols upon them, and threatned all who came to seek their Wives or others from them ; which frightened some. There was a Bed made for him and *John Gibb* : He lay down a little, but rose in Haste, and went to the Muir all Night ; I well remember it was a cold easterly wet Fogg. Many waiting on to have his Thoughts about them, he refused upon the Sabbath-Evening to give his Thoughts until he spake with them. They found him in the Muir on the Morning wet and cold, and very melancholy, wanting Rest all Night, and great Grief upon his Spirit. They said, Now, Sir, you have spoke with them, and have had your Thoughts about them ; be free with us. He said, My Thoughts are both bad and sad : This Man, *John Gibb*, is an incarnate Devil, and there are many Devils in him ; wo to him, his Name will stink while the World stands. I bless God, who preserved me ; he might have cut my Throat this Night, but I got Warning of my Danger. As for *David Jamie*, there is a good Scholar lost, and a Minister spilt ; I have no Hope of him. I am afraid that *Walter Ker* and *John Young*

and others will go a greater Length, but I hope the Lord will reclaim many of them: And now, go all Home, and pray that this Snare may be broke; for this is one of the most dreadful and dangerous Snares that hath been in my Time; but they run so fast, they will soon discover themselves: But I greatly fear, these wild Tares of Delusions and Divisions will spring and grow, and never be rooted out in this Land; which has sadly come to pass.

After this, in Preaching and Conference, he was most sententious and plain in discovering and giving Warning of the Snare, Sin and Danger of these wild Extremes: Nevertheless, the Indulged, Silent and Unfaithful, Lukewarm, Complying Ministers and Professors made no Distinction betwixt him and *Gibb*, but made it their Work by Tongue and Pen to bury him and his Faithfulness in the Ashes of these vile Extremes; and as for any of us that travel'd 40 or 50 Miles far or near to hear him preach, (and no Danger or Enemies could stop or discourage us) they spread that we were away with the *Gibbites*, altho' I never saw *John Gibb*, nor was acquaint with any of his Followers at that Time: For which I bless the Lord, that so mercifully and remarkably prevented it, by hearing and following of blest *Cargill*.

After this, in the Beginning of *May*, the *Gibbites* were all taken by a Troop of Dragoons at the *Woolhill-Craigs* betwixt *Lothian* and *Tweeddale*, a very desert Place: The Enemies carried them to *Edinburgh*; the four Men were put in the *Canongate Tolbooth*, and the Twenty six Women in the *Correction-house*, and some of them scourged; and, as their Friends and Husbands loved and had Moyes, they were set free. The greater Part of them came to their right Mind, after they had

tasted of the bitter Fruits of these demented Delusions, with whom I have had edifying Conversation since.

The Duke of *York* being in *Edinburgh*, he and all other Enemies rejoiced at all these strange Things, and gave large Money to these four Men, for which they wrote a most blasphemous Paper to *York*, Copies of which are yet in the Hands of some. In a little Time they were all liberate. These four Men, with *Isabel Bonn* and another Woman, whose Name I have forgot, went West to the *Frost-Moss*, betwixt *Airth* and *Stirling*, where they burnt the Holy Bible, as they had exclaimed against the *Psalms* in Metre, and Contents of the Bible as human Inventions; every one of them had somewhat to say. When they threw their Bibles in the Fire, *John Gibb* said, *He did that out of Despite against God*. The Night before that horrid Action of burning the Bible, *Walter Ker* and *John Young* prayed all Night in that Moss, and a Light shining about them. Shortly after this *Walter Ker* turned mad, and was for some Time bound in *Torphichen*, where he was born. He came to his right Mind again, and went to *Clyde*, a Mile beneath *Lanark*, to the House of *Robert* and *Elisabeth Bruce*, two old solid serious Christians, both my Acquaintances, who got a hearty Smack of the Sweetness of the Gospel in that good Day at the Kirk of *Shots*, where he served two Years, and deeply mourned both Night and Day for what he had done; and wrote 38 Steps thereof. He sometimes said, *If there were a Christian Magistrate in the Land, he would go to them and confess all, and seek of them to execute Justice upon him for burning of the Bible*. He told his Master and Mistress that he would be taken and banished, which accordingly came to pass in the Year 1685.

And some of our banished Worthies (who were with him in *America*, and came Home) said to me, That he exceeded all our Banished, that they knew, in prevailing with some to set up the Worship of God in their Families, and young Ones to pray, and join in Societies for Prayer and Conference : What became of him since, I know not.

John Young went into *Lothian* after that, and kept a School, lived retired, and spoke little. *Gibb*, and *David Jamie*, *Isobel Bonn*, and that other Woman, were again taken and put in the *Canongate* Tolbooth, where they took such Fits of seven Days Fasting, that their Voices were changed in their Gronings and Gollerings with Pain of Hunger, and then such excessive Eating, that these with them admired how their Bellies could contain so much. *Gibb* was so possest with a raging roving Devil, that they could not get publick Worship performed three Times a Day, as their ordinar was in each Room : Two of these Prisoners took their Tour about, lying upon him with a Napkin in his Mouth. *George Jackson*, who thereafter suffered at the *Gallow-lee* in *December 9th 1684*, at first when he came there Prisoner, said, *Is that your ordinar?* They said, it was. He said, *I shall stay his Roaring* ; and threatned *Gibb*. He fell a trembling, and put his own Napkin in his Mouth, but could not refrain his Roaring : *George* desired them to halt in Time of Worship, and with Feet and Hands dash'd his Head against the Wall, and beat him so, that the rest were afraid that he had kill'd him outright. *Gibb* was a big strong Man, for which he was called *Meikle John Gibb*. After this, whenever they began, he ran in behind the Door with his Napkin in his Mouth, and there sat howling like a Dog. I had these Accounts from these Prisoners who were with him

when I was carried into that Iron-house. Immediately after, *John Gibb*, *David Jamie* and the foresaid two were sent to *America*, where *Gibb* was much admired by the Heathen for his familiar Converse with the Devil bodily, and offering Sacrifices to him ; he died there about the Year 1720. *David Jamie* wrote a Letter to his Father in *Linlithgow*, where he was born, desiring him not to trouble himself about Heaven or Hell, for all these Things were Fancies. *John Smith*, that serious solid Christian, who was fourteen Years banish'd there, (who died of late in the Parish of *Carstairs*) carried that Letter, and delivered it to his Father : When the good old Man read it, he fainted ; but *David Jamie*, being a Piece of a Schollar, got himself into publick Clerking, and a few Years ago was Clerk in the Town of *New-York* in *New-England* : I saw his Name at Doctor *Nicol's* Commission here, for a publick Collection for building of a Church there.

Thus I have given a full and true Account of the Rise, Steps, and monstrous Lengths, and frightful End of these *Gibbites* ; which may be a Warning to the present and following Ages, to tremble and be afraid of coming under the Power of such demented delirious Delusions ; and whereby all may see, that the Man of God (blest *Cargill*) was not mistaken in all that he did foresee and foretel about them.

9thly, After that Conference with the *Gibbites* at *Darngavel*, the next Sabbath-day he preached two miles beneath *Lanark*, in the *Under-bankwood* upon *Clydeside*, upon that Text, *I have set Watchmen upon thy Walls* ; where he lamented that it had been the great Sin of the Church of *Scotland*, in setting up of Watchmen that had little or no Experience of Regeneration,

and had been overly of their Trials, contenting themselves with a Clatter of Gifts and Learning: And lamented also that so many Watchmen were fled off the Walls, and deserted their Posts, frightened as if they were blasted or thunder-slain. He stayed for some time in that Wood.

In the Beginning of *May* 1681, *Gavin Wotherspoon* and *John Stewart*, both my Acquaintances, two serious, zealous Christians, and great Sufferers, came unto him: The Braes being steep, & the Woods close, he inquired if there was any Appearance of Rain; They said, they saw none. He said, *These Braes look very burnt like*, being a cold East Drought. *Gavin* said, *We fear, if the Lord send not Rain, there will be a Scarcity of Bread.* He said, *I have been thinking upon that since I came into this Wood; but if I be not under a Delusion* (for this was his ordinar Way of speaking when he gave his Thoughts of what was to come) *you need not fear that, as long as this Persecution lasts: For the Lord hath a greater Respect to his own Suffering People, than to suffer such a rough Wind to blow in such an East Wind; for, if that were, the heavy End of that Stroke would come upon his own People. For me, I am to die shortly by the Hand of this bloody Enemy; but you that outlive this Persecution, as I am of the Mind you will both do* (which they both did, and saw the said Accomplishment) *you will see Cleanness of Teeth, and mony a black pale Face, which shall put mony Thousands to their Graves in Scotland, with unheard-of Natures of Fluxes and Fevers, and otherwise; and there shall be great Distress in the Land, and Wrath upon this People.* *Mr. Peden* did foresee and foretell the same Things, but in his own peculiar Way of expressing himself, saying, *As long as the Lads are upon the Hills, and in Glens and*

Caves, you will have Bonnocks o'er Night ; but, if once they were beneath the Beild of the Brae, you will have clean Teeth, and mony a black and pale Face in Scotland. The sad Accomplishment of these Sayings will lamentably appear in these following Instances.

(1.) In the Year 1694, in the Month of *August*, that Crop got such a Stroke in one Night by East Mist or Fog standing like Mountains (and where it remained longest and thickest, the badder were the Effects, which all our old Men, that had seen Frost, Blasting and Mildewing, had never seen the like) that it got little more Good of the Ground.

(2.) In *November* that Winter, many were smitten with wasting sore Fluxes, and strange Fevers (which carried many off the Stage) of such a Nature and Manner, that all our old Physicians had never seen the like, and could make no Help ; for all Things that used to be proper Remedies, proved destructive : And this was not to be imputed to bad unwholsom Victual ; for severals, who had Plenty of old Victual, did send to *Glasgow* for *Irish* Meal, and yet were smitten with Fluxes and Fevers in a more violent and infectious Nature and Manner than the poorest in the Land, whose Names and Places where they dwelt I could instance.

(3.) These unheard-of manifold Judgments continued seven Years, not always alike, but the Seasons, *Summer* and *Winter*, so cold and barren, and the wonted Heat of the Sun so much withholden, that it was discernible upon the Cattle, flying Fowls and Insects decaying, that seldom a Fly or Gleg was to be seen : Our Harvests not in the ordinary Months ; many shearing in *November* and *December*, yea, some in *January* and *February* ; The Names of the Places I can instruct : Many contracting their Deaths, and losing the Use of their Feet and Hands

sharing and working amongst it in Frost and Snow ; and after all some of it standing still, and rotting upon the Ground, and much of it for little Use either to Man or Beast, and which had no Taste or Colour of Meal.

(4.) Meal became so scarce, that it was at Two Shillings a Peck, and many could not get it. It was not then with many, *Where will we get Silver ?* but, *Where will we get Meal for Silver ?* I have seen, when Meal was all sold in Markets, Women clapping their Hands, and tearing the Clothes off their Heads, crying, *How shall we go home and see our Children die in Hunger ? They have got no Meat these two Days, and we have nothing to give them.*

(5.) Through the long Continuance of these manifold Judgments, Deaths and Burials were so many and common, that the Living were wearied in the Burying of the Dead. I have seen Corpses drawn in Sleds, many got neither Coffin nor Winding-sheet. I was one of four who carried the Corpse of a young Woman a Mile of Way ; and, when we came to the Grave, an honest poor Man came and said, *You must go and help me to bury my Son, he is lieen dead this two Days ; otherwise I will be obliged to bury him in my own Yard.* We went, and there were eight of us had two Miles to carry the Corpse of that young Man, many Neighbours looking on us, but none to help us. I was credibly informed, That in the North, two Sisters on a *Monday's* Morning were found carrying the Corpse of their Brother on a Barrow with Bearing-ropes, resting themselves many Times, and none offering to help them.

(6.) I have seen some walking about the Sun-setting, and To-morrow about Six a-Clock in the Summer Morning found dead in their Houses, without making any Stir at their Death, their Head lying upon their Hand, with

as great Smell as if they had been four Days dead, the Mice or Rats having eaten a great Part of their Hands and Arms.

(7.) Many had Cleanness of Teeth in our Cities, and Want of Bread in our Borders ; and to some the Staff of Bread was so utterly broken (which makes complete Famine) that they did eat, and were neither satisfied nor nourished : And some of them said to me, That they could mind nothing but Meat, and were nothing bettered by it ; and that they were utterly unconcerned about their Souls, whether they went to Heaven or Hell.

(8.) The nearer and sorer these Plagues seized, the sadder were their Effects, that took away all natural and relative Affections, so that Husbands had no Sympathy with their Wives, nor Wives with their Husbands, Parents with their Children, nor Children with their Parents. These and other Things have made me to doubt if ever any of *Adam's* Race were in a more deplorable Condition, their Bodies and Spirits more low, than many were in these Years.

(9.) The crowning Plague of all these great and manifold Plagues, was, Many were cast down, but few humbled ; great Murmuring, but little Mourning ; many groning under the Effects of Wrath, but few had Sight or Sense of the Causes of Wrath in turning to the Lord : And, as soon as these Judgments were removed, many were lift up, but few thankful ; even these who were as low as any, that outlived these scarce Times, did as lightly esteem Bread, as if they had never known the Worth of it by the Want of it. The great Part turned more and more Gospel-proof, and Judgment-proof ; and the Success of the Gospel took a Stand at that Time in many Places of the Land, but more especially since the Rebellion 1715.

King *William* his Kindness is not to be forgotten, who not only relieved us from Tyranny, but had such a Sympathy with *Scotland*, when in Distress of Famine, that he offered all who would transport Victual to *Scotland*, that they might do it Custom-free, and have 20 Pence of each Boll.

I cannot pass this Occasion of giving Remarks upon some observable Providences that followed these strange Judgments upon Persons who dwelt in low-lying fertile Places, who laid themselves out to raise Markets when at such a Height, and had little Sympathy with the Poor, or these who lived in cold muirish Places, who thought these who lived in these fertile Places had a little Heaven: But soon thereafter their little Heavens were turned into little Hells, by unexpected Providences. Some wrote sixteen Remarks upon that terrible Fire which fell out on the 2 or 3 of *February* 1700, in the *Parliament-Closs* in *Edinburgh*; One was, That most of these People who dwelt there, were rich, and lived sumptuously, and had little Sympathy with the distrest Case of the Land; that their fine Houses, which were eleven Years in building, were in a few Hours turned to a burnt ruinous Heap: But more especially, there was a Farmer in the Parish of *West-Calder*, in which Parish 300 of 900 examinable Persons wasted away, who at that Time was reckoned worth 6000 Merks of Money and Goods, that had very little to spare to the Poor; the Victual lay spoiling in his House and Yard waiting for a greater Price: And two honest Servant-Lasses, whose Names were *Nisbets*, being cast out of Service (for every one could not have it; many said, They got too much Wages that got Meat for their Work) these two Lasses would not steal, and they were ashamed to beg; they crept into an empty House, and sat there

wanting Meat until their Sight was almost gone ; and then they went about a Mile of Way to that Farmer's Yard, and cut four Stocks of Kail to save their Lives: He found them, and drave them before him to the Laird of *Bawds*, who was a Justice of Peace, that he might get them punished. The Laird enquired, What moved them to go by so many Yards, and go to his ? They said, These in their Way were in Straits themselves, and he might best spare them. The Laird said, *Poor conscionable Things, go your Way, I have nothing to say to you.* One of them got Service, and the other died in Want ; it was her Burial I mentioned before, who was carried by us Four. But, lo, in a very few Years, he and his were begging from Door to Door, whom I have served at my Door, and to whom I said, *Who should have Pity and Sympathy with you, who kept your Victual spoiling, waiting for a greater Price, and would spare nothing of your Fulness to the Poor, and was so cruel to the two starving Lasses, that you took Prisoners for four Stocks of Kail to save their Lives ? Ye may read your Sin upon your Judgment, if ye be not blind in the Eyes of your Soul, as ye are of one in your Body, and may be a Warning to all that come after you.* Many yet alive in that Country-side can witness the Truth of all these strange Things.

By these foregoing Relations all may see, that these two Servants of Christ, Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Peden*, were clear-sighted in what they did foresee and tell, which sadly and exactly came to pass about 13 Years after blest *Cargill's* bloody Death: And in seeing and foretelling such strange Things, they were not their alone in these Days. The godly, and zealous, and faithful unto the Death, Mr. *John Blackadder*, whom I mentioned in the preface of Mr. *Peden's* Life, was at the

Cow-hill in the Parish of *Livingstoun*, in the Year 1675, in the Month of *August*: He went out to the Fields in the Evening, being a retired Place; when he came in, he was very melancholy: Some Friends enquired, What moved him to be so sad? He said, He was afraid of a very dangerous infectious Mist to go through the Land that Night, that might have sad Effects, of many Deaths and great Dearth to follow; and desired the Family to close door and Window, and keep them as long closs as they might, and take Notice where the Mist stood thickest and longest, for there they would see the Effects saddest; which they did: And it remained longest upon that town called the *Craigs*, being within their Sight, and only a few Families; and within Four Months thereafter 30 Corpses went out of that Place, and bad Crops followed for three Years, the Meal was at Half a Crown the Peck: But, lo, in the 1678 there was such a Crop, that the *Lothian* Barley was sold at four Pound the Boll, and the Pease at forty Pence; and for that we got Ten thousand *Highlanders*, Five hundred *English* Dragoons, the whole Militia of the Kingdom, and all the standing Forces cast in upon the West of *Scotland* at *Bothwel-bridge*: And, as they said, they came to destroy, and destroy they would; and yet there was Abundance for them all, and the Inhabitants also.

10thly, After Mr. *Cargill* left the *Under-bankwood*, he preached at *Loudoun-hill* upon a Week-day, the 5th of *May*. Historian *Wodrow* says, that it was a Fast-day; but it was not an appointed Fast, however some of them might be obliged to fast. He designed only to preach once, and baptize some Children: His Text was, *No Man that hath followed me in the Regeneration, shall be a Loser, but great Gainers*. In his Conference lately with the *Gibbites*, finding so much of *Peter's* Re-

ligion among them, that they had *left all and followed him*, made him to insist in shewing that it was not every pretended Way of following Christ that he would either regard or reward; holding forth the Danger and Ruin to place so much, if not all, of Religion in these external Parts of Christianity, as Prayers, Fastings and Mournings, and Contendings for the Testimony: For Sufferings for the same, tho' they were Duties in themselves, yet whoever rested upon them would have a cold Coal to blow at in the End: Nothing is ours but Sin, nor due to us, but the Wages of it, Death. In the Application of that Sermon, he gave Warning of the Snares and Sins of the *Gibbites* and their Actings, and how dangerous it was to cast off all Ministers; and exhorted us to pray for faithful Ministers to ourselves, and never content ourselves without them; for we would not continue long sound in the Faith, and straight in the Way, if we wanted faithful Guides. And, for all the Respect that these divided Parties of Dissenters, or rather Schismatics and Separatists, pretend to Mr. *Cargill, Cameron, Shiels* and *Rennick*, and every one of them to be their Successors, and maintaining the Testimony which they sealed with their Blood; How little do they notice the sententious Writings and Sayings of these Worthies? And I am perswaded, if they were upon the Stage this Day, that none would speak, preach and write more against all the divided Parties of them, and their Anti-scriptural, wild, unprecedented Principles and Practices: And these that cast off all Ministers this Day in *Scotland*, if they had been living through all the Periods of this Church, would never have embraced any as their Ministers, nor none in other Churches this Day through the World. It was one of the sententious Sayings of the Reverend Mr. *James*

Kirkton, in his Pulpit in *Edinburgh*, insisting upon *Scotland's* singular Privileges above all other Churches for a long Time, *That there had been Ministers in Scotland that had the Gift of working Miracles, and prophesying, which he could instruct; and that he had heard French, Dutch, English, Irish, and other Ministers preach; and yet there have been and are Ministers in Scotland that preach more from the Heart, and to the Heart, than any that ever he had heard.* And I have sometimes heard the worthy *Mr. Shiels* say, when he spoke of his Travels through the World, *That the Ill of Scotland he found every where, but the Good of Scotland he found no where.*

When the Sermon was ended, and Children baptized, there came up no Children. Friends prest him to preach in the Afternoon, contrary to his Inclination; which he did, upon that Text, *Weep not for me, &c.* When praying, there came a Herd-Lad, crying, *The Enemies are coming upon you.* They had out no Sentinels that Day, which was not their ordinary; they were so surprized, that some that had been at *Pentland, Bothwel,* and *Airdsmoss*, and in other great Dangers, were never so seized with Fear: Some of the Women threw their Children from them, and *Mr. Cargill* in the Confusion was running straight upon the Enemy. *Gavin Wotherspoon* and other Friends gripped him, and hal'd him into the Moss to which the People fled; also the Dragoons fired hard upon them, but there were none either kill'd or taken that Day. The Ball went through *Patrick Foreman's* Hair, but his Head was safe, his Hour not being yet come, and that neither the Time nor Place that he was to die (whose was one of the five Sculls which were reburied after 45 Years, which before I have given a full Account of.)

11thly, About this Time some spoke to him, that he preached and pray'd short ; who said, *O Sir, 'tis long betwixt Meals, and we are in a starving Condition : All is good, sweet and wholsom, which ye deliver ; but why do you straiten us so much for Shortness ?* He said, *Ever since I bowed a Knee in good Earnest to pray, I never durst pray and preach with my Gifts ; and where my Heart is not affected, and comes not up with my Mouth, I always thought it Time for me to quit it : What comes not from my Heart, I have little Hope that it will go to the Heart of others.* Then repeated these Sentences of the 51 Psalm, *Then will I teach Transgressors thy Way, and Sinners shall be converted unto thee.* When was this *then* ? just when he had the Experience of the foregoing Things. If all this were studied and practised, there would be fewer Preachers, and shorter Preachings, and fewer and shorter Prayers amongst Professors ; they would not sleep and wake People, gasping and gollering, and few understanding what they are saying, as if they were to be heard for much Speaking, or as if God could not or would not hear without they cry loud, and loving to hear themselves speak, and others to admire and adore them : But these who are long and loud in Publick for ordinary, will be seldom and short in Secret ; and when they are, they will extend their Voice, that others may hear them ; which is expressly forbidden. When we enter into our Closets, we may hear ourselves, but no other. If that loud Way of praying in Secret had been practised by our Sufferers in throng Prisons, especially in *Dunnotar-Castle*, there would have been a frightful confused Noise amongst them, to confuse one another, and to expose them to the Mockage of the World as mad Men. I am

sure it was the only straitning Thing to Sufferers, especially when under Sentence of Death, and upon their dying Days, when they could not get out their Breath.

12thly, When he went from *Loudoun-hill*, he passed through the Shire of *Air, Carrick*, and into *Galloway*, preaching, baptizing and marrying, but stayed a short Time there. When he left *Galloway*, he said, *Farewel, Galloway, for I will never come back to thee again: Thou art now Galloway, but thou wilt become a Wallaway, and I fear other Shires in the South and West of Scotland be little better.* Mr. *Peden*, had the same Expressions.

13thly, He came to *Clydsdale*, where he took most Delight, and had greatest Liberty in Preaching and Praying, and several other Ministers at that Time in the same. He designed to have preached at *Tinto-hill*, but the Lady of *St. John's Kirk* got Notice, and wrote to some publick Men that he was to preach at *Home's Common*, in the Back of *Coulter Heights*: He was that Night in *John Liddel's* in *Heidmire*, near *Tinto-hill*; he went early in the Sabbath-Morning to it, thinking to spend the Morning alone; but, when he saw the People passing on, he called to some of them, and enquired where they were going; they told him. He said That's the Lady's Policy to get us at some Distance from her House; but she will be discovered.

When Mr. *Cargill* saw none of the People staying with him, he rose and followed them five Miles. The Morning being very warm, in the Beginning of *June*, and the Heights very steep, a full Mile; he was very much stress'd ere he wan to the Place. I saw a Man give him a Drink of Water in his Bonnet, and

another betwixt Sermons, which was the best Entertainment he got that Day, and had tasted nothing that Morning.

He lectured that Day upon the 6th of *Isaiah*, upon which he had many sententious Sayings, I remember, from that Word, *Whom shall I send? and who will go for us?* He said, To speak with holy Reverence, we see that the Trinity of Heaven may be at a Stand, where to get a fit Messenger to carry the Message; the Prophet said, *Here am I, send me:* 'Tis like, if he had known what he was to do, he would not have been so forward; For, if an honest-hearted Minister might refuse any Errand that God sent him, it would be *to denounce Judgments upon a People*, especially spiritual: But the Hand of God was here; And, when he got his Commission to preach to that People, and they grew more and more deaf and blind, he cried out, *How long?* And the Answer was returned, *Until the City be without Inhabitants, and the Land utterly desolate.* After he insisted a little in explaining these Words, he said, groaning deeply, If he knew any Thing of the Mind of God, this is the Commission that we are getting, and the Commission that Ministers will get, to preach the greater Part of the Generation more and more deaf and blind. And preach who will, and pray who will, this Deafness and this Blindness shall remain until many habitable Places of *Scotland* be as waste and desolate as these Mountains (looking to them with a very weary Countenance.) But remember I am setting no Time to this, we know not what Manner of Spirits we are of; a Thousand Years appear in his Sight as one Day, and a delayed Thing was neither forgot nor forgiven; and the longer delay'd, the sorer when it comes. It will be a Midnight Cry, the Foolish sound asleep, and the

Wise slumbering, and will come upon you as a Thunder-clap. He went on to the following Verse, *Yet in it shall be a Tenth, who shall be as the Oak, which hath the Substance in the Root.* And from that he asserted, that, as the Lord had preserved a Remnant, through all the Periods of the Church; so he would preserve a Remnant that would ride out all these Winter-Storms.

He preached upon that Word in the Forenoon, *Be not high-minded, but fear.* His first Note was, *That these who knew themselves best, would fear themselves most;* And that, as it was hard to determine what a Length a Hypocrite may gang in the Profession of Religion, it was as hard to determine what a Length a Child of God may go in Defection, having Grace, but wanting the Exercise thereof; And that a Christian might go through Nineteen Trials, and carry honestly in them, and fall in the Twentieth. *While in the Body, be not high-minded, but fear.* I am not speaking this of these wretched Creatures, Wo to them; some of them are nothing but Devils, and many of them are misled: For the Lord's Sake, look not to these, I mean *John Gibb* and his Company. In the Afternoon he was upon that Word, *The Devil is come down, having great Wrath;* of which I have given some Notes before, but must not insist, otherwise it would swell above my Reach to publish.

14thly, The next Sabbath-Day he preached at the *Bendry-Bridge*, betwixt *Clydsdale* and *Lothian*. He lectured in *Zechariah*, on *Joshua* standing before the Angel; and preached in the Forenoon upon that Word, *Gird thy Sword upon thy Thigh, and ride prosperously.* His first Note was, *That no sooner Christ became All and all to a Soul, but the next Wish of that Soul is, O*

that he were thus to all the World! And let never none think that they are in a right Exercise of true Religion, that want Zeal for God's publick Glory: And in the Afternoon upon that Word, *What will you do in the Day of Visitation? where will you flee for Help? and where will you leave your Glory?* From that he said, What would all that knew not God and obey not the Gospel do? for he was coming with flaming Fire to take Vengeance upon all such: And what would all wicked Laws Inventors, Enactors and Executers do, and all iniquous Law-obeyers and Keepers do? Where would they flee for Help? and where will they leave their ill-gotten Glory?

15thly, From the *Bendry-bridge* he went to *Fife*, and baptized many Children, and preached only one Sabbath at the *Lomond-Hills*, and hasted back to *Clydsdale*, and came to the *Benty-rig* in *Cambusnethen* Parish, where two Friends, sent from the Societies in *Galloway*, to call him back there to preach and baptize, were. After he enquired for their Welfare and Friends in *Galloway*, he said, Have your Friends in *Galloway* any Thoughts or Fears of the *Frenches* or other Foreigners coming upon you? They said, No. He rose and went out, being a desert Place, to a Moss-Hag, being the best Chamber ofttimes that he, *Cameron*, *Renwick* and *Sheils* had in these Days, who displayed the publick Banner of the Gospel, after *Bothwel-bridge*. It was but a short Time that he stayed in Company and Converse. These two *Galloway* Men said to other Friends, in that Bounds, who were my very dear Acquaintance, who told me, Why does the Minister speir such a Question at us? These Friends said, Enquire at himself, for we find this is his ordinar with Friends who have been any Time out of his Company. When he came in, they

said, We have been thinking upon what you said to us, and we cannot understand what you mean by it. After musing a little, for that was his ordinar, especially when they enquired any Thing concerning the Times, He said, If I be not under a Delusion, (for that was his ordinar also, when he spake of Things to come) the *French* and other Foreigners, with wicked unhappy Men in this Land, will be your Stroke; and it will come in such a Nick of Time, when one of these Nations will not be in a Capacity to help one another; for me, I am to die shortly by the Hand of these Murderers, and will not see it. I know not how the Lord's People will endure it, that have it to meet with; but the Foresight and Forethought of it make me to tremble. And then, as his ordinar was, as it had been to himself, said, Short but very sharp.

16thly, There were two very young Lads, who were my very dear Billies, whose Converse and Prayers together have been very edifying to me, and the Remembrance of it to this Day is savoury, who lived in the *Starry-shaw* very near that *Benty-rig* where he was, *Thomas* and *John Marshals*, to whom he said at that same Time, Lads, ye had meikle Need to pray in earnest, you have a sharp Storm to meet with, and many strange Faces to see, and your Bones shall ly in a strange Land: This came to pass 3 Years thereafter in *December* 1684, about the same Time that I fell into the Enemies Hands. *Meldrum*, that wicked Persecuter, whom the World hath heard of, apprehended them and carried them to *Glasgow*. *Walter Gibson* Merchant there got a Gift of them and other Twenty eight, who starved and poisoned them with little and bad Victuals, above all that ever I heard of that carried our Banished to *foreign Lands*: Few of them in that Ship lived any Time in

Carolina; *Thomas* died in a little Time after their landing there, *John* lived for some Time after, and died there also. That which was the Occasion of our Banish'd being carried to so many different Places in the World, was, In these Days there were *Scots* Regiments in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*; and, when their Men decayed, Officers came home seeking Recruits; hearing of Prisoners that were under Banishment, got Gifts of them from the wicked bloody Counsellors, and carried them to these Places. Then Merchants, such as *Gibson* in *Glasgow*, and *Malloch* in *Edinburgh*, *Pitlochie* a Laird in *Fife*, and many others got Gifts of them (and, as the old Saying is, Cocks are free of other Folks Corn) who transported them to *Carolina*, *New-Jersey*, *Jamaica*, and *Barbadoes*, to be their Slaves; but none of them made their Plack a Babee with trading in such Wares, which confirms what that singular Christian *James Clarkson* Merchant in *Linlithgow*, whom the foresaid *Malloch* got a Gift of with other Thirteen, said, when banish'd on Ship-board on the Roads at *Leith*, to which I was a Witness, We are the best baddest Wares that ever *Malloch* had in his Pack-sheet; and if *Malloch*, or any other that trade in such Wares, be not great Losers, I am far mistaken.

17thly, In that short Time that blest *Cargill* had to run, he ran fast on Foot, having lost several Horses in his remarkable Escapes. Wherever he was called in several Times and different Places of the Land, when he sat down for Rest, being old and weary, he took a Look of the many Gentlemens Buildings, and said, Your Lords, Lairds and Gentlemen are making brave Houses and large Parks; they may build at Leisure, it will not be long many of them will possess their Houses, which have been Nests of Wickedness and Uncleaness: They

have dipt their Hands in the Persecution and deep Compliance, but few of them have had a Fur of Land to spare for the Interest of Christ, and it will go a worse Gate, and their Inheritance will vomit out their Names. The Accomplishment of this Saying cannot pass the Observation of any who see with half an Eye, being so universal : And their own sad Experience can testify, that since that Time, being now Forty nine Years since his Death, no Estates of Hundreds of Years standing have changed Masters than did for a Hundred Years before, almost in all Corners of the Land. Besides these lamentable holding Reasons that he gave, several Reasons and Occurrences have fallen out since, to bring it to pass, such as, we always bear the Name of the poor proud *Scots* through the World ; And, as our Poverty increaseth, so our Pride, Vanity, Prodigality and Ambition grow of airy fool Stiles and Titles. We were all once fairly ranked in our Solemn National Covenants, as Noblemen, Gentlemen, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons of all Ranks: But since these Covenants were broken, burnt, and cast by as Almanacks out of Date, we are all gone out of Rank and File ; the Honour due to the Superior is given to the Inferior ; our Goodman and Goodwife is turned Sir and Mistress, and our Sir and Mistress to your Honour and Madam : Since the Rebellion 1715, and since the Stock-jobbing, a foolish Haste to be rich hath made many poor ; and many other Ways and Things, living above their Stations and Incomes, and spending their Money on Gaming, Wine and Women, have brought it to pass. There are some Sentences in the End of our National Covenant, that may strike Terror to the Hearts of all Ranks ; such as, *We call the living God, the Searcher of our Hearts, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere Desire, and un-*

feigned Resolution : As we shall answer to Jesus Christ at the great Day ; and, under the Pains of God's everlasting Wrath, and of Infamy and Loss of all Honour and Respect in this World.

18thly, The next Sabbath after he went from the foresaid *Benty-rig*, he preached at *Auchingilloch*, in the South-side of *Clydsdale*, and then returned to *Clyde*. The Week before he was taken, he was in the *Lee-wood*, where he married *Robert Marshal* of *Starryshaw*, Brother to the foresaid *Thomas* and *John Marshals*. After they were gone from him, *Marion Coupar* Spouse to *John Weir*, who dwelt in the *Mains-of-Lee*, two solid Christians and Sufferers in that Time, brought his Dinner to him in the Wood : In the Time thereof he said, What hath induced *Robert* to marry this Woman ? This Woman's Ill will overcome his Good, he will not keep the Way long, his thriving Days are done ; which sadly came to pass in every Jot. A little Time thereafter he was taken and put in Prison, fell in foul Compliance with the Enemies, went home and heard the Curates, and other Steps of Defection, and became lightly esteemed. This was the last Marriage that he performed, in which both he, *Peden*, *Cameron*, and *Renwick*, took as little Delight as in any Piece of their Ministerial Work, although they would neither dissuade nor refuse, having such a deep Concern upon their Spirits, and looking upon it as an Evidence of Unconcernedness with the many grievous Things in that Day, and of such a Tendency to increase their Afflictions : Some of them shortly thereafter were taken, hanged, shot and banished ; their Wives and Children put from their Houses, having no certain Dwelling-place ; all which I can instruct, some of all these being my Acquaintance.

When *Marion* was pressing him to eat, he said, Let alone, I cannot be press'd; for I took not that Meal of Meat these Thirty Years, but what I could have taken as much when I rose as when I sat down.

19thly, I had the Happiness to hear blest Mr. *Cargill* preach his last publick Sermons, (as I had several Times before, for which, while I live, I desire to bless the Lord) in *Dunsyre-Common*, betwixt *Clydsdale* and *Lothian*, where he lectured upon the I Chap. of *Jer.* and preached upon that Soul-refreshing Text, *Isa.* 26. two last Verses, *Come, my People, enter into your Chambers,* &c. Wherein he was short, marrowy and sententious, as his Ordinary was in all his publick Sermons and Prayers, with the greatest Evidences of Concernedness, exceeding all that ever I heard open a Mouth, or saw open a Bible to preach the Gospel, with the greatest Indignation at the Unconcernedness of Hearers. He preached from Experience, and went to the Experience of all that had any of the Lord's gracious Dealing with their Souls. It came from his Heart, and went to the Heart; as I have heard some of our Common Hearers say, That he spake as never Man spake, for his Words went through them.

He insisted what Kind of Chambers these were of Protection and Safety, and exhorted us all earnestly to dwell in the Clifts of the Rock, to hide ourselves in the Wounds of Christ, and to wrap ourselves in the believing Application of the Promises, flowing therefrom; and to make our Refuge under the Shadow of his Wings, until these sad Calamities pass over, and the Dove come back with the *Olive-Leaf* in her Mouth. These were the last Words of his last Sermon.

20thly, Sometime that Night having several Miles to travel, not daring to leave that Desert-place until it was

dark, for Fear of Enemies ; It was contrary to his Inclination to go that Way, but the Lady of *St. John's Kirk* was present, who had Influence upon *Mr. Smith* and *Mr. Boig*, who prevailed with him : Notwithstanding of her great Profession, he was always jealous of her, and would not go to her House, and several Times said, *Whatever End she might make, there would be foul wide Steps in her Life.* That Lady not only followed the persecuted Gospel, but also frequented private Society-meetings ; particularly with these two old singular Christians, *Thomas Johnston* in *Grangehall* in *Pettinain*, and *Francis Liverance* in *Coventoun*, who were both my Acquaintances. She several Times said to them and others, That, if ever she turned from the Way of the Lord, she knew not what she would make of these three Scriptures, *viz. Heb. 6. Being once enlightened, &c. Heb. 10. Sinning wilfully, &c.* and that in *2 Pet. 2 Chapter, It had been better for them, &c.* Yet after that, when hard came to hard in the two Slaughter-Years of 1684 and 85, she turned so far out of the Way, that she became a Persecutor, and would suffer none to dwell in her Land that would not hear the Plagued Curates, nor take the Oath of Abjuration. The two foresaid worthy Christians went together, to know what she made of the foresaid Scriptures ; but she would give them no Access, by causing shut the Gates upon them, it being about the Middle of *January 1687.* *Mr. Cargill* went along with her the Length of *Coringtoun-mill*, to the House of *Andrew Fisher* and his Spouse *Elisabeth Lindsay*, my Acquaintance, about a Mile from her House, near *Tinto-hill*, but would go no further.

21stly, *James Irvine* of *Bonshaw*, who formerly made a Trade of fine Horses, of outfang and infang betwixt the Kingdoms, that being discovered, he came to the

Council and General *Dalziel*, and got a general Commission, altho' he was no Officer. All then knew that the wickedest and vilest of Men were then employed, that wherever he was informed by the cursed Intelligencers, that any of the Lord's suffering People were hiding, that the Forces, Foot and Horse, were to ride and march at his Command. Accordingly that Sabbath-night, at the Sun-setting, he mounted with a Party of Dragoons from *Kilbride*, and the next Morning at the Sun-rising he came to *St. John's Kirk* 20 Miles, and searched that House narrowly; then came to *James Thomson's* in the *Muirhouse*, and searched it. Many reflected upon the foresaid Lady, that she, leaving these Worthies a few Hours before that, in the Time they were searching her own House and *James Thomson's*, which took some Time, did not send and advertise them, being a Mile distant. Next, he came to *Covington-Mill*, and surrounded that House and Chamber, two Beds being in it, where I have rested sometimes since, where they were lying, not fallen fast asleep: when he found them, he cried out, Oh blessed *Bonshaw!* and blessed Day that ever he was born, that has found such a Prize this Morning; this he did and said, out of his great Wickedness, and Prospect of the rich Reward that was set on the Head of *Mr. Cargill*, to any that would apprehend him either quick or dead, which was 6000 Merks.

22dly, They marched hard to *Lanark*, and put the Prisoners in the Tolbooth, until the Soldiers got Meat and Drink; they got Horses, brought them out in Haste, and set them on their bare Backs. *Bonshaw* with his own Hand tied *Mr. Cargill's* Feet below the Horse's Belly very hard; he looked down to him, and said, Why do you ty me so hard? Your Wickedness is great, you

will not long escape the just Judgment of God ; and, if I be not mistaken, it will seize upon you in this Place.

23dly, They hasted to *Glasgow* 16 Miles, fearing the Prisoners had been taken from them, which many of the Lord's zealous People would willingly have ventured their All to have delivered their Brethren drawn unto Death, and those that are ready to be slain, *Prov. 24. 11, &c.* But their Taking being so surprising, and their March so hasty, that they could not be conveened ; When they came near the City, they turned him upon the Horse, and led him in backward ; which made many to weep to see their old Minister in that Posture, he being for some Years settled Minister in the *Barony-Kirk* ; and some Wicked to rejoice. When they came to the Tolbooth, they halted until the Magistrates came to receive them. *John Nisbet*, Bishop *Paterson* of *Glasgow's* Factor, looking over the Stair, out of his great Wickedness, merrily said, Mr. *Cargill*, (three Times over in Sport) *In Effect will you not give us one Word more?* This he said, because Mr. *Cargill* in Publick sometimes said, *In Effect we will say that one Word, or, I have one Word more to say.* Mr. *Cargill* looked to him, and with much Concernedness said, Wicked poor Man, why do you mock ? ere you die, you will desire one Word, and will not get it. Shortly thereafter he was struck dumb, his Tongue swelling in his Mouth. *Robert Goodwin* and *John Hodge*, two *Glasgow-men*, who were Witnesses to this, and went to visit him lying in that Case, told me this when in Prison, in the Years 1684 and 85, in the *Canongate* and *Edinburgh*. *Robert Goodwin* desired him to write what stopt him from speaking, and if he had a great Desire to speak. He wrote, *That it was a just Judgment from the Lord, and the Sayings of the*

Minister verified upon him, for his mocking of him; and, if he had the whole World, he would give it for the Use of his Tongue again: But that he never got.

24thly, *Bonshaw* hasted to *Edinburgh* with his Prisoners. When *Mr. Cargill* came before the Council, Chancellor *Rothes* raged against him, being one of the Seven whom he had excommunicated at the *Torwood* the preceeding Year, and gave them over to their Father the Devil, whose Works they did, and to whose Service they had dedicated themselves. *Rothes* threatened him with extraordinary Torture and violent Death. He said, My Lord *Rothes*, forbear to threaten me; for, die what Death I will, your Eyes will not see it: And 'tis well known to some yet alive, that he died that Morning that *Mr. Cargill*, and these Worthies with him, suffered in the Afternoon. Shortly after this Compearance of *Mr. Cargill* before the Council, *Rothes* was seized with Sicknes and Pains; and when he found the Pangs of Death turning sharp upon him, he cried out for some of his Wife's Ministers, (she being a Favourer of Presbyterian Ministers) for his Ministers were good to live with, but not to die with. He sent for old *Mr. John Carstairs*, who with *Mr. George Johnston* came to him. *Mr. Carstairs* dealt very faithfully and freely with him, rehearsing many wicked Acts of his Life: To whom he said, *We all thought little of what that Man did, in excommunicating us; but I find that Sentence binding upon me now, and will bind to Eternity.* When *Mr. Johnston* was praying, several Noblemen and Bishops being in the next Room, some of them said to the Bishops, *He is a Presbyterian Minister that is praying; the Devil anc of you can pray as they do, tho' your Prayers would keep a Soul out of Hell.* *Rothes* roring so loud under the Horror of Con-

science, for his active wicked Life in persecuting, made these Noblemen leave him weeping. *William Duke of Hamilton* said, *We banish these Men from us, and yet, when dying, we call for them ; this is a melancholy Work.*

25thly, Mr. Cargill, and these Martyrs murdered with him, got their Indictments with Sound of Trumpet: When they ended their Sound, he said, *That's a weary Sound, but the Sound of the last Trumpet will be a joyful Sound to me, and all that will be found having on Christ's Righteousness.*

26thly, While in Prison, a Gentlewoman visiting him, told him weeping, That the Heaven-daring Enemies were contriving and proposing an extraordinary violent Death for him ; some, a Barrel with many Pikes to roll him in, others an Iron-Chair, to heat it red hot for his Body to roast and burn there: He said, Let you, nor none of the Lord's People be troubled for these Things ; for all that they will get Liberty to do to me, will be to knit me up, cut me down, and chop off my old Head ; and then fare them well, they have done with me, and I with them for ever.

27thly, When he and these with him came to get their Sentence of Death, their Indictments were read, wherein they had these Sentences, as their common Form then was, *viz. Having cast off all Fear of God, and acted so and so, and therefore deserved to be punished so and so:* He said to the Clerk, *Halt ;* and, pointing to Apostate Sir George Mackenzie then Advocate, said, *The Man that has caused that Paper to be drawn in that Form, hath done it contrary to the Light of his own Conscience ; for he knows I have been a Fearer of God from my Infancy ; But, I say, the Man that took the holy Bible in his Hand, and said, That it would*

never be well with the Land until that Book was destroyed, *with many other wicked Expressions and Actions in his Life ; I say, he is the Man that has cast off all Fear of God.* The Advocate storm'd at this ; but did not deny the Truth of it, knowing that he had thus expressed himself, in some of his wicked mad Fits. There is yet alive an old Reverend Minister in the South of *Scotland*, was Witness to this, and can assert the Truth of it, who several Times since hath said, That he admired the Composedness and Confidence of *Mr. Cargill.* While in Prison he had written at more large, tho' he was short, marrowy and sententious in preaching, praying, and writing, as may be seen in his few publick Letters, his last short Speech, and what he spoke upon the Scaffold, published in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, which I wish from my Heart that all the Lord's People would narrowly and seriously peruse ; they have been very useful and edifying to me and to many others. His more large Paper was taken from him, by the wicked cursed Keepers of that Time ; his short Speech left behind him, he wrote that Morning before he died, before eight of the Clock that the Doors were opened, and was to suffer that Day.

28thly, He and these Worthies murdered with him got their Sentence of Death the Day before, wherein these admirable and very rare Sentences are to be found, *viz. That that Day was the most joyful Day in all his Life ; and, That he had not been without an Assurance of his Interest in Christ these thirty Years, nor long out of his Presence ; and, That he never durst undertake to preach Christ and Salvation to others, until he was sure of his own.* Oh ! if all our Ministers had taken this Course, there had been less Defection among us ; and, *That it was long since he durst have ventured*

upon *Death and Eternity*, but *Death* remained somewhat terrible, but now the *Terror* of that was taken away; and by *Vertue* of the *Mercies* of *God*, and *Merits* of *Christ*, he had a *Conscience* as quiet and calm as if he had never sinned. When he came to the Scaffold and Foot of the Ladder, he blessed the Lord with uplifted Hands, that he was thus near the Crown; and when setting his Foot upon the Ladder to go up to embrace the bloody Rope, he said, *The Lord knows, I go up this Ladder with less Fear, Confusion, or Perturbation of Mind, than ever I entred a Pulpit to preach.* He was first turned over: Mr. *Smith*, as he did cleave to him in Love and Unity in Life, so he died with his Face upon his Breast; next Mr. *Boig*, then *William Cuthil* and *William Thomson*: These five Worthies hang all on one Gibbet at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, on that never to be forgotten bloody Day, the 27th of *July* 1681. The Enemies got this great Glut of Blood, the Day before the Down-sitting of the Parliament, wherein the Duke of *York* did preside as Commissioner. The Hangman hash'd and hagg'd off all their Heads with an Ax. Mr. *Cargill's*, Mr. *Smith's*, and Mr. *Boig's* Heads were fixed upon the *Netherbow-port*, *William Cuthil's* and *William Thomson's* upon the *West-port*.

29thly, The wicked, cursed of God, and hated of all right-thinking Men, *Bonshaw*, got not his Reward of 6000 Merks, till the next Year in *May*, the Price of innocent Blood, precious Blood, dear Blood, Blood that cries both loud and long; How shall or can the Tyranny of Shedding innocent Blood, and Defections of all Ranks in those Days, be forgot? Shortly thereafter he came to *Lanark*, where he and one of his cursed Comerads fell a fighting; his Comerad thrust him through the

Belly with a Sword, where Blood and Dirt ran out. This Account I had from several worthy Persons, who were Witnesses to both the Threatnings of the Man of God, when he tied him hard, and to the Accomplishment thereof. *Bonshaw's* last Words were, *God damn his Soul eternally, for he was gone. Mischief shall hunt the violent Man till he be ruined*; which makes good the old Scots Saying, *Such Life, such End with the most Part.*

Whoso desires to be further informed of the Life and Death of blest *Cargill*, let them peruse the Relations that are given of him by Mr. *Shiels*, in *The Hind-let-loose*, and in *the Cloud of Witnesses*. His last Testimony, and what he spake upon the Scaffold, his marrowy sententious Letters to several Prisoners when under Sentence of Death, and his Letter to the *Gibbites* in the *Correction-house*, and his Letter to his Parish, yet in the Hands of some, are to be found in *the Cloud of Witnesses*.

30thly, When that blest singular Christian, zealous and faithful Minister and Martyr, Mr. *Cargill*, was first apprehended and brought before the Council, they were very fierce and furious against him, especially Chancellor *Roths*: But these that were in Council, and heard what Mr. *Cargill* said to him, and saw and heard what *Roths* said when he was dying, roaring under Horror of Conscience, and his Bed shaking, put a Fright upon their Spirits, and drew Tears from their Eyes, which verified what he said at the *Fala-hill* on the Sabbath after the Excommunication, as before-related, and made them to propose in Council, *That he was old, and had done all the Ill he would do, to let him go to the Bass, and be Prisoner there during Life.* It was put to the

Vote, and *Argyle* said, *Let him go to the Gallows, and die like a Traitor* ; which cast the Votes upon him to die, as I said before.

The Parliament sat down the Day following, *July 28*, which framed the cursed *Test*, with seven contradictory Oaths in it, which *Argyle* took with Explication. This did not satisfy the Duke of *York* and others, looking upon him with an ill Eye, because of his Father's being active in our Reformation ; he was immediately clapt up Prisoner in the Castle, out of which he escaped the 20th Day of *December* following : He fled South to the Border, where he met with Mr. *Veitch*, late Minister in *Dumfries*, who conducted him through the Country to the House of Mr. *Bittleston*, near *Newcastle*. After they were set down, Mr. *Bittleston* enquired Mr. *Veitch's* News, being his Acquaintance. *Argyle* being a Stranger, disguised in coarse Clothes, Mr. *Bittleston* said, I have received a Letter just now from *Scotland*, that *Argyle* was escaped out of the Castle ; of which I am very glad, if it be certain. Mr. *Veitch* said, He doubted not the Certainty of it : They insisted both in expressing their Joy at the News. Mrs *Bittleston*, being present, said, I cannot be so much taken up with these News as you are ; I know that House of *Argyle* was a good House for our Reformation, and his Father suffered for it ; but, for himself, he hath been a Member of that wicked bloody Council these eighteen Years, where many a wicked Thing hath been acted and done : But, above all, it was his wicked Vote that took away the Life of our worthy dear Friend, singular Mr. *Cargill* : And I am sure his Blood may ly heavy on him now, and make him have a melancholly Flight and Hiding. *Argyle* made no Reply. After they had got a Drink, she conveyed them to different

Rooms ; after some Time she went to *Argyle's Room*, being the greatest Stranger. He had laid down a fine Watch and Night-cap upon the Table, which did not answer his Clothes ; he had opened up himself, which perfumed the Room. She came quickly back to her Husband, and said, I am perswaded this is *Argyle*. He said, I am of the same Mind ; but you are oft-times o'er plain in your Discourse. She said, No, no ; 'tis good speaking to him now in the Day of his Distress ; if we were once set down to Dinner, I shall use more Freedom. In the Time thereof they came to speak of his Escape again ; she took the Occasion, and told all the ill Things she heard about him. He said, *Argyle* will not free himself of many of these Things ; but he is not so guilty of them all as the World reports him to be. After this, Mr. *Veitch* told them, That it was *Argyle*, and that he resolved for *London*. He then put himself in another Dress, but could not have a fine Horse. Mr. *Bittleston* gifted him his Gelding, and sent his Son *John* to convoy them, who gave me this Account when he returned. *Argyle* gave him a little Purse and thirty Guineas in it : When he came to his Father, he gave the Purse to him ; his Father said, *Johnnie*, if I had known this, you should not have gone your Foot-length with them ; there's more here than my Horse is worth. Mr. *Veitch* convey'd him to *London*. When Mr. *Veitch* parted with him, he said to him, Give my Love and Service to all Friends where we have been, but especially to my free-communing Landlady Mrs. *Bittleston*. From that he went to *Holland*, and was abroad until the Middle of *May 1685*, and then came to *Inverary* with some Men and many notable Arms. *Monmouth* came to *England* that same Summer.

After *Argyle* landed, one Morning walking at the Water-side very sad, Mr. *Thomas Urquhart*, who suffered in the *Grass-market* that same Summer, came to him, and said, I am sorry to see your Lordship so melancholly. He said, How can I be otherwise, I see few coming to our Assistance ; I am perswaded I will be called, Infatuate *Argyle* : But all that does not trouble me so much, as that unhappy wicked Vote I gave against that good Man and Minister, Mr. *Cargill* ; and now I am perswaded I'll die a violent Death, in that same Spot where he died, which came to pass in *July* thereafter, when he was beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

Some say that he spoke of that Vote to some Friends that Morning before he died, That, above all Things in his Life, that lay heaviest upon him. Some yet alive can assert the Truth of this Relation, to whom Mr. *Urquhart* told this, immediately after *Argyle* exprest himself thus, and who came from *Holland* with them.

This may let all see the Danger of high Stations in the World, and publick Posts, especially in evil Times.

I have seen some of Mr. *Cargill's* Sermons in Writ, but I never saw none as he spake them ; and I have been much pressed to publish them, and other old Sermons, which I dare not do, upon several Considerations ; knowing that Sermons would have past then, and very edifying, which will not pass now in this critick and censorious Age without Reflections ; not knowing how they were taken from their Mouth, nor what Hands they have come through since. There is a Sermon of singular Mr. *Renwick's* lately published, and titled, *The Lord's Return to Scotland*, (without either Time or Place, when

or where) upon that Text, *Alas ! for that Day is great ! it is even the Time of Jacob's Trouble, but he shall be delivered out of it.* On which he had two Sermons ; and it is the last of these, and the Application of the first, which makes it very lame : But I know that one of them was preached at *Darmad* in Killing-time, 1685 ; although I did not hear them, being in *Dunnotar* Castle, yet I heard some of our Sufferers speak much of these Sermons with Advantage from what is publish'd.

The End of Mr. DANIEL CARGILL's Life.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF THAT TRULY PIOUS AND WORTHY MINISTER,

Mr. WALTER SMITH,

Who was born in the Parish of St. Ninians, and suffered for the LORD's Cause with these Worthies, viz. Mr. Cargill, Mr. Boig, William Cuthil, and William Thomson, at the Cross of Edinburgh :

Together with Twenty two Steps of the Defection of the Times, wrote by him in Prison.

THE foresaid singular, worthy, and faithful unto the Death, *Mr. Walter Smith*, was born in the Parish of *St. Ninians*, near *Airth* ; esteemed by all solid, serious, exercised and zealous Christians who knew him, to be deeply exercised in the Life and Power of Godliness ; of high Attainments, and great Experience in the serious Exercise and solid Practice of Christianity (as all may find in his dying Words, in the *Cloud of Witnesses*) and of Grace, Gifts, and Learning, which are the only three Qualifications that fit and complete a Man for the Ministry. His Professor of Divinity in *Holland* at *Utrecht*,

when he heard of his publick violent bloody Death of Martyrdom, said, weeping, in his broken *English*, Oh *Smite, Smite*, the great brave *Smite*, who exceeded all that ever I taught ! He was capable to teach many, but few to instruct him. The Hell wicked-witted, blood-thirsty *Graham* of *Claverhouse*, who hated to spend his Time with Wine and Women, which made him more active in violent unheard-of Persecution, especially Blood ; when he examined some of our Sufferers, whom he looked upon as simple, several Times said, in a mocking Manner, wherein he exceeded all Persecutors, *The taking away the Life of Mr. Cargill was comparatively a small Guilt, being so old, having done the most Part of the Good he could do among you ; but the Murdering of Mr. Smith was a horrid Crime, being such a polish'd Shaft meet to be laid to the Lord's Work.*

Mr. *Smith* had a great longing Desire to be authorized to preach Christ, and him crucified, and Salvation in his Name alone, to the World. Mr. *Cargill* had the same longing Desire, and, for that End, had written to Mr. *Hepburn*, and another Minister, to meet them at the *Cummer-head* in *Lesmahago* in *Clydsdale* ; but, ere that Day, that Door was closed, and they were in the Enemies Hands, to the great Grief of many serious zealous Souls ; the greater Part of the not-indulged Ministers having, in that Erastian Meeting held in *August* 1679, after *Bothwel*, in *Edinburgh*, accepted of a third Indulgence with the Cautionry-Bond, to their perpetual Stain and Shame, laid down Conclusions to give an Act of Licence or Ordination to none who would not come under Restrictions from going to the Fields, and giving publick faithful and free Warning of all the national Snares and Defections of these Days, especially from the actual Indulged : However Mr. *Smith* follow-

ed the Example of our blessed Saviour, in going about doing Good in many Places, and to many Persons, in a spiritual edifying Converse, and singular Example of Piety and Zeal, which had more Influence upon many than the most Part of Ministers in this Day ; He was also very helpful to Mr. *Cargill* in his Converse and Advice in difficult Cases, and praying in Families, when he was fatigued with sore Travel going on his Feet, being an old Man ; and in publick Preaching-days presenting for him, which I have been a Witness to : In that Time he drew up the following Twenty two Steps of Defection, or Causes of God's Wrath, at the desire of Society-meetings, especially in *Clydsdale*, which they had to sigh, cry and mourn for in Secret, in Societies, and general fasting Days, which he own'd in his last dying Words, which are to be seen in *the Cloud of Witnesses* ; notwithstanding Historian *Wodrow*, in his biassed partial doited Way of writing upon these Heads, says, That Mr. *Smith* at his Last, spoke without that Heat and these Heights, which in some Cases he had discovered in the former part of his Life : But, let Mr. *Wodrow*, and all the World to help him, instruct what these Heats and Heights were ; but what is to be found in these Twenty two Steps of Defection, to the which he refers his Judgment in our national Affairs, not having Time nor Conveniency to write at large, which I did see some Time before his Death, and to this Day nothing added or diminished : But this is of a Piece with his many fool nonsensical groundless Reflections upon the faithful Followers of the Lamb, and their Testimony in that Day against the Tyranny and Defections of all Kinds, especially casting off of Tyrants and their Idol *Charles II.* and Separation from the Indulged, the King's royal Dawties, (as Mr. *Peden* used to call them) they are also

Mr. *Wodrow's* Dawties ; but these that deal in Dirt, cannot have clean Hands : But, if my wicked deceitful Heart deceive me not, I would not be guilty of his many such Reflections for the rich and honourable Crown of *Britain* ; yea, nor all the Crowns that the crown'd Heads of the World enjoy. Mr. *Smith* also, a little before his Death, drew up the Twenty two following Rules for Society-meetings, which at that Time increast greatly both in Number of Societies and Members, from the River of *Tay* to *Newcastle*, wherein he was very instrumental in the erecting and getting a general Correspondence settled four Times yearly, amongst all, that they might speak often one to another, when they wanted the publick Preaching of the Gospel in these unheard-of melancholy Years ; and to appoint general fasting Days in one Day amongst all, and these Defections to be the chief Causes ; and that each Society to meet and spend some Part of the Lord's Day together, when deprived of publick Ordinances. The short Time also that Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Camerou* were publickly preaching among them, and conversing through several Corners of the Land, had also great Influence upon many to unite in these particular Societies and general Correspondencies, which was a Mean blest of the Lord with wonderful Success, for stating and maintaining of an active Testimony against Tyranny and Defections of all Kinds, both upon the left and right Hand, and to the great Unity, Edification, and Comfort of these united Societies ; for eight Years Time, all seeing with one Eye, and hearing with one Ear, and speaking with one Breath, without any Jarr or Discord, except a little Time in the Year 1685, which I formerly mentioned in my Preface to *Peden's* Life. Mr. *Cargill* said, that these Society-meetings would increase more and more for a

Time ; but when the Judgment came upon this sinful Land, there would be few standing Society-meetings, when there would be most need ; few Mourners, Prayers and Pleaders, what through spiritual Plagues, Carnality, Security, Darkness, Deadness and Divisions.

Follow the Twenty two Steps of Defection.

IT was his Desire that they should be enlarged upon : And, if any should enlarge upon these, and follow out the Tract and Steps of our Defections these 50 Years, since he composed them, with as much Distinctness and Faithfulness, as he did for 30 Years before, from the Beginning of our Backslidings ; it would be an astonishing black Catalogue. And, if they were divided and given to every Rank, and divided Party, their Due of what they are guilty of in these Defections, it would meet with the same Treatment that *Jeremiah's* Roll did, *Burn, burn them* : And the greater Part of our Churchmen with the first, whose Hands have been chief in all our national Defections first and last, and that with Aggravations above all others, Repentance in them being very rare, whatever they are guilty of, but who will either deny, defend, or extenuate : And next to them the whole of our form'd divided Parties, commonly called *Dissenters*, but more properly *Schismatics*. I have seen these 50 Years bygone many gracious Souls, that fainted and fell into our left-hand Defections, not being able to endure the violent Flames of the fiery Trials of that Time, truly humbled, and weep bitterly, both in their Life and at their Death for the same ; but, ex-

cept a few that were led out of the Way with *John Gibb* ; I have seen few, yea, very few of our right-hand Extremers, that I could say in Judgment of Charity were truly grieved or mourned for these. The spiritual Pride of Churchmen, and these that have been left to run upon right-hand Excesses, are greater than to suffer them to confess, mourn for, or forsake. When the foresaid worthy Mr. *Smith* drew up these steps of Defections, *John Gibb* was not then discovered ; but, in his dying Words that he wrote that Morning he suffered Martyrdom, he gives a plain and positive Testimony against that demented Spirit of Delusion and Division, which I gave an Account of before, that brake out in *Holland at Rotterdam* amongst our *Scots* Sufferers 1679, and spread through *Scotland* like *Muirburn*, whatever since, and at this Day are rampant in *Scotland*, which is all one Spirit of Delusion, Division, and Confusion of *Gibbites*, *Russelites*, *Harlites*, *Howdonites*, *Adamites*, *M'Millanites*, and of glancing *Glassites* lately start up, in their new Lights and Flights deserting and disowning the good honest old covenanted Presbyterianism, and denying the Lawfulness and Obligation of our National and Solemn League and Covenant, (for which our faithful zealous Reformers earnestly contended ; and our highly honoured late Martyrs, Ministers and People, lived and died owning and adhering to the same, for which they counted nothing too dear,) though not all alike furiously driven each having different Pretensions.

When these two unhappy Principles were first invented and practised, whereof Mr. *Hamilton* was Chief, viz. that every Difference of Judgment in our national Controversies is a Ground of Separation ; and that there is no Way of keeping up and managing a Testimony, but by Separation, which hath a direct Tendency to

dissolve the Unity of all Churches, break all Christian Societies, and ruin the whole Frame of the good old Cause of *Presbyterianism*, which was faithfully, and with Soul-abhorrance witnessed against at the very first Out-breaking thereof by blest *M^cWard*, both privily and publickly in his Writings against the same, of which I formerly gave some Account. Mr. *Smith's* very Words are these, *Beware of a Spirit of Bitterness, Peremptoriness and ignorant Zeal, which have been the Ruin of some, and will be the Ruin of more, if Mercy prevent not.* I was withdrawn from by some, as having given Offence to them, by my protesting against their Way, in a Particular, wherein, I am sure, as to the Manner, they were wrong: And, tho' they had been right, it was not a Ground to have made such a Separation from me; much less those that joined with me, which were Mr. *M^cWard*, Mr. *Douglas* and others, for hearing of Mr. *Robert Fleming* preach in the *Scots Kirk*, who was never actually indulged, but kept, and pled for keeping up Communion with the actually Indulged, as formerly I gave a more full Account: And, if any Division be longer kept up upon that Account, they will find it a great Iniquity, if rightly considered. I can get no more written, nor see I great Need for it, for the Testimony of Martyrs is not your Rule.

A brief REHEARSAL of some few of the many Steps of our Defections, from the 1649 to the 1681, drawn up by the famous Mr. Walter Smith, at the earnest Desire of some united Societies in Clydsdale, and which he owns, and refers himself to in his last dying Words, when he got the Crown of Martyrdom July 27, 1681, at the Cross of Edinburgh, about 26 Years of Age.

I. **THAT** notwithstanding of the shining Brightness and Presence of God in the Church of *Scotland* in these Years, from the 1638 to the 1649, by which Iniquity's Mouth was much stopt, and the Hands of the Godly much strengthened, that yet the greatest Part of our Ministers, and others with them, should have fallen upon publick Resolutions to bring in again known Malignants to places of Power and Trust, in Judicatories and Armies, who, to this very Day, have it for their Work to ruin Religion and Godliness, and all Persons in the Land, who dare not follow them in their wicked and pernicious Courses whatsoever.

II. That after the Removal of the late King, both Church and State have agreed to proclaim and bring Home and set up this Man *Charles II.* who is now both an Idol and a Tyrant to rule over a Christian People in Covenant with God, while by many Evidences he was known to be a Heart-Enemy to God and Godliness, and in all his Oaths and Declarations, a mocking Hypocrite; and yet our Ministers and others have been still so wedded to malignant Rulers, that, at the same Time,

or thereabout, they deposed several faithful Ministers, and excommunicate worthy Colonel *Strachan* to gain these Enemies Favour, thus for our Backsliding we are filled with our own Ways.

III. When in the Providence of God this Tyrant was beat at *Worcester*, and redacted to Exile, yet we would not hear the Language of the Rod, but in our Hearts cleaved to our Idol King, against whom, together with ourselves, the Lord had expressed his hot Indignation, immediately after we had espoused his Quarrel and Interest. Now the Lord makes our own Doings to correct us, and we are ensnared with the Work of our own Hands.

IV. That in all that Interval of Time betwixt his going out of the Nation after *Worcester*, and his Return in the Year 1660, there was so little done for God by either Church or State, but a Door kept open for his Return to tyrannize and set up his heathenish Laws and Government, which, in the righteous Judgment of God, hath since been both our Snare and our Scourge.

V. When in the Year 1660, and afterwards, this Tyrant came to the Throne, minding none of his former Engagements to God and his People, he overturned the sworn to Work of Reformation, and burnt the Covenants, and brought in abjured and antichristian Prelacy upon us, that yet there was not only a deep Silence at all this, both in Church and State, which was hainous Ingratitude to God, and a grievous Breach of our former Engagements (for then should the whole Land solemnly have rejected him) but also a dreadful Compliance expressed by all Ranks in setting on of Bon-fires, ringing of Bells, ranting and rejoicing, and never a publick Testimony to be heard of against such iniquous Courses ;

but, on the contrary, Watchmen that should have warned others, made it their Work many of them to stop the giving of a Testimony, for Fear of irritating these unrighteous Rulers, and thus Mr. *Guthry*, *Argyle*, and *Warristoun* were basely murdered, and the Land defiled with precious innocent Blood, and not a Man of us to speak against it, for which Cause, amongst many others, God, in his just Judgment, has to this Day plagued us with spiritual Blindness, that still we go further astray from him.

VI. That upon the issuing out of that sacrilegious Act at *Glasgow*, when 600 of the Ministers had complied with that detestable Prelacy, the rest slipped from their Kirks, as if they had not been obliged to obey God rather than Man; and the greater Part of them, not only left their Flocks to be destroyed by hireling Wolves, but also went and heard the Curates themselves, and perswaded the People to follow their base and bad Example.

VII. When in the Year 1666, these otherwise worthy zealous Christians, were forced to Arms by the Oppression of the Tyrant's Emissaries, they renewed the Covenants, without either acknowledging former Breaches, or keeping out the Tyrant's Interest, who had overturned the Work of Reformation, and broken and burnt these Covenants, tho' they never bound us to their and our Destroyers.

VIII. That after our gracious God had given us a Door of Hope, by accepting of a Testimony at the Hands of many Witnesses, who were murder'd and martyr'd at and after *Pentland*; and preserved some, and raised up others, both Ministers and Professors, to be zealous for him in preaching and hearing the persecuted blest Gospel on the high Places of the Fields in

Jeopardy of their Lives ; yet nevertheless many of our Ministers that for the most Part had lurked and lien by from their Master's work, did actually accept and imbrace that dreadful and divisive Indulgence tendered by the Tyrant and his bloody Council to break us, and left their faithful Brethren to be the Butt of the Enemy's Malice and Malignants Cruelty, and others of them gaping after it, tho' they could not have it : And thus that base Idol was worshipped in his usurping Supremacy by the greatest Part, and the rest of them dealt neither faithfully nor freely with their Brethren, for their unheard-of Steps of Defections, by withdrawing from them, as they ought to have done, seeing they walked disorderly, and caused Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which we had learned : Nor did they faithfully warn the People to avoid them, but strengthened their Hand in their evil Courses, by joining with them in preaching in their Pulpits, and refusing to preach in the Fields, within the Bounds of their indulged Parishes, or baptize or marry any in these Parishes, tho', in the second Article of our Engagement to Duties, we are bound to defend our Church's Liberties and Privileges against all Incroachments from what Hand soever.

IX. When a Number of idle ly-by Ministers that had lurked at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, and elsewhere, could not but see that the Lord was carrying on and countenancing the great Work of the persecuted Gospel in Mosses, Muirs and Mountains, they thought it high Time for them to bestir themselves, came out to the Help of their Brethren in the Fields, without acknowledging and mourning over their shameful and sinful Silence, and their Compliance with Prelacy and the Indulgence ; and, instead of preaching Christ to the poor

People in all his three Offices, preached up the Credit of their indulged Brethren, and down the Duty of defending the persecuted Gospel, which so stumbled many of their Hearers who were capable to distinguish betwixt Sin and Duty in such Points, that they knew not whom to hear, nor what to receive as commanded Duty, little remembering our National Engagements.

X. That at two several Meetings of Ministers, one at *Edinburgh*, and another at *Dunscore*, they censured worthy Mr. *Cameron*, whom the Lord raised up to be faithfully free, for his preaching against the hearing of the indulged Ministers, and laid Bonds on others not to preach against them.

XI. That while we had our Ministers and Ordinances, in somewhat both of Power and Plenty, tho' under the Enemy's constant Persecution, we did idolize them, made Ministers our Rule, and gave them too much of Christ's Room in our Hearts: And now, when they are turned aside, and laid aside their Master's Work, and, by their sinful and shameful Silence, the Land's laid desolate, and no publick Testimony kept up, at least, by preaching, we are ready to be bitter against their Persons more than their Defections, and to make them more the Subject of our Discourse and Contempt, than of our Mourning and Humiliation before God, which speaks out this plainly, That amongst all our other spiritual Plagues, there is yet still a Spirit of Pride, Self-confidence and Ignorance, abounding amongst too many, contrair to the Scope of Gospel-principles.

XII. That Ministers gave so little faithful Warning of the Adversary's dreadful Designs, in putting through their several ensnaring Bonds, together with their other dreadful Acts and Proclamations to ensnare the People's Consciences, and to make them by Force and Fraud

peaceably to submit to the tyrannical Government ; and that Act of their pretended Convention of Estates, for imposing a Cess to uphold Soldiers, or rather (we may say) Robbers and Murderers, for destroying of the Lord's Work, and to imprison and murder all that would faithfully witness against these wicked and abominable Courses: And thus many, for Want of faithful Warning of the Sinfulness of these Defections, and others, for Fear of Trouble and Suffering, have dreadfully sinned and strengthened the Hands of these bloody Butchers both in City and Country, and so the whole Land's in great Guilt, and brought under great Wrath. Oh Lord, save a Remnant.

XIII. After the Lord gave us the Victory over *Clavers* and his Party at *Drumclog*, Anno 1679, we behaved not as Persons that were fighting the Lord's Battles ; but, instead of pursuing the Victory that God wonderfully put in our Hands, and sanctifying the Lord of Hosts in our Hearts, and before the People, by giving him the Praise, did greedily run upon the Spoil, and took some of the Enemy Prisoners, and gave them Quarters, tho' guilty of Death, and so brought ourselves under that Curse of doing the Work of the Lord deceitfully, by withholding our Sword from shedding of their Blood ; and yet we refused to be convinced, that our sparing of the Lives of these whom God has appointed to utter Destruction, is one of the Causes why our Lives go for theirs: And after that went to *Glasgow* out of Time, without asking solemn Counsel of God, or consulting right Reason.

XIV. When after all this the Lord continued to be tender of that Army, there was a Paper presented to the Council of War for regulating the Army, and keeping out of scandalous and disaffected Persons ; yet it

was neglected and slighted, and so a Door was left open for all Sorts of Persons to come in amongst us, whereby a Number of idle Vagabonds and self-seeking Plunderers, that brought Reproach upon the Cause and Army ; and moreover we were opprest by a Number of indulged Ministers and Gentlemen that still opposed the keeping of a Day of Humiliation, lest we should make Mention of their Idol the Indulgence, as one of the Causes of the Lord's Controversy with the Land, which they will needs have to be referred to a General Assembly, and other Things in Controversy to a free Parliament ; and by these Means that great Duty was neglected, and our great Guilt before the Lord past over and covered.

XV. When that Party of Ministers and others publish'd that sinful and shameful Declaration at *Hamiltoun*, and elsewhere, with a *Save the King* at the End of it ; and afterward, contrair to Engagement, printed it. There were few or none of us all that faithfully opposed it ; but it was sent abroad as a Declaration of that Army, whereby the State of the Lord's Cause was quite perverted, and there were so many Mediators to keep us together, that we never separated ourselves from such Persons, nor protested against their sinful and shameful foolish Practices : But, as if all this had been a small Matter, we were drawn over by them to send a Petition to the Duke of *Monmouth*, for that which we should neither have sought from him, nor was he in a Capacity to grant us : But by this the Enemies Hands were strengthened, and ours weakned, and we shamefully put to Flight before them.

XVI. That after the Murdering of Mr. *John King* and Mr. *John Kid* at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, Anno 1679, upon the issuing out of that which they called an

Indemnity, and a Liberty to Ministers that would be peaceable to preach in Houses upon the People's Bond. There was nothing but Bonfires and Rejoicings, notwithstanding of the Death of these two faithful Ministers and Martyrs that same Afternoon; and the Ministers came out of their Prisons, submitting themselves with their own Hands, with the Adversary's Fetters upon them and their Ministry, one Witness in *Stirling* Castle excepted; and afterwards a Meeting, calling themselves a general Meeting, voted for the Acceptation of the new Liberty, some of them actually accepting of it; and others, tho' they did not astrict themselves to one Place, nor the People bind themselves for their peaceable Behaviour; yet to preach generally in Houses, quite altering their former Method before the Defeat at *Bothwel-bridge*, wherein the Lord did countenance them in a singular Manner, while they stood in the Defence of the free preached Gospel, either keeping close to Council's Orders, or else giving no particular Testimony against them that did so, nor against the Council's Usurpation: And, when ever the Council recalled their Liberty, they returned generally to their former lurking. Thus they did Violence to the Law of God, by giving Obedience to the unjust Laws of wicked and perjur'd Men.

XVII. After the Lord in his Providence had brought home Mr. *Cameron* out of *Holland*, there was none of the Ministers that would give their Consent to his going to the Fields at that Time to keep up a publick Testimony for our Lord Jesus Christ, and against the publick and avowed Adversaries, and these detestable indulged Courses, except Mr. *Donald Cargill* and Mr. *Thomas Douglas*, who went along with him for a Time.

XVIII. After the Work of the Gospel was again car-

ried on by these worthy, eminent Witnesses, in some Places of the Nation, with much of the Power and presence of God, and these usurping Tyrants and Murderers, rejected by the Declaration at *Sanquhar*, tho' in the just Judgment of God on these Lands, because this Duty was so long neglected, and this Omission not mourned over as it ought, we are at this Day left desolate, to lament the Loss of such honoured Instruments: Yet notwithstanding of all this, the Generality, both of Ministers and Professors have taken the same Course with the actually Indulged, to calumniate and persecute the witnessing Remnant, both the Living and the Dead, who have overcome by the Blood of the Lamb, and by the Word of their Testimony, not loving their Lives unto the Death; the reproaching of them with unsound and Jesuitical Principles, as tho' they and we both were not bound by our Covenant-vows to the most high God, to bring Malignants, and all that are Enemies to the sworn-to Work of Reformation, to condign Punishment; and also, to maintain the Liberties and Privileges of the once reformed, but now deformed and ruined Church. Oh let us seek for Hearts to mourn, that Ministers and Professors should thus cast off the Bonds, and despise the Oath of God, and become Persecutors of the Truth.

XIX. That now, after the rejecting and excommunicating of that Tyrant and these Traitors, we are so little resolute in looking to the Lord only for Relief and Outgate, but taking offensive Courses to be out from under the Cross; some petitioning the bloody Council, others bribing the excommunicate Advocate Mr. *Mackenzie*: Some giving Bond to live peaceably with them, others giving Bond to compear before their Courts at their Pleasure and Call: And thus, by their own Consent, a Snare is laid for their Lives, if they shall be

found in the Way of their Duty, faithfully witnessing for Christ and his persecuted Truths. O let us mourn for this, that there are so many to do against the Truth, and so few for the Truth.

XX. That notwithstanding of all the various Ways that the Lord hath been taking to increase Knowledge, and to making the Light of the glorious Gospel break forth amongst us, and particularly Knowledge of that Soul-reviving Truth of Christ's being the only King and Head of his Church ; yet so few Ministers have been Workers together with him in this Matter, in examining and catechising, and holding forth the Terms of the Covenant of Grace to Professors of all Sorts, and particular Heads of Families. Notwithstanding of all our spiritual Plagues and Judgments, we are so little diligent to set Time apart, alone and with others to wrestle with God, to abide in the Land, and to seek a right Way for ourselves ; and that we have been so little diligent to instruct the Ignorant, and especially those under our Charge, in the Principles of the true Religion, by making them read, and teaching them to understand our Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and our National Covenants and Engagements.

XXI. That after many have been convinced of the Sinfulness of our Backslidings and complying Courses, particularly of paying Cess and Locality to Dragoons and Soldiers, strengthening the Hands of the Adversaries, weakning our own Hands, and offending our Brethren : That we continue in and venture upon such sinful Courses, for Fear of suffering for Christ, not trusting in God for Through-bearing in a present World, which, Alas ! speaks but much Heart-atheism, Unbelief, and little Acquaintance with the Love of Christ in a

spiritual and holy Gospel-conversation before this adulterous and persecuting Generation.

XXII. That now when this excommunicated Papist, the Duke of *York*, is received and entertain'd with so great Grandeur, and we ready to be swallowed up by Papists, and the Land covered with *Egyptian*-Darkness, if the Lord prevent it not; yea, we are so far from a Sight of our own and the Land's Guiltiness, that there is little Agreement or Concord amongst us, falling upon a Way to prevent the utter Ruin of our Persons, Families and Estates, and true Religion, but Bitterness, Passion, Pride and Envy, every one esteeming themselves, and their own Way better than their Neighbours, contrary to that Gospel-precept, *Let every one esteem another better than themselves*. And thus there is a refusing to receive Conviction of Sin in particular, and a hardning of our Faces against the Lord's Dispensations, tho' never so speaking. And here we obtest and intreat these Men (who once seemed to be Brethren in Covenant with us; but now, by their indulging Courses, have betrayed the Cause of Christ, and, by their Language and Practice, have rendred us, the poor suffering Remnant, the Butt of the Enemy's Malice, to act their Cruelty on us, tho' they were bound, in their Covenant to God, to contend for the Privileges of the Church as well as we) in the Bowels of Christ to consider well the Nature of that Union which they derive and plead for, forseeing the whole Ingredients of a Christian Union, must only have the Stamp of Divine Institution, and can in nowise suffer the Mixture of Human Inventions.

RULES and DIRECTIONS anent private Christian Meetings, for Prayer and Conference to mutual Edification, and to the right Management of the same.

THAT it is the Duty of private Christians to meet together for their mutual Edification, by Prayer and Conference, may be evinced by these following Scriptures, among others that might be named, *viz.* 1 *Thess.* 5. 11. *Colos.* 3. 16. *Heb.* 10. 24, 25. and from the laudable and much commended Practice of the People of God in all Ages, both under the old and New Testament, as it is *Mal.* 3. 16. This seems to have been the Practice of the Lord's People under their Captivity at *Babylon*, *Psal.* 137. For to what other Purpose went they out and sat by the Rivers of *Babel*, but to remember *Zion*, both in their Prayers to God, and in their Communication? And so likewise frequently in the *Acts* of the Apostles, we find it practised by the primitive Christians: And it is beyond all Question, that the right Performance of this Duty, has been attended by singular Advantage, both to the public Work of God, and to Persons own private Condition, who, to their comfortable Experience, have found many blessed Fruits and Effects following upon their conscientious Performance of this Duty. Yea further, it hath been frequently observed, that in such Places within the Churches of *Scotland*, where this Duty is most practised, there true and serious Religion does most thrive, and the Professors thereof are ordinarily the most useful Members both in Church and Commonwealth: So that the wilful Neglect of this Duty is no small Sin; especially, consider-

ing, that such a Neglect tends very much to discourage these, who are endeavouring to make Conscience of performing this Duty. And therefore it is greatly to be wished, that both Ministers and experienced Christians where they live, were more active in exciting and stirring up themselves and others to a more diligent and constant Practice of so warrantable and useful a Duty ; especially in such a Day of Tentation, in which the Lord, by his holy and wise Providence, is giving his People very loud Calls to Seriousness, and Diligence in all commanded Duties.

Now, that such private Meetings for Prayer and Conference may be so managed, as the same may tend to the Glory of God, the Advancement of Religion, and the mutual Edification of the Members thereof, which is the chief, if not the only End of these Meetings, these few Particulars may be observed.

1. This being a private Duty, and mutual among private Christians, it is convenient, and for preventing of Confusion and Disorder, there be few more than Ten or Twelve in a Society.

2. When any Society increaseth much above Ten or Twelve, it is fit they divide themselves in Two: Tho' they should be few in each Society at the first, and, when the Division is needful, let it be with Consent of the Whole ; and for preventing of any Difference about the Choice of Persons, let two of the present Number be nominate by the Whole, and let these Two in Presence of the Meeting, choose each of them one, Time about, until they have made up two equal Meetings of the Whole, and then let them part. It is still to be remembred and considered, when these Rules were composed, the Lord's People got not orderly met for the murdering Enemies, some of them taken by the

Way, and Meetings taken when together in the Night-time, whom I knew suffered hard Things among their Hands; yea, some taken praying in Families, who suffered unto Death. Their living near together or at great Distance from other, is also to be considered to determine what Number is expedient to be in each Meeting.

3. These who are already in Practice of this Duty, should take all prudent methods in dealing with others, who may be fit for this Duty, to join with Societies already erected, or to set up new Meetings where they may be had; and if where Societies are newly erected, none of the Members thereof were formerly in any Society: It is fit that the neighbouring Society send some of their Members for some Time to meet with them, till they have some Experience in the Duty.

4. That none be invited, or upon his own Desire brought, into any Society, but by the Advice and Consent of all the Society, and that he be particularly known, at least to some of the Members, that he is One who makes Conscience of secret Prayer, and of Prayer in his Family, (if he hath any) and that he is of an exemplary and blameless Conversation, and free of all Scandal: But before he be brought into the Society, let his Name be proposed in the Meeting; and, if all consent, he may be admitted a Member at the next Meeting of the Society: But, if any Objection be made, it is fit his Admission be delayed, till it be further cleared, if it be a Matter not known to all.

5. If one Society or more desire to set apart a Day (beside their Ordinary) for Humiliation and Prayer, upon some singular Occasion, let it be done by grave Deliberation and by Correspondence: If among more Societies, that they may all consider upon the Occasion

and Necessity, that so it may be done with joint Consent ; but, still let all be done in a private Way, they being only private Christians that design it ; and therefore, they are not to impose it upon any but themselves ; except where it may be that two Societies are so small, that they think it convenient to join together for that Day : And altho' private Persons have not Power to appoint a Day to the People for publick Humiliation or Thanksgiving, this belonging properly to Ministers ; yet, if at any Time, a Motion be made among Societies of the Necessity of keeping such a Day, they may make Application to their Ministers, and propose their Motion and Reasons to them : But the Ministers are to judge whether it be seasonable, and to appoint a Day if they find it convenient, and what Reasons they find needful ; otherways the People are not to take upon them to fix a Day, or define the Causes of a Fast or Thanksgiving in publick.

6. In all their Debates, Reasonings and Actings, one with another, let them still carry suitably to their Stations, in a private brotherly Way, and let nothing be done that looks like a partial Way of Exercising Discipline.

7. At every Diet of Meeting (which may be once every Week for ordinary) the Time they design to stay together (which may be four Hours at least, if their Conveniency can possibly allow) should be seriously and closely spent about the Work for which they meet, which is Prayer and spiritual Conference : And for this End,

8. Let them beware of being diverted from their present Work, by talking about their worldly Affairs, or the publick News, until they close, except something fall for the informing the Meeting, the Account whereof may

be useful for exciting to Prayer and Thanksgiving ; and the Time, set apart for this Exercise, being devoted to the Lord, and their own Souls Edification, should be no otherwise employed.

9. That every one carefully shun being tedious, either in Prayer or Conference, that the Work be not made burdensom to any ; for we should consider one another's Infirmities.

10. Let all Undervaluing, or the least Appearance of slighting be carefully avoided, *Phil. 2. 23.* For a Person may be weak in Knowledge, and other Parts, and yet greater in Sincerity and Singleness of Heart, which is most acceptable to God. Particularly, let all beware of disdainful slighting any Answer given to a Question, tho' it may be weak, and not so closs to the Purpose : But let the more Judicious and Expert, make the best Use of it they can, for the Person's and the rest's Edification.

11. That the Conference may be the more edifying, in the Interval between Prayer, there may a Question be proposed, and, for Order's Sake, it is usual, that he, who prayed last, propose the Question, which is to be briefly answered : But, if either he be not so fit, or have not any Thing for the Time, another may do it ; and if nothing occur to any, or if Differences arise about the Answers given to the Question proposed, then let them forbear at that Time, and go to Prayer again, which is their main Business in these private Meetings.

12. In proposing Questions for Conference, let these Things following be observed. (1.) Let nothing be moved, which tends only to satisfy Curiosity. (2.) Let no Question be proposed anent any sublime Point of Divinity, in which there are great Difficulties, such

as the DECREES OF God, PREDESTINATION, ELECTION. And, (3.) That they be very sparing in proposing Questions anent the Sense and Interpretation of Scriptures, especially these Places which are more hard and difficult, 2 *Pet.* 3. 16. And, it belonging properly to Ministers to open up or explain the Scriptures ministerially, no private Christian should presume to do it, *Heb.* 5. 4. Seeing Christ hath set in his Church Pastors and Doctors, as a distinct Office for interpreting and applying Scripture to the People's Edification, and the meddling with this by private Christians, has proven of fatal and dangerous Consequences, towards the bringing in of Error, Contention and Division into the Church of Christ; as the lamentable Case of the Church of *England*, not many Years ago, did clearly evidence. Yet it may tend to the promoting of Knowledge, that every Member impart any Light he hath gotten, either by Reading, Hearing, or any other Way, for the mutual Good and Edification of the rest by Way of Conference; yet so, as still to beware of meddling with obscure Places of Scripture, as is already directed. (4.) They are to beware proposing any Subject for Conference anent Things controverted among godly Ministers and Professors. And, *lastly*, Let nothing be proposed that may occasion needless Animosities, Contentions and Debates, which tend to the marring of Love and Edification; but let such Questions as are proposed, be only anent practical Cases, and about the ordering the Conversation, so as the same may be holy and inoffensive, and whatever may most tend to the stirring up of the Grace of God, Exercise for mortifying of Corruptions, and preserving themselves and others from Snares and Temptations.

13. If Contention or Debates be like to arise, anent

any Subject they confer about, it is dangerous to insist ; But it is the best godly Prudence to break off abruptly, and go to Prayer again.

14. That when any Member of a Society is overtaken in a Fault, and it was scandalous ; and if it be notour to all, he is to be applied to by any of the rest, who know the Offence best, and are most intimate with him, and shall sharply be reprov'd, suitably to the Offence given : Yet still observing that good Rule given, *Gal. 6. 1. If any Man be overtaken in a Fault, ye who are spiritual, restore him in the Spirit of Meekness :* But, lest his being allowed to continue in the Meeting, should be constructed a Connivance with his Scandal, he is to be soberly advised by one sent from the rest, to forbear frequenting of their Meeting for some Time, till at least he be cleared, and the Scandal removed.

15. If any Difference fall betwixt any Members of the Society, let some of the most prudent and judicious be appointed to deal betwixt them, in order to a Reconciliation in private : But, if they prove unsuccessful in that Attempt, and cannot prevail, then let the Matter be brought before the Meeting, and there soberly and calmly reasoned : And if he, who shall be judged by all the rest to be in the wrong, will not comply with what is agreed unto by the Meeting, he is to be desired to forbear frequenting their Meeting, till some other Course be taken, in order to the removing of the Difference.

16. That altho' every one is to keep within his Station, and not to meddle with that which is the proper Work of Ministers or Magistrates ; Yet it is the Duty of every Member to be valiant for the Lord, especially now, in a Time when Satan and his Instruments are so

bold in supporting the Kingdom of Darkness, and they are, as they have Occasion, faithfully, yet meekly, to reprove Sin and Faults in all, both small and great, (as far as it is consistent with Christian Prudence). And if their Reproof have no Effect towards the reforming the Offender, then they are to endeavour the suppressing of Immortality in a legal Way, by applying to those that are in Authority, by getting the Laws, whether Ecclesiastick or Civil, put in Execution against those that are obstinate and contumacious, without any Respect of Persons herein.

17. And because it is expected, that those who profess more than others, should do more than others: Therefore it is the unquestionable Duty of every Member of such Societies, as they would not throw down with the one Hand, what they endeavour to build with the other, to study in all Places and Cases, and on all Occasions, to have their Conversations suitable to the Gospel, and agreeable to their Profession, that they may thereby recommend the Way of God to such with whom they converse, and discourage and disgrace Profaneness and Vice; and particularly, let them guard against idle Discourse, *Colos. 4. 6.* which is very stumbling and hardning to the Wicked, and tends very much to the eating out of the Life of Religion. And, when any Member is reprov'd seasonably by another, for any Fault he may be guilty of, it is certainly his Duty to take the Reproof kindly off his Brother's Hand, according to the Practice of the Psalmist, *Psal. 141. 5. Let the Righteous smite me, &c.*

18. Altho' such Meetings cannot be hid, yet every Member should labour to wait upon them in such a Way, as may be most free of Ostentation as is possible, that there may be no just Ground for any to say, We perform

these Duties to be seen of Men ; especially considering the bad Temper of wicked and carnal Men, who look upon all the Performances and Actions of the People of God, for God and his Interest, to be nothing but Acts of Hypocrisy.

19. That all who join in such Societies, beware of divulging or discovering any Thing said or done in the Society, to the Offence or Prejudice of any Member of the Society, and that none be admitted as Members, with whom they dare not, or cannot freely converse ; and they being all Members of the same mystical Body, therefore they ought kindly to sympathize one with another, *Eph.* 4. 12. *Rom.* 12. 15, 16.

20. Let every Meeting be begun and closed by singing a Verse or more of a Psalm, if the Place be convenient, and, at every Meeting, let as many pray as conveniently can, and let every One take his Turn in Prayer without refusing, except there be an urgent Reason, which he is to satisfy the Meeting about.

21. Every Member ought to make Conscience of attending all the Diets of the Society, and the Hour of meeting as precisely as possible, otherwise they may discourage the rest, and occasion the dissolving of the Meeting, as sad Experience has too often evidenced.

22. If any come not at the Hour, miss a Day or more, or stay away all the Time of the Meeting, they are to satisfy the rest of the Reason thereof, as it may appear to all, that it is not a wilful Neglect or Slighting the Duty : But, if any be found wilfully to neglect, they are to be spoken to by some sent from the Meeting, who are most intimate with them ; and, if they will not amend or return after several Admonitions, let them desist : Neither are they afterwards, even upon their own De-

sire, to be admitted to join, till they give Evidences that they are heartily sorry for the Offence they have given by their wilful Neglect. To which is added the two following ;

23. As it is the undoubted Duty of all to pray for the Coming of Christ's Kingdom ; so all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity, and know what it is to bow a Knee in good Earnest, will long and pray for the Out-making of the Gospel-promises to his Church in the latter Days, That King Christ would go out upon the White Horse of the Gospel, conquering and to conquer, and make a Conquest of the Travail of his Soul, that it may be sounded, That the Kingdoms of the World are become his, and his Name called upon from the Rising of the Sun to its going down. (1.) That the old off-casten *Israel* for Unbelief would never be forgotten, especially in these Meetings, that the promised Day of their ingrafting again by Faith may be hastned ; and that dead Weight of Blood removed off them, that their Fathers took upon them, and upon their Children, that have sunk them down to Hell upwards of Seventeen hundred Years. (2.) That the Lord's written and preached Word with Power, to enlighten the poor *Pagan* World, living in black perishing Darkness without Christ, and the Knowledge of his Name. (3.) That the damnable Delusions of *Mahomet*, and Errors of *Antichrist*, *Arian*, *Arminian*, *Socinian* and *Quakers*, may be discovered ; that the Blind may no more lead the Blind, and go to Hell whole-sale, living and dying so ; and the many gross Errors abounding among many other Sectaries may come to Light. (4.) Where the Light of his written and preached Word is, many may be enlightned thereby, especially in *Scotland* where they are

Members, and mourn and lament that there is so much of the World perishing without the Gospel, and innumerable Multitudes perishing under the Gospel. Gospèl-vengeance is manifold Vengeance.

24. But more especially, they would love, sympathize, and pray for one another in secret, and in their Families, who have them, and weep when any Member weeps, and rejoice with all such as are joined in this Society-communion, which is the strictest of all Communions ; and, before they go to their Meetings, every one would be importunate with the Lord to go with them, and meet with them, that it may be for the better and not for the worse, and with all such Meetings. And when at any Time the Lord in his Sovereignty, who manifests himself to whom he will, when, where, and as he will, is pleased to hide and withhold the Influences of his good Spirit, so as that there is a Darkness in their Minds, and Deadness upon their Spirits, that the Duty of Prayer and Conference is unrefreshful and unsavoury to them. Let every one make earnest in searching to find out the Causes ; Be humble and mourn, long and pray for his Return : And when at other Times the Lord is pleased to manifest himself to give them Light, Life and Liberty, to pour out their Hearts before him, and the Duties of Prayer and Conference are refreshful and reviving to them, and they feel any Thing of the Gladness of Heart that the Disciples had when they saw the Lord ; then let them be humble, and express their great Thankfulness, and bless his gracious Name for the same, and pray for the Continuance of it, and still to steer a steady Course at all Times, Places, Cases and Company, abounding in all the Duties of Christianity, that all may take Notice that they have been with Jesus.

Lastly, Let all the foregoing Rules be carefully observed and practised by all concerned.

THE foregoing Relation of singular worthy Mr. *Smith's* Twenty two Steps of Thirty Years National Defections, does evidence that he was endowed with a good Understanding of the Times, a sound Judgment in Presbyterian Principles, and Steps of our covenanted Reformation, our Backslidings and Turnings aside therefrom, both to Left and Right-hand; his Twenty two Rules for managing Society-meetings, his dying Words, and the following Letter, do witness that he had also great Experience in the serious Exercises and solid Practice of Godliness, and that he was able to speak and write a seasonable Word to serious exercised Souls: Whereof this Christian *Janet Fimerton* was singular, whose Doubts and Fears he answers distinctly as to the full Assurance of an Interest in Christ; she was not only my Acquaintance, but Fellow-prisoner both in *Edinburgh* and *Dunnotar* Castles. She was about Fifty Years of Age, never married: She spent much of her Time in visiting Prisoners and Sufferers, doing Good to them and for them, especially on the murdering bloody Days of their Deaths, going amongst Friends, getting Coffins and Winding-sheets, and managing of their headless and handless bloody Corpses, many of them being hash'd and hagged off. Accordingly *Robert Semple* my Acquaintance, who was born and lived in that suffering Family of *Craigthorn*, in the Parish of *Stones* in *Clydsdale*, whose Father was killed at *Pentland-hills*; and, among many other Pieces of great Sufferings, his Mother and Sister *Jean* were Prisoners in *Dunnotar*: He was taken in *November 1684*, the two Slaughter-years of Killing-time being begun in the 15 Day of

August before, when *Thomas Erkness* within 30 Years of Age, *Andrew Clark* Nineteen Years, *Samuel M'Euen* Seventeen, without any Indictment, got Sentence of Death passed upon them at Twelve a-Clock, and execute at Three in the *Grass-Market*. But a more full Account of them afterwards, if the Lord will, being in the *Canongate* Iron-house with them the three Days that they were in *Edinburgh*. The said *Robert Semple* was brought to *Hamiltoun*; Duke *William* examined him, charging him with being a Troubler of the Country; to which he answered, That he could give no suitabler Answer than what *Elijah* gave to *Ahab*, That he and his Father's House had been the Troublers of our *Israel*. The Duke thought upon this after. Possibly this Answer brought him in mind of what active Hand he had in that Persecution, and what Trouble his Father-in-law bred in our *Israel* in the Year 1648, for which he lost his Head in *England*. He sent for the Dean of that Place, and enquired at him where he would find that Place of Scripture? The baptiz'd Brute could not tell him; at which he was offended, and said, What a base, naughty Set of People are all of you, for all the Encouragement you have? If I had enquired at the Country Fellow, his Answer would have been ready. After this, *Robert*, with *Gabriel Semple*, aged 18 Years, who escaped out of the *Canongate* Iron-house upon the Nineteenth Day of *August* before, (to which I was a Witness,) and *John Watt*, were quickly sent to *Edinburgh*, and carried straight before the Council: After Examination, about Eleven of the Clock, *Robert Semple* was squeezed in the Thumbikins, to the frightful crushing of the Bones of his Thumbs: he lay in that tormenting Torture above five Hours, which Length of Time exceeded all of the many that they had tormented in these hellish

Engines of Boots and Thumbikins. After Four a-Clock they conveyed and passed Doom upon all the three, without any Indictment; then they sent them down to the *Gallow-lee* when it was dark, and suddenly execute them. After the Bloody Rope was about *John Watt's* Neck, having no more Need of the Bible, he threw it down, saying, Give that to my Brother. A Woman yet alive, my near Neighbour, kept it in her Hands: One of the Town-Officers threw it from her, and gave it to curst *Peter Graham*, Captain of the Town-Guard, that Son of *Belial*: He cried, Where is the Woman that owns this Bible? *Janet Fimerton* said, I own it to give it to his Brother. *Graham* said, Secure her. At the same Time he inclosed many People; and all who would not swear, that these Men justly deserved to die, were made Prisoners; which many Women refused. He marched quickly with them to the Town Tolbooth, and left the Hangman to cut them down, and the Town-Officers to be his Guard. When cut down, he was going to strip them of their Clothes; the Colegioners sent him and Town-Officers off in great Haste. About 12 friendly Women waiting on to see the End, gathered about them, who had Coffins and Linen to order their Corpses; but, being very dark, they laid them in their Coffins with their Clothes, and rolled their Plaids for Hand-spakes; came up *Leith-Wynd*, and down *St. Mary's Wynd*, and up the *Cow-gate* to the *Gray-friars Gate*, (about a Mile.) The Town-guard got orders to take the Corpses from them. The Noise rose; they let the Corpses fall, and fled for their Lives: They kept Guard upon them all Night; the next Morning trailed them down on Sleds, and buried them at the Gallows Foot. The said *Janet* and most of these Women were taken that Night, and kept

in Prison until the 18th Day of *May* 1685, that they, with many others, both Men and Women, were gathered from several Prisons through the Land, and sent to *Dunnotar* Castle, 68 Miles from *Edinburgh*, where they lay in great Distress, until the 18th Day of *August* next ; then brought back to *Leith*, and Sentence of Banishment passed upon a Hundred of them to *New-Jersey*, (whereof Twenty four were Women,) without any Libel, whereof the said *Janet* was one. As soon as they went a Ship-board, she said, *Farewel, bloody sinful Scotland, I will never come back to thee again ; the Sea-billows will be my Winding-sheet. The purchased and promised Blessings of the Lord, and mine, be multiplied upon the poor suffering Remnant, the excellent Ones, in whom I have had all my Delight and Pleasures on Earth.* Which came to pass, that she and many others died by the Way. *Pitlochie*, a professing Laird in *Fife*, got a Gift of them from the bloody Council, to carry them there to be his Slaves ; but, behold, he and his whole Family, except his eldest Daughter, died by the Way.

However, many of all Ranks, and formed divided Parties, both Left and Right-hand, have maliciously, and many ignorantly, reflected upon all that I have formerly publish'd, and may likewise do upon this Parcel, and what I further intend ; yet I am very easy, and not careful to answer or satisfy them in these Things, tho' I am desirous to meet with the Person or Persons that will instruct a Mistake in Matter of Fact in these national Concerns of Tyranny and Defections Left or Right-hand, or Passages in the Lives and Deaths of our Worthies. I do not undertake every Circumstance at this long Distance of Time ; For, as that is a Pain for me to pass by, when they ly in my Way, any of the innumer-

able unheard-of Steps of Tyranny in that Time, and Defections Left and Right-hand then and now, from the sworn-to and sealed Testimony of this Church, but to transmit a tearful Remembrance of them to the up-rising and following Ages, that they may see and read what came to pass in *Scotland* in the Days of their Fathers: So it is also a Pleasure, and that wherein my Soul takes great Delight, to hand down a savoury Remembrance of the signal Manifestations of the Lord's Faithfulness and All-sufficiency to the Souls of his People in his Ordinances and Providences, and to insert the Names of these to whom the Lord was very gracious, and helped and honoured to steer a steady Course, equally guarding against Left-hand Defections and Right-hand Extremes in their Life, and faithful unto the Death, that it may be great Encouragement to all that follow their Steps, and walk in the troden Paths that they have chalked out for us, especially now when out of Mind, and their earnest Contendings, Sufferings and Grounds thereof, set at nought by the greater Part, and blotted and bluthered by all the foresaid divided Parties and Separatists.

Follows the Copy of a Letter by godly Mr. Walter Smith, from Utrecht in Holland, November 12. 1679, in Answer to a Line from Janet Fimerton in Edinburgh, who was esteemed a singular Christian, of deep Exercises, high Attainments, and great Experience in the serious Exercise and solid Practice of Godliness : And as his Answers were edifying to her, when under a Cloud, so I judge may be of Use to others, when crying out of the like Deeps, which induced me to publish it.

Dear Friend,

I Am glad to hear of your good Success in learning to write, imployed for the Lord. I read your Line without any Difficulty, but there are many at your Hand to give you good Counsel, but especially in the Family where you are, they are Persons whom I judge fitted of the Lord to be helpful to any in your Case, or I know none in the World ; but, at your Desire, I shall express my feckless Thoughts concerning your Case. And, *1st*, Where you say your Heart is sore, because you know not if you have rightly closed with Christ. O that these sweet Days might come, wherein I might see and hear many so exercised ! But, for your clearing, consider, that there is a Difference betwixt Sanctification and Justification. I will be far from putting you from that Duty of crying to get your Will truly renewed, as you say ; but I am apt to think, that it is a further Degree of Sanctification you would be at. But, *2dly*, You say, You think you have not fled out of yourself to Christ for Righteousness. A

“ Mistake here, I confess, is of greater Consequence
 “ than all that is in the World besides, and therefore we
 “ are bidden make our Calling and Election sure ; but
 “ I hope your Mistake is not of the worst Sort : For
 “ some take Presumption and Self-confidence for real
 “ Faith ; but others, that have indeed laid hold on that
 “ everlasting Rock, our blessed Lord Jesus, for Life and
 “ Salvation, cannot be perswaded that they have so done,
 “ they would so fain be sure : And here also Satan
 “ strikes in, to fill the Soul with Anxiety, to divert from
 “ necessary Duties, and to rob us of our comfortable Re-
 “ joicing, that we should have in entertaining the Faith
 “ of our Lord’s Appearance. But, *3dly*, What would
 “ you do, if you had Assurance that you had fled to him
 “ for Righteousness ? &c. Would you not look to him,
 “ and wait upon him for both Justification and Sancti-
 “ fication of mere Mercy ? And would you not study to
 “ be in a continual Dependence upon him, and acknow-
 “ ledge his Justice, tho’ he should thrust you down to
 “ the Pit ? Well then, do so now, and your Salvation is
 “ sure, whether Christ give you his Backbond or no.
 “ But, *4thly*, If you will consider, hath not the Lord
 “ sometimes so framed your Heart, so as he, and he
 “ only, hath been highest in your Soul’s Esteem, and
 “ that it was for himself, you took him for your only
 “ King, Head and Husband ; and did you not vow and
 “ give away yourself to him as such, and so did abomi-
 “ nate Satan, Self, and their Accomplices ? Well then,
 “ *as you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye*
 “ *in him.* But, *5thly*, Ask your Heart, whether you
 “ have any Righteousness by Nature, or by your Life in
 “ his Sight, when, tho’ you were righteous, you could not
 “ profit him ? If not, then ask, *6thly*, Whether or no
 “ you be willing to be made beautiful through his Com-

“ liness only? Well then, if you be so, I know well he
 “ is, and it is he only that makes you so; come away
 “ then, and the Bargain is sure. But, *7thly*, Will you
 “ not be content, if he for holy and wise Ends carry you
 “ through without Assurance? I do not mean that you
 “ should faint or grow slack in seeking after it, but a
 “ holy Submission is all that I would be at. But I say
 “ no more as to this; I refer you, and what I have said,
 “ to my faithful and dear Friends, particularly these
 “ Three with whom you are. Let Holiness, Prayer and
 “ Supplication, Charity, Zeal, and Love possess your
 “ Heart. As to you Hearing, I hope the burnt Bairn
 “ will be so wise as to fear the Fire. The casting off
 “ all Ministers is both sinful and dangerous, and hath
 “ had and will have bad and sad Effects and Consequen-
 “ ces in *Scotland*. The Lord is arising, yea coming;
 “ let us cry and fast, and watch strictly, and mourn over
 “ the Desolations of the Land, and the sad Breaches he
 “ has made among us. Cry without ceasing, never give
 “ him Rest, till he arise and be merciful to his Land and
 “ People, and favour the Lot of his Inheritance. Bur-
 “ den me with Letters, and excuse me, tho’ I get them
 “ not all answered. The Lord hath put a Price in my
 “ Hand, and I am sometimes busy. We have very few
 “ Friends here, but we are very well seen to: But, O
 “ pray, pray much for us; for a wrong Cast is soon got-
 “ ten, but not so easily cast off.

I am

your Friend in the Lord,

WALTER SMITH.

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING formerly earnestly requested all the Lord's People, that what remarkable Passages in the Lives and Deaths of these Worthies, *Semple, Peden, Welwood, Cameron*, had escaped me, or not surely informed of, that they would send distinct Accounts of the same ; and I promised they should be carefully transmitted accordingly. The following Accounts are come to my Hand by Word and Writ since ;

As, 1. The foresaid *John Semple* Minister in *Carsfairn*, who always spent much of his Time in Prayer, especially about the unhappy Restoration of *Charles II.* said to several Friends, That he could make nothing of him ; but was perswaded, that he will be a sad mortal Enemy to Christ's Interest and People in this Land. 2. One Day, as he came in to the Kirk, he found many sleeping ; when he entred the Pulpit, he cried with a great Shout, And is the Devil come here before me ? Whereby all were awakened, thinking truly he had seen the Devil, and slept no more that Day. 3. At another Time, preaching in a neighbouring Kirk, seeing the People gazing on him, said, Sirs, look not on me, but come had up your toom Dish with mine to the Lord, that they may be filled. When under his Hiding, after the Restoration, one Night lying in a Bed with another Minister, the Backside of the Bed where he lay fell down to the Ground ; the Enemies came and carried away that Minister Prisoner, but found not *John*, which

was a very remarkable Providence, his Time of falling into their Hands not being yet come.

2dly, In the Year 1682, Mr. *Peden* preaching in *Douglas Town-head*, in that good Family of Children, *Gavin, James, Archibald*, and *Jean Wilson's*, being all my Acquaintance, especially *James*, of whom I frequently spoke of. Before he began, he gave some stedfast frowning Looks to a Woman, as his Ordinary was upon unhappy Persons, and said to *Gavin*, Cause your Servants put out that Woman with the pirnie Plaid, I will not begin while she is here, for she is a Witch ; of which she gave holding Presumptions afterwards. 2. About the same Time wading *Douglas-Water* very deep, came to a House there ; the Goodwife of the House insisted (as most part of Women do not keep a Bridle-hand) in chiding of him ; which made him to fret, and said, I wonder that your Tongue is not sore with so much idle Clatter. She said, I never had a sore Tongue nor Mouth all my Days. He said, It will not be long so. Accordingly her Tongue and Gooms swelled so, that she could get no Meat taken for some Days. 3. A Gentleman born in *Ireland* writes to me, That he frequently heard his Father and Mother give an Account : In the Year 1685, a little before Mr. *Peden* came last out of *Ireland*, they heard him preach, as frequently they did, in the House of *David Reid* in *Glenrharrie*. In his Sermon, he said, *That Ireland's Trouble would not continue 25 Years, as poor Scotland's had done ; that it would come in a Moon-light Night, that would put all Ireland in a Gast*. Accordingly, that Night the *Irish* Papists began their Massacre, it was a very bright Moon-light. When praying, he said, *The Lord rebuke thee Joseph Mitchelson, that thirsts and hunts for my Life and Blood, as a Scent-dog does for Birds ;*

but God shall stop thee of thy Designs, and smite thee at such a Time and Way, when thou art not aware, and make a miserable End, that thou shalt never overtake me. That *Joseph Mitchelson* had got a Commission to make Search and apprehend *Mr. Peden*, and send him over to *Scotland* to get him cut off; accordingly that same Night he was in Search for him, and by the Way fell o'er a Brae, that disabled him so, that he never travelled more, but died in a most miserable Condition, eaten up of Vermine. And since, an old Man come from *Ireland*, and who knew *Mr. Peden* and *Mitchelson* both, confirmed the same.

4. Immediately after this, he came to *Scotland*, of which formerly I gave an Account, being Killing-time, 1685. The Enemies came upon a House where he was, suddenly and surprisngly; which was not his Ordinary, but to get, take, and give Warning to others. The Goodwife of the House would not suffer him to stay within the House. He said, There might be Safety within it, but none to go out. She said, Come of him what would, he should not stay within. One Man being with him, they ran in to the Byre, where they found a Heap of cast-by foul Fodder in the Nook thereof, under which they crept. The Enemies stobbed the Beds with Swords, searcht Barn and Byre, but touched not the Place where they lay. He was kept in Dark and Doubts, whether Safety or present Death, with more than ordinary Fear upon him until the Morning; then quietly said, Now, let them range and search as much and as long as they please, they shall not touch us. They lay until the Morning-light, that the Enemies marcht, and then took their Way. A Minister gives this Relation, who had it from that Man's Mouth who was with him.

5. Some Time after he came last from *Ireland*, he came to his old Parish at *Glenluce*, to whom he still owned a Relation, and had a Concern and Sympathy above all other Parishes, and prayed for them when in *Ireland*, altho' he never entred that Pulpit from the Time that he laid an Arrestment upon it; accordingly he, and some of his old Elders, and other friendly Parishoners, appointed a Fast in that Parish, it being Killing-time. When the Day came, he and some other Friends going to the Place, going by *Drumpalc*, the Family thereof being busy working amongst Hay, he said, That Man and his Family have no spare Time to join with us, in mourning over the dreadful Things in this Time; but in a little Time, there shall dreadful Sins fall out in that Family, which shall make him and his Family contemptible: Accordingly it came to pass, he fell in Adultery, and the Mother thereof murdered that Child, which ruined him and his Family. I had this Account in Writ from an old Man who lives in *Glenluce*, and affirms, that there are other old People alive in that Bounds, who can Assert the Truth of this Passage.

6. A Christian Friend, many Miles distant, writes to me, That he was surely informed, that Mr. *Peden* one Sabbath-day was to preach in *Carrick*, in the Parish of *Ballatree* four Miles from the Town. The Tent was set up upon *Kennedy* the Laird of *Glenour's* Ground; but altho' he was a great Professor, would not let it stand upon his Ground, possibly for Fear of the 500 Merks of Fine upon all on whose Ground the Rendezvous of Rebellion, the Field-Conventicles, was found, wickedly so called in those Days by the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant Faction. The Tent was lifted over a Water, and set upon *Kennedy* Laird of *Kirkhill's* Ground, who hindred them not. In Preface, Mr. Pe-

den said, the Laird, who would not suffer a bit of God's Ground to preach Christ's Gospel upon, his thriving Days were done : Three Things should befall him ; 1. His Inheritance should vomit out his Name. 2. His House should stand desolate. 3. And his Offspring come to Poverty : And the Laird upon whose Ground I now stand, he and his shall increase in Riches and Honour. All which is exactly come to pass, to the Observation of many : For there is one *Fergusson* that possesses *Glenour's* Lairdship, and his House standing without Roof, and many know his Children are come to very great Poverty ; and *Kirkhill's* Grandson is now a Baron, and his Rent a Year is about 10000 Merks, which was then about 2000.

3dly, An old Christian Sufferer, yet alive in the Parish of *Orr* in *Galloway*, writes to me, That in the Year 1677, he heard Mr. *John Welwood* preach in the South, near the Border. A Gentleman came four or five Miles to stop him from preaching on his Ground. Mr. *Welwood* was begun ere he came ; Mr. *Welwood* had sung in the 24 Psalm, *The Earth's the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof* : And, Prefacing upon the same, as their Ordinary then was, said, Tho' the Earth be the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof, &c. yet the poor Fools of the World will not allow a Bit of his Earth to preach his Gospel upon. The Gentleman standing at the Side of the People, going to discharge him from preaching upon his Ground, these Words so pierced him, that he sat down and heard him through the Day, went Home, and set up the Worship of God in his Family, and very shortly thereafter joined himself in a Society-Meeting, where my Informer was present, and thereafter became a Sufferer himself, but not unto Death.

4thly, I gave an Account formerly, that Mr. *Cameron*

was in *Holland* in the Time of *Bothwel*, June 22. 1679, and that shortly thereafter he was ordained ; And what the clear long-sighted *M^r Ward* said, when his Hand was upon his Head, and that he came to *Scotland* in the End of 1679 : Another old Christian Sufferer told me, that he married him a little after he came Home. After he had spent some Time in going from Minister to Minister, of these who formerly displayed the publick Standard of the Gospel, as blest *M^r Ward* advised him ; but could prevail with none, except blest *Cargill* and *Mr. Douglas*. In the Beginning of the Year 1680, he went to the West ; and tho' they had wanted the publick preached Gospel only about six Months, for some Time could get none to call him to preach publicly, he turned very melancholy. The Laird of *Logan* of that Ilk, in the Parish of *Cumnock* (esteemed by all for a good Man) and the Laird of *Horsecleugh* represented him as a *Jesuite*, and naughty Person : At length some of the Lord's People, who had retained their former Zeal and Faithfulness, called him to preach the Word in the same Parish. When he began, he exhorted the People to mind that they were in the Sight and Presence of a holy God, and that all of them were hastning to an endless State, either of Well or Wo, and that there was no Mids. One *Andrew Dalziel* a Debauchee (a Cocker or Fowler) being in the House, it being a stormy Day, cried out, *Sir, we neither know you nor your God.* *Mr. Cameron* musing a little, said, *Ye, and all that do not know my God in his Mercy, shall know him in his Judgments, which shall be sudden and surprising in a few Days upon you, which shall make you a Terror to yourself, and all that shall be Witness to your Death ; and I, as a sent Servant of Jesus Christ, whose Commission I bear, and whose Badge or Blaze is upon*

my Breast, give you Warning, and leave you to the Justice of God. Accordingly, in a few Days thereafter, the foresaid *Andrew*, being in perfect Health, took his Breakfast plentifully, and, before he arose, fell a vomiting, and vomit his Heart's Blood in the very Vessel out of which he got his Breakfast, and died in a frightful Manner: This astonishing Passage, together with the Power and Presence of the Lord going along with the Gospel-Ordinances dispensed by him in that six Months before his bloody Death, wherein he ran fast, his Time being short, he was taught and helped of the Lord to let down the Net at the right Side of the Ship, where there was in every publick Day many catcht, to their Conviction, Couversion, Confirmation, Comfort and Edification, according as their various Cases were. Our Martyrs, Sufferers, and other Christians had to tell to the Fearers of the Lord, what he did for their Souls at such Times and Places, both in their Life and at their bloody Deaths; these signal Manifestations of the Lord's Love and Pity in these Sun-blink Days of the Gospel, not only of clear enlightning Light, but also of the vehement Heat, to thaw, warm and melt their Hearts in such a Flame of Love to the Lord Jesus Christ, and such a Zeal upon their Spirits for the Concerns of his Glory, that made them willing and ready to spend and be spent and rejoice that they were counted worthy to die for the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ; which deserves to be recorded to all Generations. The Report of these strange Things occasioned Calls to come to him for dispensing of publick Gospel-Ordinances, from all Corners in the South and West of *Scotland*; and made the Lairds of *Logan* and *Horsecleugh*, who had vented themselves against him in a strange Way, disswading all from countenancing him any Manner of Way, to desire

a Conference with him, which he willingly granted ; where, and when they had a very friendly Conference, which obliged them to say, That they had been far in the Wrong to him, and requested him to forgive them. He said, From his Heart he forgave them for what Wrongs they had done to him ; but, for what Wrongs they had done to the Interest of Christ, it was not his Part, but was perswaded they would be remarkably punished for it. He rebuked *Logan*, and said, Your Family shall be written Childless ; which is now more and more taken Notice of by many, tho' 50 Years since it was foretold, that none of his Offspring have Children. And that Reproof to *Horsecleugh*, that he should suffer by Burning, which shortly thereafter was seen by many upon his House. I wrote these foregoing Accounts since the publishing of *Cameron's Life*, from the Mouth of an old Christian Sufferer, whom I have not seen these 40 Years before, who was Ear and Eye-witness to all of them, and much more, in that Time. Also another old Sufferer told me, that he heard him preach at the *Hynd-bottom*, near *Cranford-john*, eleven Days before his bloody Death (and many of our old Sufferers told me the same ; but it escaped me formerly in the writing of the Passages of his Life and Death) upon that Text, *You will not come to me, that you may have Life*. In the Time of that Sermon, he fell in such a Rap of calm Weeping, and the greater Part of that Multitude, that there was scarce a dry Cheek to be seen among them ; which obliged him to halt and pray, where he continued long praying for the *Jews* Restoration and Ingrafting again, and for the Fall of *Antichrist*, and that the Lord would hasten the Day, that he was sure was coming, that he would sweep the Throne of *Britain* of that unhappy Race of *Stuarts*. I am further

surely informed, that in that bloody Day of his Death, when that worthy valiant Gentleman *David Hackston of Rathillet*, and *William Manual*, were taken and deadly wounded, with *John Pollock* at *Airdsmoss*, that they stript them of their Shoes and most of their Clothes, and travelled forty Miles upon bare Horse-backs. They had Mr. *Cameron* and *John Fuller's* Heads and Hands in a Sack: When they came to *Lanark*, they carried them into the House of *John Arcle*, and enquired at his Wife *Elisabeth Hope*, if she would buy Calves Heads? They shook them out of the Sack, and drave them up and down the House like Foot-Balls with their Feet. At the Sight of these blood Heads she fainted. They cried, *Take up the old damn'd Whig-Bitch*. Also another old Sufferer, my intimate Acquaintance upwards of forty Years, who had the Experience both of Imprisonment and Banishment, told me, that he was at the *Water-gate* at the Foot of the *Canongate*, when the Enemies came there with these Prisoners Heads and Hands; that he saw them take Mr. *Cameron's* Head out of the Sack, he knew it, being formerly his Hearer, a Man of a fair Complexion, with his own Hair, and his Face very little altered, and put the Point of a Halbert in his blessed Mouth, out of which had proceeded many gracious Words, and turned *Rathillet* upon the Horse, and tied a Gade of Iron upon *William Manual* and *John Pollock's* Necks, and tied the Rope to *Rathillet's* Horse tail, the Hangman leading the Horse with one Hand, and holding up the Halbert with Mr. *Cameron's* Head upon it with the other Hand, up the Street to the Town-Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, crying, There's the Heads and Hands of Traitors, Rebels. As I said before, *William Manual* died of his Wounds entring the Tolbooth, *John Pollock* was thereafter banished; these Heads and Hands

were fixt upon the *Nether-bow-port*, *David Hackston* cruelly murdered at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, and his Body divided in Quarters, and fixt upon sundry Parts, in an unheard-of Manner.

Formerly I gave an Account what Hand Sir *John Cochran* of *Ochiltree* had in Shedding that great Gush of innocent precious dear Blood of Mr. *Cameron*, and these with him at *Airdsmoss*, July 22. 1680. by sending Letters to wicked cursed *Bruce* of *Earlshall* that violent Persecutor, where Mr. *Cameron*, and about sixty Men with him, was to be found ; for which it was and is said by many, and asserted by some, That *Earlshall* got five hundred Pounds *Sterling*, and *Ochiltree* Ten thousand Merks, the Price of Blood. Sometime thereafter, the House of *Ochiltree* was burnt about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon : Some said, by the Juice of Meat ; however, some which were present, told me, that it went so hastily into such a Flame, that there was no Way of saving any Thing that was in it, no not so much as his Charters and Silver-plate. The Castle is standing unbuilt as a Witness to this Day. In the Time of its Burning, his Son said to his Father, This is the Vengeance of *Cameron's* Blood come upon this House. And in that very Morning, about the Break of Day, twelve Men going for Lime, saw a bloody Fire in Form of a Pillar hanging above that House, as they apprehended, two Yards of Length, and one in Breadth, which affrighted them ; at length, they said one to another, Yon's *Cameron's* Blood, and these with him, crying for Vengeance upon that House, which will fall down suddenly upon it.

Lastly, Formerly, when I gave an Account of our merciful Revolution-Dispensation, when we had both Mercy and Judgment to sing of, and what Grievances

were in the State, but far more and greater in the Church, of whom, and when, better Things might have been expected ; There was one great grievous Grievance in the Church that escaped me in the Time of the first General Assembly, the 16 *October* 1690, when Mr. *Shiels*, *Linnen*, and these of us, Commissioners sent from the united Societies to represent our Grievances, and no Answer given, but Frowns for the same : When with great Difficulties we got them presented, the Curates had free Access to present their naughty Papers ; Some Hundreds of them about that Time taken in to the Bosom of the Church, the Serpent's Brood, that had almost stung us unto Death. Here this Church split twice upon one Rock. At the 1638, there was not a Bone of them that would subject themselves to Presbytery, that was refused : This sadly appeared, when there was such a Swarm of the plagued publick Resolutions betwixt the 1650 and 1660, and after the Restoration, when Six hundred of them went back to their old unclean Bed. They had not King *William* to blame for this ; he allowed all the Erroneous, Scandalous, Insufficient and Negligent to be kept out ; which Four, if they had retained so much Zeal and Faithfulness, to have searched these to the Bottom, would have barred the Door upon all of them, beside the Scandal of Scandals of perjured and abjured Prelacy, which now is become a Matter of Indifferency amongst the greater Part, whether Presbytery or Prelacy, if they have the Name of Protestants ; which is a direct Breach of the sixth Article of our Solemn League and Covenant. It is not to be forgotten, what the godly, zealous, and faithful unto the Death, Mr. *William Guthry* Minister in *Fenwick*, said in a publick Sermon, three Years after the Restoration, That the Lord would turn back our Capti-

vity, and that we would get Day about with them. Proposing so many Questions, how this and the other Thing would be? then said, And what will become of all these Turncoat upstart Curates? What will become of them, said he? they will repent, and get Kirks again. We wish them Repentance and Forgiveness, tho' we fear the World will never be deaved with the Noise of it: But, let them repent as they will, their Feet should never file Pulpits again.'

I must again renew my former Request, to all unto whose Hands this may fall, That what further edifying Passages in the Lives and Deaths of the foresaid Worthies, viz. Semple, Peden, Welwood, Cameron, Cargill and Smith, which have escaped me, and not surely informed of, and which are not insert; I hope they will send distinct Accounts of the same to me: And I again promise they shall be carefully transmitted.

F I N I S

THE
LIFE AND DEATH

OF THAT EMINENTLY PIOUS, FREE AND FAITHFUL
MINISTER AND MARTYR OF JESUS CHRIST,

Mr. *JAMES RENWICK*;

WITH A VINDICATION OF THE HEADS OF
HIS DYING TESTIMONY.

WRITTEN BY THE LEARNED AND FAMOUS MR. ALEX-
ANDER SHIELDS, THEN PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL
IN THE FIELDS.

WHEREUNTO IS SUBJOINED,

The Manner of Admission, or Ordaining of Ruling-
Elders, by Mr. *James Renwick*; And some few of
his many Religious Letters.

Diligently compared with the Original, never before Published.

Psal. cxii. 6. — *The Righteous shall be in everlasting Remembrance.*

Ver. 7. *Non livor illum falsa gaudens spargere*

Terrebit, aut Calumnia.

Buchan. Paraph.

EDINBURGH,

Printed for *John M'Main*, M. A. Schoolmaster at
Liberton's Wynd-foot there. MDCCLXXIV.

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

CANDID READER,

IF thou hadst any Knowledge of that eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. *James Renwick*, whose Life is here described, and presented to thy View ; Or of the famous and learned Writer of this rare Piece of *Biographie*, Mr. *Alexander Shields*, his Colleague and Companion in Tribulation, who had Access to know what he relates, either from his own Mouth, whose Life he writes, or others of undoubted Credit, and was Eye and Ear Witness to much thereof, being in the same Circumstances, displaying the same Banner of the Gospel, and bearing Witness to the same Truths and Testimony of Jesus, which the other sealed with his dearest Blood ; I say, if thou hadst known these Persons and Things, thou maist judge it needless and superfluous for me, to usher the following Sheets into publick View with any prolix prefatory Epistle.

Albeit some may desiderate the Reasons of its coming abroad now, and others, against Reason and Religion too, cavil at its coming forth at all ; Yet, it more needs an Apology with the Godly, that so special a Part of the eminent Author's excellent Writings, should have been injuriously retained, and so long detained from their

View and Perusal. It had in a manner been lost, or buried in the Manuscript, and when discovered, was in part sullied and imbeziled; for the Out-side was scarce legible, and half a Sheet of the Original was lost! However, the Copy here published was diligently compared, not only with the Copy it was taken off, but also with the Original, written by Mr. *Shields's* own Hand; and the foresaid Defect supplied, the best it could, in his own Words, out of the *Hind let loose*; being part of his Vindication of the first Head of Mr. *Rennick's* Testimony, which (with all the other Heads of Suffering) is more amply and unanswerably vindicate in that Book.

This little Piece may not ineptly be stiled, *A Supplement* to Mr. *Wodrow's* large *History*; for, as the elegant *Epithets*, and clear Characters, without a Blot, he so liberally bestows on complying, indulged and tolerate Sufferers, would be very deficient, wanting the true and just Additions of other *Encomiums* herein related, concerning their constant and sedulous opposing, exposing, counteracting and contradicting this Martyr, with the Cause and Testimony he earnestly contended and witnessed for to the Death: So, without this *Supplement*, his History contains but a very mank, churlish, unfavourable, yea unfair Account of this faithful Witness, and others with him, to whom *it was given* of their Lord, *not only to believe, but also to suffer for his Name*; who adhered to the Truth, and held the Testimony of Jesus, stedfast unto the Death, and *overcame* all their Enemies *by the Blood of the Lamb, and Word of their Testimony*: While these Ministers and Professors, whom he so much applauds, and whose Sufferings he magnifies, were living at Ease, under the Wings of Antichristian Supremacy and Prelacy; many of them

complying with both, in hearing Curates, accepting their Indulgences and Toleration, compearing at, and owning their Courts, as lawful, and their Tyranny, as just Authority : By these and the like sinful and scandalous Compliances, dishonouring God, betraying Christ's Interests into the Hands of his Enemies, which had a native Tendency to strengthen their Hands, and harden their Hearts unto Perdition ; offending his little Ones, weakening their Hands and grieving their Hearts, and adding to their Affliction and Persecution, by cruel Mockings and vile Reproaches : Whom yet Mr. *Wodrow* therein patronizeth, copies after, and has them for his Vouchers.

Yet, what of constant Fidelity, unfeigned Love, and unbyassed Loyalty to Jesus Christ, sole King in *Zion*, and fervent Zeal according to Scripture-knowledge, and the agreeable Principles of the true Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*, appeared in those Martyrs, he, thro' his *History*, brands and misrepresents, as most unwarrantable *Heats, Heights, Flights, Extravagancies, Extremities*, and the like : For Instance, *Vol. 2d, P. 133.* where, giving a very partial and reproachful Account of those People, very inconsistent with the *Informatory Vindication*, and *Hind let loose*, (which none ever yet could with Truth and Reason refute, or enervate) to which he refers his Reader, for their own Accounts of their Principles and Practices, he adds these, as he calls them, *Alleviating Considerations, as to the Extremities they ran to, viz. The Warmth of their Tempers, their almost invincible Ignorance,—their Converse only with these of their own Party, their want of Ministers for some Years, till they got One, who was very much obliged to follow some of their Managers, their Divisions among*

themselves, and above all, the Rigor and Barbarity with which they——were treated.

Any that observes, how the Love of Christ constrained those Witnesses, and how all the Floods of Fury and Affliction pour'd out on them, could not quench their Love to, nor cool their Zeal (because kindled and maintained by his holy Spirit) for Christ his Truth, Ordinances and Prerogatives; may be astonish'd that Mr. *Wodrow* dare so ignominiously call that fervent Love and Zeal, the sinful *Warmth of their Tempers*. And lest any should infer, that he includes not all under this severe Censure, tho' he excludes none, he is more plain, *Page 298.* where, giving a Reason, why *David M'Millan's* Testimony is quite overlook'd in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, he says, *because this sensible, solid Country Man goes not to the Heights the People, they (the Publishers) have pickt out, run to.* Here he excepts none in that Collection, wherein zealous Mr. *Rennick*, with many other Martyrs, is included. All these, in his Opinion, run to Heights thro' the *Warmth of their Tempers*. A grievous Charge. And insinuates that they were not *Sensible and Solid*, as this Country-man was; Yet the same Country-Man (agreeing with the other Martyrs) *regrets that pretended Friends are the greatest Enemies the Church hath, and leaves his Testimony against the Indulgence, &c.* the Accepters whereof were and are *pretended Friends*: And Mr. *Wodrow* puts the disowning and testifying against the Indulgence and Indulged among the said Heights.

As to the *Ignorance*, in many, it was not invincible, as he terms it; for, tho' they knew not, nor could ever be seduced to learn the paukie Prudence and wily Shifts to shun Sufferings by Sinful Yieldings, which their Tra-

ducers did then, and still do practise, to the great Damage of the Church, and Dishonour of Christ her Head; yet, it was observed they had been taught of GOD, *the Wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, &c.* And tho' some were left in Ignorance, partly thro' the Ministers deserting them, and declining their Duty, *Ezek. xxxiv. 2. to 11.* yet their Ignorance also proved vincible, when they had got that *One Minister*, whom he so reproaches, whom they cheerfully followed, in all Hazards. It is no Mark of such Ignorance, but rather an Evidence of Knowledge, that, as according to the Word they withdraw from, and refused to follow these Ministers, who, becoming Covenant-breakers, and disorderly Walkers, then ceased to be Followers of Christ; So, they readily embraced, and became Followers of the first One, who professed to follow the LORD fully.

That one Minister, *who*, he says, *was very much obliged to follow some of their Managers*, was Mr. James Renwick: of whom, P. 585. he says, *His falling in with the Tenets, Declarations and Heights,—his being necessarily led by his Followers—instead of leading them, &c. kept most part of Presbyterians from joining with him.* This Obloquie and false Report, *viz.* that *he was led by his Followers*, altho' taken up against that eminent Martyr and Minister of Christ and his Followers from his and their Adversaries, Mr. Wodrow makes himself the Author and Spreader of, by asserting and inserting such Calumnies; and may see himself attainted and refuted in the following Sheets: Wherein also he and all may see both the Causes and Causers of Divisions, far otherwise related, than he doth. And that the Rigour and Barbarity wherewith Sufferers were treated, was not *above all* (as he says)

or the principal Reason of the Extremities, that any run to ; but rather the great Unfaithfulness, Defection and Compliance of Ministers was the Occasion and Cause, above all that Enemies could do : And any, who did run to Extremities, were none of Mr. *Rennick's* Followers, but his Antagonists ; such as sinful Compliers, indulged and tolerate Ministers and Professors, on the Left-hand ; and sinful Decliners, erroneous *Gib, Russel, Mr. Flint* and *Grant* with their Adherents, on the Right-hand : Against all which, Mr. *Rennick* and his Followers earnestly contended, and testified with Constancy and Fidelity.

As by the following Relation, it will be evident how it came to pass, that these much honoured Sufferers *for some Years wanted Ministers, viz.* because all then left alive, had either fled when they saw the Wolf coming, and left the Sheep ; or deserted their Duty and Reformation-Principles : So, it will also be manifest by the Sequel that Mr. *Wodrow* misrepresents them, in saying, *They would converse only with these of their own Party ;* for then, as ever since, they were still more willing and ready to converse with others, that had declined them and their Duty, than such were to entertain Converse with them. However,

The unbyassed Reader, on Perusal of this Piece, may observe and judge how cruel this Man's tender Mercies are, towards those chosen, called and faithful Followers of the Lamb, who could find no more charitable Considerations, to alleviate the heavy and hainous Charge of these Heights and Extremities, he loads them with, than the above said gravaminous Alleviations, or calumnious Allegations. Wherein he but imitates, or perhaps has for his Authors and Vouchers, these Ministers and Professors, whose Defections the

reproach'd Witnesses for Truth could not comply with, whose Anticovenanted Compliance they durst not be silent at, nor cease to testify against; And whose Calumnies are in this Narrative related and refuted. All which Mr. *Wodrow* knew well enough, having in his Custody, and abusively perusing this and other original Papers (as he says) belonging to that Party.

From what is above-hinted, Reasons may be conjectured why he kept up this Original Manuscript, not allowing even a Copy thereof to be had, at any Rate, when importun'd thereunto; and why he detains other Authentick Papers under Mr. *Renwick's* own Hand, and Records of their general Meetings, &c. Those containing Truths, which he was unwilling to have revealed, to the Disadvantage of these Men, whose Sufferings (not unto Death; for few of them *resisted unto Blood, striving against the Sins of that Day*) he proposed to relate; And they running in a Strain, not only contrary to the Scope of his *History*, but also agreeing with old Reformation-Principles, crossing and condemning the present Course of Defection. And he warily adverting, that hereby his Partiality would be discovered; and that his writing so much against that Cloud of Witnesses, and the Cause and Testimony they held, was not for want of Information, nor a Sin of Ignorance. The Reader may judge, if Mr. *Wodrow* has given as distinct an Abstract of Matter of Fact (as he says) in Mr. *Renwick's* Life, as he could, after Perusal of this, and comparing therewith, what he relates thereof, Page 630 to 638.

It is granted, he there calls Mr. *Renwick*, a *pious Person, a good Man, a Minister*, and again, *this zealous, serious and pious Youth*: But that it is no better than

the Testimony of an Adversary, and extorted from him, doth appear by his false and severe Innuendo, that he run to *Lengths*, as led, or *overdriven by several of the People he was embarked with*; By which *Lengths* he still seems to insinuate the foresaid sinful *Heats, Heights and Extremities*, inconsistent with the Character of a good, zealous and pious Minister. His Partiality here also appears, in that he never imputes any sinful *Heights, Lengths, or Extremities* to these of his Side, who went so great *Lengths* of Compliance with all the Defections.

If any ask, what were these *Heights, Lengths, &c.* which Mr. *Wodrow* so oft exclaims against in these Martyrs? The *Answer* may be gathered from his own Words, *Vol. 2. P. 26.* “ It is very certain (says he) “ that about this Time (*April 1679.*) Matters were “ running to sad *Heights* among armed Followers of “ some Field-meetings—but—there was yet no Dis- “ owning the King’s Authority, tho’ it was some of these “ —who afterwards did come this *Length*. And un- “ till this Spring, nothing of unsound Doctrine could “ be at all charg’d upon Field-Preachers, and it was “ but some few run this Way either. Indeed Separation and *Schism* from the Indulged, was now violently inculcate”——Where ’tis plain, he makes *disowning that King’s Authority* the furthest *Length* of these *Heights*; and *Separation from the Indulged* and other Compliers (*Bonders, Cess-payers, &c.*) *sad Heights*, tho’ not so high as the other. Then, according to his Opinion, to disown Tyranny, Supremacy, Erastianism, and all Compliance therewith, and for Ministers to declare against the same, and to shew the People their Sin and Danger in that Compliance, &c. was unsound Doctrine. But,

If this were Mr. *Wodrow's* Opinion alone, and not the common Opinion of all Compilers with, and Connivers at Erastian Encroachments, the less might serve against it: And these Points, thus condemned, being Heads of the Martyrs Testimony, particularly Mr. *Renwick's*, and sufficiently vindicate by the Author, I shall say little of them. Only Posterity may question, if they could be Men of sound Principles, who durst say or insinuate, That disowning the Tyranny of an Apostate, perjured Tyrant, who had abolished and renounc'd all legal and sacred Bonds and Conditions, on which he was admitted to the Government, had boldly broken and condemned the Solemn Covenant he had sworn to GOD with his People, had subverted and inverted all the Ends thereof, and made it criminal to own the same, or to offer Allegiance in the Terms express'd therein, and persecute all that offered Allegiance so qualified, or with Scripture-Qualifications (perceiving such could not be Applicable to Tyrants) and that did not subject to and own in him a blasphemous *Supremacy* and *Absolute Power*? Sure any who call such manifest Tyranny the Authority that should be owned for Conscience, or account it a sinful Height to disown the same, speak not according to Scripture, but against the Scripture the Covenant, and the best Constitutions, Acts and Actings of Church and State, *Anno* 1649, with Relation to that Tyrant and his Successors: And must consequently approve and allow of their Tyranny and Persecution.

That none may reckon these last Words harsh, hear what Mr. *Wodrow* himself says, *Vol.* 2. P. 439. speaking of the Sufferers *Apologetical Declaration*, and the Severities that followed, adds he, " I do not at all offer to defend that Paper; yea, I really think, Allowances may be made to the Managers (*i. e.* the Persecutors)

“ when they reckon’d they had gotten such an open, Af-
 “ front : And I could bear with them, in going further
 “ now, than upon other Occasions’——We are here told
 what he and these of his *Lay really think, viz.* that Al-
 lowances be allowed to the Enemies of God and Reli-
 gion, to persecute and murder his Saints ; and because
 he and such felt not the Effects of their Satanical Rage
 and Fury, they can *bear with* their pouring out the same
 upon the Members and Martyrs of Jesus. *Is it Nothing*
to you, all ye that pass by ?——

Yea, he frequently speaks in Favours of that woful
 tyrannical Power, as if it were lawful Authority : with-
 al insinuating, that the Martyrs, who died refusing to
 own it, died as Fools, and in an Error : As *Vol. 2. Page*
137. he says, “ Rejecting the King’s Authority was un-
 “ happily broached——*And again,* Some few died re-
 “ fusing to own Authority : Some run this Debate very
 “ high, and their Arguments are at full Length in the
 “ *Hind let loose’——*But seeing he regards not all
 their Arguments advanced from Scripture, Reason and
 best humane Authorities in that Book, I shall only re-
 fer the Reader to the same : The Author thereof avouch-
 eth in his Preface, that there is nothing therein, but
 what is confirmed by Authors of greatest Note and Re-
 pute in our Church, viz. *Buchanan, Knox, Calderwood,*
Acts of General Assemblies, Causes of Wrath, Lex Rex,
Apologetical Relation, Naphtali, Jus Populi, History of
Indulgence, Banders Disbanded, Rectius Instruendum,
 &c. I add Mr. *M^cWard’s Earnest Pleadings,* printed
 1723. And particularly to the Vindication of Mr. *Ren-*
wick’s Testimony here following. All which will be of
 more Weight and Authority with judicious, sound and
 tender Christians, than any thing Mr. *Wodrow,* or any
 of his Opinion, either has offered, or can advance to the

Contrary, of what they solidly advance and soundly prove.

And as to the other *Heights* that he charges the Sufferers with, of *separating* from the Indulged, Banders, Cess-payers, and the like Compliers with that Tyranny and Conspiracy against Religion and Liberty; How else could they, according to the Word and their solemn Oath, *sincerely, really and constantly endeavour, in their several Places and Callings, the Preservation of the Reformed Religion, in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against common Enemies*; Whom the Indulged, &c. complied with, connived at, and countenanced, to the Detriment of the reformed Religion, and strengthening of its Enemies Hands in abolishing thereof? It is evident, these, who receded from that reformed Religion, in their Compliances, were Makers of the Schism, and not those who stood to their Covenant. How could they, *in like Manner, sincerely, really and constantly, without Respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Erastianism, Profaneness, and whatever was found to be contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness*; in associating with them, Indulged or others, who ceased from such Endeavours, and complied with, and held their Ministry of such as were promoting all these Things to be extirpated? Certainly these who would keep their Covenant, should not follow Covenant-breakers. See the *History of Indulgence, Banders disbanded*, and Mr. M'Ward's *Earnest Contending*.

How durst they, who were bound as in *Art. 3d.* associate with, or say a Confederacy to all them that were undoing and mancipating the Privileges and Liberties

of the Kingdom, and upholding and defending Tyranny, in the destroying and persecuting of the true Religion?

How could they, *with all Faithfulness endeavour to discover and bring to public Trial and condign Punishment all Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, hindring Reformation of Religion, and making a Faction and Party, contrary to the League and Covenant*; if they should join with these that were strengthening that Faction, and Conspiracy against the Reformation of Religion, subjecting to, and owning as lawful Authority, the Power of the chief Malignants, Incendiaries and evil Instruments? Or, *endeavour, that these Kingdoms might remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that Justice be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, if they should be found in Association with them that owned, as lawful Magistrates, the wilful Rescinders and Dissolvers of the Bond of that Peace and Union, the sacred and solemn Covenant?*

How could they *in the Cause of Religion, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all that join'd in this League and Covenant, in the maintaining thereof, and not suffer themselves directly, or indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, either to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give themselves to a detestable Indifferency, or Neutrality in this Cause,——if they had followed these, who suffered themselves, directly and indirectly, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed Union, and made Defection to the contrary, giving themselves to a detestable Indifferency and Neutrality in the Cause foresaid; instead of assisting and defending these who join'd in that League and Covenant.*

These few Queries, among many that might be stated, in Vindication of that Head of their Testimony, (or Height, as he calls it) will, upon due Consideration, be found the more difficult to answer satisfyingly, that the LORD commands all his People (these Godly Ministers, who complied, as well as others) to *come out from among* such, as they associated with, and *be ye Separate*, &c. 2 Cor. vi. 14, to 18. and that we are not allowed to be Followers of any Man (tho' an Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 1.) but in so far as they are Followers of Christ: The Opinion and Practice of the Apostle *Peter* did once lead many out of the right Way, Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13. And too many danced to Death before the Calf, cast and set up by *Aaron*, the Saint of GOD. We must not *follow a Multitude*, even of good Men, in Evil: And should *abstain from all Appearance of Evil*.

And for the other Heads of Suffering, which Mr. *Wodrow* calls *Heights*; as Mr. *Rennick* testified to the Death, against *paying the Cess* to malignant Usurpers, and for the Lawfulness of defending the Gospel, and those that heard it preached in the Fields, with *defensive Arms*; so, these Heads of his Testimony are here soundly and sufficiently vindicated by the Writer of his Life.

The worthy Author of this choice Piece of *Biographie*, whose excellent Abilities, well discovered in that accurate and unanswerable *Hind let loose*, might have procured him higher Estimation, and more *Praise in the Churches*, than he found; wrote also a *Relation* of his own *Sufferings*, with large and pertinent *Observations* upon all the material Passages of his *Trials, Examinations, and Disputations*; wherein is an elaborate *Defence* of the Doctrine of *Resistance, or Defensive Arms*, and

of the *Apologetical Declaration* (which Mr. *Wodrow* grants the *Enemies Allowance* to persecute the *Publishers and Owners* for) and of other *Heads of Sufferings*: It was printed in the Year 1715. After his *Escape* out of the *Enemies Hands* and those *Sufferings*, he entred upon a new *Train of Difficulties and Dangers*, by joining with Mr. *Renwick*, and the suffering *Remnant* adhering to him, in *December 1686*, at a *General Meeting*, where he espoused the *Testimony* in the whole *Heads* thereof, as stated in, and read to him from the *Informatory Vindication*; as Mr. *Renwick's* Letters fully shew.

Whom, tho' Mr. *Wodrow* (*Page 494*) commends, as a *Minister of extraordinary Talents*, &c. Yet insinuates, that he went irregular *Lengths*; which he excuses in him, as being *in the troubled and oppressed State of the Church, when Rules can scarce be kept*; but especially because (he says) *he came in with a Testimony against what he took to be wrong,——and brought Multitudes with him to join.*——This *Testimony* was the *large Paper*, containing a remonstrance of the many gross and grievous *Defections and Encroachments* of that *Period*, and *Compliances* with them by most *Ministers and Professors*, given in by Mr. *Shields*, and other two, which he dropt at the *Feet* of them, who trampled it, and (tho' they did not rent him, yet) soon made themselves quit of him, not without *Guilt of his Blood*: For that *Assembly 1690*, (as in their *5th Act*) would neither hear nor heed his *Testimony*, but voted it out of *Doors*, upon the *Report* of the *Committee of Overtures*, who condemned it, as not fit to be read in the *Assembly*, in regard, *it doth contain* (they say) *gross Mistakes, unseasonable and impracticable Proposals, and uncharitable and injurious Reflections, tending rather to kindle Contentions, than to compose Divisions.*——

This *Report* the Assembly doth *deliberately approve in the haill Heads thereof*, (as a later Assembly, *Anno 1720*, did, Act 5th, concerning a Book Intituled, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*) without ever hearing the Paper thus condemned. But because the said *large Paper* is out of Print, and few can have Access to see it, tho' published by the In-givers, in a Pamphlet, Intituled, *An Account of the Methods and Motives of the late Union, and Submission to the Assembly 1690*, I shall present the Reader with a large Abstract thereof, (the whole being above two Sheets) in their own Words.

“ *To the Moderator and remanent Members of the General Assembly, now convened at Edinburgh, October 1690, The humble PROPOSALS of Mr. Alexander Shields, &c.*

“ IF our Eye could suitably affect our Hearts this Day, *Right Reverend*, we might find much Matter, both of Rejoicing and Mourning, in the wonderful Commencement and Advancement of this *Work of Reformation*.——We are called to rejoice with Thanksgiving for——the Mercy of God——manifested and magnified in the Progress of this Work hitherto: That——the Lord hath been pleased in sovereign Mercy——to prevent and surprize us——with such a Reviving in our Bondage,——by the Repression of *Tyranny*, Suppression of *Popery*, and Depression of *Pre-lacy*.——When the *Doctrine* of this Church is asserted, and the *Confession of Faith* formerly received, is read, voted, approven and established by Parliament,——The *Worship* and *Ordinances* of Christ are administred in great Purity, Plenty and Peace; The

“ *Government* of Christ’s Institution, is at Length re-
“ stored to what it was *Anno* 1592.—And the *Disci-*
“ *pline* retrieved to such a Fond of Freedom, that all
“ *Ecclesiastick* Courts may, without Restraint, or being
“ accountable to any exotick usurped Power in the Ma-
“ gistrate, assert all the Authority, and exercise the
“ Power, wherewith Christ hath entrusted them. Which
“ Power, if duly and diligently improved, and put in Ex-
“ ecution, may, through the Blessing of God, contribute
“ very much to the reducing of *Order*, and the Redress of
“ many *Disorders* in this Church. And now the Causes
“ of our Disunion and Division, in Times of Defection,
“ being in a great Measure removed, when *Erastian*
“ Usurpations are abrogated, the Church’s *Intrinsick*
“ Power redintegrated, and the Corruptions introduced
“ by *Compliances*, so far abdicated and antiquated that
“ they are not, in the Constitution of the Church, and
“ do not continue to be the Scandal and Snare of the
“ Times ; we hope and expect a Remedy may be found
“ for our Breaches and Divisions, that we thought in-
“ curable ; and Union and Communion in the Lord may
“ be attained.—We are no less obliged to mourn,
“ when we observe this House of the Lord so unlike the
“ former, wanting many Things the former had, and
“ pestred with many Things the former wanted —
“ They that have seen our former Reformation in its in-
“ tegrity, before the late Deformation, can hardly re-
“ frain from weeping at the Sight of the sad Dispropor-
“ tion between this and the former. In the *former*, as
“ the Constitution was calculate in the nearest Confor-
“ mity to the divine Pattern ; so the Builders had al-
“ ways a Care to pull down what was to be demolished,
“ before they established what was to stand ; and to
“ purge away the Rubbish from the Foundation, before

“ they promoted the Superstructure: Accordingly,
 “ when *Prelacy* was reintroduced at several Times, the
 “ first thing they did, when they recovered their *Power*,
 “ was always to exert it, in Condemnation of that *Cor-*
 “ *ruption*, and of these *Assemblies* and *Meetings* that pro-
 “ moved, abetted, favoured, or complied. And when
 “ the *Erastian Supremacy* began to encroach upon the
 “ Church’s Liberties, and to bring the Ministry into Bon-
 “ dage, they did not think it enough to wrestle against
 “ it, by personal Witnessings; but, by the good Hand of
 “ God upon their Endeavours, never ceased until it was
 “ condemned by Acts of Assembly. They proceeded
 “ also with great Earnestness and Vigilance, to purge
 “ the Church of corrupt and scandalous Ministers.—
 “ But now, after all the Rubbish and Filth, brought in-
 “ to the House of God, by the *Invasions* and *Usurpa-*
 “ *tions* of the Enemies, and *Defections* of Friends, when
 “ now Opportunity and Capacity is given to *rebuild* and
 “ beautify the House of the Lord, and to repair the De-
 “ solations thereof, the present Building is so far ad-
 “ vanced, without pulling down and purging away the
 “ *Rubbish*, and condemning these *Corruptions* and *De-*
 “ *flections*, in Compliance with them, or confessing and
 “ forsaking them, as our Fathers used to do: ————And
 “ the *Prelatical Clergy*, after all the Evil they have
 “ done, and bitter Fruits they have produced, are yet
 “ kept in many Places, and like to continue, as a Se-
 “ minary and Nursery of a corrupt Ministry. As long
 “ as all this Rubbish stands, there can be little Hope
 “ either of Purity or Stability in the Superstructure.

“ In former *Reformations* also, the Advancement used
 “ to be progressive, beginning where the former Refor-
 “ mation stopt, and going forward, after, they had got
 “ removed what obstructed: But NOW, the Motion is

“ Retrograde, going as far back as that in 1592, missing
 “ many excellent Steps of Reformation attained after
 “ that to 1649. In former Reformations, our worthy
 “ Ancestors used to begin with *Renovation* of the *National Covenants*, and *Acknowledgments* of the *Breaches*
 “ thereof, which hitherto hath been neglected to the
 “ great Grief of many.

“ It is also Matter of Lamentation to reflect, that in
 “ *former Reformations*, tho’ Adversaries troubled the
 “ Builders, and hired Counsellors against them, to
 “ frustrate their Purpose ; Yet, being furnished and
 “ spirited of the LORD, for that Generation-work, they
 “ never studied to *please Men*, but to acquit themselves,
 “ as faithful Servants of their princely Master Jesus
 “ Christ, in witnessing against all *Sins* and *Corruptions*
 “ of great and small impartially ; and in Acts of As-
 “ sembly, ordaining and recommending to all Ministers,
 “ this *Faithfulness*, in applying their Doctrine to the
 “ *Sins of the Time*, under Pain of Censure : But NOW,
 “ tho’ there was never greater Freedom and Encourage-
 “ ment for, and Necessity of Faithfulness, when the
 “ Adversaries of *Judah* are seeking to build, but on
 “ Design to mar the Work, and many are too much in-
 “ clining to join in Affinity with the People of these
 “ Abominations ; Yet it is sadly wanting, and much
 “ desiderated among many Ministers ; who being long
 “ accustomed to Fears, and constrained Silence,—have
 “ not yet recovered their Confidence and Courage to
 “ cry aloud against, and not to spare the Iniquities of
 “ the Time.—

“ Tho’ in *former Reformations*, this Church was—
 “ for Order and Authority, beautiful as *Tirzah*, comely
 “ as *Jerusalem*, and terrible as an Army with Banners ;
 “ ———Yet NOW alas ! the Crown hath fallen from

" our Heads, wo unto us that we have sinned. This
 " holy and beautiful Fabrick hath been burnt up, with
 " the Fire of Enemies Fury, with the Fire of our Di-
 " visions, and with the Fire of the LORD's Indigna-
 " tion, burning against us for our Defections, whereby
 " the LORD was provoked to forsake his House ; and
 " since his Departure, there hath been Nothing but
 " Disorder among his Children and Servants. The
 " *Popish, Prelatick and Malignant Party*, have come
 " in by Force and Fraud, and by the Cedings of those,
 " that should have stood in the Gap, and broke down
 " the carved Work of our *Covenanted Reformation*,—
 " rescinding all the legal Bulwarks of Ecclesiastical
 " Constitutions, Civil Sanctions, and *National Cove-*
 " *nants*, wherewith it was fenced : Wherein alas ! they
 " were too much encouraged by our faint Resistance,
 " and too universal Involvement in the Sin of Sub-
 " mitting to, and Countenancing of the Intrusions of
 " the *Prelatical Party*. At length, having set up these
 " their Ensigns for Signs, in Sign of complete Victory,
 " obtain'd over the Servants and Subjects of our ex-
 " alted *Prince*, after they had *invaded* his Kingdom and
 " Palace, and made Havock and Slaughter of such as
 " would not yield ; they offered some tempting *Terms*,
 " whereupon they would suffer them to live in Subjec-
 " tion to these *Usurpations*, painted indeed with Pre-
 " tences of *Favours*, but really, at least indirectly, re-
 " quiring a Recognizance of the *Usurpers Power*, and a
 " Cessation from opposing the peaceable Possession
 " of their Robberies. These and the like Defections,
 " on the one Hand, together with many Extravagancies
 " on the other, have brought the Godly into many Con-
 " fusions.—

" We did indeed demur to concur with and follow,

“ and did think it our Duty to withdraw from these Mi-
 “ nisters—who promoted Courses of Defection after-
 “ specified ; and to adhere to those (tho’ but few) who
 “ were more stedfast and faithful——. When
 “ the Case was so stated, that we thought Communion
 “ could not be kept by us with them, from whom we
 “ withdrew, without Sin ; while the very Exercise of
 “ their Ministry was so far depending upon, subor-
 “ dinate unto, complying with, modified and autho-
 “ rized by *Unlawful Usurpations*, that our joining
 “ would have inferred, at least in our Conscience, a
 “ Submission to, symbolizing with, and approving of
 “ their offensive Yieldings to these Encroachments.
 “ Yet we never thought this a Schism:————
 “ Therefore,

“ That this happy and desirable *Union*, may be holy
 “ and comfortable, in a Way that may procure, and
 “ secure our *Union* and *Communion* with the LORD :
 “ And——considering, in all the Periods of this
 “ Church, from the first Reformation, a Witness hath
 “ never been wanting, against the same, or equivalent
 “ Corruptions, that have offended us: And no Method
 “ can be more adapted for recovering and restoring *Union*,
 “ than that which was used for preserving it: And that
 “ having aimed hitherto, to offer and keep up our Mite
 “ of a Testimony——against the same ; If now, under
 “ the Convictions of its remaining Righteousness, we
 “ shall pass from it ; and so seem to condemn what we
 “ approved before, and approve what we condemned
 “ before, it will leave an indelible Reproach, not only
 “ on our selves, but on our Contendings and Suffer-
 “ ings.——

“ We earnestly desire, Right Reverend, you would
 “ be pleased to condescend to us, in some Things, that

“ we humbly conceive, are very needful, just to be
“ sought, and easie to be granted. We know and are
“ confident, your Zeal for Truth and Peace, will suggest
“ the same Means and Measures, for obtaining this End,
“ and will urge you to take notice of the same Things,
“ we desire, without our Advertisement: Nor do we
“ take upon us to prescribe the Methods, Terms or Con-
“ ditions, necessary for Composing these unhappy Dif-
“ ferences, and restoring the holy and happy *Union* in
“ the Lord; But we think, the Word and Works of
“ God this Day, point at these, which we crave Leave,
“ in the Bowels of Christ, to Remonstrate unto your se-
“ rious Consideration.

“ I. That to the End the Causes of our *Divisions*,
“ the Anger of the Lord as the Holy Cause, and our
“ mutual Offences, as the sinful Cause, may be re-
“ moved, that the Effect may cease, a mutual, impar-
“ tial, and accurate Search and Trial may be made into
“ our Ways, to find out, and remember from whence
“ we are fallen, and discover our manifold and manifest
“ Defections, from the right Ways of the Lord; That
“ the great Wrongs and Indignities done to our Great
“ Head and King, by Enemies Encroachments on his
“ Prerogatives, and his Kingdom's Liberties, and our
“ Compliances therewith, on the one Hand, and on the
“ other, may not be past in Oblivion, but diligently
“ inquired into; and what Accession to them, or Parti-
“ cipation with them, all of us have been involved in,
“ these *Thirty* Years bygone: Particularly that it be
“ laid to Heart, what Indignity to the Lord Jesus, and
“ Injury to his Church, was done by the Introduction of
“ abjured, *Diocesan* and *Erastian Prelacy*, and the se-
“ veral Degrees of Compliance therewith; As Ministers

“ leaving their Pastoral Charge, at the Command of the
 “ Magistrate, and laying aside the Exercise of their
 “ Ministry, giving Way unto, and not testifying against
 “ the Intrusions of *Prelatick Curates* : Particularly own-
 “ ing and submitting to their Ministry, and receiving
 “ Ordinances dispensed by them, and by Counsel and
 “ Example, Encouraging Others to do the like : Which
 “ we cannot but *Plead* and *Protest* against, as sinful and
 “ scandalous.

“ 1. Because they were, and are manifest Intruders,
 “ not entring in at the Door, in the Way and Order of
 “ Christ, not having, yea despising and renouncing a
 “ Call from the People, and Ordination by the Presby-
 “ tery, and having no other external Call, Authority or
 “ Right to officiate in this Church, as its proper Pastors,
 “ but the *Collation* of *Bishops*, and *Presentation* of *Pa-*
 “ *trons*, who are none of Christ’s Officers, and forfeiting
 “ and forgoing any other Right, that any of them for-
 “ merly could pretend to, by palpable Defection to the
 “ Enemies of this Church.

“ 2. Because both in Principle and Profession, and in
 “ the Way of their Entry unto their Pastoral Charge,
 “ they were, and are *Erastians*, deriving their Power
 “ from, and subjecting it in its Exercise to another
 “ Head than Christ, the Magistrate’s *Supremacy*, by
 “ which only they were Authorized, without Christ’s
 “ Warrant, or the Church’s Consent.

“ 3. Because they were, and are *Schismaticks*, who
 “ caused Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doc-
 “ trine of this Church, breaking her *Union* and *Order*,
 “ going out themselves from the Fellowship of this
 “ Church, and leading People away from her vowed
 “ Reformation ; yea, who violently thrust out, and per-

“secuted her faithful Pastors and Children, for adhering to that Reformation, which they designed to raze and ruine.

“4. Because they were, and are perjured *Covenant-breakers*, avowedly disowning our *Covenants*, and stated in Opposition to that Reformation, which is therein sworn to be maintained.

“5. Because they were, and are in several Points *Erroneous*, in their Doctrine, many of them tainted with the Leaven of *Poperie*, *Arminianism*, and *Socinianism*, and all of them Heterodox, in the Point of the Magistrate’s Power in Church-Matters, in the Matter of Oaths, and in condemning the Work of our Reformation, and Covenants; seducing thereby their Hearers, and both positively by these Doctrines, and privately by withholding other necessary Instructions and Warnings, Murdering their Souls.

“6. Because they were, and are, upon all these Accounts, *Scandalous*, and the Objects of the Churches Censure: And tho’ through the Iniquity of the Times, their deserved Censure hitherto hath not been inflicted, yet they stand upon the Matter convict, by clear Scripture-Grounds, and by the standing Acts, and judicial Decision of this Church, in her Supreme Judicatories.

“7. Because this hearing and submitting to them, was required as a *Badge*, *Test*, and *Evidence* of due Acknowledgement of, and hearty Compliance with *Erastianism* and *Prelacy*, or his Majesty’s Government Ecclesiastick, *Act Parl. 1. Char. II. July 10. 1663.* which made it a Case of Confession to withstand it.

“8. Because, by our Covenants, we are obliged to stand at a Distance, from such Courses of Defec-

“ tion, and to extirpate them, yet, in Contradiction
 “ hereunto, we were commanded by the Rescinders
 “ of the Covenants to hear the *Prelatick Curates*, as
 “ a Badge of our Yielding to the Rescinding of the Co-
 “ venants.

“ 9. Because this Course was *Offensive* and *Stumbling*,
 “ both in hardning those that complied with *Prelacy*,
 “ and weakning the Hands of those that opposed it, and
 “ inferred a Condemning of their Sufferings upon this
 “ Head. Especially,

“ 10. When *Communion* with them was so stated,
 “ that therein was not only a *Case of Controversy* among
 “ the Godly, in which always Abstinence is the surest
 “ Side, nor only in the Judgment of many a *Case of*
 “ *Confession*, which is always Dangerous to Contradict
 “ and Condemn ; but undeniably a *Case of Competition*,
 “ between the true Church of *Scotland*, her Ministers
 “ and Professors, owning and adhering to her Holy
 “ Establishments, claiming a Divine Right to their Of-
 “ fices and Privileges, contending for the Church’s Re-
 “ formation ; And a Schismatical Party, setting up a
 “ new Church, in a new Order, under a new Head,
 “ robbing them of their Offices and Privileges, and over-
 “ turning the Reformation.

“ II. We must presume to *Plead* also, That Enquiry
 “ be made into the Hainous and Heaven-daring Affront
 “ done to the Holiness of God, in the horrid Violation
 “ of our holy *Covenants, National and Solemn League* ;
 “ not only how the *Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant*
 “ Party, have broken them, enacted the Breaches of
 “ them by Law, burnt them, and endeavoured to bury
 “ them, by making it a Capital Crime to own their Ob-
 “ ligation, and by bringing in and substituting in their
 “ Room, Conscience-ensnaring *Anti-covenants, Oaths*,

“ *Bonds*, and *Engagements*, renouncing the former, and
 “ obliging to Courses contradictory thereunto: But that
 “ it may be considered, how many Ways, Ministers and
 “ Professors, in this Time of Tentation and Tribula-
 “ tion, have been guilty of Breach of these holy Cove-
 “ nants; particularly by consenting unto, subscribing,
 “ swearing, and taking any of the new multiplied, mis-
 “ chievously contrived, captiously conceived, and ty-
 “ rannically imposed *Oaths*, *Tests*, or *Bonds*, in Matters
 “ of Religion, since the Overturning of the Covenanted
 “ Reformation, and Establishment of Prelacy; and by
 “ perswading People to take them, and forbearing a ne-
 “ cessary Warning of the Danger of them, and leaving
 “ People in the Dark, to determine themselves, in the
 “ midst of these Snares. All which we *Plead* and *Pro-*
 “ *test* against, as sinful and scandalous.

“ (1.) Because all of them did infer, import, and im-
 “ ply a sinful unitive Conjunction, Incorporation, As-
 “ sociation, and Confederacy with the People of these
 “ Abominations, that were promoting a Course of Apo-
 “ stasie from God.

“ (2.) Because all of them were incapable of the
 “ Qualifications, required in sacred Engagements, to be
 “ taken in Truth, Righteousness, and Judgment.

“ (3.) Because all of them, in the Sense of the Im-
 “ posers, interpreted by their Acts and Actings, were
 “ condemnatory of, and contradictory unto the Cove-
 “ nants, and some Part of the Covenanted Reforma-
 “ tion.

“ (4.) Because, by the ancient Acts of Assembly, all
 “ publick Oaths imposed by the malignant Party, with-
 “ out Consent of the Church, are condemned, *July 28,*
 “ *1648. Ante merid. Sess. 18. And Sess. 26.* Those Mi-
 “ nisters are ordained to be Censured, who subscribe

“ any Bonds, or take any Oaths, not approved by the *General Assembly*; Or, by their Counsel, Countenance, or Approbation, make themselves accessory to the taking of such Bonds and Oaths by others.

“ III. In like Manner, we dare not forbear to *Cry* and *Crave*, that it may be considered, what Wrongs Christ hath received from the *Erastian* and *Antichristian Usurpation* of the *Supremacy*, encroaching upon the Prerogative of the Lord Jesus Christ his incommunicable Headship and Kingship, as Mediator, giving to a Man, a Magisterial, and Architectonick Power, to alter and innovate, authorize and exauorate, allow or restrain, and dispose of the Government and Governors of the Church, according to his Pleasure; invading the Liberties of the Gospel-Church, introducing a civil Dominion upon her Government, contrair to its Nature, being only a Ministerial Stewardship, distinct from the Civil Government, in its Nature, Causes, Ends, Offices, and Actings; and giving to the Magistrate the Power of the Keys, without and against Christ's Donation and Authority, even the Dogmatick, Critick, and Diatactick, decisive Suffrage, and Power, in Causes Ecclesiastick, which Christ hath intrusted to the Church-Representatives; and denying to the Church, the Exercise of these Keys and Powers, without the Magistrate's Warrant and Indulgence. We crave also, that it may be enquired into, how far this Encroachment hath been connived at, submitted unto, complied with, homologate, strengthened and established, by receiving and accepting, without Consent of the Church, yea against the express Dissent and Testimony of some faithful Ministers, to the contrair, the *Indulgences*, Anno 1669, and 1679: And by the Silence of Others, not wit-

“ nencing against the same, and Others censuring the
 “ Faithful, for discovering the Sinfulness thereof.
 “ Which we *Remonstrate* upon these Grounds, com-
 “ plexly considered.

“ (1.) Because, as the Contrivance and End of the
 “ Grant thereof, was to advance and establish the *Supre-*
 “ *macy* ; to engage *Presbyterians*, either to co-operate
 “ towards the settling and strengthening thereof, or to
 “ surcease from opposing the peaceable Possession of the
 “ Granter’s Usurpation, and to extort from them, at
 “ least an indirect Recognizance of acknowledged Subor-
 “ dination in Ministerial Exercises, to his usurped
 “ Power, in a Way which would be best acquiesced in ;
 “ to suppress the Preaching and Propagation of the Gos-
 “ pel in persecuted Meetings in Houses and Fields, so
 “ necessary at that Time ; and to divide, and increase
 “ Differences and Animosities among *Presbyterians*, by
 “ insinuating upon these called the more *Moderate*, to
 “ commend the *Indulger* his Clemency, while other
 “ *Non-conformists*, adhering to interdicted Duties, were
 “ justly complaining of the Effects of his Severity. And
 “ as the woful Effects of it, strengthening the Supremacy,
 “ weakning the Hands of these that witnessed against it,
 “ extinguishing Zeal, and increasing many Divisions, did
 “ correspond with these wretched Designs ; so these could
 “ not be counteracted, but very much strengthened and
 “ promoted, by the Acceptance of the *Indulgence*, which,
 “ in its own Nature, was so palpably subservient thereto,
 “ even tho’ there had been a Testimony against these
 “ Designs and Ends, yet when the Means adapted to
 “ these Ends, were complied with, it was rendred irrite,
 “ and *contra factum*.

“ (2.) Because as the *Supremacy* received much
 “ Strength and Increment from the *Indulgence*, so re-

“ ciproally it had its Rise, Spring, Conveyance, and Sub-
 “ sistence from the Supremacy, from which it flowed,
 “ upon which it stood, and by which at length it was re-
 “ moved: And in the Grant and Conveyance of the *In-*
 “ *dulgence*, all the Power of the Supremacy was arro-
 “ gate, asserted and exerted, in first taking away the
 “ Power of the Keys from Christ’s Stewards, and then
 “ restoring only One of them to some few, with Re-
 “ strictions bounding, and Instructions regulating them
 “ in the Exercise of that. The Acceptance whereof, so
 “ clogged with these complex Circumstances, without a
 “ clear and distinct Testimony, in that Case of Confes-
 “ sion, hath at least a great Appearance (which should
 “ have been abstained from) of a conniving at, submit-
 “ ting unto, complying with, and homologating of that
 “ *Erastian* Usurpation.

“ (3.) Because, as it was interpreted to be accepted in
 “ the same Terms wherein it was granted, without a
 “ Testimony against the Supremacy; so the Entry of
 “ those Ministers to their Churches, by this *Indulgence*,
 “ was prejudicial to the Church’s Privilege: Some of
 “ them being fixed in particular Churches, whereunto
 “ they had no peculiar Pastoral Relation before, and
 “ some transplanted from one Church to another, with-
 “ out the Interposure of any Ecclesiastick Presbyterial
 “ Authority, without the free and orderly Call of the
 “ People; being in many Respects prelimited; and in
 “ the Way of *Patronages*, at the *Council’s* Pleasure and
 “ Order: And those that were restored to their own
 “ Churches, being there admitted, not by virtue of their
 “ old Right and Claim of an undissolved Relation, but
 “ by vertue of a new Holding on the *Indulgence*.

“ (4.) Because the Embracing thereof, and the con-
 “ tinuing therein, was a faint yielding to prevailing

“ *Erastianism*, and a Course of Defection from former
 “ Integrity of ministerial Freedom and Faithfulness, in
 “ which the Servants and Witnesses of Jesus Christ were
 “ famous and eminent in former Times, who for writ-
 “ ing, preaching, and protesting against the *Ecclesiastick*
 “ *Supremacy* in the Magistrate, and all *Erastian* Courses,
 “ did bear the Cross of Christ, with much Stedfastness ;
 “ Yea, a Receding from, and foregoing of a very material
 “ Part of the Cause and Testimony of the Church of
 “ *Scotland*, which, till then, did constantly wrestle
 “ against such encroachments: And in this Respect
 “ *scandalous*, because hardning to *Erastian* Enemies,
 “ stumbling to many Friends, and offensive to Poste-
 “ rity.

“ (5.) Because it is contradictory to our *Covenants*, to
 “ receive *Indulgences*, contrived and conferred, on Pur-
 “ pose, to divide (by the Terror of Persecution on the
 “ one Hand, and the Perswasion of this pretended Li-
 “ berty, taking off the legal Restraint on the other) Mi-
 “ nisters and People from the Cause and Testimony of
 “ the Church of *Scotland*, against the *Supremacy*, and
 “ from their former blessed Conjunction therein, and to
 “ induce them to make Defection to that Party, that were
 “ advancing *Erastianism*. And it is expressly contra-
 “ dictory to the *Engagement to Duties*, Anno 1648,
 “ where the Obligation bears, ‘ *Because many have of*
 “ *late laboured to supplant the Liberties of the Kirk, we*
 “ *shall maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland, in all*
 “ *her Liberties and Privileges, against all who shall op-*
 “ *pose or undermine the same, or encroach thereupon un-*
 “ *der any Pretext whatsomever.*

“ IV. Likewise, we *Plead* and *Obtest*, that a Search
 “ may be made into, and a Review taken of the late *To-*
 “ *leration*, the *Addressing* for it, and *Acceptance* of it,

“ complexly considered : The Sinfulness whereof, we
 “ could not, and now cannot forbear to *witness* against.

“ (1.) Because as the Design of the *Grant*, and Ten-
 “ dency of the *Grant* itself, in its own Nature, being
 “ the Introduction of Popery and Slavery, could not in
 “ any Probability be counteracted, but rather corrobo-
 “ rated, by this Addressing for it, and Accepting of it,
 “ even tho’ there had been a Testimony against the De-
 “ sign thereof, as there was none, and could be none con-
 “ sistent with the Continuance thereof ; so being convey-
 “ ed with *Absolute Power*, which all were required to
 “ obey without Reserve, stopping, suspending, and dis-
 “ abling all the *Penal Statutes* against *Papists* ; thereby
 “ undermining all the legal Bulwarks of our Religion :
 “ The Addressing for, and Accepting of it, so conveyed,
 “ without a Witness against this despotical Encroach-
 “ ment (yea, the very Condition of enjoying the Benefit
 “ of it, being exclusive of such a Testimony, which might
 “ any Way tend to the alienating of the People from
 “ such a despotical Government, in all its Encroach-
 “ ments) did indirectly, at least, imply compliance with,
 “ if not the Recognizance and Acknowledgment of that
 “ usurped Power, and the arbitrary Exercise and Ef-
 “ fect of it in suspending the *Penal Statutes*.

“ (2.) Because it was extended, not only to *Prelacy*,
 “ but to *Popery*, *Quakerism*, and all Idolatry, Blasphemy,
 “ my, and Heresie, which was highly provoking to the
 “ Lord Jesus, and prejudicial to the Peace and Purity
 “ of his Church ; contrary to the Scriptures of the *Old*
 “ and *New Testament* ; contrary to the *Confession of*
 “ *Faith* and *Catechisms*, *Chap. xx. § 4.* and *Chap. xxiii.*
 “ § 3. Being placed also among the Sins of the second
 “ Command, in the *Larger Catechism* ; contrary to the
 “ Principles of the Church of *Scotland* ; being condemn-

“ ed, warned of, and witnessed against by *Acts of As-*
 “ *sembly, Anno 1649.* And by her faithful Pastors
 “ preaching, writing, and protesting against such *Tole-*
 “ *rations* ; (and sometimes, even when *Papists* were ex-
 “ cluded, as that, against which the Ministers of *Fife*
 “ and *Perth* did testify) And contrary to our *Covenants,*
 “ wherein we are bound to preserve Reformation and
 “ Uniformity in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Go-
 “ vernment, to extirpate *Popery, &c.* to free our Souls
 “ from the Guilt of other Mens Sins, defend our Liber-
 “ ties ; and consequently never to comply with a *Tolera-*
 “ *tion,* eversive of all these Interests we are sworn to
 “ maintain, and introductive of these Things, we are
 “ sworn to endeavour the Extirpation of.

“ (3.) Because it was clogged with such Conditions
 “ and Limitations, as did exceedingly hamper the Free-
 “ dom of the Ministry, being offered (in *Proclamations*)
 “ an accepted (in *Addresses and Obedience*) with Re-
 “ strictions to Persons who might preach, (allowing some,
 “ and discharging others, who had as good Authority as
 “ they, to exercise their Ministry) to Places where they
 “ should preach (only where Intimation was given of the
 “ Name of the Place, and of the Preacher, to some of the
 “ Lords of the *Council, &c.*) and to the Matter what, or
 “ at least what they might not preach, *to wit,* Nothing
 “ that might have any Tendency to alienate the Hearts
 “ of the People from a Popish and tyrannical Govern-
 “ ment ; and consequently Nothing against the Wicked-
 “ ness, or of the Misery of Tyranny ; nothing against the
 “ *Toleration,* and the open Sins proclaimed therein, and
 “ wicked Ends designed thereby ; Nothing against dis-
 “ abling the *Penal Statutes,* or for the Obligation of
 “ them, and Ties of National Covenants strengthening
 “ them.

“ (4.) Because of the manifold *Scandal* of it, we can-
 “ not but witness against it, being so *Disgraceful* to the
 “ *Protestant Religion*, and prejudicial to the Interest
 “ thereof. It was reproachful to our Religion, sometimes
 “ established by Law, then only *Tolerate*, under the No-
 “ tion of an Evil to be suffered: How *Confounding* and
 “ *Consternating* was this, to all the Reformed Churches,
 “ that sometimes admired and envied *Scotland's* Estab-
 “ lishments, now to see her so *dispirited* and *deceived*,
 “ as to *Accept* and *Address* for a *Toleration*, without a
 “ *Testimony*, whereby, instead of all the *Laws* and *Co-*
 “ *venants* securing her *Reformation*, the only *Tenor*
 “ and *Security* for it, she had now remaining, was, the
 “ *Arbitrary Word* of an *Absolute Prince*, whose *Princi-*
 “ *ples* obliged him to break it? What *Occasion* of *dis-*
 “ *dainful Insulting*, did it give to the *Prelatical Party*,
 “ then pleading for the Nation's *Laws*, to observe *Pres-*
 “ *byterians*, acquiescing in that which suspended and
 “ stopped the *Penal Statutes*? Yea, what *Matter* of
 “ *Gloriation* and *Boasting* was it to *Papists*, to see *Pres-*
 “ *byterians* sleeping and succumbing, and not opposing,
 “ when, at this opened *Gap*, they were bringing in the
 “ *Trojan Horse* of *Popery* and *Slavery*?

“ V. Moreover, with respect to some Things, at pre-
 “ sent, which we account *Corruptions*, and are offensive
 “ to many, we cannot forbear to *Remonstrate* and *Plead*,
 “ That *Consideration* may be taken, of the *Sinfulness* of
 “ the too universal *Defect* and *Neglect* of *Zeal* and
 “ *Faithfulness*, in reviving the buried *National Cove-*
 “ *nants*, when now they seem to be laid aside, and many
 “ *Ministers* forbear to *Preach* plainly the *Obligation* of
 “ them, and discover particularly the *Breaches* of them,
 “ and to mention them in *Engagements*, which they re-
 “ quire of *Parents*, when they present their *Children* to

“ *Baptism*, according to the continued Custom of faithful Ministers, these many Years bygone: And it is
 “ Stumbling to many, that in all *Addresses* to King and
 “ Parliament, the Renewing of them hath not been desired. This we think very grievous,

“ (1.) Because in the Scriptures, as we have many
 “ Precepts, Promises, and Precedents for Renewing
 “ them, and Demonstrations of their perpetual, indissoluble
 “ Obligation, being in their Matter and Form agreeable
 “ with the Word of God; So we have many Denunciations
 “ and Certifications of unavoidable Threatnings of all Evils,
 “ National, Personal, Temporal, Spiritual, and Eternal,
 “ against Forsaking or Forgetting them.

“ (2.) Because as there is no other Way to prevent
 “ the Curse of the Covenants, and this threatned Wrath
 “ imminent upon the Land, for Breach of Covenants,
 “ but to acknowledge the Breaches of them, and engage
 “ again to the Duties of them; So these Omissions cannot
 “ consist with that Faithfulness, required of Ministers
 “ in such a Case.

“ (3.) Because it is a plain Defection from first Love,
 “ and former Attainments of our Fathers, who commenced
 “ all Reformatations, with Renovations of the Covenants:
 “ And in their Ecclesiastick Constitutions, enjoined to all
 “ Ministers, to Preach up the Covenants, and Witness
 “ against all Defections from them, and Indifferency or
 “ Lukewarmness in them; which also is a Breach of
 “ Covenant in it self.

“ VI. Hence, more particularly, we cannot but signify
 “ how much, we and many others are Offended, at the
 “ too general keeping Silence at, or very ambiguous
 “ Speaking against, and omitting the plain impartial
 “ Doctrinal Rebuking of such crying Sins and Scandals

“ of the Times, as cannot be Controverted among *Pres-*
 “ *byterians* ; Such as the Imposing and Taking many
 “ *Bonds* and *Oaths*, repugnant to the Covenants and
 “ Work of Reformation ; which many complied with to
 “ shift Persecution, and many others to purchase Pre-
 “ ferments unto Places of Trust ; The Accession of
 “ Nobles and Rulers to the wicked Establishments and
 “ framing Mischiefs into laws in former Times ; The
 “ manifold Involvements of great and small, in the Guilt
 “ of Persecution, by detecting and informing against ho-
 “ nest suffering People ; Abiding with armed Force, to
 “ Pursue and Apprehend them ; Appearing under dis-
 “ played Banners for the Defence of Tyranny, on Expe-
 “ ditions against them, at *Pentland, Bothwel-Bridge, &c.*
 “ Sitting in Courts, Juries and Assizes, to condemn them ;
 “ Putting them out of Houses and Tenements under
 “ them, because they would not Comply with sinful Im-
 “ positions : And especially, the defiling of the Land
 “ with Blood, which hath yet a Cry in the Ears of the
 “ Lord God of Sabaoth : All which the Servants of the
 “ Lord are obliged by the Word of God, and the Con-
 “ stitutions of this Church, to Cry against, and not to
 “ spare, and to Reprove and Rebuke in Season and out
 “ of Season.

“ VII. Finally, We must presume, to lay open our
 “ own, and the general Complaints, through several
 “ Corners of the Land, of the sad Slackness and Remis-
 “ ness of *Discipline* : The Report and *Fama Clamosa*
 “ whereof, at least, doth wound our Ears, and pierce our
 “ Hearts ; *To wit*, That some who had gone a great
 “ Length in the above mentioned *Compliances*, even to
 “ the Swearing the *Test* it self, besides other wicked
 “ *Oaths*, and to the persecuting of the Godly sundry
 “ Ways, are admitted to the Sacrament of the *Lord's*

“ *Supper*, and to present their Children to *Baptism* :
“ And that others are admitted to the Charge of *Elders*,
“ who had not only habitually complied with *Prelacy*,
“ and had born the Name of that Office under that Go-
“ vernment, but had taken these scandalous foremention-
“ ed *Oaths* ; yea, and that of late, some are admitted
“ to the Ministry, that constantly followed *Episcopacy*,
“ and were trained up to be *Curates*, and were deeply
“ involved in the foresaid Compliances, without due
“ Trial of their past Conversation, and requiring of their
“ public Profession of Repentance, and Resentment of
“ these respective Scandals ; whereby the Precious are
“ not taken from the Vile, and a little of that old Leaven,
“ may quickly leaven the whole Lump ; and Offenders
“ are not like thereby to be gained to Repentance, but
“ rather hardned in, and tempted to think little of these
“ destroying Sins.

“ We plead not here, that every one of the Defects,
“ or every Degree of these Offences, should be, in the
“ Case of this Epidemick Involvement, proceeded against
“ by disciplinary Censure ; nor do we urge, that all
“ chargeable with these Offences above taxed, especial-
“ ly such as are in Controversy, should be either per-
“ sonally rebuked in Publick, or obliged publickly to
“ confess their own Degree of the Guilt of them ; tho’ it
“ would give Glory to God, and Comfort to the Church,
“ and Peace to their own Consciences, for all to confess
“ their Offences, that have been most stumbling to the
“ Godly ; so far as from the Word of God, and known
“ Principles of this reformed Church, they may be con-
“ vinced. Nor do we propose, that the Condemnation
“ of every one of these Steps of Defection, that are que-
“ stioned, should be so far stretched *quoad momentum*
“ *rei*, as either to be stated by us, as a Ground of Sepa-

“ration formerly, or now required as a necessary Con-
 “dition of Communion; Tho’ still, we conceive the
 “Complication of them together, when they stood, was
 “a Ground that necessitated our Withdrawing from
 “many in the same circumstances.

“We only desire, they may be so far inquired into,
 “that what Guilt is in them, before the Lord, may be
 “in some Measure discovered, and the Wrongs done to
 “Christ thereby, may not be passed over in an Act of
 “*Oblivion*: But as the Right Honourable the *Estates* of
 “*Parliament*, have found and declared, these Acts, and
 “Actings of the *Overturers* of our Reformation; and
 “the Mischiefs of *Prelacy*, *Supremacy*, and *Tyranny*,
 “established by wicked Laws, which were the Founda-
 “tions and Fountains of all the Offensive Compliances
 “above mentioned, to be Grievances against the Laws of
 “the Land; So the Right Reverend, the Members of this
 “Venerable *Assembly*, may find and declare, these wick-
 “ed Establishments and Compliances supporting them,
 “and Defections flowing therefrom, to be Sins against
 “the Laws of Christ; And so far as they can find Iniquity
 “in the foresaid Offences, may provide by Ecclesiastick
 “Constitutions, for the Future, that the like Compliances
 “with the like Contrivances of Usurping Enemies, may
 “never again be allowed, under Pain of Church Censures,
 “to prevent and preclude all Fears of Divisions, to be
 “occasioned by the like Defections, in Time coming.
 “And as we Offer and Promise, so far as we are, or may
 “be convinced, to confess our Offences, any Manner of
 “Way, that Church-Judicatories shall appoint; So, for
 “the Satisfaction of all concerned, in the late Differences,
 “and Removal of Offences, given or taken, we desire
 “and expect, that such Failings in the above-specified
 “Particulars, or Others, be laid to Heart, by all Sorts

“ of Ministers and Preachers, as they are convinced of,
 “ or, after Search, may be discovered to them, by this
 “ *Reverend Assembly*: And that these, among the Sins
 “ of the Land, be set down in the Order, as Causes of a
 “ Publick Fast, upon some Week-day, through all the
 “ Meetings of *Presbyterians*, within this Kingdom; and
 “ that the Sins of the People be intermixed among these
 “ Causes. Further,

“ As we humbly conceive, it would prove a very pro-
 “ per and promising Expedient, for promoting, pre-
 “ serving and propagating Reformation; for settling
 “ and keeping Order and Union; for preventing and
 “ precluding Innovations or Corruptions; for discover-
 “ ing and discouraging *Apostates* or *Schismaticks*, *Ma-*
 “ *lignants* or *Sectaries*, and excluding them from Access
 “ to do further Hurt; so we hope, we shall be Approven
 “ and Seconded by many in this *Reverend Assembly*,
 “ in craving the *Renewing* of the *Covenants*, either
 “ both the *National*, and *Solemn League*, with Ac-
 “ commodations to our Times, or One made up of
 “ both, with Additions or Explications, suiting our
 “ present Case and Day, with a Solemn Acknowledg-
 “ ment of the publick Breaches, and Engagement to
 “ the Duties of the Covenants: Humbly moving, that
 “ none be forced to Swear or Subscribe the same, or
 “ so much as Admitted to it, except they be such,
 “ as may be judged in Charity, to have a competent
 “ Knowledge, and Sense of the Sins and Duties there-
 “ of.

“ In fine, Tho’ we will not take upon us, to propose
 “ the Time or the Way, of purging out the *Episcopal*
 “ *Clergy*, yet we cannot and dare not forbear, to *Plead*
 “ and *Obtest* that they may not be continued, nor kept
 “ in the Churches, whereinto they have intruded; nor

“ re-admitted that are, or may be laid aside, until they
 “ give approvable Evidence of their Repentance, for
 “ their sinful Conformity. (1.) Upon all these Grounds,
 “ exhibited above, against hearing of them. (2.) Be-
 “ cause, former experience of the Hurt, received by the
 “ Entertainment of the *Episcopal Clergy, Anno 1638*,
 “ does now plead for their Care to prevent it in Time
 “ coming. (3.) Because the People under their Mi-
 “ nistry, have hitherto been, and are perishing in Ig-
 “ norance and Irreligion; being either starved for
 “ Want of Faithful and Spiritual Instruction, or poison-
 “ ed with False Instruction; and therefore Pity to
 “ them, and Zeal to propagate the Gospel, should prompt
 “ to all Endeavours, to purge them out. (4.) Because,
 “ the Settlement, Purgation, and Plantation of the
 “ Church, will be exceedingly obstructed, by the Con-
 “ tinuance of them, that unsettled it, corrupted it, and
 “ pestered the Lord’s Vineyard, with Plants not of his
 “ planting, and whose Leaven will be always in hazard
 “ to leaven the whole Lump. (5.) Because, all of them
 “ are among these, whom the Laws of Christ do oblige,
 “ the Constitutions of this Church do ordain, and the
 “ present Civil Sanctions, for establishing Church Go-
 “ vernment do allow the Church Representative, to try
 “ and purge out; being all of them either *Insufficient*,
 “ or *Negligent*, or *Erronccous*, or *Scandalous*, if these
 “ Characters may be applied, or interpreted, according
 “ to Scripture Rules, or as the Church hath extended
 “ them heretofore.

“ We are content that none of the *Curates* be put
 “ out, but the Unsuufficient and Ignorant, if this be one
 “ Part of the Trial of their Knowledge, To inquire not
 “ only into their Gifts, but their Graces; if Ignorance
 “ of Conversion, Regeneration, Sanctification, and Com-

“ munion with God ; both as to the Doctrine of these
 “ Benefits, and as to their own Experience of them, so
 “ far as may be discovered by humane Judgment, be re-
 “ puted Unsufficiency : We are content, none be put
 “ away, but the Negligent, if so be they that do not
 “ warn the Wicked of their destroying Sins, that *feed*
 “ *themselves and not the Flock, that do not strengthen*
 “ *the Discased, nor heal the Sick, &c.*——That omit
 “ the pressing of necessary Duties impartially on Per-
 “ sons and Families, and the censuring of Scandals,
 “ without Respect of Persons, be comprehended in that
 “ Character : We are satisfied, none be removed but
 “ the Erroneous, if they be judged to be such, who not
 “ only own Points of *Popery, Arminianism, and So-*
 “ *cinianism*, but are unsound in their Explanation of
 “ the Kingly Office of Christ, of the Perfection of the
 “ Scriptures in the Point of Church-Officers and Go-
 “ vernment, in the Matter of Oaths, and of the Ma-
 “ gistrates Power, and do maintain *Erastianism*, an ex-
 “ ploded and abjured Error in this Church : And we
 “ seek no more but that all be removed who are scanda-
 “ lous, and none but they, if Intruders, Covenant-break-
 “ ers, perjured Subscribers of scandalous *Oaths and Tests*,
 “ Schismatics, and Persecutors, be counted among the
 “ Scandalous.——

“ Some Things are indeed extraordinary, which we
 “ here urge ; but as extraordinary exigences do force
 “ us to move without a Precedent ; so they furnish you
 “ a Power, to make a Precedent for the like Cases
 “ thereafter : We confess also, it may seem precipitant
 “ to press all these Things so hard, and so soon, in a
 “ bruckle Time, before Things be better settled ; but
 “ we fear, if new Delays be procured, till all Things be
 “ fully settled, that the observing of Wind and Clouds

“ shall hinder both Sowing and Reaping. But if lay-
 “ ing aside the Plaisters, wherewith the Wounds of our
 “ Backslidings have been slightly covered rather than
 “ cured, you put to your Hand to the healing our
 “ Breaches, in condescending to these our humble De-
 “ sires, you shall win the Blessing of many Souls, rent
 “ and racked with these Divisions ; You shall dis-
 “ burden the Land of many Weights and Woes, where-
 “ of it is weary ; you shall send to all the Neighbour-
 “ ing Churches a Pattern, transmit to the Posterity an
 “ Example, and Erect to all Ages a Monument of Self-
 “ denying, Zeal and Wisdom ; a Work to be paralleled
 “ with the Glories of former Times. If herein our
 “ Hopes shall fail us, we shall not know whether to
 “ wish, we had died with our Brethren, by the Enemies
 “ Hand, and had never seen this Reviving in our
 “ Bondage ; for it will be a Death to us, and not a Re-
 “ viving, if there be not a Returning together to the
 “ Lord, searching and trying, and discovering the Ini-
 “ quities of our Ways. But however, we intend not
 “ to separate from the Church, but to maintain *Union*
 “ and *Communion* in Truth and Duty, with all the Mi-
 “ nisters and Members of this Church that do, and in
 “ so far as they do follow the Institutions of Christ ;
 “ and to approve our selves, God assisting, as much for
 “ Peace and Concord, as ever we were suspected to be
 “ Men of divisive Principles ; hoping it shall appear,
 “ we are seeking where *He feedeth, and where he*
 “ *makes his Flock to rest at Noon*, and are not as such,
 “ *who turn aside by the Flocks of his Companions, but*
 “ *going forth by the Footsteps of the Flocks, besides the*
 “ *Shepherds Tents ;* Yet with this *protested Dissent*
 “ from, and *Testimony* against all the above-mentioned
 “ Corruptions, Defections, and offensive Courses, which

“ obliged us to stand at a Distance in Times of Defor-
 “ mation ; that our present joining in these Circum-
 “ stances, when these are removed, may not infer, or be
 “ interpreted an Approving of what we formerly con-
 “ demned ; and be free from all partaking in these De-
 “ fections, by Consent, Connivance, Compliance, or Com-
 “ munion therein. For which we humbly supplicate,
 “ that these our *humble Proposals* may be recorded in
 “ the Books of *Assembly*.

“ ALEX. SHIELDS,” &c.

This was the *Testimony* he came in with, against Things, he not only *took to be wrong* (as Mr. *Wodrow* says) but upon solid Grounds Remonstrates, and evidently Demonstrates to be wrong, even to be Sins and scandalous Defections. This is that *Paper*, which that first Assembly *did conclude by one single Vote, should not be read* : So, according to the unanimous Voice of this Church, in refusing, upon the foresaid Report of a Committee, to hear, read, record, or yet regard such a Testimony and Proposals, to *search and try their Ways*, to enquire into Wrongs and Injuries done, by Commissions and Omissions, against Christ and his Church, by open Enemies and professed Friends ; to break off from scandalous Sins, and Breaches of Covenant, by Repentance and Reformation, and to be valiant for the Truth, and renew their Covenant ; they were *then* rejected and condemned, as *unseasonable and impracticable Proposals* ; and *since that Time*, the proposed Search, Censure, Reformation, and Renovation of Covenant, have never been found seasonable or practicable hitherto : For, as to *contend earnestly for the Truth*, *Jude 3*. To rebuke before all, and remove Offences, by censuring the Scandalous and Erroneous, to *endeavour*

sincerely, really and constantly, the Extirpation of *Prelacy* and whatever is contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, would, in the Opinion of the Censurable, tend to *kindle Contention and continue Division*; so these Duties must be prudently passed from, and in the Wisdom of Man condemned; tho' in the Word of God commanded, and in our sacred Covenants promised with an Oath. Yet,

It is now left unto the Judgment of the more Seeing and Serious, in this and future Ages, to determine, if after that sad Period of Sinning and Suffering, such Proposals were unfit to be heard in the first supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature, being, as they professed, set for the Defence of the Gospel: Or, if they might or would have been rejected or misregarded by any sound *Presbyterians*, Ministers or Professors, that were not guilty of the Defections and Compliances therein testified against; and so censurable themselves: Or, if any *gross Mistakes* are to be found in that Paper; except in the Matter of their then Rejoicing, that anent *any exotick usurped Power*—and the Church's *intrinsick Power redintegrated*; be so called: Whereas the *intrinsick Power* has not been yet claimed, nor the *Divine Right of Presbytery* asserted by that, or any Assembly since to this Day. Also it may be found their *Mistake*, to seek and expect Redress and Remedy of those Wrongs and Evils from the Persons accessory to them, without previous Evidences of their hearty Repentance, for their Accession to, and Compliance with such gross Defections. But, as these, or the like, are not the *Mistakes* alledged in the said *Report*, upon which the Paper was condemned; so even therein the Authors were not so mistaken, as to assert positively; but do speak very cautiously and conditionally; as

anent the *Power, if duly improven, if put in Execution, may*—and, *if our Hopes fail us,*—’*twill be Death to us, not a Reviving, if there be not a Returning—Searching, &c.*

As for the *Multitudes he brought in to join*—Mr. *W.* or others need not glory, except it be in getting them off their Heights, and their Hair cut; for it seems no kept at Distance, till they should see more Evidence of Repentance and Reformation in them, they had so justly withdrawn from: As Mr. *Shields* testifies, in the fore-cited *Method and Motives*, p. 14. “Tender, zealous, and serious People—could not have Freedom or Clearness, to join with Ministers —until they should acknowledge their Defections. —Union without this, would bury the Testimony against these Defections.—Again, p. 15. other Objections were adduced, both verbally, and in Papers from Societies (against Union, except the foresaid Defections be confessed) that they could not return to a declining Party, until they should return from their Declinings; and that Confession and forsaking of Sin, is so frequently inculcate in the Scriptures, that without this, they could not expect the Blessing of God upon the Ministry of these, who retained and defended Causes of Wrath; and that the Church was not yet settled, and the Government not yet established; and so they could not tell, but there might be Corruption in the very Constitution of it.”

If these People were mistaken, let the lamentable Differences betwixt that and former Reformations, in the foregoing Paper, testify; yea, let the sad and woful Effects and Consequents of the Corruption in that Establishment, bear witness: How Ministers, who

would not confess and forsake their Defections, nor oppose a corrupt *Erastian* Establishment, have never yet got Courage and Fidelity, to withstand and duly testify against the many later *Erastian* Encroachments of an exotick Power upon Assemblies, Church Government, Discipline and Worship, by Imposition of Court-Oaths, exclusive of, and contrary to their Covenants ; Court-Formula, Court-Fasts, &c. with the Causes and Diets, without Consent of the Church, and depriving her of the Power, in her Supreme Judicatories, to appoint any : By an Union with Adversaries to Covenanted Reformation, Professors and Maintainers of abjured *Prelacy* ; by Associations with Idolators and Malignants at home and abroad ; by reintroducing *Patronages*, a sinful *Toleration*, &c. All participate of, joined with, or silently ceded to, by Consent, or Connivance, Compliance, or Concurrence of this Church. Besides what Corruption of Doctrine has crept in, and any that oppose the same, born down, &c.

These Things afford Cause of Weeping ; and if the Love of Christ were constraining us, and the Zeal of his House eating us up, *our Eyes might run down with Water*, and every one say with *Jeremiah*, x. 19. *Woe's me for my Hurt, my Wound is grievous.*—Chap. xxiii. 9. *My Heart within me is broken, because of the Prophets.*—Lam. ii. 14. *Thy Prophets have seen vain and foolish Things for thee, and have not discovered thine Iniquity.*—And we should adore the Lord, saying, *Jer. xii. 10. Many Pastors have destroyed my Vineyard ; they have trodden my Portion under Foot ;—they have made it desolate, and being desolate, it mourneth unto me.*—xi. 15. *What hath my Beloved to do in my House, seeing she hath wrought Lewdness with many.*—xxiii. 22. *But if they had stood in my Counsel, and had*

caused my People to hear my Words, then they should have turned them from their evil Way, and from the Evil of their Doings.

As there is not Room, so I need not set out the Excellency, or Usefulness of this Life, from the wise and religious Expressions, observable therein, or from the eminent Industry, Diligence and Faithfulness of this Martyr, in his general or particular Calling, worthy of best Imitation: Yet it may be for a Lamentation, That, as his Contemporaries found it easier to calumniate than imitate him; so his Successors do come far short of his Painfulness or Faithfulness. Every one should shew the same Diligence, to the full Assurance of Hope; and not be slothful, but Followers of them, who through Faith and Patience inherit the Promises, *Heb. vi. 11, 12.* And that he was one of these, is evident by his Faith, shown by his Works, Patience, Zeal and Perseverance in the Truth, *not loving his Life unto the Death, that he might finish his Course with Joy.* His Life and Death shew, that he was one of the great *Cloud of Witnesses*, wherewith we are encompassed: Then, *let us lay aside every Weight, of Dross and Defection, Envy and Prejudice, and the Sin which doth so easily beset us, and run with Patience, the Race set before us; Looking unto JESUS, the Author and Finisher of our Faith.*—*For, tho' we have not yet resisted unto Blood, striving against Sin, we need consider him, lest we be weary and faint in our Minds.* Farewel.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the many mournful Complaints that our distressed *Zion* hath to pour forth, in this Day of her deplorable Dissolution and Desolation, Defection and Division, that old Lamentation hath a peculiar Pertinency and Pregnancy in our Case, *Jer. ix. 1, &c.* *Oh that my Head were Waters, and mine Eyes a Fountain of Tears, that I might weep Day and Night for the Slain of the Daughter of my People! Oh that I had in the Wilderness a Lodging-place of wayfaring Men, that I might leave my People, and go from them; for they be all Adulterers, an Assembly of treacherous Men. And they bend their Tongues like their Bow for Lies: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth; for they proceed from Evil to Evil, and they know not me, saith the LORD. Take ye heed every one of his Neighbour, and trust you not in any Brother: For every Brother will utterly supplant, and every Neighbour will walk with Slanders. And they will deceive every one his Neighbour, and will not speak the Truth: They have taught their Tongue to speak Lies, and weary themselves to commit Iniquity.* There is indeed no Kind of Grievance, no Matter of Mourning, or Ground of Grief recorded, that ever the People of God had to bewail at

any Time, but in a great Measure we have it to bemoane in our Day ; A Day of *Jacob's* Trouble, with a Witness, that hath all the Characters of a Season of sowing in Tears, that ever any had ; A Day, that hath all the Symptoms of Wrath incumbent, and all Prognosticks of Wrath impendent from the Lord ; All the Portents of a Night of Slumbring and Stumbling, Desertion and Darkness about Duties and Events ; All the ominous Signs of a Day of Treading down, and of Perplexity in the Valley of Vision ; Of a Day of Trouble, and of Rebuke, and of Blasphemy ; of a Day of Wrath, Trouble and Distress ; a Day of Wasteness and Desolation, a Day of Darkness and Gloominess, a Day of Clouds and thick Darkness ; wherein we have all the Causes that ever procured, produced or portrayed ; All the Evidences that ever pointed out the Approach of it, and many dreadful Effects that denominate such a Day : But in a special Eminency, the Grounds of that formented Lamentation, in all its Parts and Numbers, are legible in our Lot, and signalized in our Circumstances this Day. In *Scotland*, *Ziou's* Mourners may wish that their *Head were Waters*, to bewail the *Sluin of the Daughter of their People* ; the Slain by Sea and Land, the Slain in the Fields, the Slain on Scaffolds, the Slain under Colour of Law, and without all Shadow of Law, for the Word of God and for the Testimony which they held ; whose Souls under the Altar cry, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth ?* Yea, they may have not a more mournful Wish to have *in the Wilderness a Lodging-place of wayfaring Men*, to separate themselves from the surviving Generation, in whose Communion there is neither Comfort nor Counsel, Safety nor Satisfaction to Christ's fervent Lovers and zealous Votaries ; but, to all

incorporate with them, their is Danger of being inveigled into a Partaking of their Sin, and involved into a Participation of their Judgment : Besides, that all that have the Zeal of God eating them up, in any Proportion, to the Prodigiousness of the Indignities done to His Glory, must think it a Shame to be seen alive above the Ground, among them that are at Ease in such a Day, when their being there does proclaim their Deficiency, in being so concerned, couragious and faithful, as to expose themselves to be slain with their Brethren, who have got the Crown that they have missed : Yea, they have yet a more moneful Matter of Mourning, That they have few or none to consort with, but Persons of that Character, that, were it not the Expression of the Spirit of God, they would demur, from Fear and Shame, to put it upon any collective Body of the Race of Mankind, *For, they be all Adulterers, an Assembly of treacherous Men :* Which yet, alas ! is *Scotland's* Brand and Bane ; and indelibly verified, not only of the profaner Sort, of whom nothing better can be expected, than a Profession of Adultery and Treachery, Perjury, Perfidy and all Abominations ; but also of the professing Sort, who generally, in our Day, have prostitute themselves to all these adulterous Pollutions, whose Odiousness is set forth under these Names in Scripture. They are now rare to be found, in whose Course it may not be conspicuous, that they have broken Wedlock with Christ, in the palpable Breaches of Covenant, personal and national ; That they have polluted themselves with the Idols of Jealousy set up in the Land, making way for the Curse ; That they have doted upon and went a-whoring after the Enemies of the Lord, in Confederacies with them, and open Compliances, strengthening their Hands ; Prelacy, Supremacy and Popery, twisted with Tyranny,

have been the Paramours that have defiled *Scotland*, with manifold and manifest adulterous Conjunctions; the Product whereof, tho' never so curiously painted with the Vermilion of Prudence and Peace, and busked with fancied external Privileges of Security, Ease and Quiet, hath TREACHERY legible in its Front; *Treachery*, as the Root and Fruit, Spring and Stream, End and Effect of all its supposed Advantages; *Treachery*, in breaking, betraying and burying *Scotland's* covenanted Cause, the greatest TRUST ever was entrusted with, reposed upon, or committed to such unworthy Managers. Ah, treacherous *Scotland!* who will regret thy Misery, when thou shalt receive the Reward of thy *Treachery*? Yet this is not all, but further, there is a sadder and more shameful Sorrow, and more insupportable to Mourners in our Day, That that also may be said of the Bulk and Body of this Generation, *They bend their Tongues like their Bow for Lies*: Not only wicked and murdering Enemies, who are acted by the Spirit, and are under the Vassalage of the Father of Lies, whose Cause they promote, in bending all their Bows, of Tongue and Hand, Malice and Might, Cruelty and Craft, Fury and Favour, Force and Fraud, with lying Threats, lying Promises, lying Acts, Edicts and Proclamations, and lying Pretences of Favours, and all lying Devices to murder the Cause, to murder the Conscience, or else the Names, as well as the Bodies of Truth's Witnesses, whom they only consult to cast down from their Excellency; for they delight in Lies. This might be born with from them; but even those, whose Bow should abide in Strength, bent in Zeal and Indignation against the Wrongs done to the Lord Jesus, instead of that, do bend their Tongues with Lies raked from Hell, and dipped in *Stygian Gall*, in infamous,

odious and invidious Invectives, Reproaches and Calumnies, wherewith they load the Lovers of our Lord, to make them to be lothed, and lose the Sympathy due to Sufferers for Righteousness. But, in the mean Time, *They are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth*, having no Keeness, Courage, nor Confidence to assert and avouch, confess and contend for the Word of the Lord's Patience in *Scotland*; tho' now as worthy and weighty as ever, and nobly stated for the Crown-prerogatives of the *Prince of the Kings of the Earth*, both as he is Mediator and universal Governor of the World, against the present Encroachments upon, and Corruptions of his glorious and gracious Ordinances of the Magistracy and Ministry, now inverted and subverted by this *Leviathan of absolute Power*, now erected and universally recognised and homologated; but on the contrary, blunting the Edge of their Zeal, against all who discover any Measure of Valour or Fervour in confessing that Testimony, which they endeavour to bury in Oblivion; and those who contend and suffer for it, under the ashes of Contempt and Contradiction, Lies and Reproach. The Amount of all this Complaint is manifestly made out, in the circumstantiate Case of the present Persecution, still incessantly prosecute against the faithful Witnesses of Christ in *Scotland*, who, when others are at Ease, are hunted, chased, pursued, taken and slain, killed all Day long, and counted as Sheep for the Slaughter: And yet, in the mean Time, not only filled exceedingly with Contempt, with the Scorn of them that are at Ease, and with the Contempt of the Proud; but also, loaded and lashed with Obloquies, Lies and basest Reproaches that Envy could invent, Impudence Vent, or Ignorance entertain: While these valiant Confessors of Truth, valiant in their Life contending for it, and at their Death sealing it with

their Blood, thereby *overcoming by the Blood of the Lamb, and the Word of their Testimony*, and not loving their Lives dear unto the Death; are reported and reputed by Enemies and Friends, to be Hereticks, Schismatics, seditious, extravagant Separatists, blind Zealots, Deniers of the Magistracy, Rejecters of the Ministry, &c. But *Wisdom will always be justified of her Children*, and in the End, also magnified of her Enemies, from whom, many a Time, a Testimony hath been extorted, commending them whom before they condemned, when they have seen the Lord countenancing their valiant Confession of his Name; Lies confuted, Malice confounded, and Truth confirmed: This hath been the Lot of many faithful Witnesses of Christ, in our own and former Times; and of none more remarkably, than of the late faithful and famous Minister and Martyr of Christ, Mr. *James Renwick*, who suffered for the Truth, *February 17th, 1688*; Of whom it may be said, without all Dread of the Censure of Vanity, Never was the Life of any more shamefully reproached, *being called Profane; and counted of many not only Profane, but a Jesuite and Incendiary, Impostor and Seducer, and what not?* And never was the Death of any more signally vindicated, and singularly ordered and owned of the Lord, to the Confusion of his malicious Traducers, Conviction of too credulous Reproachers, Confirmation of Doubters, Comfort of Friends, and Consternation of all. A short Account of whose LIFE and DEATH, I mind here to offer to the Unprejudiced, with Confidence of Acceptance from all, who are not prepossessed with some wrong Byass.

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

Mr. *JAMES RENWICK.*

MR. *JAMES RENWICK* was born in *Glencairn*, in *Nithsdale*, in the Year of God 1662, *February 15th*, of mean, but Christian Parents, of Exemplary Piety, and acknowledged Eminency for a Profession in the Place where they lived. His Father, *Andrew Renwick*, was a Weaver to his Trade, but in his Profession and Practice a fervent and faithful Christian, which was enough to Nobilitate the Birth of his worthy Son, who had what Honour was wanting in his first Birth, made up in the second. He died as he lived, in the Lord, *February 1st*, 1676, the same Day Twelve Years, that his Son was taken to die for the Lord. His Mother, *Elizabeth Corson*, is yet, (*when this was written*) alive, wrestling with the Afflictions of her Losses, which, tho' during the Time of his Sufferings, she seemed to sustain, with very exemplary Submission and Patience; Yet she had several Children to her foresaid Husband, before Mr. *James*, that died young; for which, when she was pouring forth her motherly Grief, her Husband

used to comfort her with declaring, that he was well satisfied to have Children, whether they died or lived, young or old, that might be Heirs of Glory, he desired no more. With this, she could not attain to be satisfied, but had it for her Exercise, to seek a Child from the Lord, that might not only be an Heir of Glory, but that might live to serve him in his Generation. Whereupon, when Mr. *James* was born, she took him as the Answer of Prayer, and reputed her self under manifold Engagements to dedicate him to the Lord; who satisfied her with very early Evidences of his accepting that Return of his own Gift, and confirmed the same with very remarkable Appearances of his gracious dealing with the Child; For, by that Time he was but two Years of Age, he was discerned to be aiming at Prayer, even in the Cradle and about it. Wherewith, his Mother was so affected and taken, that being serious with the Lord about it, she not only conceived such Expectations, but received such stedfastly fixed Hopes, That the Lord would be with him to the End, and do Good to him, and by him in his Time; That all the Reproaches, he sustained, and Difficulties and Dangers he underwent afterwards to his dying Day, never made her succumb, or be shaken from the Confidence, that the Lord would carry him through, and take him off the Stage, in some honourable Way, for his own Glory, and the Advantage of his Cause. His Father also, before his Death, obtained the firm Perswasion, That he would have but a short Time in the World; but, that the Lord would make some eminent Use of him.

After he had learned his Elementary Letters, and could read the Bible when he was about six Years of Age, the Lord began to give some Sproutings of gracious Preparations, in his Way of training him, in exer-

cising him with Doubts and Debates, above Childish Apprehensions, about the Maker of all Things, and how all Things were made, and for what End; and with strange Suppositions of so many invisible Worlds, above and beneath, with which he was transported into a Maze of musing, and continued so exercised about the Space of two Years, until he, *Pro Modula*, by Prayer and Meditation on the History of the Creation, (in a Manner and Measure more than ordinary for a Child) came to Quiet and Composure, in believing that God made all Things, and that all which he made was very good. Yet himself hath related, how long after that, when he arrived into more Maturity and Distinctness of Knowledge, he relapsed into a deeper Labyrinth of Darkness about these Foundation-Truths, and was so strongly assaulted with Temptations of Atheism, that being in the Fields, and looking to the Mountains, he said, If these were all devouring Furnaces of burning Brimstone, he would be content to go through them, if so be, that thereby he could be assured that there was a God: Out of which he emerged, through Grace, into the sweet Serenity of a settled Perswasion of the Being of God, and of his Interest in him.

However, during his Childhood, he began betimes to fall in Love with the Ways of God, and to delight much in secret Prayer, and reading the Word, and made much Conscience of obeying his Parents, whose Order (if they had spoken of putting him to any Trade) he shewed he would nowise decline: Yet they consulted his Inclination, which was constant for his Book, and with great difficulties kept him at it, until Providence did very propitiously furnish him with Means of greater Proficiency at *Edinburgh*, where many were so enamoured with his hopeful Disposition, that they very

earnestly promoted his Education ; and when he was ready for the University, were careful to encourage him in attending on Gentlemens Sons, for the Improvement of their studies, and his own both ; which Consortship of Youths, as it is usually accompanied with various Temptations to youthful Vanity, so it enticed him, with others, to spend too much of his Time in playing at Games and Recreations. Then it was, or no other Part of his Time can be instanced, wherein some that knew him not, (for these were only his Traducers) took Occasion, from these Extravagancies, to reproach him with Profanity and Flagitiousness, which his Nature ever abhorred, and disdained the Suspicion of ; As all that knew him then, and since, particularly Mr. *Mure's* Family, who are said to have discovered it, do attest, with Indignation at the Impudence of these affronted Aspersions. However, the Lord made his reflecting, at that Time, on the Vanities he was then too much led away with, a gracious Mean of bringing him under the Exercise of legal Terrors ; whence, thro' Grace, he emerged into a more explicite Confirmation of his Interest in Christ. And, when the Time came, that his Course at the College drew to a Period, he demonstrated such Tenderness of offending God, and such Aversness from all Appearance of sinful Involvements, that when his Name, with the rest of the Candidates, was prefixed to the publick Disputation, to be sustained at the Laureation, he not only openly refused the Oath of Allegiance then tendered, but scrupled at the nauseous Titles of the Dedication, to the Duke of *York* ; and thereupon, was denied his Share of the publick Solemnity, but with other two obtained Laureation privately at *Edinburgh*, Anno , where he remained prosecuting his Studies, attending on the then private

and persecute Meetings for Gospel-Ordinances, and continuing in Amity and Unity with the Ministers there, until after many Discoveries of their lamentable and too universal Defections from many Degrees of the Covenanted Reformation, and Testimony against the Overturners thereof, in prosecuting which, they had been honoured of the Lord as burning and shining Lights ; and too general Compliances with the then current Corruptions of the Times ; How, many of them countenanced the Prelatical Communion ; Many had accepted the Erastian Indulgences, flowing from the blasphemous and sacrilegious Supremacy, especially the Banded-Indulgence after *Bothwel* ; Many had been involved in sinful Oaths, Bonds and Engagements with the malignant Enemies of this Church, contrary to the standing and binding Acts, Constitutions and Covenants thereof ; Many had perswaded poor People to the taking of their ensnaring Bonds, and paying of their sinful Exactions, contributing to, and declaredly imposed for suppressing the Work of God ; Many had refused to give their Advice, when required and requested thereunto, leaving People to determine themselves in all their Perplexities ; Many had declined the frequently reiterated and urgent Calls of the People, to come out and maintain the Testimony of the Gospel, for the Honour of their Master, and the Freedom of their Ministry, in a Time when the Necessity of the People, hungring after the Ordinances, and standing in Need of Warning, in a Time of abounding Snares, wherein Multitudes were inveigled, to the Hazard of their Souls every Day, and Circuit-Courts were in great Vigour and Rigour, pressing Compliance, should have enforced it as indeclinable and indispensable Duty : Many had not only deserted the Testimony of that

Day, by their lying-by from their Ministerial Work, in their lurking Holes at Home, or leaving the Land when it stood in greatest Need of their Labours, preferring their lazie Ease, their Self-pleasing Peace, or Safety, to the Glory of their Master, or the Good of his People ; but also, had withdrawn their Countenance and Concurrence from, and endeavoured to draw the People into an Aversation of, and avowed no small Opposition and Contradiction unto the more faithful Witnesses of Christ, who then were jeoparding their Lives in prosecuting the Work of the Gospel, and sealed it with their Blood.

After these, and such like deplorable Discoveries of the Unfixedness and Unfaithfulness of the Generality, even of Non-conform Ministers, which, not without many Wrestlings with his wounded Spirit, he was forced to take notice of ; He was again plunged into the Depths of Darkness, doubting what should be the End of such a Course of Backsliding, demurring to continue his Countenancing of those, that were so much involved in it, and yet not daring without more Clearness to withdraw from them.

In this Perplexity he continued a While, still seeking and searching after such Ministers as were freest from, and most opposite unto these Defections, till finding, as Light grew, and the Knowledge of the Iniquity of these Courses was augmented, that his Zeal increased, and theirs decreased against them ; and discovering by Conferences with some, for Solution of his daily multiplying Doubts, that generally all inclined either to defend or daub, or extenuate them, or to depress and suppress all Zeal resenting the Indignities Christ sustained thereby ; He could find none within the Compass of his Acquaintance, or Hearing, that he could with Confidence and

Peace of Conscience join with, or own stated Communion with in Ordinances ; Considering he could find none to join with, who either had not subjected their Ministry in the Exercise thereof, to the Usurpations of Men, who could not be submitted to, without consenting to the great Encroachments made upon the Prerogatives of Christ, and Privileges of his Church ; Or, had not some way perverted it, by contradicting and opposing some approved Part, and received Principle of the Covenanted Reformation ; whereby their Hearers were in Hazard of being made to err from the Words of Knowledge ; Yea, of foregoing the Word of the Lord's Patience in a Case of Confession : Or, had not been involved directly or indirectly in Compliances with the Malignant Enemies of the Church, in saying, a Confederacy with them to obtain their Favour, by shifting a Testimony for their Master's Cause ; Or, had not defended or daubed, palliated and plaistered these Compliances, strengthening the Hands and hardning the Hearts of these that were engaged in them : Or, had not been unfaithful and sinfully silent at the Wrongs done to Christ and his Church ; and not giving Warning of the Sins, Snares and Dangers of the Times ; Nor declaring the whole Counsel of God, as becomes Watchmen : Or, had not deserted their Duty in Times of most clear and clamant Calls thereunto ; leaving the Sheep when they saw the Wolf coming : Or, had not been accessory to the causing and keeping up Divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *Scotland* ; who therefore, were to be marked and avoided : Or, were not guilty of gross Disorders, in disobeying the Doctrine and standing Constitutions of the Church of *Scotland*. Upon these, and the like Considerations, tho'

with great Grief, Reluctancy and Trembling of Soul, he durst not but withdraw his Countenance from them.

And in this Abstraction he was more confirmed, after solemn and serious seeking of the Lord for Light; When he was Witness to the Sufferings and Executions of many Martyrs for the Cause of Christ (whom they generally condemned) how signally they were owned of the Lord, and carried off the Stage with such Resolution, Stedfastness, Faithfulness, Faith and Patience, that his Heart could not but cleave unto them: Especially, after the Death of that Faithful and Fruitful Minister and Martyr of Christ, Mr. *Donald Cargill* (who with his Blood sealed that Testimony which he was then enquiring after, which afterwards he prosecuted, and for which, in End, he died.) At whose Execution, *July 27th, 1681*, he was present, and so com-moved, that he was determined to Embarque with these Witnesses, to insist in their Steps, and in his Station to take the Defence of their Cause; Yea, to be ambitious of the Honour, and solicitous for the Happiness of Striving for the Issue of their Contendings; tho' for the Time, he had no Prospect but of a continued Conflict with all the Rage and Reproach, that Hell and Earth could raise against him. In which Determination, after many exercising Enquiries and Wrestlings with the Lord, for Understanding of the then emergent Controversies about the Defections of Ministers; And the then much disputed Authority of the Tyrant, he was so strengthened and established, and got Instruction about these Things, in and from the Word, so sealed with a strong Hand upon his Soul, that all the Temptations, Tribulations, Oppositions and Contradictions he met with, from all Hands to the Day of his Death,

never could shake, or unsettle his Mind into the least Doubt about them.

And in this Perswasion, upon Grounds of Scripture and Reason, he was more fixedly rooted ; when he observed on the one Hand, How many Ministers involved in, and carrying on that grievous Course of Defection above mentioned, whose Zeal against the Heaven-daring Encroachments on Religion and Liberty, Truth and Godliness, Christ's Prerogative and the Church's Privileges, was very blunt and backward, slack and remiss, had yet a fervid and forward, keen and cruel Edge of Indignation against these Conscientious Sufferers, running them down with a great Deal of Rage, and unrelenting Untenderness, as following perverse and pernicious Extravagancies, without either pitying their Sufferings, or taking Pains to reclaim them from the Sins they were falsly charging them with. And on the other Hand, How the Council and Courts of Inquisition, by putting the Question of owning the Authority of *Charles the Second*, so generally and peremptorly to all Prisoners, were pursuing a strange and singular Piece of Policy, to involve all whom they were persecuting in the Guilt of their Persecution, by owning that Authority that promoted it : And to secure and ratify the present Tyranny, by the Suffrage and Acknowledgment of all that owned it ; Or else to extirpate such as would keep themselves free of that Conspiracy, and scrupled to give that Symbol and Test of their Incorporation with them and their Head, under the odious Character of being Enemies to *Authority*. He and many others, who would otherwise not have inquired so much into it, finding, they must be resolved in Conscience to answer it, whenever they shall be brought before them, were forced to seek Information in it ;

And (as could not be avoided by any that are not either blind, or wilfully winking) upon a very overly Search, could not but see the then Possessor of the Government had *Ipsa Jure*, forfeited all Authority, by his perfidious Breach of Trust, reposed and devolved upon him by Covenant, and by his overturning all the Fundamental Constitutions of the Government, perverting and subverting all Laws, all Liberties of Church and State, all Establishments of the covenanted Work of Reformation, all Securities of Life, and Enjoyments whatsoever ; Usurping an Absolute, Tyrannical, Civil Supremacy, inconsistent with the Safety and Freedom of the People ; and a Monster of a blasphemous, sacrilegious, Ecclesiastick Supremacy, inconsistent with the Privileges of Christ's free Kingdom ; Thereby encroaching upon, both the Essential, Divine and Mediatory Prerogatives of the *Prince of the Kings of the Earth* ; and writing dreadful Effects of terrible Tyranny, in bloody Characters, upon all, who could not see Mankind so Manicipate, the Church so insulted over, and Christ robbed of his Glory, without a Testimony. Hence it may be discerned, who gave the Occasion to Mr. *Renwick*, and many others, to inquire so much into the Nature of the present *Authority*, and to be fixed in the Verdict that their own Conscience and the Word of God gave of it ; even the pretended Administrators of it, putting and pressing so much the Question about it upon People's Conscience ; Which, when it speaks from its Rule, in Prospect of rendring an Account to its Judge, must be unpleasant to Tyrants.

In this fatal Time of Backsliding in Heart and Practice, the special Mean of Nourishing and Cherishing any remaining Life and Zeal among Christians, aiming

at keeping their Integrity, was their Meeting in select and secret Societies for Prayer and Conference, for mutual Help, Encouragement, Informing and Confirming one another in the Work and Witness of the Day. These Meetings Mr. *James*, from his first launching into the Sea of contending for the Cause of Christ, did carefully keep, and sedulously promote, and was very helpful, useful and encouraging to them, in his faithful, loving and free Admonitions and Exhortations, provoking to Love and good Works, suiting his and their Capacity and Station. With one of these he had been joined for a Time, but upon the Account of their Contendings for the Cess, imposed on the Land declaredly for suppressing the persecuted Meetings for Gospel-Ordinances, he withdrew from them ; and sought the Converse and Communion of those, that maintained the Testimony against all Compliances.

Accordingly, in *October 1681*, meeting with some of them, and conferring about the Testimonies of some other Martyrs lately execute (which he was very earnest always to gather and keep on Record) he refreshed them much, by shewing them, “ How much he was
 “ grieved to hear them disdainfully spoken of, and sorrowful for the want of that Spirit, wherewith they
 “ were acted ; and how much he was offended at many
 “ Ministers, some of them advising to hear the *Curates* ;
 “ Some pleading for the *Cess*, and defending the Authority of the *Tyrant* ; Some sinfully silent at the
 “ Sins of the Times, and justifying themselves from
 “ that misinterpreted Scripture, *The Prudent shall keep
 “ Silence, for it is an Evil Time*, which (said he) I could
 “ never understand of a Silence of Omission of Duty,
 “ but only of Submission to the Lord ; When I consider, said he, the Scripture, saying, They that make

“ Mention of the Name of the Lord, must not keep Silence ; That they must be instant in Season and out of Season ; That they must set the Trumpet to their Mouth, and shew *Israel* their Sins. It is afflicting to observe, how unlike to this Ministers are now. I saw nothing among them that I was acquainted with, but every one studying their own Safety, and nothing like giving a Testimony against the Wrongs done to the Cause of Christ. It was sad to me, that none of them were giving a Formal Testimony against the *Cess, Test,*” &c. He told also, how some, when they went to preach, caused cover a Table, whereat as many as could sit had the Benefit of hearing the Sermon, and none other ; which seemed to him a sad Restraint, inconsistent with the Freedom of the Gospel : Wherefore, he shewed it was a Burden to his Spirit, so much, as to hear of these Things ; and he would think it a great Ease to his Mind, to know and be engaged with a Remnant, that would singly Prosecute and Propagate the Testimony, against the Corruptions of the Time, to the succeeding Generation ; And would desire nothing more than to be helped to be serviceable to them.

At his very first coming among them, he could not avoid being more taken Notice of by many, while some were speaking of removing the Bodies of five Martyrs, lately Execute at the *Gallow-Lee*, and buried there at the *Gibbet-Foot*, Mr. *James* was very forward to promote it, and active to assist in it ; alledging, it were an Indignity, to suffer the Martyrs of the Lord to ly in the Place appointed for Murderers. Which I mention only to shew the Fervor of his Spirit, how he could not restrain, on the meanest Occasions, the Sparklings of that Zeal, which afterwards did blaze so brightly, to the

Astonishment of many. Yet this his Zeal, tho' appearing forward enough, and seemingly fiery betimes, was impartial and uniform, against all Extremes and Extravagancies; and peculiarly fervid against blind and bastard delirious Zealots, who then being stumbled at Ministers Defections, were left (in the Righteousness of God, to rain Snares on the Generation, and in Mercy to restrain the Remnant from Excesses) to fall into damnable Delusions, pretending Raptures and *Enthusiasms*, and cursing all that were not of their Way, and in End to run Headlong to the Height of unheard-of Blasphemies. There were once near to Thirty Persons, most Part Women, led away into these Distractions, by that Sorcerer and Impostor *John Gibb*, who being apprehended, with some others, was extraordinarily favoured by the Duke of *York*, then in *Scotland*. Against which, Mr. *Renwick* at all Occasions opposed himself, with the greatest of Fervor: Which discovers that Calumny, among others, that he consorted with *Gibb's* Followers, to be the Product of ignorant and impudent Malice; For all of them who have been, through Grace, brought off from that pernicious Way, have complained more of his Rigidity against them, than of all the Ministers of *Scotland*. And how much he opposed the unwarrantable overstretching Excesses of others, overdriving themselves and others into untroden Paths, their yet extant Exclamations against him, and the Resentments of others concerned, can witness.

In the mean Time, there were still several serious Seekers of God, scattered up and down the Land, who adhered to the Testimony, as Mr. *Cameron* and Mr. *Cargill* had left it, opposing both the Defections of Ministers, and the Extravagancies of others, and sustaining

all Cruelties from Persecutors ; who, towards the End of that Year 1681, began to settle a Correspondence in *general Meetings*, for understanding of one anothers Minds, preventing of Declensions, to the right or left Hand, preserving of Union, propagating the Testimony, informing and confirming one another about their Duty in these dangerous Times. In the first of these, at the Time when the Duke of York was holding a *Parliament* at *Edinburgh*, they agreed upon emitting that *Declaration* published at *Lanerk*, *January 12th*, 1682. Wherein, Mr. *Renwick* was so far concerned, as to be employed in proclaiming it ; but had no Hand in the penning of it ; otherways, in some Things, it would have been more considerately worded : For, tho' he approved of the *Matter* of it, and the Reasons therein-contained, for disowning the Authority of the *Tyrant*, as Rational and Righteous, yet, he always confessed, there were some Expressions in it very unadvised. Here it was, they burnt the *Test* and *Act of Succssion* of the *Duke* to the *Crown*, and confirmed the preceeding Declaration at *Sanquhair*, and gave their Reasons of their Revolt from the Government of *Charles the Second*.

After the publishing of this Declaration, The next *General-meeting* finding themselves much condemned, even by these, who were obliged to concur with them, and Reproached and Informed against, not only at Home, but also Abroad, in forreign Churches, as if they had fallen from the Principles of this Church, into wild Errors, thought it Expedient to send the Laird of *Earlston* to the *United Provinces*, to vindicate themselves from these Reproaches : And by a Representation of the Justness of their Cause, and Sadness of their Case, to provock Strangers to some Sympathy, which they could not obtain of their Country-men ; which proved, through

Mercy, very encouraging to them ; and at length opened a Door, to provide for a Succession of faithful Ministers, by sending some to be fitted for the Work of the Ministry, in Universities there, where Learning was found and flourished, and uncorrupt, and soonest advanced ; which, in their Circumstances, could no where else be obtained. Accordingly, Mr. *Renwick* with some others went thither : His Comrades were first ready, and sailed before, which made him haste impatiently to follow : Yet, at his Departure, he affirmed, to a Comrade, *Tho' they were gone before him, as they did not depart together ; so, he saw something should fall in, which would obstruct their coming Home together also ;* which was verified by the falling off of one of them, Mr. *John Flint* (then very forward, and seemingly fixed in the same Cause with himself) into Extremes, as far opposite in the Excess, as he hath since changed into the contrary Course of Defection.

When he went over, he was settled at the University of *Groningen*, prosecuting his Studies with approved Proficiency : There also, very disturbing Contensions and Tentations attended him, which were appointed of the Holy and Wise God, to be his continual Exercise, whereby He fitted him for the Work He called him to, more than by any other Advantages of Learning. His Contentings there, were against Opposites on both Hands ; Partly on the Right-hand, against such as were overstretching their Zeal beyond the due Boundaries thereof : And no small Contradiction and Contempt, and many Vexations he had from Mr. *John Flint*, one of his Companions, sent over upon the same Design with himself, who became his irreconcilable Antagonist, fulfilling his former Fears, as was hinted before. With these Troubles he was much afflicted and exercised ; as also,

about his Soul's Case, as many Letters, written by him at that Time, to some special Friends, do witness; Yea, his Antagonist in the same Class with him, when moving some Exceptions against him to a Friend, before his Ordination, One whereof was, That he read but little, was forced to confess, he thought, he took up too much of his Time in Prayer and Meditation; which was an Exercise most accomplishing for his intended Work.

He had but little Time there, less than Six Months, the Necessities of his Friends in *Scotland* longing for his Labours, and his own pressing Desires to be at the Work; together with an extraordinary Providence concurring, did precipitate his Ordination: Which (as it would not readily, nor used to be scrupled by the Unbyassed) he could not doubt or demur to accept of, in his Circumstances: Considering, that as Ordination to a particular Church, is not essential, but subordinate unto prior and more primary Relations in Order of Nature, that every Minister must have to Christ as his Head and King, and to the Church Catholick, as his Body and Kingdom, whereby they have Power to exerce their Ministerial Authority, wherever their Master's Authority is acknowledged, their Commission being indefinite, and principally designed for the Edification of the whole Body, as far as their Ministry can reach, especially in a broken State of the Church, where a more fixed Relation cannot be held; And all the Restriction it is capable of, is only a Tye and Call to officiate in the Service of that Church, whereof he is a Member; So, Ordination by that particular Church, where he officiates, is not so essentially necessary to his authorized officiating there, as that it cannot be valid, or sufficient Ground, not to receive him, if he hath gotten Ordination from any other Sister Church in Case of Necessity;

Else neither would Churches ever have been planted since the Apostles, who were Catholick Officers of the Catholick Church, ceased ; Nor backsliden Churches recovered ; Nor Reformation propagated, where there was an universal Corruption : For, if any were eminently instrumental in that Work, they behoved to be such as were ordained in other Churches than where they did so officiate ; where they could not have Ordination free of Corruption, if the Corruption was universal. It was never doubted, but in a Case of Necessity, another constitute Church might lend her helping Hand to furnish Ministers to, and ordain these who were Members of a broken Church : This being one Part and Proof of the Communion that should be in the Church Universal, for particular Churches thus to co-operate to one anothers Hands. Nor, could it ever be questioned, but that Ministers, so ordained, might and ought to be received in the Church whereof they were Members, by a People calling them, in a Case of Necessity. Nor had ever any particular Church Power, so to Monopolize to her self, the sole Authority of ordaining all that should be admitted to officiate there ; Or so to restrict the ministerial Commission of one ordained elsewhere, as that in no Case he shall have any Relation to that Church, where he did not receive his Ordination, tho' he be a Member thereof, and called to preach there by the People, in a Case of Necessity : Neither can it be doubted, by any that know the *Belgick* Church, but that a *Classis* there, hath Power to ordain Ministers upon the Call and Application of a People in *Scotland* to them, to assist them in a particular Pinch, without imposing upon the Church of *Scotland*, or usurping a Power over them ; and that notwithstanding of Corruptions remaining unreformed ; From which, some keep themselves free ; Against which,

many wrestle ; Into which, none make Defection, because never reformed ; Application may be made unto the purest Presbyteries for Ordination, with a Protestation against their Corruptions. None would have challenged the like in *Scotland* before the last Reformation, when the godly Ministers were wrestling against *Prelacy*. If the People of *Ireland* had either sent for Ministers from our Church-Judicatories, or some Men to be ordained by them, this would have been thought no Imposition upon the Church of *Ireland* ; As it was not, when the *General Assembly* sent some Ministers thither, upon the Peoples Request, even before the *Solemn League and Covenant*, tho' that Church was not subject to the *Assembly*. Why then should it be challenged, that a poor People in *Scotland*, should either seek Ministers from the *Belgick Church* ; Or, send some young Men to be ordained by them ; whose Corruptions yet are not greater than *Prelacy* was in *Scotland* ; And from which, some of them are as free as many of our godly Ministers were then ? Sure this may be allowed in a Case of Necessity : And such was the Case of that poor People that made that Application, that neither could they get faithful Ministers free of Defections, whom, with Freedom of Conscience, they might call, (upon Grounds given in their late *Informatory Vindication* :) Nor would they answer their many reiterated Requests whom they did call : Neither would any ministers, at that Time, opposite to their Testimony, ordain any of their Way : Nor could they seek it, without condemning their own Testimony ; Nor could they be found, who did not oppose it ; Nay, nor any who would so expose themselves to Hazard, if it had been sought : Neither could it have been supposed, that any would make such a Bustle about foreign Ordination, as hath been since about Mr. Ren-

wick's. But it was their Interest, when they could not otherways shift his Reproof, to seek to invalidate the Power of the Reprover ; When they could not otherways darken his Ministry, sealed upon the Hearts of Hundreds, to cast Dirt upon his Ordination. However, there he was ordained, by the Classis of *Groningen*, wherein much of the Lord's All-over-rulling Providence, Wisdom, Mercy and Faithfulness was observed by the Spectators, Actors and Instruments of it, and all concerned.

Mr. *Hamilton*, his special Friend, who, in this, and many other Proofs of his Sympathy, hath merited much Respect from these that reaped the Benefit of Mr. *Renwick's* Ministry, tho' thereby he hath suffered a great share of his Reproaches, had a very helpful and useful Hand, in procuring and promoting this Affair, by his Acquaintance in that Place ; chiefly by means of a godly Minister, who since, through the Misinformations of some, hath been induced, or rather seduced, too credulously to entertain contrary Impressions to what he then conceived of him ; I mean, Mr. *Brakel*, who, when he first heard the Business of Mr. *Renwick's* Ordination, was exceedingly delighted with the Motion, and advised, that it should be done at *Emdden* : But this could not be consented to, because the principal Man there, who was to have the Management of it, was *Cocceian* in his Judgment, and the Church there was not so pure, as to the Magistrates Usurpation : Then he proposed it to the Ministers of *Groningen* ; who answerd, It might be done secretly by the Professors of the University : But this could not be done without the Concurrence of one Professor, who was professed *Cocceian*, which they could not admit ; albeit the Learned and Famous *Anti-cocceian* Professor, *Johannes a Marck*, shewed, that he was only

to Examine, but not to lay on Hands. Mr. *Brackel* again, advertised of this Scruple, advised for *Emden*, but withal informing them, that unless the Students at *Groningen*, had a full Testimony from the whole Professors to the Ministers at *Emden*, they could not be owned; this determined them not to pursue-it; for, they could no more accept of the *Cocceians* Recommendation, than Ordination, as it was then circumstantiate. This was a Difficulty, being hereby like to have both *Emden*, and the Professors, and all their Friends against them, which was aggravated by Mr. *Renwick's* Comrade, his fore-mentioned Antagonist, creating very much Trouble to him, tho' concurring with him in desiring Ordination: But it was ordered otherwise. Mr. *Hamilton* again solicites the Professor *a Marck*, and another Minister, to deal with the Classis of *Groningen*, to undertake it, who did promise very willingly to do it; And calling for their Testimonials, Mr. *Renwick's* was produced, being providentially in Readiness when the other's was wanting, and tho' in a rude Dress, yet was sustained. When the Classis convened Mr. *Renwick* and his Colleague were called, and by Agreement, his Colleague had the Harangue, wherein open Testimony was given against all the Forms and Corruptions in their Church; whereat they were so far from being offended, that after solemn and serious Consideration of their Cause, they declared it was the Lord's Cause; and cost what it would, if all the Kings of the Earth were against it, they would go on in it. One of them asking, How it came they passed by the Professors, and did not take Ordination from them? Another of themselves rose up, and from that took Occasion to lay out the Government and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*; that it was inconsistent with the excellent Or-

der thereof, to take such a Course, and that they were to be much encouraged for it. Another, that was a Depute of the General Synod, desired to be excused, for he feared he could not attend the Ordination, being at such a Distance: The rest of the Brethren with Tears requested, that no Cost nor Pains might be looked unto in such a Cause. It being also the Custom of that Place, that every one that passes must pay twenty *Guilders* for the publick Use of the Church; the Brethren jointly declared, they would be at all the Charges themselves.

It was expected of all, that both of them should have passed together: But upon some Discontents, which were very offensive, and threatned not only a Retardment, but also a Disappointment of the Business, the other would proceed no further; which being made known to the Ministers, they were exceedingly offended, and pressed very earnestly, that they might go on together; But being informed of the Case more perfectly, and the other young Man going himself to make his Excuse, they were satisfied. Another Difficulty yet occurred, which was, that they were told by one of the Ministers, it was impossible for any to pass, without subscribing their *Catechisms*, &c. In which, observing their Forms and Corruptions are therein justified, Mr. *Renwick* resolutely answered, he would subscribe no such Thing, being engaged by solemn Covenant to the Contrair. This was again like to stop all: But at length, they condescended, he should subscribe the *Confession* and *Catechisms* of the Church of *Scotland*; a Practice never before heard of in that Land; which was accepted. The Day of Ordination being come, Mr. *Renwick* was called in a very respectful Way; not only by the ordinary Servant, but by one of the Brethren: And spend-

ing some Time in Prayer, the Examination lasted from ten in the Morning, to two a Clock Afternoon. Then,

His Friends, that were attending in the Church, were called in to be Witnesses to the laying on of the Hands, which, after the Exhortation, they performed with Prayer, the whole Meeting melting in Tears: And thereafter, he had a very taking Discourse to the Classis. With this Solemnity the Classis was so much affected, that at Dinner, to which he and his Friends attending were invited, the Preces declared the great Satisfaction the whole Brethren had in Mr. *Renwick*, that they thought the whole Time he was before them, he was so filled with the Spirit of God, that his Face seemed to shine, and that they had never seen such evident Tokens of the Lord's being with them, as in that Affair, all alongst. Another declared, he had been Twenty Years a Minister in that Place, but had never seen nor found so much of the Lord's Spirit accompanying a Work as that. Then, desiring a Relation might be given to the Brethren of their Cause, Sufferings and Wrestlings, they were so filled, with both Joy and Grief, that they promised to mind their Case both in private and publick; and offered themselves ready for the same Service again, whatever might be the Hazard. The Preces complained also. That the Magistrate was usurping upon that Church, and there was as great yielding among them, as in *Scotland*; And said, That if they did not follow their Practice, the Church would be ruined. Thus was the Ordination performed, which hath been so much contradicted, controverted and reproachfully represented since by many, suffering themselves to be imposed upon by prejudiced Traducers: But, what Esteem these famous, learned and godly Men had of the Person, and what Ac-

count they made of the Action, is in Part conspicuous from what is said above, and shall be further confirmed, by transcribing the authentick Testimonies given him, both from the University and Classis. First, Professor *Marck* his Testimony given conjunctly to him and his Colleague, when they were jointly proceeding in their Preparation, before the one broke off, was of this Tenor.

L. S.

DOCTISSIMOS atque præstantissimos Viros juvenes,
D. Joh. Flint, & D. Jacobum Renwick, Scoto-
Britannos, ab Ecclesiis Regni istius purioribus, &c.

In *English*, thus,

“ THAT these learned and excellent young Men,
 “ Mr. *John Flint*, and Mr. *James Renwick*, Scots-
 “ Britons by Nation, sent over to us from the more in-
 “ corrupt Church-societies of that Kingdom, some
 “ Months since, have all this Time shown forth Praise-
 “ worthy Endowments of Engine, Memory and Elo-
 “ quence granted to them from above, have in singular
 “ Diligence gone before the most Part of the rest of
 “ their Condisciples, both in publick and private Ac-
 “ cademical Exercises, have given frequently noways
 “ despicable Discoveries of their Proficiencies in saving
 “ Wisdom, and have exceedingly commended them-
 “ selves to us in their sincere Study of Piety, which is
 “ the true and only Seasoning and Savour of sacred
 “ Knowledge, I do willingly testify. And seeing the
 “ Affairs of their native Church, to whose Service they

“ have dedicated themselves, seem to require their
 “ more speedy Return ; Upon this Account, I doubt not
 “ to recommend them to all & sundry, whether Minis-
 “ ters or Members of Churches, being very hopeful,
 “ that their Labours shall be useful, for the happy Ad-
 “ vancement of the heavenly Kingdom of our Lord and
 “ Saviour : Which may he graciously grant, who is the
 “ supreme Administrator of all Grace, and only King
 “ of the Church. Dated at *Groningen*, April 9. Old
 “ Stile, 1683.

“ *John a Marck*, Dr. of Theology and
 “ Philosophy, and Professor of Di-
 “ vinity with Church-History.”

The other Testimony of the Classis, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, shall be also here subjoined *verbatim*.

Classis Groningana Lecturis salutem.

SUPRA hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, &
 Portæ Inferorum non superabunt eam, *sunt Verba nostri Salvatoris Jesu Christi. Sane quid Ecclesia nisi Vermiculus, ut olim Jacob & Israel, & tamen subsistit, contra Potentissimas Inferorum Portas. Non mirum, est enim Petra illa immobilis, &c.*

In *English* thus,

“ **T**HE Classis of *Groningen* to the Reader sendeth
 “ greeting. Upon this Rock will I build my Church,
 “ and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, are
 “ the Words of our Saviour Jesus Christ. What is in-

“ deed the Church but a Worm, as of old *Jacob* and
 “ *Israel* was called? yet it subsists against the most
 “ powerful Gates of Hell; and no wonder, for that
 “ Rock is immoveable, on which it is built, and the
 “ same Rock that builds it: However therefore the
 “ Enemies do rage, who of them shall turn away the
 “ Hand of Jehovah stretched out? Who shall pluck up,
 “ or pull down, where he builds? Hence, the Lord
 “ knows how to provide for his Church fit and conveni-
 “ ent Instruments, which may do his Work in the
 “ Earth, with whom he will be to the End of the
 “ World: And whether they be taken away by a natu-
 “ ral Death, or by violent Hands, this remains to be his
 “ continual Care, to furnish others in their Room. The
 “ Church may be forced for a Time to want her *Elijah*,
 “ lying hidden because of grievous Persecution; so that
 “ she may break forth into such Complaints as these,
 “ *We see not our Signs; There is no more any Pro-*
 “ *phet, nor any that can tell us how long:* But at length
 “ he may give her an Outgate, either by restoring the
 “ same Instruments, or substituting others in their
 “ Place: Therefore it hath not come to pass without
 “ the special Providence of God, that the ancient Church
 “ of *Scotland*, suffering so many and so great Tribula-
 “ tions, and redacted to Extremities, as a Flock without
 “ a Shepherd, and a Vineyard without a Labourer, did
 “ fall upon this Resolution, to send over some of their
 “ Youth to our Universities in the *United Provinces*,
 “ that not only they might be prepared for the holy
 “ Ministry; but also, confirmed in the same, that by
 “ their Ministry, in Christ the Saviour, the Church
 “ might be built up into everlasting Salvation: Of
 “ these, one notable and learned young Man, of great
 “ Hope, Mr. *James Renwick*, Master of Arts, according

“ as the Right Reverend, Godly and Learned Mr.
“ *Brackel*, a faithful Minister of the Church of *Lee-*
“ *warden*, did attest to us in Writ concerning his Call,
“ as having the principal Copy thereof deposited in the
“ Hands of the Right Honourable Baron of *E.* (then
“ absent) did appear before the Classis at *Groningen*,
“ after he had diligently for some Time exercised him-
“ self in the *Study* of Theology, and given Proof of his
“ Progress therein, by the University-testimony of the
“ much Honoured, Learned and Famous D. *Johannes a*
“ *Marck*, the principal Professor of Theology in our
“ University, did require of us a plenary (as they call
“ it) Examination-theological, and after that a Confir-
“ mation in the Ecclesiastical Ministerial Function ; to
“ whom we neither would nor ought deny it. In the
“ appointed Day, he delivered to us a Text of Scripture,
“ from the Epistle of *Paul* to the *Philip*. Chap. i.
“ Verses 28, 29. practically and methodically handled,
“ written in *Latin* : And before the Classis, in the Pre-
“ sence of the Right Reverend and Learned Deputes
“ of the Synod, Mr. *Antonius Stegnerus* Co-examina-
“ tor, Mr. *Johannes Bras*, Mr. *Johannes Wilmannus*,
“ Mr. *Franciscus Branchus*, faithful Ministers at *Gron-*
“ *ingen*, *Loppersum*, *Nickerk* and *Wavgenberge*, he an-
“ swered to all the Heads of Christian Doctrine, both
“ doctrinally and controversially propounded, pertinent-
“ ly and learnedly ; and in the Original Tongues, the
“ *Hebrew* and *Greek*, shewed himself sufficiently skil-
“ ful : So that, by common Suffrage, he was judged
“ worthy to be ordained to the publick Ministry in the
“ Church of Christ ; In which (after he had subscribed
“ with his own Hand, that he should teach according to
“ the Word of God, and the *Scottish Confession* agree-
“ able therewith) in the Presence of the whole Classis,

“ and of three Men of the *Scottish Nation*, among whom
 “ was the much Honoured Mr. *Hamilton*, and another
 “ Elder of the Church of *Scotland*, he was confirmed
 “ after our wonted Manner, by Imposition of Hands.
 “ Wherefore we do grant to Mr. *James Renwick* the
 “ Power of preaching the Word of God, of administrat-
 “ ing the Sacraments, and of using the Power of the
 “ Keys in the Church of *Scotland* (now warfaring un-
 “ der the Cross) by which he was sequestred unto this
 “ Ministry ; Heartily praying, that the Lord God, our
 “ heavenly Father, may confirm this his Minister now
 “ confirmed by us, pour forth abundantly the Gifts of
 “ his Holy Spirit upon him, uphold him in Constancy,
 “ strengthen him with Patience against all Troubles
 “ and Persecutions, make him a fruitful and blessed
 “ Labourer, and long preserve him to the Church ; That
 “ the groaning Church of *Scotland* may in great Measure
 “ reap heavenly Comforts from his Ministry, and con-
 “ tinually grow in Faith, being filled with the Fruits
 “ of Righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, to the
 “ Glory and Praise of God, until, out of this spiritual
 “ Warfare, it be translated into the heavenly Triumph.
 “ Written at *Groningen*, in the Day of Ordination, *May*
 “ 10th, 1683, Old Stile.

“ <i>Wilhelmus Vanderschuur</i> Mi-	<i>Ant. Stegnerus,</i>
“ nister at <i>Groningen</i> , Preces	Depute of Synod
“ of the Classis and first Ex-	and Co-examinator.
“ aminator.	
“ <i>Johannes Gausefoort</i> Minister at	
“ <i>Haren</i> , second Examiner.	

No sooner were these Difficulties thus overcome, than
 others of a more terrible Aspect began to arise ; which,

if they had appeared but one Day sooner, might have stopped the Ordination, and rendred it hopeless for a Time. The very next Morning after the Business was done, a Letter comes from Mr. *Brakel*, shewing there was a Libel coming from *Holland*, formed by the *Scottish* Ministers at *Rotterdam*, and intended to be printed, and sent to *Groningen*; containing heavy Accusations against the poor People in *Scotland*, that had sent over these young Men to the Universities, and the Students themselves: Which behoved either to be answered and repell'd by a clear Vindication, or else the Ordination was to be stopt; desiring in all Haste, that this might be imparted to the Classis. Which, if it had come but one Day sooner, could not but have delayed the Diet, at least for that Time; and they could have done no less, than have taken it into Consideration: But the Professor and Ministers being informed of these Things, were nothing troubled at what was done, but justified Mr. *Renwick* and his Friends, and promised to own them, and give an Account of any Information that should come against them. Mr. *Brakel*, in the mean time, resolv'd to keep the Day that the Ministers had appointed for producing the Libel; and therefore went to meet with them at *Amsterdam*, for that Effect: But when he came there, it was not ready. And, therefore, tho' they would have told it by Mouth to him, he declined it, except it were given in Writ, that it might be answered: And so returned, more the Friend of the Accused than ever. Here was one Difficulty prevented; another also succeeds from the opposite Hand: Some that were driving unto Excesses on the Right-hand, with whom he had many and hot Conflicts both in *Scotland* and Abroad, that same Day that the forementioned Letter came, arriv'd at *Groningen* with earnest Intent and confident Assurance,

to stop the Ordination: But, through Mercy, they also came a Day too late, and were disappointed every way as to that Affair; tho' they ceased not to create many wounding and weighty Troubles to his Spirit, so long as he remained in that Place: With whom his forementioned Antagonist, that should have been ordained with him, did comfort; and from that Time was a very contentious Enemy to him to his dying Day; and very industriously did spread many invidious Calumnies against him, both at Home and Abroad.

After his Ordination, such was his Zeal for improving his Talents received, and longing Desire to lay it out to the Advantage of the poor People in *Scotland*, then languishing and like to starve in a Famine of the Gospel, that he could stay no longer abroad; but with all Expedition went to *Rotterdam*, to take the first Opportunity of a Ship for *Scotland*; where he met with some of the Ministers there, and sustained a very sore Assault from them; tho' thereby he was neither driven from, nor discouraged in his designed Duty.

Thereafter, finding a Ship ready to sail, he embarked at the *Brill*: But, waiting some Days upon a Wind, he was so discouraged with the Company of some profane Passengers, pressing the King's Health, &c. upon him, and for his Refusal threatning to dilate him, that he was forced to leave that Vessel, and take another bound for *Ireland*.

At Sea a violent Storm compelled them to put in to *Rye-harbour* in *England*; which happening in the Time of the great Noise of a Plot then discovered, did create no small Dangers and Difficulties to him: But getting off, after many Tossings and Perils at Sea, he arrived at *Dublin*, where he had many, frequent and fervent Con-

tests with the Ministers there, whom he opposed and upbraided to their Face, for their Defections, Indifferency and Lukewarmness in the Cause of Christ ; yet in such a gaining and Gospel-becoming Way, that he left Convictions on their Spirits, of his being a pious and zealous Youth ; and moved them, whether out of Compassion, or Desire to be quit of him, to Diligence, in procuring him a speedy Passage to *Scotland*. In which Passage, he had considerable Dangers, and a Prospect of more, when he should come there, and knew not the Place where he was to land, nor how to be put on Shore in any Place undiscovered, all Ports being then so strictly observed, and the Skipper very surly, refusing to let him go till his Name should be given up ; yet at last was prevailed with, to give him a Cast to Shore ; where he began his weary and uncertain Wandrings, that continued with him to the Time of his being apprehended : And at the very first was made to wrestle with inexpressible Difficulties, in wandring through unknown Wildernesses, among unknown People, before he could meet with any of the *Societies*.

In *September* 1683, he commenced his ministerial Work in *Scotland*, taking up the Standard of the Testimony of Christ, and for Christ, upon the same Ground where it was fixed and had fallen, at the Removal of the former renowned Witnesses, Mr. *Richard Cameron* and Mr. *Donald Cargil* ; which, in the Strength of his Master, he undertook to prosecute, against such Oppositions from all Hands, as seemed insuperable to Sense and Reason ; and could not but have deterred the most daring, that had no other Principle or End, for their Support or Encouragement, but Humour or Interest. An

Undertaking it was to him as difficult and desperate, as that of *Unus Athanasius contra totum Orbem* *; or that of a Child threshing down a Mountain: Which yet, against all the Arrows of Archers which shot at him, and hated him, he was helped to atchieve and attempt effectually, and overcome with no despicable Success, while his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

At the Beginning of his publick Appearance, the Case of the Land was very dolefully and dreadfully Circumstantiate; nothing appeared but Discouragements, Perplexities, Darkness and Dimness of Anguish, Confusions, Delusions, Defections, Divisions, Distractions, Jumbings, Stumblings and manifold Temptations. The *Scottish Inquisition* exceeding the *Spanish* in some Respects; for, Illegality and Inhumanity was now going through with their *Circuit-Courts*, pressing Conformity and Submission to *Prelacy*, imposing many wicked, blasphemous, Conscience-debauching Oaths and Bonds, contrary to Religion, contradictory to Reason, and condemnatory of our clear and approved Covenanted Duties; Exacting and Extorting an insolent and exorbitant *Cess*, declaredly required for suppressing all remaining Memorials of Gospel-Ordinances; And thereby Encouraging and Impowering their bloody and butchering *Burrio's* to persecute, pursue, hunt, apprehend and destroy all, whose Conscience could not comply with these wicked and ensnaring Impositions; whereby many honest and innocent, and formerly well-provided Families, were harassed, pillaged and laid waste; yea, driven out of their own and

* *That is, Athanasius alone against all the World.*

all other Habitations, into the Wilderness ; Interdicted of all Harbour, Supply, Comfort, Refreshment, Converse or Correspondance, by barbarous Edicts ; many forced with great Difficulty, to choose the Miseries of a Voluntary Exile ; Others apprehended, were tortured, banished, or cruelly murdered : Whence all *Field-meetings* for the persecuted Gospel, that used to be the solemn and Soul-satisfying and enriching Rendezvouze of Christ's Militia, for bearing and following this Banner of his Gospel, and Standard of his Testimony, signally honoured and blessed with his Presence, were now totally suppressed and Banished out of the Land, and out of the Hearts and Desires of many that formerly took Pleasure in them ; Yea, all preaching in Houses also, except by Curates and Indulged, under the *Bushel* of Prelacy and Erastian Supremacy (which many tender and serious Sufferers could not countenance, and for their withdrawing were counted Signs and Wonders) at least in the Western Shires, was at this Time invisible or inaccessible. Many Ministers had left the Land in that clamant Call of the Peoples Necessity ; Or, were lurking in their Retirements, and declining the Duty of that Day : All had deserted the Fields, thereby hardning and heartning Malignant Enemies, in the hope of having that Eye-sore of theirs, *Field-preaching*, finally buried, as, for the Time, they had gotten it totally Banished : Thereby also, the People were more and more offended and stumbled at the Ministers, who thus left them to determine themselves in all their Perplexities, as a Prey to all Temptations ; Or else, advised them to comply with the then Current Snares ; Or else, both by Advice, Exhortation and Example, induced and seduced many ; and as much as they could, Discouraged all, from following the Testimony, in their Stations, against these Defections :

which by all Means they studied to oppose and obscure: So, that at this Time, there was very little Preaching, and very little Desire after it in the Generality; who were either stumbled at the abounding Offences of that Day, making them scunner at it, or outwearied with the Persecution following it, making them scarr at it. And many that did hunger after it could not know where, or from whom to seek it with Confidence and Comfort. Hence, as many wandred from Sea to Sea, to seek the Word of the Lord, and could not find it, many were like to give over all Hopes; and some all Cares of ever recovering it; and many languished in their suspended Expectations of it, under the Grievance also of having their Children unbaptized for several Years. Hence also, as the few that remained wrestling against these Difficulties, were making Conscience of keeping up their Duty by Prayer and Conference in *private Societies*; Many were deeply exercised with Legal Terrors, under the Apprehension of Wrath, and Doubtings about their own Salvation, and Darkness about the Case of the Church; wherein, as they were made exceedingly to long for, so they were helped, by Experience, to learn more of the absolute Necessity of the preached Gospel: And some, through the want of Guides, and Weakness of their Understandings, not able to bear the Weight of their Soul-Exercises, were like to bewilder themselves in their too near bordering upon Enthusiastical Extravagancies, in looking for and waiting upon Returns of Prayer, in an extraordinary Way, by Impressions of Scriptures born in upon their Minds, without due pondering the Importance of them: Wherein none did more miscarry than some (and particularly one *Robert Lauson*) who afterwards, turning off to their Opposites, did reproach all these Societies

with these Excesses *: Whereas, not only were many sensible of the Danger of these Things, in the mean Time of that Darkness ; but no sooner did Mr. *Renwick* preach among them, than through the Blessing of God he discovered the Deceit of them ; and they that were tainted with them, recovered the Spirit of Faith and of a sound Mind, and increased much both in Knowledge, and Hunger after the Gospel-Ordinances, of the Need of which, they were more and more sensible, and persuaded they could not live without them, after they perceived such Mistakes discovered by them.

In this dark and difficult Time, he entred upon the Work of the Ministry, and was heartily received by a poor persecuted People, who for the Gospel had lost what they had of temporal Enjoyments, and for it were resolute to venture their Lives. His first publick Meeting was in the remotest Recess they could find, most convenient for Safety and Secrecy, for Fear of the Enemies, *viz.* In a Moss at *Darthead* ; where, for his own Vindication and the Satisfaction of the People, and for preventing Mistakes and Jealousies, that might then, or afterward arise about his Principles or Purposes ; He thought it expedient not only to let them know, how he was called to the Ministry, and that he adhered to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland* : But besides, to unbosom all his Sentiments, about the then puzzling Questions of the Time, particularly, concerning Ministers Defections, wherewith so many were racked and tortured in their

* Mr. *Wodrow* does the like, having such apostatizing Re-proachers for his fine Vouchers against the Society-People. *Hist.* V. 2. pag. 136,—138,—601, 602, &c.

Conscience. In this Testimony, he particularly, not only shewed, the Sorts of Ministers with whom he would join, and with whom he could not join, but also named several of them ; And as he named them, shewed his Reasons wherefore he could not join with them, “ Desiring them to take Notice, where now he stood “ and resolved to stand ; And if he should decline to “ either Hand, that they might witness against him, “ and have this for their own Vindication, that he was “ not Such when they called him ; And urging them to “ declare if they had any Scruples, whereupon, they “ might demur to call or hear him, either from his “ Practice, or the present Declaration of his Judgment, “ which he sought, not to impose upon them, but to “ inform them of it ; And earnestly recommending to “ them to hold up his Case to the Lord, and pray for “ spiriting and strengthening, assisting and accepting “ him in that great Work he was called to ; That he “ might be helped to hazard Life and All, for the Tes- “ timony of that Day, which, he said (the Lord assist- “ ing) *he would seal with his Blood.*” Some that were present were offended at his mentioning the Names of some Ministers ; And tho’ they said little at the Time, did take the Liberty afterwards to represent it very odiously : Which coming to his knowledge (as his natural Temper, however he was far otherways represented, was very tender and pliable, averse from giving Offence, much troubled for it when done, and ready to acknowledge it, and confess any Mistake when made known to him) he wished, since it had proved Offensive to some, beside his Design and Expectation, he had not been so particular in naming some Ministers ; But declared his End was very Harmless in it, and that it flowed from no Prejudice to their Persons, nor Disre-

spect to their Names, which still he loved and honoured ; some of them being also dead, whom to wrong one Way or other, was as detestable to him as to any Man : But, that he was moved to it from very innocent Considerations, that they were under such Circumstances, so different from others, that he could not well make the People know, what and of whom he was speaking, except he particularized them ; And that many were so implicitly led with the Authority of Men's great Names, that they gave no other Reason for their hearing and following such and such Ministers, but, that these he named were for it. However, since it was Offensive to some, and might have been forborn, he did not justify it.

After this, the Father of Lies did spue out a Flood of Reproaches, to swallow up, and bury his Name and Work in Contempt, which were very credulously intertained and industriously spread, not only by the Profane, but even by many Professors. The first he met with, was upon Occasion of his forementioned Testimony at *Darmeid*, which went current through the Land, That he had Excommunicate all the Ministers in *Scotland*, and some of them after they were dead : Whereas he only gave Reasons why he could not own Communion with some in the present Circumstances. But here they did not sist, that took Liberty to vent this Lie ; but, as often hath been observed, they that are malicious or officious in vending Lies for their Profit or Pleasure, can neither leave off the Trade of Imposing upon others, nor escape being imposed upon themselves ; And oftentimes, in Process of Time, while their Lies, in running through the Country, have received another Growth and Garb, than that wherein they sent them forth ; when they came to their Hand again, they have mis-

taken them, and believed their own Lies for passing Truths. So it was seen verified in many, that ignorantly or invidiously misrepresented Mr. *Renwick*, their untrue Reports, or uncharitable Constructions put upon his Discourses or Actings, which at first were more tolerable Mistakes, in going through many Mouths, turned at length, to monstrous and malicious Calumnies, which would have been, at first, hated by their first Reporters; who yet afterward were left to entertain them as Truths, tho' they were Lies begotten by themselves. However, never more Reproaches, more invidiously invented, more impudently reported, more greedily gaped after, more clamorously asserted, and more credulously intertained, were cast upon any Man, than upon him; Not only by *Papists* and *Malignants*, but by *professing Ministers* and *People*, immediately upon his coming home, and beginning to preach in the Fields. That was among the least of them, that he was *no Presbyterian*, and that his Design was to *Overturn presbyterial Government*, and propagate not only a *Schism*, but some *Error* that they could not give a Name to; some calling it by one Name, some by another: But none could ever offer to instruct or fix the Imputation of the least that ever went under that Name from the Word of God, or any Deviation from the approved and recorded Principles and Constitutions of the Church of *Scotland*: And they but discovered either their Ignorance of, or Opposition unto, or their Defection from the *good old Way* of this reformed Church, who did so reproach him; who, to all that knew him, either Enemies or Friends, did convincingly evidence a more ardent and earnest Design and Desire, and a more burning and blazing Zeal, notwithstanding of all insuperable Difficulties and invincible Discouragements that daunted others, in contending for all the great, yea, even

the least Interests of the covenanted Presbyterian Cause: And against all Courses eversive of, and destructive to the same, by any direct or indirect conniving, conforming or complying with, or submitting unto, or countenancing of any Thing that had any Appearance of Tendency towards the strengthening, or encouraging or suffering *Popery* or *Prelacy* or *Erastianism*, or *Sectarianism*, or any Thing contrary to sound Doctrine, or the Power of Godliness: And thereupon merited and obtained greater Prejudice, Malice and Rage from the Parties that followed these Ways, and all declared Enemies to presbyterial Government, than any in his Day.

He was indeed a professed Witness against all the Defections of Presbyterians from any Part of their covenanted Reformation, against all joining in Communion with the *Robbers* of the *Privileges* of Presbyterians, and *Intruders* upon their *Labours*; against all incorporating with those that *betrayed* the *Presbyterian Interest*; such as were indulged by, and were silent at a *blasphemous Supremacy*, overturning it; And against all Compliances and Confederacies with the *abjured, perjured and conjured Enemies* of the *Presbyterian Cause*: But this did not make him an Overturner of, but a Champion for *Presbyterian Government*, in the Opinion of all who know, or consider what it is. But upon these Accounts he was accounted of all a *Schismatick* in the Church, and a *Rebel* in the State; Heading and abetting a factious *Separation* in the one, and *Sedition* in the other; A common and constant Calumny cast upon all the *Witnesses of Christ*, in all Ages, against *Corruption* in the *Church*, or *Tyranny* in the *State*. He did, indeed, upon Grounds consonant to the *Law* and the *Testimony*, and constantly owned by *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* since the *Reformation*, testify against both the *Sin* and *Misery*

of a *Conscience-enslaving, Liberty-betraying and Law-subverting wicked Loyalty*, and *Allegiance to Tyrants and Usurpers*, which cannot be counted *Sedition* by any, but *Court-sycophants*, ignorant of, or Enemies unto that *Excellent Ordinance of Magistracy*: And did also witness against, and assert the Expediency of Withdrawing from the *Corruptions* of this *Church*, wherein, these that had the Sense of them, could not Communicate without Sin; And owned a Negative and Passive Separation from the *corrupt Majority* of this *Church*, obstinate in their Defections, while he held closely by the Remnant, adhering unto the attained *Reformation*: Withdrawing only in the present Circumstances, from these who were drawing back from very material *Pieces of Duty and Integrity*, that they were obliged with him to hold fast: And pleading only for a *Non-communication* in these *Things* which the *national Church of Scotland* had commanded us, as her Members, to Disown, by her standing *Acts*; And in these *Things* which were either in themselves sinful, or inductive to Sin, which was never accounted *Schism*, by the best *Writers* upon that *Head*: But on the contrary, by their Grounds, those from whom he separated, who have broken their *Mother's Beauty and Bands, Order and Union*; Who by their *Defections*, have made themselves justly *censurable* by many of her standing *Acts and Constitutions*; who by their *Defections* have caused *Divisions and Offence*, contrary to the *Doctrine* the *Church* had learned formerly, and contrary to solemn and sacred *Covenants*, nationally and perpetually binding, will be found to be liable to this Charge of *Schism*.

Other Ministers again, alleged he was *Sectarian, Independent or Anabaptist*, or they knew not what to make of him: But when he had sometimes Occasion to be

among these, in and about *Newcastle* and *Northumberland*, they were as much offended as any at his faithful Freedom, in discovering the Evil of their Way ; and declared, they never met with such severe Dealing from any *Presbyterian* before him : And that while others were among them, they used not to meddle with their Controversies, as he did. The general Out-cry was, of his *Ordination*, in a Foreign Church ; some alledging he had no *Mission* at all ; others slandering him, that he came only by Chance, at a *Throw of the Dice* : And many other profane *Lies* were invented of that *Matter*, refuted by the foregoing Relation. Many again, sought to Defame his Principles, as not only unsound, but extremely pernicious ; Yea, that he and his Followers maintained murdering Principles, and the delirious and detestable Blasphemies of *Gibb*, the *Sorcerer* ; All shameless and senseless Forgeries and Fictions of Malice ; which, how he abhorred and opposed, somewhat is said above, and more may be hereafter. But, whereas many did class him still with these Over-drivers, that were following extravagant Courses, opposite, on the other Extreme to the Defections, he was witnessing against, it is known how inveterately invective these were against him ; Declaring him to be an *Apostate* and *Idolater* ; because he would not condemn indifferent Things, as naming the Days and Months, after the usual Manner ; Whereupon, they called him, an *Enemy to God, whom they would no more own, than the Pope of Rome*. So, on every Hand, he was bespattered with the Venom of Envy and Rage. They that were most moderate in their Misrepresentations of him, said, That he was *ignorant, empty* and *unlearned*, and could preach nothing, but the *stolen Sermons* of others ; or, what he had learned off Books ; And that such as heard him were

silly Ignorants, that knew not what Preaching was, and cared for nothing but Railing against Ministers and the King's Authority, &c. Whereas, he had the Testimony of no despicable Furniture for his Work, from those who confirmed him in it: From whom, the best of them that alleged this, needed not to have been ashamed to learn, with Confession of their own Ignorance: And a more authentick Testimony, sealed in the Hearts of not a few, taught of God; who knew by Experience, his Preaching to be both sound, spiritual and powerful to the Conviction, Conversion, Comfort and Edification of their Souls: And they who alledge his plagiarious and surreptitious making use of other Men's Works, alledging also, his Railing at the Ministers and the King's Authority, are either ignorant and unacquainted with the Labours of the Learned, and what Use or Improvement may be made of them in Explication or Application of Scriptures; Or, do not consider, how they reproach the Works of these learned Men, in reflecting upon his homologating their Words, and following their Sentiments, as guilty of the same Railery they accuse him of, since he could preach nothing but what he stole from them. Nor do they remember, how needful it is, That Liars should have a better Memory, than to affirm, he could preach nothing, but Railing against the Ministry and Magistrate, which is a Novel and unheard of Extravagancy; And yet to alledge, he learned it all out of Books; for then it was no Novelty. However, all that were not altogether Strangers, either to his Circumstances, or to his Way of Preaching, or will be at the Pains to peruse his Sermons, taken from his Mouth (of which, several may be seen up and down the Country) will not be able to shift the Conviction, that if ever any Preacher was innocent of this alledged Crime, he could

not be guilty ; Since he was in his continual Wandrings, under the greatest Disadvantages, that ever any laboured under, to consult, or make use of Books ; and had fewer to make use of, than ever any in his Condition and Capacity. Yet, this I dare affirm, that no Part or Point of any of his Preachings can be instanced and instructed, to have been excerpted out of any Man's Sermon in the World ; And yet, no Part or Point of any of them can be shown, which is not confirmed by the Sermons and Writings of the faithful Witnesses of Christ, in our Church since the Reformation.

Some again, and particularly Ministers, seemed yet more serious in their Essays, to possess People with Prejudice against him, who said, *They had sought and got the Mind of God in it, That his Labours should never profit the Church of Scotland, nor any Soul in it : And prevailed with some, in their Disswasions to hear him, by desiring to forbear a little, for the Lord would discover him and his Followers, ere it were long ; and assuring, He would break and bring to nothing, him and them that joined with him, comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, that withstood Moses. The Lord hath indeed, in some Measure already, so far discovered Mr. Renwick, and those that heard him, that he hath made it appear, whence this Prophecy did proceed : And I would in Sobriety advise these Prophets to be more sparing of their Predictions of unseen Things ; and to examine better what Spirit they are of, lest in presuming upon hidden Events, they be found guilty of the Presumption, and liable to the Threatning of these that see a vain Vision, and speak a lying Divination, saying, *The Lord saith it*, albeit he hath not spoken ; it were more safe for them to contain themselves within *Gama-**

liel's Boundaries, that, if this Work be of Men, it will come to nought ; but if it be of God, it cannot be overthrown. Whatever come of it, some have had greater Confirmations of that being the Work of God, which Mr. *Renwick* was following, than that they will be shaken from the Hope of the Lord's owning it, either by the Events that have fallen out since, or by their oraculous Divinations, that pretended such extraordinary Foresights. And not a few of these who at first gave Ear to these prophetic Disswasions, did afterwards find and feel the Seal of his Ministry on their Souls, with such satisfying Experience and convincing Power, that they were persuaded, it was very absurd and contrary to the Mind of God, to compare him to *Jannes and Jambres* that withstood *Moses* ; and that it were more apposite to extend and apply that Comparison, as the Apostle intends it, to these that are *Lovers of themselves*, (and of their own Peace and Preservation, more than of the Interests of Christ) *Truce-Breakers* (or *Covenant-Breakers*) *False-Accusers*, *Despisers of these that are good*, *Lovers of Pleasures, more than Lovers of God*, from which, he exhorts to *turn away ; that creep into Houses, &c. that resist the Truth* : Which are Characters more applicable to his Accusers, promoting and plaistering a Course of Defection, and resisting the Testimony for the Truth ; than to him, who, in confessing, contending, and suffering for it, loved not his Life dear unto the Death. These, and many such Calumnies and Obloquies, groundless, and shameless Lies, were forged and diffused thro' the Land against him, in the first Year of his Ministry, by Ministers and Professors, thro' Prejudice, or Ignorance, or Misinformation : Whereby his Work was rendred much more difficult, when thereby many were stumbled and offended, many poor Sufferers discouraged

and confounded in Doubts and Debates, and many tossed and racked in Suspense ; while, on the one Hand, they could not but believe what Men of undoubted Credit said against him : And on the other Hand, could not see these Things appear that they reported of him. Whenever they adventured to seek a Trial of them ; which none ever attempted, but were forced to acknowledge, he had been much wronged, and they imposed upon by the Misrepresentations they had received of him.

In the mean Time, by the Noise that went of him through the Country, the Council got an Account of him ; and thereupon, in a Rage of Hell's kindling, being tortured with the Report of his preaching in the *Fields*, which they could not endure to hear should be set up again, raised a hotter and harder, keener and more cruel Persecution against him, than can be instanced was ever prosecuted against one Man in our Nation ; Nay, than ever the most notorious and grassant Murderer was pursued with : For, having publicly proclaimed him a Traitor and Rebel, under the most odious Characters, that hellish Fury and Malice could suggest, and representing his Followers as a very small and inconsiderable Number, which might be soon swallowed up (tho' they were then, and have increased into such a Number, that all the Prisons they could prepare, all the Ships they could fill with them, yea all the Gibbets and Shambles they could hang their murdered Bodies upon, could neither exhaust, nor so much as lessen, or make them decrease) they discharged, under the highest Pains, any to reset, harbour, hide or supply them any manner of Way ; And sent forth their bloody Soldiers, as ravening Beasts of Prey, to range, hunt, chase and pursue after him, through all the Towns, Villages, Cottages, Woods,

Muir, Mosses and Mountains of the Country ; who pillaged and plundered the Houses where they heard he had been, or, near to which he had preached : Whereby he was redacted, in following his Work, to many extream Difficulties and Inconveniencies ; not daring to travel, yet finding no Place of Rest, but in the remotest Recesses in the Wilderness, exposed to the cold Blasts of Winter-Storms, in the open Fields, or in some Shepherd's Summer-Sheils in the Mountains, used in the Summer, but lying waste in the Winter ; which yet were the best Chambers he could find, where he made some Fire of Sticks, or Heath, and got Meat with great Difficulty out of Places at great Distance, mostly from Children, who durst not let their Parents know of it. Here, he and they that were with him, did sometimes remain several Days and Nights, not daring to look out, both for Hazard of being seen, and for the Boisterousness of the Storm: Whereby he had neither Place to Retire, nor Time to study; yet, remarkably was the Lord seen to supply and make up the want of all external Means and accommodations, in animating, encouraging, enabling and furnishing him for his ministerial Exercise, with such incessant and indefatigable Diligence, and with such remarkable and admired Success in preaching, conferring, catechising and baptizing ; that as it was wondered by Spectators, so, it would seem incredible to Strangers, how any Man that had the best Accommodations and Conveniencies, could perform so much, in so short a Time ; and mostly in the cold Winter-Nights, in the open Fields. Nay, I doubt, where readily it can be instanced, that any Minister had more frequent Exercises in a Time of Persecution, for one whole Year together, than he had, from his Arrival in *September*, to the End of that same Year : Or, espe-

cially, that any did baptize so many Children in a Year, as he did that first Year, under all these Inconveniences ; the Number whereof, he essayed to keep account of, but after he had reckoned five or six Hundred of them, he lost the Computation.

Which unwearied Labours, notwithstanding of the outrageous Rage, ravenous Cruelty, Fury and Force, Vigilance and Violence, of bloody Officers of Armies and their Soldiers, and Officers of State and their Lictors, pursuing and apprehending many that followed him (of whom particularly, the first Year, many were taken by the Laird of *Spittel*, Sheriff of *Clidsdale*, a noted Incendiary). And notwithstanding of the Scourge of Tongues, Persecution, Contradictions, Condemnations, Reproaches and cruel Mockings of incensed Professors, and all Oppositions on all Hands, from right and left Hand Brethren, and generally, from all the Inhabitants of the Land ; Yet, the Lord did so bless, that not only were many Souls conquered and brought in to Christ, but engaged to join in the Testimony, and to the Fellowship of their select *Societies* ; which were more and more increased, and settled in most of the *Southern Shircs*. This Experience of the Lord's Assistance, and countenancing his Pains with such Success ; and the daily recurring Observation of the Peoples growing Necessities, and increasing Hunger after the Ordinances in the midst of all Hazards, and of Ministers Unfaithfulness, in such a Time of abounding Snares, being not only silent at publick Sins, but setting at naught all Sufferings, and endeavouring by all Means to obscure and misrepresent all Testimonies of Martyrs and Confessors in that Day, did exceedingly inflame and animate his Zeal to all Diligence ; which, tho' it burned and blazed with a shining Brightness, in great

Fervour and Forwardness, and undaunted Resolution, for publishing and propagating the Testimony of Christ, and for Christ ; Yet, he studied to moderate and circumscribe it within the due Boundaries of Discretion and Humility, endeavouring to accommodate his Doctrine to the Peoples Capacity, and always adorning and confirming it, with a correspondent Practice, which was very alluring and engaging to all that conversed with him ; especially his Humility could not be hid, but observably appeared to all that knew him. And these three Things, which he had frequently in his Mouth, flowing from the fixed Impression of them in his Heart, did contribute much to keep him in a constant Frame of Humility, *viz.* The Sense of the Greatness of his Work, burdened with such a Weight of Difficulties ; The Sight he had of his own Insufficiency ; and Fear of secret Hypocrisie, lest he should spend himself in doing good to others, and not be found sincere before God ; and lest he should be seeking only to be a faithful Minister, and not a fruitful Christian.

This his Humility did not only evidence it self, in preferring all others of the Godly to himself, and their Labours to his own, and in being impatient of Self-commendation, and in freely confessing, without Disimulation, his own Ignorance in any Thing he was consulted in, which he could not satisfyingly resolve ; not trusting to his own Notions, in any Thing, wherein he could not find the declared Sentiments of the Lord's faithful Servants going before him ; and not daring to preach upon, or declare his Judgment of any Scripture, except either it were very plain, or that he had the Help of the most approved Expositions that he could get (whereof, as I said before, he could get very few carried along with him) together with the experimental In-

struction of it, sealed, with a strong Hand, upon his own Soul: But also, it did singularly shew it self, in his free confessing any Escape, which did fall from him in the Eruption of his Zeal, when at any Time he saw himself overshot through Inadvertancy; As, when at one Time, shortly after his coming home, he uttered an Expression, stumbling to some, seeming to extend the Character of *Idol Shepherds*, too universally, to all the Ministers; and to have a Tendency to fasten a Scandal upon hearing any of them without Distinction, or Classing them into several Ranks, to be withdrawn from upon several Grounds, as he used to do very cautiously: Which Escape, he acknowledged very humbly, that it was beside his Intention, through want of Attention, at that Time: And afterwards, it could never be charged upon him, that he dissuaded from hearing them universally, or indefinitely; but he gave solid and valid Grounds from the Scriptures, and recorded Principles, and Rules of the Church of *Scotland*, for withdrawing from any sort of them which he mentioned, without applying them to any other.

These Things I have but cursorily hinted at, which occurred the first Year of his Ministry, omitting many material Passages, of his Wrestlings, of various sorts, and of his many Hazards and Escapes, Dangers and Deliverances, which he sustained and obtained, that would be profitable to be recorded, but are impossible to be recounted.

IN THE YEAR 1684, his Difficulties from Enemies, Discouragements from Friends, opposite to him; and manifold Vexations from all Hands, did abound more and more; yet with a daily Increase, both of Work and Furniture and Followers, even tho' no Mean was

left unessayed, both by the Profane and Bulk of Professors, to make him and his Ministry, and these that owned it, odious. The Council and Courts of Inquisition, were this Year very much busied in prosecuting their Heaven-daring Rebellion against God ; And their War against all that durst make any Conscience of, or continue to profess any Respect unto, his Laws and Institutions ; and in overturning what remained undestroyed of Religion, Liberty, Law or Conscience, in the Nation, by pressing universally, and with tyrannous Rigor, all their arbitrary Acts of Conformity with their established Abominations, and Acts of Intercommuning and Finings, with their *Test, Oaths, Bonds*, and all ensnaring and enslaving Impositions, sparing neither Great nor Small, Rich nor Poor, Masters nor Servants, Young nor Old, Male nor Female. And not only misregarding all Humanity, but scorning all Shadow of Legality ; whereby the Country was so impoverished and wasted, that, (according to that much celebrated Expression of the Duke of *York*, That, *it would never be well, till all the South-side of Forth, were made a Hunting-Field*). It was well near reduced to Desolation : For, not only were the Commons oppressed, pillaged, apprehended, imprisoned, banished, murdered on Scaffolds, and in the Fields, without any colourable shadow of a formal Procedure ; but also, Gentlemen, that had gone a great Length in Compliance and Conformity, were exorbitantly and intolerably troubled for alledged Converse with intercommuned Sufferers, forfaulted, fined and incarcerated, till they should pay Sums, that they neither ought nor could pay. And not only were the formerly persecuted Ministers, that were still endeavouring to lurk in the Land, forced either to leave it, or cited, and compearing were shut up in Prisons ; but even the

Indulged, after they had served their Design, until they had no more Use for them, were laid aside, summoned to their Circuits and imprisoned, as well as Others ; where many of them gave Bond to the Council, not to exercise their Ministry, for a definite, longer or shorter, or for an indefinite Time. Hence all Meetings, for preaching, in Houses or Fields (except what Mr. *Renwick* kept) being, in Appearance, totally suppressed for a Time: The People knew not what to do ; most part went to the *Curates*, and were generally involved in the Snares of the Time ; in which, having none to warn them, and being offended and stumbled at the poor, persecuted and reproached Wanderers, whose Admonitions they undervalued ; they either languished, in the Wounds of their Conscience, without Comfort ; or hardened themselves, and went on in their Backslidings ; and many turned loose and profane. Yet,

While Mr. *Renwick*, for all the Horror and Heat of this Persecution, would never intermit one Day's Preaching ; but was still incessant, and undaunted in his Work ; the Ministers of *Scotland* generally, and of other Places also, did not cease to mis-inform against him, both at Home and Abroad: And among many other groundless and senseless Calumnies, charged him with *Intrusion in other Mens Labours* ; which indeed hath been and is very frequently objected : But how it can be either instructed or explained, I could never see : For, if by other Mens Labours, they mean the former Labours of faithful Men, in particular Parishes ; there be very few that have preached, in this disordered state, since the Extrusion of Ministers out of Churches, but they may be charged with this Intrusion, except other such as have laboured none at all, or only in

their own Parish: If they understand, the Labours they were then employed in, when his alledged Intrusion was, they might have had more Confidence, if they could have shown, what, or where were their Labours at that Time, which could neither be seen nor enjoyed, except, either out of the Land, or in private Chambers, which he neither knew of, nor troubled much; Or, in *Indulged* Parishes, which neither lasted long, nor while they lasted, were thought by him so to be regarded, as that he might not witness against them, in their own Parishes, more than in Curates Parishes; since by the Labours of the One, as well as of the other, the People of God have received great Damage and Detriment. Neither did he ever preach in any Parish, where he knew a persecuted Minister was publickly preaching, except where his publick Preaching, so and so circumstantiate, was a Thing to be witnessed against; nor in any Place without the Call of the People of that Place, such as were willing to call him, and would venture upon all Hazards to hear him, when other Ministers had left them.

It hath been indeed alledged, That when another Minister had appointed to preach in a Place, he hath unexpectedly come and kept a Meeting in the same Parish; as particularly was much noised about a Meeting he had near *Paisley*, where another had appointed a Meeting: But, as that was appointed with the Consent, and upon the Call of several in these bounds, without knowing any Thing of the other Meeting, and a considerable Time before it; so, when he went, he knew not so much as, whether that Minister was in the Country or not: So it hath fallen out with others, before and since: Which is either a rash Mistake, or worse, to call it *Intrusion*. It is confessed, he hath sometimes taken the

Churches to preach in, as at

when either the Weather, or instant and unavoidable Hazard at the Time, or Respect to Secrecy or Safety, did preclude him from all other Places: But I know not if any, but such as are more malignantly indiscreet than the *Curates* themselves, can, with any shew of Reason, call this *Intrusion*, to creep into the Church for one Night, when they could not, or durst not, stand or be seen without.

This was not all, nor any way considerable, in Comparison of other Obloquies of some Ministers, who were not ashamed, nor afraid to say, That he was like *John of Leyden*, and other Fanatick Enthusiasts, and that he had the same Spirit and Faculty of deceiving and seducing *Multitudes*, as they had; alledging and affirming, That all were and would be so bewitched with that Spirit, that once heard him preach, *that they would never hear another again*. But it is easy for Men to give a vent to their *Malice*, in making monstrous Comparisons of Things, most disparate and opposite, when they intend to vomite their Venom on a Person, whom they would have made vile; since *John the Baptist* was said to have a *Devil*; yea, and his Lord and Master to be a *Man gluttonous, and a Wine-bibber, a Friend of Publicans and Sinners*; and to have cast out Devils by *Beelzebub's* Power. No Man, that will not mancipate himself, to serve the Times Humours, can readily escape such odious Representations. I presume, these Men, that make such Comparisons, are either byassed with *Malice*, or blinded with *Ignorance* of one or other, if not both of the *Persons* and *Things* they compare: Either they knew not *John Bocold* of *Leyden's* History, and what was his *Spirit, Principles, and Practices*; or else they knew nothing of the other, but by Report, which is a very

unsure Foundation for such a Relation : Either they that spake so did hear Mr. *Renwick*, or they did not ; If they did not hear him, how came they to know either his Spirit or Faculty of deceiving? except by Hearsay : If they did hear him, then either they were bewitched themselves, or else it is false, which they affirm of all that heard him. It is true, many that heard him once, who formerly were filled with Prejudice against him, and came on purpose to carp and carry away Tales of him, were so convinced and perswaded by his Doctrine, of the palpable Falshood of the Lies they had heard of him, that they thenceforth forsook his Traducers, and Reproachers of the Way of God. But, as it would have evidenced more of a Christian Spirit, to attribute this Effect to another Cause, than to the Efficacy of a seducing Spirit ; so it is also evident, what they affirmed was false, in that both many that heard him would never hear him again ; and many likewise have heard others many Times since, and yet continued hearing him as long as he preached. However, by this Stratagem of stigmatizing his faithful Warnings of the *Sins* and *Snares* of the Times, inducing them to repent and come off from shameful Compliances, with the Brand of *seducing* and *deceiving the People*, many were seduced from their former Stedfastness, and overcome with Temptations to fall into many Degrees of Conformity ; the grossest of which, by the most part of Ministers, was reckoned and represented as not so ill, nor so hurtful as the hearing of Mr. *Renwick*, shewing more Keeness of Indignation against him, than against the most destructive and declared Enemies of the Church ; which was daily whetted and augmented, by the continuing and growing Increase of his Followers, even notwithstanding of the Fury of his *Pursuers*.

The Occasion whereof was, besides the seen and sensible shining of the Lord, upon his Labours in preaching the Gospel, in Places of greatest Hazard, That whereas such of the *Wanderers* joined with him as were most hotly persecuted, used formerly to frequent only the Houses of their most confident Favourers ; and such as were most free of the Times Compliyings, being at length, through the Rage of Enemies, driven from thence, they were forced to seek into the Houses of Compliars also, for Quarters ; who, sometimes for Pity condescending, and sometimes, overpowered by the Number of Fliers, were constrained to allow them Refuge in their Houses for a Time ; by that Opportunity of Converse, finding them rational and religious in their Discourse, sober and serious in their Department, frequent and fervent in Prayer and other Christian Duties, and not to be so monstrous as they were made to believe they were, began at length to think they were imposed upon by such Informations, and to become more cordial with them, and inquisitive into their Controversies and Testimony ; which they very soon observed to be consonant to the *Principles* they had been instructed in by faithful Ministers formerly, and so were induced to embrace the first Opportunity of hearing Mr. *Renwick* ; whereby they were not only convinced of the Evil of these Courses they had taken, to shift and shun Suffering, and so confirmed in the Righteousness of the Cause of those that were suffering, that they desired to join in *Societies* with them, tho' thereby they should be exposed to infinite Hazards and Hardships. But many of them, made truly sensible of their lost State by Nature, and perswaded to flee to Christ for Salvation, who shortly thereafter were brought to severe Sufferings of Death, Bonds and Banishments ; in which they were signally supported thro'

Grace, blessing the Day that ever they had heard that reproached Servant of Jesus Christ.

But while thus, many, both Men and Women, were daily apprehended, imprisoned and banished, or executed unto the Death; the Blame of all was laid on Mr. *Renwick*, as *the great Cause and Occasion of all the Troubles of the Country*: Yet as the Causes of their Sufferings were the same, that procured the same Troubles before he came to preach, and would have been continued for Non-compliance, and Non-compearance at Courts, and refusing Impositions and Exactions, and arbitrary Allegiance, &c. tho' he had not come; so the Lord did very remarkably prevent many Grounds that People might have taken of blaming him, particularly for occasioning and augmenting their Sufferings: For, it was so ordered in Providence, that all the Time of his Ministry, for all the Diligence of vigilant Enemies, tho' sometimes they have hindred Meetings, and sometimes have come to the Place after they were dismissed; Yet, not one Meeting of his did they ever catch, in the Time of it, and very few were ever apprehended, either in coming to, or going from them: Yea, his preservation in keeping Meetings so frequently and resolutely, in the very Midst of the Enemies, when keeping Garrisons all over the Country, was so remarkable, his Protection in his Wandrings both Night and Day so observable, and his Escapes from many dangerous and hot Pursuits, so many and marvellous, that his Reproachers took Occasion to forge another impudent Lie, That *he was in Collusion with the Soldiers*, only seeking the Ruin of the Country; and that *they would not take him*. But, not only the Event hath since discovered the Folly as well as Falshood of that Forgery; but, at that same Time, as often since, the many repeated Proclamations pub-

lished against him, instigating, inciting, and commanding under the severest Certifications, all Persons to the utmost Diligence, in pursuing after him, might have demonstrated the Impudence of that Fiction, to all Unbyassed: For, that same Year, one of the most viporous and virulent, and bloodily violent Proclamations was emitted against him, that ever was contrived in, or out of Hell, for the Destruction of Mankind, representing him (according to the odious and invidious lying Characters they had received of him, by Information from false professing Brethren) to be a Vagabond, and pretended Preacher to the Number of about Fourscore of Rebels, that had cast off all Fear of God, and Profession of Religion, and Obedience to their Prince, being of most damnable and murdering Principles, commanding all Men without Exception, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Commons of every Rank, to be assistant in the Pursuit of them; and at the Sight of him, or any of them, to raise the *Huy and Cry*; and not only to advertise the Soldiers, but concur in the Pursuit of the Chase after them; with strict orders to cause this be read at all the Market-crosses and Churches: Which was very submissively obeyed by some of the Indulged, before they were removed from their Churches; particularly, by Mr. *Ralph Rodger*, (who afterwards was very ill rewarded for his loyal Services, when he was imprisoned with the rest) who, after reading of the Paper, solemnly *blessed the Lord that none of that sort of People were in his Parish*.

In prosecution of this cruel *Proclamation*, as the Soldiers were very vigilant and much encouraged, in their indefatigable Diligence, to seek and hunt after him, by the ready Assistance they had from all Ranks, raising the *Huy and Cry*, in Obedience to the Council's Order; so he and the *Wanderers* were put to many hard Shifts

and Perplexities, where to find hiding Holes, to hide themselves from the Country-people, as well as the Soldiers ; which they were forced to seek under the Ground, by digging in the remotest Hags of Mosses they could find, when they could not have them with Safety and Secrecy above the Face of the Earth : Where he and they endured much Hunger and Cold, many Hardships, and escaped many Hazards ; whence, nevertheless, sometimes they were forced to flee, and expose themselves to desperate Dangers, from which, through Mercy, he had many Deliverances. One of which, for Example's sake, and because very observable, I shall here hint at ; In *July* this Year, as he was going to a Meeting, which in the greatest Dangers he still endeavoured to maintain ; an honest Country-man saw him wearied, and therefore lent him a Horse for some Miles ; whereupon going on with the greatest Expedition, to escape the Observation of the Country, that the Conveniency of those that were with him would permit, being two Men on Foot, he was surprized with one Lieutenant *Dundas* and a Party of Dragoons, who kept Garrison at the *Sorn-Castle*. The two that were with him were taken, and pitifully wounded and abused : He escaping their Hands, essayed to ride to the Hill called *Darngavel* ; but being closely followed at the Heels, so near, that they all along fired at him, and like to be bogged, and overtaken with their stronger Horse, he left his Horse, losing thereby his Cloke-bag, with many Papers, and seeing no refuge on any Hand, was fain to run, in their Sight, towards a Heap of Stones ; where, for a little Moment getting out of their Sight, he made with all Haste to a Cairn, which the Boys that herded Cattle had built ; in which, finding a hollow Place in the midst of it, he crept into it, thinking with himself, it might be, that was prepared by Providence to

hide him ; and committing himself by earnest Ejaculations to God, he obtained (as he afterwards declared) both silent Submission to be taken, and also some believing Expectation, that he should be reserved for greater Work : The Soldiers, the mean while, riding and running up and down the Hill, sought every Place as if it had been for a *Hare*, yet were restrained from looking into that Place where he was. Many such sore and desperate Chases, he and others, that were in the same wandering Condition, were put to, some continuing whole Nights and Days, without Intermission, through the wildest Places of the Country, for many Miles together, without so much as a Possibility of escaping the Sight of their Pursuers ; whereby such as saw them, could not but conclude, that they would never escape ; and others interpreting every Thing in the worst Sense, understanding they did escape, inferred positively, it could not be otherwise but by Collusion.

September 20th this Year, Letters of Intercommuning were issued out against him, of this Tenor, “ Forasmuch as Mr. *James Renwick*, a seditious Vagabond” (so they call him, because of his *uncertain Wandrings*, which their Persecution forced him to) “ and pretended Preacher, being lawfully summoned to have compeared, to have answered and underlyen the Law, for his being in the late Rebellion at *Bothwel-bridge*, 1679,” (*he was then but a Boy at the College, and was not there*) “ keeping and preaching at *Field-conventicles*, in Arms, several Times since, and particularly at *Black-loch*, *Woolf-hole-craig* and *Greenock*, and several other Places—For maintaining and asserting several *treasonable* and *rebellious Principles*, against us, and our Authority and Government ; whereby some of our *unwary Subjects* have been infected with, and debauch-

“ ed into the same wicked, unnatural and seditious *Principles* with himself—We command and charge all and sundry our *Lieges* and *Subjects*, That they, nor none of them presume, nor take upon Hand, to *reset*, *supply* or *intercommune* with the said Mr. *James Renwick*, Rebel foresaid; nor furnish him with *Meat*, *Drink*, *House*, *Harbour*, *Victual*, nor no other Thing *useful* or *comfortable* to him; or to have *Intelligence* with him by *Word*, *Writ*, or *Message*, or any other manner of *Way* whatsomever, under the Pain of being esteemed *Art* and *Part* with him in the *Crimes* foresaid, and pursued therefore with all *Rigor*, to the *Terror* of others. And we hereby require all our *Sherriffs*, &c. to apprehend and commit to Prison, the *Person* of the said Mr. *James Renwick*, wherever they can find or apprehend him——”

At length, the *Persecution* became so flagrant and furious; so many Forces, Foot, Horse and Dragoons, habitually flashed in Blood, being poured into all the Parts of the Country, where the *Wanderers* were most numerous: And not only commissioned to *hunt*, *hound*, *chase* and *pursue*, and *seek* them out of all their *Dens* and *Caves*, in the most *retired Deserts*, and *remotest Recesses* in the Wilderness; but impowered to *murder* and make *Havock* of them, wherever they could meet with them: The Country, in the mean Time, giving either all ready Concurrence, in Obedience to the forementioned *Proclamation*, in raising and pursuing the *Huy* and *Cry* after them, and refusing to *reset*, *harbour*, *supply*, or *correspond* any manner of *Way* with them; or, by declining it, rendring themselves obnoxious to the *Rage* of *outrageous Soldiers*, *harassing*, *pillaging* and *spoiling* them; whereby many were taken and *murdered*, and the rest redacted to *incredible Straits*, not only of

Hazard, but of *Hardships*, of *Hunger* and *Cold*, especially through the *Vigilance* and *Insolence* of some *vagabond Villains*, who were suborned and encouraged to give *Information* and *Intelligence* of them, wherever they saw them, or learned where they were seen: That in such a *Strait* and *Pinch* of *Perplexity*, having neither *Ability* to fight, nor *Possibility* to flee, nor *Probability* to hide themselves, nor *Means* of *Sustentation* to preserve themselves alive by hiding, they were forced to fall upon such *Expedients*, to prevent their utter *Extermination*, as in other *Circumstances* they would never have thought upon; and, after they should get a little *Breathing*, did never mind to prosecute. Wherefore,

In that *Extremity*, to put a *Stop* to that bloody *Severity*, by warning of the *Wickedness* of it, to restrain the *Increase* of it, by threatening to revenge it, to deter the *Insolence* of *Intelligencers* and *Informers*, by warning them of their *Hazard*, and to vindicate themselves from false *Aspersions* of *murdering Principles*, cast on them by the *Council*, the *Indulged* and their *Abbettors*; by an ingenuous, apologetick *Representation* of their *Sentiments* and *Resolutions* in those *Things*, shewing how far they might, according to the approved *Principles* and *Practices*, and *Covenant-engagements* of our *Reformers*, contending against bloody *Tyrants* in former *Times*; and how far they were necessitated, in their present *Circumstances*, to extend and restrict, and reduce to *Practice*, that *Privilege* of extraordinary *Executing* of *Judgment* on murdering *Beasts of Prey*, professing and prosecuting a daily *Trade* of destroying *Innocents*: They were forced to deliberate about emitting a *Declaration* to that *Effect*; which, when proposed to *Mr. Rennick*, he was at first averse from it, fearing the sad *Effects* it might produce: But, con-

sidering the Necessity of the Case admitting no Delay, he was prevailed with to consent, and concur and assist in the Publication of it. Accordingly, it was affixed upon several Market-crosses and Parish-church-doors, in November 8th, 1684 ; the Tenor whereof in short declared,

Their firm Resolution of constant Adherence to their Covenants and Engagements ; and to the Declarations disowning the Authority of Charles Stewart ; and to testify to the World, that they purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever, but to pursue the Ends of their Covenants, in standing to the Defence of the Work of Reformation, and of their own Lives : Yet, if any shall stretch forth their Hand against them,—by shedding their Blood actually, either by authoritative commanding—or obeying such Commands—To search for them, and deliver them up to the spilling of their Blood—To inform against them—To raise the Huy and Cry after them—And dilate them before their Courts.—All these shall be reputed by them Enemies to God and the covenanted Reformation, and punished as such, according to their Power and Degree of their Offence, if they shall continue so maliciously to proceed against them. And they declare, They abhor and condemn any personal Attempt, upon any Pretext whatsoever, without previous Deliberation, common or competent Consent, without certain Probation by sufficient Witnesses, the guilty Person's Confession, or the Notourness of the Deeds themselves. And in the End, warn the bloody Doegs, and flattering Ziphites, informing against them, to expect to be dealt with as they deal with them.

This is the full Import of that Declaration, so odiously represented, and afterwards so rigorously enjoined to be *abjured* by an *Oath of Abjuration*, universally

pressed in such an arbitrary Manner, as was never heard of before, in these Words, [*I do Abjure, Renounce and disown a late Declaration, &c. in so far as, it declares War against the King, and asserts it is lawful to kill any that serve his Majesty in Church, State, Army or Country.*] The Sin and Scandal of which Oath, so tempting to many, as being a Test of Compliance, and incorporating with the murdering Imposers thereof, an owning of their usurped Power, giving all the Security demanded for the Subscribers Loyalty, and taking on that *Badge and Livery* of being of their Confederacy ; And of coming off from that little Flock, whom they destined to Destruction, disowning and renouncing all Part or Interest in their Society, or Sympathy with them ; passing a Judgment on their Deed before their murdering Enemies, condemning their Sufferings, and justifying the bloody Violence of their Persecutors, being an Oath inconsistent with, and incapable of the Qualifications of right and true Swearing : Seeing it could not be taken in *Truth* (according to the Imposers Sense and Meaning) Nor in *Judgment* (the Terms being so ambiguous and uncertain) Nor in *Righteousness* (the Matter being neither true, that the Declaration imports, that which the Abjuration represents, nor lawful universally, if it were true that such Assertions were in it.) Seeing hereby, not only that Declaration, but all such, in so far as they declare and assert such Things, are here renounced ; And so, all Declarations of such defensive War of Subjects against their oppressing Rulers, are here disowned and condemned. Inferring also the owning of the Authority of that Tyrant as a lawful King ; Yea, the owning of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy ; when not only he is asserted to have the Majesty of a lawful King, but that some are

subordinate to, and serve him in the Church, as well as in the State. And condemning all killing of any that serve him in Church, State, Army or Country. Whereby, an Impunity is secured, for all Kind of his murdering *Lictors* and *Burrio's*, do what they please, when he employs them. All this, and much more to this Purpose, is evidenced and evinced in a Book lately published, Intituled, *A Hind let loose, Part 3. Head 3. Concerning Oaths and Bonds, &c.*

But, let the Purpose of that Declaration it self, be without Prejudice perpended, and it will speak for it self, whether it might be abjured or not: Their Measures, here declared, were none other than the commendable Precedents of *zealous Christians*, who had done the like, and our *National* and *Solemn Covenants*, obliging us all, to endeavour all that's there declared. And their own former *Declarations*, disowning their Allegiance to, and Authority of a Man, who had by his Tyranny, Perjury, Perfidy, Overturnings and In-croachings, forfeited all *Authority*. Upon which Considerations, to save themselves from that unparalleled Cruelty intended and intended against them, they behoved, in the first Place, to resolve upon violent repelling of Violence, in Prosecution of a War, formerly declared, never yet ceased: For, the *War* being *declared* before, they only in this Declaration testify their unanimous Approbation of it, Adherence to it, and Resolutions to prosecute it, against such as should seek their Lives. By which *War*, they do not mean a formed, stated and declared *Insurrection* with hostile Force, to break the Peace of the Nation; but a constant Endeavour, in Opposition to them, to *pursue the Ends of their Covenants, in standing to the Defence of the Work of Reformation, and their own Lives*. In maintaining

of which Opposition against their Murderers, because by them they were restlessly pursued, so that they can find no Harbour or Hiding-place in any Corner of the Country, for *Searchers, Informers and Instigators*; Therefore, to stop their Career, and deter them from such Courses, they found it necessary to threaten them with more active and vigorous Opposition; And that they might expect to be treated as they deserved: Wherein, they were far from owning it to be lawful to kill all, imployed in the King's Service, in Church, State, Army or Country: On the contrair, They testify to the World, That *they purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever*, but such as are directly Accessary to the Murder of their Brethren, only, *if any shall stretch forth their Hand against them*. Nay, they are so far from Threatning all imployed in the King's Service, that they expressly distinguish the notorious *Villains* among them, *Men of Death and Blood*, who have shed their Blood actually, openly avowing and vaunting of their Murders; And these they distinguish into several *Classes*, according to the respective Aggravations of their Wickedness. In the *First*, they place these that murder by *Command*, and not all, nor any of these neither, but the *Cruel and Bloody*. In the *Second Class*, They threaten such as are actually in Arms against them; Or, such as do professedly and willingly serve them to accomplish and effectuate their *Murders*, by *obeying their Commands*, in searching for them, instigating, informing, witnessing against, and hunting after them: And not all these neither, but such as *cruelly* prosecute that Service, to the *Effusion of their Blood*. Neither do they Threaten all equally; Nor any of them peremptorly, but only *if they continue so maliciously to proceed against them*, after this Declaration;

(plainly declaring, they intended no Hurt to them, if they would hold up their Hands.) Nor do they Threaten any Tumultuary Assassination, or killing of any, *without previous Deliberation, common or competent Consent, certain Probation of sufficient Witnesses, or the guilty Persons Confession, &c.* Expressly declaring, That they *Abhor, Condemn and Discharge all personal Attempts, upon any Pretext whatsoever, without these.* And as unwilling to be necessitate to such severe Courses, and earnestly desirous they might be prevented, they not only warn them of the Hazard, but with Sorrow and Seriousness admonish them, of the *Sin* of their wicked *Courses ;* *Protesting,* that hereunto they were not moved by any sinful Spirit of Revenge.

This being the Sum and Scope of this *Declaration,* the *abjuring* it, will hence appear, to be both a Denying of Truth, and a Swearing a Lie. The whole *Matter* being reducible to these two *Points,* 1. Declaring a resolved Endeavour of breaking the *Tyrant's Yoke* from off our *Neck ;* Thereby asserting our own and our Posterity's Liberty, and Freedom from his unsupportable and entailed *Slavery ;* 2. And a just Threatning, to Curb and Restrain the *Insolency of Murderers,* or to bring them to *condign Punishment :* Whereof, as the *First* is no ways repugnant, but very consonant to the *Third Article ;* So, the *Second* is the very *Duty* obliged to in the *Fourth Article* of our *Solemn League and Covenant.* Next, nothing can be plainer, than, that *abjuring* it, in the Terms of the *Oath,* is a *Swearing a Lie :* For, no such indefinite and universal *Assertion,* can be drawn out of it, or from it : All which, is more fully demonstrated in that fore-cited *Treatise.*

This *Declaration,* tho' it had many sad Consequents, very dolorous to the Publishers ; Yet was so far effec-

tual, as not only to draw out some to concur in Society ; And others in Sympathy with the *Wanderers*, and to own them more publickly, even when the Danger was greatest of shewing any Respect to them ; But also to scar and frighten many from their former Diligence, in *Informing* against them ; Especially when they began to put forth their Hand to prosecute it, in saving themselves, rescuing their Brethren, and preventing their Murder, in these Extremities, by executing Judgment on their *Murderers* : For, as they had been driven to many desperate Extremities, before, which did extort the emitting of that Declaration ; So, after the Publishing thereof, they were reduced to such a Paroxism of Difficulty and Danger, Desperation and Consternation, precluding all human Possibility of preserving themselves and their Brethren from the Destruction intended, enacted, declared, resolved and incessantly prosecuted against them, being not only Intercommuned under Pain of Death, Hunted, Chased, Way-laid, shut up in Holes and Caves under the Ground, whence they could neither have Food, nor durst they go Abroad to seek it, Night nor Day ; And made to endure such Miseries, as no Words can express to Strangers ; but also murdered wherever they were met with, the Soldiers being allowed and authorized to Kill, Shoot, Hang, Drown and Destroy them, *pro libitu*, without either Trial or Sentence : That nothing was left to them to do for themselves, nothing remained to deliberate, but to fall upon this extraordinary Expedient, which any other Circumstances would have made extravagant.

This is indeed the most odious Point, and obnoxious to the greatest, and apparently best grounded Obloquies, that these *Sufferers* have had to vindicate ; for which

they have smarted sore by the Scourge of their Tongues, who live at Ease, free of Oppression, blinded with Prejudice against the Oppressed, and bribed with the Indulgence of Oppressors towards themselves, looking upon these extorted extraordinary Actions, as Murders, and Transports of Madness, and Effects of extravagant Zeal, while they weigh them only in the Scales of ordinary Justice, and do not ponderate them in the Balance of Necessity, nor perpend the Circumstances in which they were necessitated: Wherein, if they have stumbled into some Extravagancies, as to the Manner, the Unbyassed, duly acquainted, will not think it strange, considering the Case. But as they maintain no Principle in this, but what hath been asserted and vindicated by approven Authors, of old and of late; Mr. Knox, Author of *Naphtali*, *Jus Populi*, *True Non-Conformist*, &c. So, as to their practizing of it, it deserves Consideration, what the *True Non-Conformist* observes, Ans. to Dial. 7. Pag. 391. *The Consideration resulting from the Concurrence of all Circumstances, whereupon the right dignoscing of such Deeds, when actually existant, doth mostly depend, doth more contribute to the clearing and passing a Judgment on a Case of this Nature, when the whole Contexture is exposed to certain Examination, than to set down general Rules directive of such Practices:* Therefore referring the Debate about this Point, to what is offered in that fore-cited Book, *Hind*, Part 3. Head 6. I shall pass it with a hint only at the Case, as it was in Matter of Fact, as it is there represented in the forementioned Circumstances.

Some private Persons, with the Consent of the Brethren of their Community, being incessantly pursued unto Death, and threatned with inevitable Destruction by the Tyrant's Bloody Emissaries; to save themselves,

and their Brethren, from their Violence, in such an extreme Pinch of Necessity and Extremity, did put forth their Hand, as they found Opportunity, to execute Judgment upon some principal Instruments and Promoters of these destructive Mischiefs and Miseries; who were not only open and avowed Enemies to God, perjured and perfidious Apostates, effronted Blasphemers, notorious Traitors, malignant Incendiaries, but known and convict to be atrocious, habitual and professed Murderers of many of the Lord's People, and publick Enemies of Mankind, insolently prosecuting their murdering Designs, Informing the *Council*, and instigating them against innocent People, to destroy them utterly, procuring from them bloody Orders to spare none, but cut off all who might fall into their Hands, and vigorously and vigilantly with all Violence, pursuing their murdering Mandates, both in their own Persons, and by Villains, whom they Hounded out as Intelligencers, to get and give notice where any of these People might be detected, whom they vowed and avowed a Design, and professed as their Trade to destroy: And, therefore, guilty of Death by all Laws of God and Man. To deliver themselves from such Murderers, in this Case, and to put a stop to their Murders; they saw no other way possible than to put them to Death, who had so forfeited their Lives to Justice, when there was no Access to publick Justice, nor Prospect of obtaining it in an orderly Way; while none could be found in publick Authority to bring them to condign Punishment, but such as patronized and authorized them in all their Murders; nor any Probability of escaping their intended Destruction, either by Flight or Resistance, if they should be past longer unpunished; with whose Preservation, theirs could not

consist. While in the mean Time they were under no acknowledged Subjection to them, nor at Peace with them, but maintaining a defensive Opposition to them, and carrying, without Cessation, Arms to resist them. And in this extraordinary Execution of Justice, they could not be chargeable with Ignorance of Matters of Fact, so manifest; nor mistake of Circumstances so palpable, when the Grounds upon which they proceeded against them, could be hid from none of the Country; nor to have been prompted with Malice, Rage or Revenge against their Persons for private and particular Injuries; nor by Enthusiastick Impulses, pretended as their Rule, when they openly declared to the World the contrary, in their *Apol. Declar.* Nor could they be accused of any Deceit or Treachery in the *Manner*, when they executed Judgment as publicly, deliberately and calmly, as the extraordinary Exigence of pressing Necessity, in Extremity of Danger, could allow, against them, with whom they were in open and avowed Terms of Hostility: Nor impeached for any Breach of Relation or Obligation; nor Usurpation upon, nor Prejudice to any lawful Right whatsoever, in the *Matter*, when done by such as were no way subject nor related to them, but as declared and independent Enemies are one to another, taking Advantage upon them, without Prejudice of the true, necessary and chief Good of the Church and Common-wealth; or of any particular Person's just Right or Security; nor Usurpation upon the Magistrates Vocation, when there was none but such as were Art and Part with the Murderers; nor condemned for any selfish or sinistrous Ends, when out of Zeal for the Glory of God, Care of the Country's Good, Love to their Brethren, Sense of their own Danger, and Respect to Justice: In doing this, they intended nothing,

but that, by the Removal of these, wicked Destroyers, their War against the prevailing Faction of their malignant Enemies, might be more successfully maintained; their Religion, Lives, Laws and Liberties more securely defended, their Brethren rescued, their Murder prevented, Impiety suppressed, the Land cleansed from Blood, and the Wrath of God averted. Yet (as is usually incident in such Cases, and is to be acknowledged as a Wonder of Mercy, that it was not more frequent in this) there were several Excesses in Attempts of that Nature, which were unjustifiable, because not circumstantiated, as above rehearsed; such as, the killing the Curate of *Carsphairn*, the Cocker in the Piper in &c. the Scandal whereof, was very iniquously imputed to the whole of that People that owned the *Declaration*, since these unwarrantable Extravagancies were Aberrations from the Scope and circumscribing Boundaries of that *Declaration*, contrived, and concerted on Purpose to prevent such Extravagancies, and publicly renounced and detested by the Owners of it, in these Words, concerning all such Excesses in general, in the *Sanquhair Declaration*, *We do hereby disclaim all unwarrantable Practices committed by any few Persons, reputed to be of us, whereby the Lord hath been offended, his Cause wronged, and we all made to endure the Scourge of Tongues; for which Things, we have desired to make Conscience of mourning before the Lord, both in publick and private:* And the Actors were ever since excluded from their Communion. And it is most iniquous to upbraid all of that Party, that had a Hand in emitting that *Declaration*; and particularly, to reproach Mr. *James Renwick* with these Things, that he and they knew not of; and as soon as they

knew, made known their Abhorrence of them : While in the mean Time, several Actions of that Nature, and as unwarrantable, yea that cannot be acquitted of Murders, perpetrated by them, that are declaredly opposite to that Party, at several Times, as, the killing of

are connived

at, and the Actors countenanced, as if they had done no such Thing. But, I shall return to this lamentable Relation.

After the Publication of the foresaid *Declaration*, Rage and Reproach seemed to strive, which should shew greatest Violence, against the Publishers and owners of it : On the one Hand, the Indulged and the old Reproach-mongers, greedy and glad always to have any Occasion of venting their Malice against Mr. *Renwick*, invented a ridiculous Calumny, That the Council had drawn that *Declaration*, and that he and others had been hired by them to publish it, that they might get Occasion to destroy and involve the Land in Perjury ; whereas, the Event did evidence, all the Hire they got was Bondage and Death. On the other Hand to confute that Fancy, a Proclamation was emitted, of such a virulent and viperous Strain, that it seemed to be dictated from Hell, Intituled, *A Proclamation for discovering such as own, or will not disown, a late treasonable Declaration of War against his Majesty ; and the horrid Principle of Assassination ; describing such as owned that Declaration, to be insolent and desperate Rebels, associated under a pretended Form of Government ; who had formerly endeavoured to disguise their bloody and execrable Principles, but now had pulled off the Mask ; and who think it a Duty to kill and murder all, who do any manner of way serve the present Rulers, or bear Charge under*

them, who maintain Principles inconsistent with all Government, and tending to the Destruction of the Lives of their loyal and honest Subjects; treacherous and assassinating Principles; who now have declared their Hellish Intentions: And for the better Performance of their mischievous Designs, do lurk in Secret, and are never discerned, but in the Acts of their horrid Assassinations, and passing up and down amongst the King's loyal Subjects, taking Opportunity to murder and assassinate, like execrable Rebels. From these execrable Lies and impudently forged Premises, they laid down their bloody Methods, for destroying that poor People with all Expedition, Ordaining, That, whosoever shall own that Declaration, and the Principles therein specified; Or, whosoever shall refuse to disown the same, shall be executed to the Death. And commanding all Subjects to concur, and do their utmost Endeavour to seek, search, delate and apprehend them, under the severest Penalties of the Laws; and to difference the Good from the Bad, requiring all, past the Age of sixteen Years, not to presume to travel without Testificates, of their Loyalty and good Principles, by taking the Oath of Abjuration; whereupon they are to have a Testificate, which is to serve for a free Pass; with Certification, that all that shall adventure to travel without such a Certificate, shall be holden and used as Connivers with the said Rebels; commanding all Heritors, &c. to give in the Lists of the Names of all under them, before the Curate: Declaring, if any shall refuse to concur in such Service, they shall be holden as guilty of the foresaid Crimes, and punished accordingly: And strictly prohibiting all to harbour, lodge or entertain any, unless they have such Certificates, under the same Pain: And for Encouragement to any that shall discover or apprehend any to be found guilty as above said, ensuring

to them the Sum of Five hundred Merks Scots for each of them.

Hereupon, not only was the Trade of the Country prejudged, by interdicting all Travel without a Pass in Time of Peace, which could not be procured, even by Compliers, but at exorbitant Rates, oppressing poor People; and not only to the Reproach of all Order, Hostlers and Inn-keepers were made Judges, impowered to impose Oaths upon Passengers for their Passes, that they might not be forged: But the Oath being contrived in such Terms, as were thought capable of a very good Construction, and such as none could refuse, but silly Scruplers, or seditious Rebels, and followed and pressed with such Keeness, by Courts of Inquisition; more Consciences were cozened, cheated, ensnared and wounded by it, than any other that went before it; the pressing of it was so impartial upon all travelling in the Country, and the Pass annexed was thought so necessary, as without it, no Business could be followed. The Subscription of it was in a manner universal, without Scruple, even by the Generality of great Professors, that were not Owners of the Declaration; and Ministers too. The Thing abjured was represented so odious, as no honest Man could refuse to renounce; or, at least, so despicable, as few durst state their Sufferings upon that Head; and the Temptation was so terrible, that it became insuperable to many, while it was pressed universally, upon Pain of Death; yea, from House to House, in many Places, both young and old were forced to give their Judgment of that Declaration, and of the King's Authority, to ridicule and make a Mock of all Government: Many found in the Fields were instantly put to Death, and many brought in Prisoners, refusing the Oath, were sentenced and execute all in one Day;

and some early in the Morning, that the People might not be affected with such a pitiful Sight : Yea, Spectators also, that were gathered to see the Execution, were commanded to give their Judgment, whether these Men were justly put to Death or not : All which dolorous Effects, when Mr. *Renwick* with a *sad and troubled Heart observed*, he was often heard to say, Tho' he had Peace in his *Aim* and *End* by it, and for the Time durst not but concur in the emitting of it, and could, and would defend all that was in it ; Yet, he wished from his Heart, that Declaration had not been published.

Thus his Difficulties publick and personal grew daily more and more desperate, and seemingly insuperable, while he was pursued with all the Rage and Reproach, that Hell could raise against him, from all Hands, and made to endure and undergo the greatest Inconveniencies, that readily can be instanced, or could be supposed to be incident in a chased Condition ; being made to lie so many Nights and Days, in crowding Numbers, in Caves and Holes under Ground, without Room to sit or stand, without Air, without Refreshment, or Hope of Relief, save what was had from Heaven ; the murdering Pursuers sometimes coming over and by the Mouth of the Hole, while they were at their Duty, praying or praising undiscovered ; and when forced from thence, he hath been often compelled, wet and cold, hungry and weary, in great Hazard, to run Bare-footed many Miles together for another subterraneous Shelter : Yet, under all these Straits and Inconveniencies, having no Time nor Place to study, no Library but the Bible, no Closet but a Moss-Hag or Mountain-Glen, no place of assembling together, but the most inaccessible Places in the Wilderness ; such was his Zeal for propagating and promoting the Gospel, such was his Diligence in Preaching, Baptiz-

ing, Catechising, &c. that in the worst of Times, few Weeks past without several public Exercises, which, to obtain Access to, cost him incredible Travel: Yea, all that were acquainted with his Work then, will acknowledge, he did, even in these Circumstances, labour as much in all the Parts of the ministerial Work, as he could have Access to, or as ever they knew any could do in the best of Times; yet still with Complaint and Regret that he could do so little, and under Convictions of felt Insufficiency, and Fears of Short-comings.

IN THE YEAR 1685, The Reelings and Revolutions, Changes and Commotions came to such a Degree, as seemed to threaten a Convulsion of the Government: The Combustions at least seemed of that Consequence, as might have required a Cessation of the Persecution; at least, would have been thought, such as could not but stop or divert its Severity, against Persons of so mean a Figure, as they were still represented; while the great Ones had such great Matters in Hand: Yet, the Product of all their Projects, and Issue of all their Counsels, was, to essay the utter Destruction of that poor People, already so much destroyed, and yet not destroyed: And for as despicable and insignificant as that poor reproached Party was, and is called and counted; the only Employment that the greatest Army that ever was levied in *Scotland* had in Hand and Heart, was to wreck themselves upon these wandring *Mountain-Men*, as they were called; and the greatest Ambition and Emulation of their greatest Leaders and Champions, *Claverhouse* and *Douglas*, &c. was, who should be most skilful and successful in destroying them: Yet when they had shot all their Bolts, they were further from their Purpose than when they began, the Design proving always like *Sisy-*

phus's Stone in the Poet's Fable: Or, rather, the burdensom Stone in the sacred Prophecy, The more they were afflicted, yea destroyed, the more they grew: The Bush did burn, but was not consumed; because the Lord was in the Bush.

While the cruel Executioners of the Tyrant's Mandates were greedily gaping after their Game, devouring that poor People, whom they had destinate to Destruction, with open Mouth, chasing, pursuing them, killing whom they could apprehend; executing others to the Death, that were taken to Prisons, &c. In the Height of their Insolency, and Heat of their Outrage, the holy and true God, who *cuts off the Spirits of Princes, and is terrible to the Kings of the Earth*, did signally verify his Word, that *bloody and deceitful Men shall not live out half their Days*, in cutting off, by a sudden and stupendous Death, the Master of Malignants, and prime Mover of all these Mischiefs, *Charles the Second*, not without Suspicion of his being murdered by his own Brother, the Duke of York, who succeeded to him in the Throne, and was proclaimed King at *Edinburgh, February 1685.*

Then it might have been thought the Persecution would have relented, and the poor wasted *Wanderers* might have got some Relief with others; and his late Proclamations would make the World believe it was so: But on the contrair, the Acts and Executions against them did, in a Manner, but then begin to be cruel: For then, more cruelly than ever, scarce a Week could pass, wherein some were not butchered and slaughtered in the Fields, without all Colour of Law, (even the worst of their own Laws) or Trial, or Sentence; some found at their Labour, or travelling upon the Road, were cut off without Pity; some surprized in their Caves, and mur-

dered there, without giving them Time to pray ; some taken first to Prison, and then surprized with their Execution, not knowing certainly the Time when it should be, or whether it should be or not ; others had their Ears cut, and then were sent to *Jamaica* ; others, to empty the Prisons of *Edinburgh*, were sent to *Dunnottar* Castle, in such Crouds and Numbers, and with such Barbarities, as might make Savages blush to hear of them ; and then banished to *America*. But,

As those Cruelties were monstrous for Illegality and Inhumanity ; so the ensuing Laws, approving the same, did far exceed all former, for unparalleled Truculency and Atrociousness : For, in the first *Parliament*, held by *Queensberry* Commissioner, not only was there an Act for making it Treason to refuse the Oath of *Abjuration*, confirming all the Illegality of their Procedure in this Matter before ; but an Act, making it criminal to own the *Covenant* ; and another, determining it to be capital to be present at a *Field-meeting* : Whereby, as the Defection of Ministers and People, from their covenanted Duty and Testimony, was exceedingly both heightned and hainously aggravated, while they were driven from all open avouching these Things, in this plain Case of Confession, and some Ministers (*indulged*) to that Height, as to give Bond for superseding from the Exercise of their Ministry, as the Council required : So these Acts, and all the Executions following upon them, were so far from daunting or deterring Mr. *Renwick*, and the poor *Wanderers* persecuted with him, from that duty deserted by others, that they thought themselves obliged, so much the more openly to avow such a Testimony, that it was so blasphemously interdicted : Therefore, in the mean Time of that Parliament, while the Earl of *Argyle*, with other Noblemen and Gen-

tleman, who had been proscribed and forced by Oppression to go to other Countries, associating with the Duke of *Monmouth*, to essay some Diversion of, and Opposition to the Duke of *York's* Designs, of advancing and establishing Tyranny and Popery, threatening the Ruin of both Nations, was undertaking and prosecuting his Expedition in the *Highlands*, Mr. *Renwick* could not let that Opportunity pass, of witnessing against that Usurpation of a *Papist* upon the Government of the Nation, and his Designs of overturning the covenanted Reformation, and introducing Popery. And accordingly, upon *May 28th 1685*, he with about Two hundred Men, went to *Sanquhair*, and published a *Declaration* there; the Import whereof, in short, was,

“ That considering that *James Duke of York*, a profess'd and excommunicate *Papist*, was proclaimed—
 “ To testify their Resentment of that Deed, and to make appear to the World that they were free thereof, by Concurrence or Connivance, they protest against the foresaid Proclamation of *James Duke of York* as *King*, in regard that it is the choosing of a *Murderer* to be a *Governor*, who hath shed the Blood of the Saints—
 “ That it is the Height of Confederacy with an *Idolater*, forbidden by the Law of God,—Contrary to the Declaration of the General Assembly, *July 27th 1649*, —and contrary to many wholesom and laudable Acts of *Parliament*,—and inconsistent with the Safety, Faith, Conscience and Christian Liberty of a Christian People, to choose a Subject of *Antichrist* to be their supreme *Magistrate*,—and to intrust an Enemy to the Work and People of God, with the Interests of both: And upon many important Grounds and Reasons (which there they express) they protest against the Validity and Constitution of that *Parliament*, ap-

“ proving and ratifying the foresaid *Proclamation*—
“ And against all kind of *Popery*, in general and parti-
“ cular Heads,—as abjured by the *National Covenant*,
“ and abrogated by Acts of Parliament ;—And against
“ its Entry again into this Land ; and every Thing that
“ doth or may directly or indirectly make Way for the
“ same,” &c.

This Declaration, for its *Matter*, being so conspicuously consonant, not only to the old Principles, but even to the common Grounds of the Earl of *Argyle* his Declaration of War against this Usurper, then generally espoused by Presbyterians, tho’ now almost as universally receded and resiled from : And for the Time of it, having the Advantage of the Humours of the Nation, all aloft in a Commotion, was neither so much condemned by those that used to contradict every Thing they did before ; nor was it ever a Ground of Persecution from Enemies particularly and expressly declared.

In the mean time, some Gentlemen came from *Holland*, commissioned from the Earl, to endeavour with all Earnestness to induce the persecuted Wanderers to a Concurrence in rising in Arms with them. Wherein none did labour more importunately than some Ministers, who, before that, in *Holland*, had spread Informations against them, accusing them of heavy Things, *to wit*, That they had not only cast off all Magistrates, but had constitute among themselves, all Kinds of Magistrates ; and were for cutting off all, as open Enemies, who did not acknowledge their imaginary Government ; That their *Societies* were only an erroneous Faction, &c. Yet now were very cordial and earnest in pressing them to associate with that Expedition. When Mr. *Renwick* was solicited to it, he spoke very favour-

ably and honourably of the Earl, and expressed the Esteem he had of his honest and laudable Intentions (the contrary whereof was reported by many) and declared his Willingness to concur, if the *Quarrel* and *Declaration* were rightly stated: But, because it was not concerted according to the ancient Plea of the *Scottish Covenanters*, in Defence of our Reformation expresly, according to our *Covenants*, National and Solemn League; because no Mention is made of these *Covenants*, nor of *Presbyterian Government*, of purpose, lest the *Sectarians* should be *irritate*; because it opened a Door for Confederacy with *Sectarians* and *Malignants*; and because accordingly, some Persons were too promiscuously admitted to Trust in that *Party*, who were then, and since have discovered themselves to be Enemies to the Cause, and under Engagements to be Enemies, by taking the *Test*; yea, some that had Accession to the Blood-shed at *Airs-moss*, to wit, Sir *John Cochran*, who had a Hand in bringing the Forces thither, and since hath treacherously redeemed his Life, by turning a traiterous Informer against his Fellow-associates.

Upon these Accounts, tho' he encouraged all to put themselves in some Posture for Action, waiting until their Call should be cleared, and was consulting upon some expedient Methods, for gathering what Force they could make, in Expectation of what Providence would produce for their clearing; yet in the mean time, he could not advise any to go to them, and join in that Association, so stated and circumstantiated. For the Demur upon these Grounds, after that Party was broken, the Blame was laid upon Mr. *Renwick*; and in many Informations, both at Home and Abroad, it was said, That he made it his Work, to hinder all from joining with

that Expedition: Whereas themselves that alledged this, both knew what little Access he had, either to furder or hinder any, and what Diligence he used, according to his Access, to bring Friends into some Capacity to answer a clear Call for Action at that Time. What could he have done more, before he and they should be cleared as to the State of that Association? And what, if that had been cleared, could have been expected from them in those Circumstances, while they could neither meet themselves, nor win to that *Party* through the Body of the Enemies Forces, lying between? And what significant Help, if they could have win at them, could their Concurrence have contribute, who, both before and since, have still been called and accounted so inconsiderable, insignificant and despicable a *Party*, to the overturning the Force of the Three Nations: Or, the Want of them have signified to the obstructing the Accomplishment of it, by them that did atchieve it?

Thereafter, some of the Ministers that came over with the Earl of *Argyle*, pretended a Willingness to join with him; but upon Terms that he could not in Conscience agree with, *to wit*, to lay aside all Debates, and let By-gones pass, and so go on in the publick Work; which he judged inconsistent with, yea, destructive of his Testimony, as inferring the laying aside, not only the just Exceptions he had against them, but also the keeping Silence at, and passing by sundry Defections of the Time, wherein the Debate lay betwixt them and him. But, to convince them, that he was willing to join with them, if Differences and Exceptions could be removed in a right and honest Way, as soon as he understood they had a Desire to confer with him, he then (as always when Occasion offered, he shewed himself most

willing, and never declined Conference with any ; But, at sundry Times, it can be instanced, he hath solicited it, and hath been superciliously denied) very cheerfully embraced the Offer, and went to them, and had that Conference related in the *Vindication* : Which, instead of composing or allaying Differences, did rather heighten and widen them, while they stood very tenaciously to the justifying their own Way ; Yea, to the maintaining of all the Aspersions they had cast upon, and Misinformations they had given forth against them, they were now treating with ; and much exasperated, and aggravated their Challenges of Miscarriage in Mr. *Renwick*, and them that were with him, not accepting either Apologies or Confessions from them, or any Accommodations they could propose : Which was a very unlikely Way to compass the End pretended, the healing of Breaches. When they saw an Agreement could not be obtained upon their Terms, being encouraged by many Professors, opposite to Mr. *Renwick*, that flocked to them, sowing Seeds of greater Discord, and of a growing Dissention ; they became more Untender, and declared their Dislike of him, and the Societies that adhered to him, with much Disdain ; Exclaiming then, with much Bitterness, against his *Ordination*, and his taking it from the Church of *Holland*, which they accused of many Corruptions, as *Erastianism*, and of the *Three Sprinklings* in *Baptism*, which they called *Popish*. This did discover not only Prejudice at him ; but a great Deal of both Untenderness and Inconsiderateness in them, inveighing against the Church of *Groningen*, under the Name of the Church of *Holland*, only for his Sake ; forgetting in the mean Time, how they had formerly commended the *Hollanders*, and what Encomiastick Epithets are given to them in their *Declaration*,

as being the greatest *Bulwark* against *Popery*, &c. And in that they said so much for *Holland*, and nothing against its Corruptions, until they saw no Agreement could be settled with him, except on such Terms, as should condemn his Testimony; Yea, until they prevailed with some Societies, to come off from their formerly concluded Conjunction with their Brethren, and by Degrees prepared them to receive their Informations, it seemed to favour more of carnal Policy, than Gospel Simplicity.

It was afterwards their Task, to render him both ridiculous and odious, at Home and Abroad: *First*, Ridiculous, by representing his Sillyness and Insignificance, as one that was led by his Followers; and were it not they imposed upon him, he would never have refused Joining with them: For, he had nothing in himself, so they constructed of his complaisant Humour, in condescending as far as Conscience would permit. But in the Way they took to make People despise his Sillyness and Insignificance, they missed their Mark, and got nothing by it with many, but Discoveries of their own Malice, in the Minds of the most Unbyassed, who being present at some of his Conferences with them, could discern neither such Emptiness, nor such Easiness to be imposed upon, as they spoke of; Only, they declared, for any Thing they could discover, he was more led by Conscience than Ambition of Credit; for he took not the ready Way to obtain that. *Next*, They so far prevailed by their laborious Endeavours, to represent him as Odious, that they drew many off from Societies, that joined with him; as, in *Carrick* and *Calder-muir*; who from that Time, left off coming to their *General Meetings* (save that some of them came to One for a Conference, as is

related in the *Vindication*, Page 25, &c.) and took separate Ways, without Respect to their former Agreements, they themselves had consented to ; receiving and spreading some false Reports, without premonishing their Brethren : Some of which Deserters were employed as Agents and Informers in many Places of the Country, to possess People with strange Opinions of Mr. *Renwick* ; wherein they were so industrious, that they caused great Confusions, in the Places where he preached and wandred ; making some, ignorant of the Controversies, that had their Children baptized by him, believe, that they were guilty of the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Holland* ; because he was ordained there ; and that he was not a Minister of the Church of *Scotland* : By this Means, they made many to desert him.

But when these Ministers, for whom they were so active in proselyting People to their Side, did by Degrees appear to fall in more and more, into some nearer Conjunction with the *Indulged*, in so much that they vaunted they got these Ministers on their Side, and One with them in Opposition to the Wanderers, from whom they seemed to keep a Distance at first : And when some of these Informers, so zealous for them, began evidently to degenerate into offensive Looseness and Licentiousness in their Practice, and to vent some palpable, declared and discovered Lies, and, as was observed by many, did raise many Slanders on the Wanderers, of these Things they were chiefly chargeable with themselves ; and when afterwards some of them falling into the Hands of Persecutors, did scandalously Comply ; And in a short Time, the Generality of all that went off with them, giving up and leaving off their Fellowship-Meetings for Prayer : These

Things did much contribute, both to confirm those that kept their former Ground, and to reduce some that had left it.

It was very afflicting to him, to observe such Reelings and Haltings among the People; And, therefore, tho' he was much averse from entertaining the People with, or receiving them into doubtful Disputations; Yet, rather than leave them in such Doubts and Distractions, he forced himself to declare to the People in Publick, the whole Matter, and to inform them (at some solemn and select Meetings; for he loved not to insist much on these hungry and weary Subjects) of all that past between these Ministers and him, and what had obstructed the Accommodation of Differences, and how dangerous that Way was, that they would have perswaded him to; warning them, that they might expect the Lord should be seen, while they continued so defending and persisting in that Way of theirs, to make his Displeasure known against it. This was very well received of some of the most Impartial and Tender; But they whom it most concerned did little regard it; It seems they had resolved one Way or other, to have him made Odious; for, Word was sent to *Ireland*, and Information written to *Holland*, and turned into *Dutch*, That he was but a poor, unlearned, empty, blown up, proud Thing; and that the Means they used had proved so successful, that all had now left him, but about a Hundred silly, poor, daft Bodies, that were running through with him, and robbing the Country. His usual Answer, when such Reports came to his Ears, was, *I will not say so of them*; and advised his Friends not to contend with them with such Sort of Weapons, and have a Care, *not to render Rail-*

ing for Railing, which was very engaging to all that knew him in the mean Time.

The Persecution against him never abated ; but after the Defeat of the fore-mentioned Expedition, returned full-butt upon him and the poor Wanderers, with greater Vigor and Violence then ever : All the Forces, Foot, Horse and Dragoons, and Militia Troops and Companies of Lowlanders, being poured in upon all the Western and Southern Shires, to range through all the Rocks, Woods, Muirs and Mountains, pursuing the Chase after them, with indefatigable Travel ; and saying, They had now gotten away *with Monmouth and Argyle, they must now fall on with Renwick and the old Regiment* : Which Persecutions, in the mean Time, of so manifold and multiplied Discouragements from Friends, were more then usually weighty to his Spirit ; while he was reduced to such perplexing Difficulties, puzzling Dangers and pinching Straits, and had little Sympathie, but from them that could give him little Succour : Yet all these Things did not move him from, nor mar him in his Work, but under all those Afflictions, he was confirmed more and more that the Work was the Lord's, and that he would own it : And by the Grace and Goodness of God he was still the more animated and enlarged in Spirit and enabled in Body, to encrease his Diligence in preaching, baptizing and examining every Week once at least ; which had such Success, that a great and effectual Door was opened to the bringing in of many to Christ, out of Ignorance and Darkness of Nature, and bringing back many from the Times Sins and Compliances, and bringing out such Multitudes, flocking after the persecuted Gospel Ordinances, in the open Fields, that it was impossible for him

to answer all the Calls, he received from all parts to preach to them.

IN THE YEAR 1686. While the Popish and persecuting Powers, solicitous (it would seem) where and how to lay this *Cockatrice-Egg*, which, under the warm Wings of the following Toleration, hath been hatched into Maturity for an Unhappy Production, did see it for their Interest to contract their Oppressions, and not to extend their Severity so promiscuously and universally against all that bear the Name of Dissenters, only to restrict it to those of the wilder sort (as they called them) whom they could never either drive or draw from an open Testimony against all their Encroachments; tho' their Persecution against *Mr. Renwick* went still on, and was the more dangerous, that he and the Wanderers had all the Brunt of it to bear, while the Forces had none other to persecute but them: Yet his greatest difficulties then arose from professed *Presbyterians*, who had been formerly persecuted for the same Cause, which he owned; Whose Tongue-Persecution, and Assaults with Paper-guns and Ink-powder, was to him sharper, and more piercing to his Spirit, than the Persecution of Bloody Enemies Hands, and all the weapons they could hold in them, tho' of harder Mettal, and still managed against him with an unrelenting Madness: However, the Persecution of Enemies was not so incessant, admitting some Intervals of Breathing, which he was careful to redeem, with such Diligence in prosecuting his Work, that all that were Witnesses to it were amazed, as if he had been tasked to do all, and render an Account of his Diligence before the next Storm. Yet,

Still their Rage, tho' more restrained than formerly, did many Times exert it self in bloody Murders, of such

as they could catch of the Wanderers ; several of whom, they butchered in the Fields where they found them, and others on Scaffolds, and in filling Prisons with them, when they were emptying them by liberating others, as *Gentlemen* and *Ministers* of the *Indulged Faction*, upon Bond to answer again. Hereby, while they did extend their Severity against them only, who had few to sympathize with them, and multiplied their Favours to those they found pliable, and of greatest Figure among the People ; they projected, and did woefully prevail to advance the Mystery of Iniquity, more and more since manifested : And to stop the Mouths and bind up the Hands of such, from whom they might have expected Controul and Contradiction ; at least, by way of Testimony, in such a clear Case of Confession, and lay them by, now blinded with Flatteries, and bribed with Favours, from all open Opposition to *Popery* and Slavery twisted together in the present Design of Antichrist. So that, among all the Presbyterian Ministers in *Scotland*, there was heard no publick Testimony against *Popery*, and the open Efforts to introduce it, even when some profane *Curates*, and some Members of the *Drunken Parliament* held by *Murray*, made some Opposition to the taking away of the Penal Statutes against *Papists* ; and some of the Rabble and Soldiery suffered for testifying their Detestation of the first setting up of the idolatrous *Mass*, and for speaking against *Popery*, and the Designs of the King.

Hence, Mr. *Renwick* was constrained to endeavour to be more publick and particular in his Testimony against these effronted Designs ; and found it necessary more frequently to inculcate his Warnings of the Danger of them ; and his Witness against the continuing and growing Defections of the Times ; wherein he met with more

Contradictions and Oppositions from all Hands, and more discouraging and distracting Diversion, from those that once followed him, now, than at any other Time : For, a long Time before this, even before he entered into the Ministry, in the Time of the first breaking out of the universal Inundation, of the Land-destroying Defections, Divisions and Confusions, in that Day of Darkness, a Debate had risen among those that were most afraid of the Intanglements and Pollutions of the Time, about *Family-Exercise*, whether they might join in Family-worship with gross Compliers ; which did exceedingly rack and torture some of the most tender : On the one Hand, being afraid of the Scandal of breaking the acknowledged Ties of their respective Relations in Families ; and on the other, fearing to participate with their Sin : And in Process of Time when there was some greater Calm and Abatement of the Rage of Persecution ; and People were thinking to settle again in Families ; the Debate growing to a greater Height and Heat, Mr. *Rennick* was much troubled with it ; some People pressing him for Resolution in the Case ; and others oppressing him with Reproaches on this Occasion ; affirming, that now he had broken many Families, and had separated the Wife from the Husband, the Children from the Father, the Servants from their Masters, and had taught, they should not countenance the Worship of God in their Families performed by them. Some indeed, went too great a Length in Contending for this, and none more than they, who since have run to the other Extreme, and lifted themselves among the greatest Reproachers of that Way, wherein formerly they affected an Account of Eminency : But

'Tis false, that Mr. *Rennick* either began this Debate, or promoted it, or taught any such Thing ; but on

the contrair, studied all he could to allay and alleviate it, with respect to the Capacity of those engaged in it, and never would advise, but with the greatest of Caution on both Hands. For, on the one Hand, he considered the sad Representations, that many poor exercised Souls brought of their circumstantiate Case ; How some of the Masters of the Families, where they were, had been involved in the grossest Perjuries and Apostasies enacted and established in the Time ; had engaged themselves in the *Tests, Bands, Oaths, &c.* not only to renounce the *Covenant* and Cause of God, and not only to assist, maintain and concur with the Persecutors and Destroyers thereof, but by themselves to oppose and persecute it, all they could ; would have rode and run all the Day in the pursuit of the Persecuted people of God, in Concurrence with the *Huc and Cry* ; would have come home drunk, with their Mouths full of Cursing and Reproaching the Way of God ; and yet at Night, would have in a rude, rash and profane Manner rushed into the solemn Worship of God in the Family, and therein uttered ignorant and impertinent Expressions, hardly digested by tender or understanding Ears ; yea, and many Times blasphemous Imprecations against the People of God, Reproaches against the Way of God ; and Petitions for a Blessing to those, in that Way declared hateful to God in his Word : With which, because they could not concur in Faith ; therefore they durst not continue to give their Countenance in Conscience. In such cases, he durst not advise them to offer Violence to their Conscience ; but always perswaded them to be serious in seeking Light from the Lord, to mourn over this Grievance, to witness against these Things they were offended at, and to be tender of offending in their Withdrawing.

On the other Hand, he considered what Hazard there was of Extravagancy, in extending this too far, in Cases not so circumstantiate ; how scandalous this was like to prove to the Generation ; how ridiculous to Enemies ; how offensive to Friends ; how stumbling to Neutrals ; how racking and rending to the Remnant, in giving Occasion to that Reproach, That they had broken the Peace, Union, Communion and Comfort of so many Families ; how difficult and intricate the Question was in it self, about breaking off from a Communion natural and relative, founded upon, and flowing from the Duties of indissolvable Relations, of another Nature than Withdrawing from elective and voluntary Communion in chosen and selected *Societies* ; and that therefore, it was not fit to receive the Weak into such *doubtful Disputations* : How the Question, as it was Difficult, so it was New, and never before agitated in this or other Churches (the Reason being obvious, That as there were never such Defections in this Church before, among those that professed to keep up that Duty of Family-worship, to occasion any Debate thereupon ; so, it is not so much known or made Conscience of in other Churches ; and so, they can have little Question whom to join with in it :) How also, as it was New, so it could not be brought to a Case of Confession, or made a Part of the Testimony to be contended for, being neither opposed nor sought to be suppressed by persecuting Enemies, so as to become a Word of *Patience* ; nor declined from, or deserted by backsliding Brethren ; nor ever decided, or determined by the Church, as a Part of her attained Reformation : And therefore he was both shy to meddle in it, and yet durst not leave People altogether to determine themselves ; but gave them such Advices, according to the several respective Circumstances

wherein they were, as might contribute for their own, and the Family's Peace.

Now also, he was much troubled with Letters of Accusation against him from many Hands: One of the Ministers that came over with the Earl of *Argyle*, wrote a very invective Letter, accusing him, and those that joined with him, “ (1.) Of overturning Presbyterian
 “ Government, even to the Foundation; and putting in
 “ its Room a popular Confusion; in committing the
 “ Trial, both of the Degree of Scandal and Censure, to
 “ Persons that are not Church-officers. (2.) Of thrust-
 “ ing themselves most unhappily into the Magistrates
 “ Room: If you had (*said he*) every Man for himself
 “ said, You could not own the Magistrates and the pre-
 “ sent Government, because Tyrants and tyrannical,
 “ there had been little to have been said; especially if
 “ you had done as you have said, in striving like Men
 “ to have cast off the Yoke: But, to make your selves a
 “ *Convention of Estates*, and act accordingly, was most
 “ unhappy. But, to give my Thoughts plainly of these
 “ Things; It cannot be denied, that Matters, both in
 “ Kirk and State, are run to the Height of Confusions,
 “ alas for it! But you, seeing that the Government was
 “ turned tyrannical, and that Matters were sadly wrong-
 “ ed in this Church, like to be buried in her own Rub-
 “ bish, put your selves in the Room of both Kirk and
 “ State, manage both Civil and Church Affairs, and that
 “ by the same Persons and Assembly. (3.) Of impos-
 “ ing most unhappy Restrictions on Ministers, in the
 “ Exercise of their Ministry; and when they cannot
 “ own, nor preach upon these Terms, that they call
 “ them silent and unfaithful, and require disowning of
 “ them, as a Qualification of Persons capable of their
 “ Fellowship; so that now, there is not a Minister in

“ *Scotland, England or Ireland, save One, as he him-*
 “ *self saith in a Letter to a Friend in Ireland, and he*
 “ *no Minister of that Church either, and that by his*
 “ *own Confession.*”

It will be sufficient to contract the Answer which he returned to this Effect. To the First, “ That they
 “ never committed the Trial of the Degree, either of the
 “ Scandal or of the Censure, in a juridical Way, to the
 “ People ; but only, for their own Information in a pri-
 “ vate Way, allowed them to have a Judgment of their
 “ own Duty, how to carry towards the Scandalous, if the
 “ Scandal might bear the Weight of withdrawing from
 “ him. Some sort of *Trying* is allowed to People ; as,
 “ *to try the Spirits*, 1 John iv. 1. *Peter* was some way
 “ tried by those of the Circumcision for an alledged
 “ Scandal. Not that the Power of censuring Church-
 “ guides is in the Hands of the People, as *Independents*
 “ say ; but that which *Rutherford* says, *Peaceable*
 “ *Plea*, Chap. 4. Pag. 51, 52. will hold, *That Peter, or*
 “ *any Church-guide, is to purge himself, before any one*
 “ *Brother, of a Scandal : The Law of Nature forbiddeth*
 “ *to offend the Weak, and will have him purge himself,*
 “ *if he were a Pope.* Some say, that a Withdrawing
 “ from a scandalous Person, is a Censuring of him ; and
 “ to withdraw from a scandalous Minister, is to depose
 “ him. But simple Withdrawing is not the Inflicting
 “ of a Censure, but only a Testifying that it should be
 “ inflicted by such as are competent, *Rom.* xvi. 17.
 “ *2 Thess.* iii. 14. Private Subtraction, in such Cases,
 “ is not an Act judicial, but natural ; else they that
 “ withdraw from the *Curates*, do censure the *Curates*.
 “ In a broken State of the Church, when Church-judi-
 “ catories cannot be had, there must be some such pri-
 “ vate Withdrawing, else all must go into Confusion,

“ the Faithful must partake of other Mens Sins : private and popular Means of reclaiming offended Brethren, and the Testimonies of the Faithful, shall fall to the Ground. This is not to overturn Presbyterian Government.

“ To the *Second*, If declining the Magistrates, because Tyrants, be a thrusting our selves into the Magistrates Room, then every Man declining a *Prelate*, because not of Christ’s Appointment, thrusts himself into the *Prelate’s* Room : We might not only have said, every Man for himself, &c. but, we for our selves and all our Adherents could not own them ; and that the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the fundamental Laws of our Land, and our *Covenants*, did oblige all the Subjects of the Kingdom, especially such as yet profess Adherence to our *Covenants*, to do as we have done. This is all the Import of our *Declarations*. How can it be instructed that we have acted as a *Convention of Estates* ? The mere Disowning of the present Government will not infer it ; for that is an Act radical and natural. As to the Expression, What needs so much Fighting about it ? We crave only that Right that God and Nature hath given us ; and, come in behind us, or go out before us who will, let us have our own Place. I wish these Words had been otherwise expressed : Why are Men made such Offenders for Words ? Will such a Spirit be helpful to the Healing of Breaches ? And whereas it is reflected, that little might have been said, if we had done as we had said, striving like Men to have cast off the Yoke. We have done as the Lord gave us Strength and Ability ; and He hath assisted many of us to wrestle to our utmost Breath, and leave our Blood both on Scaffolds and in Fields, in Testimony

“ against the Wrongs done to our Lord Jesus, by that
 “ tyrannical Government. People should not speak much
 “ of our Doings, as little, until they do more themselves.
 “ I wish the Lord might polish and raise up a Party,
 “ whose Zealous, Christian and Manly Actions might
 “ obscure all ours. A self-denied Christian will desire,
 “ that all Instruments Hands may be hid, to the End
 “ that the Lord’s Hand may the more appear. We hold
 “ none of these *Declarations*, or any other Thing to
 “ have been emitted by Judicatories. The same Per-
 “ sons having Ecclesiastical Authority, and others hav-
 “ ing Civil Authority, cannot concur in one Action : We
 “ leave this to the Tyrant’s Council, made up of Lords
 “ Spiritual and Temporal, as they call them.

To the Third, “ We never in the least intended any
 “ Restrictions on Ministers, but only desired that they
 “ might declare the whole Counsel of God ; and would
 “ have them taking a Liberty to preach up all Duties,
 “ and down all Sin : This is no Restriction nor Imposi-
 “ tion ; some such Thing may be found in the first Call
 “ to the Ministers. But, *Pudor est nemini in meliora*
 “ *transire.* * More Tenderness should be used towards
 “ a poor, wasted and bleeding People, left in the Dark
 “ by their Leaders, seeing they are so willing to receive
 “ Instruction, and take with any Thing that looks like
 “ the least of Wrongs among them. I am against the
 “ Peoples desiring any Thing of Ministers, but what is
 “ *Divinely* bound upon them by the *Word* of God ; and
 “ *Ecclesiastically* by our *National* and *Solemn Covenants*,
 “ and the Acts of our General Assemblies.

“ As to that, that I should have said in a Letter,
 “ That there is not a Minister in *Scotland*, &c. faithful,

* That is, *It is a Shame for no Man to amend.*

“ save One. I forgive the saying it of me : But I deny
 “ the Charge ; yea, such a Thought, as savouring of the
 “ basest of Self. If I have written of Ministers Unfaith-
 “ fulness in universal Terms, it is but a wide Conse-
 “ quence to infer, *I asserted there was but One.* I say
 “ no more, but, God pardon the Unfaithfulness of Minis-
 “ ters : There are many such universal Complaints in
 “ the Scriptures. That by mine own Confession, I am
 “ not a Minister of this Church ; I altogether deny. I
 “ said, I am a Minister, wherever I have a Call from the
 “ People and do embrace it. O that all these, who
 “ shall agree together in Heaven, were agreeing upon
 “ the Earth ! I think, if my Blood could be a mean to
 “ procure that, I could willingly offer it.”

Other Letters, Replies and Duplies to this purpose, were interchanged betwixt the same Minister and him, which were tedious to relate. Others also from other Hands were sent, both to him and of him spread through the Country, containing many shamefully lying Libels ; which, as within a little Time, they manifested themselves to be Lies ; so these, and the Charges further made against them, are answered in the *Informatory Vindication*, which was published upon Occasion of the numerous Multiplication of Calumnies, and spreading them through this and several other Countries ; especially, a large Information, stuffed with the grossest Misrepresentations, all accumulated in one Draught of a Paper, divulged not only here, but carried over to *Holland*, and very industriously spread by *Al. Gordon*, who sometime was joint in Profession and Sufferings with that Party, whom now he set himself to traduce. *Mr. Renwick* did write that *Vindication*, and communicating it with these that joined with him, did afterwards procure the Publication thereof. There were

conjunct with Mr. *Gordon*, several others, who furiously followed the Informing-trade ; especially in *Carrick*, one *Robert Cathcart*, *John Dick* (who since has turned a Trooper, or Dragoon) and others, who never left off with their clamorous Tongues and scribbling Pens, to spread their Libels against him, until their discovered Lies made them as infamous, as they endeavoured to make him odious.

This *Robert Cathcart* had pretended, at least, to join in contending and suffering for the same Testimony with the Societies in *Carrick*, and professed cheerful and cordial Adherence thereunto, upon all Hazards ; which for a Time he seemed very resolutely to sustain, until the Expedition of the Earl of *Argyle* appearing, he began secretly and openly to bear Hand to the Breaking of these Societies, and to shew, either much Unstableness, or that he but dissembled in ever pretending to be one with them, whom now he relinquished, and studied by all Means to traduce. Which first appeared in a Letter, accusing and representing Mr. *Renwick*, and those that joined with him, “ As such, whom
 “ the Lord had given up, in a great Measure, to the
 “ Delusion of their own deceitful Hearts, to believe
 “ Lies, and to follow the Dictates of an erring Con-
 “ science ; whom the Lord, in his Anger, hath plagued
 “ with misinformed Judgments, that they persevere in
 “ the Breach of our solemn known Covenants in two
 “ Points,

“ *First*, In that of Error and Heresy : For, (1.)
 “ With the *Papists*, they would have their Church in-
 “ fallible ; their Practice testifies this, in declining a
 “ Minister, be he never so faithful in his Function, for
 “ the least alledged personal Failing, even tho’ that
 “ which is alledged cannot be made out : Surely, had
 “ these Men lived in the Days of the Apostles, they

“ would have rejected them too ; for they had their own
 “ Failings, a *body of Death*. (2.) With the *Indepen-*
 “ *dents*, upon the least Failing in a Minister, they take
 “ upon them the Power to Depose. I think (*says he*)
 “ they needed not to have troubled the Church of *Gron-*
 “ *ingen* with Ordination of their *Rabbi Mr. Renwick*,
 “ they might as well have ordained him themselves ;
 “ Ordination, being as much in their power, as *Deposi-*
 “ *tion*. (3.) In very little they differ from the *Separa-*
 “ *tists*.

“ *Secondly*, In that of Church Discipline and Govern-
 “ ment, they have altogether broken that, as (1.) Their
 “ sending over a Youth, scarce read in the common
 “ Heads of Divinity, to *Groningen*, a most corrupt Church,
 “ never yet come the Length of Prelacy in its Reforma-
 “ tion, having declined the faithful Ministers of the
 “ Church of *Scotland*, and set him up in their Room,
 “ as *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* did, when he made the
 “ Idol Calves, crying, *Behold thy gods, O Israel!* so
 “ did they of him, *Behold thy Representative, O Church*
 “ *of Scotland!* I can call him nothing but a Creature
 “ of their own making, and an Idol whom they have set
 “ up in the Room of the honest Ministers of *Scotland*.
 “ (2.) By their meddling with Things which only be-
 “ long to a Church Judicatory, and the highest Church
 “ Judicatory : Not only being Laick Men, they exa-
 “ mine Faults, yea absolve the guilty ; but also, consti-
 “ tute Laws and make Acts, which none but a General
 “ Assembly could do.—Must the Gospel live and die
 “ with *Mr. Renwick*, suppose he were a Minister of the
 “ Church of *Scotland* ? Must we be all tied to him ?
 “ But a Minister of the Church of *Scotland* he is not ;
 “ neither can he be admitted to sit a Member of a
 “ Church Judicatory in *Scotland* : For, the Church at

“ *Groningen* had no more Power to ordain a Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, than the Clergy of *England* had long ago to consecrate *Sharp* Archbishop of “ *St. Andrews*.” With much more odious Stuff to this Purpose, discovering more Malice and Ignorance, than either Wit or Ability to sustain his Charge, and bewraying the Contagion of that Plague to have infected his own Heart, Tongue and Pen, which he alledges they were smitten with, whom here he studiously believes; yea, and somewhat worse than an erring Conscience, believing Lies; even a seared Conscience, dictating Lies in Hypocrisie; which in his own Experience with them, he knew to be Lies.

Mr. *Renwick*, and those with him, did indeed confess and lament their Breach of Covenant, and wished their Brethren with whom they contended, and particularly these Ministers, whose Faithfulness he so much proclaims, to have been more sensible of their then Breaches of that Covenant, which then they had forgot, and now they have forgone in Silence; And, upon these Terms of mutual confessing and forsaking the Breaches of that Covenant, they always declared their Desire of uniting with them: But, because they persevered in the Breach of that Covenant, not only in two, but in all its Parts and Articles; Therefore, they found themselves obliged to discountenance them, while they continued in so breaking it. In the *first Article*, being so far from endeavouring the Preservation of the reformed Religion in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, that they have complied with or connived at many Things eversive of, and destructive unto that Reformation; as, the *Supremacy* in the former Indulgences as well as in the present Tolleration: The Oaths and Bonds inconsistent therewith, some of which were taken

by some of them ; some again connived at, and not witnessed against by many of them ; the Cess and other Impositions and Exactions, expressly required for the Suppression and Destruction of that, which they were sworn to endeavour to preserve. As likewise not only in lying-by and surceasing from Endeavours to preserve it, when they left off Preaching and Discipline, in Times of the Peoples greatest Necessity ; but also, in disseminating other Principles, and justifying other Practices, than are consistent with the Doctrine and Government of the Covenanted Church of *Scotland*, viz. The Doctrine of Association with Malignants and Sec-taries : The Doctrine of owning and maintaining Ty-rants.

In the *second Article*, Being so far from extirpating Popery, Prelacy, &c. That many of them have made their Peace with declared Papists ; All have owned the *Head* of Papists, the great Pillar and Promoter of Po-pery : And instead of extirpating Prelacy, have com-plied with, or connived at such Courses, as conduced in the contrary to establish it : As hearing the Curates, paying them Stipends, &c. In the *Third Article*, Being so far from preserving Rights and Privileges, &c. as there qualified ; that not only many have subjected themselves to an *Erastian Supremacy*, to the Prejudice of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Church and Kingdom ; or connived at it without a Testimony : But also, all have owned Allegiance to a Destroyer of Religion and Liberty ; without Respect to the Cove-nant-qualification, in the *Defence of Religion and Liber-ty*. In the *Fourth Article*, Instead of discovering Ma-lignants, &c. they have many of them countenanced them, associated with them, strengthened their Hands, admitted them to the Lord's Table, &c. And all have

owned the Authority of the Head of them, mounted on a Throne of Iniquity. In the *Fifth Article*, They have broken our Conjunction, in firm Peace and Union, in Truth and Duty ; and instead of that, have been promoting and abetting a sinful Confederacy in Defection. In the *Sixth Article*, Instead of assisting and defending all their Covenanted Brethren ; many have added Affliction to the afflicted, by Reproaches ; and have been for maintaining their Murderers with Supplies of Exactions, contributing thereunto : And many Ways have suffered themselves to be divided and withdrawn from their suffering Brethren, and have made Defection to the contrary Part, and given themselves to a detestable Indifferency in the Cause and Testimony of Christ. And in the *Conclusion*, Instead of mourning for these Breaches of Covenant, they yet defend or daub them.

But,

As to these Breaches, charged here on Mr. *Renwick*, and the People with him : However, they confess manifold Breaches, they deny these. And in these Charges, the Inadvertancy, at least, of this Accuser, is so manifest, that it cannot escape the Observation of the Impartial ; How, in making Lies of them whom he would accuse, he belies also these with whom he would have them classed ; Or, ignorantly misrepresents them. For, *First*, The Papists never pretended that every one of their Doctors or Laicks were infallible ; as this Dictator alledges of these Men, both Teacher and Taught. Neither did they ever assume, or improve this Kind of Infallibility here charged, of declining Ministers for the least alledged Failing. He knows who are liker the Papists in that, in following Ministers Hand over Head, and allowing them as it were an *indelible* Character : Whereas, the Men he accuses, have been so far from

pretending to Infallibility, that they have not declined to publish their Resentments and Confessions of their Mistakes to the World ; which is a greater Testimony against all Pretences of Infallibility, than those that contended against them ever yet professed ; tho' *with them, even with them*, there have been found some *Sins against the Lord their God* : But that Error they will not confess, nor can they ever be convicted of it, that ever they declined a faithful Minister for the least alledged personal Failing : They have declared the contrary in their *Informatory Vindication*, Head IV. page 80, &c. If they had been living in the Apostles Days, as they could not have found such Disorders to discountenance ; so, in Case they had, they would have been obliged to follow the *Apostles Practice and Rules*, they would not have called *John Mark*, when the Apostle thought not good to take him along ; because, *he went not with them to the Work*. They would have joined with *Paul* in their Capacity to withstand *Peter* to the Face, when he dissembled. They would have said, even to as good a Minister as *Archippus*, *Take heed to the Ministry*, &c. That would not have been looked on as an Imposition on Ministers in the Apostles Days ; neither would that have been thought in their Days sinful Separation, *to mark those who caused Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine received, and to avoid them*. And to *withdraw from Brethren walking disorderly*.

(2.) He belies the *Independents*, in alledging, they take upon them to depose Ministers for the least Failing ; they will disown that. Mr. *Renwick* did ever abhor, that People should take upon them to depose Ministers for any failing, the least or the greatest ; nor did ever allow People, so much as to withdraw from Mini-

sters upon the least Failing ; but upon such Scandals as did bear the Weight of withdrawing according to Scripture Rules. They had Reason and Necessity to trouble the Church at *Groningen*, not to make a *Rabbi* of him ; but from the Power they had received of Christ, the common Head of the Church, to ordain him a Minister of the New-Testament ; seeing they could have neither Clearness in Point of Duty, nor Confidence in Point of Success, to seek or obtain Ordination for him, from the Ministers at Home (that were then far to seek, and ill to find) except they should have resolved to lose what they had wrought ; to destroy what they had built ; to condemn their own Sufferings, and contradict their own Contendings. And they did always disclaim all Power, either of ordaining or deposing of themselves. (3.) He does not say, wherein they either agree or differ from the *Separatists*. There were never such Separatists in the World as he makes them, that did depose Ministers for every the least Failing. What Separation Mr. *Renwick* was for or against, may be seen in the above-mentioned *Informatory Vindication*.

(4.) If he had been such a Youth, scarce read in the common Heads of Divinity ; he discovers himself very ill read in them, when he calls this a Breach of Church Government, to send such a Youth to a foreign University, to be fitted for Ordination in the Ministry ; or, to send him first to be fitted, and then after Trial to be ordained, by a reformed Sister-Church, found in their own and not contradicting our Testimony, when Ordination could not be had at Home, without the Breach of several standing Constitutions of the Government, yea without yielding to several Corruptions threatning the Dissolution and Perversion of the whole of it ; Yea, without bowing to some of the Calves *Jeroboam* had set up :

For, without bowing or subjecting himself, either to the Idol of Prelacy or Supremacy, or at least, to complying with, or conniving at the Bowers thereunto; Or, without some Way of homologating Subjection unto the Land-Idols of Jealousie, established and encouraged by a Power, and for an End equivalent to and correspondent with that of *Jeroboam's* Supremacy, he could not have gotten Ordination in *Scotland* at that Time. The Comparison may seem odious between *Jeroboam's* Calves, and the Corruptions and Defections of Ministers in our Day; yet it seems more pertinent and apposite than to say, The declining of these Corruptions, and calling and contemning a Minister, witnessing against the Altar of *Jeroboam*, and crying to the Generation, That they have forsaken the God and Covenant of their Fathers, is like *Jeroboam* setting up his Calves. It is like this Gentleman, if he had been living in *Jeroboam's* Days, would have said as much against that Prophet, that cried against the Altar at *Bethel*, and would have condemned him as much for Arrogancy, in refusing Conformity with the Priests and Prophets, in these Days; especially if he, being a young Prophet, had not hearkned to the kind Council of the old Prophet that entertained him, as now he hath done to Mr. *James Renwick*. However, it is a Lie, that the Church at *Groningen* never came the Length of Prelacy in its Reformation; except it be said, That they were never so far corrupted, as to decline to Prelacy since their Reformation. And it is another Lie to say, that ever Mr. *Renwick* was called Representative, &c.

(5.) They whom he accuses, never examined Faults, nor absolved the guilty, in a Way belonging to any Church Judicatory; nor in a Way not competent to the meanest private Person, Lad or Lass in the Kingdom,

being only in a Way of Christian and charitable Inquiry about the Truth of Reports, in order to exhort, admonish, reprove or approve, and that they might know how to carry towards them : Nor did they ever make any Laws or Acts, but such as any Two or Three in Society might make by common Consent, to determine one another as to Duties or Dangers : Nor did they ever say or dream, that the Gospel should live and die with Mr. *Renwick* ; but that they were content to live and die with him in partaking of the Gospel Ordinances, dispensed by him, whom they esteemed a faithful Minister of the Church of *Scotland* ; and worthy to sit as Member of any Church Judicatory therein. The Church of *Groningen* did not make him a Minister of the Church of *Scotland* ; but they ordained him a Minister of Christ, and Steward of the Mysteries of God ; a Minister of the Church universal (which is the Primary Relation of all Ministers) a Minister in any Church, whereof he was a Member, and so consequently in *Scotland* ; and a persecuted People in *Scotland* called him to be their Minister, whereby he came to have as good Right to be a Minister of the Church of *Scotland*, as Mr. *Rough*, Mr. *Knox*, and several *Reformers*, who were not ordained by the Ministers of *Scotland* : Yea, as any, who now these Twenty five Years, have been appropriate to particular Flocks, tho' not by fixed Ordination by Ministers. And therefore, the Difference between the Church of *Groningen*, their Ordaining Mr. *Renwick*, &c. and the clergy of *England* their consecrating *Sharp*, as in many Respects it is vast, so in this, it is as great as between a reformed Church ordaining a faithful Officer of Christ's Kingdom, and a deformed Church consecrating a Knave, no Officer of Christ's ; but of *Antichrist's* Kingdom.

These scurrile Invectives heaped together, in this lying Libel (which I have the longer insisted on, that the Writer hath been so much applauded and blown up, into a Conceit of himself for it, and even by some, who were obliged by Office, as well as Duty, to have checked him for his Arrogance, Ignorance and Impudence discovered in it *) might have been thought nauseating to all that should read them. Yet the Subscription being torn away, and the *Writer's* Name concealed, it was spread and read through the Shire of *Air, Galloway* and other Places, and Copies multiplied through many Hands, only carefully providing that none should be given or lent to any therein accused. Many poor People, not knowing who was the Author, took it to be written by some Minister that was much concerned, and had great Understanding in these Debates; and thereupon, were much commoved and perplexed with Fears and Doubts, that by their partaking with Mr. *Rennwick*, especially in baptizing their Children with him, they had made themselves guilty of the Sins of that Church, by whom he was ordained; and were hereby so exercised, that some of them were cast into a Fever. At length the Author being discovered, People thought not so much of it: Afterwards, notwithstanding the People in *Carrick*, who formerly had countenanced and intertained him, were now much alienated from him; and this Mr. *Cath-*

* So lately by Mr. *Wodrow* (*Hist. Vol. 2. Page 601.*) Who sets forth this *R. Cathcart*, as superlatively pious and knowing, when relating his calumnious Paper against this Martyr and others, without a Word of their Answer; tho' he had the same among his Hands. Gross Partiality, hateful to all honest Men!

cart, and others, were turned avowedly opposite to him.

Yet, as he could never be easily offended with, nor soon cool in his Affection towards his Acquaintances ; so, he could not forget, nor forbear to visit his old Friends in that Part of the Country : Concluding in Charity, they could not be so far changed, but that they would freely and friendly confer with him, and receive right Information. Whereupon, he resolved, and accordingly essayed to enter the Borders of *Carrick*, with some others wandring with him, in very stormy Weather, being in *March* 1686, were unexpectedly, they were rencountered with the forementioned *Robert Cathcart*, with some others ; who questioned him, wherefore he was come there ? And why would he offer to preach there ? He answered, he was come to see them ; to preach he would not without a Call, which he was not doubtful to receive, if his Business would allow him to wait upon it ; And blessed the Lord, That for all that any had said or done against him, his Work was not the less upon his Hand. The other replied, The People in *Carrick* were neither for meeting nor conversing with him, and that he would find, if he went farther into the Country. After some debate about the Breach of former Communion that was between them, they discoursed about the forementioned Letter, which *Robert Cathcart* confessed he had writ, and would own it, and said, He intended to put an Explication upon it ; Withal, using this Expression, That he had wrote of them, not as they were, but as they would be : Which, as it was told him, behoved then to be by Way of Prophecy. He also delared to Mr. *James*, that he spoke to him as a Minister of the Gospel, but not as a Minister of the Church of *Scotland* : And defended his Charges against

the Church of *Groningen*, that ordained him, particularly, that it was *Erastian*, and held *Three Sprinklings in Baptism*. To that Mr. *James* replied, That many in that Church called it a Persecution, to term them *Erastian*; And that indeed they used *Three Sprinklings in Baptism*; but without Superstition, holding it to be indifferent with *One*, as many Orthodox Divines do hold it. Whereupon, they cried out then, and after made a hideous Noise of it, through the Country, That Mr. *Rennick* owned *Three Sprinklings in Baptism*. He answered only, He held *Three* to be indifferent with *One*, providing there were no mystical Signification placed more in the *Three* than in the *One*; for which, he offered to produce the Judgment of an approved Divine. The rest of the Conference was, only in tossing the common Debates.

In fine, This *Robert Cathcart* did, in the Name of his Friends in *Carrick*, and the Shire of *Wigton*, tho' without the Knowledge of the half of them, protest against Mr. *James Rennick* his preaching, or his conversing within their Jurisdiction, as he foolishly termed it; and he, with the rest that were with him, refused to be present at his *Exercise*. Afterward, he wrote to *Edinburgh*, to *Ireland*, and through the Country, that Mr. *Rennick* held *Three Sprinklings in Baptism*, and that in Debate about it, he could say nothing, but took a Book out of his Pocket, and said, That would prove it. And when this Report was contradicted, and asserted to be false, by them that were Witnesses to his administering Baptism, who saw he never practised any such Thing, and heard him declare his Judgment about it; That he affirmed it would be a reprobable Novation in *Scotland*, tho' he could not condemn it as such an Error in *Holland*, as some were pleased to aggravate it.

He and others then alleged, he did it always until he was put from it ; Whereas it was known he never did it ; nor ever approved the doing of it, contrary to the laudable Manner and Order of the Church of *Scotland*. Thus, the keennest, most cruel and most constant Persecution, most prevailing with his Opposites, and most piercing to him, was the Persecution of Tongues, and of their Tongues especially, who sometimes said the same Thing, and were embarqued in the same Lot with himself ; Giving him Occasion to complain with *David*, *They speak Vanity, their Heart gathereth Iniquity ; when they go Abroad they tell it ; all that hate me whisper together against me ; against me do they devise my hurt : Yea, mine own familiar Friends in whom I trusted, which did eat of my Bread, have lifted up the Heel against me.* Yea, so incessant and successful were they with their Whisperings, that to his greatest Grief, they so far insinuated themselves into his most endeared Familiars, as to incense them also against him ; and not only induce them to entertain, but to engage them also to express *Invectives* against him.

Notwithstanding all former *Obloquies* he sustained from all Sorts of Opposers, he had one faithful Minister, a famous Witness and fervent Wrestler in his Day, Mr. *Alexander Peden*, who was his dear Friend and Sympathizer ; from whom, he had sometimes very great Encouragement, when being with him, and inviting him to preach with him, He answered with great Earnestness, *Go, Sir, and be busy about the Work God hath put you to ; for, think on it, neither you nor I will ever see the other Side of it,* meaning the Deliverance of the Church from these Troubles. This, in the Hearing of some yet alive, Mr. *Peden* said to Mr. *Renwick* : But a little before the Death of this unwearied Wrestler,

which shortly followed ; With him also these Reproachers prevailed so far, as not only to alienate him from *Mr. Renwick* ; But to instigate him unto a declared and resolved Opposition to him ; Yea, to speak very bitterly against him, that he would make his Name to stink above the Ground : Which did contribute very much to the Grief, Discouragement and Stumbling of many well-affected to *Mr. Renwick*, and to the Confirmation of his Opposites, who boasted much of this, That *now Mr. Peden also was turned his Enemy*. Nevertheless, he proceeded in his Progress through the Country, preaching, catechizing and baptizing ; and travelling through *Galloway*, he was rencountered with a most insolent *Protestation*, given against him, in the Name of all the Professors between *Dee* and *Cree*, which is too long to transcribe *verbatim*, but the Substance was,

“ We Undersubscribers —— taking to our Consideration, the great Scandal and woful Effects of “ Division among the Professors of the Church of *Scotland*, and especially amongst our selves : And finding the Cause of this Division to proceed partly from “ some paying Cess, hearing *Curates*, taking the late “ *Abjuration-Oath* : And partly from others, their condemning these Things, and adhering to the late “ *Declaration on the Church-doors* ; and receiving of, and “ adhering to *Mr. James Renwick*, without the Consent “ and Approbation of the remnant godly and faithful “ Ministers —— contrary to the laudable Practice of “ this Church, and Acts of the General Assembly, since “ the Reformation to this Day. And finding these “ Things to be above our Capacity to *decide* —— We “ do hereby refer and submit our selves in all these, “ to an Assembly of faithful Ministers and Elders

“ ———only competent Judges of such debateable
 “ Principles and Practices———And promise, upon
 “ the one Hand, to give Satisfaction to the Church,
 “ according as we shall be found guilty and con-
 “ vinced by the Word of God, for any Thing done
 “ by us, to the Scandal of our dear Brethren. And
 “ upon the other Hand, we will forbear to call or join
 “ with Mr. *James Renwick*, till such Time as his Or-
 “ dination be seen and approven of some competent
 “ Number of the faithful Ministers of the Church of
 “ *Scotland*———and are willing, upon his Submission
 “ to his Brethren, according to the Word, to receive
 “ him into our Bosom———But if he, at the Desire
 “ of Strangers, or any of our Brethren dividing from
 “ us, intrude himself on our Labours———till such
 “ Time as we have the Mind of faithful Ministers
 “ anent the foresaid Things, we will protest against
 “ all such Dealing, as horrid and abominable Usurpa-
 “ tion———Subscribed in the Name of the whole *
 “ by

“ *William M' Hutcheson.*”

* Of this Paper, as Mr. *Renwick* told his Mind before the two
 Men that brought it; So upon the *Thursday* following, at a publick
 Meeting by Day, (whereof he held 13, at that Visit in those
 Bounds) in the Fields between *Dec* and *Cree*, after Lecture upon
Psal. xv. and Sermon upon *Song ii. 2.* he read over the Paper be-
 fore the Multitude, to let them know what was done in their Names,
 giving his Animadversions on it, as a Paper that overturns many
 Pieces of our noble Reformation, their calling *hearing of Curates*,
paying the Cess, and *swearing the Abjuration Outh*, debateable Prin-
 ciples, and above their Capacity to determine; and bears a viperous
 Protestation against his Preaching, besides other Absurdities in it:
 And exhorted them (if any were there who had concurred) that they

Likewise, not long after, in the Parish of *Iron-gray*, one *Welsh* of *Cornlee*, who had been a Prisoner, and had come off by taking *the Test*, under the Notion of a Testimony against *Poperly*, gave in against him a verbal Protestation, as an Elder of that Parish, that he should not intrude to preach there, as he called it. Against which, when one of the Company objected, That he had forfeited that Character by taking the *Test*: He answered, *Poor Thing, thou shalt be in Hell ere it be long*. He offered at the same Time to catechize Mr. *Renwick*, and asked, if he knew what Regeneration was? He replied, If he would be pleased to stay his Exercise, which he was about to begin, he purposed to be upon that Head. At which, he went away in a very insolent Carriage.

Shortly after this, while his Work was daily encreasing, and his Difficulties multiplying, the Lord made his Burden lesser and lighter, by the help of Mr. *David Houston* out of *Ireland*, and Mr. *Alexander Shields*, who was sent Prisoner from *London*, and made his Escape out of Prison: Who joined with him all in one accord, witnessing against the Sins of the Time, and for the Word of the Lord's Patience: Which, as it was exceeding refreshful unto him, and satisfied his long-suspended Longings, and Wishes, and Endeavours: So, it gave him wherewithal to answer and confute another Calumny in the Mouths of many against him, *That he never desired to join with another*

would speedily, with Sorrow, retract their Hand from such an Iniquity; and these who were free, to take their Protestation before the Lord, that they were innocent, and did resent the doing of such a Deed in their Name, &c. As in his Letter to *Earlstoun*, *January 1687*.

Minister; nor so much as *to meet with any in Order to joining*. The *former* of which, was abundantly confuted, to the Conviction of all, that saw how cheerfully and cordially he joined with these afore-mentioned. The *latter* also was manifestly convicted of Falshood, in the Conscience of several Ministers, who knew how far he travelled both in this Kingdom and in *England*, to meet with them, in Order thereunto. As on the other Hand, he defyed all to give an Instance, where ever a Minister desired to confer with him, which he declined: But several Instances can be given, where he desired to converse with them, which they very superciliously refused. He sent a Friend to a Minister of great Note in *Glendale* in *Northumberland*, shewing that he was very willing and earnestly desirous to speak with him, if he pleased to admit of it, which he very peremptorily denied. In another Place in that same Country, before that, he happened to be in a much respected Gentlewoman's House, where providentially *Doctor Rule* came to visit the Gentlewoman, whom Mr. *James* in another Chamber overheard, discharging and dissuading the Mistress of the House, by many Arguments, to entertain or countenance Mr. *Renwick*, if ever he should come that Way; whereupon, he sent to the Doctor, and let him know, that the Person he was speaking of, was in the House, and that he desired to discourse with him upon that Head: But he refused.

But it were endless to relate or confute the Calumnies of that Kind: Reproaches of a grosser Nature are so numerous, that it were impossible to reckon them. When now Ministers were here and there preaching privately, even before the Toleration, and one of them kept a Meeting at *Pasley*, a Report was raised, that he,

and a few with him, came and preached near that Place, on purpose to bring the Soldiers thither, to take the other Meeting. The Matter was only this, he had the Week before embraced a Call from a *Society* in *Renfrew*, and neither he nor they knew that any Minister was in those Parts. And not one Instance can be given, all the Time of his Ministry, that ever he preached without a Call; Or, that ever he preached upon the Call of any that continued in his Company; Or, without the Call of the People concerned in the Place where he preached. But, who can stop the Mouths of Reproachers? even a *Jeremiah* could not, but behoved to complain of it: so he, when also Fear was on every Side, had it for his Grievance, *That he heard the Defaming of many; Report, said they, and we will report it: All his Familiars watched for his Halting, saying, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our Revenge on him. Come and let us devise Devices against him—Come let us smite him with the Tongue. But the Lord was with him as a mighty terrible One.* What they that had been his Familiars reproached him with, was entertained credulously, and enlarged cunningly by the Indulged, &c. By whom it was affirmed, That he got great Sums of Money from the *Papists*; and that he and the rest of the Students at *Groningen*, were maintained by the *French King's* Money, to the End he and they might divide the Church of *Scotland*; A Forgery feigned by Sycophants, who had a Lust for that filthy Lucre, of which they charged him, who had the greatest Disdain of every Thing that looked like it.

These Informers, especially in *Carrick*, insisted on in their Trade of spreading their Papers at Home and

Abroad, full of infamous Defamations against him : Wherein they affected and obtained from several Ministers much Applause : One whereof was sent to *Ireland*, with the Names of sundry Persons subscribed ; (some of which have declared since, that their Names were insert without their Knowledge) declaring, That he had now opened a Popish Packet, and was selling *Rome's* Wares, &c. with much more of such railing Baggage, as would have been thought, none could have the Impudence to expose so openly, except either *Rome's* hired Pedlers, or these that had Consciences of a *Roman Latitude* : Yet with these Fictions they made themselves merry, and made *Rhyme* and scurrile *Roundels*, and spread them through the Land, among both sober and malignant People. Whereby, all they gained at length, was, to make themselves ridiculous, and nauseated even by them, upon whom they had insinuated too much before ; when they observed how, by accustoming themselves to lying of Mr. *Renwick*, they acquired a Habit of Laxness in other Things, and turned very visibly degenerate from their former Profession and Practice. And tho' they ingyred themselves into the good liking of some Ministers, whom they accompanied and attended through the Land, by their speaking against Mr. *Renwick*, and against the Church of *Holland*, removing all Jealousies of their former Wildness ; Yet they began to lose their Esteem among some of these Societies, who had suffered themselves to be too much imposed upon by them before ; when by their Carriage they got Ground to conclude, their Cause they were driving so furiously was not good, when their Conversation was so bad.

But,

When their Course and Carriage came to his Ears,

whom they were so despitefully defaming, he was so far from retributing their Revilings with the same Coin, that he regreted more their Sin and Folly they were following, and Shame they were making themselves liable unto, than any Offence they had done to him ; and used to speak of Things commendable in them, and how he had seen them otherwise. It was shewed before, how some went over to *Holland*, with a large Information against him ; whose Return brought back Mr. *Brakel's Advice* to Mr. *Renwick* and others, who had before been in a great Measure instrumental in his Ordination : But now, by the Insinuations of these Informers, had turned, not only Alien, but opposite to him ; whose Advice, tho' obliquely tart enough in its Reflections, yet relishes of a meek and moderate Gospel-spirit, not like that of his Informers ; and therefore was no way offensive to him, whom they minded to make odious thereby. So much of it, as concerned him, was to this Effect.

—“ How sad is it, that so many relinquish the essential Things, and do place Godliness in maintaining *Sanquhair Declaration*, and in separating from them, who, in their Judgment, are not so zealous in those other Circumstances——If I were with Mr. *Renwick*, I would put him to call to mind the Saying which at his Parting I said to him——*Be not righteous over much, neither make thy self over wise ; why shouldst thou destroy thy self?* Now you understand not this ; but remember that this I said unto you, That sometime it shall be useful : Now it is Time to live according to that Word. If I were present with them that adhere to Mr. *Renwick*, and refused to hear Ministers, I would shew them, how great a Sin *Schism* is ; and that the Wrath of God

“ is not far off from them who make and cherish a Se-
 “ paration—I would beg them, that, leaving Schism,
 “ they might live with their Brethren in Peace, Love
 “ and Unanimity. To decline Union in every Truth,
 “ is nothing but Pride and Lordliness—Let them
 “ come to us, we are these to whom others ought to
 “ bow themselves. If there be any, that in his Con-
 “ science thinketh other Ministers ought not to be
 “ heard, he erreth in Simplicity, and it is necessary
 “ that most quickly he leave that Error—I wonder
 “ that, when there are no Points of Religion that are
 “ the Grounds of the Schism, Grounds are brought
 “ which overturn themselves; As, (1.) They will not
 “ approve the *Sanquhair Declaration*: But, are Twenty
 “ two Persons in a Capacity to emit such a Declara-
 “ tion? And, is it a lawful Declaration? By what
 “ Reason can the Lawfulness of it be proven? Out of
 “ what Place of Scripture? Again, they will not ap-
 “ prove of *Cargil’s Excommunication*: But *Cargil* is
 “ dead, who did excommunicate. Again, they will not
 “ disapprove of *Argyle’s Declaration*. And some were
 “ at *Bothwel* too, and will not disapprove of the *San-*
 “ *quhair Declaration*; Which of the Enterprizes was
 “ holiest? Are these Grounds of Schism? Leave
 “ Things of State to Statesmen. Again, some have
 “ been silent and withdrawn; If they do this out of Fear
 “ or Love of the World, they have sinned: It is their
 “ Duty to forgive, if in their Life they give Proof of
 “ their Conversion. But they say, It is necessary to
 “ confess their Faults. I answer, Conversion includeth
 “ Confession. Sometimes Circumstances are such, that
 “ to press Confession in such a Case, were the Height
 “ of Pride, at the least, Imprudence; and to urge it on
 “ Innocents is tyrannical. Again, they joined themselves

“ to the *Scots* Congregation at *Rotterdam*, against which
 “ we emitted our Declaration. Answer, *Mr. Hamilton*
 “ composed that Declaration, and about a Year before it
 “ was published, shewed the same to me. I warn you
 “ to forbear such Toys——”

What further, through the Paper, reflects on that *Gentleman*, is not fit here to be noticed ; he is of Age to answer for himself. They that know both the Writer and him can witness, how far he is mistaken. But as for the Advice in general, it was well taken, with respect to its Weight, and the Worth of the Adviser ; who tho' he be a Stranger, and therefore not so well acquainted with some Circumstances of the Matter, about which he advises ; Yet therein he hath discovered more Tenderness and Concernedness in the Welfare of them he advises, then all the Ministers of *Scotland*, who never signified so much. However, if there were any such (as may be easily supposed there were, since preposterous Zeal is as incident as Hypocrisy) that relinquished the essential Things, and placed Godliness in maintaining *Sanquhair Declaration*, and in separating, &c. Never were they heard declare any such Thing ; nor were they allowed or encouraged by *Mr. Renwick* so to do, who taught the contrary, and ever inculcated, that they should place no more Godliness in these Circumstantials than they might bear. Only this he taught, and they professed that adhered to him, That it was a Duty of the Godly, at that Time, to maintain *Sanquhair Declaration*, and the Truths therein-contained.

The Advice, *Not to be righteous over much, nor to make himself over wise*, was, as necessary, so to him very acceptable and much studied, that he might keep off all Extremes, either in Opinion, Practice, or Self-conceit ; so far as might consist with that other Advice

(not to be separate from it) *Not to be over much wicked, neither to be foolish.* I have often heard him have both these in his Mouth, expressing the deep Impression he had of the Usefulness of these Words.

It is indeed Ministers Duty to shew People how great a Sin *Schism* is ; and that the Wrath of God is not far off from them, who made and cherish sinful Separation, especially in a Day, when Union is more than ordinarily desirable. And in this Endeavour, to clear and condemn true *Schism*, and to press true *Union*, Mr. *Renwick* was not wanting. But he thought it also necessary to teach People, not to call every Thing *Schism*, which the World calls by that Name : Otherwise he should have condemned all the most innocent Withdrawings from the Corruptions and Defections of Men, that ever were in the World ; even such Separations, which the Mouth of the Lord hath commanded from *unequally-yoked Fellowships*. And thought it likewise needful to shew, that standing still in Adherence to the Reformation, and refusing to concur with the backsliding Part of a Church, tho' the greatest Part ; when Union and Communion with them cannot be kept up without Sin, or without being induced or seduced from formerly attained Integrity ; when the Separation is in that which a National Church hath commanded all her Members to disown by her standing Acts and Authority, is not *Schism*, nor sinful Separation. He thought it also needful to warn, That the Wrath of God is not far off from them, who make and cherish sinful Communion, and partake of Ministers Sins, which in many Cases, the Scripture says, will bring Wrath upon the People, *Lev. x. 6. Isa. ix. 16. Isa. xliii. 27, 28. Jer. ii. 8, 9. Jer. xiv. 15, 16. Lam. iv. 13. Mic. iii. 11, 12.*

To decline Union for every Difference, is indeed no-

thing but Pride and Lordliness : And to say, *Let them come to us, we are those to whom others ought to bow*, is intolerable Arrogance. But, as it is no Pride in some Cases to observe that Command, *Jer xv. 19. Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them* ; so to embrace Union, by declining some Truths, tho' even circumstantial ; as, for *Moses* to have closed with *Pharaoh*, in parting with a Hoof ; *Paul* to unite with *Barnabas*, in taking along *John Mark*, would not be found approved in Scripture. *Melius est (in some Cases) pro Pietate Dissidium quam Concordia fucata.** If there hath been any who in his Conscience thought that other Ministers ought not to be heard, it is no Censure, but Charity, to say he erred in Simplicity. This is better Language from a Stranger, than what some Ministers said, That *they were driven away, by these damnable Delusions, the High-way to Hell* : But I know none, who ever thought or said so much, That no Minister ought to be heard but *Mr. Renwick*. The first Occasion of hearing others concurring in the Testimony, for which they were persecuted, discovered the contrary.

Grounds of Schism must be always self-overturning : But there are many other Grounds of Withdrawing from several Ministers, besides these mentioned in the *Advice*, which are the least that ever were brought. The first of these hath been but seldom, and but tenderly and slenderly pressed (the *Sanquhair Declaration*) to be owned in its Form ; Formality, and all its Expressions, was never imposed as the Condition of Communion. But the Disowning of the Truths therein-contained, which

* *i. e.* Debate or Discord for Godliness, is better than counterfeit Agreement, or Concord.

have been declared and asserted to be Truths, by the standing Acts and Declarations of the Church of *Scotland* several Times before, hath indeed been Ground of Offence. There were no than twice Twenty two, at the Emission of that Declaration. But what these Persons might or might not do, is not the Question. That such a Thing might have been declared, which is most questioned in that Declaration, *to wit*, That the Authority of Tyrants and Usurpers may be disowned, can be proven out of many Places of Scripture, whereof these may give a Taste. Assertions, *Job*. xxxiv. 17. 18. *Psal*. xciv. 20. *Hosea* viii. 4. *Hab*. i. 14. Practices, *Judg*. ix. 1 *Chron*. xii. 1. 1 *Kings* xii. 16. 2 *Kings* iii. 14, 15. 2 *Kings* vi. 32. 2 *Chron*. xxi. 10. 2 *Kings* xi. 14, 16. 2 *Kings* xiv. 19. 2 *Chron*. xxv. 27. Threatnings, *Ezek*. xxi. 25, 27.

The next, Mr. *Donald Cargil's* Excommunication was never so pressed, for any Thing I know : But it may stand ratified in Heaven, tho' he be dead. What was stumbling in the Earl of *Argyle's* Declaration, all that own *Presbyterian* Principles, in Opposition to *Malignants*, *Sectarians*, *Publick-Resolutions*, &c. are obliged to disapprove ; *to wit*, a Door opened to promiscuous Associations, &c. Such Things of State have not been left only to Statesmen, in *Scotland* : Ministers and private Christians have meddled with such Things ere now.

The sinful Silence and Withdrawings of Ministers, in Times of abounding Snares, were very offensive ; what Principle those have flowed from we are not to judge ; But that they were Transgressions and Offences to be confessed, we will affirm. It is a Duty to forgive indeed, and I hope not unendeavoured by them that shew most Dislike at the Sin ; But, Confession in such Cases, the

Law of God and Nature teaches. Conversion from particular Sins doth indeed conclude Confession of these Sins, and that may be sufficient to convert and return from the Sins challenged ; But, Conversion from the State of Nature, taken for Regeneration, does not always include explicit Confession of every particular Sin or Offence. However, this would never have been much urged, neither on the Innocents, nor on the Nocent, if other Offences had been removed, and the Matter had only stuck at this. Forsaking and amending would have been taken for confessing.

As for what is said in the Close, of Mr. *Hamilton's* Composing that Protestation, against the *Scots* Congregation at *Rotterdam*, and shewing it a Year before it was published, It is a great Mistake : He might have shown somewhat of the Matter of it, or a Minute of his own Observations of the Miscarriages of that Congregation, intended for Information ; but the Draught of it he could neither show nor see before it was composed in *Scotland* : And what if he had ? that says not much neither for, nor against it. This is one Effect of these Informers Diligence Abroad. Another may be added ;

Mr. *Koelman*, another famous, godly *Dutch* Minister, a great Witness against Corruptions there ; and a great Sympathizer with the afflicted Contenders against Defections here ; had formerly a great Esteem and Affection for Mr. *Renwick*, but by Misinformations turned also a very bitter Inveigher against him. In a Conference with some *Dutch* Friends, that were tender and concerned Sympathizers with the suffering People of *Scotland*, he asserted, “ He had very distinct Information
“ from sure Hands, that the Report of a Witnessing
“ Party in *Scotland* was all Lies. There were indeed
“ about a Hundred Bodies there led with *Renwick*, a

“poor, blown-up illiterate Person, who but very lately
 “had any Profession of Religion; That he preached
 “publicly but once in twenty Days, or a Month; That
 “the People that followed him were for killing all that
 “were not of their own Judgment; That their Suffer-
 “ing was their Sin, bringing themselves in Hazard:
 “and that the Ministers had told him, That if ever there
 “were a General Assembly, or States of their Mind,
 “they would make Mr. *Renwick*, &c. and all that have
 “been active in misleading these poor Bodies, suffer for
 “it, in the highest Degree: That they are a dreadful
 “Party, who will sometimes go into a Gentleman’s
 “House, and take what ever makes for them, and when
 “done will run away; whereby the poor Family is both
 “spoiled by them, and laid open to the Enemies Perse-
 “cution; and that *Renwick* would come to a Place for
 “one Night and preach, and then presently run away;
 “and thus occasion the silly People to be murdered and
 “plundered.”

It was for Mr. *Renwick* very weighty, to hear that
 such a godly Man should be so facile and credulous, and
 also so fervent in these Things, upon the first Informa-
 tion, before he would be at the Pains to inquire into the
 Truth of them: For, upon the least Search among the
 Impartial, he would have found himself sadly imposed
 upon; and that the Information was neither distinct, nor
 the Hands sure, he had it from. There was then, and
 yet remains, notwithstanding of all this Darkness and
 Distress, Defection and Division, Persecution of Tongue
 and Hand, a poor wasted, wounded, rent, and almost
 ruined, but still wrestling and witnessing Party in *Scot-
 land*; who, tho’ they have had not only their Souls ex-
 ceedingly filled with Contempt, with the Scorn of them
 that are at Ease, and with the Contempt of the Proud;

but their Bodies also killed all Day long, and counted as Sheep for the Slaughter; have yet through Grace, endeavoured to overcome by the Blood of the Lamb, and the Word of their Testimony, and have not loved their Lives dear unto the Death; but continued to this Day contending, both against the Wrongs done to Christ by professed Enemies, and by declining Friends, sustaining from both, the utmost of Rage and Reproach: And tho' they were but few, yet honoured of the Lord to give, and accepted in their offering, a faithful Testimony for his despised Truths. If they had been but about a Hundred Bodies, they would have been exhausted by Slaughter, Executions and Banishments long ere now: Notwithstanding of all which, there have remained, and do still continue, through Mercy, several Hundreds. And whether few or many, they always professed this, never to be led by any Man further than he followed Christ.

And for Mr. *Renwick*, they found him to be a faithful Minister, fitted for their Edification: And whatever he was as to his Proficiency in Literature, of which, always he had a lower Conceit himself, than many who conversed with him: He was known to be, by all who were acquainted with him from his younger Years, no Novice in the Profession of Religion: But for his frequency in Preaching, I may take the Boldness to affirm, that no Minister in *Scotland*, at least, was ever known to have preached and catechised, so often, in so short Time, as he: And for the Number of Children baptized by him, I doubt if ever any one Minister since the Apostles Days, baptized so many as he did. The People that followed him were never for killing of any for their Judgment, nor upon any Pretence, or for any Cause, or in any Case not justifiable by the Word of God, and justified by approv-

en Authors, according to the Principles of the Church of *Scotland*, as was shewed above.

I grant People may suffer for their Sin, and their Suffering sometimes may be their Sin: But to suffer for Conscience, Righteousness, Truth and Duty, founded upon, and consonant unto the Word of God, Confession, Covenants and Principles of this *reformed Church*, in the Case circumstantiate, when either Sinning or Suffering is in the Choice, and without Sinning, Suffering cannot be avoided, is no Sin: And, he will find this the Case of these Sufferers, who will please to enquire into it. And for these Things, we look for nothing but Sufferings, both from the Ministers *Assemblies*, which we expect, will not fail to put forth all the Power they have against us; and from the *States*, which, such as they are, are not far from their Mind. But we have need of Patience, and must cry to God for it, and appeal to him, that he may hear the Right, and that our Sentence may come forth from himself. The Testimony of a good Conscience will bear the Innocent out against all Threatnings and Calumnies.

That is a false and maliciously forged Calumny, and we defy the World to give a Witness or Instance, where ever any of that Party went into a Gentleman's House, and took whatever made for them, and then ran away, &c. Except it be alleged (which seems to be the Occasion of this Calumny) That sometimes they have been, in their hardest Pursuits, so pinched with Cold and Hunger, in some Places, where none would countenance them, that they have been forced to flee into their Enemies Houses (Gentlemens Houses they used not) for Shelter and Supply; Where, when they could not otherwise obtain it, they have taken such Food as they found, and then were forced to run away for their Lives. But,

as these Families were never much spoiled, nor persecuted upon that Account, except for not doing them the Mischief that lay not in their Power (a great Instance of the Persecutors unreasonable Cruelty, which the Wanderers were grieved for, but could not help :) So they that make this an Accusation against the Wanderers, either for coming into these Families, or running away to save their Life, seem to be more prejudged in Malice and sorrow that they did Escape, than tender either of Truth, or Charity. And they that were angry at Mr. *Renwick's* uncertain Wanderings and Flights, alledging he occasioned thereby the Murder and Plunder of People, will now be satisfied, when they hear he is murdered himself, by staying so long in a Place until he was taken. But the Truth is, while he was following his Work, as he thought it his Duty, with all Diligence, to answer the Necessities and Desires of every Place, whither he was called to preach ; And therefore to preach in many Places : So neither his Diligence in Duty would suffer him to stay long in one Place, when there were so many wanting and calling for him ; Nor Respect to Safety would suffer him to abide in the Place where he had publickly preached, for fear of being atrapped. The Sufferings of the Place were discouraging, difficulting and burdensom to him ; But no Argument either, for him to stay and suffer there, or shift Duty in another Place ; Or, for the People of the same Place to desire him to stay then ; Or, not to desire him to come again at another Time. No Places did more desire his frequent Visits, than those that were most persecuted for him.

Towards the End of this Year, *December* 9th, There was a Proclamation, offering a Reward of an *Hundred Pounds Sterling* to any, who should bring in his Person, dead or alive : “ Forasmuch as one Mr. *James Ren-*

“ *wick*, a flagitious and scandalous Person, has pre-
 “ sumed and taken upon hand, these several Years by-
 “ gone, to convocate together Numbers of our unwarry
 “ and ignorant Commons to House and Field-Conven-
 “ ticles (which our Law so justly terms the *Nurseries*
 “ *of Sedition and Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*),——
 “ We, out of our Royal Care and Tenderness to our
 “ People, being desirous to deliver all our loving Sub-
 “ jects from the malign Influence of such a wretched
 “ Impostor, Have therefore, prohibite and discharged
 “ all our Subjects, that none of them offer or presume
 “ to Harbour, Reset, Supply, &c. but do their utmost
 “ Endeavour to pursue him, as the worst of Traitors
 “ ——And if, in Pursuit of the said Mr. *James*
 “ *Renwick*, he or any of his rebellious Associates, re-
 “ sisting to be taken, any of our Subjects shall happen
 “ to Kill or Mutilate him, or any of them: We here-
 “ by declare, That they, nor none assisting them, shall
 “ ever be called in Question——And that their
 “ doing thereof, shall be repute good and acceptable
 “ Service to us——And for the better Encourage-
 “ ment to such as shall apprehend, and bring in the
 “ Person of the said Mr. *James Renwick*, Traitor fore-
 “ said, dead or alive, he or they, shall have the Reward
 “ of *One Hundred Pounds Sterling Money*, to be in-
 “ stantly paid to him by the Commissioners of our Trea-
 “ sury——.”

IN THE YEAR 1687, The *Cockatrice-Egg* was
 laid; which, if the Lord crush it not, threatens the
 Production of the *Basilisk of Popery* it self; and that
 Sleep-drink of this Antichristian intoxicating *Tolera-
 tion* was then brewed in Hell, blinked in *Rome*, and
 propined to *Scotland*, as a Preservative for the Cup of

the Whore's Fornications ; Which did more bewitch and intoxicate the Bulk and Body of the *Protestants* and *Presbyterians* of all Ranks and Capacities, into a stupid Submission to Antichrist's Encroachments ; a secure Compliance with his Designs to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* ; Or a senseless Surcease from all Opposition to, or Testimony against them, than any former Attempt of *Babylon's* Policy, or Effort of her Power, could ever effectuate in *Scotland*. When a *Toleration* is offered, accepted, addressed for, and peaceably and thankfully improved, according to Order ; flowing from a blasphemous Fountain, *Absolute Power, which all are to obey without Reserve*, conveyed through a treasonable Channel, suspending, stopping, and disabling all righteous Statutes penal, against *Papists*, designed for such sinful Ends, as the Subversion of the *Protestant*, and the peaceable Introduction of the *Popish* Religion ; producing such miserable Effects, as, the Encouragement of all Wickedness, and Error, extinguishing all Zeal against them, and Increase of Defection, Division and Confusion ; offered in such scandalous Terms as palpably encroach upon the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of Christ's free Kingdom ; and plainly preclude all Accession to any faithful *Protestation* against these *Encroachments*, consistent with the Improvement of the *Liberty* ; and obtruded with such shameful *Securities*, as rob the *Church* of all her legal *Charters of Laws and Covenants*, establishing her *Reformation* ; and leave her nothing in Lieu thereof, but a blind Promise of one, whose Principles oblige him to keep no Faith ; And such a Promise, as does not establish the *Religion* tolerated under the *Notion* of *Religion* ; but tolerates it only, as a Thing to be suffered. Yet this was generally complied with, by the Ministers

and Professors throughout the Kingdom ; and all such as did not say a *Confederacy* with them in this, were hooted at, and flouted as Signs and Wonders, on all Hands ; and more than ever exposed to the Reproach of tolerated and indemnified Friends, who had now purchased to themselves Peace, at the Rate of selling *Truth* and shifting *Duty*, and more than ever threatened by the persecuting Enemies. For, in all their *Proclamations of Peace and Liberty* to others, they thunder many *Menaces* against them.

The first *Proclamation*, February 12th, 1687, tolerating the *moderate Presbyterians* to meet in their private Houses (excluding Barns) &c. to hear the indulged Ministers allenary, “ Certifies, That *Field-“ Conventicles*, and such as preach at them, or who shall “ any Way assist or connive at them, shall be prosecute “ according to the utmost Severity of Laws made against “ them.” The second *Proclamation*, June 28th, the same Year, busking the Hook better, that they might bite more kindly, allowing all to serve God after their own Way in any House ; So that, they take Care that nothing be preached, which may any Way tend to alienate the Hearts of the People from the Government, &c. makes express Provision, that no Meetings be in the open Fields : For which, now after this Royal Favour, there could not be the least Shadow of Excuse left. Which Meetings are strictly prohibited, and all Laws and Acts of Parliament left in full Force and Vigor, with a further Command to all Judges, Magistrates and Officers of Forces, to prosecute such as should be found guilty of the said *Field-Conventicles*, with the utmost Vigor. There was also a Third *Proclamation*, October 5th, Declaring that all Persons, Preachers and Hearers, present at any Meeting in the

open Fields, shall be prosecuted with the utmost Rigor and Severity that their Laws will allow. “ As also, “ All Dissenting Ministers, who shall take upon them “ to preach in Houses, without observing these Direc- “ tions prescribed (*viz.* That nothing be preached or “ taught, which may any Way tend to alienate the “ Hearts of the People from the Government, and that “ their Meetings be peaceably and publickly held, and “ that they signify and make known to some one or mo “ of the Privy Counsellors, Sheriffs, Stewarts, Baillies, “ Justices of Peace, or Magistrates of Burghs Royal, “ what Place or Places, they set apart for these Uses, “ with the Names of the Preachers) shall be so prose- “ cuted.”

This *Proclamation* was emitted after, and, as it would seem, in Answer to the *Address* of some Ministers dated at *Edinburgh, July 21st*, that same Year, given forth in Name of all the *Presbyterian Ministers*: Wherein, after a Rapsody of fulsom Flatteries for the *Toleration*, they beseech, that these who promote any disloyal Principles or Practices (as they disown them) may be looked upon as none of theirs, whatsoever Name they may assume to themselves. A Superplus of superfluous Solicitousness; For these who adhere unto the *Testimonies* of the *Church of Scotland*, against *Toleration* and *Tyranny*, which they call *disloyal Principles* and *Practices*, would reckon it both a Sin and a Shame to be repute of their *Confederacy*.

Against all these Indignities done to Christ, and Injuries done to the Church, Mr. *Renwick* and his Brethren thought themselves obliged to testify and witness; and not only declare against the Sin of the *Givers*, and of the *Accepters* of such a Toleration; but to warn also the People, of the Hazard of all their Ac-

cession to it, Participation with it, or Approbation of it, in their frequenting these Meetings, under the Allowance and Protection of it, as being all the Badge of their complying with it, or Sign of their approving it, which either could be required of them, or given by them : And to keep their Meetings for this End more publickly in the open Fields, since they durst not trust those, who were still thirsting insatiably for their Blood, nor give them such Advantages as they were seeking to prey upon them, by shutting themselves within Houses ; and looked upon this as their Testimony for the Cause of Christ, for the Interest of the Protestant Religion, for the Covenanted Reformation, and for the Laws and Liberties of the Country, all undermined and subverted by this Toleration.

In the Beginning of the Year, the other two had necessary Occasions* calling for their Departure forth of the Land for a Time ; and then the whole Stress and Burden of that whole Work lay upon him, and the whole Force of the Persecution, from all Hands, was bended against him, and increased daily, as his Zeal, Freedom and Faithfulness in witnessing against the Toleration increased ; especially the Obloquies and Oppositions from the tolerated Ministers, against him, increased apace ; who ceased not to cry out against him, sometimes to the Offence of their Hearers, and of all that heard the Report of it. One of them at *Glasgow*, in a Transport of Fury rather than Zeal, expressed himself to this Effect, *He would not have been so grieved, if Mr. Renwick had stabbed first his Father and*

* Mr. *D. Houston* in *Ireland*, preaching, &c. and Mr. *A. Sliets* in *Holland*, tending the Press, &c.

then his Brother, as now to hear him so rail against the Liberty. It had been more pertinent for him to be grieved for the Wounds and Wramps, Stabs and Strokes his Mother Church of Scotland hath received, and given by himself and others her untender Children, by accepting of this falsly so called Liberty, which hath given her *Joab's* Salute and cruel Courtesy, a Stab under the fifth Rib, and then left her in Thrall and Bondage.

It might have been expected rather now, when the Storm was over, that those, who lurked under the Lee, and durst not set their Face against it, should have pitied at least, if not praised One, that endured the whole Rage of it, in following the Duty, which they had shifted; than that they should come out of their warm Holes, and upbraid and insult over their weary and Weather-beaten Fellow-servant. But the Ministers now generally coming Home from Abroad, and out of their quiet Chambers, and beginning to preach, set themselves to cry out against Mr. *Renwick*, and the poor persecuted People that heard him, being, as it would seem, more concerned to give a proof of their Loyalty to please their new Friends (Enemies to their old Friend and Master Christ) than of their Love and Zeal to him, whose Ambassadors they were, in resenting the Wrongs done to his Glory: And in this, they were abetted, encouraged and instigated by many Professors; some of which, in their calling Ministers, have admonished them not to forget to preach against Mr. *Renwick*, &c. Which, when one Minister, a Stranger to that Method, and a Stranger in the Place where he was called to preach, *viz.* in *Glasgow*, refused, taking it ill, that they should offer such Instructions to him, and asked if that was their Way of call-

ing Ministers. They answered very presumptuously, it was desired, and expected, and customarily used ; and all did so that preached there. They forgot here the old Charge, and made themselves guilty of it, which they have always held up against those whom they would have all to preach against ; that they laid Impositions on Ministers : But in this, they turned Imposers themselves, or else have falsly accused others on this Head.

Some also, as soon as their Meetings were scarce well settled, began to shew their Teeth, and very magisterially enquired after the Number and Names of those that heard Mr. *Renwick*, that *Intruder*, that *Jesuite*, and encouraged to the delating them to the Magistrate, a very unhappy and unhandsome Way of discovering their Zeal against *Jesuites*, to encourage and assist a crowned Jesuite in persecuting them, whom Jesuites exclude from Favour. Nay, so foolish, as well as furious, was the Fervor of some, both Ministers and Professors, that they were not ashamed to reproach him beyond all Bounds, either of Wit, Honesty or Modesty ; affirming, That he was frequently at Mass, and was seen at *Haggs*, *Fetterwires*, and several other Papists Houses. A Lie, at which, the Father of Lies, and the Father of Papists rejoiced, in that, when he had prevailed so far, as to get them to connive at the Mass, who should have been its greatest Opposers ; he had Success also, to make them believe such a Lie, that he, who cried, The Land was polluted by suffering one Mass in it, was a Frequenter of Masses himself. But, by believing of Lies, that Idolatry hath had its Rise and Advance in the World.

I believe indeed, Mr. *Renwick* did earnestly desire to go to the Mass, but not without such a Backing as

might have been able to do with it, as *Gideon* did with *Baal's Altar*. For, he pressed it very much as a Duty, to throw down and destroy all, and not suffer the Erection of any Monuments of Idolatry. Furthermore,

Many said, that he had done more Hurt to the Church of *Scotland*, than any Thing the Enemies had done these Twenty seven Years; and therefore indeed, they have kythed greater Keeness of Zeal against him, than ever they did against Popish or malignant Enemies these Twenty seven Years, for all the Mischiefs they have done to the Church; tho' they have overturned the Reformation, and the Laws and Liberties of the Church and Nation, and have introduced Prelacy, Supremacy, Tyranny and Toleration of Popery: In all which, they know how much, and how far they have strengthened their Hands that are so sensible of the Hurt he has done, who was a constant Opposer of these Things, to the utmost of his Power, and can instance no greater Hurt that he hath done, than that he hath discovered the small Service they have done to the Church these Twenty seven Years. The greatest Hurt it seems they are sensible of, is, That he would not let them sleep in quiet, in suffering the Enemies to do all the Hurt they could, without Controul.

It was usual also with many, to call him a *white Devil*, going through the Land carrying the Devil's white Flag: Which was a sad Reflection upon the Standard lifted up by the Spirit of the Lord, when the Enemies were coming in like a Flood: But being so like that Blasphemy against the Lord Jesus, That he was a Colluder with *Beelzebub*, (except that their want of better Information did extenuate it) he was helped

with Submission to bear it. However, it may be answered, *If Satan be divided against Satan, how can his Kingdom stand?* If his Flag was the Devil's white Flag, there must have been a great Division, yea, a stated War between the black and red Devils, and the white ones, when the Dragon's Legions did so much persecute that Flag. But in Answer to that, Tho' they acknowledged there was much Running and Riding after him, and observed his manifold Escapes, were very astonishing, yet they endeavoured to perswade People, that all was but Knavery betwixt them; for the Soldiers had no Desire to take him, and if he were taken, he would be in no Hazard. But a little Time it seems confuted that.

It was very strange, how greedy, even several good Men were to gather, and how intent, instant and eager they were in spreading all Reports that could make him odious; and such Reproaches as might make him not only contemned as a Minister, but condemned as a Man, to be hated of all; not only for Vanity and Folly, but for Villany, Treachery, Cheatry, and all sorts of Immoralities: Particularly, That by Knavery and cheating Covetousness, he had purchased Four thousand Merks, lying in Bank at *Glasgow*, by forging of Testaments, and other cheating Tricks: And instanced one Testament, which some said, he had forged after the Person's Death; others, that he beguiled the Person while dying; getting a Sight of the Testament, and altering it so cunningly, that he made all to be left to himself and his Followers.

However, Copies of the Paper, alledged under his own Hand, were taken and spread through the Country, and with Confidence declared to be his, because the Original Paper was compared, and found to be in the same

Hand-write, that some other of his Letters, writ to a certain Minister, were of; which was a Presumption strong enough with those that were prepossessed, with Prejudice. Whereupon, in shewing the Paper, they used to discant with much Insulting, not only on the Baseness, Treachery and Knavery of it, which now had given a satisfying Discovery of that Impostor, and his Followers; but on the silly Ignorance and Folly of it, discovering his shallow Emptiness, which did appear, in the informal and childish way of wording it: Others, pretending more Charity, alledged his Followers were more to be blamed for it, than he; That they had contrived the Business and had come to him to write it, perswading him there was no ill in it; which he, poor Soul (used to be implicately led by them) condescended to, never considering it further; not doubting but that it behoved to be right, seeing they bade him. Thus, according to the Diversities of their Fancies, they pleased themselves in shaping out the Story as best liked them; and commonly entertained this, and the like Discourses of him, as the great Subject of their Table-Talk, until the Time of his Dissolution.

The Occasion of this Romance, in short, was this, there was an old Woman dying at *Glasgow*, whose Name was *Catharine Spear*, who having 100 Pounds *Scots* in the Hand of a Friend of hers, purposed to bequeath and bestow it, after her Death, upon distressed People suffering for Religion: And for her better Direction herein, she did impart it to, and consult with one of the Wanderers, a Friend of Mr. *Renwick's* desiring him to give up a List of the Persons he knew in greatest need, and consider to how many it were fittest it should be divided. Who accordingly drew the List, and delivered it to her, advising her to send for her Friend, in whose Hand the Money was,

and dispose of it while she was alive with her own Hand, and acquaint him with it. But, her Sickness encreasing, and Death approaching, she forgot it altogether, and never told the Friend that had the Money. A little also before her Death, some other Friends that owned Mr. *Renwick*, intimately acquainted with the dying Woman, came to visit her, and consulting about that Business, and considering there were some Persons in great Straits not named in the Paper ; did in great Simplicity, so far alter it, as to insert and add some other Names, and distribute the same Sum of a 100 Pounds *Scots* into smaller Proportions, adding in the Conclusion, somewhat like a solemn Charge to the Friend, that had the Money, in the Sight of God, to distribute it faithfully ; not observing the usual Forms of Testaments, of which they were ignorant, and pretended no Knowledge, thinking the Will of the Dead in any Form would satisfy honest Friends. This second Correction of it was written by a Hand, that sometimes Mr. *Renwick* employed to transcribe a Letter to the Minister forementioned ; which gave Occasion to him that received it, when he saw this Paper in the same Hand with his Letter, to conclude, it was from the same Author. This, through Neglect, was never shown to him in whose Hands the Money was, till after her Death. Whereat being much offended, that he should not have been acquainted with it before, and declaring, that she had never so much as spoken of it to him ; but on the contrary, when he had enquired of her, if she had any further Order to leave him, she had told him nothing ; he then made it known, and shewed the Paper to the same Minister, that had got a Letter from Mr. *Renwick* in the same Hand-write: Whereupon, he judged, and deluged it to be from him, with many sad Invectives and Inferences drawn from it, tending to his Reproach :

Whereas Mr. *Renwick* knew nothing of it, nor so much as that he was reproached with it. Only he visited the Woman in Time of her Sickness, and as he used to do with all others in a dying Condition, never meddled with, nor spoke of any Thing, but her Salvation.

By these and the like*Reproaches, many were stumbled at his Testimony, and further strengthened in their complying Courses, which he had reproved and testified against: Which Reproofs formerly kept them sober, and made them sometimes solicitous, lest what he said against their Way might have some Ground. But now, when they heard him and his Brethren and Adherents so much reproached, contemned and condemned as the worst of Men, of Ministers and Professors; they were much encouraged to set at nought all his Reproofs, and justify their Compliances that he rebuked. Yea, the very *Testers*, and deepest of Compliers, and some that had gone on so far as to be Persecutors, when they heard that he was so universally discountenanced, and so publicly disowned, that had vexed them so much with crying against their Sin; and observed also, how the tolerated Ministers were silent at, and passed over their Compliances, without rebuke, and countenanced them, and restored to them their old Name and Repute of Professors again, waxed very bold, and made to bless themselves in their Backslidings: See now, said they, if our honest Men that Preach now, be vexing us with crying, We are lost Men, lost *Men* for taking the *Test*, &c. as *Renwick* used to do: Whereby they were strengthened in their evil Way, and encouraged to oppose him with the greatest Keeness; and entertain all Calumnies of him with the greatest Greediness.

Thus, under all these Discouragements, as a Mark at which all were shooting their Arrows, the Butt of the

Wicked Malice, the Subject of all Talk, the Scorn of the Profane, and Professors also at Ease; and a Man much wondred at every way, he continued still at his Work, in his wonted manner; his inward man increasing more and more, when now his outward Man was much decaying; and his Zeal for fulfilling his Ministry, and finishing his Testimony growing still the more, the less outward Peace and Accommodation he could find in the World.

At this Time he fell very infirm and sickly in his Body, insomuch that sometimes he could not go himself, nor mount, nor sit on Horseback; and with great Difficulty was carried to the Place where he preached in the Fields; and from it again was born with great Pain; yet never complained of any Distemper in the Time of Preaching.

In the mean Time, the Persecution against him was very furious, so that in less than five Months after the Toleration, there were fifteen most desperate Searches, particularly for him, both of Foot and Horse; in which they were very outragious, breaking into Cellars, and breaking down the Cielings of Houses, &c. in their Search for him: Which appeared with a more dreadful Aspect than formerly, in that several professing Gentlemen offered and threatned to give Notice to the Soldiers, that he might be apprehended, for Fear that he should occasion the Loss of their Liberty. To encourage them to which Treachery and Cruelty, there was a Proclamation, dated *October 18th*, “ Authorizing all “ Officers, Civil and Military, to apprehend and secure “ in Firmance, his Person with some others; and, for “ Encouragement, ensuring the Sum of a Hundred “ Pounds *Sterling* for taking him or them, dead or “ alive.”

Nevertheless, all this never moved the tolerated Ministers, that had either accepted of and settled under the Toleration, or these that went through the Country, and called themselves Improvers of it, tho' sometimes they had been Sufferers themselves, to shew any Compassion towards him. But on the contrair, in all Places where they came, they cried to the People to flee from him, and not countenance him. This was their brotherly Sympathy under all his heavy Burdens, and Trials unto his Death.

In the Beginning of THE YEAR 1688, drawing now near the Mark and Period of his Course, and the Close of his Day, he run very fast, and wrought very hard, both in the Work of his Salvation as a Christian, and in the Work of his Generation as a Minister and Witness of Christ; in great Solicitousness, of coming short of his Task, before his Day should be ended: Therefore, upon Considerations of the universal Involvements almost of all ranks, in the Sin and Snare of the *Toleration*, and of the daily Implement of its woful Effects more and more discovered; he was very much troubled, that some Testimony against it, and for the Covenanted Reformation, which might stand on Record, should have been omitted and delayed so long. Whereupon, with the Concurrence of some others that joined in it, having resolved upon it, and composed it in the Form now to be seen, he rested not, until it was Delivered in to the Ministers at *Edinburgh*, and made more publick. Hence,

Hasting towards *Edinburgh*, his Way lay through a Part of *Tweeddale*; where, at *Peebles*, towards the Beginning of *January*, he escaped very narrowly, being apprehended: For, intending a Meeting there, for Exa-

mination and Conference, in the Time of Gathering, it was discovered, by pursuing of some for Theft; which made the People, not knowing what the Matter was, suspect that the Pursuit was for the Meeting. The Report of this coming to Mr. *James*, then in a most suspected House, in case the Search had been for him, he went forth towards the Place of Meeting, where he met with the Town-clerk, challenging all that passed by. Then, returning again into the Town, found there some Uproar, in which some Persons were taken; but with great Difficulty getting free of them, he escaped that Time. Thence going to *Edinburgh*, he made Enquiry, when any *Presbytery* or *Synod* of the tolerated Ministers should sit, intending to give in the *Protestation* to them: But, when he could learn of none within a short Time, he was impatient until somewhat was done towards the publishing of it: Therefore, he went himself to one Minister* of great Note, whom he heard was *Moderator*, and delivered it into his Hand: And then, upon some Reasons, forthwith emitted it in Publick, which now is printed, Intituled, *The Testimony of some persecuted Presbyterian Ministers, &c.* †

Then he went to *Fife*, and continued there preaching in several Places, until the last of *January*; the which Day, late at Night, he returned to *Edinburgh*, and lodged in the *Castle-hill*, in a Friend's House, who used to trade with uncustomed Goods from *England*; which therefore was the more dangerous, in that it was liable to Searches upon the Account of such Goods: So much

* Mr. *Hugh Kennedy*, then Moderator to their Meeting.

† Now reprinted, Anno 1723, together with his Elegy written by Mr. *Shields*.

the more also, that the Goodman of the House was known to be one that owned Mr. *Renwick*. But it pleased the holy and wise God to order all Things, to the bringing about his Purpose of calling him to suffer at that Time ; and therefore he wanted at the Time his wonted Circumspection. One of the *Tollers* or *Waiters*, *John Justice*, discovered the House that same Night, and heard him *praying* in the Family, and suspected that it was he. Some, that were in Company with him that same Night, told, that when they were speaking of Mr. *Houston* his being taken in *Ireland*, Mr. *Justice* said, he should have another of them ere it was long. And in another Place, that same Night, he took up a Glass of Wine, and would drink Mr. *Renwick's* good Health, swearing he should have him ere seven a Clock next Morning. Accordingly,

Next Morning, about seven a-Clock, being *February* 1st, he was first attacked by these *Tollers*, coming to search for uncustomed Goods : After they got Entrance, Mr. *Justice* standing in the Door, challenged him in these Words, *My Life for it, this is Mr. Renwick* : Whereupon he went away a little, the rest still keeping the Door ; and coming again, he said, *All within the House must go to the Guard, that they may shew what Trade they are of*. Mr. *Renwick* answered, I shall soon shew you what is my Trade. Then again he went to the Street, crying for Assistance, to carry the Dog *Renwick* to the Guard.

In the mean Time, Mr. *James*, with the other two Friends that were within the House with him, essayed to escape out at another Door : But when it was opened, they found the *Waiters* standing before that likewise ; and one of them offering to break out, was repelled with great Force by the *Waiters* : Whereupon Mr. *Ren-*

wick discharged a Pistol, which made the Assailants retire, and go back to every side of the Court, making a patent Lane for them to escape through them ; and in the Passage, one with a long Staff hit him on the Breast, which doubtless did weaken him in running, and might have Influence on his falling so often. When they run down the *Castle-wynd*, and towards the Head of the *Cowgate*, where, having lost his Hat, he was more taken Notice of, and hotly pursued, and gripped by a Fellow in the Street ; the other two escaped.

It is said, that Mr. *David Williamson*, a Minister near the Town, was passing by in the mean Time, and seeing the Tumult, and the Noise of Mr. *Renwick's* Name, wagged his Head, expressing some Tokens of Gladness, whereunto he was transported at the Sight : But, within a short Time, it turned to his own Sorrow ; For, the House where Mr. *Renwick* lodged, being immediately shut up and pillaged, they seized upon the Books and Papers of one of his Colleagues ; among which was found a little Paper, containing some short *Memorandums* of Meetings in *Teviotdale*, before *Bothwell-bridge*, wherein Mr. *Williamson's* Name was insert, and the Places where he preached at that Time. Whether this was the Cause or not of his following Trouble, I shall not be positive : And it would seem strange, after all the Indemnities, Indulgences and Tolerations, it should be the Cause. But for any other, upon that Occasion of Mr. *Renwick's* being taken, I am sure, there was none.

The Prisoner then was taken to the *Court of Guard*, where he was kept some Space, and much vexed with the insulting Insolence of those that came to see him.

Graham, the Captain of the Guard, seeing him of a little Stature, and of a comely youthful Coun-

tenance, being then but 26 Years of Age, cried, *What? Is this Boy Mr. Renwick, that the Nation hath been so much troubled with?* Which he answered with Smiling in great Meekness. At the same Time, one Baillie *Charter's*, in great Impertinency, shewing himself a furious Fool, and impudently insolent, came in, and accused him of frequenting *Bandy-houses* or *Brothel-houses*, which he repelled with deserved Disdain. After a little Vexation here, he was carried before a *Quorum* of the *Council*. When Captain *Graham* delivered him off his Hands, he was heard say, *Now I have given Renwick up to the Presbyterians, let them do with him what they please.* What passed there, could not be learned: But thence,

He was committed to closs Prison, and laid in Irons; where (as he afterwards discovered, to such as got Access to him before he suffered) as soon as he was left alone, he betook himself by Prayer to his God. “And made an Offer of his Life freely to him, and begging for through-bearing Grace; Requested particularly, That the Enemies Cruelty might be so far restrained, as to get Leave to do nothing more against his Body but to take his Life.” Which Request was very signally granted, and thankfully acknowledged by him, before his Execution.

Before he received his Indictment, he was again taken before the Chancellor, to the Viscount of *Tarbat's* Lodging; where he was examined upon his owning the present Authority of King *James the Seventh*, and upon his Judgment of the *Cess*, and of carrying *Arms* at *Field-Meetings*: Of all which he freely told his Mind, with such Faithfulness, Freedom, Stayedness, Composure of Mind, Confidence and Boldness, that it much astonished these that were present. The Reason, why he was so particularly interrogate about the *Cess*

(which was not ordinary, he being the first Prisoner that ever it was moved to) was, That a Note-Book was found on him, wherein he had written the Heads of some Sermons, touching these Subjects, which he owned. They had also found on him, some *Memorandums* of Persons Names, some at large, others in their first capital Letters only, with Directions how to write to them. Which, to avoid threatned Torture, he explained; being Persons as obnoxious as they could be; Yet this opened the Mouths of some, who said, That he had discovered all his Correspondents and Resettlers, and (a Thing which he knew not himself) how many Children he had baptized: Now, said they, The Truth is kything that was reported of him: Especially, they talked it confidently, and spread it in great Haste through all Corners.

When, the *Friday* following, *February Third*, Mr. *David Williamson* was incarcerated, whose Name was supposed to have been in his Notes; But there was no such Thing; for he never knew Mr. *Williamson*, nor had ever any Correspondence with him. The only Reason that could be conjectured with Relation to that Business, was, that before hinted.

However, Mr. *James* his Ingenuity did much allay their Rage against him, as appears by a Passage reported by some, that were Witnesses. The Chancellor asked him, what *Perswasion* he was of? He answered, Of the *Protestant Presbyterian* Perswasion. He questioned again, How it came to pass, that he, being *Presbyterian*, did so much differ from other *Presbyterians* who 'accepted of his Majesty's *Toleration*, owned his *Authority*, &c.? And what he thought of them? He answered, That he was a *Presbyterian*, and adhered to the old *Presbyterian Principles* (which

all were obliged by the *Covenants* to maintain) as were once generally professed by the *Church and Nation*, from the Year 1640, to 1660, from which some had apostatized for a little Liberty (they knew not how short) as your selves, (said he) have done, for a little Honour. The Chancellor replied, and the rest applauded, That they believed these were the *Presbyterian Principles*, and that all the *Presbyterians* would own them as well as he, if they had but the Courage. Some of them afterwards were heard to say, That he was of old *Knox's Principles*, which in former Times were approved, and thought tolerable then, but now made Treason by the present Law. Thereafter,

He received his Indictment, upon the foresaid Heads, of this Tenor.

“ **MR. JAMES RENWICK**, Prisoner, You are in-
 “ dicted and accused, That where notwithstanding,
 “ ing, by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom and
 “ constant Practikes thereof, and by the particular Acts
 “ of Parliament aftermentioned, *viz.* By the 129 *Act*,
 “ 8 *Parl.* K. *James VI.* And 151 *Act* of his 15 *Parl.*
 “ And 1st *Act* of his 18 *Parl.* And by 2d *Act*, 2d
 “ *Sess.* 1st *Parl.* K. *Charles II.* and 2d *Act* of his 3d
 “ *Parl.* The Kings of *Scotland*, their Heirs and Royal
 “ Successors, are acknowledged to be Sovereign Mo-
 “ narchs, absolute Princes, Judges and Governors of
 “ this Realm; and that none shall decline the King
 “ or his Authority under the Pain of Treason: And
 “ that the Kings of this Realm held their Crown and
 “ Authority from GOD only; and therefore, the
 “ entering into *Leagues* and *Covenants*, rising in Arms
 “ against the King, or suspending him from the Exer-

“ cise of his Government, or putting Limitations upon
 “ the Alledgiance and Obedience of the Subjects, are
 “ declared Treason. And that upon the Death of any
 “ King, the Royal and Sovereign Authority is imme-
 “ diately & *ipso Facto* devolved upon the next lawful
 “ Successor ; And that no Objection or Pretence what-
 “ somever can impede or obstruct the same ; And the
 “ Design to oppose or divert the Succession, is declared
 “ high Treason.

“ NEVERTHELESS, it is of Verity, That ye
 “ the said Mr. *James Renwick*, having shaken off all
 “ Fear of GOD, Respect and Regard to his Majesty’s
 “ Authority and Laws ; and having entred your self
 “ into the Society of some Rebels, of most damnable
 “ and pernicious Principles, and disloyal Practices, you
 “ took upon you to be a Preacher to these Traitors, and
 “ became so desperate a Villain, that ye did openly and
 “ frequently preach in the Fields, declaiming against
 “ the Authority and Government of our Sovereign Lord
 “ the King, denying that our most gracious Sovereign
 “ King *James* the Seventh is lawful King of this Realm,
 “ and asserting that he was an Usurper : AND that it
 “ was not lawful to pay *Cess* or Taxes to his Majesty :
 “ But that it was lawful and the Duty of Subjects, to
 “ rise in Arms, to make War against his Majesty and
 “ these commisionate by him.

“ FOR which CRIMES, You the said Mr. *James*
 “ *Renwick* was declared Fugitive and denounced Re-
 “ bel ; and by open Proclamation, published at the
 “ Market-Cross of *Edinburgh* and printed, bearing
 “ Date the Day of . The
 “ Lieges were certiorate thereanent, and required to
 “ apprehend you ; And there was a Fine of One hun-
 “ dred Pounds *Sterling*, as a Reward or Encouragement

“ to such as should apprehend you ; and yet ye did still
 “ continue in your former desperate Obstinacy, keeping
 “ Conventicles in the Fields, and requiring your Hear-
 “ ers to provide Arms, and to come armed to these
 “ Rendezvouzes of Rebellion ; And particularly, upon
 “ one or other of the Days of *September* last, ye keep-
 “ ed a Field-Conventicle upon the Muir
 “ near *Paisley*, where there were many Persons in
 “ Arms ; and upon one or other of the Days of *Novem-*
 “ *ber* last, and likewise upon the Eighteenth Day of
 “ *January* last bypast, ye did keep Two Conventicles at
 “ *Braids Craigs* within Two Miles of the Capital City
 “ of the Kingdom, where you not only renewed your
 “ former Treasonable Doctrines and Positions, but like-
 “ wise with your Hand you wrote down in a Book,
 “ found upon you when ye were taken, the Heads of
 “ these Treasonable Sermons, with the Dates and
 “ Places where ye had preached the samen. And be-
 “ ing apprehended within the City of *Edinburgh*, ye
 “ did desperately fire upon the Officers that came to
 “ take you. And being brought before the Lord Chan-
 “ cellor, and other Counsellors in the Treasury-Cham-
 “ ber, upon the first of *February* 1688 Years instant,
 “ like a desperate irreclaimable Traitor, you did openly
 “ deny and decline our sovereign Lord’s Authority, and
 “ assert that our most gracious King was an Usurper,
 “ and not lawful King, and owned that ye had preach-
 “ ed the same.

“ LIKEAS, Ye, the said Mr. *James Renwick*, be-
 “ ing brought to the Viscount of *Tarbat’s* Lodging, ye
 “ did there, in Presence of the Lord Chancellor, and se-
 “ veral other Counsellors, upon the Third of *February*
 “ instant, avowedly and traiterously declare, That ye
 “ could not in your Conscience acknowledge the King

“ to be your lawful Sovereign ; And that the lineal
 “ Succession did not give a Right to govern. And that
 “ ye thought it not lawful to pay *Cess* to the King, be-
 “ cause it was imposed for maintaining of Forces to
 “ suppress the Gospel ; and that all Persons, who made
 “ Payment of any *Cess*, were involved in that Guilt,
 “ and adhered to your preaching Book, and declared
 “ the same to be your own Hand-writ ; and owned,
 “ That ye had preached to the People to come in Arms
 “ to your Meetings for Defence, in Case they met
 “ with Opposition, and that it was lawful sua to do.
 “ **WHERE**THROW, Ye the said Mr. *James Ren-*
 “ *wick* has committed and is guilty of the Crimes of
 “ high Treason above-specified, or, one or other of them ;
 “ and is Actor, Art and Part of the samen : Which
 “ being found by an Assize, you ought to be punished
 “ with Forfaltrie of Life, Lands and Goods, to the
 “ Terror and Example of others to commit the like
 “ hereafter.”

You are to answer to this Indictment upon the Eighth Day of February, 1688 Years.

James Guthry Pursevant.

Follows the List of the Assize to pass upon you.

S ir <i>John Maxwell</i> of <i>Pollock</i> ,	<i>James Hume</i> of <i>Kimmergham</i> ,
<i>Sir Robert Stewart</i> of <i>Allan-</i>	<i>John Hume</i> of <i>Nine-wells</i> ,
<i>bank.</i>	<i>Sir Alexander Gilmore</i> of <i>Craig-</i>
<i>William M'Doual</i> of <i>Gartland</i> ,	<i>miller</i> ,
<i>Heron</i> of <i>Little-park</i> ,	<i>Sir Alexander Burnet</i> of <i>Craig-</i>
<i>David Erskine</i> of <i>Dun</i> ,	<i>myle</i> ,
<i>William Anstruther</i> younger of	<i>Leith</i> of <i>Whitechaugh</i> ,
that <i>Ilk</i> ,	<i>Elphingston</i> of <i>Glack</i> ,

<p><i>Gray of Chriche,</i> Mr. Robert Blackwood Merchant in <i>Edinburgh,</i> <i>George Ewing</i> Merchant there, <i>James Graham</i> late Baillie there, <i>Samuel McClellan</i> Merchant there, <i>George Mosman</i> Merchant there, <i>James Row</i> Merchant there, <i>John Martin</i> Clerk to the Manu- factory of <i>Paul's-work,</i> <i>George Hume</i> of <i>Wedderburn,</i> <i>Alexander Martin</i> of <i>Rosclaw,</i> <i>Scot of Logie,</i> <i>Robert Halyburton</i> in <i>Edinburgh,</i> <i>James Baillie</i> Merchant there, <i>Tho. Lawrie</i> Merchant there, <i>Archibald Johnston</i> Merchant there, <i>James Hamilton</i> Vintner there, <i>James Hamilton</i> younger Sta- tioner there,</p>	<p><i>Robert Currie</i> Stationer there, <i>Thomas Wyllie</i> Merchant there, <i>Thomas Young</i> Merchant there, <i>William Cockburn</i> Merchant there, <i>Walter Stewart</i> Merchant there, <i>William Lawrie</i> of <i>Blackwood</i> <i>John Armor</i> Merchant in <i>Glas-</i> <i>gow,</i> <i>William Boike</i> late Merchant there, <i>John Cumming</i> Merchant there, <i>Stewart of Torrens,</i> <i>Ninian Bannantine</i> of <i>Kaims</i> <i>William Somervel</i> Chamberlain of <i>Douglass,</i> <i>John Skeen</i> of <i>Hallyards</i> in <i>Fife,</i> <i>Rait</i> of <i>Hallgreen,</i> <i>Thomas Crawford</i> of <i>Crawfords-</i> <i>burn,</i> <i>Joseph Young</i> Merchant there.</p>
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A List of the Witnesses to be adduced against you.

<p>John Archbishop of <i>Glasgow,</i> <i>George</i> Viscount of <i>Tarbet,</i> <i>Lord Livingston,</i> <i>Colin</i> Earl of <i>Balcarras,</i> <i>Earl of Traquair,</i> General Major <i>Graham,</i> Sir <i>William Paterson,</i> Mr. Colin Mackenzie Clerk to the Council Sir <i>Tho. Moncrieff</i> of that <i>Ilk,</i></p>	<p>Mr. William Muir Clerk to the Session, Master of <i>Bulmerinoch,</i> <i>George Rae,</i> <i>David Gourlay,</i> <i>Hugh Ross,</i> <i>James Boyle</i> Prisoner in the <i>Ca-</i> <i>nongate Tolbooth.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>James Guthrie</i> Pursevant.</p>
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After he received his Indictment, by the Favour of the Keepers, his Mother got Access to him ; to whom,

he spoke many savoury Words ; which through the Disorder of her Spirit, that followed upon his Death, are lost. But, it is remembered how he, on the Sabbath, *February Fifth*, regreted, that now he must leave his poor Flock : But, he said, “ If it were in his “ Choice, he could not think on it without Terror, to “ enter again into, and venture upon that Conflict with “ a Body of Sin and Death : Yet, if he were again to “ go and preach in the Fields, he durst not vary in the “ least, nor flinch a Hair-breadth from his Testi- “ mony ; but would look on himself as obliged to use “ the same Freedom and Faithfulness as he had done “ before.” Another Time, his Mother asked him how he was ? He answered, “ Well : But now since my “ last Examination, I can hardly *pray* :” At which, she looking upon him, with an affrighted Countenance, he told her, “ He could hardly *pray*, being so much taken “ up with *praising*, and ravished with the Joy of the “ Lord.” When his Mother was expressing her Fears of Fainting, saying, How shall I look unto that *Head*, and these *Hands*, set up among the rest, upon the Ports of the City ? I have so much *Self*, that I shall never be able to look to such a Sight. He smiled, telling her, “ She should not see that ; For, *said he*, I “ have offered my Life to the Lord, and have sought “ that he will bind them up that they may do no more : “ And I am much perswaded that they shall not be per- “ mitted to torture my Body, nor touch one Hair of my “ Head further.”

Thus were his Fears removed in Prison, that he was troubled with at Liberty, when laying his Account with Suffering. He was always afraid of Torture ; and sometimes would have looked to his Hands, and said, How shall I endure to have these struck off, and my Legs tor-

tured in the *Boots*, and my Head taken from the Body? But, as then, he sought Submission, so now, he obtained Perswasion, these should not be his Trial; and through Grace was helped to say, *That the Terror of them was so removed, that he would rather choose to be cast in a Caldron of burning Oil, than do any Thing that might wrong Truth.*

Some other Friends at the same Time, for two Days were permitted to see him; whom he exhorted to make sure their Peace with God, and to study Stedfastness in his Ways. And when they were regretting their Loss of him, he said, “ They had more Need to bless
“ the Lord, that he should now be taken away from
“ these Reproaches, which had broken his Heart, which
“ could not be otherwise wiped off, even tho’ he should
“ get his Life, without yielding in the least.” He told them also, how, when he was first taken, and brought before the Council, he began to think to wave them, and not be positive in his Answers, and so vex them a while: At which Time, he was so filled with Darkness of Spirit, that he durst not continue in that Resolution; but found himself called to be plain and free, and to speak to every Man with the same Singleness and Sincerity, that he used to preach; with a Desire to do good to the Man’s Soul, be he who he would, that spoke to him. In which he found great Peace.

On *Wednesday, February 8th*, he appeared before the *Justiciary-Court*, where he openly and constantly adhered to all that he had said before, Denying that the present King could be acknowledged lawfully invested with Authority, according to the Word of God, or the Laws of the Land, and the Covenants, still indispensibly obliging these Nations: Denying also that it was lawful to pay *Cess*, in Obedience to the Acts, imposing it upon

such declared Ends ; and avouching the Duty, in the present Circumstances, of preaching in the Fields, and defending the Meeting by Arms : All which, he declared, with such an unapalled Countenance, and undaunted Confidence, that he seemed rather ambitious of, than fearing Death. The Lenity of the Justiciary also, was much admired, beyond their ordinary ; admitting him to say what he would, without Threatnings or Interruptions, even tho' he gave none of them the Title of *Lord*, but *Linlithgow*, as being Nobilitate by Birth. The Advocate, Sir *John Dalrymple*, he called only Sir *John*. It is a Loss that a more full Account of that Trial cannot be obtained * : But some rude Hints were collected, as follows.

After his *Indictment* was read over, the *Justice-Clerk* asked him, If he adhered to his former Confessions, and if he confessed all that was in the *Indictment* ? He answered, *All, but where it is said, I have cast off all Fear of God ; That I deny : For, it is, because I fear to offend God, and violate his Law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned.* The first Thing that he was interrogate upon, was, If he owned Authority ? and if he owned King *James the VII.* to be his lawful Sovereign ? he answered, “ I own all Authority that
 “ hath its Prescriptions and Limitations from the Word
 “ of God : But cannot own this Usurper as lawful
 “ King ; seeing, both by the Word of God, such an one
 “ is incapable to bear Rule : And likewise by the an-
 “ cient Laws of the Kingdom, which admit none to the
 “ Crown of *Scotland*, until he swear to defend the

* Mr. *Wodrow* had Occasion to get more by the Books of Council and Justiciary in his Hand.

“ Protestant Religion ; which a Man of his Profession
 “ cannot do.” They urged, Could he deny him to be
 King? Was he not the late King’s Brother? Had the
 late King any Children lawfully begotten? Was he not
 declared to be Successor by Act of Parliament? He an-
 swered, “ He is King *de facto*, but not *de jure* ; What
 “ Children the other had, he knew not ; That he was
 “ the other’s Brother he knew nothing to the contrary :
 “ But from the Word of God, that ought to be the Rule
 “ of all Laws ; or from the Ancient Laws of the King-
 “ dom, it could not be shewed, that he had or could
 “ have any Right.”

The next *Question* was, If he owned, and had taught
 it to be unlawful to pay *Cesses* and *Taxations* to his Ma-
 jesty? He answered, “ For the present *Cess*, exacted for
 “ the present Usurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both
 “ in regard it is oppressive to the Subjects, for the Main-
 “ tenance of Tyranny ; and because it is imposed for
 “ suppressing the Gospel. Would it have been thought
 “ lawful for the *Jews*, in the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar*,
 “ to have brought every one a Coal to augment the
 “ Flame of the Furnace, to devour the three Children,
 “ if so they had been required by that Tyrant: And
 “ how can it be lawful, either to oppress poor People,
 “ for not bowing to the Idols the King sets up ; Or, for
 “ their Brethren to contribute what may help forward
 “ their Oppression upon that Account.

Next, They moved the Question, If he owned, that
 he had taught his Hearers, to come armed to their Meet-
 ings ; and in Case of Opposition, to resist? He answer-
 ed, “ It were inconsistent with Reason and Religion
 “ both, to do otherwise ; your selves would do it in the
 “ like Circumstances : I own, that I taught them to
 “ carry Arms to defend themselves, and to resist your

“ unjust Violence.” Further, they asked, If he owned the Note-Book, with the two Sermons written therein, and that he had preached them? He answered, “ If you “ have added nothing, I will own it, and am ready to “ seal all the Truths contained therein, with my Blood.” *Finally*, All his Confessions being read over, and he required to subscribe them : After several Times refusing, he said with Protestation, “ I will subscribe the Paper “ as it is my Testimony ; But not in Obedience to “ you.”

When the Assizers were called in by Fives, and sworn, he objected nothing, but “ protested that none might sit “ on his Assize that professed Protestant or Presbyte- “ rian Principles ; Or, an Adherence to the Covenanted- “ Work of Reformation.” Then Sentence being given, that he should be execute in the *Grass-Market*, the *Friday* following, being the Eleventh Instant ; the *Justice-General, Linlithgow*, asked if he desired a longer Time? He answered, “ It was all one to him, if it were pro- “ tracted, it was welcome, if it were shortned it was “ welcome, his Master’s Time was the best.” So was returned to Prison.

It is to be remarked, many of the Assizers were Professors, and eminent in the tolerate Meetings ; of whom it might have been expected, at least, they should have declined sitting on his *Jury*, as well as some Malignants, who choosed rather to run the Hazard of the Penalty ; as the Laird of *Torrence*, who did not compear ; *William Somervel* Chamberlain in *Douglas*, who, tho’ at first he compeared, and answered to his Name, yet, when he saw Mr. *Renwick* turn about, and direct his Speech to the Assizers, he run away, not regarding his Two hundred Merks of Fine : But said, *He trembled to think, to take away the Life of sach a pious-like Man, tho’ they*

should take his whole Estate. Yet severals of those, that call themselves *Presbyterians*, did not scruple to sit there, nor to bring back their Verdict unanimous with the rest (and that more suddenly and hastily than was usual) that *he was guilty*. Whereby they cannot assoilie themselves of the Guilt of his Blood. Their infamous Names shall be hereby inserted.

The Names of the Assizers.

<i>James Hume of Kimmergem,</i>	<i>James Hamilton Vintner,</i>
<i>John Hume of Ninewells,</i>	<i>Wm. Cockburn Merchant,</i>
<i>John Martin Clerk to the Manu-</i>	<i>Ja. Hamilton younger Stationer,</i>
<i>factory,</i>	<i>Rob. Currie Stationer,</i>
<i>Alex. Martin sometime Clerk</i>	<i>Jos. Young Merchant,</i>
<i>of</i>	<i>John Cuninghame Merchant in</i>
<i>Robert Haliburton Merchant,</i>	<i>Glasgore,</i>
<i>Tho. Laurie Merchant,</i>	<i>Ninian Bannantine of Kains</i>
<i>Arch. Johnston Merchant,</i>	<i>Chancellor.</i>
<i>Tho. Wylie Merchant,</i>	

Thereafter, without his Knowledge, and against his Will, yea, after his open refusing to the Advocate to desire it, he was reprived until the 17th Day. Then began they that were watching for his Halting, to speak and forespeak what they would. *Now*, said they, *wait the Event, stay a little, he will quit this Strictness, as his Reader hath done before*; meaning a young Man, who, a little before, had complied for his Life; whom they in Scoff called his *Reader*. Yea, some said, *They should die for him, if he suffered at this Time*. Nay, *They would warrant, nothing should ail him: For, as he had a private Hand in seeking his Reprive; so it was not ordinary, that any that got a Reprive suffered at that Time*. But this was their Fiction, to maintain the Credit of their former Reproaches, which now are like to

be discovered as all false ; namely, That People now began to see, he could not be a *Papist*, because they were threatenng him with Death ; and that he was not so silly and empty as they called him : For, some of the Council declared, they had no such thoughts of him ; and reflected on them that would have made them believe it ; commending his Pertinency, and regretting only his Pertinacy, in adhering to his Perswasion. Therefore, thinking if he should suffer at the Time, he should both confirm the *wild Party*, and make them Liars, they encouraged themselves in those Fancies, that he had underhand obtained this Reprive, and would not die at this Time: Which indeed they did not desire, but would have been content, that he might have been incapacitate for preaching.

All this Time of his Reprive, tho' assaulted with the greatest Tentations, that ever a Prisoner in our Time had to conflict with ; yet he kept his Ground unshaken, both as to his State and Testimony ; and appeared, to the Conviction even of his Enemies, so ripe and ready for Heaven, that he despised Life, feared not Death, and had nothing in his Mind nor Mouth but begun Praises. At this Time his Usage was very unusual and unprecedented, That, after Sentence of Death, his Friends were secluded from all Access to him ; and none were admitted to visit him, but Papists and Malignants, and some of the Indulged ; of whose Conferences little Account can be given, except what they themselves or the Keepers discovered. But it is known, that some went in to him full of Rage, that returned confounded, and forced to acknowledge that God was with him. The *Prelates* come often to confer with him ; Bishop *Paterson* most frequently, and Doctor *Monro* and others, who vexed him with Debates, and Perswasions to seek another Re-

prive, which constantly he refused. Yea, the Bishop of his own Accord, without his knowledge or Consent, sought another Reprive for him: Who, *he said*, deserved more Favour than the rest of the Presbyterians; for they dissembled, and he was ingenuous, and spoke what he thought. But still he urged him to comply, pressing him with that impertinent Query, Thought he that there could none be saved, but those of his Principles? Would he kill himself with his own Sword, seeing he might have his Life on such easy Terms? He answered, Sir, I never said nor thought that none could be saved, except they were of those Principles: But these are Truths that I suffer for; which I have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long Time have been confirmed, that these are sufficient Heads to suffer for. The Bishop said, He was sorry to see him so tenacious, and that he would so cast away his own Life; but he wished him well, and took his Leave of him, and said, It had been a great Loss, that he had been of such Principles, for he was a pretty Lad. Again,

The Night before he suffered, he sent to him, to signify, That, if any Thing lay in his Power, what he desired, he would do for him. He answered, He thanked him for his Courtesy, but knew nothing that he could do, or that he might desire him to do for him. Professors reproached him for this, saying, He had sent for the Prelates. We see now, *said they*, what Man he is. When did ever Bishops, &c. go to see any in Prisons before? Thus, as he was vexed with those that did visit him; so he was abused by them that observed it, that did not know what past, who ceased never to say, even to the very setting up of the Gibbet, that nothing would ail him.

Among others, one *M^cNaught*, a Curate of

came to see him, having on his Canonical Gown, whom therefore at the first Sight he upbraided, saying, He did not love his Coat, it was a bad Badge. The Curate said, He would not debate, but wished him well ; And fell to discourse on the *Toleration*, enquiring what he thought of it, and of the Men that accepted of it ? He answered, He was against it, as being not conform to the Rule ; but as for the Men that embraced it, he judged them godly Men. The Curate, leaving him, commended him for Gravity and Ingenuity, that he did not dissemble with him at first, and that he spoke with such Reverence of the tolerate Ministers, so opposite to him.

Sir *John Dalrymple*, the King's Advocate, came also to visit him, with seeming Regret, and some Shew of Convictions, appearing in his troubled Countenance, for having such a Hand in his Death. He desired Mr. *James* to supplicate, and to own the King's Authority, and the like ; and then very patiently heard, without Interruption, what he said, in giving his Reasons, why he could not do it. Sir *John* told him, He was very sorry for his Death, and that it should fall out in his short Time, and especially for the Cause of it ; That because he was reported to have been a Jesuite, the Papists were so enraged that any of his Principles should be called one of them, that they reckoned it a Stain upon their Religion to suffer him to live ; and that he could not help it, but was sorry to hear what Professors said of him : And especially had observed, that their calling him a *Papist*, was a great Occasion of Taking away his Life. Yet, several *Popish Priests* came also to him ; and for that, he was reproached more and more, as one of their Sort : And some were not ashamed to say, even to the Day of his Death, There was no Fear of him, the *Papists* were his Friends. No further Account could be gotten of what passed betwixt

them, than he hath hinted in his *Letters to his Friends*, (now printed with his last *Testimony*) which he sent out under his own Hand, the Night before his Suffering: But that, when the *Priests* departed they were heard to say, He was very obstinate. And the Keepers of the Prison, hearing what past, said in general, He might look for Death, for he had used Freedom with the *Priests*; and particularly, they held up his Expression at parting with him, so that it became a Proverb in the Tolbooth at the Time, *Begone* (said they) *as Mr. Renwick said to the Priests*.

Some of the Gentlemen of the Guard came to see him, with a Resolution to abuse him, and trouble him with Questions about his Preaching and Followers, whom he put off with that, *Gentlemen, you do well to know that ye must stand before God, and to him give an Account of all the Deeds done in the Body. I will satisfy you no more at the Time. Gentlemen, the worst I wish you is, That you knew more of God.* Some of the indulged Ministers got Access likewise to converse with him; who, tho' they condemned his Judgment and Perswasion, yet commended his Composure of Spirit and Calmness; and confessed, they thought he was a godly Youth. Yet still such as never saw him, nor conversed with him, cried out against him as a Deceiver; and the Cry continued, that he had betrayed Mr. *Williamson*, until a Merchant in *Edinburgh*, of good Credit, getting Access, discoursed with him about it, discovered the Reproach, and perswaded all of the Falsity of it.

Nevertheless, the most part, even of Professors, were observed to have very little Sympathy with his Sufferings; but on the contrary, continued to reflect on him as a Fool, when they could not call him a Knave; both for the Matter of his Sufferings, and for the Manner of

his being taken ; alledging, they were not seeking him, nor would they have taken him, if he had not offered to resist the breaking up of a Trunk for uncustomed Goods ; so they misrepresented his shooting a Pistol for his own Defence, which was the only probable Mean that was left, of making his Escape ; and as it did no Hurt, so it opened a Door for his Escaping, as far as he could run. Yea, the Generality of Ministers were so far from stirring up the People to any Sympathy towards him, that they did much mar and obstruct it.

All the Time of his Imprisonment, few did pray for Prisoners at all ; except for Mr. *David Williamson*, whom some did particularly describe, as the Minister in Prison, who hoped to be shortly restored to his People again, lest they should have been thought to have prayed for Mr. *Renwick*. Mr. *John Veitch*, preaching to Mr. *Williamson's* Flock in the *West-kirk*, encouraged the People, that they had a gracious Prince and Rulers, that as soon as they got Time to consider, would restore their Minister. But never put them in mind of the innocent Blood that was shed, and to be shed ; and instead of provoking them to Concernedness with it, did seem to cast Dirt, not only upon his Blood, who was now to suffer, but upon much precious Blood that was shed before, for the Principles of defensive Arms, which he reflected upon, when in commending Suffering in general : He said, *This is not the Way to shoot Pistols* ; Insinuating, Mr. *Renwick* died as a Fool for shooting a Pistol. In Sum, all the Sympathy that was discovered among them, was expressed under the Notion of Pity towards a Man dying for Error ; as one wrote in a Letter sent in to him, to convince him of it, stuffed with such pitiful Arguments as did discover the Writer to have had more Prejudice than Charity, and yet more Kindness than Knowledge. But

this Sort of Insinuations was not so tempting, as those of another Dress : But none could move him.

Many *Petitions* were written from several Hands, in the most favourable Strain that could be invented, and sent him to subscribe ; but he refused all. Yea, it was offered to him, If he would but let a Drop of Ink fall upon a Bit of Paper, it should satisfy ; but he would not. He was, in the mean time, so closs kept, that none had Access to see him, except his Tempters, and sometimes his Mother or Sisters. His begun *Testimony*, which he was writing, was taken from him, and Pen, Ink and Paper removed : Yet, by secret Conveyance, he got a short Word sent out, the Night before his Suffering, which should be here transcribed from the authentick Copy. [But this being frequently printed, and especially in *The Cloud of Witnesses*, as his last *Speech* and *Testimony*, is omitted.]

The Cruelty of keeping him so closs, did both oblige him to abridge this Valedictory Line, and also deprive us of the Benefit of other Letters, that he desired to have written, and the Comfort of some of his edifying Discourses, which he had to such as got Access to him ; whereof only these Scraps could be gotten collected. The *Tuesday* before his Suffering, being the 14th Day of *February*, he was brought before the Council (about the Informatory Vindication.) What passed there cannot be learned, further than, that they stated, how great Kindness they had shewed him, in that they had given him a Reprive unsought, without his Supplication, a Thing never done before. Whereby, out of the Council's Mouth he was abundantly cleared of that Reproach, that he sought his Reprive himself.

From this last Appearance before them, he return'd with extraordinary Cheerfulness, rejoicing that he was

counted worthy to suffer Shame for the Name of his Master. At his Return, a Friend asked him how he was? He answered, Very well, and would be better within Three Days.

He told his Mother, that at the last Execution which he was Witness to, (which was *Robert Gray's*) he thought, and had a strong Impression of it, that he would be the next himself, that he should see executed: And therefore, from that Time, durst never appear, even tho' he was not known at an Execution, until he was brought to it himself. He often said, " I see the
" Necessity of my Suffering at this Time, in the holy
" and well ordered Providence of God; as for other
" Ends, so to prevent and confute the Reproach of many,
" who might have said, All my Work was but a Draught
" of Men's Policy; now, I am perswaded, that my Death
" will do more good, than my Life for many Years could
" have done."

He was much in observing, and spake much to the Praise of the Lord's Goodness, even as to the making of the manner of his Death so easy; shewing how, as soon as he entred into Prison, he had prayed for this, and now he had got his Request: For they were neither permitted to torture him alive, which he feared much; nor did divide his Body when dead. Being asked, what he thought the Lord would do with the Remnant left behind him? He answered, It would be well with them; for, God had said, *He would not forsake, nor cast off his Inheritance.*

That Day on which he suffered, being *February* seventeenth, The Chief-keeper of the Prison called the Goodman of the *Tolbooth*, went up to his Chamber, and desired of him, that at the Place of his Execution, he would not mention the Cause of his Death; nor ex-

press what might be irritating, and to forbear all Reflections, &c. He answered, What God would give him to speak, that he would speak, and nothing else, and nothing less. The *Goodman* further told him, He might have his life yet, if he would but sign that Petition, which he offered to him. He answered, that he never read in Scripture or History, where Martyrs petitioned for their Lives, when called to suffer for Truth; tho' they might require them not to take their Life, and remonstrate the Wickedness of murdering them. But in the present Circumstances he judged it would be found a receding from Principles of Truth, and a declining from a Testimony for Christ. To which, the *Goodman* replied, That many Martyrs would have thought it a great Privilege, to have the Offers he had. He declined further Discourse with him; but asked for Liberty to his Mother and Sisters to stay with him a little Time. The *Goodman* objected, that he might give them Papers to carry out. He said, then he might search and see.

Leave being given, they went to Meat; in giving Thanks, he said, "O Lord, now thou hast brought me within two Hours of Eternity, and this is no matter of Terror to me, more than if I were to go to ly down in a Bed of Roses; nay, through Grace, to thy Praise, I may say, I had never the fear of Death since I came within this Prison; But, from the Place I was taken in, I could have gone very composedly to the Scaffold."

He said, also, "O how can I contain the Thoughts of this, to be within two Hours of the Crown of Glory! He exhorted them much to prepare for Death; for it is, in it self, said he, the King of Terrors, tho' not to me now, as sometimes it was, when I was in

“ my Hidings : But now, let us rejoice and be glad,
 “ for the Marriage of the Lamb is come, and his Wife
 “ hath made her self ready : Would ever I have thought,
 “ that the Fear of Suffering and Death, could be so
 “ taken away from me ! But what shall I say of it ? *It*
 “ *is the Doing of the Lord, and marvelous in our*
 “ *Eyes.*”

He said also, “ I have many Times counted the Cost
 “ of following Christ, but never expected it would have
 “ been so easy. And now, who knows the Honour and
 “ Happiness of that, *He that confesseth me before Men,*
 “ *him will I confess before the Father ?* He said many
 “ Times, Now, I am near the End of Time ; I desire
 “ to bless the Lord, it is inexpressibly sweet and satis-
 “ fying Peace to me, that he hath kepted me from com-
 “ plying in the least with Enemies.”

Perceiving his Mother weep, “ He exhorted her to
 “ remember, That *they who loved any Thing better than*
 “ *Christ, were not worthy of him.* If you love me, said
 “ he, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain
 “ the Enjoyment of what *Eye hath not seen, Ear hath*
 “ *not heard, nor hath it entred into the Heart of Man*
 “ *to conceive.*”

Again, he went to Prayer, wherein he run much out
 in Praises, That now he should win above all Conflicts
 with Sin and Sorrow, and there should be no more
 Quarrel, nor Distance from God ; And that his Blood
 should cry, when he were gone. He pleaded much in
 Behalf of the suffering Remnant, That the Lord would
 raise up Witnesses, that might convey down the Testi-
 mony to succeeding Generations ; And that the Lord
 would not leave *Scotland* ; Asserting with great Confi-
 dence of Hope, that he was strengthened in the Faith of
 it, That the Lord would be gracious unto it.

At length, hearing the Drum beat, for the Guard to take him out, he exceedingly rejoiced, and cried out as in a Transport, Yonder, the welcome Warning to my Marriage ; the Bridegroom is coming, I am ready, I am ready. Then taking his Leave of his Mother and Sisters, entreated them not to be discouraged ; For, ere all were done, they should see Matter of Praise in that Day's Mercy.

After the usual Manner, he was taken to the *Town-Council* ; where, after reading his Sentence, they desired, that what he had to say, he would say it there. He answered, “ I have nothing to say to you, but that “ which is in *Jeremy xxvi. 14, 15. As for me, behold, I “ am in your Hand, do with me as seemeth good and “ meet unto you : But know ye for certain, that if ye put “ me to Death, ye shall surely bring innocent Blood upon “ your selves, and upon this City, and upon the Inha- “ bitants thereof.”*

They told him, he would not get Leave to be heard upon the Scaffold, for ruffling of Drums, and therefore desired him to pray there. He refused to pray there ; and asked them, if they would ruffle the Drums at any other Time, but when they thought he spake Reflections ? They answered, They would do it all the Time, and urged still that he might pray, and requested a Friend, that was suffered to attend him, to desire him to pray : But still he refused. Then they desired him to forbear Reflections. He answered, “ I will not be “ limited by you what to speak ; I have not premeditate “ any Thing, but what the Lord gives me, that I will “ speak.”

They also asked him, whom he would have to wait on him ; Or, if he knew Mr. *Hardie*, or any other of the Ministers, he might have them to attend him ? He an-

swered, If I would have had any of them for my Counsellors or Comforters, I should not have been here this Day : I require none with me but this one Man, meaning the Friend that was with him.

He went thence to the Scaffold very cheerfully, as one in a Transport of triumphant Joy ; and had the greatest Crowd of Spectators, that readily was seen at an Execution : But little was heard by any, by Reason the Drums beat all the Time, from his first ascending the Scaffold, till he was cast over, without Intermission. Yet there was a Friend admitted to attend him, whose Gleanings, together with what some others gathered, of Words, here and there, shall here be related.

When he first went up to the Scaffold, some forbade him to speak any Thing, for the People could not hear ; which he took not Notice of. There was a *Curate*, standing at the Side of the Scaffold, who tempted him, saying, *Mr. Renwick* own our King, and we shall pray for you. He answered, I will have none of your Prayers. “ I am come here, to bear my Testimony “ against you, and all such as you are.” The *Curate* said, “ Own our King and pray for him, whatever you “ say against us.” To which he replied, “ I will dis- “ course no more with you. I am within a little to “ appear before him who is, *King of Kings and Lord of “ Lords*, who shall pour Shame, Contempt and Confusion “ upon all the Kings of the Earth, that have not ruled “ for him.”

Then he sang the 103 *Psalm* from the Beginning, and read *Revelation* 19. Chap. Then he prayed, recommending his Soul unto the Lord, through the Redeemer ; and his Cause to be vindicated in his own

Time: “ And appealing to the Lord, if this was not
 “ the joyfulest Day, that ever he saw in the World, a
 “ Day that he had much longed for : He insisted much
 “ in blessing the Lord, that he had honoured him with
 “ the Crown of Martyrdom ; A Honour that Angels are
 “ not privileged with ; being incapable of laying down
 “ their Lives for his princely Master.

“ He complained, that then he was hindred to wor-
 “ ship the Lord : But (said he) by and by, I shall be
 “ above these Clouds, then I shall enjoy Thee, and glo-
 “ rify Thee without Interruption or Intermission for
 “ ever.” Prayer being ended, he spoke to the People,
 much to the Purpose of his written Testimony, where-
 of somewhat was remembered to this Effect.

Spectators, or if there be any of you Auditors, I
 must tell you, I am come here this Day to lay down my
 Life, for adhering to the Truths of Christ ; for which,
 I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer ; Nay, I bless
 the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled
 me to suffer any Thing for him : And I desire to praise
 his Grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the
 gross Pollutions of the Time ; But also, from the many
 ordinary Pollutions of Children : And for such as I have
 been stained with, he hath washed and cleansed me from
 them in his own Blood

I am this Day, to lay down my Life for these three
 Things. (1.) For disowning the Usurpation and Ty-
 ranny of *James Duke of York*. (2.) For preaching that
 it was unlawful to pay the *Cess*, expressly exacted for
 the bearing down of the Gospel. (3.) For teaching
 that it was lawful for People to carry Arms, for de-
 fending themselves, in their Meetings for the perse-
 cuted Gospel-Ordinances. I think, a Testimony for

these, is worth many Lives ; and if I had Ten thousand, I would think it little enough, to lay them all down for the same.

Dear Friends, Spectators, if any of you be Auditors, I must tell you, I die a *Presbyterian Protestant* ; I own the Word of God, as the Rule of Faith and Manners ; I own the *Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Publick and Family-Worship, Covenants National and Solemn-League, Acts of General-Assemblies*, and all the faithful Contendings, that have been for the *Covenanted Reformation*.

I leave my Testimony approving the preaching in the Fields, and the defending the same by Arms. I adjoin my Testimony to all these Truths that have been sealed by Bloodshed, either on Scaffolds, Fields or Seas, for the Cause of Christ.

I leave my *Testimony* against *Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism*, &c. Against all Profanity, and every Thing contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness : Particularly against all Usurpations and Encroachments made upon Christ's Rights, the Prince of the Kings of the Earth, who alone must bear the Glory of ruling his own Kingdom, the Church. And in Particular, against this *Absolute Power*, usurped by this *Usurper* that belongs to no *Mortal*, but is the incommunicable Prerogative of JEHOVAH. And against this *Toleration*, flowing from this absolute Power————.

He was then bidden have done. He answered, I have near done ; Then, he said, Ye that are the People of God, do not weary to maintain the *Testimony* of the Day in your Stations and Places ; and whatever ye do, make sure an Interest in Christ ; For, there is a Storm

coming, that shall try your Foundation. *Scotland* must be rid of *Scotland* before the Delivery come.

And you that are Strangers to God, break off your Sins by Repentance, else I will be a sad Witness against you in the Day of the Lord.

Then they caused him to desist, and go up the Ladder; where, in Prayer, he said, Lord, I die in the Faith that thou wilt not leave *Scotland*, but that thou wilt make the Blood of thy Witnesses the Seed of thy Church; and return again, and be glorious in our Land. And now, Lord, I am ready, *the Bride the Lamb's Wife hath made her self ready.*

The Napkin then being tied about his Face, he said to his Friend attending him, Farewel, be diligent in Duty, make your Peace with God through Christ; there is a great Trial coming. As to the Remnant I leave, I have committed them to God; tell them from me not to weary, nor be discouraged in maintaining the Testimony: Let them not quit or forego one of these despised Truths. Keep your Ground, and the Lord will provide you Teachers and Ministers. And when he comes, he will make these despised Truths glorious upon *the Earth.*

Then he was turned over the Ladder, with these Words in his Mouth, *Lord, into thy Hands I commit my Spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of Truth.*

THUS DIED Mr. JAMES RENWICK, on the third Day over the Twenty sixth Year of his Age, a young Man, and young Minister; but a ripe *Christian and renowned Martyr of Christ*, for whose *Sake, he loved not his Life dear unto the Death*; by whose Blood, and the Word of his Testimony, he overcame;

and thus got above all Snares and Sorrows ; and to the Conviction of many that formerly reproached him, was as signally vindicated of, as he was in his Life shamefully reproached with, all the Aspersions, Obloquies and Calumnies, that were cast upon him, for prosecuting that Testimony for Truth, which now he sealed with his Blood, in such a Treasure of Patience, Meekness, Humility, Constancy, Courage, burning Love and blazing Zeal, as did very much confound Enemies, convinced Neutrals, confirmed Halters, comforted Friends, and astonished all. Whereby, in a great Measure, this Advantage was gained (a great, but a dear bought Advantage to us) that instead of a reproached Minister, we got a vindicated Martyr : And hereby, for a Time, many Mouths were stopped.

Most part of Men spoke well of him after he was dead : Yea, even his Murderers, as well as others, said, *They thought he went to Heaven.* Malignants generally said, He died a Presbyterian. The Viscount of *Tarbet*, one of the Counsellors, said one Day, in some Company, discoursing of him, That he was one of the stiffest Maintainers of his Principles, that ever came before them ; others, said he, we used always to cause, at one Time or other, waver or wave, but him, we could never move ; where we left him, there we found him ; we could never make him yield, or vary in the least. He was the Man, we have seen, most plainly and pertinaciously adhering to the old Way of Presbyterian Government : Who, if he had lived in *Knox's* Days, would not have died, by any Laws that were then.

The Ministers generally said, That tho' he might die in Christ, yet he died not for him, nor as a Presbyterian ; and they were sorry, he laid down his Life

upon such simple Heads: Especially they shewed their Dissatisfaction, when they saw his Testimony; wherein he warns the People to beware of the Ministers, that preach under the Toleration: For, *that the Sun had gone down upon them.* Some said, It was not his Testimony, but written by others; whereas, the Principal is yet to be seen under his own Hand, by any who so lists. Others said, It was like a sweet Cup with a Drop of Poison in it; so they called that *Sentence* that relishes bitter with them.

Others began to find their old Tongues again, and said, They found nothing in his Testimony, but Pride, vain Glory, Ostentation and Emptiness. But if Prejudice had not blinded their Eyes, they might have found somewhat else. Howbeit, this Advantage is gained by his Death, that what Ministers had preached, and others had informed against him, did so, by his Sufferings, appear to be false, that many of them have lost their Credit, with the greatest part of Country-People, as to what they can speak of Ministers in his Circumstances any more: And many have been made to regret, how far they were mistaken about him, and put upon a more impartial inquiry into his Principles, through the Country, even to the remotest Corners thereof. A Gentleman living as remote as *Kintyre*, reported, that he had been in the *Lowlands*, and found, that Mr. *Renwick's* Death, Testimony and Sufferings, had gained more to his Party, than ever his Preaching had done, in City and Country through *Scotland* and *Ireland*; conform to what himself said in Hopes of it, before his Death.

Yet, as some could not refrain belching out their Venom against the Cause he died for; alledging in their Discourses, and some asserting in their Preachings, that

he died in Errors, and for Errors, tho' they would not meddle with his eternal State : So, some were found so petulently presumptuous, so impudently impertinent, and so vilely virulent in their Barkings against him, (now above their Bitings) that they past a Judgment on that also, and shewed their Good-will and Charity, at least, to adjudge him to the infernal Pit of eternal Torments : Whether also his Followers were running and posting ; as one *Livingston* said in *Ireland*. And that same Day he suffered, one Mr. *Hugh Clanny*, a Minister of the same Spirit, and of that same Nest with the former, in Discourse about him, is affirmed by Witnesses, to have said, *Mr. Renwick suffers to Day, he will have hot Hurdies in Hell by this Time*. A profane and most presumptuous Expression, for which, I wish the Speaker may get Repentance.

But, because not only Papists, and Malignants, and Presbyterians also, all with one Voice, and from the same Arguments, do condemn the Heads of his Sufferings, as Errors, new Fancies, &c. contrary to Scripture and Reason : But also, many of the more tender do condemn them as Heads, that Sufferings should not be stated upon ; some ignorantly supposing, that some acknowledged Truths must not be suffered for, as being not of that Weight and Worth to bear them, putting thereby a very low Price upon some Truths ; as indeed, it must be a low Price, if Truth may be sold or foregone at any Price. I shall therefore subjoin some Considerations, by Way of Vindication of them, so compendiously as is possible, to make it appear, they are founded upon both Scripture and Reason, and consonant unto old approved Principles and Precedents in this Church of *Scotland* ; referring for a more full Discussion of, or Disquisition into these Points, to a late Treatise, Intituled, *A Hind*

let loose. In which, *Part 3d, Head 2d, 4th, 5th, and 7th.* these Points are *ex proposito*, at large cleared and vindicated.

In the General, If these Things be Truths, then they will bear the Weight of Sufferings. This used not to be doubted in former Times: Famous Mr. *Durham* on *Revelation, Chap. 6th, Verse 9. Lect. 6. Page 363*, says, *Obs. 8.* “ That every Truth of the Word may be a
 “ Ground of suffering warrantably ; for, the least Thing
 “ that hath a Truth in it, as well as the more concern-
 “ ing fundamental Truths, is the Word of God, and so
 “ cannot be dispensed with by his People. *Obs. 9.* Every
 “ Truth in the Word, hath an outward Testimony join-
 “ ed to it, and sometimes may be called for, upon very
 “ great Hazards. *Obs. 10.* When it is called for, this
 “ Testimony or Confession to any Truth before Men, is
 “ no less necessary, and ought as peremptorily to be held,
 “ and stuck to, as the former: Therefore, it is called,
 “ *Rom. x. 9. Confession unto Salvation*; and called for
 “ by a peremptory Certification, *Matth. x. 32, 33. Obs.*
 “ *11.* That these, who are sound in the Faith of the
 “ word, will be also exceeding tenacious of their Tes-
 “ timony. In Scripture, and in primitive Times, we will
 “ find the Saints sticking at and hazarding themselves on
 “ Things, which appear of very small Moment, yet
 “ were to them of great Concernment, because of the
 “ Testimony which was involved in them, which they
 “ would not let go. Such was *Mordecai, Daniel,*” &c.
 This same Author, in his lately printed Sermons on
Matth. xvi. 24. Sermon 7. Page 155. saith “ There is
 “ not in some Respect a More and a Less in a Matter of
 “ Duty, and in the Matter of Truth in respect of Suf-
 “ fering. And a little after § 5. he saith, It may be
 “ sometimes for Things indifferent in their own Nature,”

§c. Let us see then, whether these controverted Heads be Truths or not.

The First will be reduced to this, Whether the pretended Authority of an Usurper, or Tyrant (as this *James VII.* is, in the Conviction of all that know what Government is, and will be granted by many that are willing to be stupidly subject to his Domination) may be disowned by the People; and when imposed upon to acknowledge Allegiance to it, they may rather choose to suffer, than to own it. The Affirmative I shall confirm by several Considerations.

1. Albeit the Question, as stated by the present persecuting Powers, to Prisoners brought before them, is in many Respects unprecedented; It used not to be imposed upon private Subjects, to give an Account of their Conscience of the Government they lived under: Men really invested with Authority, judged always their Laws, and Power to execute them on Offenders, might well enough secure their Subjection; and thought it always a Disparagement of their Authority, and disdained such a Suspicion of the questionableness of it, as to make it a Question to the Subjects, whether they owned it or not. In Mr. *Knox's* Days, who wrote against the Government of Women, when Queen *Mary* tempted him with such a Question, *Think you that I have no just authority?* He was allowed to shift it, by telling her, that learned Men in all Ages, have had their Judgment free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common Judgment of the World, &c. Yet we will find, disowning, or not owning of Tyrants or Usurpers, is not so uncouth in *Scotland*, as that it wants approved, equivalent Precedents. It is known in the *Scots Chronicles*, That until the Days of *Kenneth the Third*, for about a thousand and twenty five Years, the People had

in their Choice whom to own or admit to succeed in the Government, even tho' the Kingdom was Hereditary : And used to elect not such who were nearest in Blood and Line, but these who were judged most fit for Government, being of the Progeny of *Fergus*. All which Time, if any did usurp, or after Admission, did degenerate into Tyranny, they took such order with him, as if he had not been admitted at all ; so that it were hard to reckon the numerous Instances of Kings that were dethroned, or imprisoned, or slain, upon no other Account, than that of their Oppression and Tyranny ; such as *Nathalacus*, the 30th King ; *Ramachus*, the 36 King ; *Ferchardus* I. the 52 King ; *Eugenius* VIII. the 62 King ; *Donaldus Ethus*, surnam'd *Alipes*, the 72 King ; *James* 3. &c. It's true, I am not pleading for deposing Kings, but surely, we have as great Ground to reject and disown ours, as they had to depose their Tyrannizing Princes. It is less to disown than to depose ; tho' it should be granted, they did not disown them before they were deposed ; yet it cannot be said, they disowned them only because they were deposed ; Deposition does not make a Tyrant, it only declares that he was one. A Robber may be disowned to be an honest Man, when known to be a Robber, before he be sentenced to be hanged ; so may a Tyrant or Usurper, before he be exauctorate.

But we have Examples of disowning Kings undeposed, as King *Baliol*, &c. However, that we may see what Things our Fathers judged did dissolve the Relation between People and their Rulers, let us look to the Grounds of *Mary* Queen Dowager's Deposition, *Anno* 1559, which were these expressly, “ Because of her persecuting the Professors of the true Religion, and oppressing the Liberties of the true Lieges, never being

“ called, nor convicted of any Crime: Because of her
 “ Intrusion of Magistrates against all Order of Elec-
 “ tion; Because of her bringing in Strangers to sup-
 “ press the Liberties of the Country, and placing them
 “ in greatest Offices of Credit; Because of her altering
 “ and subverting the old Laws of the Realm,” &c. So
Mary the Daughter also, was deposed and imprisoned
 upon Grounds that will, *a fortiori*, justify their Reasons
 that have renounced the present Tyranny. This is fully
 vindicated by the Earl of *Morton*, in his Discourse to
 the Queen of *England*, as *Buchanan* relates it, Lib. 20.
 Pag. 746. whereof I shall only insert these memorable
 Words, *What would our Adversaries be at? Is it that*
we should arm with Authority Tyrants, convicted of
grievous Crimes, maintained by the Spoils of the Sub-
jects, having Hands embrewed in Royal Blood, and
Hearts gaping for the Oppression of all good Men?
And shall we put them upon our Head, who are in-
famously suspected of Paricide, both projected and per-
petrated? Which, how applicable it is to *James VII.*
 about owning of whose Authority the Question is, let
 them that know best, the Circumstances of the late
 King's Death, judge and declare—

2. To own such a Dominator, were a condemning of
 all these laudable Precedents, passing many others not
 mentioned, both in this and other Kingdoms: So, to
 own the Authority of such an Usurper, and a Papist, an
 excommunicate and apostate Papist,* a fiery Bigot in

* From hence to the Middle of *Ans.* 1. to 2d *Obj.* Half a Sheet
 of the original Manuscript was wanting, which the Reader may
 find here some way supplied out of the *Hind let loose*, above referred
 to, and written by the same Author, all in his own Words, a little
 contracted.

the *Romish* Religion, and zealous sworn Votary and Vassal of Antichrist: Who, as the Letter of the *Jesuite* from *Liege* tells us in Print, is resolved *either to convert England to Popery, or die a Martyr*; and stiles himself *a Son of the Society of Jesuites, and will account every Injury done to them, to be a Wrong done against himself*: Being known to be under the Conduct and Guidance of that furious Order, yea, and inrolled as a Member of that Society. Which makes it the less to be wondred, that he should require *absolute Obedience without Reserve*, seeing he himself yields absolute Obedience, as well as *implicite Faith*, without Reserve, to the *Jesuites*. He is then a Servant of *Antichrist*, and, as such, under the Mediator's Malediction; yea, in this Respect, is Heir to his Grandfather's Imprecation, who *wished the Curse of God to fall upon such of his Posterity, as should at any Time turn Papists*. How then can the Followers of the Lamb strike Hands, be at Peace, associate, confederate, or bargain with such a declared Enemy to Christ? Certainly the Scripture-commands of making no Covenant or League, interdicting Entering into any Affinity with the People of these Abominations, and forbidding saying a *Confederacy* with them, do lay awful Bonds on the Faithful to stand aloof from such.—Therefore to own such an One, were contrary to the Scriptures, contrary to the Covenants, and contrary to the Principles of the Church of *Scotland*, against Associations and Confederacies with such Enemies.

3. Considering him as a Magistrate, it were contrary to their *Testimony*, so often renewed and ratified, and confirmed with so many Reasons, and sealed by so much Blood, Bonds, Banishment, and other Sufferings, to own or acknowledge his Authority, which is mere

Usurpation and Tyranny; in that by the Laws of the Land he is incapable of Government, and that he hath neither given, nor can give, without an hypocritical and damning Cheat, the Oath and Security, indispensibly required of him, before and at his Entry to the Government.

4. All Authority to be owned of Men, must be *of God*, and *ordained of God*: For so the Apostle teacheth, *Rom. xiii. 1*, &c. which is the alone formal Reason of our Subjection to them, and that which makes it a damnable Sin to resist them; because it is a resisting the *Ordinance of God*.—Hence, Those Rulers, that are not of God, nor ordained of God, cannot be owned without Sin: But *Tyrants and Usurpers* are the Rulers, that are not of God, nor ordained of God, but are *set up and not by Him*, &c. *Hos. viii. 1—4*. Therefore they cannot be owned without Sin.—*Lex Rex* says well, *A Power Ethical, Politick, or Moral, to oppress, is not from God, and is not a Power, but a licentious Deviation of a Power, and no more from God, but from sinful Nature and the old Serpent, than a Licence to sin*, *Quest. 9. p. 59*. Hence Sin, a Licence to sin, a licentious Sinning, cannot be from God: But Tyranny, Usurpation, absolute Power, encroaching upon all Liberties, Laws, Divine and Humane, is Sin, a Licence to sin, a licentious Sinning. *Ergo*—Those that are not ordained of God's preceptive Will, but merely by his providential Will, their Authority is not to be owned: But Tyrants and Usurpers are not ordained of God's preceptive, but merely by his providential Will.—

5. There are two Things in the Ordination of that Authority, which is to be owned, as of God, *viz. Institution and Constitution*: So as to give him, whom we

must own as God's Minister, Authority both in the *Abstract* and *Concrete*, i. e. That he should have Magistracy by God's Ordination, and be a Magistrate by and according to the Will of God. All acknowledge that Magistracy hath God's *Institution*; for the Powers that be, are *ordained of God*: Which contains not only the Appointment of it, but the Qualifications and Form of it.—But there is no Institution for Tyranny. Hence, That Power, that hath no Institution from God, cannot be owned as his Ordinance: But the Power of Tyrants is that Power, being contrary in every Respect to God's Institution, and a mere Deviation from it, and Eversion of it. *Ergo*—If it be replied, Tho' the Power which *Tyrants* may exerce, and *Usurpers* assume, may in the *Concrete* be contrary to God's Institution, and so not to be owned: Yet, in the *Abstract*, it may be acknowledged of God. 'Tis but the *Abuse* of the Power, and that does not take away the *Use*. *Ans.* 1. The Distinction, as to Magistrates, is very pertinent: For, it is well said by the *Congregation*, in a Letter to the Nobility, *Knox's Hist. Lib. 2. That there is a great Difference betwixt the Authority, which is God's Ordinance, and the Persons of these, who are placed in Authority: The Authority and Ordinance of God can never do wrong; for it commands that Vice be punished, and Virtue maintained: But the corrupt Person placed in Authority may offend.*—Magistrates in some Acts may be guilty of Tyranny, and yet retain the Power of Magistracy: But Tyrants cannot be capable of Magistracy, nor any one of the Scripture-characters of righteous Rulers; they cannot retain that which they have forfeited, and which they have overturned: And Usurpers cannot retain that which they never had.—2. The *Concrete* doth specify the *Abstract* in

actuating it ; as, a Magistrate, in his exercising Government, makes his Power to be Magistracy ; a Robber, in his Robbing, makes his Power to be Robbery ; an Usurper, in his Usurping, makes his Power to be Usurpation ; so a Tyrant, in his Tyrannizing, can have no Power but Tyranny.—3. They that object thus, must either mean, that *Power* in its general Notion is ordained of God, but this particular Power, abused by Tyrants, and assumed by Usurpers, is not ordained : Or, that the very Power of Tyrants and Usurpers is ordained of God, but the Way of holding and using, it is not of God. If the *First*, they grant all I plead for : If the *Second*, 'tis Nonsense ; for, how can a Power be ordained, and the Use of it be unlawful ? For the Abuse and Use of tyrannical Power is all one and reciprocal : An Usurper cannot use his Power but by Usurpation.

6. As that Authority, which is God's Ordinance, must have His *Institution* ; so it must have His Divine *Constitution* from Himself and by the People. Wherever there is Authority to be owned of Men, there must be these two, Constitution from God, and Constitution from the People. For the *First*, God hath a special Interest in the Constitution of Authority, both immediately and mediately. *Immediately*,—He confers Royal Graces, and Endowments, and Gifts for Government on them ; as on *Joshua* and *Saul* :—But in regard how he doth not by any special Revelation determine, who shall be the Governors in this or that Place ; therefore He makes this Constitution *mediately*, by Mediation of Men, giving them Rules, how they shall proceed in setting them up.—When Men therefore do act according to the Divine Rule, in the moulding and erecting of

Government and Governors, there the Constitution is of God, tho' it be not immediate—Whatsoever Power hath no constitution from God, either immediate or mediate, cannot be owned : But the Authority of Tyrants and Usurpers, is a Power that hath no Constitution from God, either immediate or mediate : *Ergo*, it cannot be owned.

7. It is clear also in the *Second Place*, that the Authority, which we can own out of Conscience, must have *Constitution* by the People.—Two Things are essentially necessary to the Constitution of a Magistrate ; the Peoples *Consent* and *Compact*, either formal, or virtual. And without these we can own conscientious Subjection and Allegiance to no Man living. That the first is necessary, will be evident from the Law of Nature and Nations, and from Scripture.—The Scripture affords Light herein, 1. In giving Directions and Rules about orderly calling their Governors ; empowering them to take wise Men, and understanding, and known among their Tribes, to be *made Rulers*, Deut. i. 13. to make Judges and Officers in all their Gates, Deut. xvi. 18. to *Set* one among their Brethren King over them, and not a *Stranger*, Deut. xvii. 15.—To what purpose are these Rules given them, if they had no Interest to choose their Magistrates?—If the *Consent* and Choice of the People be so essentially necessary to the making of Kings ; then they who set up themselves against the Consent of the Body of the Land, and without the Choice of any, must be Usurpers, not to be acknowledged for lawful Kings : But the former is true. *Ergo*—Now plain it is, that this *Duke* set up himself against the Consent of the Body, being excluded from the Government by the Representatives of *England*, and

generally hated of all ; who disdaining to wait on the formal Choice of any, did usurp the *Title* without all Law.

8. The 2d. Thing necessary, for the legal Constitution of a King by the People, is their *Compact* with him : Which must either be express or tacite, explicite or implicite. Two Things are here to be proven, that will furnish an Argument for disowning both the Brothers. 1. That there must be a *conditional* reciprocally obliging *Covenant* between Sovereign and Subjects, without which, there is no such Relation to be owned. 2. That when this *Compact* is broken in all, or its chief Conditions by the Sovereign, the Peoples Obligation ceases. The *First* I set down in the Words of *Buchanan, de Jure Regni, Mutua igitur Regi cum Civibus est Pactio, &c.* There is then (or there ought to be) a mutual Compact between the King and his Subjects, &c. That this is indispensibly necessary and essential to make up the Relation of Sovereign and Subjects, may be proved both from the Light of Nature and Scripture, 1. In the very Directions about making and setting up of Kings, the LORD shews what Conditions shall be required of them, *Deut. xvii. 15, &c.* the Qualifications they should have are rehearsed, as *Rom. xiii. 3, 4.* Therefore none are to be set up, but on these Conditions, and none are to be obeyed, but such as have these Qualifications. 2. In his Promises of the Succession of Kings, he secures their Continuation only *conditionally*, to establish the Kingdom, *if* they be constant to *do his Commandments*, 1 *Chron. xxviii. 7.* 2 *Chron. vi. 16.* 3. We have many express *Covenants* between *Rulers* and *Subjects* in *Scripture.* *Jephthah* was made the Head of the *Gileadites* by an explicite mutual *Stipulation*, *Judg. xi. 6.—11.* *David* made a

League in *Hebron*, before the LORD, 2 *Sam.* v. 3. 1 *Chron.* xi. 3. he was no King before this Covenant. —When *Joash* was crowned, *Jehoiada* made a Covenant between the LORD and the King, and the People, that they should be the LORD's People, between the King also and the People, 2 *Kings* xi. 17. 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 11, 16. —From all which I argue, If there must of Necessity be a Compact between the King and the People, when he is advanced to the Government; then he that advances himself, without and against this Compact, is an *Usurper* not to be owned: But the Former is true: *Ergo*, he that advances himself without and against this Compact, is an *Usurper* and not to be owned. And who more notoriously deserving such a Signature, than *James* the *Seventh*, who hath made Horns of his own Strength, or the *Pope's Bulls*, to push his Brother out, and himself into the Throne, upon no Terms at all, or any Security for Religion and Liberty.

Obj. Can the Customs of the *Jews* be binding to all Nations? The Kings of *Judah* made such Covenants, shall therefore all Kings do so? *Ans.* Why not this Custom as well as Crowning, which they used likewise? These *Rules* are not *Typical* or *Ceremonial*,—but are *Matters of moral Equity*, bearing a standing *Reason*, founded upon that Law, *Deut.* xvii. 15, &c. limiting the Prince to stand to *Conditions*. If we cast at divine Laws for Rules of Government, where will we find better Laws? —————

The 2d. Thing to be proved, is that Assertion of *Buchanan*, *de Jure Regni.* *Qui prior a Conventis recedit*, &c. “ There being a Paction between the King
“ and Subjects, he who first recedes from what is cove-
“ nanted, and doth counteract what he hath covenant-

“ ed, he looses the Contract ; and the Bond being
 “ loosed, which did hold fast the King with the People,
 “ whatever Right did belong to him by Vertue of that
 “ Compact, he loses it, and the People are free as
 “ before the Stipulation.” Which is also asserted,
Jus Populi, Ch. 6. P. 112. This is so clear, that it
 needs no Labour to prove it, That upon this Head
 we were loosed from all Allegiance to the *former Ty-*
rant, who was admitted upon Terms of an explicite
 Covenant, the Conditions whereof he did as explicite-
 ly break.

There are two Cases, wherein Subjects are loosed
 from covenanted Allegiance to their Princes. 1. When
 the Prince remits the Obligation of the Subjects, and
 refuses Allegiance upon that *Basis* ; then he can no more
 demand it by Vertue of that Compact. He that remits
 and will not have that Allegiance, that the Subjects
 covenanted upon such and such Conditions to him,
 these Subjects should not give it that they so covenant-
 ed ; for they should not prostitute it to a Refuser and
 Remitter : But *Charles the Second* remitted, and would
 not have that Allegiance, which we covenanted upon
 such and such Conditions, *viz.* upon the Terms of the
 Covenant, which he cased and annulled, and made
 criminal to own : *Ergo*, to him we should not have
 given it, which we so covenanted. 2. When the Prince
 did enter into a mutual Covenant with the People,
 upon mutual Conditions, and does not only cease to
 perform the Conditions, but simply denies all Obliga-
 tion to do it, and makes it a Quarrel to insinuate so
 much ; Yea, persecutes all, who dare assert the Obli-
 gation of that Covenant ; and yet demands Allegiance,
 not upon the Obligation of that Covenant, which he
 hath remitted, but absolutely upon the Grounds of his

Prerogative: In this Case it will be evident also, the Subjects are not bound either to own their formerly covenanted Allegiance to him, or that which he demands on other Grounds.—Hence I argue, If a covenanted Prince, breaking all the Conditions of his Compact, doth forfeit his Right to the Subjects Allegiance; then they are no more to own him as their Sovereign: But the former is proved, that a covenanted Prince breaking all the Conditions of his Compact, doth forfeit his Right to the Subjects Allegiance: *Ergo*, —And consequently, when *Charles the Second*, expressly bound by Covenant, to defend and promote the covenanted *Reformation* and *Liberties* of the *Kingdom*, to whom only we were bound in the *Terms* of his *Defending* and *Promoting* the same, did violently and villainously violate and vilify these *Conditions*, we were no more bound to him. And how much less are we or any bound to own him, who neither would nor could be bound by any such Compact or Covenant, in the said *Terms*, as *James the Seventh*? Somewhat possibly may be objected here.

1. If this be the Sense of the Covenant, then it would seem that we were not bound to own the King, but only when and while he were actually promoting and carrying on the Ends of the Covenant. *Answer*, It does not follow, but that we are obliged to preserve his Person and Authority in these necessary Intervals, when he is called to see to himself as a Man; for we must preserve him as a Mean, because of his Aptitude and Designation for such an End, albeit not always formally prosecuting it: We do not say, that we are never to own him, but when actually exercised in prosecuting these Ends; but we say, we are never to own him, when he is tyrannically and treacherously

abusing his Authority, for destroying and overturning these Ends, and violating all the Conditions of his Compact.

Obj. 2. *Saul* was a Tyrant, and a Breaker of his Royal Covenant, and Persecutor of the Godly, and Murderer of the Priests of the Lord, Usurper upon the Priests Office, and many other ways guilty of breaking all Conditions ; And yet *David* and all *Israel* owned him as the *Anointed of the Lord.* *Ans. 1.* *Saul* was indeed a Tyrant, ejected of God, and to be ejected out of his Kingdom in his Time and Way, which *David*, a Prophet, knowing would not anticipate. But he was far short and a mere *Bungler* in Acts of Tyranny, in Comparison of our Graffators : He broke his Royal Covenant, in very gross particular Acts ; but did not cass and rescind the Whole of it, did not burn it, did not make it criminal to own its Obligation ; nor did he so much as profess a Breach of it ; nor arrogate an absolute Prerogative, nor attempt arbitrary Government ; nor to evert the Fundamental Laws and overturn the Religion of *Israel*, and bring in Idolatry, as ours have done : He was a Persecutor of *David* upon some private Quarrels, not of all the Godly upon the account of their Covenanted Religion : He murdered 85 *Priests* of the Lord, in a Transport of Fury, because * of their Kindness to *David*, but he did not make Laws adjudging all the Ministers' Death, who should adhere to the *Covenants of Israel* : He usurped upon the *Priests Office*, in one elicite Act of Sacrificing ; but did not assume a Supremacy, or absolute Power over them, annexed as an inherent Right of

* Hereunto the Blank extended by want of the said half sheet : Any who would have it better filled up, or see more on this Head, may consult the *Hind let loose*, pag. 268 to 498.

this Crown. (2.) Yea, he was such a Tyrant as deserved to have been brought to condign Punishment ; as *Amaziah* and *Uziah* ; this was the Peoples Omission not to do it ; that is no Argument *a non facto*. (3.) Their owning him, and giving him the Title of, the *Anointed* of the *Lord*, as he was *Anointed* once, and was still King *de facto*, is no Argument to own a Man to be King *de jure*, who was never the *Anointed* of the *Lord*. (4.) *David* did not own him as the *Minister of God*, not to be resisted under the Pain of *Damnation* ; for, he and his six Hundred Men resisted him long ; and at length, many revolted from him, and took *David's* Part, while he kept himself closs, because of *Saul* the Son of *Kish*. 1. *Chron.* xii. 1. They did not own him then as the *Lord's Anointed*. This is rather an Argument for us.

Obj. 3. The Jews are commanded to bring their Necks under the Yoke of the King of *Babylon*, who had no other Right than Providence gave him, by Conquest. *Jer.* xxvii. 6, 7, 12. *Ans.* 1. The *Duke of York* hath no Right of Conquest ; and tho' he had, Subjection for *Wrath's* sake, in Submission to *Providence*, does not infer Subjection for *Conscience* sake, owning Allegiance to his Authority, by *Divine Ordinance*. 2. This behoved to be a particular Command, by positive Revelation at that Time, not binding to others at other Times ; else every Conqueror invading a Kingdom, must be subjected to both by King and People. (3.) If it be Universal, then it is also universal to disown, and fall away from our own perfidious Rulers, as they were then to disown and fall away from their own King *Zedekiah*. Hence, there is no Argument against, but for the Thing I plead for. (4.) When they did subject to that *Chaldean* Conqueror, did they own him as a Ruler ? *Habakkuk* then complained, they had no Ruler, but such as

the weaker Fishes of the *Sea* have, that are swallowed up of the stronger ; they were then *as the Fishes of the Sea, as the creeping Things that have no Ruler over them*, Habak. i. 14. Then is a tyrannizing Dominator, though by Providence trampling upon People, given up to him for a Time, no Ruler.

Obj. 4. Paul seems to own the tyrannical high Priest *Annaniās*, to be the *Ruler of the People*, Act. xxiii. 5. *Ans.* Rather the Contrary appears, *He wist not that he was the high Priest* ; that is, He did not acknowledge him to be either high Priest (whose Office was now null and ceased) or Ruler ; he could see nothing like a High Priest or Ruler in him : He could not be ignorant that he was there in Place of a *Judge*, being called before him, smitten by his Authority, whom therefore, he did upbraid as a *whited-wall*, and threatned with the Judgment of God : It were wicked to think that he would retract that Threatning which he pronounced by the Spirit of God.

Obj. 5. The Apostle saith, *Rom. xiii. 1. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers ; the Powers that be, are ordained of God* : Yet *Nero* at the Time was an Usurper. *Ans.* (1.) The Christians among the *Romans* then, had two Doubts, both which are answered by the Apostle : One was, Whether Christians were at all bound to obey Civil Powers, especially Pagan ; To which the Apostle answers to the same Effect with the Confession of Faith, *That Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrate's just and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him* : Let every Soul be subject, without Exception, either of Religion, Pagan or Christian ; or Office, Ministers or People, in the Subjected, *every Soul* ; and without Exception of any *Species, Sorts or Degrees* of lawful Pow-

er, *whether to the King as Supreme, or to Governors, &c.* as *Peter* expresses and *expounds* it, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. if it be Lawful Power. Another Question was, If they might be so subject to Civil Powers, then to which of them? For, there were several Competitors at this Time for the Empire. The Apostle answers, not determining their Litigations, not interesting himself in Parties, by giving the general Standard of God's Ordinance, they had to go by; *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, Εξουσιαι, not Δυναμεις, moral, lawful Powers, not natural Force; higher in Dignity and Authority, not in Prevalency of Might; such as are ordained of God by his preceptive Will, not such as were only permitted by his providential Disposal; such as so improved and exercised that Ordinance of God, as that they might not be resisted under pain of Damnation; not such as might be repressed, whenever People were in Capacity, as Usurpers may be; such as were Terrors to Evil, not to good Works; such as were Ministers of God for good; not Plagues of God, for Punishment; such as bear the Sword of Justice, not such as take the Sword of Injustice, Matth. xxvi. 52. describing and characterizing the Powers there, by such Qualifications as Tyrants and Usurpers are not capable of.* (2.) It cannot be proven that the supreme Powers then in Being were Usurpative; there being then a supreme *Senate*, which was a lawful Power: Nor, that *Nero* was then an Usurper, who came in by *Choice* and *Consent*, and the good Liking of the People. (3.) The original Reading is not universal; but thus, *For there is no Power, if not from God; therefore we are not to own it, if it be not from God, by his approbative Will and Institution: It is not all Power simply, but all lawful Power ordained of God; not by his Providence merely, but by his Ordinance.* Whence, we see, all these Ob-

jections do rather confirm, than infirm the Truth here vindicated, and sealed by the Blood of this Martyr.

The SECOND HEAD of his Sufferings was, That he preached, it was unlawful to pay the present *Cess*, enacted and exacted for such wicked Ends: A Thing indeed, which never any suffered unto Death for; tho' many other have endured grievous Sufferings, Oppressions, Spoliations, Forfeitures and other atrocious Cruelties, upon the same Head, within these Ten Years. This *Head* is cleared and vindicated at large, in that forecited *Hind let loose*, Head 7. pag. 697, &c. Here I shall only offer a few Things to be considered.

I. The Narratives of the Acts imposing it, do plainly express the Nature and Design thereof. *Act of Convention at Edinburgh, July 10. 1678.* ' The Convention of
' the Estates of *Scotland*—considering the great Hap-
' piness, Peace and Tranquillity they enjoyed under his
' Majesty's Royal Government, and his Fatherly Care of
' this his ancient Kingdom, in being so watchful over all
' its Concerns; and that as all Kings and States do at
' present carefully secure themselves and their People,
' by providing against all such foreign Invasions, and in-
' testine Commotions, as may make them a Prey to their
' Enemies: So, it is not fit, that this Kingdom should
' only of all others remain without Defence, in a Time
' wherein these dangerous *Field-conventicles*, declared
' by Law *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*, do still grow in
' their Numbers and Insolencies; against all which, the
' present Forces cannot in Reason be thought a suitable
' Security: And considering the many frequent and re-
' newed Professions this Kingdom hath made, with their
' Lives and Fortunes, to serve his Majesty, in the Main-
' tenance of his Honour and Greatness; and that there

' is a new Opportunity offered to them, to make good
 ' the Professions of their Zeal, Duty and Affection : In
 ' Recognizance whereof, and in humble Acknowledg-
 ' ment of the same, and that his Majesty may be the
 ' better enabled to raise more Forces, for securing his
 ' ancient Kingdom against all foreign invasions, and in-
 ' testine Commotions ; and to the End they may be
 ' maintained, by equal and regular Ways ; and to let
 ' the World see the unanimous Affection of this his Ma-
 ' jesty's most ancient Kingdom, for the Maintenance of
 ' his Majesty's Royal Greatness, Authority and Govern-
 ' ment in Church and State, as it is now asserted and
 ' established by the Laws of the Kingdom : and in order
 ' to the Entertainment of such Forces, as his Majesty
 ' shall raise, for the Defence thereof, the *Convention of*
 ' *Estates* of this Kingdom, for themselves, and in Name
 ' of, and as representing this his Majesty's ancient King-
 ' dom, do humbly beseech his Majesty would be graci-
 ' ously pleased to accept the unanimous, ready and
 ' cheerful Offer and humble Tender of a new Supply
 ' of 1800000 Pounds *Scots* Money, to be raised and
 ' paid forth of the Shires and Burghs of this his Majes-
 ' ty's ancient Kingdom, in the Space of Five Years.'
 Hence we may note,

(1.) The first Consideration that moved them to make
 this Offer, and raise it off the Shires, was the Sense they
 had of the *Happiness* of the *Government*, under which
 nevertheless the People were made to howl, and have
 groaned under its insupportable Yoke, for many years.
 Yet unto this false congratulatory and adulatory Recog-
 nizance and Acknowledgment, not only of the Right,
 but of the Righteousness of the Government in its Ad-
 ministrations, they would and did involve all that paid
 it, drawing them to the Acknowledgment, that *Misery*

was *Happiness*, *Trouble* was *Peace*, and *Oppression* was *Tranquillity*.

(2.) Their next Consideration is a mock Pretence of the Necessity of providing against *foreign Invasions* and *intestine Commotions*. But it is apparent to all true Friends, either of the Kingdom's Peace, or Church's Happiness, they sought to secure this by such Means as should, together with Religion, tread upon the poor remaining Shadow of Liberty ; Defences that will expose all the Defenders, and all that contribute for such Defence, to the Contempt of all Foreigners, and to the Wrath of the jealous God, against which there can be no Defence.

(3.) Their chiefest Motive, and mainly designed End, was, to *secure* themselves against these *dangerous Field-conventicles, declared by Law Rendezvouzes of Rebellion* ; so they call the Rendezvouzes of the Lord Christ's *Militia*, following the displayed Banner of his Gospel, in those Meetings, which their Persecution had forced into the Fields : Reputed *dangerous* to them, so long as they could not be gotten suppressed ; because, as long as there remains any Memorial of them, they are never liberate from the Fear of Christ's returning, to take Possession of what they have robbed him of, and then they shall be ruined : And therefore, to secure themselves against this Danger, or at least, to make all the Nation alike obnoxious to it, they impose this *Taxation*. Whence it is clear, that all that pay it, do co-operate with this declared Design of suppressing the Gospel preached in the Fields, under the odious Notion of *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*.

(4.) To accomplish this, they prudently foresee, the *present Forces cannot be thought a suitable Security against them*, unless *more Forces* be raised, and these be maintained by this Cess, which they call an *equal and*

regular Way; plainly confessing, they could never suppress *Meetings*, nor accomplish their other accursed *Designs*, without the subsidiary *Contribution* of the *People's Help*.

(5.) Hereby they also propose to themselves the *Honour of serving his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes*, and of making good the *Professions of their Zeal, Duty and Affection to him*; and to let the *World see the unanimous Affection of all that should pay this Cess*; not only for the *Maintenance of his Royal Greatness, but of his Government in Church and State*: Whence it is evident, all that pay it do profess, not only an *Acknowledgment of*, but a cheerful *Serviceableness and Ambition to promote and abett arbitrary Government*; and do express no little *Zeal and Affection to Christ's declared Enemy*: As also, that they not only approve the *Supremacy*, but profess an *unanimous Affection to maintain it*; for, what else is meant by his *Government of the Church, as it is now asserted and established by the Laws of the Kingdom*? Yea, an *unanimous Affection to entertain the Forces*, raised for the *Defence of absolute Tyranny and blasphemous Supremacy*; for so they expressly declare.

(6.) They give out themselves, in enacting this, to be the *Representatives of the Kingdom*, and must be owned, as such, by all the *Payers*; whereby the *Payers* must own that *Conclusion to be their own Deed*, and be *inexcusably accessory to all the Guilt thereof*.

Upon the expiring of these *Ten Terms*, there is an *Act for the Continuation of it for other Five Years, or Ten Terms more, Act. 3. Parl. 3. Charles II. August 20. Intituled, Act for a voluntary Offer of a new Supply to the King's Majesty*; of this *Narrative*.

‘ OUR SOVEREIGN LORD, and Estates of Par-

liament, taking to Consideration, that the Convention of Estates holden at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *July* 1678, upon the weighty Considerations therein specified ; and particularly the great Danger the Kingdom was under by seditious and rebellious *Conventicles*, and the Necessity which then appeared to increase the Forces, for securing the Government, and suppressing these rebellious Commotions, which were fomented by seditious Principles and Practices ; Did therefore humbly and dutifully offer a cheerful and unanimous Supply of 1800000 Pounds *Scots*, to be raised—in the Space of Five Years :—And the Estates of Parliament now convened, having taken to Consideration, how the Dangers from the *foresaid Causes* do much increase, in so far as, such as are seditiously and rebelliously inclined, do still propagate their pernicious Principles, and go on from one Degree of Rebellion to another, till now at last the horrid Villanies of Murder, Assassination and avowed Rebellion are owned, not only as Things lawful, but as Obligations from their Religion, to the Dishonour of God, the Scandal of Religion, the Danger of his Majesty's sacred Person, the overthrowing of all Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the imminent and apparent Ruin of the Subjects Lives and Fortunes ; Do therefore in a due Sense of their Duty to God, to their sacred Sovereign, and to the Preservation of themselves and their Posterity, of new, make an humble, unanimous, cheerful and hearty Offer, for themselves, and in Name of and as representing this his Majesty's ancient Kingdom, of a Continuation of the *foresaid Supply*, granted by the Convention of Estates, and that for the Space of five Years, or ten Terms *successive* ; beginning the first Term's

‘ Payment at *Martinmas* 1683. Which yet is continued ‘ till *Martinmas* 1688.’ In this, we may note,

(1.) That the Cess is here continued upon the same Considerations, upon which it was first granted.

(2.) That these were, and yet remain to be, the Danger of the Meetings of the Lord’s People for Gospel Ordinances, by them forced into the Fields, which they call *rebellious Conventicles*; and the Necessity of securing their Usurpation upon the Prerogatives of Christ, Liberties of the Church, and Privileges of Mankind (which they call their *Government*) and suppressing the *Testimonies* for the Interest of Christ, (called by them *rebellious Commotions*.) It must certainly not a little aggravate the Payment, in the Sense of all that abhor these Considerations, that it is enacted upon these Considerations expressly.

(3.) That their Motive of continuing it, was their Consideration of some weak Remainders of former Zeal for God, in prosecuting the *Testimony* for the Interests of Christ, and Principles of the Covenanted Reformation (which they call *propagating pernicious Principles*) and some weak Attempts to oppose and resist their Rebellion against God, and vindicate the Work, and defend the People of God, from the Destruction they intended against them; and their lawful and obliged Endeavours, to bring these Destroyers and Murderers to condign Punishment; that the Wrath of God against the Land might be appeased, and his Glory vindicated, Tyranny repressed, and Religion and Liberty re-established (which they call *horrid Villanies of Murder, Assassination and avowed Rebellion*,——to the Dishonour of God, &c.) Here, all the active Appearances of the Lord’s People, are industriously represented, under these odious and invidious Names, as Motives to contribute this Supply of

Means to suppress them, and to involve all the Contributors in the Guilt of condemning them.

(4.) That as a *Test* of their Allegiance unto, and Confederacy with execrable Tyranny, (which they call *their Duty to their sacred Sovereign*) they enact this as *Representatives of the Kingdom*, and must be owned as such by all the Payers.

(5.) That it is the same *Cess* that was granted by the Convention of Estates, and the Term of its Continuation is not yet expired, until *Martinmas* 1688. Whence it is manifest, that, that Act of Convention, tho' its first Date be expired, and thereupon, many plead for the Lawfulness of paying it now, that formerly scrupled at, and witnessed against it, is only hereby renewed, revived and corroborated, and the Exaction continued upon no other *Basis* or *Bottom*, but the first Constitution; which was, and is, a consummating Crimson Wickedness, exceeding the *Gadarens* Wickedness, and short of their Civility; not beseeching Christ to begone out of *Scotland*, but arming Force to *expel* him, and his everlasting Gospel from the Coasts thereof.

II. Tho' this Point of *Truth* and *Testimony* against such wicked Exactions, be now in a manner antiquated, and obsolete, and counted also a new Notion; yet we find, in former Times, the People of God had another Impression of it, even in the first Times of Christianity in this Nation: In the period of the *Culdees*, it was thought most odious, to arm wicked Tyrants, the Enemies of all Humanity and Piety, against God and his Law; as *Goranus* King of Scots, said to *Lothus* King of *Picts*. If ever such Tyrants were so armed by Christians, they are so with a Witness by this cursed Exaction, without which (as the Enacters confess) they could not have been armed, or enabled to do what they have

done, and are doing, against God and his Law. Before the Reformation, we find the *Lollards* of *Kyle*, refusing to pay the *Bishop's* Exactions, from the same Arguments; because they thought it was an assisting, strengthening and arming them to destroy Souls, and also (in their blind Rage) the Bodies of them that witnessed against them; unto which *Testimony*, the Faithful were encouraged by Mr. *Knox*, writing to them, 'That they might and ought with-hold the Fruits and Profits, which their false Bishops and Clergy most unjustly received of them, arguing, That if People thought they were innocent, because they were not the Actors of such Iniquity, they were utterly deceived; for God doth not only punish the chief Offenders, but the Consenters to such Iniquity; and all are judged to consent, who give not *Testimony* against it: As the Rulers and Bishops are criminal of all the innocent Blood that is shed for the *Testimony* of Christ's *Truth*; so are all, who assist and maintain them in their blind Rage, and give no Declaration that their *Tyranny* displeaseth them. This Doctrine is strange to the blind World; but, the Verity of it has been declared in all notable Punishments from the Beginning: When the old World was destroyed by Water, *Sodom* and *Jerusalem*, &c. were not all alike wicked, yet all perished; Why? all kept Silence, or did not resist; by which, all approved Iniquity, and joined Hands with the *Tyrants*, as it had been in one Battle against the Omnipotent.' These Words condemn the very paying of Exactions, notoriously abused to the Destruction of the Lord's People; much more such as are enacted for that very declared Purpose.

The General Assembly, in their Declaration, dated *July ult.* 1648, concerning the then *Unlawful Engage-*

ment, plainly and positively dehorts all the Members of this Church from contributing any Assistance thereunto ; tho' then, these *Engagers* pretended and professed their Undertaking to be for furthering the Reformation, and promoting that same Interest, which the *Enactors* of this *Cess*, are seeking to suppress. What would the Assembly then have said, if the *Engagers* had required a *Cess*, with the Narrative of these Acts that impose this *Supply*, and should have exacted it expressly for suppressing the *Covenant* ? Surely they would have abominated it, when with such Zeal, they warn all the People of God, under the Bond of that *Covenant*, ' That they ' do not concur in, nor any way assist this present Engage- ' gement, as they would not partake in other Men's ' Sins ; and so receive of their Plagues : But, by the ' Grace and Assistance of Christ, they stedfastly resolve ' to suffer the Rod of the Wicked, and the utmost which ' wicked Mens Malice can afflict them with, rather than ' to put forth their Hands to Iniquity.' Yea, even against this same *Cess*, when first imposed, there wanted not many Witnesses ; particularly Mr. *John Welsh* and others, who did declare as much against it as Mr. *Renwick* did afterwards ; tho' now, many of these Ministers are dead, and many that are alive, have resiled from their former *Testimony*, and have condemned that in him, which they approved sometimes in themselves.

III. It will be found very evidently, that the Payment of the *Cess* is inconsistent with the *Covenant* ; For, in the General, let any Man of Conscience, that took that *Covenant*, and owns himself under the Obligation of it, consider seriously, if in that Day, when the *Covenant* was sworn, the Question had been asked at him. Whether he would have judged the paying of a *Cess*, for the Ends narrated, to suppress a *Testimony* for

that *covenanted Reformation*, to the Overturers, Breakers and Burners of that *Covenant*, to be a plain Perjury, and palpable counteracting of the Ends thereof? Or, if he durst say, He took it in a Sense consistent with these Compliances? More particularly, How can it consist with an Endeavour, in our several Places and Callings, to preserve the reformed Religion, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against the common Enemies thereof, to pay a Cess declaredly imposed by the Enemies thereof, for the Destruction of the same? How can it consist with an Endeavour, without Respect of Persons, to extirpate *Popery, Prelacy, &c.* lest we partake in other Mens Sins, &c. to pay a Cess, for the *Maintenance of the Government of Church and State, as it is now asserted and established by Law*, which upholds all these Things, that we are by the *Covenant* obliged to extirpate? How can it consist with an Endeavour, with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Liberties of the Kingdom and King's Authority, only *in Defence of the True Religion and Liberties*, to pay a Cess for maintaining of *Tyranny*, in the Destruction of Religion and Liberty? How can it consist with all faithful Endeavours, to discover, and bring to condign Punishment a Faction of Incendaries and Malignants, to pay a Cess for their Maintenance and Encouragement? How can it consist with an Endeavour that the Kingdoms may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union, to pay a Cess to the Enemies of *Peace and Truth*? Surely it would not have been thought consistent with such an Article, to pay this Cess to Malignants long ago. How can it consist with assisting and defending all our Covenanted Brethren, to assist and defend, with our Purses and Estates, their Murderers?

IV. But still express Scriptures are desiderated, to

condemn such *Taxations*, and to justify the refusing to pay them ; And it is confidently alleged, we can find none : But tho' it were so, it is no great Wonder ; Because, in the Wickedness of former Ages, such monstrous Exactions had never a Precedent, for such declared Ends, so declaredly impudent : Yet from the Scriptures, by clear and near Consequence, we may gather the Conviction, Confutation and Condemnation of the Payment of such a *Cess*.

(1.) As we have no approved Precedents, in *Times of Persecutions*, in the *Old or New Testament*, of the Saints buying off the Cross of Christ with Payments, and Compliances of that Nature : But, many Instances of their conscientious *Tenderness* and *Strictness*, in *taking joyfully the spoiling of their Goods*, and suffering patiently *Bands of ill Men robbing them*, rather than they would redeem them by such Compliances. So, in the several Persecutions recorded in the Scriptures, if we suppose a *Cess* of this *Nature and Narrative* had been imposed, for the same Ends with this, we will find it very absurd to imagine, that the Saints then would, or should have paid it : As for Example, Let that Instance and Supposition, adduced by this Martyr, be pondered and inquired into ; If after *Nebuchadnezzar* had made the Decree, for all to fall down and worship his *Image*, and the three Children were apprehended for refusing it ; He had made another, that all the *Jews* should contribute every one a *Faggot*, or *Money* to buy it, to heat the *Furnace* and encrease the *Fire* ; Could any Man suppose, that *Daniel* or the rest of the *Faithful* would have paid it ; Or, would he not rather have found it his Duty, to witness his *Abhorrence* of the *Atrociousness* of the *Wickedness*, as in a Case of Confession ? Is it not some way *Parallel* to this ; when after our *Babylonian Dominators*, for

promoting *Babylon's* Interest, had made *Decrees* to fall down before, and subject our selves unto his *Idols* (as hateful and dishonourable to our GOD, as that golden One in the Plain of *Dura*) of *Prelacy, Supremacy, Tyranny, &c.* and many were apprehended and oppressed for refusing it; they made other *Decrees*, by the *Act of Convention* and *Parliament*, That all Christians should contribute what may buy them Swords and other Instruments, to make Havoc of conscientious Recusants? Will any of *Daniel's* Spirit and Principles, and that fears the GOD of *Daniel*, comply with these Demands? To the same Purpose, under *Saul's* Tyranny, suppose an *Act* had been made of this *Tenor*; Whereas, that Rebel *David*, had now openly despised *Authority*, had been entertained by the *Priest*, received *Goliath's* Sword from him, and gathered a Company of armed Men together; Therefore, to the End he and his Complices may be brought to Justice, we ordain all from *Dan* to *Beersheba* to pay a *Cess* to our standing Forces, to maintain them in an Expedition against him; Would any that favoured *David's* righteous Cause, have dared to do this? Would *Saul's* Servants, that would not fall upon the *Priests* of the LORD themselves, have given *Doeg* one of their Swords to do it, or Money to buy one, if it had been demanded? The *Acts* enacting this *Cess*, have the same *Narrative* and *Language*, in the Conscience of all that favour that righteous Cause, designed to be suppressed and destroyed thereby. What if *Manasseh* also, that sacrificed to Devils, and made Children to pass through the Fire to *Molech*, had enacted a *Cess*, than every Man should bring in his *Proportion* in order to celebrate the Sacrifice of his own or his Neighbour's Children, could it be expected that any of the Godly would have paid it? Can it be justified, that a *Cess* imposed,

for making a Sacrifice of Religion and Liberty, of our Mother, the reformed *covenanted* Church of *Scotland*, and all her faithful Children to the Devil and Anti-christ, for erecting and maintaining a blasphemous *Supremacy*, and absolute *Tyranny*, should be paid? These Comparisons may seem odious, but there is none that owns the *covenanted Reformation* of *Scotland* (whom this Debate concerns most) but must grant, *first*, That the Interests of Christ, now sought to be destroyed by this *Cess*, are as precious, as those, which those *Tyrants* were suppressing, and would have destroyed, by these supposed *Exactions*: *Next*, That the designed and declared Ends of this *Cess*, are as undeniably impious, as these were, which those *Tyrants* would have promoted thereby: *Farther*, That our Concurrence to help forward these Designs, is as really and actively called for, in paying this *Cess*, for these Ends, as the Concurrence of the Godly, in these supposed Cases, would have been called for. And *Lastly*, That therefore, we are as much obliged, to keep our selves free of the Guilt of these *Exactions*, as they were.

(2.) We have several Instances of *Payments* and *Contributions*, in the Scripture, remarked with a Brand of *Condemnation*, not unlike this; save that they came very far short of its open and affronted Wickedness; Which, *a fortiori*, will disprove this, if these be disapproved. *First*, We have Instances of *Contributions*, by Way of Compliance and Concurrence with wicked Establishments, condemned, when they were given and taken for strengthening, and helping, and setting up unlawful Things: As for Example, *Exod: xxxii. 3.* If it was *Aaron's Sin* (which made the People naked) to take, and the People's Sin to give that Contribution of *Golden Ear-rings* for making a *Calf*; and all were involved in

the Sin of that *Idolatry*, that gave their Ear-rings (tho' they had done no more) as is evident they were : Then, as it is our Oppressors Sin to take ; So, it must be our Sin and Shame to give their demanded Exaction, as Means to help forward the Erection and Establishment of the present Government of Church and State, and all the Mischiefs of its Administrations ; as hateful to GOD, and as clearly contrary to his Law, as that Calf was. Likewise, *Judg.* viii. 25, &c. If it was *Gideon's* Sin to take, and *Israel's* to give that *Contribution of the Ear-rings of their Prey*, to make an *Ephod*, even tho' he did not declare expressly, that, that was his End and Design in seeking them ; Then it must be our Dominators Sin to take, and ours to give our Money, not only when it is expressly exacted for the Erection and Establishment of an human Invention, to make the Lord's People go a-whoring after it, but for oppressing and suppressing all, who will not bow to these *Idols*. Those Contributions to *Aaron* and *Gideon*, as to their Ends, were both short of this Insolence and Impudence. *Secondly*, Such Contributions as are *Tests of Loyalty* to Usurpers, and of Compliance with them, strengthening them to the Prosecution of their Tyranny, are condemned ; as, *Judg.* ix. 3. 5. It was the Sin of the Men of *Shechem*, and a Proof of their Hearts *Inclination* to follow *Abimelech*, that they gave him *Seventy Pieces of Silver*, enabling him to kill Seventy Persons, and to hire vain and light Persons to follow him ; which they paid as an Acknowledgment of his usurped Power : For which, afterwards, according to *Jotham's* Parable and Prophecy, Fire came out of the house of *Abimelech* and devoured them. In like manner, this Cess is exacted, offered and complied with, as a *Test of Loyalty*, to as raging Wolves as ever *Abimelech* was ; strengthening them to the Prose-

cution of greater Acts of Tyranny, than ever he was capable to accomplish : When in the Acts above-mentioned, and in Obedience to, and Compliance with them, the Men of *Scotland* have far surpassed the Men of *Shechem* in such Acts of Loyalty, in giving, not to a Bastard of *Gideon*, but rather to the Brood of *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, not Seventy Pieces only, but One Million, Eight Hundred thousand Pieces of Silver, enabling them to kill, not *Seventy Persons* only, but several *Hundreds*, by the Hands of these *vain and light Persons*, whom they have hired by this Cess, to destroy the Lord's Interest and People in the Land. Especially, *Thirdly*, Such *Contributions*, as are not only *Helps* to, but *Hires* of Confederacy with God's Enemies, are in Scripture condemned, *1 Kings* xv. 18. It was *Asa's* Sin and Folly, that he confederated with *Benhadad*, in giving Money to take his Help ; and condemned by the Prophet *Hanani*, *2 Chron.* xvi. 7. much more, if he had given it to help that *Syrian* Tyrant. It is one of the Instances of the Evil that *Menahe*m did in the Sight of the Lord, *2 Kings* xv. 18, 20. That, when *Pul* the *Assyrian* King came against the Land, he gave him a Thousand Talents of Silver, that his Hand might be with him ; which he exacted off *Israel*, of all the mighty Men of Wealth. This was certainly Evil in the Sight of the Lord : For, if the Confederacy was evil, then this Price to procure it was evil also ; and if *Menahe*m's Exaction was evil, then, *Israel's* Compliance in paying it was evil also : For this, *Ephraim* was oppressed and broken in Judgment ; Because he willingly walked after the Commandment, and went to the *Assyrian*, and sent to King *Jareb*, *Hosea* v. 11, 13. Yet this Exaction was not to hire, to hurt *Israel*, but to help them. *Ahaz* also, in his Confederacy with *Tiglath-pileser* King of *Assyria*, sent Money to him, *2 Kings*

xvi. 8. Which Confederacy, to all the Fearers of the Lord, is condemned and discharged, *Isa.* viii. 12, 13. Which if it was evil, then also *Hezekiah's* Compliance with *Sennacherib*, giving him Money, and offering to bear that which was put upon him, *2 Kings* xviii. 14. 15. Which Evil can no more be justified, than *Asa's* paying to *Benhadad*. So also, *Hoshea* became a Servant to *Salmanezzer* King of *Assyria*, and gave him Presents, *2 Kings* xvii. 3. Likewise, *Jehoiakim* taxed the Land to give the Money, according to the Command of *Pharaoh*, *2 Kings* xxiii. 35. All these Things were sinful to the Exactors, and likewise to the Compliers and Payers, being Peace-making-payments, by way of unitive Confederacy with the Enemies of God, which the Scripture condemns as *Hires of Harlots*, *Ezek.* xvi. 33, 34. *Hiring Lovers*, *Hosea* viii. 9, 10. Which Scriptures are clearly applied unto, and explained by these forementioned Instances. But now, this Cess is clearly enacted, exacted and paid, as a *Help* and *Hire* of God's Enemies, the *Popish*, *Prelatical* and *Malignant Faction*, by way of unitive Confederacy with them, far more unjustifiable than all these Payments instanced: For, these *Syrians* and *Assyrians* never exacted them, nor did the Representatives of *Israel* offer them for such declared Ends, as to destroy the Temple, or suppress the Religion and Liberty of *Israel*, and erect and establish the *Syrian* and *Assyrian* Idolatry, as this Cess is.

(3.) We have several *Reproofs* and *Threatnings* in the Scripture; whence we may infer the Sinfulness of such Compliances. As *First*, such Compliances as are not only demanded, and granted Acknowledgments of that Power that imposes them, as legally lording over them, but obediential Submissions to these wicked Laws, that enacts them, are reproved. This was *Issachar's*

Brand, that being a strong Ass, *he couched between Burdens, and bowed his Shoulder to bear, and became a Servant unto Tribute, Gen. 49. 14.* Not that by Force he became *Tributary*, for that, in some Cases, is suffering, not sinning; but that in Recognizance of the Tyranny, imposing these Burdens, he did obedientially submit unto them, for Love of *Rest* and *Ease*; and stupidly subject unto all Tyrannical *Impositions*; which even an *Ahab* would not do to an absolute *Benhadad*, *1 Kings 20. 3, 6.* There was never a more illegal and arbitrary Imposition, affrontedly requiring the formal Recognizance of plain Tyranny, and never a more stupid *Ass-like* Compliance therewith, than that of this Payment of the Cess, whereby the Payers not only couch under the Payment of it by Force, but justify the Imposition of it, by their moral obeying, the moral Force of the wicked Law, enacting it.

Secondly, Such Compliances, as infer Consent to the Wickedness carried on, are clearly condemned: Consent unto a Mischief, is a partaking with it, as Consent unto Theft is a partaking with it, *Psal. 50. 18.* But if there be any Consent unto a Mischief sinful, it must be when the Person agrees it to be done against himself, and voluntarily subjects himself to the Force of the Law imposing it, and not only does not oppose, or witness against the doing of it against others, but yields to its reaching himself, and gives what is demanded to strengthen the Robbers, to exercise their Robbery over all. The Payer of the Cess, gives all the Consent required of him, to the Mischiefs framed unto a Law, not only to rob himself, but the Church and Nation of its dearest Treasure, the Gospel. It cannot be said he is constrained, when he owns the Imposers, in this very Imposition, to be his Representatives, and gives Obedience to the Law en-

joyning it, which requires no other Voluntariness but Obedience ; and judgeth no other Thing Unvoluntariness, but Disobedience ; and so, satisfies all the Law's Demands, which does not take Notice of inward, mental Reluctancies : But as the Council said to *Judas* (tortured for taking Reward for betraying Christ) so to the Man that pays the Cess, who may be tortured in his Conscience, for giving Reward for murdering Christ, in his Interest and Members, the Council and Law both says [*What is that to us ? see thou to that.*] It cannot be said he is constrained, when upon Deliberation and Election he chooses to obey and pay, and is not forced physically, nor does he cry against it, as the ravished Virgin under the Law ; *Deut. 22. 25, &c.* to witness her Unwillingness ; but consents to the moral Force of the Law without a Witness.

Thirdly, Such Compliances as infer and confer Assistance, and strengthening to wicked Courses, are *threatned* and *reproved*, *Isai. 65. 11.* They that *prepare a Table for that Troop, and furnish the Drink Offering unto that Number*, are threatned to be numbred to the Sword. If they that supplied Necessaries to solemnize idolatrous Festivities, were *Forsakers* of the Lord, and *Forgetters of his holy Mountain* : Surely they cannot be counted *Followers* of the Lord, and *Rememberers* of his holy Mountain, who, when required, give Supplies to Idolaters and Murderers, who lay waste his holy Mountain. To concur in strengthening the Hands of Evil-doers, is threatened, *Jer. xxiii. 14.* and if strengthening them by Connivance, and not witnessing against, and warning of their Wickedness, be there reproved ; sure much more to give them all the present, personal and publick Concurrence required, *to wit*, Such a Sum to furnish them with all Necessaries, and to maintain the Executioners,

of their Hell-hatched and Heaven-daring Decrees and Orders : For, the Law requiring no more, but contributing what is appointed, looks equally upon all the Givers as Followers of the Command, and active Concurrers in complying with its End, and promoting its Design ; and so, assoiliés them of all the Statute-severities, in case of Deficiency.

Fourthly, Such Compliances, as not only *help* the Ungodly to prosecute their Mischiefs, but *hire* and reward them for their wicked Services, are condemned, as *Israel* is taxed for hiring the *Assyrians*, *Ezek.* xvi. 33. 34. *They give Gifts to all Whores, but thou givest thy Gifts to all thy Lovers, and hirest them, that they may come unto thee on every Side, for thy Whoredom ; and the contrary is in thee from other Women, in thy Whoredoms, in that thou givest a Reward, and no Reward is given unto thee ; therefore thou art contrary.* That was by paying their *Confederates*, the Taxations fore-mentioned in the Instances of *Ahaz*, *Menahem*, and *Hosea*, &c. their sending Money to the *Assyrian Kings*, *Tiglath-pileser*, *Pul*, and *Shalmanazar* ; with this *Ephraim* is charged, that he *hired Lovers*, *Hos.* viii. 9, 10. If then hiring wicked Men in Confederacies to *help* the Godly be a *hiring of Lovers*, so much condemned in Scripture ; what must a *hiring* of them to *hurt* the Godly, and rewarding them after they have done, and when they formally seek it for such Work, be but a giving the Reward, they seek to slay the Innocent, *Deut.* xxvii. 25 ? and a voluntary yielding that which they take, *Ezek.* xxii. 12. and ask and mischievously desire, *Micah* vii. 3. Which if it be Sin in the *Takers*, cannot be justified in the *Givers* ; but will render both obnoxious to the Indignation of a provoked God, in the Day when he shall begin to contend for the wrongs he hath got, both by the *Work* and

the *Wages*; Especially when such Contributions are desired and demanded, both as *Hires* and *Helps* to promote declared wicked Ends, being the best Expedients, and most adapted means to attain them: It cannot but be manifest, that whosoever complies with the *Means*, doth co-operate with the *Ends*; which (if any Thing) will involve the Compliers in the Contrivers Sin, and make the Payers obnoxious to the Exacters Judgment. If they that take Reward to slay the Innocent be cursed, *Deut.* xxvii. 25. with what Confidence can they say, *Amen*, as being free of it themselves, who so co-operate to the effectuating the Slaughter?

(4.) We may gather Confirmation of this from Scripture *Commands*; As *First*, in the *General*, from the *sixth Command* of the Decalogue, *Thou shalt not kill*; where is forbidden, not only killing our Neighbour immediately by ourselves, but *whatsoever tendeth thereunto*, by concurring with others, or encouraging them to do it. It is impossible they can be free of the Murder of the Lord's People, who, not only *connive* at their Murderers, but *consent* and *comply* with them, and *co-operate* with their declared Designs of murdering them; and *concur* to assist and strengthen them, and *hire* them in their Murders; which will be confirmed, by considering on the other Hand, what is required in that *Sixth Command*, *All lawful Endeavours to preserve our own Life, and the Life of our Neighbour*. Which Endeavours are bound upon us morally and indispensibly, by these explicatory Commands, *To rescue and deliver our Brethren from their Murderers*, *Prov.* xxiv. 11, 12. *To relieve the Oppressed*, *Isa.* i. 17. *To undo the heavy Burdens, and to let the Oppressed go free, and to break every Yoke*, *Isa.* lviii. 6. Can we then give them that which they require, and by which they are enabled to murder our

Brethren, when we are under such indispensable Obligations to counteract them? Sure, we cannot both obey these cursed Commands of Men, calling upon us to maintain and encourage the Murderers; and also obey these blessed Commands of God, calling upon us to maintain and preserve the Murdered, at the same Time.

Secondly, We have express *Prohibitions* and *Interdictions*, of what this Payment amounts to, as that, *2 Chron. xix. 2. To help the Ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord*, this would bring down Wrath upon us from the Lord. They call for our Assistance formally upon this Account, *To maintain his Majesty's Government in Church and State, to sustain Forces to suppress the Field-meetings*, where any Testimony is given against their *Tyranny*, Murders, &c. And shall we help them? So, when they tell us, without our *Help*, they cannot accomplish these their wicked Designs; let that be considered, *Prov. i. 10 to 18. My Son, if Sinners entice thee, consent thou not; if they say, come with us, let us lay wait for Blood we shall find all precious Substance, we shall fill our Houses with Spoil; cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one Purse: My son, walk not thou in the Way with them, for their Feet run to Evil, and make haste to shed Blood. Surely in vain the Net is spread in the Sight of any Bird. To what set of Sinners or Murderers upon the Earth is this applicable, if it be not to these, who have enticed, engaged and involved the Bulk and Body of the Nation, into the same War against the Almighty, which they have been prosecuting these Twenty eight Years, by the Help of such Compliances as this? Have they not been laying wait for the Blood of all the zealous Asserters of the covenanted Reformation of this Church? Have they not been proposing to themselves to find, and by their Imposi-*

tions, preying upon all the *precious Substance* of Christ's most faithful Subjects, and *filling their Houses with the Spoil of their Forfallures, Fines and Oppressions?* and in order thereunto, have they not been entring, yea commanding all to cast in their Lot, and contribute out of their *Purse, the Nerves and Sinews,* and necessary Supplies of this War, and murdering Project? Shall we then dare to *consent* by contributing? shall we *walk in their way,* by following their Command and Direction? would we not then be guilty of the *Blood they are making haste to shed?* is not the *Net spread in our Sight?* can we pretend Ignorance of their Designs? shall we then be such silly Birds as to be caught with open Snares? Let that Prohibition be also pondered, *Isa. viii. 12. Say ye not a Confederacy to all them to whom this People shall say a Confederacy;* which, as it is a very comprehensive Caution, condemning many Sorts of Transactions and Tamperings with the Wicked; so literally and most immediately it discharges all the Godly, at that Time, from having any Hand in paying that Cess to *Tiglath-piliser,* the *Assyrian King,* for procuring Protection from him; for, it relates to that Time and Case, *2 Kings xvi. 8.* as the best Expositors agree: Much more then must it discharge the Godly from having any Hand in paying a Cess, to a *Babylonian* or *Roman Usurper,* for procuring Destruction from him.

I shall take Notice of some ordinary *Objections.*

Obj. 1. Rom. xiii. 7. Render to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute, &c.—Ans. This is not *Tribute,* nor is it *Due;* so no Equity to pay it. They, to whom *Tribute* is due, should *remove Violence and Spoil, and execute Judgment and Justice,* and take away such *Exactions* as these, from the Lord's People, *Ezek. xlv. 9.*

Obj. 2. Former Cesses were peaceably paid, tho' we

saw and were convinced, that their Use was perverted against the good of the Land. *Ans.* No such Thing was laid down then as the *Ground*, or declared as the *End* of these *Exactions*; their Abuse was their own personal Fault, and posterior to the legal Submission to the Payment thereof, by the Land in their Representatives.

Obj. 3. This Case is but like the Case of the People of *Israel*, under the Feet of Enemies; paying to them of the Fruits of their Grounds, as was regretted and lamented by *Nehemiah*, Chap ix. 36, 37. *Ans.* The *Cess* under *Cromwel* was someway like that, but not this: These *Exactions* now are not imposed, nor can they be owned as our *Redemption money*, by which we purchase Liberty of Life and Lands, as a People under Conquest. These *Exactions* in *Nehemiah's* Time were *Badges* of their *Bondage*, not *Tests* of their *Allegiance*, as ours are; nor were they imposed to destroy the Jews *covenanted* Religion, as ours are.

Obj. 4. Christ paid *Tribute* to *Cesar*, lest he should offend, *Matth.* xvii. 24. *Matth.* xxii. 21. *Ans.* (1.) The *Tribute* he paid, *Matth.* xvii. 24. was not to *Cesar*, but gathered by the Officers of the Temple for its Service, which he paid, leaving the Title unstated, and their Claim unclear: Not for Conscience, as *Tribute* must be paid, *Rom.* xiii. 5, 6. but only that he might not offend: But here's a *Tribute*, not for, but against the Temple; and the *Offence* lies not in *not paying*, but in paying; hardning and strengthening the Enemies, stumbling our Brethren to rush into the same Compliance. 'Tis clear, the doing and refusing to do the same Act, cannot both give *Offence*. (2.) That which made them marvel at our Lord's wise Answer, allowing the other *Tribute* to be paid to *Cesar*, was, That still he left the Claim unresolved, whether it belonged to *Cesar* or not, and taught

them in the general to give nothing to *Cesar*, with prejudice to what was *God's*; and consequently not such a *Cess* as this, which is manifestly against God. (3.) *Cesar* was no Tyrant, nor Usurper at this Time, because they had legally, by Consent and Compact, submitted themselves to several *Cesars* successively before, and owned the *Roman Dominion* in *Pompey*, *Cesar Augustus* and *Tiberius*, and the present *Cesar* then reigning, who was no Tyrant nor Usurper, as the *Duke of York* is, and his *Brother* was. (4.) Make the Case like ours, and I doubt not to call it Blasphemy, to say, that Christ would have paid or allowed it, to levy a War against him, or banish him and his Disciples out of the Land, or to stone him for his good Deeds.

Obj. 5. We may give our Purse to a Robber, or our hid Treasures to save our Life, *Jer.* xli. 8. *Ans.* The Cess indeed is paid to *Robbers*, but there is a Difference between giving our Purse to Robbers, and paying Cess to *Tyrants*, for such declared *Ends*; for, this is a *necessitate Bargain* to give to the Robbers, the other is *elective*: This is only a Choice of the least of two Evils of *Suffering*; the other is a Choice of one of two *Evils*, which is *Sin*; and therefore cannot come under a Christian's *Election* at all: This is a Compact with the *Robber* still *discretive*, owning Subjection to him, not legal, but forced; the other is *unitive*, as betwixt *Rulers* and *Ruled*, owning Subjection *legal* and *moral*: But, to make it parallel, let the Robber *first* demand an Acknowledgment, that he is an honest Man, and no Robber (as the present Authority is now required to be owned, to be that of a *Magistrate*, and not a *Tyrant*) and then, not only seek a Man's *Purse*, but by Law demand it upon this declared Account, that he may by that Supply be enabled and furnished to murder his Parents,

Brethren and Children, &c. Let the Conscience of any Man answer this, and surely it will say, he should keep himself from such Submission, as will not only enable the Robber to do, but justify all these Mischiefs.

The THIRD HEAD of the Sufferings of this *Martyr* is double; comprehending both that of *Defensive Arms*; a Truth much pleaded and contended for, by the greatest of Men; and practically owned and vindicated some Time or other in all, or most part of the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, since they shook off the *Antichristian Yoke*; and very honourably sealed by the Blood, and other Sufferings of many renowned *Martyrs* and *Confessors* of Christ in *Scotland*, most frequently within these Twenty eight Years: As also, that of the Lawfulness and Expediency of *Meetings in the Fields*, for Gospel-ordinances; the greatest Interest and Privilege, for which we had either a Call or Capacity to improve, or make use of *defensive Arms*, these several Years by-gone: A Point sufficiently cleared by this *Martyr's* Testimony for it, in the lately published *Testimony unto the covenanted Reformation, and to the present Expediency of continuing to preach the Gospel in the Fields; and against the Antichristian Toleration, in its Nature and Design, &c.* and more largely in *The Hind let loose, Head 4.* But as it is propounded, both in the *Indictment* and in his *Testimony*, I shall touch it complexly; and, for its Vindication, briefly offer these few *Considerations*.

1. The first Occasion of these *Field-meetings* (yet continuing) was very necessary: For, the Servants of Christ finding themselves bound in Duty, to testify their Adherence unto, and Continuance in their covenanted Profession, their Abhorrence of abjured *Prelacy*, and their Love

and Zeal to keep the purely dispensed Ordinances of the Gospel in the Land ; after they had undergone and endured many Hazards and Hardships, Oppressions and Persecutions, for meeting in Houses, where they were easily attrapped, and with much Difficulty could escape the Hands of their Persecutors ; they were forced then to meet in the *Fields*, both for *Conveniency* to meet in great Numbers, and for *Secrecy* in the *Muir*s or *Mountains*, and for *Safety* in such natural Strengths as were fittest, either for Flight or Resistance ; where also, they might have Occasion, with greater Freedom, to give a *Testimony* for the Gospel, and the Ministry thereof ; which is always the dearest and nearest Privilege of Christians, and in the present Circumstances more than ever to be contended for, when all Preaching is made *criminal* and a capital Transgression, except such as is modified by an Antichristian Usurper upon Christ's Prerogatives, and the Church's Privileges, in this his *Popish Toleration* : And when now, with a Witness, our Lives and our All, are embarked in the same Bottom with this interdicted Gospel, and sought to be destroyed together with it, by this Party, conspiring against Christ : And therefore, it is necessary Duty to defend both, by resisting their unjust Violence.

It is known, that this Martyr, and several others with him, that preached in the *Fields*, were appointed for Death, having a Price set upon their Heads, to encourage all that would apprehend them ; and all others, that came to hear them, were brought under the same Hazard of their Lives : Wherefore, finding themselves by their numerous Gatherings, in some probable Capacity, to defend themselves ; and these precious Gospel-privileges, more and more endeared to them, the more they were persecuted, by the satisfying Sweetness and

Comfort they experienced in these Ordinances ; and discovering the Enemies palpable Purposes to be levelled at nothing less, than at the destruction of the Remainder of the Gospel, and the Extirpation of the Remnant that followed it : Considering also, that not only the Law of God, of Nature and Nations, doth allow *Self-defence* from unjust Violence ; but also, the indissolvable Obligation of their *Covenants*, to maintain and defend that *Testimony*, and one another in promoting the same ; made it indispensable to use that Endeavour ; the Defects whereof, through their former Remisness, gave no small Encouragement to the Enemies Insolencies : They therefore judged it their Duty, for the necessary Defence of these so precious Concerns, from the Violence of their armed Assaulters, to provide and carry with them *defensive Arms*. In which Endeavours, for their own Defence, for keeping up the faithfully preached Gospel, and for preserving the Memory of the Lord's great Work in the Land, which to transmit to Posterity, was their greatest Design ; tho' their Discouragements were many from the Difficulty and Danger, because of their Fewness and Meanness : Yet, when they considered the Lord in former Times was wont to own a very small Party of their Ancestors, who in Extremity jeopard'd their Lives in Defence of the *Reformation*, against many and mighty Enemies ; they, owning the same Cause, judged themselves obliged to run the same Hazard, in the same Circumstances, and to follow the same Methods, and durst not leave it unessay'd, leaving the Event to God : And hereunto they were encouraged, by the constant Experience of the Lord's countenancing their Endeavours in that Posture ; so that, never a Meeting, standing to their own Defence, got any considerable Harm thereby.

2. Tho' perhaps it may be hard to find Precedents in

former Times perfectly parallel to this circumstantiate Case ; Yet we find our reforming Ancestors, defending themselves, and the Work of GOD in their Hands, in an avowed Resistance of all that should assail them ; and using such Arguments, for encouraging themselves to assist their Brethren, in opposing all that sought their Lives, as infer the Obligation of this Duty, *viz.* These expressly, ‘ That by their fainting and abstracting their
 ‘ Support, the Enemies would be encouraged, and there-
 ‘ by they should declare themselves, both *Traitors* to
 ‘ the *Truth* once professed, and *Murderers* of their
 ‘ *Brethren*, whom their Presence and Concurrence might
 ‘ preserve ; and that, if they should deny their Brethren,
 ‘ suffering for His Name’s Sake, they should also deny
 ‘ Christ, and be denied of him : And that GOD hath
 ‘ often punished Subjects with their Princes, for wink-
 ‘ ing-at, and not resisting their manifest Iniquity ; And
 ‘ therefore, as he is Immutable in Nature ; So, would he
 ‘ not pardon them in that, which he hath punished in
 ‘ others.’ See *Knox’s Hist. of Reformation.*

These Arguments in those Times were thought of great Weight, not only to justify People’s endeavouring to defend themselves, and the Reformation they were prosecuting, but to oblige others to come out for their Defence and Assistance : And consequently, will not only vindicate a poor People, persecute unto Death, in defending themselves and their Meetings for Gospel-Ordinances ; But also, condemn those that came not out to help them. What Arguments Mr. *Knox* adduced in his Conferences with the *Queen* and with *Lithington*, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting *tyrannical Violence*, may be seen also in that *History*. Which *Truth*, if it may be reduced to Practice in any Case, for any Cause,

must be allowed practicable in the Defence of our Lives, and Meetings for the Gospel. Again,

We have the Advice of the General Assembly for such Resistance, in defending such *Meetings*, against the Violence expected from the King and his Emissaries, when the Ministers were troubled upon the Account of the Declaration of Mr. *David Black*, and there was an Intention to pull them out of their Pulpits; They advised them to stand to the Discharge of their Calling, and their Flocks, to save them from Violence. *Calderwood's Hist.*

3. All the Arguments proving, confirming and illustrating the *Truth* of these irradicated Principles, and common congenite Dictates of Reason (never controverted, but by a Generation of Men, now raging, that are as great Monsters in Nature, as they are malignant in Religion, and as great Perverters of the Law of Nature, as they are Subverters of the Laws of GOD and of the Land.) *Vim vi repellere omnia Jura permittunt, and Defendere se, est, Juris Naturæ; Defensio Vitæ necessaria est, et a Jure Naturali profluit**; Speaking forth the Sense that all rational Creatures have, of the Lawfulness and Necessity of *Self-preservation*, against unjust Violence; will infer this, in these Circumstances, to be lawful and necessary, when there is no other Way to preserve our selves, and that Interest, which should be dearer and nearer to us than our selves; and is of greater Worth to be preserved than Ten thousand of our selves; *to wit*, the *Gospel*: And no other can be proposed or pretended, but what will infer the Lawfulness of Resistance. I shall not here gather the many

* *i. e.* All Laws allow to repel Force by Force: To defend one's self, is agreeable to the Law of Nature; The Defence of the Life is necessary, and flows from the Law of Nature.

unanswerable Arguments of learned Authors, that have demonstrated this point of *Truth*, but only glance at some *Considerations*, clearly deducible from these *Postulata* which cannot be denied.

(1.) When by the Constitution of the Kingdom, the Gospel is become a *Land and Law-right*, and fundamental Pillar of the Government ; And the Governors overturning the Law, and putting to Death all that will avouch a publick Testimony for it ; are violating and everting the main Grounds and Ends of the Government ; Especially when we are under *Covenant Engagements* to maintain and defend this Religion, with our Lives and Fortunes, and mutually to assist one another in the Defence thereof (as in the *National Covenant*) and *sincerely, really and constantly endeavour the Preservation of the reformed Religion, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government ;*———*And to assist and defend all those that enter into the same Bond in the maintaining thereof* (as in the *Solemn League :*) Somewhat must certainly be done, to acquit ourselves of the Duties we owe to our covenanted Religion, and our covenanted Brethren, and our selves ; and to absolve and exoner ourselves, from the Sin and Judgment of those, who overturn Religion, oppress our Brethren, and pursue our selves to Death : But this cannot be done by any Thing less than *pleading for Truth*, Isai. lix. 4. *Seeking the Truth*, Jer. v. 1. *Being valiant for it*, Jer. ix. 3. Which if they be essayed without Resistance, will expose our selves, and these Interests we plead for and seek, to inevitable Destruction.

Certainly these Interests must be some way defended, being more necessary than our Lives, and as preferable to other Interests, as Christ's Things are to Man's ; And as the End of all *Self-preservation* is to the Means

of it ; The Preservation of Religion, being the End of all Self-preservation ; It must be granted, these are to be defended against an invading Army of *Cut throat Papists, Turks, or Strangers*, even without, or against the Magistrate's Warrant : For, the Magistrate's Power cannot be privative, or destructive to the Defence of Religion and Liberty. Nor can the Magistrate, appointed for our Good, make us in worse Case, than if we had none ; for, if we had none, we might defend all these against Invaders ; and whether we have them or not, we are under moral Obligations to endeavour the Defence of these ; Then it cannot be unlawful to defend the same against invading *Home-bred Tyrants* : Except we would subscribe our selves *Home-bred Slaves*, *Jer. ii. 14.* Princes are more Tyrannical in invading Religion and Liberties themselves, than in suffering others to do it ; or hindring them to be opposed.

(2.) At least, in the forementioned, which is clearly our Case, it must be granted that it is our Duty to *disobey* these encroaching Rulers : Thence I infer, it is lawful to *resist* them ; Because Subjection is no more pressed in Scripture than Obedience ; Consequently, if Non-obedience may be lawful, Non-subjection may be so also. All commands of Subjection to the higher Powers, under Pain of Damnation, *Rom. xiii. 1, 2*, do respect only lawful Magistrates, and in lawful Things ; and do include Obedience, as well as Subjection ; and Non-obedience to the Power, so qualified, is a resisting of the Ordinance of GOD, as well as Non-subjection.

(3.) That which is usually objected against this Point, will be admitted, *Preces & Lachrimæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ ; Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church* ; The best Arms indeed, and without which, other Arms will be ineffectual, and the proper Arms of

a Church, as a Church : But hence it may be inferred, that the Members of the Church, being also Men, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 31. As Men, they may use the same Weapons that others do. If *Prayer-Resistance* be lawful, then *Forcible-Resistance* of Violence by defensive Arms must also be lawful ; For, this is as consistent with that Command, *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2. as that is with that Command, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 2. If the Prince be good, the one is as unlawful as the other ; If he be a Tyrant, the one is as lawful as the other. As Resistance by Prayers and Tears is more powerful and effectual than the other ; So the Laws of the Land make the one treasonable, as well as the other : That which will give a Dispensation from the Duty of praying for them, will also dispense from the Duty of Subjection to their Will ; and consequently allow defending our selves from their Violence.

If any Thing demur us from resisting of Princes, it must be, Respect to the Character of *the LORD'S Anointed*, upon them ; but that will not hinder a Believer to pray in Faith against *Tyrants* : And therefore, neither should it hinder him to defend himself against his Violence. And indeed, if the Impression of any Majesty, GOD hath put upon Princes, should bind up our Hands from any Resistance, it will restrain from *Prayer-Resistance* ; For, if that Impression have any Force at any Time, it must be, when a Man is most solemnly stated before GOD, and speaking to GOD, as a Christian ; rather than when he is acting as a Man, with a Man like himself : And, as *Prayer-resistance* is more forcible than any other (as many Kings have found, by their woful Experience) so, it is more restricted than any other ; For, we may defend our selves against many whom we must not pray against, *to wit*, our private Enemies, for whom we are commanded to pray ; but not to subject our selves to them.

(4.) It will be also granted, That in this Case, we may flee from them ; *Ergo*, Say I, we may resist them ; For, the same Justice and Equity that warrants declining Tyrants unjust Violence by *Flight*, will warrant *Resistance*, when *Flight* will not do it : The same Principle of *Self-preservation*, of *Charity* to our Brethren, of *Conscience* to keep our Religion, that makes *Flight* Duty, when *Resistance* is not possible, will also make *Resistance* Duty, when *Flight* is not practicable. To flee from a just Power, when by Justice we are obnoxious to its Sword, is *Resistance* of GOD's Ordinance : So, to flee from an unjust Power is Resistance also, but the Difference of the Power resisted, makes the one lawful, the other not. If a Tyrant hath irresistible Power to kill people at their Duty, he hath also irresistible Power to cite them ; and if it be unlawful to resist his Murderers, it must be as unlawful to resist his *Summons*. But for a Congregation or Community of Christians, persecuted for Religion, to flee with their Wives and Children, strong and weak, to escape tyrannical Violence, were more unlawful than to resist ; For, what is not possible, as a natural Mean of Preservation, is not a lawful Mean ; But this were not possible, neither is it warranted in Nature's Law, or GOD's Word, for them altogether that's persecuted for Meetings, that have GOD's Right and Man's Law to live in the Land, and enjoy the covenanted Privileges thereof, to leave the Country and Cause of Christ, and all in the Hands of a *Tyrant* and *Papist*, to set up Idolatry upon the Ruins of Reformation there.

4. From express Scripture, the same may be multifariously confirmed, As, (I.) From *Reproofs*, for not concurring to assist the LORD's People, *jeoparding their Lives in the high Places of the Fields* ; And Com-

mentations given to them, that did defend themselves, by resisting their Dominators oppressing them, *Judg. v. 16, 17, 18, 23.* *Reuben, Gilcad, Dan and Asher* are re-proved, and *Meroz* cursed, for not coming to the *Help of the LORD, to the Help of the LORD against the Mighty.* On the other Hand, *Zabulon and Naphtali* are commended, for *jeoparding their Lives in the high Places of the Fields,* in fighting against the Kings of *Canaan,* that then ruled over them.

(2.) From *Commands, Prov. xxiv. 11, 12.* If it be a Duty to rescue our Brethren from any prevailing Power, that would take their Lives unjustly, much more is it Duty to defend them and our selves both against murdering Violence: This, in our Case, is the Season of that Command, *Luke xxii. 36.—He that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment and buy one ;* Where our Lord allows us not to expect either Provision or Protection by a Course of Miracles ; but to provide our selves with ordinary Means, as for Sustenance, so for Defence against the Violence of Men. He would not indeed make much use of them for himself ; he needed not, he had another Work to do by Suffering : Only that what was written, might be accomplished in him, *Isai. liii. ult.* He would make so much Use of them, as to be voluntarily involved under the Censure and Reproach of *Rebellion ;* being taken among Men in Armes ; that he might be reckoned among *Transgressors, ver. 37.* Therefore, when they told him they had two Swords, he said, *It is enough, ver. 38.* Material Swords they were, no Doubt ; for, otherwise they cannot be bought by selling of Garments, &c. Here is our Lord's Royal Grant of the Privilege of Resistance ; else he would not bid us buy them, if we were not to make use of them ; and if they are to be used in any Case, it must be to defend our selves in enjoying his

Gospel, the most precious Privilege he hath given us to preserve.

(3.) From *Promises*; Passing many we have One, *Dan. xi. 30. 34.* When those that rule over the Lord's People are incensed against the *Holy Covenant*, and when many of their Brethren that should concur with them, shall be frighted from their Duty by Fear, or corrupted with Flattery; the Faithful shall be made strong to do *Exploits*; tho' in such Enterprises they may want Success for some Time, and *fall by the Sword, Captivity and Spoil many Days*; eminently fulfilled in the History of the *Maccabees*, and very near paralleled in the present Case of the Covenanted People of *Scotland*, their appearing in Defence of their *Testimonies* for the Covenanted Reformation, against their *Covenant-breaking and Covenant-condemning Rulers*. This Promise of these *Exploits* infers an Approbation of them.

(4.) From *Practices* approved in Scripture; the *first* I adduce, is that of *Elisha*, resolving Resistance against both the King of the Land personally, and his Emissary, in Defence of his Life and the Elders, in a *Meeting* at his House, *2 Kings vi. 32.* Next, After the *Babylonish* Captivity, when the *Jews* were setting about the Work of building the *Temple*, which they would do by themselves, and not admit of any Association with Malignants, they were straitly discharged by *Artaxerxes* to proceed in their Work, and the Inhibition was execute by Force and Power, *Ezra iv.* But, by Encouragement of the Prophets, *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, countermanding the King's Decree, they would not be hindred, tho' *Tatnai* the Governor of those Parts, *Shetharboznai*, and their Companions would have boasted them from it, with the usual Arguments of Malignants, *Who hath commanded you to do so and so?* *Ezra v. 3, 5.* Yet, this

was before the Decree of *Darius* was obtained in their Favours, *Ezra* vi. If People then may prosecute a Duty, without and against a King's Command, then may they resist their Commands and Force, used to execute them ; as, no Doubt, that People resolved to resist both ; as *Nehemiah* did, when challenged by *Sanballat*, *Tobiah* and *Geshem*, boasting them with that, *Will ye rebel against the King?* *Neh.* ii. Yet, notwithstanding of all Scoffs and Plots to hinder the Building, they went on, encouraging one another, *To remember the Lord, and fight for their Brethren*, &c. And to build with Weapons in their Hands, *Neh.* iv. If then, neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor Practices of malignant Enemies, should deter People from a Duty, which they have a Call and Capacity from God to prosecute, and if they may promote it against all Opposition, by defensive Arms ; then may and must they defend themselves, and maintain their Duty, notwithstanding of all Pretences of Authority against them.

A Word shall be added to some Objections, and I have done.

Obj. 1. *They that resist the Power, shall receive to themselves Damnation*, *Rom.* xiii. 2. tho' *Nero* was then the Power.

Ans. 1. It cannot be proven that *Nero* had the sovereign Power at this Time ; Or, that he was a Tyrant at this Time : The *Senate* is rather the Power here meant, if the Apostle spoke of any in particular ; and who knows not that they resisted *Nero* at length ; without transgressing this Precept. But the Text speaks of *lawful Powers* indefinitely, in the plural Number, not of unlawful *Usurpers* and *Tyrants* ; the Subjection here commanded, takes in Obedience ; *unlimited* Obedience is not here required ; so neither unlimited Subjection. It is

very considerable what *Buchanan* says, *De Jure Regni*, 'I imagine (says he) there had been now, some Christian King, who had turned Tyrant and Apostate to the Scandal of Religion, what would he have written then? Sure, if he had been like himself, he would have denied, that he should be owned for a King, and would have interdicted all Christians Communion with him, and that they should *account him no King*, but such as they were to have no Fellowship with, according to the Law of the Gospel.' Much more would he have allowed in our Case.

Obj. 2. We are commanded not to resist Evil, *Matth. v. 39. Rom. xii. 17.*

Ans. This doth not hinder *Self-defence*, or resisting Tyrants in Self-defence; but only Resistance by way of private Revenge and Retaliation; and doth no more condemn private Persons retaliating the Magistrate, than Magistrates retaliating private Persons; unless Magistrates be exempted from this Precept, and so be not among Christ's Followers: Yea, this doth no more forbid resisting the unjust Violence of Magistrates, than the unjust Violence of private Persons.

Obj. 3. The Lord says to *Peter*, *Matth. xxvi. 52. Put up thy Sword; for all they that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword.* *Ans.* The Lord would not make use of *Peter's* Rashness, in preventing the Call of his Master to such Acts of Resistance at that Time. The Reason was twofold; One was, *For they that take the Sword*, which is not a Threatning to *Peter*, but an Encouragement to him, to expect that these that usurped the Sword of tyrannical Insolence, coming to take Christ, should perish with the Sword of the *Romans*. This is a terrible Word against Persecutors, and that *Rev. xiii. 10.* not against them that are necessitate to

take the Sword of Self-defence. The other Reason was, *John. xviii. 11. The Cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink?* Suffering was the End of his Humiliation, and his great Errand to the World; which is not the Rule of our Practice; for then it were unlawful for us to flee, as well as resist; because he would not flee at that Time.

Obj. 4. Christ saith, Johu xviii. 36. My Kingdom is not of this World, else would my Servants fight, that I might not be delivered to the Jews. Aus. If Christ's Kingdom is not to be defended and preserved by Resistance of all Enemies; then all were obliged to suffer it to be run-down by Slaves, *Antichrist's* Vassals, Papists and Malignants: Then also Magistrates might not fight for it; for they are among Christ's Servants, if they be Christians. But the good Confession he witnesseth here before *Pilate*, is, that he hath a Kingdom, which as it is not in Opposition to any *Cesarian* Majesty; so, it must not be usurped upon by any King of Clay; but is specifically distinct from all the Kingdoms of this World, and subordinate to no earthly Power; being of a spiritual Nature; whereof this is a Demonstration, and sufficient Security for earthly Kingdoms, that his Servants, as such, that is, as Christians, and as Ministers, were not appointed by him to propagate it by Arms; nor deliver him their King at that Time; because he would not suffer his glorious Design of Redemption to be any longer retarded: But this doth not say, but tho' they are not to *propagate* it as Christians, and as Ministers, by carnal Weapons; Yet they may *preserve* it with such Weapons, as Men.

Both these Ways Mr. *James Renwick* thought himself obliged to endeavour to propagate and preserve this Kingdom of Christ: In a spiritual Way, as a Minister,

by Weapons, *Mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong Holds, casting down Imaginations, and every Thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Christ*: And to preserve it as a Man, by such Means as God, and Nature, and the Gospel allows; and in the End to seal his Testimony thereto, in witnessing the same good Confession, for the Prerogatives and Privileges, which his Lord and Master asserts, as a Martyr, with his dearest Blood.

F I N I S.

MR. *James Renwick* being the last, who, in a publick Way, upon a Scaffold, sealed the Testimony of this persecuting Period with his Blood; it will not be impertinent, and to some, specially such as required it, not ungrateful, here to subjoin the following *Recapitulation* of the Sufferings of that Time; collected by the Author of the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, Part 3d*, at the Close, *Page 290, &c.* where he thus writes.

‘ In this Persecution, as has been collected from the
 ‘ Accounts, both publick and private, above 18000 Peo-
 ‘ ple have suffered the utmost Extremities, their Ene-
 ‘ mies could inflict; of which the following Particulars
 ‘ are a part, many of which can be proved, even to the
 ‘ very Names of the Persons, with the Places of their
 ‘ Abode.

‘ 1700 have been banished, as Slaves, to the *English*

‘ Plantations ; besides such as were by Order of Council, at the Beginning of the Persecution, ordered, on Pain of Death, to leave their Country, which amounted to 87 : And besides above 750, banished to *Zetland*, to the Isles of *Lewis*, *Orkney*, and other remote Places belonging to *Scotland* : Of these 200 were wilfully and premeditatedly murdered, by keeping them under Hatches, till they were drowned, when the Ship was stranded, and there was Time for them to escape.

‘ 800 were Out-law’d, as we call it in *England*, about the Time of *Pentland* Affair, by Order of the high Commission Court, and 55 eminent Persons were pannelled, as the *Scots* Law terms it ;—and were sentenced to be executed without further Prosecution, when they should be taken, as many of them afterwards were : Among these were 10 or 11 Ministers.

‘ It is impossible to give an Account of those, who perished by unjust and tedious Confinement in Prisons, by the Barbarity of merciless *Jailors* or *Keepers*, Stench of closs and horrid Dungeons and Vaults, want of Conveniencies, crowding 30 or 40 into little dark and damp Rooms together, lying on the Ground, Extremity of Cold and Hunger, Weight of Chains, Bolts and Irons, and the like. Besides this, great Numbers, by the unhappy Places where they were confin’d, such as the Castles of *Blackness*, *Dunnotar*, *Inverlochy*, and the *Bass* ; and by innumerable Cruelties, practised upon them, in those Places, contracted Diseases, lost the Use of Limbs and Senses,—and many their Lives : They who think they have Modestly computed the Number of these (for an exact Account cannot be had) tell us, they amount to above 3600.—

‘ In the several Actions, which their Persecutors call *Rebellions*, and the Skirmishes which upon these Oc-

‘ casions, as also on Surprizes, or otherwise have hap-
 ‘ pened, there have been killed in the Field about 560 ;
 ‘ as at *Pentland, Bothwell, Airds-moss*,—and other
 ‘ Places, in Defence of their Meetings, and personal
 ‘ Defence of their Lives ; besides those, who died of
 ‘ Wounds, received on such Occasions, which are reck-
 ‘ oned to be about 120.

‘ Those that have fled from their Country, forced
 ‘ into voluntary Banishment,—in *England, Ireland,*
 ‘ *Holland, Sweden, &c.* where they were driven to great
 ‘ Distress.—The Number of these has been estimat-
 ‘ ed, by such as think they have made a modest Calcu-
 ‘ lation, at about 7000.

‘ Besides these, there were Abundance of innocent
 ‘ and pious Sufferers, who were basely murdered by the
 ‘ Soldiers and Persecutors,—being generally killed in
 ‘ cold Blood, without Process of Law, Civil or Military,
 ‘ without visible Crime, Charge, or Examination ; Of
 ‘ these, the printed Accounts tell us the Names of 78
 ‘ murdered by particular Persons ; and I am well assur-
 ‘ ed, there were very many more ; and I have heard, that
 ‘ a Person, whom I have not met with, has the Names
 ‘ of above 420 more : But that Number I do not avouch.

‘ The Number really executed, in the pretended
 ‘ Course of Justice, and by the *Sentence* of the *cruel*
 ‘ *Persecutors*, and who died by the *Hangman*, is very
 ‘ great ; and I am told that about 362 are to be found
 ‘ on the several Books of the Justiciary, and Council-
 ‘ Courts, upon Record ; besides what were executed by
 ‘ Military Laws, as they call them, of which no Record
 ‘ has been kept.

‘ The Number of these, who perished thro’ Cold,
 ‘ Hunger, and other Distresses, contracted in their
 ‘ Flight into Mountains, Wandrings without Shelter

‘ or Harbour, in dreadful Winters, during the long
 ‘ Space of *Twenty eight Years Persecution*, and who of-
 ‘ ten came Home in such Extremities, as just to step in-
 ‘ to their own Houses to die ; and sometimes were, even
 ‘ in the Article of Death, dispatch’d by the murdering
 ‘ *Soldiers* : These were many *Thousands*, and cannot be
 ‘ calculated ; but will certainly make up more than the
 ‘ Number of *Eighteen thousand*, mentioned above.

‘ Among these, I say nothing of the *Pillage and Spoil*
 ‘ of *Goods*, the turning *Women and Children* out into
 ‘ the *Fields*, in *Cold and Nakedness*, after devouring
 ‘ their *Food*, and tearing off the *Clothes* from their
 ‘ *Backs* ; Of which many perished for *Want*, and by the
 ‘ *Extremities of the Weather*.

‘ It were also *endless*, to Number the *Families* ruin-
 ‘ ed and reduc’d to *Misery and Want*, which must be
 ‘ the Consequence of the *Plundrings and Murders*, men-
 ‘ tioned above ; So that it should be *wondred*, that any
 ‘ of these *People* were *left*, or that there were any *found*
 ‘ at the *Revolution* ; tho’ to the Honour of Truth, it
 ‘ must be owned, that *then*, their Number was found to
 ‘ be greater than ever ; Witness their raising a Regi-
 ‘ ment of *Eight hundred Men*, in one Day, without Beat
 ‘ of *Drum*.’ —————

Here it is evident, this Author, tho’ but a Stranger, speaks especially of these, who suffered for *Non-Compliance with Tyranny, Supremacy, Prelacy, and Erastianism* ; and who *accepted not Deliverance* by the sinful and ensnaring Fruits and Favours flowing from, and depending upon their usurped *absolute Power* ; Such as, *Indulgences and Toleration* : And doth vindicate, in his *Third Part*, several Points and Heads of their Testimony, which Mr. *Wodrow* condemns, as illegal *Heights, Flights, and irregular Lengths, and Extremities* : Hence,

it needs be no Marvel to any, that this *Author* cannot escape the Imputation of *Blunders*, in the *Preface* to *Mr. Wodrow's* first *Volume*; for tho' the *Occasion* and *Subject* of their *Writing* be the same, their *Scope* and *Manner* of prosecuting it, do vastly differ; the one shewing, that the *Principles* of *Sufferers* in this *Period* were those of the *covenanted Reformation* in its *Maturity*; The other disproving all these, in so far as they agree not with the present *Course* and later *Establishment* on other *Bases*.

In the *Preface* to *De Laune's PLEA* for the *Non-Conformists*; *D. Foe* (supposed to be also the *Author* of the foresaid *Memoirs*) speaking of the *Persecution* of the *Dissenters* in *England*, in this woful *Period*, has the following *Paragraph*.

‘ I am sorry to say, He (the Reverend and learned
 ‘ *Mr. De Laune*) is one of near *Eight thousand Prote-*
 ‘ *stant Dissenters* that perisht in *Prison* in the *Days* of
 ‘ that Merciful (*it should been, Merciless*) *Prince King*
 ‘ *Charles the Second*; and that meerly for dissenting
 ‘ from the *Church* in *Points*, which they could give such
 ‘ *Reasons* for, as this *Plea* assigns, and for no other
 ‘ *Cause*, were *stifled*, I had almost said *murdered*, in
 ‘ *Goals* for their *Religion*, in the *Days* of these *Gentle-*
 ‘ *mens Power*, who pretend to abhor *Persecution*.

Advertisement.

IN regard we have little of *Mr. Renwick's* excellent, painful and ministerial *Labours* in *Print*, besides the *Informatory Vindication*, *Testimony* against the *Tolera-*

tion, and his last Speech and Testimony at his Death, but a few of the many Sermons, that are to be seen in Manuscript, as gathered by the Pen of some of his Hearers ; and these not so accurately written, as he would have done, nor so correctly printed as they should have been ; I'll here annex one small Piece of his great Work, in the above-mentioned sad and singular Circumstances he had to labour under, anent the Admission of Ruling Elders, exactly according to the Copy I had thereof : Some of which Elders are yet alive ; one of them tells me, That this Admission, of the Date October 16th, was at Dar-mead ; and that Mr. Renwick had in like manner, upon the 9th Day of that Month, at another Place, admitted others to the same Charge of Ruling-Elders. My Copy is as follows.

ADMISSION of ELDERS by Mr. James Renwick.

After Lecture, Zech. iii. 6. to the End, and Sermon, Song viii. 11, 12. Follows the Admission of some, to the Charge of RULING-ELDERS, October 16th, 1687.

WE desire thankfully to acknowledge, to the LORD's Praise, that he did give unto our Church, Doctrine and Policy ; having the Measuring-Line of the Sanctuary stretched over the same ; So that, we may say, we were once as a Wall, made by a Plum-Line, *Amos vii. 7.* Also, we desire to confess it, as our

great Sin and Shame, that our Practice hath not been agreeable to our Principles, and if weighed in the Balance, we will be found too light : For, *in these Things whereunto we had attained, we have not walked by the same Rule, and minded the same Things*, Phil. iii. 16. Who may not see, that from the corrupt Mixtures, in Church-Officers and Members, is a great Cause, why so much Wrath is gone forth from the LORD, against us, and doth abide upon us ? And his Way of dealing with *Scotland*, now for many Years, speaks aloud, that his Design is, to purge his House, that his Ordinances may be pure ; and also, his Officers and People : But, tho' he hath been purging us, we refuse to be purged ; for every Furnace discovers more Dross, and every Sieve more Chaff. There is a perverse Spirit in the midst of us, which causeth us to err, in every Work, as a drunken Man staggereth in his Vomit ; and we eat every Man the Flesh of his own Arm, *Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh, and they together are against Judah*, *Isai. ix. 20, 21.* And now there is, as it were, a *Conspiracy* among all Sorts to return to *Egypt*, to build again the Walls of *Jericho*, and to repair the Ruines of *Edom*.

But that I may come to the Purpose ; *The Admission of Ruling-Elders*, in this broken and low State of our Church, hath been long delayed, and much impeded : Howbeit, through the good Hand of the LORD, we have, after some Consultations and Disputations, Prayer and Fasting, fallen upon it ; and being now to admit some to this great Trust and Charge, I shall show, (1.) What is understood in Scripture by the Name *Elder*. (2.) I shall prove from the Word of GOD, the Institution of the *Ruling-Elder* to be Divine. (3.) I shall show what moveth us to admit *Ruling-Elders* at

this Time. (4.) I shall labour to take off, what may be *objected* against our present proceeding. (5.) I shall speak of the *Vocation*, or Calling of *Ruling-Elders*, (6.) I shall show their *Duties*, and take the Persons, elected and tried, engaged thereunto ; And also, speak a Word unto the *Duties* whereunto the People are bound.

1. As to the *First*, The Name *Elder*, in Scripture, doth signify divers Things. (1.) It signifieth *old Men*, 1 *Tim.* v. 1. (2.) These who have lived in the *Times of Old*, *Matth.* xv. 2. (3.) Honourable and *worthy Men*, *Isai.* iii. 2. (4.) It is the name of a *spiritual Officer* in the Church of Christ, *Acts*, xiv. 23. These who bear Rule in GOD's House, are called Elders ; because of the Knowledge, Gifts, Experience, Prudence and Gravity, wherewith they ought to be endowed. And there are several sorts of spiritual Officers, who in the Scriptures are named *Elders* : The *Doctors* or teaching *Elders*, the *Ministers* or preaching *Elders*, and the ruling, or governing *Elders* : These Three are, oftentimes in the New Testament, comprised under the general Name of *Elders*, *Acts* xv. 6. 1 *Pet.* v. 1. It is the *Ruling-Elder*, whom we have to now do with ; who is so called, not because the Power of ruling and governing the Church belongs to him alone ; for that belongs also to the teaching and preaching *Elders*, or to the *Doctors* and *Pastors* ; But, because, to Rule and Govern, is the principal and chief Part of his Charge and Employment ; it is the highest Act of his Office : It is not competent for him to Teach, that belongs to the *Doctor* ; nor to Preach, that belongs to the *Minister*, or *Pastor* : But his Office is comprised within the Compass of Ruling and Governing the Church : And therefore, (I say) he is the *Governing*, or *Ruling-Elder* :

The Apostle calleth him, *Him that ruleth*, Rom. xii. 8. and *Governments*, 1 Cor. xii. 28. putting the *Abstract* for the *Concrete*, Governments for Governors. Hence,

Then they greatly err, who call them *Laick-Elders*, as if they were a Part of the People only ; and not to be reckoned among the Officers of the LORD's House ; whom the Popish Church in their Pride calls the *Clergy* ; that is the LORD's *Inheritance*, in Opposition to the Laity, or People, whom they look upon as base, and inferior to the other, in Worth and Excellency : Whereas all the LORD's People are his *Portion* and the *Lot of his inheritance*, Deut. xxxii. 9. 1. *Pet.* v. 3.

They are also in a Mistake, who call these only *Ruling-Elders*, who sit in Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies, allowing others the Name of *Elders*, but not *Ruling-Elders* : But every Elder, in the LORD's House, is a *Ruling-Elder* ; because, the Power and Exercise of Rule and Government belongeth to every Elder ; tho' some of them, upon special Occasions, be called to a more eminent Exercise of it than others.

II. As to the *Second*, I prove from the Word of GOD the Institution of the *Ruling-Elder* to be Divine.

The Lord Jesus Christ, *upon whose Shoulders the Government is*, and who is *Faithful in all his House*, hath, in his eternal Wisdom, thought fit to appoint such an Officer in the Church, for the right and orderly governing thereof. It is true, that by the Sloth, or rather the Pride of Teachers, whilst they alone would seem to be somewhat ; and by the Policy of Satan, and Inadvertancy of the Church, these Officers were, for sundry Ages together, out of Use in the Christian Church. But certain it is, that both the *Jewish Synagogue*, and thereafter the Christian Church, had *Seniores* or *Elders*, without whose Counsel nothing was done in the Church.

The *Jewish Church* had such, as appears from, *2 Chron.* xix. 8. *Jer.* xxix. 1. *Matth.* xvi. 21. And that the *Christian Church* also had them, in the primitive and purest Times thereof, appears from the Testimony of ancient Writers, as *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and others. But we have a more sure Word for the Divine Institution of *Ruling-Elders*, in the *Christian Church*; *to wit*, The Testimony of GOD in the *New Testament*: For clearing whereof, I shall adduce two or three Scriptures.

The first is, *Rom* xii. 6. 7. 8. *Having then Gifts differing, according to the Grace that is given to us; whether Prophecy, let us prophesie, according to the Proportion of Faith; or Ministry, let us wait on our Ministering, or he that teacheth, on Teaching; or he that exhorteth, on Exhortation; he that giveth let him do it with Simplicity; he that ruleth, with Diligence; he that sheweth Mercy, with Cheerfulness.* In which Text, the Apostle doth first comprehend all the several Kinds of all the standing Officers in the Church of God, under two several Heads, *to wit*, *Prophecy*, whereby is meant, the ordinary Faculty of right Understanding and Expounding the Scriptures; and *Ministry*, under which is comprehended, all other Church Officers and Employments. To each of these he addeth their general Duties, *to wit*, That he who *prophesieth*, should do it according to the *Proportion of Faith*; that is, according to the Measure of the Knowledge of the word of Faith, that he hath received of God; and he that *ministers*, let him *wait on his Ministering*, that is, let him do it faithfully and diligently. Then he subdivides these two Generals, into the special Officers contained under them: He divides him that *prophesieth* into, him that *teacheth*, and him that *exhorteth*; or, into the *Doctor*, to whom the Word of Teaching or Instruction belongs; and the

Pastor, to whom the Word of Exhortation is competent ; and under him that *ministrcth*, he comprehendeth, him that *giveth* ; and him that *sheweth Mercy*, by whom is meant the *Deacon*, who is appointed for the Supply of the Poor ; and him that *ruleth*, by whom can be meant no other than the *Ruling-Elder*, seeing an ordinary ruling Officer in the Church, who is different from the Pastor and Teacher, is here spoken of by the Apostle.

The second Place of Scripture is, 1 Cor. xii. 28. *And God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, after that Miracles, then Gifts of Healing, Helps, Governments, Diversities of Tongues.* Here Paul reckoneth several Officers of the Church, some *Extraordinary*, as *Apostles, Prophets, Powers, or Miracles, Gifts of Healing, Kinds of Tongues* ; some *Ordinary*, such as *Teachers*, or the ordinary Church Officers, who are exercised in the Word : *Helps*, that is the *Deacons*, who are appointed for the Help and Relief of the Poor ; and *Governments*, that is, the *Governing or Ruling-Elders* ; for this cannot be any other of the Church Officers, because these he named besides.

The third Place of Scripture is, 1 Tim. v. 17. *Let the Elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double Honour, especially who labour in the Word and Doctrine.* Which Text, distinguisheth two Sorts of *Elders*, to whom Christ hath committed the Power of Ruling ; One Sort, who do also *labour in the Word and Doctrine*, as Pastors and Teachers : Another Sort, who do only *Rule*, and doing it well, are counted worthy of double Honour ; and these are the *Ruling-Elders*.

Now the Office of the *Ruling-Elder* being of divine Institution, these that are once lawfully called thereunto, and have Gifts from God meet to exercise the same

(unless they be removed therefrom, because of Miscarriage) are still Elders ; tho' (happily) in Congregations, where many qualified Men may be found, some may be permitted, for a Time, to surcease from the Exercise of their Charge, and others put in their Room, as was among the *Levites* under the Law, in serving the Temple by Courses.

III. As to the Third, I shall show what moveth us to admit Ruling-Elders at this time : As,

First, The *Necessity* of such an Officer in the House of God : He is institute in the Word, and we ought to constitute him ; for without him Government and Discipline cannot be rightly exercised. It was still in a declining Time of the Church, that this Office was little regarded : And because of the singular Necessity and Usefulness thereof, it hath been a great Eye-sore to Satan and his Instruments : And in former Times and Cases of the Church, like unto this, the admitting of qualified Men unto this Trust and Charge, hath been followed with no small Blessing, and Success and Progress in Reformation ; which we pray God, may be the Consequent of this our Action.

2dly, The *Perpetuation* and Continuation of such an Officer in the House of God : For, the old, or former Elders, are many of them dead, and many of them turned so grossly scandalous, and fallen into such ugly Defection, that they have rendred themselves incapable of being continued, or acknowledged as such Officers.

IV. As to the *Fourth*, I labour to take off what may be objected against our present Proceeding ; and this I do by answering to some *Questions*, that may be most ordinarily proponed.

The first *Question* is, It is usual, that Ruling-Elders

be admitted to respective Parishes ; but, this Admission is not so ; therefore, how can it be sustained as lawul ?

I answer, First, *Ruling-Elders* are indeed admitted to respective Parishes, in the Case and Time of a constitute Church ; but now in the Time of this her broken and declining State, there is a moral Impossibility of doing it so ; For, the most part of the People in the several Parishes of this Land are either turned avowed and stated Enemies unto God, or become such that they will do nothing for God, and have no meddling in such Matters : And the want of that accidental Circumstance, can noways warrant us to forbear such a necessary Duty.

2do, These Ruling-Elders who now are to be admitted, are to exercise their Office over such as elect them ; yea, and all such as will submit unto them, which none concurring with the Testimony of the Day, will refuse. Howbeit, they are particularly and specially tied, to take inspection of that Bounds, where they are chosen ; and therefore, they are to endeavour to reside there so far as the Troubles of the Time may allow.

3tio, They are, as to their not being fixed in respective Parishes, in the like Circumstances with the Ministers, who, in this broken State of the Church, do officiate to all who employ them ; and if this manner be right to them, so it is also to the Ruling-Elders in the present Condition of Affairs.

The second *Question* is, How can Elders be admitted by any Ministers, but these who are settled and fixed in their respective Parishes ?

I answer, We find in Scripture, that it hath been done in the growing state of the Church, *Acts* xiv. 23. And therefore, it is most lawful for Ministers, in her disturbed and broken State, when People invite them,

receive Ordinances at their Hands, and set the Men, whom they choose, before them ; to admit such to this Office, providing that, after Trial, they be found qualified ; which accordingly hath been practised in the Churches of Christ in former Ages : Yea, even in the Time of a constitute Church, tho' it be most usual and ordinary, that Elders are admitted by the Ministers of their respective Parishes ; yet, in a Case that a Parish wanted a Minister, that Work was to be performed by one or more Ministers of the Presbytery.

The Third *Question*, is, This Way of Admission seems to be *Schismatical* ; yea, the setting up a Church within a Church ; therefore, how can it be warrantable ?

I answer, There is nothing like *Schism* in it : For, tho' we have not the Concurrence of these Ministers and Elders, who are departed out of the Way, with whom we cannot join in other Parts of their Office ; yet this Work is agreed upon by the faithful Ministers and Elders, who own the Testimony of the Day. There is here no new Thing ; there is here no Innovation ; there is here no setting up a Church within a Church, but an adding to the Number of her Officers, that the old Church, to say so, may not die among our Hands.

The Fourth *Question*, If our Church shall come to a constitute settled State, then what shall become of these Elders ? How, or where shall they exercise their Function ?

I answer, That even as the Ministers, who now travel about, in discharging their Office, mostly for the Advantage of the Church, in the Case wherein she now is, would then be Ministers of that particular Flock or Parish, whereunto they got Application ; so, the Ruling Elder, with Application to the respective Parish, where then they might reside, would become their Elders ;

and no Civil Power on Earth usurping a Supremacy, or Ecclesiastical Power, misweilding the Keys, can exauctorate these, whom now we admit ; unless their own Scandals give an Ecclesiastick Power (conscientiously using the Keys) sufficient Ground for it, which we pray the Lord may prevent.

V. As to the *Fifth*, I speak of the Vocation, or Calling of *Ruling-Elders* : As no Man is to intrude himself into any sacred Function in the House of God, *Heb. v. 4*. So, before any take upon him to exercise the Office of a *Ruling-Elder*, he ought to be lawfully called thereunto : This Call is *inward*, or *outward* : The *Inward* Call is the Testimony of a good Conscience, concerning some Measure of Ability and Gifts for the Charge ; and sincere and honest Inclinations and Purposes, to imploy these Gifts for the Honour of God, the Advancement of the Kingdom of Christ Jesus, and the Good of Souls. The *Outward* Calling is, to be, after the same Manner with that of other Church-Officers : And it stands (1.) In their Election. (2.) The Trial of their Carriage and Gifts. (3.) Their Admission to the Charge.

1. The Election is to be made, by these amongst whom they are to bear Charge, *Acts vi. 3, 5. and xiv. 23*. That it may be gone about in the more orderly Way, it is fit that a Nomination be made of the best qualified Persons, for the Employment by the Minister and Elders ; and in Case of the Want of Elders, by the most judicious and godly Members ; particularly Masters of Families : And that intimation of the Names of the Persons nominated, be publicly made to the People, among whom they are to bear Rule ; and they desired, in Case of their not being satisfied, as having Exceptions, or knowing others better qualified, to represent the same.

2. The Trial is to be made by the Minister and El-

dership : And, they are to be tried, both in regard of their Conversation, that it be blameless and holy ; and also, in regard of their Knowledge, and Experience in the Things of God, and Affairs of his House, and of their Ability and Prudence for Government. The Apostle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 10. speaking of *Deacons*, which is, the lowest Rank of the Officers of the Church, requires, that they first be proved : And more especially ought the Elders ; Yea, the same Reasons and Grounds, that plead for the Trial of a Minister, plead also for the Trial of Ruling-Elders, in a Way suitable to the Qualifications required in them.

3. The Admission is to be made by the Minister, in presence of the whole Congregation, with the Preaching of the Word concerning their Duty ; and with Prayer and Humiliation, concerning the Spirit of their Calling, to be poured out upon them ; and that the Pleasure of the Lord may prosper in their Hands : At which time, they are solemnly to Engage themselves unto all the Duties of that holy Office ; And the People also are to Engage themselves, to submit unto them in the Lord.

Now, this order hath been followed for the Persons, who now are to be admitted into this great Trust : They have been elected by the respective Societies, among whom they are particularly to bear Rule ; and tried by the Minister and Elders, and found (in a tolerable Measure) qualified for that honourable Employment. And that we may proceed to Admission, we desire you who have been chosen and proven, for bearing the Office of *Ruling-Elders*, to stand up.——I ask, if ye be all willing to take on the Charge of *Ruling-Elders* in the Church of Christ. —————

VI. So I come, in the *Sixth* Place, To show you the

Duties of Ruling-Elders, and to take you engaged thereunto.

The *Duties* are, either *personal*, and relate to your Conversation; Or, *official*, and relate to the Office. Your *personal* Qualifications, or the Duties of your Conversation, are the same with these that the Apostle requires in the Conversation of a *Minister*, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and iv. 12. and vi. 11. Also, *Tit.* i. 6, 7, 8. For under the Name of *Επισκοποι*, or *Overseers*, he comprehends all these Officers, who have Oversight and Charge of Souls. But that ye may more distinctly know the *Duties* of your Conversation, from these Scriptures, I shall subdivide them into *Negative* and *Positive* Duties: The *Negative* Duties show you what you must not be; and the *Positive*, what you must be, in regard of your Conversation.

NEGATIVE DUTIES, are,

(1.) Ye must not be given to Wine; ye must not be Lovers, nor Followers of strong Drink, nor tittle away Time in Ale-houses. (2.) Ye must not be covetous, nor greedy of filthy Lucre. (3.) Ye must not be soon angry, neither upon real, nor conceived Cause of Provocation. (4.) Ye must not be Strikers nor Brawlers, nor given to Quarrellings and Contentions. (5.) Ye must not be self-willed, adhering pertinaciously, and without Reason, to your own Judgments, and refusing to hearken to the Judgment of your Brethren, tho' sound and wholesome. (6.) Ye must not be Novices, or such as are newly come to the Faith, lest ye be puffed up with Pride, and fall into the Condemnation of the Devil: The Spirits of Novices are not yet well ballasted, nor brought low by frequent Exercises of the Cross; and so come to be more easily puffed up: Therefore, there is need

that ye be exercised Soldiers of Jesus Christ, and who by Experience are taught to know the *Wiles* of the *Devil*, and are able to endure Hardness.

POSITIVE DUTIES.

(1.) Ye *must be Blameless*, that is, without Offence towards God and Man. (2.) Ye must be *Vigilant*, Watchful over your own Souls, that no Temptation prevail upon you; ready to lay hold upon every Opportunity of Well-doing. (3.) Ye must be *Sober and Temperate*, of a sound and humble Mind, moderating your own Appetites and Affections, and satisfying your selves with a moderate Use of the creatures and Things of this World. (4.) Ye must be *Chast*, shunning all Lusts, and every immodest and unbecoming Carriage. (5.) Ye must be *Holy*; careful to exercise the Life of Religion, and Power of Godliness, in all your Conversation. (6.) Ye must be *Just* and *Upright* in your Dealings among Men, deceiving no Man, and withholding from no Man what is his Due. (7.) Ye must be *Moderate* and not rigorous, nor exacting the highest of the Law in your Dealings; but in your own Particulars of a condescending Nature, and remitting something of strict Justice. (8.) Ye must be *given to Hospitality*; ready to receive *Strangers*, especially the *Poor*, and these who are of the *Household of Faith*. (9.) Ye must be *Lovers of good Men*, whose Souls cleave to these who fear God, having such in Estimation above all others, cherishing them, and conversing ordinarily with them, and familiarly with them. (10.) Ye must be *apt to Teach*, that is, Men of Knowledge, and able to instruct others, of willing and ready Minds to teach others; which is not so meant, as if it were requisite for you, to be endowed with the Gift of instruction and Exhortation, compe-

tent to the Teacher and Pastor ; or that ye may and ought employ your selves therein : But of that Fitness and Ability to teach, that is competent to your Calling, which ye must be ready and willing to exercise, so far as is competent to you, or belongs to you. (11.) Ye must be *Patient*, waiting upon your *Duty*, without wearying, notwithstanding of *Difficulties*, and bearing the *Delays*, *Untractableness* and *Injuries* of others. (12.) Ye must be of a *good Behaviour*, Men of a *grave* and *stayed*, yet of an *affable* and *courteous Carriage* ; neither *light* nor *vain*, to the losing of your *Authority*, and rendring your selves *contemptible* ; nor *surly* and *self-pleasing*, to the *discouraging* and *scarring* away of the *Flock*, by your needless *Distance* and *Austerity*. (13.) Ye must be *stable in the Truths of GOD* ; holding fast the faithful Word, which ye have been taught, without wavering and turning aside to *Error*. (14.) Ye must be of a *good Report* of these, who are without ; lest ye fall into *Reproach*, and the *Snare* of the *Devil* : Not that ye must be without the *Reproach* of a wicked and malignant *Generation* ; for they reproached Christ, the *Prophets* and *Apostles* : But that ye must be of such a *blameless Conversation*, *sober* and *Christian Walk*, as may extort a *Testimony* even from these, who know not *GOD* ; and by *Well-doing* put to *Silence* the *Ignorance* of foolish Men, that if any *speak Evil of you, as evil Doers*, they may be *ashamed*, who speak falsly against your *good Conversation* in Christ. (15.) Ye must perform your *relative Duties*. You who have *Families*, must *rule well your own Houses* : This *ruling well* imports, not only an *Ability* for doing of it ; but also, making *Conscience* of, and actually performing these *Duties* that are required, for the right ordering of a *Christian Family*.

I proceed, in the *next Place*, to show your *official Duties*, or the *Duties* of your *Office* and *Calling*: And I subdivide them into more *Private* and more *Publick Duties*. The more *Private* show you, what you are to perform your selves alone; and the more *Publick*, what ye are to perform jointly with the rest of the *Overseers* of the House of GOD.

The more *Private Duties* of your *Calling* are these, that Christians are bound to perform each one to other, by the Law of Charity and Love, and much more ye by Virtue of your Office. As,

(1.) Ye must instruct, *John* iv. 29. *Acts* xviii. 26.
 (2.) Ye must exhort, *Heb.* x. 24, 25. (3.) Ye must admonish and rebuke, *Lev.* xix. 17. (4.) Ye must comfort the Afflicted, and support the Weak, *1 Thess.* v. 11.
 (5.) Ye must restore these that are fallen, *Gal.* vi. 1. And so also endeavour to prevent the falling, or straying of any, and their countenancing or strengthening any Course of *Iniquity* or *Defection*. (6.) Ye must reconcile these, that are at *Variance*, *Matth.* v. 9. (7.) Ye must pray one for another, *Jude* 20. (8.) Ye must visit the Sick and these who are in *Distress*, *Math.* xxv. 36. The Scripture doth expressly mention some of these *Duties*, as incumbent unto *Ruling-Elders*, as *Admonition*, *1 Thess.* v. 12. *visiting* and *praying* over the Sick, *Jam.* v. 14. *feeding* the *Flock* by *Instruction*, *Exhortation*, *Rebuke* and *Comfort*, in such a Way as is competent to their Station, *Acts* xx. 28. and the rest we may warrantably gather by *Analogy* and *Proportion*: For, if private Christians be obliged thereunto, much more are Christian *Elders* in a special Way, who have the Charge of Souls. These Things are well expressed in the *Sixth Chapter* of the *Second Book of Discipline*, ‘As Pastors and Doctors (say they) should be diligent in teaching

‘ and sowing the Seed of the Word ; so, the *Elders*
 ‘ should be careful in seeking the Fruit of the same of
 ‘ the People: It appertains to them to assist the Pastor
 ‘ in Examination of them that come to the LORD’s
 ‘ Table ; and in visiting the Sick: They should cause
 ‘ the *Acts* of the *Assemblies*, as well particular as gene-
 ‘ ral, to be put in Execution carefully: They should be
 ‘ diligent in admonishing all Men of their *Duty*, accord-
 ‘ ing to the Rule of the *Evangel*: Things that they can-
 ‘ not correct by private Admonition, they should bring
 ‘ to the Eldership.’

The more *publick Duties* of your *Calling* are these which lie upon you, in the *Assemblies*, or *Courts* of the *Church*, which are made up of *Teaching-Elders*, *Preaching-Elders*, and *Ruling-Elders*: These *Assemblies* are *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, *general* or *national* and *acumenical*. These Things which are handled in the *Assemblies* of the *Church*, are, either Matters of *Faith*, Matters of *Order*, Matters of *Discipline*, or that which concerneth the *sending* of Church-Officers. According to which, they have a fourfold Power.

First, *Dogmatick*, whereby they judge of *Truth* and *Error*, in Points of Doctrine, according to the Word of GOD only. Secondly, *Diatactick*, whereby they discern and judge of the Circumstances of these Things, that belong to the Worship of GOD ; as Times, Places, Persons, and all such Particulars in Ecclesiastick Affairs (as are not determined in the Word) according to the general Rules thereof, concerning *Order and Decency*, avoiding of *Scandal*, doing all to the Glory of GOD and edifying of the Church. 3d, *Critick*, or *Corrective*, whereby the *Scandalous* are censured, and the *Penitent* received again into the *Ordinances* and *Fellowship* of the Church. 4th, *Exousiastick*, whereby Church Officers

are sent and authorized, and Power given unto them to serve the House of GOD.

All these *Assemblies* are not to exercise all these Powers, but to keep themselves within their due Bounds ; the Inferior leaving these Things that are of more common Concernment to the Superiors. But in all these Powers *Ruling-Elders* have a Share, and do put forth the same in Exercise, according to the Measure that belongs to the *Assembly*, whereof they are *Members*, Acts xv. 6, 22, 23. Howbeit the Execution of some Decrees of Church-Assemblies, such as, the *Imposition of Hands*, the *pronouncing the Sentence* of Excommunication, *receiving of Penitents*, the *Intimation* of the *Deposition of Ministers*, and such like, doth belong to the Ministers alone.

But because the Government, and more frequent Duties of *Ruling-Elders*, lieth (for the most Part) in the Exercise of their Share of the Power of censuring *Scandal* and *scandalous Persons*, and trying and admitting of *Penitents* : Therefore, I show you somewhat of the right Way of following your Duty in these Things.

As, 1st. Ye must exercise your Power over all Persons within your Charge indifferently and impartially ; over the Rich as well as the Poor, the High as well as the Low, your Kinsfolk as well as others, Jam. ii. 1. *Divers Weights and divers Measures are an Abomination to the LORD* ; Yea, you must exercise it over these of your own Number ; and also, over teaching and preaching Elders, Acts xx. 28.

2d, Ye must exercise your Power towards all Sorts of Scandals and Offences, 2 *Thess.* iii. 6. The Acts of our Church do appoint, that, whosoever it be, that might spot a Christian Congregation, ought not to escape either

Admonition or Censure. Therefore, ye must take Notice of all scandalous Omissions and Commissions.

3d, Ye must not bring in civil Questions and Debates before the Assemblies of the Church, *John xviii. 36.*

4th, Ye must observe this Order in taking Notice of Offences: If the Offence be private, and known but to a few, then follow the Order prescribed unto you by Christ, *Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17.* If the Offence be publick and open, then is the Offender, without previous Admonition, to be delated to the Session. *1 Tim. v. 20.*

5th, In these Delations, you must not, upon every Rumour, or Jealousie, or Suspicion, bring Men to be questioned publickly, as scandalous Walkers; but ye are first to make diligent and prudent Enquiry about the Truth of the Matter, and to see if it can be proven by Witnesses; Or, if the Scandal thereof be common and flagrant, or attended with pregnant Likelihoods, and Presumptions of Truth, before ye bring it to publick.

6th, In the Matter of Delations and Censure, ye must, in the Fear of God, and Sincerity of your Heart, take heed, that Fear, or Favour, or Solicitations, or Threatnings, or Gifts, or Bribes, make you not wink at the Faults of any; and that Passion, or Malice, or private Quarrels and Particulars, make you not rip up, delate, or censure the Miscarriage of any: And also, that ye carry your selves with Tenderness, Compassion and Moderation towards the Offender, *Gal. vi. 1,* that ye may commend your selves to every Man's Conscience, *2 Cor. iv. 2.*

7th, Ye must not use, nor inflict any civil Punishment upon Persons convicted of Scandal: The Kingdom of Jesus Christ and the Censures thereof are spiritual, and not of this World, *John xviii. 36.*

8th, Ye must not use the Censures of the Church as a

bodily Punishment, or *Penance* to satisfy for Sin ; but, as a *spiritual Medicine*, for humbling and gaining of the Soul : All Church-Censures, even Excommunication it self, are ordained of God for this End, 1 *Cor.* v. 5. The Word SATISFACTION, may admit of a tolerable Construction in Church-Censures, in order to the removing of the Scandal ; but this being so much abused in the *Popish Church*, and the Hearts of Men being so prone to turn Gospel-Repentance into a meer legal Penance, and to conceive, that by a mere outward Submission and Obedience to the Censures of the Church, the Guilt of their Sin is done away before God : Therefore, ye would carefully shun every Thing that may give Occasion to the fostering of this pernicious Opinion, and take due Pains to instruct the Offenders, in the true Nature and Ends of the Censures of the Church.

9th, Ye must take Pains upon Persons convicted of Scandals, to bring them to Repentance, and to have them fitted to evidence and declare the same in publick, before the Congregation, that so the Scandal may be removed.

10th, Ye must not desire, or appoint, any to profess Repentance before the Congregation, until the Signs thereof appear in them : For, it is but a mocking, to put such to publick Repentance, who neither understand what Sin is, what Repentance is, what Grace is, nor by whom God's Favours and Mercies are purchased : For this, see what is set down in the *Form and Order of publick Repentance*, appointed by the Assembly, 1567.

Lastly, When the Signs and Evidences of unfeigned Repentance do appear in these who have offended ; ye must show your selves ready and willing to receive them, with all Tenderness and Compassion, and to forgive and

comfort them, and confirm your Love towards them, 2 *Cor.* ii. 7, 8.

Now these are the Duties briefly and summarily holden forth unto you.——But, before we take you engaged, we will pray.——

Do you give your Adherence to the Scriptures of the *Old and New Testaments*, our *Confession of Faith*, as it is *received and approven* by the General Assembly of this Church, our *Catechisms Larger and Shorter*, our *Covenants National and Solemn League*, and to the *Acts* of our *lawful General Assemblies*, for *Promoval and Defence of Reformation*? And also, unto the *Testimony* of our *Day*, against *Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, Indulgence, Tyranny, Sectarianism, Schism, Defection*, and all *Heresie and Error*; as it is stated and owned by the present *witnessing and suffering Remnant*, according to the *Word of God*, and the *foresaid*? And do ye firmly and unfeignedly purpose and resolve, to continue all the *Days* of your *Lives* in *Adherence* to these? so that no *Terror* or *Perswasion* of *Men* shall turn you aside, either to *Compliance with Iniquity*, or *deserting of Duty*.

Now, do ye undertake the *Office of Ruling Elders* in the *Church of Christ*, and solemnly engage before the *Lord*, that ye shall be faithful, diligent and watchful over the *Flock* committed to your *Charge*, and in all the *Duties* of that holy and honourable *Employment*?——

And ye who are the *People*, ye are taken engaged to obey these *Ruling-Elders*, and to submit your selves to them in the *Lord*; for they watch for your *Souls*, as they that must give *Account*: And to honour them, and highly esteem them in *Love* for their *Work's sake*, according as is prescribed unto you, *Heb.* xiii. 17. 1 *Thess.* v. 12, 13. If ye shall misregard their *Office*, disdain their *Persons*, slight their wholsom *Instructions* and *Ex-*

hortations, and neglect their sound and seasonable Admonitions and Rebukes, ye shall be found to despise Christ, contemn his Ordinances, reject the Means of your Edification, and to save your own Souls, in the Sight of the holy One, when *he shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in Flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*——

Thus Mr. *James Renwick* admitted, or ordained Elders (still concluding the Work with Prayer) not only at the two Times and Places foresaid, but at other Times in several other Places, in that disturbed and afflicted State of the Church ; which the unbyassed Reader may perceive, was no less orderly, solemn, and conform to Scripture-Rule, than if it had been in a settled and constitute Church. Yea, some may observe how far it excels the superficial Manner of admitting Elders by many in a settled and (as is pretended,) well constitute Church. And if Elders, admitted in our Days, have not been so well preadmonished of their Duties, or be not conscientiously diligent and faithful in the Discharge of their several Duties, in that sacred Function, they need not be ashamed to learn by the above-mentioned Method and Documents of that young Disciple of Christ, who, 'tis evident, was a beloved One, and had the Mind of the Lord ; and like young *Elihu*, having the Spirit and Love of Christ constraining him, did not accept any Man's Person, nor give flattering Titles to Man ; but freely and faithfully delivered the whole Counsel of God.

There being in the *Publisher's* Hands above *Sixty* of Mr. *Renwick's* Letters, which might been here subjoined, and were designed to be published with his *Life*, as pertinent, and of a religious Strain ; but not being in Capa-

city to Print them now, and not knowing what Entertainment the *History* of his *Life* may meet with in this Age, his *Letters* are deferred a while. Only the *Reader* may see, in the following Pages, and peruse Two or Three of them for a *Specimen*, shewing with what Affection, Spirit and Piety he wrote.

And, if any desire to know how he behaved or wrote, as to *Matters* of *Controversy* and *Calumny*, they may see in that Respect also, an Instance of his *Meekness* and *Moderation*, with *Prudence* and *Piety*, in his *Answer* to Mr. *Langlans* his *Criminations*, which is Printed in with a little *Pamphlet*, Intituled, *A Confutation* of a scandalous *Pamphlet*, called *A Manifesto*, &c. That *Answer* of his to grievous *Aspersions* cast on him, his Followers, and the *Cause* and *Testimony* they held, might be pertinently insert here; but being Printed there already, is omitted.

To the Right Honourable Society of Strangers
at *Lewarden* in *Friezland*.

July 11th, 1684.

Beloved in our Lord,

THE Report of the Continuance of your Sympathy with us, and of the Increase of your Zeal for the LORD of Hosts, is greatly encouraging and refreshing to me: And which Thing, together with the great Uniteness of my Heart unto you, impels me to presume upon the writing of a Line unto you, tho' I be unapt to write unto any such, and know not how to explicate myself; for, that which I mainly desire is, to commend

unto the World the Loveliness of Christ, the Preciousness of his Cause, the Easiness of his yoke, and the Sweetness of his Cross (whereof I am sure, ye are not ignorant.) But, O this is a Work above the Reach of poor, scrimp, finite Creatures. Who can think, who can speak, or who can write of this? The Immensurableness and Freedom of the Grace of Christ, the Boundlessness of his Power, and Infiniteness of his Love, is such a bottomless Deep of joyful Wonder, wherein these, who are made perfect, are everlastingly drowned. What can we in this falling Tabernacle say or think, who but see in part, and know in part? But O! let us take our Eyes from beholding Vanities, and feed them allenerly upon the Fulness and All-sufficiency of precious and glorious Christ; what Doubts and Fears can we have? but enough is there to solve and answer them all unto us; and I think, if we poor Creatures, whenever a Doubt or Fear did arise, presently turned our Eyes to contemplate Christ's free All-sufficiency, we would find it immediately to evanish (as dispelled Smoke) indiscernable: But ah! our Tempers are sinfully ready, rather to pore upon our Fears, than to imploy Christ for our Help; and hereby, the Life which we might have of joyful Praise, is turned into a Life of despondent Anxiety. O they that see Christ to be theirs, can find no Want; and what mad Fools, idle Persons and foolish Choosers are they, who make it not their Work to have Christ: But I confess, Christ, unto many (even that profess much) is as the ample World is to them; they have a passing View of Christ, with the illiterate, illuminate Eye of the Mind; but have neither a renewed Heart to affect him only for himself, as the All-satisfying and enriching Pearl of Price: Others think that they have a love to him, but their Desires are after that

which is his, and not after himself; they desire Liberation from the Guilt and Punishment of Sin, and a Possession of a Heaven, which they build up to themselves in their Brain; but they care not tho' there were not such a Thing as *the Christ*. O! what spurious Love is this? Can any in Reason think, but a Suiter, whom a Maid condescended to match with, only upon the Account of his Estate, without Regard of his Person, had good Ground to refuse such base and spurious Love? and how shall Christ regard the adulterate Love of such Self-seekers? And another Sort of Folk cover over their Pride with a Vizard of Humility, and cry forth, Christ is a King, and they are sitting upon a Dunghill, how can they consent to so great and high a Match? if they were Queens they would do it. But O! that such would consider, that while they seek any Thing in themselves to commend them to Christ, they will still stagger and stay away: But, let them lay aside their Coyness, and once come to him, and match with him, and he will make them Queens and Matches meet for himself. Christ comes to woo his Bride in the Garments of Condescendency; he took upon him our Nature, that he might say to the Worms of the Earth, Ye are my Brethren and my Sisters: And, O glorious is he in these Garments, being also clothed in the Robes of ravishing Majesty. How compleat and how free a Saviour is he? yea, how communicative a Good? so that, each of his own have him so, as if not any other besides them had him: Each of us have as much of the Sun, as we would have, tho' there were no others on the Earth to partake with us; so is the Enjoyment of that blessed Sun of Righteousness to all his Chosen, each of them hath him all. O! what a blessed Enjoyment is this, which each of his Saints doth enjoy without envying or wronging one another! what

a blessed Choice is Christ ! what a lovely Choice is he ! O ! he is lovely, he is lovely, and all that choose him will say, he is lovely, and that they have made a brave Bargain. What was said of a Heathen *Socrates*, all that knew him loved him ; and if they did not love him, it was because they did not know him. Indeed they that love not Christ, it is because they do not know him. If he were known what a great, gracious, powerful, loving, beautiful and excellent One he is, the Heart would be filled with Love unto him. If he were known, the Soul's Out-cry would be, He is altogether matchless ! who is like unto him ? Love thinketh the Beloved hath no Parallel ; and Love loveth all that is the Beloved's : Hence, as Christ is lovely to his own, so his Cause is precious, it is precious, it is precious, it is his declarative Glory ; it is that whereby he maketh his Name known. How honourable is it to be an Owner of the same ! what Badges of Honour are Reproaches, and Revilings upon that Account ! As Love unto him makes his Cause precious, so, where that is, nothing will be thought too costly to bestow, upon the Cause's Account : What will Love not undergo ? what will Love not forego for the Beloved's Honour ? We need no more to commend this common Cause unto us, than this, it is Christ's Cause ; and seeing his Glory is concerned in it, that is our Honour to be concerned with it : So Love to the lovely One, or an Uptaking of his Loveliness, which cannot but beget Love to him, maketh his Yoke easy. Love is as Oil to our Wheels, to make them run swiftly and lightly, the Way of his Commandments. O ! love makes Obedience an easie and pleasant Work : for the Command binds the Conscience, and Love gains the Affections : So, where Conscience and Inclination go together, it must needs be an easie Work. Christ's Yoke

was easie and pleasant unto *David*, Psal. cxix. 127. *I love thy Commandments above Gold, yea, above fine Gold!* And that which is greatly to be marked there, is, as the World was Casting off Christ's Yoke, so *David* was taking it on more heartsomly: *They have made void thy Law, therefore I love thy Commandments, &c.* saith he. A Mark of a true Love indeed; The more that Christ is rejected and despised by others, the more is he to be beloved by his own. O what shall be said of Love to Christ! Love is a resolute Soldier for him, Love is a valiant Champion in his Lists; Love despiseth, yea (I may say) wisheth for Difficulties, to get it self shown. Love sees not a Spot upon all the Cross; Love gets never a bitter Cup put into his Hand, but the Beloved's Frowns; It thinks not his Cross bitter, but reads Delightsomness engraven upon it; Love will rejoice to cross the natural Part of the Will to please Christ, Love will not stand to venture upon the Swellings of *Jordan* with him and for him; The Heaps of great Waters are nothing in Love's Eye; the deeper that Love wades, it thinks it the sweeter; Losses, Wandrings, Tossings, Death and Dangers are nothing to Love, for, *Cant. viii. 6, 7. Love is strong as Death, Jealousie is cruel as the Grave, the Coals thereof are Coals of Fire which hath a most vehement Flame; Many Waters cannot quench Love, neither can the Floods drown it; If a Man would give all the Substance of his House for Love, it would utterly be contemned.* O what shall I say? Let us love Christ, let us love him, and exalt his Grace; and they that do not, nor never will love him, let them *Anathema Maranatha.* Now,

Right Honourable and dearly Beloved in our lovely Lord, ye have expressed greatly your Love to wronged Christ and his precious Cause, by your standing still to

condole and commiserate the Case of his mournful and distressed People in this Land: Ye have evidenced Heart-Sympathy with us; your Hands have not been bound up from helping, strengthening and encouraging us; ye have been Instruments to minister a refreshful Cup of Consolation unto us; ye have stood with us when others have left us: O stand by Truth and Duty; keep thereby, tho' all Men should deny the one, and forsake the other; let this be your Study and our Study, and so let us stand one with and for another: Let nothing damp you, nor mar your Confidence; the Cause is the Lord's, he shall prevail, he will overturn Thrones and Kingdoms, and get himself a Name; And amongst the rest, the Tribe of *Levi* must get a Clash: But, go ye on; let it be your only Work to follow the Lord fully and sincerely, and your latter End shall be Peace. Thus committing you all to the Lord, for directing and upholding Grace, for his making you in your Places and Stations (as hitherto he hath done in a great Measure.) Brazen-Walls and Iron-Pillars against all Error and Ungodliness; and for his enabling you by his Grace to endure to the End; that so, ye may everlastingly triumph with him in Glory. So, hoping that I need not desire you to be mindful of a poor, wrestling, bleeding and wronged Church; and of him, whose Life is wading through Snares, Discouragements, Hazards, Deaths and Dangers; and who is,

*Right honourable and dearly Beloved in the Lord,
Your real and constant Friend and Ser-
vant in all Christian Duties,*

JA. RENWICK.

To the Right Honourable Society of Strangers
at *Lewarden in Friezland.*

February 18, 1686.

Right Honourable and dearly Beloved in our sweet Lord,

I Have had often Blushes with my self, when I thought upon my omitting to write unto you ; but I may say, it was neither voluntary nor wilful, but necessitate : For, a Man under such various Exigences of Providences, as I am, cannot, be Master of his own Purposes. And beside, that I am daily looking out, either to be presently killed, where I may be found, or else dragged unto a Prison or Scaffold. Various weighty and perplexing Occurrences, Day by Day, come inevitably into my Way ; which take up my thoughts, filling my Spirit with Care, and my Hands with Business. But, if I had proven as forgetful of you, as I have been blocked up from saluting you with a Line from my Hand ; I had been far out of my Duty before the Lord, and grossly ungrateful toward you. Howbeit, Right Honourable and dearly beloved, I need not insist in apologizing for my self with you ; for I know, ye have such a Feeling of our Burdens, that ye commiserate our Case, and pity our Perplexities : Therefore, I'll break off this, and go on in what the Lord giveth me to say.

There is no rational Creature, which doth not set some one Thing or other before its Eyes, as its main End and chief Good ; and according to the various Predominants in Sensual and Mad-men, are their various main Ends. Hence it is that there did result so many different Opinions among Heathen Philosophers, about Man's chief Good. But, here is the great Mistake with

foolish, vain Men, that whatever they seek after, it is but few, who do bend toward the true chief Good, which is God. There are indeed Gods many and Lords many : For, whatever any fixeth his Desires upon, and aimeth in all his Actions, at the obtaining and enjoying thereof, is his Lord and his God ; whether it be Honour, or Riches, or some Object or other of vile Concupiscence ; yet there is but one God, who is truly and only Desirable, Love-worthy, and Honour-worthy. This One hath not a Match or a Parallel : For, what can equal him ? yea, what in any Worth, can come the Length of the Latchet of his Shoes ? He is that inestimable Jewel, invaluable Treasure, and incomparable Pearl of Price, that only worthy Desire of all Nations. O take a look of him as he is the Being of Beings, having Being of himself independent of all other Beings, and upon whom all other Things depend in their Being and Operations. In him we live, in him we move, and of him we have our Being. Do not all the Pieces of the Creation, Heaven, Earth and Sea, Sun, Moon and Stars, the commonest and unworthiest Creature that moveth upon the Earth, bear large Characters of his Wisdom, Power and Goodness ? Doth not his mysterious common Providence, making the sharpest sighted of his Creatures hide their Faces, and become silent before him ; declare him to be God ; and that he is of one Mind, and who can turn him ? Do not the various Instruments that execute his Will, signified by four Chariots, *Zech.* vi. 1. bringing about various Dispensations, signified by the different Colours of the Horses ; whether Calamities of War, signified by the Red ; other doleful Miseries, signified by the Black ; mixed Dispensations, Black and White (so to speak) of Mercy and Judgment, signified by the Grizled and Bay ; or Dispensations of mercy signi-

fied, by the White: I say, do not all these come forth from between the two Mountains of Brass? The one Mountain signifying his unalterable Decree, and the other his effectual Providence, which watcheth and waiteth that Instruments bring nothing to the Birth, but what hath been conceived in the Womb of his eternal Purpose. O take a Look of him in his Perfections; he is without Measure and Limits, without Beginning and Ending; he is one and the same in his Nature, in his Counsels, and in his Love: he perfectly knoweth himself; and all Things that are possible, he can do all Things which do not imply a Contradiction, and argue Imperfection: He is good, and doth good; he is righteous in himself, and equal in all his Ways of dealing with his Creatures; He is true without any Dissimulation; He is holy, and delighteth in his own Holiness, and in every Resemblance of it in his Angels and Saints. But, O who can think of him? and who can speak of him? He is infinite in all his Attributes; and every Perfection hath a perfect Meeting in him: Albeit some of his Attributes be in some degree communicable to his Creatures, yet they are all in him, in an altogether incommunicable Manner and Measure; and there is nothing in God, but what is God; for, this is his Name, I AM THAT I AM. And again, I say, who can think of him, and who can speak of him? who can comprehend him, or compass him about? *Who by Understanding can search out God?* Humble and believing Ignorance is better than curious and prying Knowledge: For, all that we cannot know of him is, to know that we cannot know him. Let us yet come a little nearer, and take a Look of him, as He is our Saviour, in his Condescendency, Love, Power, Faithfulness, and other Properties: O how condescending is he? tho' he be that

high and lofty One, the Father's Equal, yet he stooped so low as to take upon him the Nature of Man, and all the sinless Infirmities that attend it : He became Flesh of our Flesh, and Bone of our Bone, and that in the lowly Condition of a Servant ; He suites the Creatures Affection, as if it were of some Worth, and seeks Men and Women to match with him ; O how loving is he ? it is strong Love that he beareth to that Seed of *Abraham* : Doth not this shine in all that he hath done ? He emptied himself that they might become full ; he made himself poor, tho' Maker and Possessor of Heaven and Earth, that they might become rich ; he fulfilled the Law for them, that he might purchase to them Life and Happiness ; he made himself a sacrifice unto the Death, that he might satisfy offended Justice, and make Reconciliation for them : O such a Death ! so cursed ! so shameful ! so painful and so lingering ! But above all, he had the full Weight of the Wrath of God to bear ; which all the Strength of Angels and Men could not have endured : But he being God, he could not fall under it. O what manner of Love is this ? In Effect he did not care what he suffered ; let Justice charge home upon him with all its Rigour and Severity, seeing he was to gain his Point, and purchase a Part of Mankind from Satan to himself, from Sin to Holiness, from Misery to Happiness : So that Man, however unworthy, base, sinful and miserable, yet is the Center of his Love. O how powerful is he ! he is mighty to save, able to save to the uttermost ; all the strong Holds of the Soul cannot hold out against him ; his Power is irresistible ; by this he can do what he will ; and by his Love he will do what we need : And again, he is so faithful, that what he saith he doth ; he will not retract one Promise that is gone out of his Mouth ; neither will he fail in fulfilling all his Threat-

nings. Much might be said of these Things ; but not the thousandth Part of the Truth can be told : When we win to his House above, and see him as he is, we will be ashamed of all our Babbings about him ; they that have been most ravish'd with his Love, and most eloquent to speak forth the Praise of his Comeliness and Properties, will see that they have been but, at best, Babes learning to speak. O ! What shall I say ? He is the wonderful, matchless, and glorious, inestimable Jewel, and incomparable Pearl of Price. O who would not choose him ! who would not give away themselves unto him ! Let Man look through Heaven and Earth, and seek a Portion where he will, he shall not find the like of Christ. O then ! let us be altogether his and nothing our own. Our Time let it be his, our Understanding and Will let them be his, our Affections let them be his, the Travel of our Souls let it be his, our Strength let it be his, our Names, Lives, and Enjoyments let them all be his ; let us be fully surrendered, and intirely consecrated unto him. This is a comprehensive Matter indeed. But, what else should we be taken up with, but with the Improvement of this Resignation, always travelling through his Properties, viewing them as our Riches, delighting to improve our Interest in him, by receiving from his Hand what we need, and that he improve his Interest in us, by doing with us, and taking from us as he pleaseth. Let us see him, and observe and say, What have we to do any more with our *Idols*. Oh that Vanity should get so much as one Look from me ! I think he never took more Pains upon any, that they might be emptied of all Things besides himself, and not have a Will of their own, nor Affection to any other Thing ; and yet, Ah ! the bad Intertainment he gets off my hand ; I can neither esteem him myself,

nor commend him to others, tho' my Work be to trumpet aloud his Praise, and to be an Under-suiter to gain the Bride's Consent to the lovely Bridegroom ; I can do nothing in it, and little can Angels do in it to any Purpose : Yet, I can tell this unto all, that my Master infinitely passeth my Commendation ; He is so Excellent that, it would be an obscuring of his Excellency for me to bable about it. O ! Right Honourable and dear Friends, are ye not longing for the full Enjoyment of him, looking out for the breaking of the Day, and the fleeing away of the Shadows, that ye may no more see him darkly as through a Glass, but may behold him as he is, and enjoy him perfectly and constantly ? This, O this ! what a Happiness is this ! And what shall I say more ? for ye know more of him than I can tell you : And all that I can say, is, but (as it were) to bring you to Remembrance.

I thank God on your Behalf that your Zeal is heard of in many Places. Ye have become Companions with us in our Afflictions ; your Sympathy with this persecuted Party is evident to us all, and we hear that we have a great Room in your Prayers : Man cannot repay your kindness to us, but I know ye look not to Man in it, doing it out of Love to the Lord ; for ye have no outward Incouragement to it. O that the Lord, who hath joined together a few of *Lewarden* and a Party in *Scotland*, in such Oneness of Mind and Affection, may, when he returns to us again, join *Scotland* and *Friezland* in Covenant together, to serve the Lord their God ! And ye, O Beloved, grow in Grace and endure to the End. I doubt not but ye have laid your All at Christ's Feet. O take nothing back again : Be resolute in his Cause, and valiant in his Matters : When his Kingdom is so low, let him want none of your Help, that is competent

for you, and he shall help you ; own him, and he will own you, stand with him, and he will stand with you, and make you victorious ; whoever fight against you, ye shall overcome : It is good fighting in Christ's Camp, for all his Soldiers shall certainly prevail. O look to your Captain and Encouragements, that ye faint not. I apprehend that ye meet with sore Blows and Bickerings ; yea, I think, that ye scarcely want any Conflict that we have, save that ye are not as yet in such Hazard of your Lives : But, as nothing more than this doth endear you unto us ; So, no external Condition will more draw out God's Heart towards you. But, this I will say, Be well resolved against whatever Man can do unto you : I think no Christian ought now to be secure ; the Man of Sin is plotting and strengthening his Force what he can, and he will not be content with a Part of Christ's Kingdom ; his Aim is at all ; he stirs himself now so fast in his Saddle, that I think, it is not long to his Fall : However, many Lands may look for strange Plagues, tho' *Britain* and *Ireland* shall be made the Center of God's Judgments ; yet his Indignation shall not be contained within their Limits. O Judgments ! sudden and sore wasting Judgments are coming on *Britain* and *Ireland*. Christ, mounted on the red Horse of Severity, will ride through the Breadth and Length of their Lands. The appearance of some Parties did fill many with temporal Expectations ; but did not make others change their Thoughts : As they knew little of God's Way, who looked for such Good from such Hands ; So, I thought them Fools, who conjectured that a Delivery should come before a Desolation. I say again, Be well resolved against what Man can do unto you : For, there are no mo Chrstians than there are Martyrs in Resolution and Affection : The Kingdom of Heaven

must be taken by Violence, and the Violent take it by Force; and the mo and greater Difficulties be in the Way, a right Sight of the Kingdom makes the Way the more pleasant. O fear not Difficulties: For, many Trials, that, when looked upon at a Distance, seem big and mounting, yet when they and ye meet, ye shall find them nothing. If I could commend any Thing beside Christ, it would be the Cross of Christ: These Things which make carnal On-lookers think my Condition hard and miserable, make me think it sweet and pleasant: I have found Hazards, Reproaches, Contempts, Weariness, Cold, Night-wanderings, stormy Tempests and Deserts so desirable, that it is a greater Difficulty to me, not to be ambitious of these Things, than to submit unto them. O rejoice in the Cross, for it is all paved with Love! the fewer that will bear it, it is your greater Honour to be Friends to it: Follow Christ with the Cross upon your Backs, and set none else before you, as your Leader; for Man is a poor, fallible, changeable Creature: Let it be your Care not to fall upon the Stumbling-blocks cast in your Way: neither to cast Stumbling-blocks in the Way of any: *Wo to the World because of Offences*: Tho' ye have your own Share of the revilings of this Time, yet be not reproached into Reproachers: Tho' the Sowness of others grieve you, yet let it not infect you; but let Zeal be accompanied with Meekness, that ye may be free of Passion and Prejudice; and let Meekness be backed with Zeal, that ye may be free of Lukewarmness and Indifferency: Let Meekness be extended toward all Persons, and Zeal against all Sins: And as ye would not lose your ground, be positive against Sin in the first Proposal and Motion thereof; ye will not get it shifted by, and your selves kept free of it, by hiding your selves,

and not appearing freely against it, tho' there may be an Unwillingness unto it. I conceive *Aaron* had no Will to make the *Golden Calf*, and he thought to have gotten it put out of the *Israelites* Minds by bidding them break off their *Golden Ear-rings*, and bring them unto him ; but this simple Shift would not do it : The Saint of GOD is pitifully insnared ; and if he was simple, in opposing that Abomination, he got as silly an Excuse for himself ; it would not have been thought that a Child would have said, There came out this Calf. Now,

Commit your Cause unto the LORD, for Judgment and Righteousness shall yet meet together again upon Earth : He is interested in his own Work, and therefore he can neither forget it nor forsake it : And, such as wait for him shall never be put to shame. But,

O long and cry for his Appearance, that he may right Wrongs, and rule for himself, and claim his own Right of Possession ; that the promised Day may come, that this shall be voiced amongst the Heavens, The Kingdoms of the Earth are become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ ; He is busy in order to this ; he is carrying on a Discovery of all sorts of Folk, Enemies and others : I thought that his Discovery had been near thro' *Scotland* before this ; but he lets me see my self a Fool, for so judging ; he sees many Things to be discovered that Man sees not : But happy are they who are sincere and intire ; They need not fear, for when they are tried they shall come forth as Gold.

Now, as to our present Case, I wot not well what to say to you anent it, there are so many Mercies and Judgments in it to be spoken of. God hath taken this last Year many from us, by Banishment and by Death, on Scaffolds, especially on the fields, where none (for the most Part) were to see them die, but the Executioners ;

and yet God fills up their Rooms again ; neither are these Things permitted to damp such as are left : Some have (which is more sad) fallen off from us ; and yet, God is filling up their Places also, and making others more stedfast ; and notwithstanding both of Persecutions and Reproaches, the Lord hath opened Doors for me, in several Places in *Scotland*, where there used to be no such Access before, and hath multiplied my Work so upon my Hands (I speak it to his Praise) that I have observed my Work (I say) to be now in some Shires threefold, and in some fourfold more than it was. O that God would send forth Labourers ! there seems to be much ado in *Scotland* with them. Also it is almost incredible to tell what Zeal, what Tenderness, what Painfulness in Duty, what Circumspectness, of Walk in many young Ones of Ten, Eleven, Twelve and Fourteen Years of Age, in many Places of *Scotland* ; which I look upon as one of the visiblist and greatest Tokens for Good that we have. But,

Right Honourable and dearly Beloved, not to detain you further ; I acknowledge my self your Debtor while I live, for your many Prayers put up for this poor distressed Church, whereof, I know, I have had a Share ; for your Sympathy and Kindness otherways manifested to us ; for your Care of that Family with you, wherein we are all concerned ; and particularly, for your encouraging, strengthening of, and Kindness to my dear and worthy Friend, our Right Honourable Delegate. I bless the Lord, who hath given you Zeal for himself, and hath helped you to stand with a poor despised Party in many Stours for his Interest. I commend you to him, that he may make his rich Grace more and more abound in you, that he may perfect what concerns you, and make you persevere unto the End, and himself be

your exceeding rich Reward. I hope I need not desire you to pray for me, I am,

*Right Honourable and dearly Beloved,
Your obliged Friend and obedient
Servant in the Lord,*

JAMES RENWICK.

To the Right Honourable Lady E. B.

May 13th, 1686.

Right Honourable Lady,

DEARLY Beloved in the Lord, My insufficiency, being in Part known to me, doth make me stand in some Aw to write to you : But if I had the Tongue of the Learned, and the Pen of a ready Writer, I would employ them both in speaking Well of the Name of CHRIST, and commending his Way. O, *His Name is as Ointment poured forth* ; and whoso gets a Smell thereof, cannot but love him : And his Way is so lovely, that a poor Soul, that once gets his Foot upon it, and the Eye looking forward, cannot but choose to tread in these Paths ; tho' Rubs and Crosses from Enemies, both from within and without, should be never so multiplied : And no Wonder, for when the Children of GOD begin by Grace to turn their Back upon their old Lovers, and to shake off their Weights, they get in Hand the Hundred fold Ten thousand Times told, and are made to say, as *Psal. iv. 7. Thou hast put Gladness in my Heart, more, &c.* Many a Time I think they can have no pleasant Life, who have not the Christian's Life. Whatever the World think, yet the Believer gets that in Time, which may sufficiently engage him to go through (if it were possible) a Thousand Deaths in Obedience to the LORD. O then, since the imperfect and inconstant Enjoyment of Christ is such a Thing, what must the full

and eternal Enjoyment of him be ! Of this it may be said, *Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither have entered into the Heart of Man, the Things which GOD hath prepared for them that love him.* The Believers cannot but have a happy Life, when they have Four Things which the Scripture calls Precious, *to wit,* The precious *Redemption* of the Soul, a precious *Faith*, a precious *Christ*, and precious *Promises* : And the Redemption of the Soul, which is precious, is by a precious Faith, laying hold on a precious Christ, held forth in precious Promises. But when their Happiness shall be compleated, then Faith shall evanish into Sight, by the entire Fulfilling of the Promises, and the Soul be drowned in the bottomless Ocean of the Love of precious Christ ; and bursting up with Love, continually flaming toward him again. O what a Life must that Life of Love be ! and what inconceivable Joy will it yield ! Christ will rejoice over his own Spouse, when he hath taken her Home to his own House, made with his own Hand, and clothes her with Robes of his own making, and entertaining her with a Banquet of his own dressing ; and the Invitation-Word of the Giver of that Banquet will be this, *Song v. 1. Eat O Friends : Drink, yea drink abundantly, O Beloved.* And that Table will never be drawn, and the Dainties will never wear tasteless ; for, as our LORD saith, *Matth. xxvi. 29.* The *Wine* there is *new*, and it never groweth old, and his Spouse her Stomach will never suffocate, nor her Appetite be satisfied : So, in Heaven, there is a continual Eating and Drinking, and a continual Hungring and Thirsting ; and a continual Resting, and yet a never Resting. Then shall the Spouse rejoice in her Husband, all her Love shall be bended towards him, and her Joy shall arise from her enjoying of him ; her Love shall be full and constant, not admitting of Intermissions or Va.

riableness ; her Joy full and perpetual, not admitting of Defect, or Changeableness : And that which is now a great Part of the Christian's Exercise, *to wit*, of their doubting of Christ's Love, and their complaining of Coldrifeness of Love to him again, shall then be wholly removed : And instead of Grief, at least, Mixtures of Sorrow with their Joy ; they shall then have inconceivable Joy : And is not Christ, fully enjoyed, a Match to love, and a Prize to rejoice in ? Now, long for this, and seek after the abiding Assurance of Christ's Love, and more and more lovely Communications thereof unto your Heart, until ye arrive at this ; And separate your self more and more from every unclean Thing, that cannot enter the Gates of the City, where all this is to be enjoyed : And seeing such rich Upmaking is to be had in Christ ; especially seeing he is so worthy, regard not what ye may be called to undergo, or forego in your owning of him. I hope ye have studied to let your self, your Name, your Enjoyments, and your All, lie at his Feet ; so as ye can say of these, they are not your own : And the more that ye do prove that they are his, by his calling for them, and making Use of them ; the more of his Love he evidenceth towards you, and the more Honour he putteth upon you. And I think Men and Women are for no Use, but so far as they are for Christ. And whatever Errants he calls you to run, fear not Skaith nor Hazards, for it is he that rideth these Ways upon you, and so ye shall not stumble ; for he hath promised, *Psal. cxxi. 3. He shall not suffer thy foot to be moved.* Let the low Case of the Church of *Scotland*, and the dangerous Case of the Church in other Lands, lie near your Heart : For, ah ! we may say at this Day, the House of *David* is waxing weaker and weaker, and the House of *Saul* waxing stronger and stronger. I fear a sad and general Stroke before it better with the Churches, for few are valiant for the Truth upon the

Earth : and nothing brings a Church more low, and readier Destruction upon a Land, than Regardlessness of Christ's Matters, and silly and shameful slipping from them ; And this is that which hath occasioned our Breaches, and bred all our Divisions in this Church : And because some of our Worthies in our Day, who have gone before us, have been honoured and helped to hold, what our worthy Fathers did conquer with their Blood, and bind over upon us by holy Covenants, and we are endeavouring to do the same ; they and we have been reproached as Followers of new Ways : *But Wisdom shall be justified of her Children* ; And seeing our Way-marks in the Scriptures, and our never to be forgotten Reformation, and the Cloud of Witnesses walking in the same Paths, we are not to regard much what Man say : But it were good for our Reproachers to be sober ; for a little Time will silence their Boasting, and make many change their their Thoughts, when they shall not get Space to amend them.

Now, dear and worthy Lady, I cannot express my Sense, that I even have of the many Obligations, which we all stand under unto you ; for, your Bowels have not been shut up, nor your Hands shortned towards us ; for your Benefits towards us in this Land, and these of us, who are amongst you, have been large indeed : But, we are not so refreshed with what we enjoy thereby, as that these Things are Demonstrations of your Love to God, and Respect to his Work ; And what further shall I say ? but, Go on in the Ways and in the Strength of the Lord ; be watchful, diligent and spiritual ; grow in Grace, and persevere therein unto the End. The God of all Grace and Peace be with you. I am,

*Right honourable Lady, Your assured Friend
and obedient Servant in the Lord,*

JA. RENWICK.

To Two Gentlewomen.

August 13th, 1687,

Much honoured Ladies,

THE Zeal which I desire to have for the Advancement of the Kingdom of Christ, the Love which I bear to your Souls, and my Sense of the Obligations which I stand under unto you in particular, have moved me, to take upon me to salute you with this Line. There is not a rational Creature, that doth not propone unto it self some chief Good, the obtaining and enjoying whereof, is the great Intent and End of all its Actions; *Who will shew us any good?* But, the woful Evil among Men is, their setting up to themselves some naughty, vain and petty Nothing; and despising that wherein their real and chief Happiness doth only lie; *rejecting the Counsel of God against themselves:* This Mistake is deplorable, for Man is an infinite Loser by it; It is desperate, for he refuses to be instructed. Hence, so many different prevailing natural Inclinations, and predominating Lusts, as there are among the Children of Adam; so many different chief Goods; *There be Gods many, and Lords many.* I am sad, to think upon the Folly and Madness of the poor Creature, that thus doth forsake its own Mercy; But, let the World choose and follow what they please, *To us there is but one Lord.*

I am hopeful (much honoured Ladies) that ye are turning your Backs upon created and carnal Delights, and setting your Faces towards Christ, seeking after Union and Communion with him. It is my Soul's earnest Desire, that it should be so; and if the comfortless and distracting Vanities of a present perishing World, shall wheedle and bewitch you, that ye study not the

Wisdom of God ; it shall bring great Grief and Sorrow of Heart unto me. I say, I am carried betwixt Hope and Fear ; I hope the Lord will work a good Work in you ; I hope it will be ; for, I would have it to be, and there are some appearances of it. And, I fear, that the pleasant and easy Yoke of Christ, be looked upon as irksom and wearisom by you, when I consider your Temptations ; and the (seemingly) promising Beginnings, and fair Blossoms that I have seen in many, which have fallen away without bringing forth mature Fruit. Do not take my Freedom in ill Part, neither be offended with it, for it cometh from Affection, and my ardent Desire, that ye should not neglect the Great Salvation. Religion is a great Mystery, and a far other Thing, than even the professing World taketh it to be. There are many *Hindrances* in the Way of flying to Christ, and closing with him. The natural Blindness that is in Man, whereby he neither sees his Sin and Danger, nor his Saviour, is a great Hindrance, *Rev.* iii. 17, 18. His natural Unwillingness and flat Aversation to the Way of Salvation laid down in the Covenant, and held forth in the Gospel, *John* v. 40. His hard-hearted Misbelief, whereby he giveth no Assent to the Righteousness of Scripture Precept and Doctrine, and Justice of Scripture Threatning ; nor Consent to Scripture Promises, making fiducial Application of them, *John* v. 38. *Heb.* xi. 6. His whorish Addictedness to his Lusts, Idols and carnal Intanglements, whereby he doth not quite his Profanity, nor leave the Honour, Applause, Profit and Pleasure of this World, *Psal.* xlv. 10, 11. *Song* iii. 11. *Chap.* iv. 8. His mistaking the Government of Christ, counting it hard, melancholick and unpleasant, *Matth.* xi. 28, 29, 30. His judging Religion but a Fancy, and a politick Invention, to amaze and amuse the Minds of

Men, *Matth.* xxii. 5. His conceiving a Facility in Religion, thinking there needeth not be so much ado about it, and that he can do all that is needful, when he pleaseth, *Matth.* viii. 19. *John* vi. 44. His postponing the Business of Life eternal from Time to Time, leaving that last in doing, which ought to be first done, resolving to amend ere he end; whereby his vain Heart deceives him, and Satan justles him out of all Time, *Luke* ix. 61. His peevish and foolish Impatience, whereby he doth not forsake a present imaginary Good, for a future real Happiness. A Man may think it is a good Thing to enjoy everlasting Life; but because that is an hereafter-Happiness, and lieth now only in Promise, he cannot wait for it, and take it as his Portion, but grasps at what is present, tho' it be neither contenting nor constant, *Psal.* iv. 6. *2 Tim.* iv. 10. I say, all these are great *Hindrances*; see that ye get over these, and all other Obstructions, and lay hold upon Christ. O that I could bewail the lamentable Condition of Man, who is held in so many Chains, from this Work of great Concern and eternal Moment!

O, much honoured Ladies, consider the indispensable and absolute need ye have of a Saviour; consider the awful Commands, full Promises, free Offers, hearty Invitations, and serious Requests given forth in the Word, all crying aloud with one Voice unto you, to match with the Lord of Glory: Consider the Assurance that his own Testimony hath given you, of dwelling with him throughout Eternity, in his Heavenly Mansions, where ye shall see him as he is, have a full Sense of his Love, and a perfect Love to him again; and ever drink of the Rivers of Pleasures that flow at his right Hand, if ye shall embrace him upon his own Terms. Consider the peremptory Certification of everlasting Destruction,

of dwelling with continual Burnings, and lying under the Burden of his Wrath ; a Curse running always out upon you in the overflowing Flood, if ye shall neglect to make your Peace with him, and reject his Salvation. I say, consider those Things, and give all Diligence to make your Calling and Election sure ; and see well that ye be not deceived, for there are many Mistakes, and a great Mystery in this Business. Many think themselves to be something, when as they are nothing, and so deceive themselves, and come short of the Grace of God ; instead of founding upon the immoveable Rock of Ages, they build upon the Sand of their own Attainments : For, Folk may go a great Length, and yet be void of true saving grace ; they may have a great speculative Knowledge of the Matters of God, and Mystery of Salvation, and strong Gifts, *1 Cor. xiii. 2.* They may abstain from many Pollutions, and the gross Evils that others are given unto, *Luke, xviii. 11, 12, 13, 14.* They may externally perform many Duties, as Reading, Prayer, and be very much in these, *Luke, xviii. 11, 12, 13, 14.* They may have very great Sorrow for Sin, not because of the Dishonour done to God, but the Hurt to themselves ; not because they are polluted, but because they are destroyed by it, *Matth. xxvii. 3. Heb. xii. 17.* They may have a Desire after Grace, which yet is not for Grace's sake, but for Heaven's sake, *Matth. xxv. 8.* They may have an historical Faith, and give the Assent of the Mind to all that is revealed in the Word, yea to the spiritual Meaning of the Law, *Mark, xii. 32, 33, 34.* They may have big Hopes, and that in the Mercy of God, which nevertheless is but presumption ; for they forget that he is just, and neglect to lay hold upon Christ for Satisfaction of his Justice ; whereas, he is merciful to none out of Christ, *Job, viii. 13, 14.* They may have the

common Operations of the Spirit, and a Taste of the heavenly Gift, and the Powers of the World to come, *Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.* They may be convinced that it is good to close with Christ, and comfort themselves as if they had done it ; whereas, they are still in their natural State, *Hos. viii. 2, 3.* They may suffer many Things materially for the Cause of God, and toil much in following Ordinances, undergoing the same out of Respect for their own Credit, *1 Cor. xiii. 3.* I say, People may, and many do, arrive at all these and such like Attainments, and notwithstanding remain in the Gall of Bitterness and Bond of Iniquity. It may make us all tremble, to think what a Length Folk may go, and yet never have gone out of themselves, and passed through the Steps of Effectual Calling. Many will say to him in that Day, *We have eaten and drunken in thy Presence, and thou hast taught in our Streets : Have we not prophesied in thy Name ? and in thy Name cast out Devils, and in thy Name done many wonderful Works ?* whom he will chace away from his Presence, with that fearful Sentence *DEPART YE,* professing unto them, that he *never knew them.*

Let this alarm you to make sure Work in this great Concern, and not deceive your selves, with a Counterfeit, instead of a Reality, with a Flash instead of Conversion, and a Delusion instead of Christ. But, get ye a Sight of your sinful and miserable State, a Sense and Feeling thereof, putting you in a Perplexity, and discouraging you from resting in it ; a Conviction of your Inability to help your selves, and of your Unworthiness that God should help you out of it ; and look unto Christ, as your alone Saviour, receiving him wholly, in his Threefold Office, of *King, Priest and Prophet,* welcoming him, and taking up his Cross, against the World, the devil, and the Flesh, and resting upon him alone for

Salvation: And then, the Business will be done, and all will be sure; Then ye may defy Devils and Men, for plucking you out of his Hand.

And if ye have thus closed the Bargain with him, then ye will find in you a War, declared and maintained against all Sin, *Rom.* vii. 15. *Ezek.* xviii. 21. 1 *John* iii. 9. A Respect to all the Commandments of the Lord, *Ezek.* xviii. 21. A liking of the Way of Happiness, as well as of Happiness it self, *John* iii. 14, 15. An high Esteem of Justification and Sanctification, *Psal.* xxxii. 2. A Prizing of Christ, and a longing to be with him, *Phil.* i. 23. And an admirable Change wrought in you; a new Judgment, new Will, new Conscience, new Memory, new Affections: In a Word, all the Faculties of the Soul will be new, in regard of their *Qualifications*; and all the Members of the Body, in regard of their Use, *2 Cor.* v. 17. Now, if ye have attained to a *Saving Interest in Christ*, ye may find these, and the like Marks and Evidences of it.

O halt not in this great Matter, rest not in an Uncertainty, and satisfie not your selves with a *May-be*: But *Examine your selves; whether ye be in the Faith; prove your own selves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be Reprobates?* In setting your Faces toward *Zion*, ye may expect that Satan will raise all his Storms against you; but fear him not, for the Grace of GOD is sufficient for you. Give your selves wholly to the LORD, to serve him, and to love his name, to choose and follow the Things that please him: Your greatest Honour lieth in this, your greatest Duty, your greatest Profit, and your greatest Pleasure. Count the Cost of Religion; GOD is a liberal Dealer, deal not niggardly with him, prig not with him about your Estates: Who in Heaven is like unto him? and

who in the Earth is to be desired like him? Lay down to him, your Names, your Enjoyments, your Lives, and your *All* at his Feet; for he is only Worthy to have the Disposal of them; and the Sufferings of this present Time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory that shall be revealed. Think not much to quit the vain and carnal Delights of the World; they cannot satisfy your Senses, and much less your Souls: The Earth is Round, and the Heart of Man Three-nooked; therefore, this cannot be filled by that: And tho' ye could find Content in them, yet how vain were it, because unconstant? and how unsolid, because uncertain?

Regard not Men's Reproach, for so reproached they our LORD and the Prophets; Yea, there can be no Contempt or Calumny cast upon you, for the Gospel's Sake, but what hath been cast upon the Faithful in all Ages: Remember *Moses*, who *esteemed the Reproach of Christ, greater Riches than the Treasures of Egypt*: And *go ye forth without the Camp bearing his Reproach*; Christ's new Name will more than enough compensate the World's Nick-name. Advance resolutely in the Way of Godliness, your Guide is faithful, your Victory certain, your Reward sure, and your Triumph everlasting: Stumble not, because Religion is mocked at; for it is not the worse that Man thinketh so little of it: Count it not a Fancy, because many desert it; but *Taste and See that GOD is good*. Follow no Man further than he follows Christ; Divide not from the Head, to unite with any professed Members: Walk not with them, who renounce their dependence upon Christ; Or, who are carrying on a course of Defection, pressing a relinquishing of the present Testimony, and casting Reproaches upon the Way of GOD. Keep your selves from the Pollutions of this Time, and partake not with

other Men in their Sins: But study to have a good Conscience; and a good Conscience will be a peaceable Conscience, and a peaceable Conscience will be a fat Feast. Shun so much as ye can the Company of carnal and vain Persons: Ye will not get this wholly evited, but ye may avoid unnecessary Converse, Frequency and Familiarity with them: We are obliged to carry our selves with Courtesy, Humanity and Pity towards All; but not with Friendliness and Familiarity: Ye know, Evil Company, and Communication corrupteth good Manners. O! what shall I say? Watch always, be much in secret Prayer, Self-examination, Spiritual-meditation; Read the written Word of GOD; Seek to have your Mind's understanding it, your Hearts affecting it, and your Consciences and Actions guided by it: Get his Spirit to dwell in you, by directing you into all Truth, reproving you for Sin, and bringing every Thought in Obedience to Christ, and leading you into Supplication. Lay aside every Weight, and run the Race that is set before you with Cheerfulness and Alacrity; Despise every Opposition and Obstruction in the Way, and keep your Eyes still upon the Prize, having a Respect to the Recompence of Reward. Now,

The very GOD of Peace sanctify you wholly, and I pray GOD, your whole Spirit and Soul and Body be preserved Blameless, unto the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. I am,

*Much honoured Ladies,
Your assured and obliged Friend
and Servant in the Lord,*

JA. RENWICK.

ANTIPAS

OR,

The Dying Testimony of

MR. *JAMES RENWICK*,

Minister of the Gospel, who Suffered at the
Grass-Market of *Edinburgh*, *Feb. 17.*
1688.

His Sentence was founded on these following Heads.

1. *Because he could not own James the VII. to be his Lawful Sovereign.*
2. *Because he taught the Unlawfulness of Paying the Cess, expressly exacted for suppressing of the Faithful and free Preaching of the Gospel.*
3. *Because he taught, that it was the People's Duty, to Carry Arms at the Preaching of the Gospel (when it was Persecuted) for Defending of themselves, and resisting of unjust Violence.*

Gen. 4, 10. And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy Brother's Blood cryeth unto me from the Ground. *Psal. 78, 64.* Their priests fell by the sword. *Ps. 79, 2.* The Dead Bodies of thy servants, &c. 3. Their Blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem. *Lam. 2, 20.* Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord. *Rev. 2, 10.* Be thou Faithful unto Death, and I will give thee a crown of Life. *Rev. 6, 9.* I saw under the Altar the souls of them that were slain, for the word of God, and for the Testimony which they held, 10 and 11 verses, &c. *Rev. 7, 13.* What are these &c., and whence came they? 14 v. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, &c.

The Dying Testimony of Mr. James Renwick, Minister of the Gospel, to the Truths and Duties for which he was Judged, and others Contraverted in our time, who Suffered at the Grass-Market in Edinburgh, February 17th, 1688. Emitted from his own Hand the day before his Suffering, &c.

My Dear Friends in CHRIST,

IT hath pleased the Lord to deliver me up into the Hands of Men, and I think fit to send you this Salutation, which I expect will be the last, when I pose my Heart upon it, before God ; I dare not desire to have escaped this Lot, for no less could have been for his Glory and Vindication of his Cause on my behalf : And as I am free before him of the Prophainity, which some either naughty wicked, or strangers to me, have Reported that I have been sometime Guilty of ; So he hath kept me from the Womb, free of the ordinary Pollution of Children, as these that hath been acquainted with me throu' the Tract of my Life do know, and now my Blood shall either more silence Reproaches or more Ripen them for Judgment, but I hope it shall make some more sparing to speak of those who shall come after me ; and so I am the more willing to pay this Cost, for their Instruction, and my Succeeders ease ; Since I came to Prison, the Lord hath been wonderfully kind to me, he has made his Word to give me Light, Life, Joy, Courage, and Strength, Yea, it hath dropped with sweet Smelling Myrrh unto me ; particularly these passages and promises, *Gen. 22. 12, latter part of the Verse.* For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not

withheld thy Son, thine only Son. Neh. 8. 10, latter part of the Verse. Neither be you sorry, for the Joy of the Lord is your Strength. Job 3, 17. There the Wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest. 18. There the Prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor. Job 23, 10. But he knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as Gold. 11. My foot hath held his steps, his ways have I kept, and not declined. 12. Neither have I gone back from the Commandment of his Lips, I have esteemed the words of his Mouth more than my necessary food. 13. But he is of one mind, and who can turn him? and what his Soul desireth, even that he doth. 14. For he performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with him. Psal. 105, latter part of the Verse. The word of the Lord tryed him. Luke 21, 12. But before all these they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the Synagogues, and into Prisons, being brought before Kings and Rulers for my Name sake. 13. And it shall turn to you for a Testimony. 19. In your patience possess ye your Souls. The Gospel according to S. John. Heb. 12, 13. To the General Assembly and Church of the first Born, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of Just Men made perfect. Jam. 1, 12. Blessed is the Man that endureth Temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. Peter 5, 7. Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you. 8. Be sober, be vigilant, because your Adversary the Devil, as a roaring Lyon, walketh about seeking whom he may devour. Rev. 3, 8. I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it; for thou hast a little Strength, and hast kept my

word, and hast not denyed my Name. 10. Because thou hast kept the word of my Patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of Temptation, which shall come upon all the World, to try them that dwell upon the Earth. 11. Behold, I come quickly : hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. 12. Him that over-cometh, will I make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and he shall go no more out : and I will write upon him the Name of my God, and the name of the City of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of Heaven from my God : and I will write upon him my new Name. Rev. 19, 20. And the Beast was taken, and with him the false Prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his Image. These both were cast into a lake of Fire burning with Brimstone. 21. And the remnant were slain with the Sword of him that sat upon the horse. Which Sword proceedeth out of his mouth : and all the Fowls were filled with their flesh. And many other Scriptures.

O what can I say to the Lords praise ! it was but little that I knew of him before I came to Prison ; I have found sensibly much of his divine strength, much of the joy of his Spirit, and much assurance from his Word and Spirit, concerning my Salvation, my Sufferings are stated upon the Matter of my Doctrine, for there was found with me, the Sum of my last two Sermons at Braids-Craigs, which I wrote after I Preached them ; The former thereof was upon *Ps. 46, 10. Be still, and know that I am God : I will be exalted among the Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth.* And the later upon *Heb. 10, 38. Now the just shall live by Faith : but if any Man draw back, my Soul shall have no pleasure*

in him. And so I was examined upon the Application made therein unto the Sins of the time: All which I owned once and again, as it is to be seen in my Indictment, and I being tried, and an Assize set; I adhered to my former Confession Explicitly, so my Sentence of Death was drawn forth, upon these three Heads.

First, *Because I could not own James the VII. to be my lawful Sovereign.*

Secondly, *Because I taught, the unlawfulness of paying the Cess expressly exacted for suppressing the Faithful, and free Preaching of the Gospel.*

Thirdly, *Because I taught, it was the People's duty to carry Arms, at the Preaching of the Gospel, now when it is persecuted for Defending of themselves, and resisting of unjust violence.*

I think such a Testimony, is worth many Lives, and I praise the LORD for his enabling me to be plain and positive in all my Confessions; for therein I found Peace, Joy, strength and boldness. I have met with many Assaults in Prison, some from some of the *Indulged Party*; and some from some of the Prelaticks; but by the strength of God I was enabled to stand, that they could neither bow me nor break me: I was also Assaulted by some of the Popish Party, I suppose they were some of the Ecclesiastical Creatures; but they found none of their own Stuff in me, I told them after sundry Debatings, That I had lived and should die an Enemy to their way: Howsoever some that knew me not, Reproached me with *Jesuitism*: I was pressed by Sundry to seek a Reprive, and my Answer was always, That I adhered to my former Confession, and if they pleased to let the appointed time of my Death stand, let it stand, and if they pleased to protract it, let them protract it, for I was ready and willing both to live and to die,

Howbeit their came a Reprive for eight days but I had no hand in it ; They still urged, would I but say that I desired time for Conference with some persons anent my Principles : I Answered, That my Time was in the Lord's Hands, and I was in no Hesitation or doubt about my Principles my self, I would not be so rude as to decline conference with any, so far as it might not be inconvenient for me in my present Circumstances, but I will seek it with none. I have no more to say upon this Head, but my Heart doth not smite me for any thing in the Matters of my God, since I came to Prison : And I can further say to his praise with some Conscienciousness of Integrity, That I have walked in his way and kept his Charge, though with much Weakness, and many infirmities, whereof ye have been Witnesses. Now my dear Friends in precious Christ, I think I need not tell you : that as I have Lived, so I Die in the same persuasion, with the true Reformed and Covenanted Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*, that I adhere to the Testimony of the Day, as it is held forth in our Informatorie Vindication, and in the Testimony against the present Toleration ; and that I own, and Seal with my blood all the precious Truths, even the Contraverted Truths that I have Taught : So I would exhort every one of you, to make sure your Personal Reconciliation with God in Christ ; for I fear many of you have that yet to do, and when ye come where I am to look pale death in the Face, ye will not be a little Shaken and Terrified, if ye have not laid hold on Eternal Life. I would exhort you to much Diligence in the use of the means, to be careful in keeping up your Societies, to be frequent and fervent in secret Prayer, to Read much the Written Word of God, and to examine your selves by it : do not wearie to maintain in your places and stations the present Tes-

timony ; for when Christ goes forth to defeat Antichrist ; with that Name Written on his Thigh and on his Vesture *King of kings, and Lord of lords*, he will make it Glorious in the Earth, and if ye can but Transmit it to the Posterity, ye may count it a great Generation's work, *But beware of the Ministers, that have accepted of this Toleration, and all others that bend that way, and follow them not, for the Sun hath gone down upon them.* Do not fear that the Lord will cast off *Scotland*, for he will certainly return again, and shew himself Glorious in our Land, but watch and pray, for he is bringing on a sad overthrowing stroak, which shall make many say, That they have easily got thorow, that hath got a Scaffold for Christ, and do not regard the present sufferings of this World, *for they are not worthy to be compared to the Glory that shall be revealed*, I may say to his praise, that I have feund his Cross sweet and lovely unto me ; for I have had many Joyful hours, and not a fearful thought since I came to Prison ; He hath strengthened me, for to outbreath Man, and outface Death. And I am now longing for the joyful hour of my Dissolution, and there is nothing in the World, that I am sorry to leave but you, *But I go to better company*, and so I must take my leave of you all. *Farewell, beloved Sufferers, and followers of the Lamb ; Farewell Christian intimats ; Farewell Christian and Comfortable Mother, and Sisters ; Farewell sweet Societies ; Farewell desireable General Meetings ; Farewell Night-wandrings, in cold and weariness for Christ ; Farewell sweet Bible, and Preaching of the Gospel ; Farewell Sun, Moon, and Stars, and all Sublunarie things ; Farewell Conflicts with a Body of Sin and Death.—Welcome Scaffold, for precious Christ ; Welcome Heavenly Jerusalem ; Welcome innumerable Company of Angels ; Welcome General Assem-*

bly, and Church of the First-Born ; Welcome Crown of Glory, white Robes, and Songs of Moses and the Lamb ; And above all, Welcome O thou Blessed Trinity and one God ! O Eternal One ! I commit my Soul into thy Eternal rest,

Feb. 13th. 1688.

JAMES RENWICK.

My Dear Friends in Christ,

I See now what hath been the Language of my Reprieve, it hath been, that I might be further Tempted and Tried, and I praise the Lord he hath assisted me, to give further proofs of stedfastness ; I have been often assaulted by some Popish Priests, but the last time they came, I told them, I would Debate no more with such as they were, and that I had Lived and would Die a Presbyterian Protestant, and testifie against the Idolatrous, Heresies, Superstitions, and errors of that Antichristian way ; but Yesterday I was cast into deep Exercise, and made to dwell under an impression of the Dreadfulness of every thing, that might grieve the Spirit of God. I found Sin to be more Bitter than Death, and one Hour's hiding of Gods Face, more insupportable. And then at Night, I was called before a part of the Council, and the Chancellor produced the Informatorie Vindication, and asked if I knew it ; I answered, I knew it ; And being interrogat, I confessed that I had a great hand in Writing of it, they pressed me to tell my Assistances, I told them they were those whom they persecuted, but would satisfie them no further ; they also urged me upon pain of Torture ; to tell where our Societies were, who kept our General Correspondences, and where they were kept. I Answered, though they should Torture me, which was contrar to all Laws after Sentence of Death, I would give them no further notice than the Books gave, I was

moreover threatned to tell of my Haunts and Quarters ; but I refused to make known to them any such thing ; So I was returned to Prison. Such Exercise as I had, was very needful for such a Tryal ; And I would rather endure what they could do unto me ; Then, have dishonoured Christ, Offended you, and brought you into Trouble :—But I hope within less than three days, to be without the reach of all Temptations.

Now I have no more to say, Farewell again, *in our Blessed LORD JESUS.*

Feb. 15th. 1688.

JAMES RENWICK.

A short Account of his last Words upon the Scaffold.

BEfore he went out of the Tolbooth, he was at Dinner with his Mother, Sisters, and some Christian Friends, when the Drum beat the first Warning to his Execution ; which so soon as he heard, he leapt up in a Ravishment of Heavenly Joy, saying, *Let us be glad and rejoice, for the Marriage of the Lamb is come, and I can say in some Measure, The Bride the Lamb's Wife hath made her self ready.* And till Dinner was over, he enlarg'd upon the Parable of a Marriage, and invited all of them to come to the Wedding, meaning his Execution : When he was come to the Scaffold, the Drums being beat all the While, none of the distant Spectators could hear any Thing that he said ; only some very few, that were close by him, did hear it, whereof one has collected the following Account : He delivered himself to this Effect.

Spectators, or (if there be any of you) Auditors, I must tell you, I am come here this Day to lay down my

Life, for adhering to the Truths of CHRIST, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer ; Nay, I bless the LORD, that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any Thing for him ; and I desire to praise his Grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the gross Pollutions of the Time, but also from many ordinary Pollutions of Children ; and such as I have been stained with, he hath washen me from them in his own Blood. I am this Day to lay down my Life for these three Things. (1.) For disowning the Usurpations and Tyranny of *James Duke of York*. (2.) For Preaching, That it was unlawful to pay the *Cess*, expressly exacted for bearing down the Gospel. (3.) For Preaching, That it was lawful for People to carry Arms, for defending themselves, in their Meetings for the persecuted Gospel Ordinances. I think a Testimony for these is worth many Lives ; and if I had Ten hundred, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

Dear Friends, Spectators, and (if any of you be) Auditors, I must tell you, That I die a *Presbyterian Protestant*. I own the Word of God as the Rule of Faith and Manners I own the *Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, &c. Covenants National and Solemn League, Acts of General Assemblies*, and all the faithful Contendings that have been for the Work of Reformation. I leave my Testimony approving the Preaching of the Gospel in the Fields, and the Defending the same by Arms. I adjoin my Testimony to all that hath been sealed by Blood, shed either on Scaffolds, Fields or Seas, for the Cause of Christ. I leave my Testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. Against all Profanity, and every Thing contrary to sound Doctrine ; particularly, against all Usurpations made upon Christ's

Rights, Who is the PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, who alone must *bear the Glory* of ruling His own Kingdom, the Church : And in particular, against the *Absolute Power* usurped by this *Usurper*, that belongs to no Mortal, but is the *incommunicable Prerogative* of JEHOVAH ; and against this *Toleration* flowing from that *Absolute Power*.

Upon this he was bid have done ; He answered, I have near done. Then he said, Ye that are the People of GOD, do not weary in maintaining the *Testimony of the Day*, in your Stations and Places ; And whatever ye do, make sure an Interest in Christ ; for there is a Storm coming that shall try your Foundation. SCOTLAND must be rid of SCOTLAND, before the Delivery come. And you that are Strangers to GOD, *break off your Sins by Repentance*, else I will be a Witness against you, in the Day of the Lord. Here they caused him desist. Upon the Scaffold he sung a Part of the 103 *Psalms* from the Beginning, and read the 19th *Chapter* of the *Revelation*. And having thus finished his Course, served his Generation, and witnessed a good Confession for his Lord and Master, before many Witnesses, by the Will of GOD, he yielded up his Spirit into the Hands of GOD who gave it.

AN ELEGIE UPON

The Death of that Famous and Faithfull
Minister and Martyr,

Mr. *JAMES RENWICK.*

Composed immediately after his Execution at
Edinburgh, 17. Feb. 1688.

Rev. 2. 13. *I know thy Works, and where thou dwellest even where Satan's Seat is: And thou holdest fast my Name, and hast not denied my Faith, even in those Dayes wherein Antipas was my Faithful Martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.*

Printed in the Year. 1688.

AN ELEGIE UPON

The Death of that Famous and Faithfull

Minister and Martyr,

Mr. *JAMES RENWICK.*

Here's work, alas ! for mourners to deplore
This fatal stroke, sadly presaging more :
In such a day, let's hang our harps on willowes ;
Its not a time of laying heads on pillowes :
In such a day of wrath, and Consternation,
In such a day of Dread, and Desolation ;
A day of tryal, and of treading down,
A day wherein our head hath lost its Crown,
A day of Blasphemy, Rebuke and Trouble,
A day of Darkness, and of Sorrows double,
A day of great Vexations, and Confusions,
A day of great temptations, and Delusions,
A day of Jumbling, manifold Distractions,
A day of Stumbling, manifest Defections,
A day of Famine of the word of Life,
A day of Sinning, Suffering, and Strife :
When *Babels* Brats the world so much encumber,
When *Zions* Sons dayly decrease in number,
When now the Godly cease, the Faithful fail,
When few are left, their Funerals to bewail,
When nought but Thorns, where Corn grew, we can find,
When Gold is gone, and dross but left behind,
When our *Elijah's*, *Israels's Chariot's* gone,
When yet, alas ? their Mantl's left with none,
When many Hypocrites Christs Fan discovers,
When few are left, that are his loyal Lovers,

When for his laws, these few are sore oppressed,
 When for his cause, they're pillag'd and distressed,
 When those are hunted, and always afflicted,
 When of all help, and harbour interdicted,
 When chas'd through Country, and pursu'd in City,
 When banish'd, butcher'd, yet, in stead of pity,
 (When counted slaughter sheep, and daily killed,
 By such as sit at ease) they much are filled
 With insolent contempt, and sad reproaches,
 Which of all falshood, still the father broaches ;
 When *Popish* Tyrants, vile *Beelzebubs* drudges,
 On Thrones of tyrranie, are own'd for Judges,
 When now, like stupid asses, Men are mute,
 When such Usurpers challenge absolute
 And arbitrary power, to sacrifice
 Religion, Laws, and Lives, and Liberties ;
 When faithfull gospel preachers are so few,
 In snaring times, to give a warning due ;
 When now soul murdering wolves, Christs flock devour,
 When watchmen wanting are on Zions Tower,
 When few that's called so deserve the name,
 But many are the ages bane and shame ;
 When now instead of valour for the truth,
 And crying loud with trumpets at their mouth,
 Upon such loudly clamant, clear occasions ;
 (When *Babels* bastards boldly make invasions,
 By blinding bribes, corrupting flatteries,
 By cunning craft, and cheating shams, and lies,
 Upon our *Covenanted Reformation*,
 And all our Liberties of Church and Nation
 Betrayed, by *this Popish Toleration*. }
 Whereby this absolut pow'r is recognosc'd,
 And all its proud encroachings are ingross'd,

Over Laws Divine, Humane, all made void,
 Religions legal bulwarks all destroy'd,
 All Blasphemy, Idolatrie, and sin,
 Now suffered, yea invited to come in ;
 The church of all her priviledges robb'd,
 And with a Kiss, under the fifth rib stobb'd ;
 In Liew of all her laws, securities,
 All Oaths, and Vows, and solemn promises,
 Having no more assurance, then a blind
 Promise, of one, whom no such bond can bind :
 Her Doctrine, wershhip, and church government,
 According to *our Solemn Covenant*,
 All hereby undermin'd and overturn'd,
 For which her sons should all have rather mourn'd)
 Our Ministers for sin have made *Addresses*,
 Charmed with *Babels* flattering Carrasses,
 Bewitched with this intoxicating drink,
 Which Hell did brew, and Rome with art did blink :
 Cast in a deep Zeal-quickning Lethergie,
 Purchasing hereby ease, and libertie,
 On terms of selling truth, and shifting duty ;
 Whereby Christ's bride's depriv'd of all her beautv.

In such a day to lose a faithfull witness,
 And Champion, accomplished with fitness
 To strive for Christs prerogatives, and laws,
 Must be bemoan'd by all that love his cause.
 Come therefore all ye *Doves*, that dwell i'th'rock,
 Come and deplore this wrath presaging stroke ;
 Come chased *birds* hotly pursued to mountains ;
 Come hunted *harts*, which pant and bray for fountains !
 Come *wandring sheep*, without a shepherd straying ;
 Come *hidden ones*, afraid of false bewraying ;
 Come all ye *faithful followers* of the Lamb,
 Whose hearts in Zeal do for his glory flame,

Whose hearts in fervent love to Christ are burning,
Whose hearts do melt out at the eyes in mourning ;
Come, with a flood of tears the valleys fill,
And make your voice resound from hill to hill ;
Cause all the mountains circling round from *Carrick*,
With roaring noise, rebound as far as *Berwick* ;
From *Corn-table* skirts, and *Ahingilloch*,
To *Marocks* towering lights, and heads of *Killoch* ;
From *Tintoch-tops*, and all the hills of *Clidsdale*,
To all the hills of *Galloway*, and *Nithsdale* ;
From these about *Black-gannoch*, and the *Lothers*,
To *Craufoord-muire*, and *Tweddal* hills, and others ;
Wherein ye haunted were, through all the glens,
Wherein ye hiding places sought in dens,
Wherein ye often forced were to flights,
Wherein ye often filled were with frights,
Wherein your hands were strengthened, heads supported,
Your minds confirmed, and your hearts comforted,
While your renowned *Rennick*, now a *Martyr*,
Was passing through, preaching in every quarter,
His Masters glorious and gracious banner
Displaying faithfully, in lovely manner ;
Like to a voice in wildernesses crying,
Making a noise most sweet, as swans when dying,
Declaring all Gods counsel, and revealed
Truths, which alive h' asserted, dying sealed :
But now in those waste desolate recesses,
No voice is heard, but mourning for distresses ;
No voice is heard, but that of grievous groaning,
The glory gone, deplorably bemoaning.
Come therefore and put on your *sable*, Saints,
Fill all the hills and val's with sad complaints,
Whereof the *echo* may be heard in Heaven,
In lamentation for the blow that's given,

Unto the wounded weeping remnant left,
 Which of their *Renwick* is of late bereft,
 By murdering violence of beasts of prey,
Romes bloody whelps, torn from his house of clay,
 How may his little flock, alas, complain
 How may they now, so great a loss sustain !
Scotland hath lost, the world hath lost a *man*,
 Whose room supply, there few surviving can
 The church hath lost a *son* more pure and dearer
 Than *Ophir's* gold, the truth a *Standard-bearer* ;
Zion hath lost, by this complex disaster,
 A *Witness, Wrestler, Mourner, and a Pastor* ;
 The scattered sheep, a most laborious *Leader* ;
 Poor hungry souls, have lost a painful *Feeder* ;
 The sufferers, have lost a *Sympathiser* ;
 The doubtful halting souls, a good *Adviser* ;
 The weak, a wise encouraging *Supporter* ;
 The wanderers and mourners, a *Comforter* ;
 The tempted souls, a *Counsellour* in terrours ;
 The Ignorant, a *Guide* to keep from errors ;
 The Zealous, from extreams, a holding *Bridle* ;
 The lazy sort, a *Spurre* from being idle ;
 The temporizing sort of faint compliers,
 Duty's deserters, and Christs truth's deniers,
 May boldly now proceed in their backsliding,
 Since that they are delivered from his chiding,
 Who never ceas'd to be a free *Reprover*,
 Nor sins and snares in season to *discover*,
 How insupportable is such a cross !
 How irreparable is such a loss !
 Oh, let us now make search that we may know
 What may the meaning be of such a blow !
 What sins have this procur'd, let's meditat,
 What further sorrows may it prognosticat ?

Our misimprovements let us now confess
Of such enjoyments, our unworthiness
Of *Renwicks* gracious message, little pris'd,
And of his precious Ministrie despis'd,
Our barrenness and base ingratitude,
Our weariness of that Angelick food,
Whereof the worth we know now by the want,
And must henceforth in tears the loss lament ;
These have this Rod in righteousness extorted,
From a just God, and left us uncomforted ;
A Rod which we may sadly now suppose,
A fatal forerunner of future woes,
Impendent on this base degenerate age ;
The perishing of worthies must presage,
That they delivered are from that which we
Are called to fear, but cannot bear, nor flee ;
But tho our loss be great, his gain is glory,
His Life, his Death, shall be renown'd in story ;
Which death to us most cestly and most painful,
Shall to the *Covenanted cause* be gainful ;
In that, in place of a reproached Pastor,
A Martyr now renown'd by this disaster,
Is left us, to their everlasting shame,
Who ceased not with lies to load his Name,
And with reproaches foully to bespatter,
Which malice did contrive, and madness scatter ;
Which fraud invented, as its father fain'd
Fury did vent, and folly intertain'd.
Now shall his Name in Monuments of praise,
(Which to his fame posterity shall raise)
Still stand recorded, that he was a Martyr,
Fruitfull in life, faithfull in his departure :
Contemn'd indeed by Apostats, and Scorners ;
But eminent among all Zions mourners :

For *love* undoubted, and undaunted *faith*,
 For *constancie* unto his final breath,
 For *patience* abiding in all trial,
 For *pietie*, and humble *self-denyal*,
 For *meekness* true, in *condescending* tender,
 For *strickness* due (he'd not a hooff surrender)
 For uniform true *Zeal* and *Moderation*,
 Of more then ordinary *Elevation* ;
 Which with an equal pace did still advance,
 'Gainst all defection and extravagance :
 All Bastard *Zeal* opposing with all boldness,
 As well as dead *Laodicean* coldness :
 For Ministerial diligence much fam'd,
 A Workman needing not to be asham'd ;
 In preaching all the Counsel God reveal'd,
 His Ministrie on many souls was seal'd ;
 Which in his Masters strength he did commence,
 And unto its fulfillment did advance,
 Against the violentest opposition,
 That ever any Youth in his condition
 Had to conflict with, and at such a season,
 When dangers seem'd invincible to reason :
 For like another *Athanasius* bold,
 He all the world opposed and control'd,
 And had all sorts of men upon his top,
 All *Prelatists*, all Vassals of the *Pope*,
 Who did pursue him with all rage and rigour,
 With might, and malice, violence, and vigour :
 Those Brethern also whom, tho still he lov'd,
 He could not joyn with, but their sins reprov'd,
 Who unto men their *Ministry* subjected,
 Or had submit to *mischiefs* they enacted,
 Or by *Disorders* had their charge perverted
 Or had their duty in its day deserted,

Or were in *foul Compliances involv'd,*
Or those to *daub and plaister were resolv'd,*
Or *shamefu'ly were silent at the times*
Iniquities, when duties went for crimes ;
With those to strive, Zeal for his masters glory,
And indignation at their silly, sorry,
Foolish, and feeble, fainting, cowardice,
(That few their *all* for truth durst sacrifice)
His generous soul did vigorously excite,
For which by some he was oppos'd with spight,
With malice, envy, and with cruel rage,
That nothing could unto his death asswage,
Yet maugre all assaults, his bow abode
In strength, his hands confirm'd by *Jacobs God* :
By frowns, from duty ne're could he be daunted,
By flatteries, he ne're could be enchanted ;
No fear of danger could him ever scar
From diligence ; Nor disadvantage mar ;
Nor any want of good accommodations,
Could stop his pastoral exercitations ;
In painfull preaching, visiting, baptising,
In conferences, and in catechising ;
Even when in wandering he had no repose,
But hagg, or hiding holes, in fear of foes :
Nothing to lay his weary head upon ;
No couch but grass ; No pillow but a stone ;
No better chamber oftimes he could have,
Then a dark den ; No closet but a cave ;
Yet under all this inconvenience,
He could possess his soul in patience ;
His masters favour above all things loving,
Himself as his true Minister approving,
By purity, by charity unfeigned,
By veritie in sanctity maintained,

By wisdom, patience, by the spirits light,
 By righteousness on the left hand and right,
 Caring for neither calumnies nor honour
 So that he might his conscience exoner ;
 As a deceiver, yet approven true ;
 As tho well known, yet known but to a few ;
 As daily dying, and yet living still,
 As chastened, yet above their reach to kill ;
 As sorrowfull, yet joying evermore ;
 As poor, yet making many rich in store ;
 In many wants, in manifold distresses,
 In pinching, prison, and in wildernesses,
 In painfull labours, and in weary watching,
 In cold, and hunger, still in fear of catching ;
 In many perils, both by sea and land,
 From enemies, and from false brethren's hand :
Holland in part, *Britain*, and *Ireland* know,
 What perils he was forc'd to undergo :
 In none of which, he any rest could find,
 But everywhere, both foes & friends combin'd,
 By tongue and hand, him still to persecute,
 In a most keen and violent pursute :
 Hence such a prise was set upon his head,
 As did entice to catch him, quick or dead,
 Hells hottest Harpies, Villains, vilest Vermine,
 Who by all means to take him did determine :
 Therefore, in fury they the chase did follow,
 By *Hue* and *Cry*, and many hideous hollow ;
 Through Cities, Country, Villages of Boors,
 Through wetttest Mosses, and through wildest Muirs,
 Through highest Mountains, and remotest Glens,
 Compelling him to Caves, and hidden Dens :
 Where weary, cold, and hungry, he could find
 No comfort, but what from the Heavens shin'd

Yet after all their proud designs were done,
 His work, to them prov'd *Sisyphus* his stone ;
 Still with renewed force, afresh returning,
 The bush did burn, but did not wast in burning ;
 His despicable Followers, tho few,
 The more they were afflicted, more they grew :
 All *Proclamations*, cruel *Prohibitions*,
 All *Circuit Courts*, of *Spanish Inquisition*,
 (Imposing conscience cozing Oaths and Bonds, }
 Recusants, banishing to Foreign Lands, }
 Or Murdering by bloody Butchers hands) }
 Could never either yet their cumbers finish,
 Nor so much as their Numbers yet diminish,
 Nor crush, nor cool his unapalled Zeal,
 Nor of his Ministry cancell the Seal,
 Engraven on the hearts of many hearers,
 Who were *Jehovah's* followers and fearers :
 Which now's impressed with a deeper stamp,
 Since the expiring of this burning Lamp ;
 Whose latest sparklings hath so brightly blaz'd,
 That many eyes were dazled and amaz'd,
 To see now visibly without a cloud,
 (And legibly in Characters of blood)
 The adversaries tyranny disclos'd,
 Their calumnies confute, that him opposed ;
 That those despised truths have overcome,
 For which contending, he got Martyrdom.
 His testimony for his Masters Cause,
 The Churches Liberties, and Nations Laws ;
 (For which in Life, he mightly contended)
 Now by his Death to many much commended ;
 Who searching what could be the cause, or crime,
 Wherefore he lost his Life at such a time ;
 Did find that only he was too distinct
 In speaking that, which many others think.

This was the only Crime, was on him charg'd,
 Tho to the light of hainousness enlarg'd ;
 Because these soul-enriching *Randezvous*,
 Of Christ's *Militia*, in the Fields, or House,
 The Devil's grand eye-sore, and great vexation,
 Of all his friends, and foes of Reformation :
 (Where hungry souls with heavenly food were nourish'd,
 And where a Banner faithfully was flourish'd,
 For the *Regalia* of the Churches Head,
 And Liberties, wherewith he hath her freed)
 He never suffer would to be suppressed,
 Nor that the duty should not be confessed ;
 Now when it was declared Capital,
 And when by Law discharg'd as Criminal ;
 And by its old Promoters now deserted,
 Whom *Popish Tolerations* have perverted :

In such a case he vigourously contended,
 That *Meetings* should be valiently defended,
 By *Arms defensive*, which the Law of Nature,
 And Law of God, allowes to every creature ;
 When now they were in daily jeopardice,
 Of having blood mixt with their Sacrifice.

This also was his Crime, or rather Crown,
 That he would not a *Popish Monster* own ;
 Sitting upon a Throne of Tyranny,
 Usurp'd by rapin, blood, and treachery ;
 Nor pay alledgiance to his *Absolut power*,
 As pimp employed for the *Romish Whore* ;
 Nor say, a Robbers Sacriledgious Rod,
 Was now the Sacred Ordinance of God ;
 When such in Sacred writ, is called rather
 A *Fox*, or *Dog*, then a *Politick Father*.

In fine, for this he also was indyted ;
 Because to bear the Cross he us invited,

Rather than pay an execrable *Cess*,
 Impos'd our Gospel-meetings to suppress,
 For raising Forces Tyranny to strengthen,
 Our much enthral'd misery to lengthen,
 For ruine the weak Remnant left devoting,
 The Church and State Supremacy promoting,
 For Tests of lawless Loyalty enacted,
 And for betraying Liberty exacted,
 The full amount then of his Accusation,
 Of all his troubles, the alone occasion,
 Was, *that at wickedness he'd never wink ;*
But still spake out what others durst but think :
 From which, unto the death he would not swerve,
 But holdly spake his mind without reserve :
 To *Prelatists*, and *Papists*, in their fury,
 And to *Professors* sitting on his jury :
 Invincibly he all their tricks withstood,
 Inflexibly resisting unto blood :
 And for his Life to *Supplicat* disdain'd,
 Lest he should have his *Testimony* stain'd ;
 By which, through blood of lamb he overcame,
 And lov'd not Life too dearly for the same :
 Which fruitfully h'affirmed during breath,
 And faithfully confirmed by his death ;
 In such a measure of Humility,
 Of Patience, Meekness, Zeal, and Constancy ;
 That it to Enemies hath been confounding,
 To Neutralists conviction much redounding,
 To Hisitants and Halters Confirmation,
 And to all Zions mourners Consolation.
 Hence in a bloody Chariot he hath gone,
 To see and stand before *Emmanuel's Throne* ;
 His hands with Palms, his head with pleasant Bayes,
 His Cloathes in white, do sparkle glistening Rayes

Of Glory : Glory singing, and salvation
To Him that brought him out of tribulation
Unto the Throne and Temple of his God,
Where everlastingly he hath abode ;
Where without intermission night or day,
Where without interruption or delay,
Without all cares, without all fains or fears,
Without all snares, without all plaints or tears,
He serves, he sings, he sees the Lamb that's feeding,
And unto Lovely Living Waters leading :
Where leave we him, full of *Jehovah's* Joy,
Whom no more sin, nor sorrow, can annoy ;
And rest lamenting, while in the vale of tears,
Our growing grief, and fresh recurring fears.

An *Anagram* on his Name,
MASTER JAMES RHENVICK.
I AM CHRIST'S MEEK SERVANT.

Another.
MASTER JAMES RENVICK
MINE MARCK IS EVER THE SAME.

An *Acrostick* on the same.

Meekness and	Magnanimity most rare,
Advanc'd thy	Actions, with advantage fair,
Submissive	Self-denial, suffering flights,
Tuisted with	True Zeal, for <i>Emmanuel's</i> Rights,
Extoll'd the	Early in Esteem and Fame,
Renowned	<i>Renwick</i> , EVERMORE THE SAME,

<i>Jehovah-</i>	<i>Jirch</i> was thy constant Joy,
Along thy	Alwayes arduous employ :
Magnifi'd	Martyr ! men the much admire :
Enemies	Envy and enraged ire,
Shaming them	Selves, thy sufferings to bespatter :

Reproaches	Restless, with renown did scatter.
Eminent	Enterprises in all dangers,
Noble thy	Name have notified to Strangers.
Vexations	Various, suffered valiently,
Imbalm'd thy	Innocence to memory,
Comfort from	Christ did stop all thy Complaints
Kill'd thou'rt for	Keeping His Commandements.

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THE REV. D. CARGILL AND MR W. SMITH.

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