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Biographia

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Biographia Scoticana;
OR,
A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
Lives, Characters, and Memorable Transactions
OF
THE MOST EMINENT
SCOTS WORTHIES,

NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, MINISTERS, and others, from MR. PATRICK HAMILTON, who was born about the year of our LORD 1503. and suffered Martyrdom at St. Andrews, Feb. 1527, to MR. JAMES RENWICK, who was executed at Edinburgh, Feb. 1688.

WITH

An Account of their unparalleled Sufferings and Christian fortitude, under the most cruel Tortures and Imprisonments, which they cheerfully endured in the glorious cause of Reformation.

TOGETHER WITH

A Succinct Account of the Lives of other seven eminent Divines, and SIR ROBERT HAMILTON of Preston, who died about or shortly after the Revolution.

AS ALSO,

AN APPENDIX, containing a Short Historical Account of the Wicked Lives and Miserable Deaths of some of the most remarkable Apostates and Bloody Persecutors in Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution.

"The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance,"

PSALM cxii. 6.

"And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her,"

PSALM lxxxvii. 5.

THE FOURTH EDITION,

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1809.



P R E F A C E.

THE design of the following work was, to collect from the best authorities, a summary account of the lives, characters, and contendings, of a certain number of our most RENOWNED SCOTS WORTHIES, who, for their faithful services, ardent zeal, constancy in sufferings, and other Christian graces and virtues, deserve a most honourable memorial in the church of Christ;—and for which their names both have and will be savoury to all the true lovers of our Zion, while Reformation principles are regarded in Scotland.

The Editor having for sometime had a desire to see something of this kind published, but finding nothing thereof, except a few broken accounts interpersed throughout different publications, yet in print, at last took up a resolution to collect into one volume, the most material relations of as many of our Scots Worthies as could be obtained, from such of the historical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuscripts, as he could have access unto, with the substance of these lives already in print, which, being put all together, it was thought would not only prove more useful, in giving the reader the pleasure of viewing them all at once, but also at the same time, would be free of the inconveniences that little pamphlets often fall under. In this publication, it is not pretended to give an account of all our Scots Worthies, or their transactions; for that were a task now altogether impracticable, and that upon several accounts. For,

1st, There have been many, of different ranks and degrees of men, famous in the church of Scotland, of whom little more is mentioned in history than their names, places of abode, and age wherein they existed, and scarcely that. Again, there are many others, of whom the most that can be said is only a few faint hints, which of necessity must render their lives (if they may properly be so called,) very imperfect, from what they might and would have been, had they been collected and wrote near a century ago, when their actions and memories were more fresh and recent: several persons being then alive, who were well acquainted with their lives and proceedings, whereby they might have been confirmed by many incontestible evidences that cannot now possibly be brought in; yea, and more so, seeing there is a chasm in our history during the time of the Usurper; not to mention how many of our national records were about that time altogether lost.*

* Of these records belonging to the state, carried away by Cromwell, to secure our dependence on England, there were eighty-five hog-heads lost, December 18, 1660, in a ship belonging to Kirkaldy, as she was returning with them from London. And as for the church records and registers, a great many of them also (either through the confusion of the then civil wars, or falling into the hands of the prelates, while prelacy prevailed in Scotland) are also missing.—*Preface to Stevenson's History.*

deemer, notwithstanding some faint acts then made to the contrary; as witness the civil magistrate's still retaining his old usurped power, in calling and dissolving the supreme judicatories of the church, yea, sometimes to an indefinite time. Likewise appointing diets of fasting and thanksgiving to be observed, under fines and other civil pains annexed; imposing oaths, acts, and statutes upon churchmen, under pain of ecclesiastic censure, or other Erastian penalties. And instead of our covenants, an unhallowed union is gone into with England, whereby our rights and liberties are infringed not a little: "Bow down thy body as the ground, that we may pass over." Lordly patronage, which was cast out of the church in her purest times, is now restored, and practised to an extremity. A toleration bill * is granted, whereby all, and almost every error, heresy, and delusion, appears now rampant and triumphant. Prelacy is now become fashionable and epidemical, and of Popery we are in as much danger as ever; † Socinian and deistical tenets are only in vogue with the wits of the age, *soli ratione cedo*, the old Porphyrian maxim having so far gained the ascendant at present, that reason (at least) renders to it, who must needs hear with their eyes, and see with their ears, and understand with their elbows, till the order of nature be inverted) threatens not a little to banish revealed religion, and its most important doctrines, out of the professing world. A latitudinarian scheme prevails among the majority, the greater part, with the Athenians, spending

* Although toleration-principles be now espoused, boasted of, and gloried in, by many, yea, by some from whom other things might be expected, yet it is contrary to scripture. See Gen. xxv. 2, &c. Deut. xiii. 6. Jude ii. 2. Ezek. xliii. 8. Prov. xvii. 15. Zech. xiii. 2. Rom. xiii. 6. Rev. ii. 14, &c. And how far the civil magistrate is to exert his power in punishing heretics, I shall not at present determine, or whether the word *extirpate* in our solemn league and covenant extends to the temporal or spiritual sword only, there are different sentiments and expositions; yet sure I am, according to the nature of things, that which is morally good, being a commanded duty, needs no toleration; and that which is morally evil, no mortal on earth can lawfully grant an immunity unto. And betwixt these there is no medium in point of truth and duty. And it is observable, that where toleration or toleration-principles prevail, real religion never prospers much. And besides all, it is of woful consequence; for as in natural bodies antipathies of qualities cause destruction, so in bodies politic different religions, or ways of worship in religion, cause many divisions and distractions, whereby the seamless coat of Christ is like to be torn in pieces, and this oftentimes terminates in the ruin of the whole. "For a kingdom, city, or house divided against itself, (saith Christ,) cannot stand." And yet some will say, that toleration is a good thing, for by it people may live as good as they please. I answer, It is true, but they may also live as bad as they please; and that we have liberty and freedom to serve God in his own appointed way, we have him primarily to thank for it, as for all his other mercies and goodness towards us.

† Witness the Quebec act, for establishing Popery in Canada, 1777. The Catholic bill's granting toleration to Papists in England and Ireland 1778, with the gloomy aspect that affairs bear to Scotland since that time.

their time only to hear and see something new, "gadding about to change their ways, going in the ways of Egypt and Assyria, to drink the waters of Shichor and the river;" unstable souls, like so many light combustibles, wrapt up by the eddies of a whirlwind, tossed hither and thither till utterly dissipated. The doctrine of original sin * is by severals denied; others are pulling down the very hedges of church-government, refusing all church-standards, covenants, creeds, and confessions, whether of our own or of other churches, yea, and national churches also, as being all of them carnal, human, or Antichristian inventions," contrary to many texts of scripture, particularly 2 Tim. i. 13. "Hold fast the form of sound words:" and the old Pelagian and Arminian errors appear again upon the stage, the merit of the creature, free-will, and good works, † being taught from press and pulpit almost every where, to the

* This doctrine of original sin is plainly evinced from scripture, canonical and apocryphal, Job xiv. 4. Psalm li. 5. Rom. v. 12, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 21. John iii. 6. Apocrypha, Eccles. xxv. 26; asserted in our church-standards, illustrated and defended by many able divines, both ancient and modern, and by our British poets, excellently described: Thus,

*Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In some, to spring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the snake conspir'd,
Nor sinn'd thy sin; yet from that sin derive
Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.*

PARADISE LOST, Lib. ix.

*Conceiv'd in sin, (O wretched state!)
before we draw our breath:
The first young pulse begins to beat
iniquity and death.*

DR. WATTS.

† However much these leading articles in the Arminian and Pelagian scheme be now taught and applauded, yet sure they are God-dishonouring and soul-ruining tenets, contrary to scripture, God's covenants, and everſive of man's salvation. For,

(1.) They are contrary to scripture, which teaches us, that we are no less dependent in working than in being, and no more capable to act from a principle of life of ourselves, than to exist: "The way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man that walketh to direct his steps. What hast thou, O man, but what thou hast received? How to perform that which is good I find not," Jer. x. 23. 1 Cor. iv. 7. Rom. vii. 18. "So that a man can do nothing, except it be given him from above; and no man can come unto me, except the Father draw him," saith Christ, John iii. 27. vi. 44. See Conf. ch. ix. § 3. Articles of the church of England, art. 10. And for good works, however far they may be acceptable to God in an approbative way, as being conformable to his command, and agreeable to the holiness of his nature, yet we are assured from his word, that moral rectitude, in its very summit, can never render one acceptable in his sight in a justifying way; "for by the works of the law shall no man be justified; not by works of righteousness that we have done," &c. Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 5. For though good works, or gospel-

utter discarding of free grace, Christ's imputed righteousness, and the power of true godliness: all which pernicious errors were expunged, and cast over the hedge, by our reforming forefathers. And is it not highly requisite, that their faithful contendings, orthodox and exemplary

obedience and true holiness, be absolutely necessary unto salvation, as being the-fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith in every believer, the greatest saint being the best moralist; yet these are no ways meritorious of man's salvation: no, this depends upon God's eternal purposes, Rom. ix. 11. Eph. i. 4. We find it often said in scripture, that it shall be rendered to every man "according to his works," Rom. iii. Rev. xxii. 12, &c. but never for their works; yea, works, though otherwise materially good in themselves, in an unregenerate man become sinful before God; "for whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Rom. xiv. 23; although the omitting of them be more dishonouring to him, Rom. viii. 8. Psalm xxvi. 5. Matt. xxiii. 23. See Conf. chap. xvi. § 2, 3, 7. And so Luther, Calvin, Diodati, Beza, Perkins, Fisher, Flavel, Owen, Simpson, Binning, Dickson, Gray, Rutherford, Durham, Gillespie, Guthrie, Renwick, Pool, Henry, Halyburton, Boston, Marshall, and many others.

(2.) They are antipodes to reason, and strike eminently against the very nature of God's covenant; for, according to the tenor of the covenant of works, nothing but perfect, personal, and perpetual obedience, can merit, (if any thing in a degenerate creature may be so called;) and can any reasonable man look his own conscience in the face and say, that he is the person that can perform this? Again, if we betake ourselves unto the covenant of grace, reason itself might blush, and be ashamed once to suppose, that the blood of the immaculate Son of God stood in any need of an addition of man's imperfect works, in order to complete salvation. See Catechising on the Heidelberg Catechism on question lii. page 180. Blackwall's *Ratio sacro*, page 17, &c.

(3.) They must be very dangerous, soul-ruining, and Christ-dishonouring errors; for it might be counted altogether superfluous for a person to come to a physician for a cure, while he is not in the least suspicious of being infected with any malady. So, in like manner, can it be expected that any soul can cordially come, or be brought to Christ, without a due sense of its infinite distance from God by nature? of the impossibility of making any suitable approaches to him? and of the utter disability to do any thing that may answer the law, holiness, and righteousness of God therein? &c. "For they that be whole," (at least think themselves so,) "need not a physician," saith Christ, "and I came not to call the righteous," (or such as think themselves so,) "but sinners to repentance," Mark ix. 12.

From hence observe, that whosoever intends to forsake sin, in order to come to Christ, or effectually to correct vice, before he believes on him, must needs meet with a miserable disappointment; for "without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. xi. 6. and in the end sink himself into an immense and bottomless chaos of uncertainties, like one lopping the branches off a tree to kill the root: "No man cometh to the Father but by me, and without me ye can do nothing," says Christ himself, John xiv. 6. The love of God being the *primo causa*, the obedience and meritorious righteousness of Christ the foundation, source, and spring of man's salvation, and all true happiness; "for by grace ye are saved,"

lives, should be copied out before us, when walking so repugnant to "acknowledging the God of our fathers, and walking before him with a perfect heart."

Again, if we shall run a comparison betwixt the practice of those who are the subject-matter of this collection, and our present prevailing temper and disposition, we will find how far they correspond with one another. How courageous and zealous were they for the cause and honour of Christ! How cold and lukewarm are we, of whatever sect or denomination! How willing were they to part with all for him! And what honour did many of them count it, to suffer for his name! How unwilling are we to part with any thing for him, much less to suffer such hardships for his sake! Of that we are ashamed, which they counted their or-

Eph. ii. 8. And whosoever has been made rightly to know any thing of the depravity of his nature in a lapsed state, or experienced any thing of the free grace of a God in Christ, will be made to acknowledge this, "That it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure," Phil. ii. 13. And yet I know it is objected, That it is highly dishonouring to the Author of nature, to argue man to be such a mean and insufficient creature; and that it can never be supposed, that a gracious and merciful God would make such a number of intelligent beings to damn them, or command a sinner to repent and come to Christ, and condemn him for not doing it, if it were not in his own power upon moral suasion to obey, &c. It is true, indeed, that in comparison of the irrational insect, and inanimate creation, man is a noble creature, both as to his formation, "I am wonderfully made," Psalm cxxxix. 14. and also in his intellectual parts, but much more in his primeval state and dignity, when all the faculties of the mind and powers of the soul stood entire, being endued not only with animal and intelligent, but also heavenly life, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," Psalm viii. 5. But then, in what follows, these objectors seem, either inadvertently or willingly, to have forgot, (1.) "That man in honour abideth not," Psalm xlix. 12. (or, as the Rabbins read, and some translate it, as Cartwright, Ainsworth, Leigh and Broughton, "Adam in honour abideth not one night.") Adam by his disobedience, not only introduced a jar into the whole creation, rendered his posterity decrepit and lame, but also lost all power to any spiritual good, the whole of his intellectual parts concreated with him being either corrupted, darkened, obliterated, or lost. Indeed, Dr. Taylor would have us believe, that what Adam lost, and more, was restored to Noah, Gen. ix.; and that man's mental capacities are now the same as Adam's in innocence, saving so far as God sees fit to set any man above or below his standard; some are below Adam in rational endowments, and some are above him; of the latter he thinks Sir Isaac Newton was one, (Doctrine of Original Sin, p. 235. Supplement, p. 85.) The fallacy of which is so obvious and absurd, that it deserves no observation; for every man, to his dear-bought experience, may know, that man now, assisted by all the dark remains of original, moral, and political knowledge he is master of, can acquire no certain knowledge of any part of his duty, as to moral good or evil, but by a gradation of labour, slow, and multiplied deductions; and much less is able to bind the strong man, and cast him out. And yet all this is no way dishonouring to the great Author of nature as to the works of his hands; for although he made man at first, he made him not originally a

nament; accounting that our glory, which they looked on as a disgrace! How easy was it for them to choose the greatest suffering, rather than the least sin! How hard is it for us to refuse the greatest sin, before the least suffering! How active were they for the glory of God and the good of souls, and diligent to have their own evidences clear for heaven! But how little concern have we for the cause of Christ, his work and interest, and how dark are the most part with respect to their spiritual state and duty! They were sympathizing Christians; but, alas! how little fellow-feeling is to be found among us: it is rather "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." Oh! that their Christian virtues, constant fidelity, unfeigned love, and unbiassed loyalty to Zion's King and Lord, could awaken us from our neutrality and supine security, wherein, instead of imitating the goodness and virtuous dispositions of these our ancestors, we have, by our defections and vicious courses, invited neglect and contempt on ourselves, being, as a philosopher once observed of passionate people, like

sinful man; so that it is our sin that is dishonouring to him. "Lo, this have I found out," says the wisest of men, "that God at first made man upright, but he sought out many inventions." (2.) That, in a proper sense, God neither made man to save nor to damn him, but only for his pleasure, and the manifestation of his own power and glory, Rev. iv. 11. Conf. chap. ii § 3. (3.) Although we have lost power to obey, yet he still retains his right to demand obedience; and nothing can be more suitable to the justice, wisdom, and sovereignty of God, than to maintain his right to perfect obedience from man, whom he originally endued with all power and abilities for what he commanded; neither is he any ways bound to restore that power again to man, which he by his disobedience lost. (4.) All mankind by the fall stand condemned by God's judicial act, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," Gen. ii. 17. And you'll say, a judge does a malefactor no injury in condemning him, when by the law he is found guilty of death; "and cursed is every one who confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them," Deut. xxvii. 26.; and much less the supreme Judge of all, who can do nothing wrong to any, in condemning man; "for the wages of sin is death," Rom. vi. 13. "and hath not the potter power over the clay?" &c.—And, finally, if the first Adam's posterity be thus naturally endued with a power to do that which is spiritually good, pray what need was there for the second Adam to die to quicken his elect? Eph. ii. 1. Indeed, we are commanded to repent, and turn from our iniquities: "turn ye, turn ye, and live," Ezek. xxxiii. 11.; and ye "will not come unto me that ye might have life," John v. 40. But who, excepting a bold Arminian, will say, that these texts imply a natural power in man to turn, come or not, as he pleases? If this were the case, the same spirit of God would not have said elsewhere, "Draw me, and we will run after thee; turn thou us, and we shall be turned." Cant. i. 4. Jer. xxxi. 18.; "surely after I was turned I repented," ver. 19.; "it was not before I was turned I repented." No: this command and complaint only points out our duty; but the prayers and promises in the word shew us our ability for the performance thereof. And yet after all, proud, ignorant man must needs be his own Saviour; and if God say not so too, Cain will be wroth, and his countenance fall, Gen. iv. 5. "But let the potsherd's strive with the potsherd's of the earth; but wo unto him that striveth with his Maker."

standing on their heads, who see all things the wrong way; giving with the greater part of these our most valuable rights and liberties, which were most esteemed by our RENOWNED PROGENITORS — “The herous dealers have dealt very treacherously.”

And if we shall add unto all these, in our progressive and increasing rasy, our other heinous, land-crying sins and enormities, which pre- and increase among all ranks and denominations of men; few rning over the low state of our Zion, and the daily decay of the in- of Christ and religion; then we not only may say, as the poet said of the men of Athens, Thebes, and Oedipus, “That we live in fable, and nothing remains of ancient Scotland but the name;” also take up this bitter complaint and lamentation.

Ah! Scotland, Scotland! “How is the gold become dim; how is most fine gold changed?” “Ah! where is the God of Elijah, and e is his glory? Where is that Scottish zeal that once fl med in the sts of thy nobility, barons, ministers, and commoners of all sorts?

Where is that true courage and heroic resolution for religion and liberties of the nation, that did once animate all ranks in the land? ! alas! true Scots blood now runs cool in our veins! The cloud is gone up in a great measure from off our assemblies; because we deserted and relinquished the Lord’s most noble cause and testi- by, by a plain, palpable, and perpetual course of backsliding.”—“The n is fallen from our head; wo unto us, for we have sinned.”

Or surely we may say of these our times, and with as much propriety, some of these Worthies said of theirs, *Quam graviter ingemescerent illi viri qui ecclesie Scotice pro libertate in acie decertarunt, si nostram nunc niam (ne quid gravius dicam) conspicerent*, said Mr. Davidson, in a letter re General Assen bly, 1601; *i. e.* ‘How grievously would they be- our stupendous slothfulness, could they but behold it, who of old ght no expense of blood and treasure too much for the defence of the ch of Scotland’s liberties.’—Or, to use the words of another * in the recuting period, ‘Were it possible that our reformers (and, we may or our late Martyrs,) who are entered in among the glorious choristers re kingdom of heaven, sirging their melodious harps about the throne re Lamb, might have a fullough for a short time, to take a view of apostatizing children, what may we judge would be their concep- of these courses of defection, so far repugnant to the platform laid n in that glorious work of reformation?’ For if innocent Hamilton, y and patient Wishart, apostolic Knox, eloquent Roll ck, worthy idson, the courageous Melvills, prophetic Welch majestic Bruce, t Henderson, renowned Gillespie, learned Binning, pious Gray, labo- s Durham, heavenly-minded Ruthertord, the faithful Guthries, dili- Blair, heart-melting Livingston, religious Wellwood, orthodox and tical Brown, zealous and stedfast Cameron, honest-hearted Cargill, pathziing M’Ward, persevering Blackaduer, the evangelical Traills, tant and pious Renwick, &c. were filed off from the assembly of first-born, sent as commissioners to haste down from the mount of , to behold how quickly their offspring are gone out of the way, ig and dancing after a golden calf; ah! with what vehemency ld their spirits be affected, to see their laborious structure almost d to the foundation, by those to whom they committed the custody

* Mr. John Dickson, in a letter, while prisoner in the Bast.

of the word of their great Lord's patience; they in the meantime sheltering themselves under the shadow of a rotten lump of fig-tree leaf distinctions, which will not scone against the wrath of an angry God in the cool of the day,' &c.

And, finally, What can have a more gloomy aspect in the midst of these evils, (with many more that might be noticed,) "when our pleasant things are laid waste," than to see such a scene of strite and division carried on, and maintained among Christ's professing witnesses in these lands, whereby true love and sympathy is eradicated, the very vitals of religion pulled out, and the ways of God and godliness lampooned and ridiculed, "giving Jacob to the curse, and Israel to the reproaches."—And it is most lamentable, that while malignants (now as well as formerly) from without are cutting down the carved work of the sanctuary, Christ's professed friends and followers from within are busied in contention and animosities among themselves, by which means the enemy still advances and gains ground, similar to the case (exteriorly) of that once famous and flourishing city and temple of Jerusalem, when it was by Titus Vespasian utterly demolished.*—All which seem to prelude or indicate, that the Lord is about to inflict these long-threatened, impending, but protracted judgments,† upon such a sinning land, church, and people. And as many of these Worthies have assured us, that judgments are abiding this church and nation; so our present condition and circumstances seem to say, that we are the generation ripening for them apace.—How much need have we then of the Christian armour that made them proof against Satan, his emissaries, and every trial and tribulation they were subjected unto? "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day."

But by this time somewhat might have been said concerning the testimony of the church of Scotland, as it was carried on and handed down by these witnesses of Christ to posterity, in its different parts and periods.—But as this has been somewhat (I may say needlessly) controverted in these our times, it were too large a subject for the narrow limits of a preface to enter upon at present, any further than to observe, that,

(1.) The testimony of the church of Scotland is not only a free, full, and faithful testimony, yea, more extensive than the testimony of any one particular church since Christianity commenced in the world, but also a sure and costly testimony, confirmed and sealed with blood; 'and that of the best of our nobles, ministers, gentry, burgesses, and commons of all sorts;'—"who loved not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the word of their testimony.—Bind up the testimony, seal the law."

(2.) Although there is no truth whatsoever, when once controverted,

* See Josephus's *De bello Jud.* lib. v. and vi. ; and of this destruction, Eusebius, lib. iii. chap. 6. ; and the life of Titus Vespasian.

† *Well may we tremble now! what manners reign?
But wherefore ask we? when a true reply
Would shock too much. Kind Heaven, avert events,
Whose fatal nature might reply too plain!
—Vengeance delay'd but gathers and ferments;
More formidably blackens in the wind,
Brews deeper draughts of unrelenting wrath,
And higher charges the suspended storm.*

but it becomes the word of Christ's patience, and so ought to be the word of our testimony, Rev. v. 10. xii. 11.; truth and duty being always the same in all ages and periods of time, so that what injures one truth, in some sense, injures and affects all; "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," James ii. 10. Yet at the same time, it is pretty evident, that the church of Christ in this world is a passing church, still circulating through ages and periods of time, so that she seldom or never turns back under the same point, there being scarcely a century of years elapsed without an alteration of circumstances; yea, and more, I suppose that there is no certain book that has or can be written, that will suit the case of one particular church at all times, and in all circumstances. This pre-eminence the holy scriptures only can claim as a complete rule for faith and manners, principle and practice, in all places, ages, and times.

(3.) These things premised, let it be observed, that the primitive witnesses had the divinity of the Son of God, and an open confession of him, for their testimony; our reformers from Popery had Antichrist to struggle with, in asserting the doctrines of the gospel, and the right way of salvation in and through Jesus Christ. Again, in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Christ's REGALIA,* and the divine right of Presbytery, became the subject-matter of their testimony. Then, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. until he got the whole of our ancient and laudable constitution effaced and overturned, our WORTHIES only saw it their duty to hold and contend for what they had already attained unto.—But then, in the end of this and subsequent tyrant's reign, they found it their duty (a duty which they had too long neglected) to advance one step higher, by casting off their authority altogether, and that as well on account of their manifest usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, as on account of their treachery, bloodshed, and tyranny. And yet as all these faithful witnesses of Christ did harmoniously agree in promoting the kingdom and interest of the Messiah, in all his threefold offices, they stood in defence of religion and liberty (and that not only in opposition to the more gross errors of Popery, but even to the more refined errors of English hierarchy,) we must take their testimony to be materially all and the same testimony, only under different circumstances, which may be summed up thus: 'The primitive Martyrs sealed the prophetic office of Christ, in opposition to Pagan idolatry.—The reforming Martyrs sealed his priestly office with their blood, in opposition to Popish idolatry.—But last of all, our late Martyrs have sealed their kingly office with their best blood, in despite of supremacy and bold Erastianism. They indeed have cemented it upon his royal head, so that to the world's end it shall never drop off again.

But, candid reader, to detain thee no longer upon these or the like considerations,—I have put the following sheets into thy hands, wherein if thou findest any thing amiss, either as to matter or method, let it be ascribed unto any thing else, rather than want of honesty or integrity of

* Here Christ's crown-rights not only became the word of their testimony, but also the very motto of their civil and military banners; inasmuch, as when that gallant Scots army lay at Dunse muir, (anno 1639,) each captain had his colours flying at his tent door, whereon was this inscription in letters of gold,—CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT.

Stevenson's History, vol. ii. p. 729.

intention; considering, that all mankind are liable to err, and that there is more difficulty in digesting such a great mass of materials into such a small composition, than in writing many volumes. Indeed there is but little probability, that a thing of this nature can altogether escape or evade the critical eye of some readers, particularly such as are either altogether ignorant of reformation principles; or of what the Lord hath done for covenanted Scotland; and those who can bear with nothing but what comes from those men who are of an uniform stature or persuasion with themselves; and yet, were it possible to anticipate any thing arising here, by way of objection, these few things following might be observed.

Here some may object, That many things more useful for the present generation might have been published, than the deeds and public actings of those men, who have stood so long condemned by the laws of the nation, being exploded by some, and accounted such a reproach, as unfit to be any longer on record.—In answer to this, I shall only notice, (1.) That there have been some hundreds of volumes published of things fabulous, fictitious, and romantic, fit for little else than to amuse the credulous reader; while this subject has been in a great measure neglected. (2.) We find it to have been the constant practice of the Lord's people in all ages, to hand down and keep on record what the Lord had done by and for their forefathers in former times. We find the royal Psalmist, in the name of the church, oftener than once at this work, Psalm xliv. and lxxviii. "We have heard with our ears, O God! our fathers have told us, what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old: we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord," &c. (3.) It has been the practice of almost all nations, yea, and our own also, to publish the warlike exploits and martial achievements of their most illustrious heroes, who distinguished themselves in defence of their native country, for a little worldly honour, or a little temporary subsistence; and shall we be behind in publishing the lives, characters, and most memorable actions, of these NOBLE CHAMPIONS of Christ, who not only stood in defence of religion and liberty, but also fought the battles of the Lord against his and their avowed enemies, till, in imitation of their princely Master, their garments were all stained with blood, for which their names shall be had in everlasting remembrance! (4.) As to the last part of the objection, it must be granted that, in, *foro hominis*, their actions and attainments cannot now be pleaded upon; but in *foro Dei*, that which was lawful from the beginning cannot afterwards be made sinful * or void; and the longer they have been buried under the ashes of neglect and apostasy, the more need have they to be raised up and revived. It is usual for men to keep that well which was left them by their fathers; and for us either to oppose or industriously conceal any part of these their contendings, were not only an addition to the contempt already thrown upon the memories of these RENOWNED SIRS, but also an injury done to posterity.—'Your honourable ancestors, with the hazard of their lives, brought Christ into our lands and it shall be cruelty to posterity if ye lose him to them,' said one of these Worthies to a Scots nobleman.†

* See collection of acts of parliament, (said to be Andrew Steven-
son's,) preface to part ii.

† Mr. Rutherford, in a letter to the Earl of Cassillis. See his Letters
part i. epist. 23.

Again, some sceptical nullifier or other may be ready to object farther, 'That many things related in this collection smell too much of enthusiasm; and that several other things narrated therein, are beyond all credit.' But these we must suppose to be either quite ignorant of what the Lord did for our forefathers in former times, or else in a great measure destitute of the like gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, by which they were actuated and animated. For,

(1.) These Worthies did and suffered much for Christ and his cause, in their day and generation, and therefore in a peculiar and singular manner were honoured and beloved of him; and although there are some things here narrated, of a pretty extraordinary nature, yet as they imply nothing contrary to reason, they do not forfeit a title to any man's belief, since they are otherwise well attested, nay, obviously referred to a Cause, whose ways and thoughts surmount the ways and thoughts of men, as far as the heavens are above our heads.—The sacred history affords us store of instances and examples of a more transcendent nature than any thing here related; the truth of which we are at as little liberty to question, as the divinity of the book in which they are related.

(2.) As to the soul-exercise and pious devotion of these men herein related, they are so far supported by the authority of scripture, that 'here is mentioned by them, as a ground of their hope, some text or passage hereof, carried in upon their minds, suited and adapted to their cases and circumstances; by which faith they were enabled to lay claim to some particular promise, "as a lamp unto their feet, a light unto their path," and this neither hypocrite nor enthusiast can do: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. iii. 11.

But then, it may be alleged by those who have a high esteem for this subject, that nothing is here given as a commendation suitable or adequate to the merit of these Worthies, considering their zeal, diligence, and activity in the discharge of their duty, in that office or station which they filled. This indeed comes nearest the truth; for it is very common for biographers to pass eulogiums of a very high strain in praise of those whom they affect. But in these panegyric orations, they oft-times rather exceed than excel.—It was an ancient, but true saying of the Jews, 'That great men (and we may say good men) commonly find stones for their own monuments;' and laudable actions always support themselves: and a thing, as an author observes on the like subject, (Fuller in the Preface to his Lives in the Holy State,) 'if right, it will defend itself; if wrong, none can defend it: truth needs not, falsehood deserves not, a supporter.'

Indeed, it must be regretted, that this Collection is not drawn out with more advantage to the cause of Christ, and the interest of religion, in commending the mighty acts of the Lord done for and by these worthy servants of his, in a way suitable to the merit and dignity of such a subject. But in this case it is the greater pity, 'that those who have a good will to such a piece of service cannot do it, while those who should and can do it, will not do it.'—But in this I shall make no other apology, than what our Saviour, in another case, said to the woman, "She hath done what she could."

All that I shall observe anent the form or method used in the following lives, is, that they are all, except one, ranged in order, according to the time of their exit, and not according to their birth; and that, in general, the historical account of their birth, parentage, and memorable trans-

actions, is first inserted; and with as few repetitions as possible: yea, sometimes to save a repetition, a fact is related of one Worthy in the life of another, which is not in his own life. Then follows their characteristic part, which oft-times is just one's testimony successively of another; and last of all, their works.—That which is given in their own words, mostly is printed within inverted commas.

I know it is usual, when relating matters of fact, to make remarks or reflections; yet as this oft-times brings authors under suspicion of party-zeal or partiality, they are designedly waved in the body of the book.—Any thing of this kind is placed among other things in the foot-notes, where the reader is at a little more freedom to choose or refuse as he pleases, only with this proviso, That truth be always regarded.

The last thing to be observed is, That as the credit due to this Collection depends so much upon the authors from whom it was extracted, their names should have been inserted. However, the reader will find the most part of them mentioned in the notes; so that if any doubt of the veracity of any thing here related, they may have recourse to the original authors, some of whom, though enemies to reformation-principles, nevertheless, serve to illustrate the facts narrated in these Memoirs; as nothing serves more to confirmation of either truth or historical facts, than the testimony of its opposers.

But to conclude: May the Lord arise and plead his own cause, in putting a final stop to all manner of prevailing wickedness; and hasten that day when the glorious light of the gospel may shine forth in purity, and with such power and success as in former times, with an enlargement of the Mediator's kingdom,—“That his large and great dominion may be extended from the river to the ends of the earth,” when all these heats, animosities, and breaking divisions, that now prevail and increase among Christ's professed friends and followers, may be healed; that being cemented and knitted to one another, they may join heart and hand together in the matters of the Lord, and the concerns of his glory; “when Ephraim shall no more envy Judah, and Judah shall no more vex Ephraim, but both shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistine.” Isa. xi. 13. ; with a further accomplishment of these, with other gracious promises,—“And thine officers shall be peace, and thine exactors righteousness,” &c. ; “and they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again the captivity of Zion.”—And that when we are endeavouring to perpetuate the memory of these Worthies, and commemorate what the Lord did for and by our forefathers, in the days of old, we may be so auspicious as to have somewhat to declare of his goodness and wonderful works done for us in our day and generation also.

And if the following sheets shall in the least, through divine grace, under the management of an over-ruling Providence, (which claims the care of directing every man to its proper end,) prove useful to the reclaiming of neutrals from backsliding courses, to the confirming of halters, and the encouraging of others to the like fortitude and vigorous zeal, to contend for our most valuable privileges, whether of a civil or a religious nature, then I shall think all my pains recompensed, and the end gained. For that many be found “standing in the way, to see and ask for the good old paths, and walk therein, cleaving to the law and to the testimony,” would be the joy, and is the earnest desire, of one impartial reader, who remains thy friend and well-wisher in the truth,

THE EDITOR,

July 1775.

INTRODUCTION.

CHRISTIANITY seems to have made its appearance in Scotland at an early period, being, according to some writers, propagated in the kingdom by the apostles themselves; some saying, that Simon Zelotes, others Paul, was sometime in this part of the world; but as this opinion is not supported by proper vouchers, it merits only the regard due to conjecture, not the attention which an undoubted narrative calls for. Another, and more probable account, is, that during the persecution by Domitian, (who was the twelfth and last Caesar, A. D. 96,) some of the disciples of the apostle John fled into our island, and there introduced the religion of Jesus. It does not seem that Christianity made very rapid progress for a considerable time. The first account of success of the gospel that can be depended on, is that about A. D. 843 King Donald I. with his Queen, and several courtiers, were baptised, and continued afterwards to promote the interests of Christianity, in opposition to Pagan idolatry. But the invasion of the Emperor Severus disturbed this king's measures; so that, for the space of more than seventy years after, religion was on the decline, and the idolatry of the Druids prevailed: they were an order of heathen priests, who performed their rites in groves of oak trees: this was a species of Paganism of great antiquity, being that kind of idolatry to which the Jews were often tempted, of which mention is made in the lives of Ahab, Manasseh, &c. in the books of the Kings. These Druids likewise possessed a considerable share of civil power, being the ordinary arbitrators in almost all controversies, and highly esteemed by the people. This made it a very difficult task to establish a religion so opposite to, and subversive of that which was in vogue: but the difficulties which Christianity has in every age and country had to encounter, have served its interest, and illustrated the truth and grace of its divine Author. These Druids were expelled by King Cratlinth, about the year 277, who took special care to obliterate every memorial of them; and from this period we may date the true era of Christianity in Scotland, because from this time forward, until the persecution under the Emperor Dioclesian, in the beginning of the fourth century, there was a gradual increase of the true knowledge of God and religion. That persecution became so hot in the south parts of Britain, as to drive many, both preachers and professors, into Scotland, where they were kindly received, and had the Isle of Man, then in possession of the Picts, given them for their residence, and a sufficient maintenance allowed them. King Cratlinth built a church for them, which was called the church of our Saviour, in the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, and is now by corruption called Icolumbkill, one of the western isles. They were not employed in the druidical priests, in whose place they had come, in settling worldly affairs of men, but gave themselves wholly to divine services, instructing the ignorant, comforting the weak, administering the sacraments, and training up disciples to the same services. Whether these refugees were the ancient Culdees, or a different set of

men, is not easily determined; nor would it be very material, though it could. The Culdees (from *cultores Dei*, worshippers of God) flourished at this time: they were called *μοναχοι*, or Monks, from the retired, religious lives which they led; the cells into which they had retired, were, after their deaths, mostly converted into churches, and to this day retain their names, as Cell, or Kill, or church of Marnock; Kil-Patrick, Kil-Malcolm, &c. The Culdees chose superintendents from among themselves, whose office obliged them to travel the country, in order to see that every one discharged his duty properly: but they were utter strangers to the lordly power of the modern prelate, having no proper diocese, and only a temporary superintendency, with which they were vested by their brethren, and to whom they were accountable. It was an institution, in the spirit of it, the same with the privy censures of ministers among Presbyterians.

During the reigns of Cratlinth, and Fincormac his successor, the Culdees were in a flourishing state: but after the death of the latter, both the church and state of Scotland went into disorder. Maximus, the Roman Prefect, stirred up the Picts to aid him against the Scots, who were totally defeated, their King Ewing, with most part of the nobility, being slain. This overthrow was immediately succeeded by an edict commanding all the Scots, without exception, to depart the kingdom against a certain day, under pain of death. This drove them entirely into Ireland, and the western isles of Denmark and Norway, excepting a few ecclesiastics, who wandered about from place to place. This bloody battle was fought about the year 380, at the water of Dunne in Carrick.

After the exile of forty-four, or, according to Buchanan, twenty-seven years which the Scots endured, the Picts became sensible of their mistake in assisting the Romans against them, and accordingly strengthened the hands of the few who remained, and invited the fugitives back into their own land. These were joined by some foreigners, and returned, with Feigus II. (then in Denmark) upon their head. Their enterprise was the more successful, that at this time, many of the Roman forces were called home. Their king was crowned with the usual rites in his own country, and the news of his success drew great numbers to him; insomuch, that he recovered all the country out of which the Scots had been expelled. Most of the foreign forces returned home, except the Irish, who possessed the country of Galloway for their reward. This successful undertaking happened about the year 404, or, as others would have it, 420.

The Culdees were now recalled out of all their lurking-places, restored to their livings, and had their churches repaired. At this time they possessed the people's esteem to a higher degree than ever: but this tranquillity was again interrupted by a more formidable enemy than before. The Pelagian heresy had now gained considerable ground in Britain; it is so called from Pelagius, a monk at Rome; its chief articles are, 1. That original sin is not inherent. 2. That faith is a thing natural, 3. That good works done by our own strength, of our own free-will, are agreeable to the law of God, and worthy of heaven. Whether all, or only part of these errors, then infected the Scottish church, is uncertain; but Celestine, then Bishop of Rome, embraced this opportunity to send Palladius among them, who, joining with the orthodox of South Britain restored peace to that part of the church, by suppressing the heresy. Eugenius the Second, being desirous that this church should likewise be purged of the impure leaven, invited Palladius hither, who, obtaining li-

erty from Celestine, and being enjoined to introduce the hierarchy as opportunity should offer, came into Scotland, and succeeded so effectually his commission, as both to confute Pelagianism and new-model the government of the church.

The church of Scotland knew no officers vested with pre-eminence above their brethren, nor had any thing to do with the Roman Pontiff, until the year 450. Bede says, that "Palladius was sent unto the Scots, who believed in Christ, as their first Bishop."* Boetius likewise says, "That Palladius was the first of all who did bear holy magistracy among the Scots, being made bishop by the great Pope." Fordun, in his Chronicle, tells that, "before the coming of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, Presbyters only, or monks, following the customs of the primitive church."†

But we are not even to fix the era of diocesan bishops so early as this; for there were no such officebearers in the church of Scotland, until the reign of Malcolm II. in the eleventh century. During the first 1000 years after Christ, there were no divided dioceses, nor superiorities over others, but they governed in the church in common with Presbyters; so that they were no more than nominally bishops, possessing little or nothing of that lordly dignity, which they now, and for a long time past, have enjoyed. Spottiswood, (history, p. 29) himself testifies, that the Scottish bishops, before the eleventh century, exercised their functions differently in every place to which they came. Palladius may be said to have rather laid the foundation of the after degeneracy of the church of Scotland, than to have built that superstructure of corruption and idolatry, which afterwards prevailed, because she continued for near two hundred years in a state, comparatively pure and unspotted, when we cast our eyes on the following times.

About the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, a number of pious and wise men flourished in the country, among whom was Kentigern, commonly called Mungo. Some of these persons were employed by Oswald, a Northumbrian King, to instruct his people; they are represented by Bede as eminent for their love to God, and knowledge of the holy scriptures; the light of the gospel, by their means, broke into other parts of the Saxon dominions, which long maintained an opposition to the growing usurpation of the church of Rome, which after the middle of this century was strenuously supported by Austin's disciples.

Besides these men, the church of Scotland at this time sent many other worthy and successful missionaries into foreign parts, particularly France and Germany. Thus was Scotland early privileged, and thus were her privileges improved: but soon "the gold became dim, and the most fine gold was changed."

Popery came now by degrees to shew her horrid head; the assiduity of Austin, and his disciples in England, was attended with melancholy consequences to Scotland, by fomenting divisions, corrupting her princes with Romish principles, and inattention to the lives of her clergy, the papal power soon came to be universally acknowledged. In the seventh century, a hot contest arose, betwixt Austin and his disciples on the one part, and the Scots and the northern Saxons on the other, about the

* Vid. Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. ch. 13. Buchan. Hist. book v.

† Book iii. ch. 8.

time of keeping Easter, immersing three times in baptism, shaving of priests, &c.; which these last would not receive, nor submit to the authority that imposed them: each refused ministerial communion with the other party, until an arbitral decision was given by Osway, king of the Northumbrians, at Whitby in Yorkshire, in favour of the Romanists, when the opinions of the Scots were exploded, and the modish fooleries of Papal hierarchy were established. This decision, however, was far from putting an end to the confusion which this dissension had occasioned; the Romanists urged their rites with rigour, the others rather chose to yield their places than conform. Their discouragement daily increased, as the clerical power was augmented: in the year 886, they obtained the act exempting them from taxes, and all civil prosecutions before temporal judges, and ordaining that all matters concerning them should be tried by their bishops, who were at this time vested with those powers which are now in the hands of commissaries, respecting matrimonial causes, testaments, &c. They were likewise, by the same statute, empowered to make canons, try heretics, &c.; and all future kings were ordained to take an oath at their coronation, for maintaining these privileges to the church. The Convention of Estates which passed this act was held at Forfar, in the reign of that too indulgent prince, Gregory.

Malcolm III. Alexander, David, &c. successively supported this dignity, by erecting particular bishopricks, abbeys, and monasteries; the same superstitious zeal seized the nobility of both sexes, some giving a third, others more, and others their whole estates, for the support of pontifical pride and spiritual tyranny; which soon became insupportable and opened the eyes of the nation, so that they discovered their mistake in raising the clerical authority to such a height. Accordingly, we find the nobles complaining of it to Alexander III. who reigned after the middle of the thirteenth century: but he was so far from being able to afford them redress, that when they were excommunicated by the church on account of this complaint, to prevent greater evils, he was obliged to cause the nobility satisfy both the avarice and arrogance of the clergy, who had now resolved upon and begun a journey to Rome, with a view to raise as great commotions in Scotland, as Thomas Becket had lately made in England.

The Pope's power was now generally acknowledged over Christendom, particularly in our nation, for which, in return, the church of Scotland was declared free from all foreign spiritual jurisdiction, that of the "Apostolic see only excepted." This bull was occasioned by an attempt of one Roger, Bishop of York, in the year 1159, to raise himself to the dignity of Metropolitan of Scotland, and who found means to be Legate of this kingdom, but lost that office upon the remonstrance of the Scottish clergy; which likewise procured the above bull in their favour, with many other favours of a like nature at this time conferred upon them, by all which they were exempted from any other jurisdiction than that of Rome; insomuch that we find Pope Boniface VIII. commanding Edward of England to cease hostilities against the Scots, alleging that "the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the church;" which claim seems to have been founded in the Papal appointment for the unction of the Scots kings, which was first used on King Edgar, A. D. 1098, and at that time regarded by the people as a new mark of royalty; but which, as it was the appointment of the Pope, was really the mark of the beast.

There were now in Scotland all orders of Monks and Friars, Templars, or Red Monks, Trinity Monks of Aberdeen, Cistercian Monks, Carmel-

ite, Black and Grey Friars, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobins, Benedictines, &c. ; which shews to what a height Antichrist had raised his head in our land, and readily all his oppressive measures were complied with by all ranks.

But the reader must not think, that during the period we have now reviewed, there were none to oppose this torrent of superstition and idolatry ; for from the first appearance of the Romish Antichrist in this kingdom, God wanted not witnesses for the truth, who boldly stood forth for the defence of the blessed and pure gospel of Christ. Mention is first made of Clemens and Simson, two famous Culdees, who, in the seventh century, supported the authority of Christ as the only king and head of his church, against the usurped power of Rome, and who rejected the superstitious rites of Antichrist, as contrary to the simplicity of gospel-institutions. The succeeding age was no less remarkable for learned and pious men, to whom Scotland gave birth, and whose praise was in the churches abroad ; particularly Joannes Scotus, who wrote a book upon the eucharist, condemned by Leo IX. in the year 1030, long after his death. In the ninth century, a Convention of Estates was held at Scoon for the reformation of the clergy, their lives and conversations being at that time a reproach to common decency and good manners, not to say piety and religion. The remedies provided at this Convention, discover the nature of the disease. It was ordained, that churchmen should reside upon their charge ; that they should not intermeddle with secular affairs, but instruct the people, and be good examples in their conversations ; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, nor horses, for their pleasure, &c. And if they failed in the observance of these injunctions, they were to be fined for the first, and deposed for the second transgression. These laws were made under King Constantine II., but his successor Gregory rendered them abortive by his indulgence. The age following this is not remarkable for witnesses to the truth ; but historians are agreed, that there were still some of the Culdees, who lived and ministered apart from the Romanists, and taught the people that Christ was the only propitiation for sin, and that his blood could only wash them from the guilt of it, in opposition to the indulgences and pardons of the Pope. Mr. Alexander Shields says, that the Culdees transmitted their testimony to the Lollards ;* and Pope John XXII. in his bull for anointing King Robert Bruce, complains that there were many heretics in Scotland ; so that we may safely affirm, there never was any very great period of time without witnesses for the truth, and against the gross corruptions of the church of Rome. Some of our kings themselves opposed the Pope's supremacy, and prohibited his Legates from entering their dominions ; the most remarkable instance of this kind is that of Robert Bruce. After his having defeated the English at Bannockburn, they became suppliants to the Pope for his mediation ; who accordingly sent a Legate into Scotland, proposing a cessation of arms, till the Pope should hear and decide the quarrel betwixt the two crowns, that he might be informed of the right which Edward had to the crown of Scotland. To this King Robert replied, " That the Pope could not be ignorant of that business, because it had been often explained to his predecessors, in the hearing of many cardinals then alive, who could tell him, if they pleased, what insolent answers Pope Boniface received from the English,

* Hind let loose, period II. p. 21. first edit

while they were desired to desist from oppressing the Scots: and now, (said he) when it hath pleased God to give us the better by some victories, by which we have not only recovered our own, but can make them live as good neighbours. they have recourse to such treaties, seeking to gain time in order to fall upon us again with greater force: but in this his Holiness must excuse me, for I will not be so unwise as to let the advantage I have slip out of my hand." The Legate regarding this answer as contemptuous, interdicted the kingdom, and departed: but King Robert, paying little regard to such proceedings, followed hard after the Legate, and, entering England, wasted all the adjacent countries with fire and sword.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the reformation from Popery began to dawn in Scotland; at this time there was Pope against Pope, nay, sometimes three of them at once, all excommunicating one another; which schism lasted for about thirty years, and by an over-ruling Providence contributed much to the downfall of Antichrist, and to the revival of real religion and learning in Scotland, and many parts in Europe; for many embracing the opportunity now afforded to them, began to speak openly against the heresy, tyranny, and immorality of the clergy. Among those who preached publicly against these evils, were John Huss, and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, John Wickliff in England, and John Kesby, an Englishman, and scholar of Wickliff's in Scotland, who came hither about the year 1407, and was called in question for some doctrines which he taught against the Pope's supremacy: he was condemned to the fire, which he endured with great constancy. About ten years after, one Paul Craw, a Bohemian, and follower of Huss, was accused of heresy before such as were then called Doctors of Theology. The articles of charge were, that he followed Huss and Wickliff in the opinion of the sacrament of the supper, who denied that the substance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that auricular confession to priests, or praying to saints departed, were lawful. He was committed to the secular judge, who condemned him to the fire at St. Andrews, where he suffered, being gagged when led to the stake, that he might not have the opportunity of making his confession. Both the abovementioned martyrs suffered under Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who founded that university, 1412; which might have done him honour, had he not imbrued his hands in innocent blood.

These returnings of the gospel-light were not confined to St. Andrews; but Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and other places in the west of Scotland, were also thus favoured about the same time; for we find that Robert Blackatter, the first Archbishop of Glasgow, *anno* 1494, caused summon before King James IV and his great council at Glasgow, George Campbell of Cessnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, and a great many others, mostly persons of distinction, opprobriously called the Lollards of Kyle, from one Lollard, an eminent preacher among the ancient Waldenses, for maintaining that images ought not to be worshipped; that the relics of saints should not be adored, &c. But they answered their accusers with such constancy and boldness, that it was judged most prudent to dismiss them with an admonition, to content themselves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines.

Thus have we brought this summary of church affairs in Scotland down to the time of Mr Patrick Hamilton, whose life stands upon the head of this collection; for he was the next sufferer on account of opposition to Romish tyranny and superstition in our country.

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THE
LIVES AND CHARACTERS
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

MR. PATRICK HAMILTON.

He was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother: was also related to King James V. of Scotland. He was early educated with a design for future high preferment, and had the abbey of Fermynham given him, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies, which he did with great assiduity.

In order to complete this laudable design, he resolved to travel into many parts. The fame of the university of Wirtemberg was then very great, and drew many to it from distant places, among which our Hamilton was one. He was the first who introduced public disputations upon the scriptures and works, and such theological questions, into the university of Wirtemberg, in which he was assisted by Francis Lambert; by whose conversation he profited not a little.—Here he became acquainted with those eminent reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, besides other learned men of their society. By these distinguished masters he was instructed in the knowledge of the true religion, which he had little opportunity to become acquainted with in his own country, because the small remains of it which were in Scotland at this time, were under the yoke of oppression, which we have already shewn in the close of the Introduction. He made an amazing proficiency in this most important study, and became soon as zealous in the profession of the true faith, as he had been desirous to attain the knowledge of it.—This drew the eyes of many upon him; and while they were waiting with impatience to see what part he would act, he came to this resolution, to return into his own country, and in the face of all dangers, to communicate the light which he had received.

Accordingly, being as yet a youth, and not much past twenty-three years of age, he began sowing the seed of God's word wherever he appeared, exposing the corruptions of the Romish church, and pointing out errors which had crept into the Christian religion as professed in Scotland.—He was favourably received and followed by many, unto whom he readily "shewed the way of God more perfectly." His reputation as a scholar, and courteous demeanour, contributed not a little to his usefulness in his good work.

The city of St. Andrews was at this time the grand rendezvous of the Scottish clergy, which might, with no impropriety, be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkness. James Beaton was archbishop, Hugh

Spence dean of divinity, John Waddel rector, James Simson official, Thomas Ramsay canon and dean of the abbey, with the several superiors of the different orders of monks and friars.—It could not be expected that Mr. Hamilton's conduct would be long concealed from such a body as this. Their resentment against him soon rose to the utmost heights of persecuting rage; particularly the Archbishop, who was Chancellor of the kingdom, and otherwise very powerful, became his inveterate enemy. But being not less politic than cruel, the Archbishop concealed his wicked design against him, until he had drawn him into the ambush prepared for him, which he effected by prevailing on him to attend a conference at St. Andrews.—Being come thither, Alexander Campbell, prior of the black friars, who had been appointed to exert his faculties in reclaiming him, had several private interviews with him, in which he seemed to acknowledge the force of Mr. Hamilton's objections against the prevailing conduct of the clergy, and errors of the Romish church. Such persuasions as Campbell used to bring him back to Popery, had rather the tendency to confirm him in the truth. The Archbishop and inferior clergy appeared to make concessions to him, allowing that many things stood in need of reformation, which they could wish had been brought about. Whether they were sincere in these acknowledgments, or only intended to conceal their bloody designs, and rendered the innocent and unsuspecting victim of their rage more secure, is a question to which this answer may be returned, that had they been sincere, the consciousness that Mr. Hamilton spoke truth, would perhaps have warded off the blow for at least some time longer, or divided their counsels and measures against him. That neither of these was the case, will now appear. He was apprehended under night, and committed prisoner to the castle: at the same time the young King was, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, prevailed upon to undertake a pilgrimage to St. Dothess in Ross-shire, that he might be out of the way of any applications made to him for the life of Mr. Hamilton, which there was reason to believe would be granted. This measure affords full proof, that notwithstanding the friendly conferences which they kept up with him for some time, they had resolved on his ruin from the beginning: but such instances of Popish dissembling were not new, even in Mr. Hamilton's time.

The next day after his imprisonment, he was brought before the Archbishop and his convention, and there charged with maintaining and propagating sundry heretical opinions; and though articles of the utmost importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they restricted their charge to such trifles as *pilgrimage, purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead*: perhaps because these were the grand pillars upon which Antichrist built his empire, being the most lucrative doctrines ever invented by men. We must, however, take notice, that Spottiswood, afterwards archbishop of that see, assigns the following reasons for his suffering, 1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free-will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth. 4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works; yet the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That God

is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man; and grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin. These articles, with the following, make up the whole charge, (1.) That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. (2.) That actual penance cannot purchase the remission of sin. (3.) That there is no purgatory, and that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. (4.) That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as he.—For these articles, and because he refused to abjure them, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, three bishops, and fourteen underlings, who all set their hands to the sentence; which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewise subscribed by every person of note in the university, among whom the Earl of Cassillis was one, then not exceeding thirteen years of age. The sentence follows, as given by Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, vol. II. p. 1108.

“*CHRISTI nomine invocato*: We James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority, of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the holy scripture, and masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment, within our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Mr. Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferm, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being rightly weighed, discussed, and understood, by faithful inquisition made in Lent last passed: We have found the same Mr. Hamilton many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decerning before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind, (as may be presumed,) passed to other parts, forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

“We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught, divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council: That man hath no free-will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: no man is justified by works, but by faith only: good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth one of them wanteth the rest, &c. with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

“All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the holy scripture, men of law, and others assisting for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare, the said Mr. Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the fore-heresies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by

church, general councils, and most famous universities,) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving, and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

“ This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, the last day of the month of February, *anno* 1527, being present, the most Reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand archbishop of Glasgow, George bishop of Dunkelden, John bishop of Brecham, William bishop of Dunblane, Patrick prior of St. Andrews, David abbot of Aberbrothock, George abbot of Dunfermline, Alexander abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henry abbot of Lendors, John prior of Pittenweeme, the dean and subdean of Glasgow, Mr. Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allan Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and the people.”

The same day that this doom was pronounced, he was also condemned by the secular power; and in the afternoon of that same day, (for they were afraid of an application to the King on his behalf,) he was hurried to the stake, the fire being prepared, immediately after dinner, before the old college. Being come to the place of martyrdom, he put off his clothes, and gave them to a servant who had been with him a long time, saying, “ This stuff will not help me in the fire, yet will do thee some good; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man’s judgment, yet it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit who deny Christ before this wicked generation.” Having so said, he commended his soul into the hands of God, with his eyes fixed towards heaven, and being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, timber, and other combustibles, a train of powder was made, with a design to kindle the fire, but did not succeed, the explosion only scorching one of his hands and face. In this situation he remained until more powder was brought from the castle, during which time his comfortable and godly speeches were often interrupted, particularly by Friar Campbell, calling upon him “ to recant, pray to our Lady, and say, *Salve Regina*.” Upon being repeatedly disturbed in this manner by Campbell, Mr. Hamilton said, “ Thou wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much didst thou confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.” By this time the fire was kindled, and the noble martyr yielded his soul to God, crying out, “ How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? And then ended his speech, saying, with Stephen, “ Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.”

Friar Campbell became soon after distracted, and died within a year after Mr. Hamilton’s martyrdom, under the most awful apprehensions of the Lord’s indignation against him.—The Popish clergy abroad congratulated their friends in Scotland, upon their zeal for the Romish faith discovered in the above tragedy. But it rather served the cause of Reformation than retarded it, especially when the people began to compare deliberately the behaviour of Mr. Hamilton and Friar Campbell together, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before.

The reader will find a very particular account of the doctrines maintained by Mr. Hamilton, in Knox's History of the Reformation of Scotland.

MR. GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the Laird of Pittaro in Mearns, and was educated at the university of Cambridge, where his diligence and progress in useful learning soon made him to be respected. From an ardent desire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the summer of 1544, and began teaching a school in the town of Montrose; which he kept for some time with great applause. He is particularly celebrated for his uncommon eloquence, and agreeable manner of communication. The sequel of this narrative will inform the reader, that he possessed the spirit of prophecy to an extraordinary degree, and was at the same time humble, modest, charitable, and patient, even to admiration. One of his own scholars gives the following picture of him, "That he was a man of a tall stature, black hair'd, long bearded, of a graceful personage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and desirous to learn; that he ordinarily wore a French cap, a frieze gown, plain black hose, and white bands and hand-cuffs; that he frequently gave away several parts of his apparel to the poor. In his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a-day, and fasting every fourth day; his lodging, bedding, and such other circumstances, were correspondent to the things already mentioned." But as these particulars are rather curious than instructive, we shall say no more of them.

After he left Montrose, he came to Dundee, where he acquired still greater fame, in public lectures on the epistle to the Romans; insomuch that the Romish clergy began to think seriously on the consequences which they saw would inevitably ensue, if he was suffered to go on, pulling down that fabric of superstition and idolatry, which they with so much pains had reared; they were particularly disgusted at the reception which he met with in Dundee, and immediately set about projecting his ruin.

From the time that Mr. Patrick Hamilton suffered, until this period, Papal tyranny reigned by fire and faggot without controul. In the year 1539, Cardinal David Beaton succeeded his uncle in the see of St. Andrews, and carefully trod the path his uncle had marked out. To shew his own greatness, and to recommend himself to his superior at Rome, he accused Sir John Borthwick of heresy, whose goods were confiscated, and himself burnt in effigy (for being forewarned of his danger, he had escaped out of the country.) After this he suborned a priest to forge a will of King James V. who died about this time, declaring himself, with the Earls of Huntly, Argyle and Murray, to be Regents of the kingdom. The cheat being discovered, the Earl of Arran was elected Governor, and the Cardinal was committed prisoner to the castle of Dalkeith: he soon found means to escape from his confinement, and prevailed with the Regent to break all his promises to the party who had elected him to that office, and to join with him in imbruing his hands in the blood of the saints. Accordingly, several professors of the town of Perth were assigned, condemned, hanged, and drowned; others were sent into banishment, and some were strangled in private. We have departed thus

in shall be s'ed for it this day; Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and he himself, while he lived in the flesh, preached in the desert and upon the sea-side, than in the temple of Jerusalem. Upon this the people were appeased, and went with him to the edge of a ditch on the south-west side of Mauchin; where having placed himself in a ditch-dike, he preached to a great multitude who resorted to him: he continued speaking for more than three hours, God working wondrously; insomuch that Laurence Rankin, the Laird of Sheld, a very good person, was converted by his means: the tears ran from his eyes, and astonishment of all present; and the whole of his after-life witnesseth his profession was without hypocrisy. While in this country, Wishart often preached with most remarkable success, at the church of Mauchin and other places. At this time, and in this part of the country, it might be truly said, That "the harvest was GREAT, but the labourers were FEW."

When he had been about a month thus employed in Kyle, he was informed that the plague had broke out in Dundee the fourth day after he left it; and that it still continued to rage in such a manner, that numbers were swept off every day. This affected him so much, he resolved to return again unto them: accordingly, he took leave of his friends in the west, who were filled with sorrow at his departure. The next day after his arrival at Dundee, he caused intimation to be made that he would preach; and for that purpose chose his station upon the wall of the east gate, the infected persons standing without, and those who were whole within: his text was Psalm cvii. 20. "He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction." By this sermon he so comforted the people, that they thought themselves happy to hear of such a preacher, and entreated him to remain with them while the plague continued; which he complied with, preaching often, and declaring that the poor should not want necessaries more than the rich; and which he exposed himself to the infection, even where it was most malignant, without reserve.

Notwithstanding all this his sworn adversary the Cardinal had his eye close upon him, and bribed a priest called Sir John Wighton, to assassinate him. He was to make the attempt as Mr. Wishart came down from the market place, with the expectation of escaping among the crowd after the sermon was done. To effect this he posted himself at the foot of the wall, with his gown loose, and a dagger under it in his hand. Upon Wishart's approach, he looked sternly upon the priest, asking him what he intended to do? and instantly clapped his hand upon the hand of the priest that held the dagger, and took it from him. Upon Wishart openly confessing his design, a tumult immediately ensued, and without the gate rushed in, crying to have the assassin delivered up. Then Mr. Wishart interposed, and defended him from their violence, telling them, he had done him no harm; and that such as injured one person injured the other likewise; so the priest escaped without harm.

The plague was now considerably abated, and he determined to pay a visit to the town of Montrose, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh, to visit the gentlemen of the west. While he was at Montrose, he administered the sacrament of our Lord's supper in both kinds of the elements, and preached with success. Here he received a letter directed to him from his intimate friend the Laird of Kinnier, acquainting him

he had taken a sudden sickness, and requesting him to come to him with all diligence. Upon this he immediately set out on his journey, attended by some honest friends of Montrose, who out of affection would accompany him part of the way. They had not travelled above a quarter of a mile, when all of a sudden he stopped, saying to the company, "I am forbidden by God to go this journey. Will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill), and see what you find; for I apprehend there is a plot against my life:" whereupon he returned to the town, and they who went forward to the place found about sixty horsemen ready to intercept him: by this the whole plot came to light: they found that the letter had been forged; and upon their telling Mr. Wishart what they had seen, he replied, "I know that I shall end my life by the hands of that wicked man, (meaning the Cardinal,) but it will not be after this manner.

The time he had appointed for meeting the west-country gentlemen at Edinburgh drawing near, he undertook that journey, much against the advice of the Laird of Dun. The first night after leaving Montrose, he lodged at Innergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with one James Watson, a faithful friend, where being laid in bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his sighs and groans without being observed; but being followed by two men, William Spalding and John Watson, at a distance, in order that they might observe his motions, they saw him prostrate himself upon the ground, weeping and making supplication for near an hour, and then return to his rest. As they lay in the same apartment with him, they took care to return before him; and upon his coming into the room, they asked him, (as if ignorant of all that had past,) where he had been? But he made no answer, and they ceased their interrogations. In the morning they asked him again, Why he rose in the night, and what was the cause of such sorrow? (for they told him all that they had seen him do;) he answered, with a dejected countenance, "I wish you had been in your beds, which had been more for your ease, for I was scarce well occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds further, and to communicate some comfort unto them, he said, "I will tell you, that I assuredly know my travail is nigh an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I may not shrink when the battle waxeth most hot."—Hearing these words, they burst out into tears, saying, that was but small comfort to them. To this he replied, "God will send you comfort after me: this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the apostles; the house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very cope-stone; neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once triumph in despite of the devil; but, alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible." After this prediction, which was accomplished in such a remarkable manner afterwards, he proceeded on his journey and arrived at Leith about the 10th of December, where being disappointed of a meeting with the west-country gentlemen, he kept himself retired for some days, and then became very uneasy and discouraged, and being asked the reason, he replied, "I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew himself before men." By this they understood that he

to preach, and told him that they would gladly hear him ; but per into which he would throw himself thereby, prevented them doing him to it. He answered, " If you and others will hear me both, I will preach in Leith, let God provide for me as best pleases ;" which he did, upon the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. When, his friends advised him to leave Leith, because the Regent dinal were soon to be in Edinburgh, and that his situation would be on that account : he complied with this advice, and resided at the Laids of Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston, by turns. The 5 Sabbath he preached at Inveresk, both fore and after noon, to a great audience ; among whom was Sir George Douglas, who after on publicly said, " I know that the Governor and Cardinal shall : I have been at this preaching, (for they were now come to Edin- say unto them, that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine which I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the utmost of my power ;" which open and candid declaration was grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this sermon, he perceived two gray friars standing in the entry of the church, speaking to every person that entered the door ; he called out to them to make room for them, because, said he, " perhaps they come ;" and then addressed them, " requesting them to come forward to hear the word of truth ;" but they still continued to trouble the people in which he reproved them in the following manner : " O ye of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear it, nor suffer others to hear it ! Depart, and take this for your warning : God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within you ; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate."

Two Sabbaths following, he preached at Tranent ; and in all his sermons after leaving Montrose, he more or less hinted that his ministry was drawing to an end. The next place he preached at was Haddington, where his congregation was at first very thronged ; but the following day he was deserted, which was thought to be owing to the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, who, at the instigation of the Cardinal, had induced the people from attending him ; for his authority was very considerable in that part of the country. At this time he received a letter from several gentlemen of the west, declaring, that they could not keep the doors of their churches open at Edinburgh. This, with the reflection that so few attended his ministrations at Haddington, grieved him exceedingly. He consulted with Mr. Knox, who then attended him, and told him, that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men were become weary of him ; notwithstanding the anxiety and discouragement which he laboured under, he went immediately to the pulpit ; and, sharply rebuking the people of that town for their neglect of the gospel, he told them, that sore and fearful should be the plagues that should ensue ; that the sword should waste them ; that strangers should possess their land, and chase them from their habitations."—This prediction was afterwards verified, when the English took and possessed that town, and the French and Scots besieged it in the year 1548. This was the sermon which he preached ; in which, as had for some time been the case with him, he spoke of his death as near at hand ; and after it was read, he bade his acquaintance farewell, as if it had been for ever. He

went to Ormiston, accompanied by the Lairds of Brunston and Ormiston, and Sir John Sandilands, the younger of Calder. Mr. Knox was also desirous to have gone with him; but Mr. Wishart desired him to return, saying, "One is enough for a sacrifice at this time."

Being come to Ormiston, he entered into some spiritual conversation in the family, particularly concerning the happy state of God's children; appointed the 51st psalm, according to an old version then in use, to be sung; and then recommended the company to God. He went to bed some time sooner than ordinary: about midnight the Earl of Bothwell beset the house, so as none could escape; and then called upon the Laird, declaring the design to them, and entreating him not to hold out, for it would be to no purpose, because the Cardinal and Governor were coming with all their train; but if he would deliver Mr. Wishart up, Bothwell promised upon his honour, that no evil should befall him. Being inveigled with this, and consulting with Mr. Wishart, who requested that the gates should be opened, saying, "God's will be done," the Laird complied. The Earl of Bothwell entered, with some gentlemen, who solemnly protested, that Mr. Wishart should receive no harm; but that he, viz. Bothwell, would either carry him to his own house, or return him again to Ormiston in safety. Upon this promise, hands were stricken, and Mr. Wishart went along with him to Eiphiston, where the Cardinal was; after which he was first carried to Edinburgh, then to the Earl of Bothwell's house, perhaps on pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under to him; after which he was reconducted to Edinburgh, where the Cardinal had now assembled a convocation of prelates, for reforming some abuses, but without effect. Buchanan says, that he was apprehended by a party of horse, detached by the Cardinal for that purpose; that at first the Laird of Ormiston refused to deliver him up: upon which the Cardinal and Regent both posted thither, but could not prevail, until the Earl of Bothwell was sent for; who succeeded by flattery and fair promises, not one of which were fulfilled.

Mr. Wishart remained at Edinburgh only a few days, until the blood-thirsty Cardinal prevailed with the Governor to deliver up this faithful servant of Jesus Christ unto his tyranny; and was accordingly sent to St. Andrews; and being advised to it by the Archbishop of Glasgow, he would have got a civil judge appointed to try him, if David Hamilton of Preston, a kinsman to the Regent, had not remonstrated against it, and represented the danger of attacking the servants of God, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. This speech, which Buchanan gives at large, affected the Governor in such a manner, that he absolutely refused the Cardinal's request: upon which he replied, in anger, "That he had only sent to him out of mere civility, without any need for it; for that he, with his clergy, had power sufficient to bring Mr. Wishart to condign punishment"—Thus was this servant of God left in the hands of that proud and merciless tyrant; the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the Governor's weakness.

Mr. Wishart being now in St. Andrews, the Cardinal without delay caused to summon the bishops and superior clergy to meet at that place, on the 27th of February 1546, to deliberate upon a question about which he was already resolved. The next day after this convocation, Mr. Wishart received a summons in prison, by the dean of the town, to

answer to-morrow, for his heretical doctrine, before the judges. The next day the Cardinal went to the place of judgment, in the Abbey church, with a train of armed men, marching in warlike order; immediately Mr Wishart was sent for from the sea tower, which was his prison, and being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man asked alms of him, to whom he threw his purse. When he came before the Cardinal, John Wynnem, the sub prior, went up into the pulpit by appointment, and made a discourse upon the nature of heresy, from Matt. xiii.; which he did with great caution, and yet in such a way as applied more justly to the accusers, for he was a secret favourer of the truth. After him came up one John Lauder, a most virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Mr. Wishart's accuser. He pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges against Mr. Wishart, and dealt out the Romish thunder so liberally, as terrified the ignorant by-standers, but did not in the least discompose this meek servant of Christ. He was accused of disobedience to the Governor's authority, for teaching that man had no free-will, and for contemning fasting, (all which he absolutely refused) and for denying that there are seven sacraments; that auricular confession, extreme unction, and the sacrament of the altar, so called, are sacraments; that we should pray to saints; and for saying, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism; that the Pope hath no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory; and that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God, and for condemning a cotjuration, the vows of single life, the cursings of the holy church, &c. While Lauder was reading these accusations, he had put himself into a most violent sweat, frothing at the mouth, and calling Mr. Wishart a runaway traitor, and demanded an answer, which he made in a short and modest oration; at which they cried out with one consent against him in a most tumultuous manner; by which he saw they were resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity: he therefore appealed to a more equitable and impartial judge. Upon which Lauder, repeating the several titles of the Cardinal, asked him, "If my Lord Cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Mr. Wishart replied, "I do not refuse him; but I desire the word of God to be my judge, the Temporal Estates, with some of your Lordships, because I am my Lord Governor's prisoner." After some scornful language thrown out both against him and the Governor, they proceeded to read the articles against him a second time, and hear his answers; which he made with great solidity of judgment: after which they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, paying no regard to his defences, nor to the emotions of their own consciences, but thought that by killing him they should do *God good service*. Upon this resuscitation, (for their final sentence was not yet pronounced,) Mr. Wishart kneeled down, and prayed in the following manner.

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage of the ungodly? how long shall they exercise their fury upon thy servants, who further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou hast shewed thyself unto the world, which was drowned in blindness and ignorance of thy name? O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must suffer, for thy name's sake, both persecution, affliction, and troubles, in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thy prophets and apostles have shewed us; but yet

we desire thee, merciful Father, that thou wouldst preserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen from before the foundation of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

After this, the common people were removed, until their definitive sentence should be pronounced; which being so similar to Mr. Hamilton's, need not here be inserted. This being done, he was recommitted to the castle for that night. In his way thither, two friars came to him, requesting him to make his confession to them, which he refused; but desired them to bring Mr. Wirnam, who had preached that day to him; who being come, after some discourse with Mr. Wishart, he asked him, If he would receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper? Mr. Wishart answered, "Most willingly, if I may have it administered according to Christ's institution, under both kinds of bread and wine." Hereupon the sub-prior went to the bishops, and asked, If they would permit the sacrament to be given to the prisoner? But the Cardinal, in all their names, answered, That it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic, condemned by the church.

All this night Mr. Wishart spent in prayer, and next morning the captain of the castle gave him notice, that they had denied him the sacrament, and at the same time invited him to breakfast with him; which Mr. Wishart accepted, saying, "I will do that very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family assembled to breakfast, Mr. Wishart, turning himself to the captain, said, "I beseech you, in the name of God, and for the love ye bear to our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread which we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell." The table being covered, and bread set upon it, he spake about the space of half an hour, of the institution of the supper, and of our Saviour's death and passion, exhorting those who were present to mutual love and holiness of life. Then, giving thanks, he brake the bread, distributing a part to those about him, who were disposed to communicate, entreating them to remember that Christ died for them, and to feed on it spiritually; then taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them; and having tasted it himself, he delivered it unto them; and then concluding with thanksgiving and prayer, he told them, "That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the Cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat, they fastened some bags of gun-powder about him, put a rope about his neck, a chain about his waist, and bound his hands behind his back; and in this dress they led him to the stake, near the Cardinal's palace: opposite to the stake they had placed the great guns of the castle, lest any should attempt to rescue him. The fore tower, which was immediately opposite to the fire, was hung with tapestry, and rich cushions were laid in the windows, for the ease of the Cardinal and prelates, while they beheld the sad spectacle. As he was going to the stake, it is said, that two beggars asked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I used to give you alms; but the merciful Lord vouchsafe to give you all necessaries, both for soul and body." After this, the friars came about

him, urging him to *pray to our Lady, &c.* to whom he answered, "Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you."

Having mounted a scaffold prepared on purpose, he turned towards the people, and declared, that "he felt much joy within himself in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and told them, that they ought not to be offended with the good word of God, because of the afflictions I have endured, or the torments which ye now see prepared for me; but I entreat you, that you love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your everlasting comfort; but for the true gospel, which was given me by the grace of God, I suffer this day with a glad heart. Behold and consider my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour; I fear not this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some have said that I taught, that the soul shall sleep till the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night." Then he prayed for his accusers, that they might be forgiven, if, through ignorance or evil design, they had forged lies upon him. After this, the executioner asked his forgiveness; to whom he replied, "Come hither to me;" and when he came, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, do thine office." Being raised up from his knees, he was bound to the stake, crying with a loud voice, "O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" Whereupon the executioner kindled the fire, and the powder that was fastened to his body blew up. The captain of the castle, perceiving that he was still alive, drew near, and bid him be of good courage: whereupon Mr. Wishart said, "This flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit; but he who, from yonder place, beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the same, as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest himself." But as he was thus speaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so strait, that he spoke no more; and thus, like another Elishah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown, on the 1st of March 1546.

Thus lived, and thus died, this faithful witness of Jesus Christ. He was early marked out as a sacrifice to Papal tyranny, being delated to the bishop of Brechin for an heretic, because he taught the Greek New Testament to his scholars, while he kept school at Montrose: he was summoned by him to appear before him, but escaped into England, and at the university of Cambridge completed his education, and was himself an instructor of others. During the whole time he was in his own country, he was hunted as a *partridge in the mountains*, until the Cardinal got him brought to the stake. Through the whole of his sufferings, his meekness and patience were very remarkable, as was that uncommon measure of the spirit of prophecy which he possessed. Witness the circumstances relative to Dundee, Haddington, the reformation from Popery, and the Cardinal's death, all which were foretold by him, and soon after accomplished.

The Popish clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it against the Governor's order; but the people very justly looked upon him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was also said, that, abstracting from the grounds of his suffering, his death was no less than murder, in regard no writ was obtained for it, and the

clergy could not burn any, without a warrant from the secular power. This stirred up Norman and John Leslies, of the family of Rothes, William Kircaldie of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge Mr. Wishart's death. Accordingly, upon the 28th of May 1545, not three months after Mr. Wishart suffered, they surprised the castle early in the morning, and either secured or turned out the persons who were lodged in it; and came to the Cardinal's door, who was by this time alarmed, and had secured it; but upon their threatening to force open the door, he opened it, (relying partly upon the sanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with some of them,) crying, "I am a priest. I am a priest." But this had no effect upon them; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a solemn manner to repentance, and having apprised him, that he was now to avenge Mr. Wishart's death, he stabbed him twice or thrice; which ended his wretched days. These persons, with some others who came into them, held the castle out for near two years, being assisted by England; they had the governor's eldest son with them, for he had been put under the Cardinal's care, and was in the castle at the time they surprised it. The castle was at last besieged by the French, and surrendered upon having the lives of all that were in it secured.

Between this and the time of Mr. Walter Mill's sufferings, whose life follows, one Adam Wallace, *alias* Fean, a simple but very zealous man, was taken at Winton, and was brought to his trial in the Blackfriars church in Edinburgh, where he was charged with articles of heresy, similar to those with which others before him had been charged. He was condemned and burnt on the Castlehill, suffering with great patience and resolution.

There were others condemned before that time; among whom were Robert Forrester, gentleman, Sir Duncan Simson, priest, Friar Kiillore, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forrest, a canon, Regular and Vicar of Dollar, who were all burnt at one stake upon the Castlehill of Edinburgh, February 1538.

MR. WALTER MILL.

HE was born about the year 1476; was educated in the Popish religion, and made priest of Lunan in the shire of Argus, where he remained until he was accused by the Archbishop of St. Andrews of having left off saying mass, which he had done long before this time, being condemned by the Cardinal on that account in the year 1538; but he escaped the flames for this time, by flying into Germany, where he married a wife, and was more perfectly instructed in the true religion; after which he returned home, but kept himself as retired as possible; during which time he went about reproving vice, and instructing people in the grounds of religion; which coming at length to the ears of the ecclesiastics, in 1558, he was, by order of the bishops, apprehended in Dysart, in the shire of Fife, by two priests, and imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrews; where the Papists, both by threatening and flattery, laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had already taught. But continuing constant in his opinions, he was brought to a trial before the bishops of

St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, &c. who were assembled in the cathedral of St. Andrews. When he came to make his defence, he was so old, feeble, and lame, that it was feared none would hear him; but as soon as he began to speak, he surprised them all; his voice made the church to ring, and his quickness and courage amazed his very enemies.

At first he kneeled and prayed for some time; after which, one Sir Andrew Oliphant, a priest, called to him to arise, and answer to the articles of charge, saying, "You keep my lord of St. Andrews too long here;" nevertheless, he continued some time in prayer; and when he arose, said, "I ought to obey God more than man. I serve a mightier Lord than your lord is; and whereas you call me *Sir Walter*, they call me *Walter*: I have been too long one of the Pope's knights. Now say what you have to say."

OLIPHANT began his Interrogations as follows :

Oliph. Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments?

Mill. Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you all the rest.

Oliph. What think you of a priest's marriage?

Mill. I think it a blessed bond ordained by God, and approved of by Christ, and free to all sorts of men, but ye abhor it, and in the meanwhile take other men's wives and daughters: Ye vow chastity, and keep it not.

Oliph. How sayest thou that the mass is idolatry?

Mill. A lord or king calleth many to dinner, they come and sit down, but the lord himself turneth his back, and eateth up all; and so do you.

Oliph. Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the real body of Christ in flesh and blood?

Mill. The scriptures are to be understood spiritually, and not carnally, and so your mass is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for sin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all sacrifice.

Oliph. Thou deniest the office of a bishop?

Mill. I affirm that those you call bishops do no bishop's work, but live after sensual pleasure, taking no care of Christ's flock, nor regarding his word.

Oliph. Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and sayest, it is a pilgrimage to whoredom?

Mill. I say pilgrimage is not commanded in scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, except in brothel-houses.

Oliph. You preach privately in houses, and sometimes in the field?

Mill. Yea, and on the sea also, when sailing in a ship.

Then said *Oliphant*, "If you will not recant, I will pronounce sentence against you."

To this he replied, "I know I must die once; and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *What thou dost, do quickly*: You shall know, that I will not recant the truth; for I am corn, and not chaff: I will neither be blown away by the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both."

Then *Oliphant*, as the mouth of the court, was ordered to pronounce sentence against him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as an heretic. But they could not procure one as a temporal judge to condemn him. One *Learmond*, then provost of the town, and bailie of the bishop's regality, refused it, and went out of town; the people of the place were so moved at his constancy, and

fended at the wrong done to him, that they refused to supply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, whereby his death was retarded for one day. At last one Somerville, a domestic of the bishop, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of the bishop's pavilion were taken to serve the purpose.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Somerville, with a guard of armed men, to his execution; being come to the place, some cried out to him to recant, to whom he answered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God: as for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but an hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites, and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God, I shall be the last who will suffer death, in this fashion, for this cause, in this land." Thus his constancy increased as his end drew near. Being ordered by Oliphant to go up to the stake, he refused, and said, "No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands to myself; but if thou wilt put to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly." Then Oliphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*; and desired that he might be permitted to speak to the people: he was answered by Oliphant, "That he had spoken too much already, and the bishops were exceedingly displeased with what he had said." But some youths took his part, and bid him say on what he pleased. He first bowed his knees and prayed, then arose, and standing upon the coals, addressed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God, but only for the defence of the truths of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testament. I praise God that he hath called me, among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life; as I have received it of him, so I again willingly offer it up for his glory; therefore, as ye would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced with the lies of bishops, abbots, friars, monks, and the rest of that sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."—During this speech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, some admiring the patience, boldness, and constancy of this martyr, others complaining of the hard measures and cruelty of his persecutors. After having spoken as above, he prayed a little while, and then was drawn up, and bound to the stake; and the fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good people, while there is time;" and so cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, anno 1558, being then about the eighty-second year of his age.

The fortitude and constancy of this martyr affected the people so much, that they heaped up a great pile of stones on the place where he had been burned, that the memory of his death might be preserved; but the priests gave orders to have it taken down, and carried away, denouncing a curse on any who should lay stones there again: but that anathema was so little regarded, that what was thrown down in the day-time, was raised again in the night, until at last the Papists carried away the stones to build houses in or about the town, which they did in the night, with all possible secrecy.

The death of this martyr brought about the downfall of Popery in Scotland; for the people in general were so much inflamed, that, resolving openly to profess the truth, they bound themselves by promises, and subscriptions of oaths, that before they would be thus abused any longer, they would take arms, and resist the Papal tyranny; which they at last did.

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MORAY.

He was a natural son of king James V. and brother by the father's side to Mary Queen of Scots. In his infancy he was put under the celebrated George Buchanan, who instilled such principles into his mind in early life, as, by the divine blessing, made him an honour to the Scottish nation.

The reader cannot expect a very minute detail of all the heroic and patriotic deeds of this worthy nobleman, considering the station which he held, and his activity in the discharge of the duties belonging to it.

He was the principal agent in promoting the work of reformation from Popery. On the first dawning of it, in the year 1555, he attended the teaching of Mr. John Knox at Calder, where he often wished that his doctrine had been more public; which was an open profession of his love and zeal for the true religion.

He went over to France, with some other Scottish noblemen, at the time of his sister's marriage with the Dauphin, where his companions were supposed to have been poisoned, for they died in France: he escaped by the interposition of a kind Providence, but retained a weak and disordered stomach all his life: this did not, however, unfit him for those services which he did to religion and his country after this.

In the year 1556, he and Argyle wrote to Mr. Knox at Geneva, to return to Scotland, in order to further the reformation. Upon which, after having been detained some time at Dieppe, Mr. Knox returned in the year 1559, and went to St. Johnstoun, where the reforming congregation resorted to him; which coming to the ears of the Queen Regent, she sent the Earl of Argyle and Lord James, (for that was the Earl of Moray's title at this time,) to know the intent of so great an assembly. Mr. Knox returned this answer, "That her enterprise would not prosper in the end, seeing that she intended to fight against God," &c. Upon receiving this reply, she summoned them to depart from the town of St. Johnstoun; but afterwards, hearing of the daily increase of their numbers, she gave them leave to depart peaceably, with many fair promises, that they would meet with no further danger. On which they obeyed, and left the town; but they had no sooner done so, than she, with her French guards, entered it in a most outrageous manner, telling the inhabitants, that no faith should be kept with heretics. This flagrant breach of promise provoked Lord James to that degree, that he left the Queen, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, (for so they were afterwards called.) As soon as the Queen got intelligence of this, she sent a threatening letter to him and Argyle, (for they stuck together on almost all occasions,) commanding them to return, but to no purpose; for they went to Fife, and there began to throw down and remove the monuments of idolatry, and they continued for some time; but being informed that the Queen

intended to go to Stirling, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entered Stirling, with their associates, where they immediately demolished the monasteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of these worthy noblemen for the interest of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched for Edinburgh, purging all the superstitious relicts of idolatry out of Linlithgow in their way. These summary proceedings alarmed the Queen Regent, insomuch that her zeal for the Romish idolatry, gave way to her fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of these reformers the more odious to the unthinking part of the nation, she gave out, that they were in open rebellion against her, and that they made a pretence of religion, but that the real design was to set Lord James on the throne, (there being now no male heir to the crown.) These insinuations she found means to transmit to Lord James himself, in a letter, said to be forged, in the names of Francis and Mary, the King and Queen of France, wherein he was further upbraided with ingratitude, on account of the favours they pretended that they had shewn him, and threatened to lay down his arms, and return to his allegiance. To this letter, notwithstanding there were strong reasons to suspect it was forged, he nevertheless returned a resolute answer, declaring that he was not conscious to himself, either in word or deed, of any offence either against the Regent or laws; but in regard the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which was delayed, and seeing they aimed at nothing but the glory of God, he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with: neither was it just for him to desert that cause which had Christ himself for its head and defender, whom, unless they would voluntarily deny, they could not give up that enterprise in which they were embarked.

While these things were transacting, the Lords of the Congregation being then in and about Edinburgh, there were to the number of 3000 French landed at Leith, at different times, to support the Queen Regent, between whom and the Lords of the Congregation there were several skirmishes, with little success on either side; yet the Lords retired to Stirling, leaving the French for a time masters of the field, but not without apprehensions of danger from the arrival of an English fleet, which was then expected. In the mean time, they went over to Fife, spreading devastation every where around them, without resistance. Whereupon the Queen Regent thus expressed herself: "Where is John Knox's God now? my God is stronger, even now in Fife." This impious boast lasted not long, for Argyle and Lord James went to the town of Dysart immediately, to stop their career along the coast. The French were 4000 strong, besides the Scots who adhered to them; the army of the Congregation were not above 600 men, yet they behaved with such courage and resolution, as for twenty days successively they faced this army; and for each man they lost in every skirmish, the French lost four. As an evidence of the uncommon attention which these two noblemen bestowed on this business, they never put off their clothes during the whole time, and slept but little.

In the month of June the Queen Regent died, and a little after her Francis King of France died likewise, by which Scotland was delivered from this foreign army. About this time Lord James went over to France, to visit his sister Mary, after settling matters in Scotland as well as he could. He was attended by a splendid retinue, but appears to

ave met with a cold reception. After several conversations with Queen Mary, she told him, that she intended to return home. During his stay at Paris, he met with many insults on account of his known attachment to the reformed religion. A box containing some valuable things was stole from him; several persons were likewise hired to assassinate him in the street: he was apprised of his danger by an old friend of his own, but not before he was almost involved in it, being instantly surrounded by a rabble, calling out, *Huguenot, Huguenot*, and throwing stones: he made his way through them on horseback. Soon after this he left Paris, and returned home in May 1561, with a commission from the Queen, appointing him Regent until her return, which was in August following; when, as Knox expresses it, "Dolour and darkness came along with her;" for though justice and equity were yet administered, and crimes were punished, because the administration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of Lord James, who for his management of public concerns was beloved by all, yet upon the Queen's arrival, French levity and dissipation soon corrupted the court to a very high degree.

About this time a banditti, called the moss-troopers, broke in upon the orders of Scotland, committing very alarming depredations, by robbing and murdering all that came in their way. The Queen sent Lord James with a small force to oppose them, not with the intention that he might have the opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expose him to danger, that, if possible, she might get rid of him, for his popularity made her very uneasy; and his fidelity and boldness in reproving her faults, and withstanding her tyrannical measures, made him still more the object of her hatred and disgust. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God so prospered him in this expedition, that in a short time he brought twenty-eight ringleaders of this band to public execution, and obliged the rest to give hostages for their better behaviour in time coming. Thus he returned crowned with laurels, and was immediately created Earl of Marr; and in the February following he was made Earl of Moray, with the universal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the Queen was intended by her to conciliate his affections, and make him of her party. About this time he married a daughter of the Earl of Marischal, according to Knox; (Buchanan says, the Earl of March.) The marriage was made publicly in the church of Edinburgh; after the ceremony was over, the preacher (probably Mr. Knox) said to him, "Sir, The church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; if you prove more faint therein afterward, it will be said that your wife hath changed your nature," &c.

It may be observed, that hitherto the nobility appeared very much united in their measures for promoting the interest of religion; this was soon at an end, for the noblemen at court broke out into factions: among whom the Earl of Bothwell, envying the prosperity of Moray, stirred up some feuds between him and the Hamiltons, which increased to that height, that they laid a plot for his life, which Bothwell took in hand to execute, while he was with the Queen, his sister, at Falkland; but the Earl of Arran, detesting such an action, sent a letter privately to the Earl of Moray, discovering the whole conspiracy, by which he escaped that danger. Bothwell fled from justice into France; but his emissaries were not less active in his absence, than they had been while he headed them a person; for another design was formed against his life, by one Gordon, while he was with the Queen at Dumbarton. But this proved ineffectual also.

Soon after, the Queen received letters from the Pope, and her uncle the Guises of France, requesting her to put the Earl of Moray out of the way, because, they found by experience, that their interest in Scotland could not prosper while he was alive. Upon this the faction against him became more insolent, and appeared in arms. They were at first suppressed, but soon assembled again, to the number of eight hundred men. This body he was obliged to fight, with little more strength, in which he could confide, than an hundred horse; notwithstanding this disparity, by the divine blessing, he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred prisoners, among whom were Huntly himself and his two sons: it is said he did not lose a single man. He returned to Aberdeen with the prisoners, late in the night, where he had appointed a minister of the gospel to meet him, with whom he returned thanks to God for such a deliverance, exceeding the expectations of all men.

The Earl of Bothwell was soon after this recalled by the Queen from France: upon his arrival, Moray accused him for his former treasonable practices, and commenced a process at law against him. Bothwell knew he could not stand an open scrutiny, but relied upon the Queen's favour, which he knew he possessed in a very high degree, and which increased so much the more as her enmity to Moray, on account of his popularity was augmented. This led her to join more warmly in the conspiracy with Bothwell against his life; a new plot was the result of their joint deliberations, which was to be executed in the following manner: Moray was to be sent for, with only a few attendants, to speak with the Queen at Perth, where the Lord Darnly (then in suit to her for marriage) was. They knew that Moray would speak his mind freely, upon which they were to quarrel with him, in the heat of which David Rizzio was to strike the first blow, and all the rest were to follow. But of this design also he got previous intelligence by a friend at the court; nevertheless he resolved to go, until advised by one Patrick Ruthven, he turned aside to his mother's house, and there staid till this storm was over also.

The Earl of Moray, foreseeing what would be the consequence of the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnly,* set himself to oppose it; but finding little attention paid to any thing he said on that subject in the convention of estates, he chose rather to absent himself for some time; and accordingly retired to the border, where he staid until the Queen's marriage with Darnly was over.

The remarkable tragical events which succeeded, disgusted Moray more and more at the court. With these the public are well acquainted. The murder of Darnly, and Mary's after marriage with the assassin of her husband, has occasioned too much speculation, of late years, not to be known to every one in the least acquainted with the Scottish history. Moray now found it impossible to live at a court where his implacable enemy was so highly honoured. Bothwell insulted him openly. Whereupon he asked leave of the Queen to travel abroad; and she, being willing to get red of him at all events, granted his desire, upon his promise not to make any stay in England. He went over to France,

* The Queen and Darnly became so irreconcilable, that, as he never rested until he had caused the Italian Rizzio to be murdered, the Queen never rested till she caused her husband to be murdered; and divine justice, after all, never rested till it had caused her to be murdered: so that blood followed blood, till the whole knot was destroyed.

where he remained until he heard that the Queen was in custody in Lochleven, and that Bothwell had fled to Denmark; and then returned home. Upon his arrival he was made Regent, by the joint consent of the Queen and nobles, *anno* 1567, during the young King's minority.

He entered on the exercise of his office as Regent, in the spring following, and resolved with himself to make a tour through the whole kingdom, to settle the courts of justice, to repair what was wrong, &c. But his adversaries, the Hamiltons, perceiving that, by the prudence and diligence of this worthy nobleman, the interest of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to them, who were dissipated and licentious in an extreme degree. They could not endure to be regulated by law, and never ceased crying out against his administration. They fixed up libels in different places, full of dark insinuations, by which it was understood that his destruction was meditating.* Some astrologers told him, that he would not live beyond such a day; by which it appeared, they were not ignorant of the designs formed against him. All this had no effect upon his resolution; his common reply was, "That he knew well enough he must die one time or other, and that he could not part with his life more nobly, than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country." He caused summon a Convention of Estates to meet at Glasgow, for the redress of some grievances, which that part of the country particularly laboured under.

But while he was thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Queen had escaped from Lochleven castle, and was come to Hamilton, where those of her faction were assembling with the utmost haste: whereupon a hot dispute arose in council, whether the Regent and his attendants should repair to the young King at Stirling, or stay and observe the motions of the Queen and her party. But, in the very time of these deliberations, a hundred chosen men arrived in town from Lothian, and many more from the adjacent country were approaching. This made them resolve to stay where they were, and refresh themselves for one day; after which they determined to march out and face the enemy. But the Queen's army, being 6500 strong, resolved to make their way by Glasgow, to lodge the Queen in Dumbarton castle, and afterwards either to fight the Regent, or protract the war at pleasure.

The Regent being let into this design of the enemy, drew his army out of the town, to observe which way they intended to pass: he had not above 4000 men. They discovered the Queen's army passing along the south side of the river Clyde. Moray commanded the foot to pass the bridge, and the horse to ford the river, and marched out to a small village, called Langside, upon the river Cart. They took possession of a rising ground, before the enemy could well discover their intention, and drew up in order of battle. The Earls of Morton, Semple, Hume,

* Sir James Melvill of Halhill, in his *Memoris*, from page 173 to page 178, seems to insinuate, that although the Earl of Moray was at first of a gentle nature, religiously educated, well-inclined, good, wise, &c.; yet, when he was advanced to the helm of government, through the means of flatterers, he became more proud and rough in his proceedings; which, together with his too remiss conduct anent his own preservation, after so many warnings, was the cause of his own ruin.—And says further, that he was compelled some times to receive and apply divers sentences of Solomon concerning chancellors and rulers to this good Regent, which he ordered him to commit to writing, that he might carry them in his pocket. But before he was slain, this different gloss on the life and character of Moray is contradicted, in substance, by the historians Knox and Buchanan.



and Patrick Lindsay on the right; and the Earls of Marr, Glencairn, Monteith, with the citizens of Glasgow, were on the left; and the musqueteers were placed in the valley below. The Queen's army approaching, a very brisk but short engagement ensued: the Earl of Argyle, who was commander in chief of the Queen's troops, falling from his horse, they gave way, so that the Regent obtained a complete victory; but, by his clement conduct, there was very little blood spilt in the pursuit. The Queen, who all the while remained with some horse, at about the distance of a mile from the place of action, seeing the rout, escaped and fled into England; and the Regent returned to Glasgow, where they returned thanks to God for their deliverance from Popery and Papists, who threatened to overturn the work of God among them. This battle was fought upon the 13th of May 1568.

After this the Regent summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh; which the Queen's party laboured to hinder with all their power. In the mean time, letters were received from the Queen of England, requiring them to put off the meeting of parliament, until she was made acquainted with the whole matter; for she said, she could not bear with the affront which her kinswoman said she had received from her subjects.—The parliament however assembled; and, after much reasoning, it was resolved to send commissioners to England, to vindicate their conduct. But none consenting to undertake this business, the Regent resolved upon going himself; and accordingly chose three gentlemen, two ministers, two lawyers, and Mr. George Buchanan, to accompany him; and, with a guard of a hundred horse, they set out, and arrived at York, the appointed place of conference, on the 4th of October. After several meetings with the English commissioners to little purpose, the Queen called the Regent up to London, that she might be better satisfied, by personal conversation with him, about the state of these affairs. But the same difficulties stood in his way here as at York: he refused to enter upon the accusation of his sister, the Queen of Scots, unless Elisabeth would engage to protect the King's party, provided the Queen was found guilty.

But while matters were thus remaining in suspense at London, Mary had stirred up a new commotion in Scotland, by means of one James Balfour; so that the Regent found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and therefore resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion as soon as possible. After several interviews with the Queen and council, in which the Regent and his party supported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aspersions many had thrown on themselves, which Buchanan narrates at large, book xix. A decision was given in their favours; and the Regent returned home loaded with honours by Elisabeth, and attended by the most illustrious of the English court, escorted by a strong guard to Berwick, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d of February, where he was received with acclamations of joy, particularly by the friends of the true religion.

During his administration, many salutary laws, in favour of civil and religious liberty, were made, which rendered him more and more the object of Popish malice. At last they resolved at all events to take his life: the many unsuccessful attempts formerly made, only served to render them more bold and daring. Though the Queen was now at a distance, yet she found means to encourage her party; and perhaps the hope of delivering her at length, gave strength to their resolution. One James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, nephew to the Archbishop of St.

adrews incited by his uncle and others, undertakes to make away with the Regent, when a convenient opportunity offered itself. He first lay in wait for him at Glasgow, and then at Stirling; but both failed him: after which he thought Linlithgow the most proper place for perpetrating that execrable deed. His uncle had a house near the Regent's, in which he concealed himself, that he might be in readiness for the assassination. Of this design the Regent got intelligence likewise, but paid not that regard to the danger he was exposed to, which he should, and would go no other way than that in which it was suspected the ambush was laid: he trusted to the fleetness of his horse in riding swiftly by the suspected place; but the great concourse of people, who crowded together to see him, stopped up the way. Accordingly he was shot from a wooden balcony; the bullet entering a little below the navel, came out at the reins, and killed the horse of George Douglas behind him: the assassin escaped by a back-door. The Regent told his attendants that he was wounded, and returned to his lodgings. It was at first thought the wound was not mortal; but his pain increasing, he began to think of death. Some about him told him, that this was the fruit of his lenity, in sparing so many notorious offenders, and, among the rest, his own murderer: but he replied, "your importunity shall not make me repent my clemency." Having settled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young King to the nobles there present; and, without speaking a reproachful word of any, he departed this life on the 24th of January 1570; according to Buchanan, 1571; but according to Spottiswood, 1569.

Thus fell the Earl of Moray, (whom historians ordinarily call, The good Regent,) after he had escaped so many dangers. Both Buchanan and Spottiswood give him the following character. "His death was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the public father of his country: even his enemies confessed his merit when dead; they admired his valour in war, his ready disposition for peace, his activity in business, in which he was commonly very successful; the divine favour seemed to shine on all his actions; he was very merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his decisions. When the field did not call for his presence, he was busied in the administration of justice; by which means the poor were not oppressed, and the terms of law-suits were shortened. His house was like a holy temple: after meals he caused a chapter of the Bible to be read, and asked the opinions of such learned men as were present, upon it; not out of a vain curiosity, but from a desire to learn, and reduce to practice, what it contained."* In a word, he was, both in his public and private life, a pattern worthy of imitation; and happy would it be for us, that our nobles were more disposed to walk in the paths which he rode;—for, "above all his virtues, which were not a few, he shined in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a sort, as did more resemble a church than a court; for therein, besides the exercise of devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nor any unseemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked among the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of *The good Regent*."†

* Buchanan's History, Vol. ii. p. 392.

† Spottiswood's History, p. 234.

MR. JOHN KNOX.

Mr. Knox was born in Gifford near Haddington in East Lothian, in the year 1505. His father was related to the ancient house of Ranferlie. When he left the grammar-school, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, to study under Mr. John Mair, a man of considerable learning at that time; and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him while very young. He excelled in philosophy and polemical divinity; and was admitted into church-orders before the usual time appointed by the canons. Then laying aside all unnecessary branches of learning, he betook himself to the reading of the ancients, particularly Augustine's and Jerome's works, with whom he was exceedingly pleased. He profited considerably by the preaching of Thomas Guilam, a black friar of sound judgment and doctrine. His discourses led him to study the holy scriptures more closely, by which his spiritual knowledge was increased, and such a zeal for the interest of religion begotten in him, as he became the chief instrument in accomplishing the primitive reformation.

He was a disciple of Mr. George Wishart, (as the reader has already seen in the account of his life,) which procured him the hatred of the Popish clergy, who could not endure that light which discovered their idolatrous darkness.

After the death of Cardinal Beaton, he retired into the castle of St. Andrews, where he was confined for some time; but the castle being obliged to surrender to the French, he became their prisoner, and was sent aboard the galleys; from whence he made his escape about the year 1550, and went to England, where he preached for several years in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, with great applause. His fame at last reached the ears of King Edward VI. who offered him a bishoprick; which he rejected, as contrary to his principles. During his stay in England, he was called before the council, and required to answer the following questions.

1. Why he refused the benefice provided for him at London?
2. Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the laws and rites of England?
3. If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?

To the first he said, That his conscience witnessed to him, that he might profit more in some other place than in London. To the second, That many things needed reformation in the ministry of England, without which no minister did or could discharge his duty before God; for no minister in England had authority to separate the leprous from the whole, which was a chief part of his office, and that he refused no office which might in the least promote God's glory, and the preaching of Christ's gospel. And to the third he replied, that Christ's action was most perfect; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was a human invention. The answer which he gave to this question, occasioned a considerable deal of altercation betwixt the council and him. There were present the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Northampton, Shrewsbury, &c. the Lord Chamberlain, and the secretaries. After long reasoning with him, he was desired to take the matter into further consideration, and so was dismissed.

After the death of King Edward, he retired to Geneva; but soon left that place, and went to Frankfort, upon the solicitation of the English

gregation there: their letter to him was dated 24th September 1554. While he was in this city, he wrote his admonition to England, and was soon involved in troubles, because he opposed the English liturgy, and refused to communicate after the manner it enjoined. Messrs. Isaac and Barry, supported by the English doctors, not only got him discharged to reach, but accused him before the magistrates of high treason against the Emperor's son Philip, and the Queen of England; and to prove the charge, they had recourse to the above mentioned admonition, in which they alleged he had called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magistrates perceiving the design of his accusers, and fearing lest he should some way or other fall into their hands, gave him secret information of his danger, and requested him to leave the city, for they could not save him if he should be demanded by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name; and having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote an admonition to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; a letter to Mary, Dowager of Scotland; an Appeal to the Nobility; an Admonition to the Commons of his own country; and his First Blast of the Trumpet, &c. He intended to have blown this trumpet three times, if Queen Mary's death had not prevented him; understanding that an answer was to be given to his first blast, he deferred the publication of the second, till he saw what answer was necessary for the vindication of the first.

While he was at Geneva, he contracted a close intimacy with Mr. John Calvin, with whom he consulted on every emergency. In the end of harvest 1554, he returned home, upon the solicitation of some of the Scots nobility, and began privately to instruct such as resorted to him in the true religion; among whom were the Laird of Dun, David Forest, and Elisabeth Adamson, spouse to James Baron, burghess of Edinburgh. The idolatry of the mass particularly occupied his attention, as he saw some remarkable for zeal and godliness drawn aside by it; both in public and private, he exposed its impiety and danger; his labours succeeded so far, as to draw off some, and alarm many others: in a conversation upon this subject, at the Laird of Dun's house, in presence of David Forest, Mr. Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland junior of Lethington; he gave such satisfactory answers to all the objections which were started up by the company, that Maitland ended the conversation, saying, "I see very well that all our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." From this time forward, the mass was very little respected.

Mr. Knox continued a month at the Laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of that country resorted to his ministry. From thence he went to Calder, where the Earl of Argyle, then Lord of the North, and Lord James, afterwards Earl of Moray, heard his doctrine, and highly approved of it. During the winter he taught in Edinburgh, and at the beginning of spring went to Kyle, where he preached in different places. The Earl of Glencairn sent for him to Finlston, where, after dinner, he administered the Lord's supper, and then returned to Calder. The people being thus instructed, began to refuse all superstition and idolatry, and set themselves to the utmost of their power to support the preaching of the gospel. This alarmed the inferior Popish clergy, who beheld, that they came from all quarters complaining to the bishop, that upon Mr. Knox was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars church.

of Edinburgh, on the 15th of May following: which appointment he resolved to observe; and accordingly came to Edinburgh, in company with the Laird of Dun, and several other gentlemen; but the diet did not hold, because the bishops were afraid to proceed further against him; so that on the same day that he should have appeared before them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh than ever he had done before. The Earl of Marischal being desired by Lord Glencairn to hear Mr. Knox preach, complied, and was so delighted with his doctrine, that he immediately proposed that something should be done to draw the Queen Regent to hear him likewise; he made this proposal in a letter, which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When she had read it, she gave it to Beaton,* Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, in ridicule, "Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquille."

About this time, 1555, he received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva, who were not in communion with the congregation of that name at Frankfort, in which they beseech him, in the name of God, that as he was their chosen pastor, he would speedily come to them. In obedience to this call, he sent his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppe; but by the importunity of some gentlemen, he was prevailed on to stay some time in Scotland, which he spent in going about exhorting the several congregations in which he had preached, to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the scriptures, and in mutual conferences, till God should give them greater liberty. The Earl of Argyle was solicited to press Mr. Knox's stay in this country; but he could not succeed. Mr. Knox told them, that, if they continued earnest in the profession of the faith, God would bless these small beginnings; but that he must for once go and visit that little flock which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave; and being thus resolved, he went immediately to Geneva. As soon as he was gone, the bishops caused summon him to their tribunal, and for non-compearance they burnt him in effigy, on the cross of Edinburgh; from which unjust sentence, when he heard of it, he appealed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

Upon the receipt of a letter, dated March 10, 1556, subscribed by the Earls of Glencairn, Erskine, Argyle, and Moray, Mr. Knox resolved to return to Scotland. Committing the care of his flock at Geneva to Mr. John Calvin; and coming to Dieppe, he wrote from thence to Mrs. Anna Locke, a declaration of his opinion of the English service-book, expressing himself thus: "Our Captain, Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversary, are now at open defiance, their banners are displayed, and the trumpet is blown on both sides for assembling their armies: our Master calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon, yea, he threateneith death and damnation to such as either in their forehead or right-hand, have the mark of the beast; and a portion of this mark are all these dregs of Papistry, which are left in your great book of England, (viz crossing in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or singing of the litany, &c. &c.) any one jot of which diabolical inventions will I never counsel any man to use," &c.

* In the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, prime minister to Henry IV. of France, vol. i. page 392. Edin. edit. 1773, there is the following note: "James de Bethune, After-bishop of Glasgow in Scotland, came to Paris, in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the Queen of Scotland, and died there in 1603, aged sixty-six years, having fifty-seven years suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, since the violent death of Cardinal de Bethune, Archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in 1646; his epitaph may be still seen in the church of St. John de Lateran."

He was detained in this place much longer than expectation, which obliged the Scots nobility to renew their solicitations; which he complied with, and arrived in Scotland on the 2d of May 1559, being then 54 years old. He preached first at Dundee, and afterwards at St. Johnstoun, with great success. About this time the Queen put some preachers to the horn, prohibiting all, upon pain of rebellion, to comfort, relieve, or assist them; which enraged the multitude to that degree, that they would be restrained, neither by the preachers nor magistrates, from pulling down the images and other monuments of idolatry in St. Johnstoun; which being told to the Queen, it so enraged her, that she vowed to destroy man, woman, and child, in that town, and burn it to the ground. To execute this threat, she caused her French army to march towards the place; but being informed, that multitudes from the neighbouring county were assembling in the town for the defence of its inhabitants, her impetuosity was checked, and she resolved to use stratagem where force could not avail her. Accordingly she sent the Earls of Argyle and Moray, to learn what was their design in such commotions. Mr. Knox, in the name of the rest, made answer, "That the present troubles ought to move the hearts of all the true servants of God, and the lovers of their country, to consider what the end of such tyrannical measures would be, by which the emissaries of Satan sought the destruction of all the friends of religion in the country. Therefore I most humbly require of you, my Lords, to tell the Queen, in my name, that we, whom she in her blind rage doth thus persecute, are the servants of God, faithful and obedient subjects of this realm; and that the religion which she would maintain by fire and sword, is not the true religion of Jesus Christ, but expressly contrary to the same; a superstitious device of men, which I offer myself to prove, against all who in Scotland maintain the contrary; freedom of debate being allowed, and the word of God being the judge. Tell her from me, that her enterprise shall not succeed in the end; for she fights not against man only, but against the eternal God," &c. Argyle and Moray promised to deliver this message; and Mr. Knox preached a sermon, exhorting them to constancy; adding, "I am persuaded that this promise," (meaning the promise she had made to do them no harm, if they would leave the town peaceably,) "shall be no longer kept than the Queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper hand;" which accordingly happened when she took possession of the town, and put a garrison of French in it. This breach of promise disgusted the Earls of Argyle and Moray to that degree, that they forsook her, and joined the Congregation. Having assembled with the Laird of Dun and others, they sent for Mr. Knox; who, in his way to them, preached in Crail and in Anstruther; intending to preach next day at St. Andrews.

This design coming to the ears of the bishop, he raised 100 spearmen, and sent this message to the Lords, "That if John Knox offered to preach there, he should have a warm military reception." They, in their turn, forewarned Mr. Knox of his danger, and dissuaded him from going. He made answer, "God is my witness, that I never preached Jesus Christ in contempt of any man; neither am I concerned about going thither: though I would not willingly injure the worldly interest of any creature, cannot in conscience delay preaching to-morrow, if I am not detained by violence. As for fear of danger to my person, let no man be solicitous about that, for my life is in the hand of him whose glory I seek; and therefore I fear not their threats, so as to cease from doing my duty."

when of his mercy God offereth the occasion. I desire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience, which, if denied to me here, at this time, I must seek further where I may have it." The Lords were satisfied that he should fulfil his intention, which he did, with such boldness and success, without any interruption, that the magistrates and people of the town, immediately after sermon, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry; which they did with great expedition.

After this, several skirmishes ensued between the Queen and Lords of the Congregation. But at last, the Queen sickened and died, and a general peace, which lasted for some time, was procured; during which, the commissioners of the Scots nobility, 1560, were employed in settling ministers in different places. Mr. Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where he continued until the day of his death.

The same year, the Scots confession was compiled and agreed upon; and that the church might be established upon a good foundation, a commission and charge was given to Mr. Knox, and five others, to draw up a form of government and discipline of the church. When they had finished it, they presented it to the nobility, by whom it was afterwards ratified and approved of.

But this progress which was daily making in the reformation soon met with a severe check, by the arrival of Queen Mary from France, in August 1561. With her came Popery, and all manner of profanity; the mass was again publicly set up; at which the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more than Mr. Knox, who ceased not to expose the evil and danger of it on every occasion: on which account the Queen and court were much exasperated. They called him before them, and charged him as guilty of high treason. The Queen being present, produced a letter, wrote by him, wherein it was alleged, that he had convoked her Majesty's lieges against law; whereupon a long reasoning ensued between him and Secretary Lethington, upon the contents of said letter; in which Mr. Knox gave such solid and bold answers, in defence of himself and doctrine, that at last he was acquitted by the Lords of the council, to the no small displeasure of the Queen and those of the Popish party.

Mr. Knox, in a conference with the Queen about this time, said, "if princes exceed their bounds, they may be resisted even by power; for there is no greater honour and obedience to be paid to princes than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother. If children join together against their father stricken with a frenzy, and seeking to slay his own children, apprehend him, take his sword or other weapons from him, bind his hands, and put him in prison, till his frenzy overpass, do they any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hindering their father from committing horrible murder? Even so, Madam, if princes will murder the children of God, their subjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. To take the sword from them, to bind them, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a sober mind, is not disobedience, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." The Queen hearing this, stood for some time as one amazed, and changed countenance. No appearance was, at this time, of her imprisonment. [See Calderwood's History, p. 31.]

After the Queen's marriage with Henry Earl of Darnly, a proclamation was made, in 1565, signifying, that forasmuch as certain rebels, who, under the colour of religion, (meaning those who opposed the measures

if the court,) intended nothing but the subversion of the commonwealth, herefore they charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to resort and meet their Majesties at Linlithgow, on the 24th of August. Upon Sabbath the 19th, the King came to the high church of Edinburgh, where Mr. Knox preached from these words: *O Lord our Lord, asher lords, beside thee, have had the dominion over us, &c.* In his sermon, he took occasion to speak of wicked princes, who, for the sins of a people, were sent as scourges upon them; and also said, "that God set in that room boys and women; and that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with the harlot Jezebel." These things enraged the King to a very high degree. Mr. Knox was immediately ordered before the council; who went thither attended by some of the most respectable citizens: when called in, the secretary signified that the King was much offended with some words in his sermons, as above mentioned; and ordered him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days. To which Mr. Knox answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to speak, or refrain from speaking, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him. Nevertheless, for this and another sermon which he preached before the Lords, in which he shewed the bad consequences that would follow upon the Queen's being married to a Papist, he must be, by the Queen's order, prohibited from preaching for a considerable time.

It cannot be expected, that we should enumerate all the indefatigable labours, and pertinent speeches, which, on sundry occasions, he made to the Queen, nor the opposition which he met with in promoting the reformation; these will be found at large in the histories of these times.

The Popish faction now found, that it would be impossible to get their idolatry re-established, while the reformation was making such progress, and while Mr. Knox and his associates had such credit with the people. They therefore set other engines to work, than these they had hitherto used; they spared no pains to blast his reputation, by malicious calumnies, and even by making attempts upon his life; for, one night as he was sitting at the head of a table in his own house, with his back to the window, as was his custom, he was fired at from the other side of the street, on purpose to kill him. The shot entered at the window; but he being near to the other side of the table, the assassin missed his mark; the bullet struck the candlestick before him, and made a hole in the foot of it. *Thus was he that was with him, stronger than they that were against him.*

Mr. Knox was an eminent wrestler with God in prayer, and like a prince prevailed; the Queen Regent herself gave him this testimony, when, upon a particular occasion, she said, she was more afraid of his prayers, than of an army of ten thousand men. He was likewise warm and pathetic in his preaching, in which such prophetic expressions as dropt from him, had the most remarkable accomplishment. As an instance of this, when he was confined in the castle of St. Andrews, he foretold both the manner of their surrender, and their deliverance from the French galleys; and when the Lords of the Congregation were twice discomfited by the French army, he assured them, in the mean time, that the Lord would prosper the work of reformation. Again, when Queen Mary refused to come and hear sermon, he bid them tell her, that she would yet be obliged to hear the word of God, whether she would or

not; which came to pass at her arraignment in England. At another time, he thus addressed himself to her husband Henry, Lord Darnly, while in the King's seat in the high church of Edinburgh: "Have you, for the pleasure of that dainty dame, cast the psalm-book in the fire? the Lord shall strike both head and tail." Both King and Queen died violent deaths. He likewise said, when the castle of Edinburgh held out for the Queen against the Regent, that "the castle should spue out the captain (meaning the Laird of Grange) with shame; and that he should not come out at the gate, but over the wall; and that the tower, called Davies Tower, should run like a sand-glass; which was fulfilled in a few years after, the same captain being obliged to come over the wall on a ladder, with a staff in his hand, and the said fore-work of the castle running down like a sand-brae.

On the 24th January 1570, Mr. Knox, being in the pulpit, a paper was put into his hands, among others, containing the names of the sick people to be prayed for; the paper contained these words: "Take up the man whom you accounted another God," (this alluded to the Earl of Moray, who was slain the day before.) Having read it, he put it in his pocket, without shewing the least discomposure. After sermon, he lamented the loss which both church and state had met with in the death of that worthy nobleman, (meaning the Regent,) shewing, that God takes away good and wise rulers from a people in his wrath; and at last said, "There is one in the company who maketh that horrible murder, at which all good men have occasion to be sorrowful, the subject of his mirth. I tell him, he shall die in a strange land, where he shall not have a friend near him to hold up his head." One Mr. Thomas Maitland, being the author of that insulting speech, and hearing what Mr. Knox said, confessed the whole to his sister Lady Trabrown; but said, that John Knox was raving, to speak of he knew not of whom. She replied with tears, that none of Mr. Knox's threatenings fell to the ground. This gentleman afterwards went abroad, and died in Italy, on his way to Rome, having no man to assist him.

Mr. Knox's popularity was now so well established, that the malignant party finding it impossible to alienate the hearts of the people from him, began now openly to work his destruction, fortifying the town and castle with their garrisons; they vented their malice against him by many furious threatenings. Upon which he was urged by his friends to leave Edinburgh for his own safety; which at last he did, in May 1571, and went to St. Andrews, where the Earl of Morton, who was then Regent, urged him to inaugurate the archbishop of that see. This he declined, with solemn protestations against it; and denounced an anathema on the giver and receiver. Though he was then very weak in body, he would not refrain from preaching, and was obliged to be supported by his servant Richard Bannatyne, in going to church; and, when in the pulpit, he behaved to rest sometime before he could proceed to preach; but before he ended his sermon, he became so vigorous and active, that he was like to have broken the pulpit to pieces.

Here he continued till the end of August 1572, when the civil broils were a little abated, upon which, receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppressed with the infirmities of old age, and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone; the death of the Regent, the Earl of Moray, had made deep impressions on him.

he heard of the massacre of Paris,* and the murder of the good Coligni, these melancholy news almost deprived him of his life. Being his dissolution approaching, he prevailed with the council session of Edinburgh, to concur with him in admitting one Mr. Lawson as his successor, who was at that time professor of philosophy in the college of Aberdeen. He wrote a letter to Mr. Lawson, him to accept of this charge; adding this postscript, *Accelera, utinque sero venies*; i. e. make haste, my brother, otherwise you too late; meaning, that if he came not speedily, he would find; which words had this effect on Mr. Lawson, that he set out early, making all possible haste to Edinburgh; where, after he had twice to the full satisfaction of the people, the 9th of November appointed for his admission into that congregation Mr. Lawson then still weaker, preached upon that occasion with much boldness with the greatest comfort to the hearers. In the close of his sermon he called God to witness, that he had walked in a good conscience, not seeking to please men, nor serving his own nor his inclinations, but in all sincerity and truth preaching the gospel. Then praising God, who had given them one in his room, exhorted them to stand fast in the faith they had received; and having fervently for the divine blessing upon them, and the increase of it upon their new pastor, he gave them his last farewell; with which congregation were much affected.

When he arrived home that same day, he was confined to his bed, and on account of his age so much enfeebled, that he was obliged to lay aside his ordering of the scripture. The next day he would rise out of bed, and said, what he intended by getting out of bed? he replied, he went to church, thinking that had been the Lord's day; he told them he had been all the night meditating upon the resurrection of Christ, which he should have preached on in order after the death of Christ which he had finished the Sabbath before. He had often desired that he would end his days in teaching, and meditating upon the scriptures; which desire seems to have been granted him. Upon the elders and deacons being come to him, he said, "the time is short for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved from all cares, and be with my Saviour for ever; and my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrines of the word of God, and that the end which I purposed in all my doctrine, was to confirm the ignorant, to comfort the weak, to comfort the consciences that were humbled under the sense of their sins, and to denounce the threatenings of God's word against such as were rebellious. I am sensible, that many have blamed me, and yet do blame my too great severity; but God knoweth, that, in my heart, I never hated any of those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did

in the space of two or three days, there were about 70,000 Protestants murdered in Paris, and other parts of France. This massacre was begun in the night of St. Bartholomew's day, in the reign of Charles IX. of that kingdom. The King of France, Henry the Great, narrowly escaped on that occasion; for he was present on account of the solemnization of his marriage with Charles's sister; but the Papists had contrived, in order to draw as many Protestants into Paris as possible, that they might have them in their power. See the account of this event at large in Sully's Memoirs, vol. i.

only hate their sins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Christ; that I did forbear none of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who placed me in this function of the ministry, and I know will bring me to an account." Then he exhorted them to constancy, and entreated them never to join with the wicked, but rather to choose with David to flee to the mountains, than to remain with such company. After this exhortation to the elders and deacons, he charged Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. James Lawson to take heed to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. To Mr. Lawson in particular, he said, "fight the good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage and willing mind; and God from above bless you, and the church whereof you have the charge, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail." Then by prayer he recommended the whole company present to the grace of God, and afterwards desired his wife, or Richard Bannatyne, to read the 17th chapter of John, a chapter of the Ephesians, and the 89d chapter of Isaiah, daily, after he was unable to read himself. Sometimes he desired part of Mr. Calvin's sermons in French to be read to him. One time when reading these sermons, they supposed him to be sleeping, and asked him, if he heard what was read? He replied, "I hear, I praise God, and understand far better."

One day after this, Mr. David Lindsay coming to see him, he said unto him, "well, brother, I thank God I have desired all this day to have had you, that I might send you to that man in the castle, the Laird of Grange, whom you know I have loved dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him from me, in the name of God, that unless he leave that evil course wherein he has entered, neither shall that rock (meaning the castle of Edinburgh, which he then kept out against the King) afford him any help, nor the carnal wisdom of that man, whom he counteth half a god (meaning young Lethington;) but he shall be pulled out of that nest, and brought down over the wall with shame, and his carcass shall be hung before the sun; so God hath assured me." When Mr. David delivered this message, the captain seemed to be much moved; but after a little conference with Lethington, he returned to Mr. Lindsay, and dismissed him with a disdainful countenance and answer. When he reported this to Mr. Knox, he said, "Well, I have been in earnest with my God anent that man; I am sorry that it should so befall his body, yet God assureth me, there is mercy for his soul. But for the other, meaning Lethington, I have no warrant to say that it shall be well with him." The truth of this seemed to appear in a short time thereafter; for it was thought that Lethington poisoned himself, to avoid public punishment. He lay unburied in the steeple of Leith until his body was quite corrupted; but Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was, on the 3d August next, executed at the cross of Edinburgh. He caused Mr. Lindsay to repeat Mr. Knox's words concerning him a little before his execution; and was much comforted by them. He said to Mr. Lindsay, who accompanied him to the scaffold, "I hope when men shall think I am gone, I shall give a token of the assurance of God's mercy to my soul, according to the speech of that man of God." Accordingly, when he was cast over the ladder, with his face towards the east, when all present thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound, and let them fall softly down again, as if praising God for his great mercy towards him: [See Spottiswood's History, p. 266, 272, and Calderwood's History, p. 62, 63.]

her of Mr. Knox's visitors desired him to praise God for the good done. He answered, "flesh of itself is too proud, and needs not puff it up;" and protested, that he only laid claim to the free gift of God in Christ among others. To the Earl of Morton, who was about to receive the Regency, the Earl of Moray being dead, he heard to say, "My Lord, God hath given you many blessings; he hath given you high honour, birth, great riches, many good friends, and now he will prefer you to the government of the realm. In his name, I beseech you, that you will use these blessings better in time to come, than you have done in time past: in all your actions, seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his gospel, the maintenance of his church and kingdom; and then be careful of the King, to procure his good, and the peace of the kingdom. If you act thus, God will be with you; if otherwise, he shall deprive you of all these benefits; and your end shall be dishonour and ignominious." This threatening, Morton, to his melancholy mind, confessed, was literally accomplished. At his execution, in 1581, he called to mind Mr. Knox's words; and acknowledged, that what he had said to him, he had been a true prophet.

On the Lord's day (Nov. 23.) after he had lain for some time very sick, he said, "If any man be present, let him come and see the work;" for he thought, as was supposed, then to have expired. His having sent for Mr. Johnstoun, writer, he burst forth into these words: "I have been in meditation these two last nights upon the troubled state of the world, despised in the world, but precious in his sight. I have called to mind the Lord for her, and commended to Christ her head; I have been against Satan, who is ever ready for the assault; I have fought against spiritual wickednesses, and have prevailed: I have been, as it were, in heaven, and have tasted of its joys." After sermon several persons visited him; one asked him, upon perceiving his breathing short, whether he had any pain? he answered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven; and I am content, if it please God, to lie here in this world." Many times, when he was lying as if asleep, he was in heaven, and was heard to say, "Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace to this world, with godly rulers and magistrates. O serve the Lord, that death shall not be troublesome to you. Blessed is the death that have part in the death of Jesus. Come, Lord Jesus, sweet to thy hands I commend my spirit."

One night Dr. Preston being come to him, and was told by some of his attendant attendants, that he was often very uneasy in his sleep; they asked him after he awoke, How he did, and what made him so heavy in his sleep? he answered, "in my lifetime, I have been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast my sins in my face, to bring me to despair; yet God gave me strength to overcome temptations: and now that subtle serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that all my labours in the ministry, and the fidelity I have shewed in that service, shall not bring me to heaven and immortality. But blessed be God, that he hath given to my mind that scripture, *what hast thou that thou hast not received? but the grace of God which is within me*; with which he hath not ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my life is at an end, and that I shall shortly, without pain of body, or

trouble of spirit, change this mortal and miserable life, for that happy and immortal life that shall never have an end."

Having, for some time before, given orders for making his coffin, rose out of bed (November 24) about ten o'clock, and put on his hose and doublet, and sat up about the space of half an hour, and then returned to bed again. Being asked by Kinginleugh, if he had any pain? he answered, "no pain, but such as, I trust, will soon put an end to the battle. yea, I do not esteem that pain to me, which is the beginning of eternal joy." In the afternoon he caused his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, "is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, "I commend my soul, spirit, and body into thy hands, O Lord!" About five o'clock at night, he said to his wife, "go, read where I cast my first anchor." This was the 17th chapter of John; which she read, together with part of Calvin's sermons the Ephesians. They then went to prayer; after which Dr Preston asked him, if he heard the prayer? he answered, "would to God that all and all men had heard it as I have done; I praise God for that heavenly sound;" adding, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit." His servant Richard Bannatyne, hearing him give a long sigh, said, "now, Sir, the Spirit you have long called to God for, doth instantly come; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign, that you live upon the comforts promises, which you have so often shewed us." At this speech he laid up one of his hands; and immediately after, without any struggle, as falling asleep, he departed this life, about eleven o'clock at night, finishing his Christian warfare: he entered into the joy of his Lord, to receive a crown of righteousness, prepared for him, and such as him, from the foundation of the world.

He was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, now that square called the Parliament-Close, upon Wednesday the 26th of November. His funeral was attended by the Earl of Morton, Regent, other Lords, and great multitude of people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave the Earl of Morton said, "There lies a man, who, in his life, never feared the face of man: who hath been often threatened with daggers, but hath ended his days in peace and honour."

He was low in stature, and of a weakly constitution; which Mr. Thomas Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, says: "I know never God placed a more godly and great spirit in a body so little frail. I am certain, that there can scarcely be found another, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the comfort of the church of Scotland did shine. No one spared himself less; no one more diligent in charge committed to him; and yet no one was more the object of the reproach of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproach of evil speakers; but this was so far from abating, that it rather strengthened his courage and resolution in the ways of God." Beza calls him the great apostle of the Scots. His faithfulness in reproving sin, shewed he was not terrified by the fear of man, made up the most remarkable part of his character; and the success wherewith the Lord blessed his labours, was singular, and is enough to stop the mouth of every enemy against him.

His works are, an Admonition to England; an Application to the Scots Nobility &c.; a Letter to Mary the Queen Regent; a History of the Reformation; a Treatise on Predestination; the First and Second Blast of the Trumpet; a Sermon preached, August 1565, on account which he was for some time prohibited from preaching. He left sundry manuscripts, sermons, tracts, &c. which have never been printed.

MR. GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in Lennoxshire, commonly called the crinoid of Dunbarton, in Scotland, in a country town, situated near the river or water of Blane, in 1506, about the beginning of February, of a family rather ancient than rich. His father died of the stone, in the flower of his age, whilst his grandfather was yet alive; by whose extravagance, the family, which was but low before, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want; yet such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Herriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men's and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Herriot, perceiving his promising ingenuity in their own country schools, took him from thence, and sent him to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry; having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, because it was the only method of study propounded to him in his youth. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme want, was forced to go home to his friends. After his return to Scotland, he spent almost a year in taking care of his health; then he went into the army with some French auxiliaries, newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art. But that expedition proving fruitless, and those forces being reduced by the deep snow of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness, as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring, he was sent to St. Andrews, to hear the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather scholasticism, in that university. The summer after, he accompanied him into France; and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran sect, which then began to increase. He struggled with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, and at last was admitted into the Barbaran college, where he was grammar professor almost three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, one of the young Scottish nobles, being in that country, was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; so that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards, having a mind to return to Paris to his old studies, he was retained by the King, and made tutor to James, his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy made by him, at leisure times, came into the hands of the Franciscans; wherein he writes, that he was solicited in a dream, by St. Francis, to enter into his order. In this poem, there were one or two passages that reflected on them very severely; which those ghostly fathers, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, took more heinously, than men, having obtained such a vogue for piety among the vulgar, ought to have done, upon so small an occasion of offence. At finding no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the score of religion; which was their common way of terrifying those they did not wish well to. Thus, whilst they indulged their impetuosity, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a fiercer enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cause. In the mean time, the King, with Magdalen his queen, came from France, not without the resentment of the priesthood;

Spottiswood says he was born within the parish of Killearn, and house of Dr. History, p. 325.

Greek and Latin tongues; that they might read the liberal arts, especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those arts which he was then building with a great deal of care and expense. Buchanan, being addressed, readily consented to go for one. For as he saw that all Europe besides, was either actually in foreign or domestic wars, or just upon the point of being so, that one corner of the world was, in his opinion, likeliest to be free from tumults and combustions; and besides, his companions in that journey were such, that they preferred rather his acquaintances and familiar friends, than strangers or strangers to him: for many of them had been his intimates for several years, and were well known to the world by their learned works, as Micholautus, Gulielmus Garentaeus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Venetus. This was the reason that he did not only make one of their society, but persuaded a brother of his, called Patrick, to do the same. And the matter succeeded excellently well at first; till, in the midst of the enterprise, Andrew Govean was taken away by a sudden death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his companions: for, after his death, all their enemies endeavoured first to ensnare them by treachery, and soon after ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and instruments, being great enemies to the accused, they took the hold of three of them, and haled them to prison; whence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were called out to give in their answers; and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded to prison again; yet no accuser did appear in court against them. As for Buchanan, he was insulted most bitterly over him, as being a stranger; and knowing that he had very few friends in that country, who would either remain in his prosperity, sympathize with his grief, or revenge the wrongs done to him. The crime laid to his charge was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans; which he himself, before he went from France, took care to get excused to the King of Portugal; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was, for he had given but one copy of it to the King of Scots, by whose command he wrote it. They farther objected "his eating of flesh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all the world but uses the same liberty. Besides, he had given some sly side-blows to the monks; which, however, nobody but a monk himself could feel except against.

Moreover, they took it heinously ill, that, in a certain familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention made of the executionist, he should affirm, that, in his judgment, Austin was more inclined to the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other persons (as some years after came to his knowledge, viz. John Tolpin, a Frenchman, and John Ferrerius of Sub-alpine Liguria) had witnessed against him, that they had heard, from divers creditable persons, "That Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion."

Notwithstanding, he returned to the matter: after the inquisitors had wearied both themselves and him for almost half a year, at last, that they might not be thought to have causelessly vexed a man of some name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months; there to be exactly disciplined and instructed by the monks; who, to give their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were nevertheless wise neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to form the principal parts of David's poems into Latin verse. At last he was set at liberty, and continuing for a

pass, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the King desired him to stay where he was; and allotted him a small sum for daily necessaries and pocket expenses, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But he, tired out with delay, as being put off to no certain time, nor on any sure grounds of hope; and having got the opportunity of a passage in a ship then riding in the bay of Lisbon, was carried over into England. He made no longer stay in that country, though fair offers were made him there; for he saw that all things were in a hurry and combustion, under a very young King; the nobles at variance one with another; and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment, upon the account of their civil combustions. Whereupon he returned into France, about the time that the siege of Metz was raised. There he was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem concerning that siege; which he did, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loath to interfere with several of his acquaintances, and especially with Mellinus Sangelasius, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Cosse of Brescia, who then managed matters with very good success in the Gallic and Ligustic countries about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France, the space of five years, till the year 1560; the greatest part of which time he spent in the study of the holy scriptures, that so he might be able to make a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and took up all the time, of most of the men of these days. It is true, these disputes were silenced a little in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; so he returned thither, and became a member of the church of Scotland, 1560.*

Some of his writings, in former times, being, as it were, redeemed from shipwreck, were by him collected and published. The rest, which were scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he committed to the disposal of Providence.† After his return, he professed philosophy in St. Andrews; and in the year 1565, he was appointed tutor to James VI. King of Scotland; and in 1568, went with the Regent to the Court of England; at which time and place he did no small honour to his country.

Sir James Melvill, in his Memoirs, p. 234, gives him the following character.—“He was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him; too easy in his old age; somewhat revengeful against those who had offended him:” but notwithstanding, “a man of notable endowments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet; he was much ho-

* A little before his death, he returned home from Court to visit his friends; during which time King James sent him several messages; and, at last, a threatening letter to return in twenty days. But he, finding his death approaching, sent him back a letter of admonition relative to the government of his kingdom, and well-being of his council and told him, that he could run the hazard of his Majesty's displeasure without danger for that, “by the time limited, he would be where few kings or great men should be honoured to enter.” At reading which, it is said, the King wept.

† His works that are now extant, make two folio volumes. His treatise, *DE JURI REONI APUD SCOTOS*, was condemned by act of parliament, about two years after his death; which happened at Edinburgh, on September 25, 1582. These pamphlets going under the name of the Witty Exploits of George Buchanan seem to be spurious; a though, it is true, he pronounced many witty expressions, of which a great number now were committed to writing.

MR. GEORGE BUCHANAN.

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ed in foreign countries: pleasant in conversation, into which he happily introduced short moral maxims, which his invention readily supplied with upon any emergency. He was buried at Edinburgh, in the most conspicuous place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, as in his pompous monuments he used to condemn and despise."

MR. ROBERT ROLLOCK.

MR. ROLLOCK was descended from the ancient family of the Livingstones. He was born about the year 1555. His father, David Rollock, sent him to Stirling, to be educated for the university, under Thomas Buchanan; where his genius, modesty, and sweetness of temper, soon procured to him the particular friendship of his master, which subsisted till after. From this school, he went to the university of St. Andrews, where he prosecuted his studies for four years; at the end of which, his progress had been so great, that he was chosen professor of philosophy; duties of which office he discharged with applause for other four years, until, about the year 1583, he was invited, by the magistrates of Edinburgh, to a profession in their university; which was, not long before this time, founded by King James VI. He complied with their invitation, at the earnest desire of Mr. James Lawson, who succeeded Mr. Rollock. His reputation, as a teacher, soon drew a number of students to the college; which was soon afterwards much enlarged, by being so conveniently situated in the capital of the kingdom. At first he had the principal weight of academical business laid upon him; but in process of time, other professors were chosen from among the scholars which he educated. After which his chief employment was to exercise the office of Principal, by superintending the several classes, to observe the proficiency of the scholars, to compose such differences as would arise among them, and to keep every one to his duty. Thus was the principal part of that college, in his time, a useful institution, and not what it is now, little better than a mere sinecure. Every morning he called the students together, when he prayed among them; and one day in the week, he explained some passage of scripture to them; in the close of which, he was frequently very warm in his exhortations; which wrought more reformation upon the students, than all the laws which were made, or discipline which was exercised besides. After the lecture was over, it was his custom to reprove such as had been guilty of any misdemeanour through the week: "How is the gold become dim! how is the most precious metal changed!" He was likewise very attentive to such as were advanced in their studies, and intended the ministry. His care was productive of much good to the church. He was as diligent in his own improvement, as he was careful to promote those of others. Notwithstanding his business in the university, he preached every Lord's day in the city, with such fervency and demonstration of the Spirit, that he became the instrument of converting many to God. About this time, he wrote several commentaries on different passages of scripture. His edition of the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, coming into the hands of the learned Beza, he wrote to a friend of his, telling him, that it was an incomparable treasure; which, for its judiciousness, and elegance of style, had few equals.

He was chosen Moderator to the Assembly held at Dundee in 156 wherein matters went not altogether in favours of the Presbytery; but this cannot be imputed to him; although Calderwood, in his History p. 403, calls him "a man simple in matters of the church." He was one of those commissioned by the Assembly to wait on his Majesty, about seating the churches of Edinburgh; but in the mean time, he sickened and was confined to his house. Afterwards, at the entreaty of his friend he went to the country for the benefit of the air: at first he seemed growing better, but his distemper soon returned upon him with great violence than before: this confined him to his bed. He committed his wife (for he had no children) to the care of his friends. He desired the noblemen who came to visit him, to go to the King, and entreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and preserve it to the end, and that he would esteem and comfort the pastors of the church; for the ministers of Christ, though low and base in the eyes of men, yet it should at length shine with great glory. When the ministers of Edinburgh came to him he spoke of the sincerity of his intentions in every thing done by him, and discharge of the duties belonging to the office with which he had been vested. As night drew on, his distemper increased; and, together therewith, his religious fervour was likewise augmented. When the physicians were preparing some medicines, he said, "Thou, Lord, wilt be merciful to me;" and then began, praying for the pardon of his sins through Christ and professed that he counted all things but dung for the cross of Christ. He prayed farther, that he might have the presence of God in his departure, saying, "Hitherto have I seen thee darkly, through the glass of thy word: O Lord, grant that I may have the eternal enjoyment of thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for;" and then spoke of the resurrection and eternal life; after which he blessed and exhorted every one present, according as their respective circumstances required.

The day following, when the magistrates of Edinburgh came to see him, he exhorted them to take care of the university, and nominated a successor to himself. He recommended his wife to them, declaring that he had not laid up one halfpenny of his stipend, and therefore hoped they would provide for her; to which request they assented, and promised to see her comfortably supplied. After this he said: "I bless God that I have all my senses entire, but my heart is in heaven; and, Lord Jesus, why shouldst not thou have it? it has been my care, all my life to dedicate it to thee; I pray thee, take it, that I may live with thee for ever." Then, after a little sleep, he awakened, crying, "Come Lord Jesus, put an end to this miserable life; haste, Lord, and tarry not; Christ hath redeemed me, not unto a frail and momentary life, but unto eternal life. Come, Lord Jesus, and give that life for which thou hast redeemed me." Some of the people present bewailing their condition when he should be taken away, he said unto them, "I have gone through all the degrees of this life, and am come to my end; why should I go back again? help me, O Lord, that I may go through this last degree, with thy assistance," &c. And when some told him, that the next day was the Sabbath, he said, "O Lord, shall I begin my eternal Sabbath from thy Sabbath here." Next morning, feeling his death approaching, he sent for Mr. Balcanquhal; who, in prayer with him, desired the Lord, if he pleased, to spare his life, for the good of the church. He said, "I am weary of this life, all my desire is, that I may enjoy it

lestial life, that is hid with Christ in God" And, a little after, Haste, Lord, and do not tarry, I am weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee. Break these eye-strings, and give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee. O Lord Jesus, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my soul to thyself! O my sweet Lord, let this soul of mine free, that she may enjoy her husband." And when one of the bystanders said, Sir, let nothing trouble you, for now your Lord makes haste, he said, "O welcome message! would to God, my funeral might be to-morrow." And thus he continued in heavenly meditation and prayer, till he resigned up his spirit to God, in 1598, in the 54th year of his age.

His works are, a Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the gospel of John, with its Harmony. He wrote also on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Galatians; and an Analysis of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, with respect to effectual calling.

MR. JOHN CRAIG.

MR. JOHN CRAIG was a man of considerable learning and singular abilities. He travelled abroad in his youth, and was frequently delivered out of very great dangers, by the kind interposition of a gracious providence; an instance of which we have while he was in Italy: being obliged to fly out of that country, on account of his regard for the Reformation, in order to avoid being apprehended, he was obliged to lurk in obscure places in the day-time, and travel over night; by this means any little money he had was soon exhausted, and, being in the extremity of want, a dog brought a purse to him with some gold in it, by which he was supported until he escaped the danger of being taken.

After his return home, he was settled minister at Edinburgh, where he continued many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In 1567, the Earl of Bothwell having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, as preparatory to his marriage with Queen Mary, she sent a letter to Mr. Craig, commanding him to publish the banns of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell. But the next Sabbath, having declared that he had received such a command, he added, that he could not in conscience obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawful; and that he would declare to the parties, if present. He was immediately sent for by Bothwell, unto whom he declared his reasons with great boldness; and the very next Lord's day, he told the people what he had said before the Council; and took heaven and earth to witness, that he detested that scandalous marriage; and that he had discharged his duty to the Lord, &c. Upon this, he was again called before the Council, and reproved by them, as having exceeded the bounds of his calling: he boldly answered, that "the bounds of his commission was the word of God, right reason, and good laws, against which he had said nothing;" and by all these offered to prove the said marriage scandalous; at which he was stoop'd, and set out of the Council.

Thus Mr. Craig continued, not only a firm friend to the Reformation, but a bold opposer of every encroachment made upon the crown and purity of the Lord Jesus Christ. In 1584, when an act of parliament

was made, that all ministers, masters of colleges, &c. should within forty-eight hours, compare and subscribe the act of parliament concerning the King's power over all estates, spiritual and temporal, and submit themselves to the bishops, &c. Upon which Mr. Craig, John Brand, and some others, were called before the Council, and interrogate, How he could be so bold as to controvert the late act of parliament? Mr. Craig answered, That they would find fault with any thing repugnant to God's word: at which the Earl of Arran started up on his feet, and said, They were too pert; that he would shave their head, pair their nails, and cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who should disobey the King's command, and his Council's orders; and forthwith charged them to appear before the King, at Falkland, on the 4th of September following.

Upon their appearance at Falkland, they were again accused of transgressing the foresaid act of parliament, and disobeying the Bishop's injunctions; when there arose some hot speeches betwixt Mr. Craig and the Bishop of St. Andrews; at which the Earl of Arran spake again most outrageously against Mr. Craig; who coolly replied, That there had been as great men set up higher that had been brought low. Arran returned, "I shall make thee, of a false friar, a true prophet;" and sitting down on his knee, he said, "Now am I humbled." "Nay," said Mr. Craig, "mock the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou shalt be cast down from the high horse of thy pride, and humbled." This came to pass a few years after, when he was thrown off his horse with a spear, by James Douglass of Parkhead, killed, and his corpse exposed to dogs and swine before it was buried.

Mr. Craig was forthwith discharged to preach any more in Edinburgh, and the Bishop of St. Andrews was appointed to preach in his place; but as soon as he entered the great church of Edinburgh, the whole congregation, except a few court parasites, went out. It was not long before Mr. Craig was restored to his place and office.

In 1591, when the Earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, on the 27th of December, came to the King and Chancellor's chamber-doors with fire, and to the Queen's with a hammer, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, with a design to seize the King and the Chancellor; Mr. Craig, upon the 29th, preaching before the King, upon the two brazen mountains in Zechariah, said, "As the King had lightly regarded the many bloody shirts presented to him by his subjects craving justice, so God, in his providence, had made a noise of crying and fore hammers to come to his own doors." The King would have the people to stay after sermon, that he might purge himself, and said, "If he had thought his hired servant (meaning Mr. Craig, who was his own minister) would have dealt in that manner with him, he should not have suffered him so long in his house." Mr. Craig, by reason of the throng, not hearing what he said, went away.

In 1595, Mr. Craig being quite worn out by his labours, and the infirmities of age, the King's Commissioner presented some articles to the General Assembly; wherein, amongst other things, he craved, that in respect Mr. Craig is awaiting what hour God shall please to call him, and is unable to serve any longer, and his Majesty, designing to place John Duncanson with the prince, therefore, his Highness desired an ordinance to be made, granting any two ministers he shall choose; which was accordingly done; and Mr. Craig died a short time after this.

Mr. Craig will appear, from these short memoirs, to have been a man of uncommon resolution and activity. He was employed in the most important part of the affairs of the church during the reign of Queen Mary, and in the beginning of that of her son. He compiled the National Covenant, and a Catechism, commonly called Craig's Catechism, which was first printed by order of the Assembly, in 1591.

MR. DAVID BLACK.

MR. BLACK was for some time colleague to the worthy Mr. Andrew Melville, minister at St. Andrews. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of his duty as a minister, applying his doctrine closely against the corruptions of that age, prevailing either among the highest or lowest of the people; in consequence of which, he was, in 1596, cited before the Council for some expressions uttered in a sermon, alleged to strike against the Queen and Council. But his brethren in the ministry thinking, that, by this method of procedure with him, the spiritual government of the house of God was intended to be subverted, they resolved, that Mr. Black should decline answering the King and Council; and that, in the mean time, the brethren should be preparing themselves to prove from the holy scriptures, that the judgment of all offences, in the first instance, belonged to the pastors of the church.

Accordingly, Mr. Black, on the 18th November 1596, gave in a declinature to the Council, to this effect: that he was able to defend all that he had said; yet, seeing his answering before them at that accusation might be prejudicial to the liberties of the church, and would be taken for an acknowledgment of his Majesty's jurisdiction in matters merely spiritual, he was constrained to decline that judicatory, 1. Because the word Jesus Christ had given him his word for a rule, and that therefore he could not fall under the civil law; but in so far as, after trial, he should be found to have passed from his instructions, which trial only belonged to the prophets, &c. 2. The liberties of the church, and discipline presently exercised, were confirmed by divers acts of parliament, approved of by the Confession of Faith, and the office bearers of the church, were now in the peaceable possession thereof; that the question of his preaching ought first, according to the grounds and practice fore-mentioned, to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate; as the competent judges thereof at the first instance. This declinature, with a letter sent by the several presbyteries, were, in a short time, subscribed by between three and four hundred ministers, all assenting to and approving of it.

The commissioners of the General Assembly then sitting at Edinburgh, knowing that the King was displeas'd at this proceeding, sent one of their number to speak with his Majesty; unto whom he answered, that if Mr. Black would pass from his declinature, he would pass from his summons; but this they would not consent to do. Upon which, the King caused summon Mr. Black again on the 27th of November, to the Assembly to be held on the 30th. This summons was given with sound of trumpet, and open proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh; and the next day, the commissioners of the Assembly were ordered to depart hence in twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion.

prayer, in order to a general and personal reconciliation, (they were about four hundred ministers, besides elders and private Christians.) Mr. Davidson was chosen to preside amongst them. He caused the 33d and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and discoursed upon them in a very affecting manner, shewing what was the end of their meeting, in confessing sin, and resolving to forsake it, and that they should turn to the Lord; and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that so, by repentance, they might be the more meet to stir up others to the same duty. In this he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that, within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them to these duties, the whole meeting were in tears, every one provoking another by his example, whereby, that place might have justly been called *Bochim*.

After prayer, he treated on Luke xii. 22; wherein the same assistance was given him. Before they dismissed, they solemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present. That afternoon, the Assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods.

In the General Assembly held at Dundee 1598, where the King was present, it was proposed, Whether ministers should vote in parliament in the name of the church. Mr. Davidson entreated them not to be rash in concluding so weighty a matter: he said, "Brethren, ye see not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." Being desired to give his vote, he refused; and protested, in his own name, and in the name of those who should adhere to him; and requested that his protest should be inserted in the books of Assembly. Here the King interposed, and said, "That shall not be granted; see if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, Sir," said Mr. Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then presented his protestation in writing; which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The King, taking it up, and reading it, shewed it to the Moderator and others about, and at last put it in his pocket; [see this protest, and a letter sent by him to the Assembly 1601, in Calderwood, p. 420 450.] This protest and letter was the occasion of farther trouble to him. For, in May following, he was charged to compare before the Council on the 26th, and answer for the same, and was by the King committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but, on account of bodily infirmity, this place of confinement was changed to his own dwelling-house; after which, he obtained liberty to exercise his office in his own parish. When the King was going for England in 1503, as he was passing through Prestonpans, the Laird of Ormiston entreated him to relieve Mr. Davidson from his confinement to the bounds of his own parish; but this could not be obtained. He likewise, in some instances, shewed that he was possessed, in a considerable measure, of the spirit of prophecy. He was, while in Preston, very anxious about the building of a church in that parish; and had, by his own private interest, contributed liberally to it. Lord Newbattle having considerable interest in that parish, likewise promised his assistance, but afterwards receded from his engagements; upon which Mr. Davidson told him, that these walls that were begun should stand as a witness against him; and that ere long God should root him out of that parish, so that he should not have one bit of land in the same; which was afterwards accomplished. At ano-

ther time, being Moderator of the synod of Lothian, Mr. John Spottiswood minister at Calder, and Mr. James Law minister at Kirkliston, were brought before them, for playing at the foot-ball on the Sabbath. Mr. Davidson urged, that they might be deposed; but the synod, because of the tenuousness of the ministers present, &c. agreed that they should be rebuked; which, having accordingly done, he returned to his brethren, and said, "Now, let me tell you what reward you shall have for your enmity: these two men shall trample on your necks, and on the necks of the ministers of Scotland." How true this proved, was afterwards too well known, when Spottiswood was made Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Law of Glasgow. Being at dinner one time with Mr. Bruce, who was then in great favour with the King, he told him, he should soon be as great discredit; which was likewise accomplished. At another time, when dining in the house of one of the magistrates of Edinburgh with Mr. Bruce, in giving thanks, he brake forth in these words, "Lord, his good man hath respect, for thy sake, to thy servants; but he little knoweth, that in a short time he shall carry us both to prison;" which afterwards came to pass; although, at the time, it grieved the bailie exceedingly. Mr. Fleming, in his Fulfilling of the Scriptures, relates another remarkable instance of this kind.—A gentleman nearly related to a great family in that parish, but a most violent hater of true piety, did, on that account, beat a poor man who lived there, although he had no manner of provocation. Among other strokes which he gave him, he gave him one on the back, saying, "Take that for Mr Davidson's sake." This maltreatment obliged the poor man to take his bed: he complained most of the blow which he had received on his back. In the close of his sermon, on the Sabbath following, Mr. Davidson, speaking of the oppression of the godly, and the enmity which the wicked had to such; and, in a particular manner, mentioned this last instance, saying, "It was a sad time, when a profane man would thus openly adventure to vent his rage against such as were seekers of God in the place, whilst he could have no cause but the appearance of his image;" and then said, with great boldness, "He who hath done this, were he the Laird, or the Laird's rother, ere a few days pass, God shall give him a stroke, that all the monarchs on the earth dare not challenge." Which accordingly came to pass in the close of that very same week; for this gentleman, while standing before his own door, was struck dead with lightning, and had all his bones crushed to pieces.

A little before his death, he happened occasionally to meet with Mr. Kerr, a young gentleman lately come from France, and dressed in the worst fashion. Mr. Davidson charged him to lay aside his cloak and his rapier; for, said he, "You are the man who shall succeed me in the ministry of this place;" which surprised the youth exceedingly, but was exactly accomplished; for he became an eminent and faithful minister at that place.

Such as would see more of Mr. Davidson's faithful labours in the work of the ministry, may consult the Apologetical Relation, sect. ii. p. 30. and Calderwood, p. 310—373.

MR. WILLIAM ROW.

He was a son of Mr. John Row, minister at Perth, who gave him a very liberal education under his own eye. He was settled minister at Strathmiglo, in Fife, about the year 1600, and continued there for several years.

He was one of those ministers who refused to give public thanks for the King's deliverance from his danger in Gowrie's conspiracy, until the truth of that conspiracy was made to appear. This refusal brought upon him the King's displeasure. He was summoned to appear before the King and Council at Stirling, soon after. On the day appointed for his compearance, two noblemen were sent, the one before the other, to meet him on the road; and, under pretence of friendship, to inform him, that the Council had a design upon his life, that he might be prevailed on to decline going up to the Council. The first met him near his own house, the second a few miles from Stirling; but Mr. Row told them, that he would not, by disobedience to the summons, make himself justly liable to the pains of law; and proceeded to Stirling, to the amazement of the King and his Court. When challenged for disbelieving the truth of that conspiracy, he told them, that one reason of his hesitation was, that one Henderson, who was said to have confessed that Gowrie hired him to kill the King, and to have been found armed in his Majesty's chamber for that purpose, was not only suffered to live, but rewarded: "Whereas," said he, "if I had seen the King's life in hazard, and not ventured my life to rescue him, I think I deserved not to live."

The two following anecdotes will shew what an uncommon degree of courage and resolution he possessed.

Being at Edinburgh, before the Assembly there, at which the King wanted to bring in some innovation, and meeting with Mr. James Melvill, who was sent for by the King, he accompanied him to Holyrood-house. While Mr. Melvill was with the King, Mr. Row stood behind a screen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiscovered, he overheard the King say to some of his courtiers, "This is a good simple man, I have stroked cream on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number of votes, I warrant you." This said, Mr. Row got off; and overtaking Mr. Melvill, asked him, What had passed? Mr. Melvill told him all; and said, The King is well disposed to the church, and intends to do her good by all his schemes. Mr. Row replied, The King looks upon you as a fool and a knave; and wants to use you as a coy-duck to draw in others; and told him what he had overheard. Mr. Melvill suspecting the truth of this report, Mr. Row offered to go with him, and avouch it to the King's face. Accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Mr. Melvill seeing Mr. Row as forward to go in as he was, believed his report, and stopped him: and next day, when the Assembly proceeded to voting, Mr. Melvill having voted against what the King proponed, his Majesty would not believe that such was his vote, till he, being asked again, did repeat it.

Again, he being to open the syond of Perth, 1607, to which King James sent Lord Scoon, captain of his guards, to force them to accept a constant moderator; Scoon sent notice to Mr. Row, that if, in his preaching, he uttered ought against constant moderators, he should cause ten or twelve of his guards discharge their culverans at his nose; and, when

attended the sermon which preceded that synod, he stood up in a menacing posture to outbrave the preacher. But Mr. Row, no way dismayed, knowing what vices Scoon was chargeable with, particularly that he was a great belly-god, drew his picture so like the life, and condemned what was culpable in it with so much severity, that Scoon thought it to sit down, and even to cover his face. After which Mr. Row proceeded to prove, that no constant moderator ought to be suffered in the church; but knowing that Scoon understood neither Latin nor Greek, he wisely avoided naming the constant moderator in English, but always gave the Greek or Latin name for it. Sermon being ended, Scoon said to some of the nobles attending him, You see I have scared the preacher from meddling with the constant moderator; but I wonder who he spoke so much against by the name of *praestes ad vitam*. They told him, that was in Greek and Latin, the constant moderator; which so incensed him, that when Mr. Row proceeded to constitute the synod in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Scoon said, The devil a Jesus is here: and when Mr. Row called over the roll to choose their moderator after the ancient form, Scoon would have pulled it from him; but he, being a strong man, held it of Scoon with one hand, and holding the synod-roll in the other, called out the names of the members.

After this, Mr. Row was put to the horn; and on the 11th June following, he and Mr. Henry Livingstone, the moderator, were summoned before the Council, to answer for their proceedings at the synod above mentioned. Mr. Livingstone compeared, and with great difficulty obtained the favour to be warded in his own parish. But Mr. Row was refused not to compear, unless the Council would relax him from the warding, and make him free of the Scoon comptrollers, who had letters of caption to apprehend him, and to commit him to Blackness. This he refused, and a search made for him; which obliged him to abscond and lurk among his friends for a considerable time.

He was subjected to several other hardships during the remainder of his life, but still maintained that steady faithfulness and courage in the discharge of his duty, which is exemplified in the above instances, until the day of his death, of which we have no certain account.

MR. ANDREW MELVILL.

MR. MELVILL, after finishing his classical studies, went abroad, and spent, for some time, both at Poitiers in France, and at Geneva. He returned to Scotland in July 1574, after having been absent from his native country near ten years. Upon his return, the learned Beza, in a letter to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, said, "That the greatest token of affection the kirk of Geneva could shew to Scotland was, that they had suffered themselves to be spoiled of Mr. Andrew Melvill."

Soon after his return, the General Assembly appointed him to be the principal of the college of Glasgow, where he continued for some years. In 1576, the Earl of Morton being then Regent, and thinking to bring Melvill into his party, who were endeavouring to introduce Episcopacy, he offered him the parsonage of Govan, a benefice of twenty-four

chalders of grain yearly, beside what he enjoyed as Principal, providing he would not insist against the establishment of bishops; but Mr. Melvill rejected his offer with scorn.

He was afterwards transported to St. Andrews, where he served in the same station he had done at Glasgow; and was likewise a minister of that city. Here he taught the divinity class; and, as a minister, continued to witness against the encroachments then making upon the rights of the church of Christ.

When the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, in 1582, Mr. Melvill inveighed against the absolute authority, which was making its way into the church; whereby, he said, they intended to pull the crown from Christ's head, and wrest the sceptre out of his hand; and when several articles, of the same tenor with his speech, were presented by the commission of the Assembly, to the King and Council, craving redress, the Earl of Arthan cried out, "Is there any here that dare subscribe these articles?" Mr. Melvill went forward and said, "We dare, and will render our lives in the cause;" and then took up the pen and subscribed. We do not find that any disagreeable consequences ensued at this time.

But in the beginning of February 1584, he was summoned to appear before the Secret Council, on the 11th of that month, to answer for some things said by him in a sermon on a fast-day, from Dan. iv. At his first compearance, he made a verbal defence; but being again called, he gave in a declaration, with a declinature, importing, that he had said nothing, either in that or any other sermon, tending to dishonour the King; but had regularly prayed for the preservation and prosperity of his Majesty: That, as by acts of parliament and laws of the church, he should be tried for his doctrine by the church, he therefore protested for, and craved a trial by them; and particularly in the place (St. Andrews) where the offence was alleged to have been committed: That as there were special laws in favour of St. Andrews, to the above import, he particularly claimed the privilege of them. He farther protested, that what he had said was warranted by the word of God; that he appealed to the congregation who heard the sermon; that he craved to know his accusers; that, if the calumny was found to be false, the informers might be punished; that the rank and character of the informer might be considered, &c. After which, he gave an account of the sermon in question; alleging that his meaning had been misunderstood, and his words perverted.

When he had closed his Defence, the King, and the Earl of Arran, who was then Chancellor, raged exceedingly against him. Mr. Melvill remained undisquieted; and replied, that they were too bold, in a constituted Christian kirk, to pass by the pastors, &c. and to take upon them to judge the doctrine, and controul the messengers, of a greater than any present. "That you may see your rashness in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do, (taking out a small Hebrew Bible, and laying it down before them,) there are," said he, "my instructions and warrant,—see if any of you can controul me, that I have passed my injunctions." The Chancellor, opening the book, put it into the King's hand, saying, "Sire, he scorneth your Majesty and the Council." "Nay," said Mr. Melvill, "I scorn not, but I am in good earnest." He was, in the time of this debate, frequently removed, and instantly recalled, that he might not have time to consult with his friends. They proceeded against him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the

usage. Though the whole train of evidence, which was led, proved clear or nothing against him, yet they resolved to involve him in troubles, because he had declined their authority, as incompetent judges of doctrine, and therefore remitted him to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, according to the King's will. Being informed, that, if he entered into ward, he would not be released, unless it should be to bring him to the scaffold; that the decree of the Council was altered, and Blackness was appointed for his prison, which was kept by some dependents on the Earl of Arran, he resolved to get out of the country. A macer gave him a message, to enter Blackness in twenty-four hours; and, in the mean while, some of Arran's horsemen were attending at the west-port to convey him thither: but, by the time he should have entered Blackness, he had fled to Berwick. Mess. Lawson and Balcanquhal gave him the good character he deserved, and prayed earnestly for him in public, in Edinburgh; which both moved the people and galled the Court exceedingly. After the storm had abated, he returned to St. Andrews in 1586, when the Synod of Fife had excommunicated P. Adamson, pretended Bishop of St. Andrews, on account of some immoralities. He (Adamson) having drawn up the form of an excommunication against Mess. Andrew and James Melvills, and sent out a boy, with some of his own creatures, to the kirk to read it, but the people paying no regard to it,

Bishop, though both suspended and excommunicated, would himself go to the pulpit to preach; whereupon some gentlemen, and others in Edinburgh, convened in the new college to hear Mr. Melvill. But the Bishop being informed, that they were assembled on purpose to put him out of the pulpit, and hang him; for fear of which, he called his friends together, and betook himself to the steeple; but at the entreaty of the magistrates and others, he retired home.

This difference with the Bishop brought the Melvills again before the Council and Council, who, pretending that there was no other method to settle that quarrel, ordained Mr. Andrew to be confined to the Mearns, Mearns, &c. under pretext that he would be useful in that country in removing Papists. And, because of his sickly condition, Mr. James was sent back to the new college; and the university sending the Dean of Faculty, and the masters, with supplication to the King in Mr. Andrew's behalf, he was suffered to return; but was not restored to his place and office until the month of August following.

The next winter, he laboured to give the students in divinity, under his care, a thorough knowledge of the discipline and government of the church; which was attended with considerable success. The spacious arguments of Episcopacy vanished, and the serious part, both of the Council and university repaired to the college to hear him, and Mr. Robert Bruce, who began preaching about this time.

After this he was chosen moderator in some subsequent Assemblies of the church; in which several acts were made in favour of religion, as continued in that period.

When the King brought home his Queen from Denmark, in 1590, Mr. Melvill made an excellent oration upon the occasion, in Latin; which so pleased the King, that he publicly declared, he had therein both honoured him and his country, and that he should never be forgot; yet it was the instability of this prince, that, in a little after this, because Mr. Melvill opposed himself unto his arbitrary measures, in grasping

after an absolute authority over the church,* he conceived a daily
against him ever after, as will appear from the sequel.

When Mr. Melvill went, with some other ministers, to the Court of Estates, at Falkland, in 1596, wherein they intended to bring the excommunicated lords who were then in exile, and that had a commission from last Assembly to watch against every im-
danger that might threaten the church; yet, whenever he appeared the head of the ministers, the King asked him, Who sent for him? To which he resolutely answered, "Sire, I have a call to come from Christ and his church, who have a special concern in what ye are doing here, and in direct opposition to whom ye are all here assembled, but, be ye assured, that no counsel taken against him shall prosper. I charge you, Sire, in his name, that you, nor your Estates hereafter, favour not God's enemies, whom he hateth."—After he had said this, turning himself to the rest of the members, he told them, that they were assembled with a traitorous design against Christ, his church, and their native country. In the midst of this speech, he was commanded by the King to withdraw.

The Commission of the General Assembly was now sitting, understanding how matters were going on at the Convention, the some of their members, among whom Mr. Melvill was one, to ex-
late with the King. When they came, he received them in his
Mr. James Melvill being first in the commission, told the King his errand; upon which he appeared angry, and charged them with sedition &c. Mr. James, being a man of cool passion and genteel behaviour, began to answer the King with great reverence and respect; but Andrew, interrupting him, said, "This is not a time to flatter, I speak plainly, for our commission is from the living God, to whom the King is subject;" and then, approaching the King, said, "Sire, we always humbly reverence your Majesty in public; but having opportunity of being with your Majesty in private, we must discharge our duty or else be enemies to Christ: And now, Sire, I must tell you, that there are two kingdoms, the kingdom of Christ, which is the church, the subject King James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a head or a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called, and commanded to watch over his church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority, and power from him so to do, which no earthly King nor Prince should controul or discharge, but assist and support, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ; and, Sire, you was in your swaddling clothes, Christ reigned freely in this world, in spite of all his enemies, his officers and ministers were convened ruling his church, which was ever for your welfare, &c. Will you challenge your best servants, your best and most faithful subjects convening together, and for the care they have of their duty to God and you? &c. The wisdom of your Council is, that you may be served with all sorts of men, that you may come to your purpose; and because the ministers and Protestants of Scotland are strong, they must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a party against them; but,

* Bennet, in his Memorial, says, that while he (James) grasped at arbitrary power which he discovered an inclination through the whole of his reign, it has been observed and not without good reason, that he made himself mean and contemptible to the world abroad, though affecting to swagger over his parliament and people at home which he did in a manner that was far from making or shewing him great.

his is not the wisdom of God, and his curse must light upon it; whereas in cleaving to God, his servants shall be your true friends, and he shall compel the rest to serve you." There is little difficulty to conjecture how this discourse was relished by the King; however, he kept his temper, and promised fair things to them for the present; but it was the word of him, whose standard maxim was, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, "He that knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign." In this sentiment, unworthy the meanest among men, he gloried, and made it his constant rule of conduct; for in the Assembly at Dundee, in 1598, Mr. Melvill being there, he discharged him from the Assembly, and would not suffer business to go on till he was removed.

There are other instances of the magnanimity of this faithful witness of Christ, which are worthy of notice. In 1606, when he, and seven of his brethren, who stood most in the way of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called up to England, under pretence of having a hearing granted by the King, &c. with respect to religion, but rather to be kept out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until Episcopacy should be better established in this kingdom. Soon after their arrival, they were examined by the King and Council, at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September, concerning the lawfulness of the late Assembly at Aberdeen. The King, in particular, asked Mr. Melvill, whether a few clergy, meeting without Moderator or Clerk, could make an Assembly? He replied, there was no number limited by law; that fewness of number was no argument against the legality of the court; especially when the promise was, in God's word, given to two or three convened in the name of Christ; that the meeting was ordinary, established by his Majesty's laws. The rest of the ministers delivered themselves to the same purpose; after which Mr. Melvill, with his usual freedom of speech, supported the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen; recounted the wrongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was a witness himself: he blamed the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was then present, for favouring Popery, and mal-treating the ministers; so that the accuser of the brethren could not have done more against the saints of God than had been done. The Prelatists were encouraged, though some of them were promoting the interest of Popery with all their might; and the faithful servants of Christ were shut up in prison: and, addressing the Advocate personally, he added, "Still you think all this is not enough, but continue to persecute the brethren with the same spirit you did in Scotland." After some conversation betwixt the King and Archbishop of Canterbury, they were dismissed, with the applause of many present, for their bold and steady defence of the cause of God and truth, for they had been much misrepresented to the English. They had scarce retired from before the King, until they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor come near the King's, Queen's, or Prince's Court, without special license, and being called for. A few days after, they were again called to Court, and examined before a select number of the Scots nobility; where, after Mr. James Melvill's examination,* Mr. Andrew being called, told them plainly, "That they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for the freedom of their country, and the gospel

* Mr. James Melvill was confined at last to Berwick, where he ended his days, Jan. 1614.

which they were betraying and overturning." But night drawing on they were dismissed.

Another instance of his resolution is, that, when called before the Council for having made a Latin epigram,* upon seeing the King and Queen making an offering at the altar, (whereon were two books, two basons, and two candlesticks, with two unlighted candles, it being a day kept in honour of St. Michael, when he appeared, he avowed the verses, and said, "He was much moved with indignation at such vanity and superstition in a Christian church, under a Christian King, born and brought up under the pure light of the gospel, and especially before idolators, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the hearts of true professors." The Bishop of Canterbury began to speak, but Mr. Melvill charged him with breach of the Lord's day, with imprisoning, silencing and bearing down of faithful ministers, and with upholding Antichristian hierarchy and Popish ceremonies; and, shaking the white steeve of his rochet, he called them Romish rags; and told him, that he was an avowed enemy to all the reformed churches in Europe; and therefore he (Mr. Melvill) would profess himself an enemy to him in all such proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of his blood; and said, he was grieved to the heart to see such a man have the King's ear, and sit so high in that honourable Council. He also charged Bishop Barlow with having said, after the conference at Hampton Court, that the King had said he was in the church of Scotland, but not of it; and wondered that he was suffered to go unpunished, for making the King of no religion. He refuted his sermon, which had been preached before, and was at last removed; and order was given to Dr. Overwall, Dean of St. Paul's, to receive him to his house, there to remain, with injunctions not to let any have access to him, till his Majesty's pleasure was signified. Next year he was ordered from the Dean's house to the Bishop of Winchester's, where, not being so strictly guarded, he sometimes kept company with his brethren; but was at last committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for the space of four years.

While he was in the Tower, a gentleman of his acquaintance got access to him, and found him very pensive and melancholy concerning the prevailing defections among many of the ministers of Scotland; and, having lately got account of their proceedings at the General Assembly held at Glasgow, in 1610, where the Earl of Dunbar had an active hand in corrupting many with money, the gentleman, desiring to know what word he had to send to his native country, got no answer at first; but upon a second inquiry, he said, "I have no word to send, but am heavily grieved, that the glorious government of the church of Scotland should be so defaced, and a Popish tyrannical one set up; and thou, Manderston, (for out of that family Dunbar had sprung,) hadst thou no other thing to do, but to carry such commissions down to Scotland, whereby the poor church is wrecked? the Lord shall be avenged on thee; thou shalt never have that grace to set thy foot in that kingdom again."

* The epigram is as follows.

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo, regia in arca,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum, cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausura,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suo?
Romano et ritu, dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam.

words impressed the gentleman to that degree, that he desired to attend the Court, to get some business, which was managing Dunbar's interest, expedited without any delay, being persuaded that a word of that servant of Christ should not fall to the ground; and in the case, for that Earl died at Whitehall a short time after, he was building an elegant house at Berwick, and making grand preparations for his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden.

After four years confinement, Mr. Melvill was, by the interest of the Duke of Bolloigne, released, on condition that he would go with him to the university of Sedan; where he continued, enjoying that calm retirement in his own country, but maintaining his usual conduct and faithfulness in the service of Christ, which he had done throughout of his life.

He will readily observe, that a high degree of fortitude and courage appeared in all his actions; where the honour of his Lord and his country were concerned, the fear of man made no part of his character.

Spottiswood styled the Principal Agent, or Apostle of the Presbyterians in Scotland.* He did indeed assert the rights of Presbytery to the utmost of his power against diocesan Episcopacy; he possessed a clearness of mind, and was superior to all the arts of flattery which sometimes tried with him: he was once blamed, as being too hot a temper, and replied, "If you see my fire go downward, set upon it: but if it goes upward, let it go to its own place." He died at Sedan in France, in a few years after.

MR. PATRICK SIMPSON.

SIMPSON, after having finished his academical course, spent a considerable time in retirement, which he employed in reading the best Latin classics, the ancient Christian fathers, and the history of the primitive church. Being blamed by one of his friends, for wasting his time in the study of Pagan writers, he replied, That he intended to use the house of God with these Egyptian jewels.

He was first ordained minister at Cramond, but was afterwards transferred to Stirling, where he continued until his death. He was a faithful minister, and a strenuous opposer of the lordly encroachments of Prelacy. In 1584, when an express charge, given by the King to the ministers, either to pledge Mr. Patrick Adamson as Archbishop of St. Andrews, or to lose their benefices, Mr. Simpson opposed that order with all his might, although Mr. Adamson was his uncle by the mother's side; and some of his brethren seemed willing to acquiesce in the King's command, and subscribe their submission to Adamson, so far as it was to the word of God, he rebuked them sharply, saying, It would be a sin to their consciences, seeing it was altogether absurd to submit to a decree with any human invention, when it was condemned by the word of God. A bishoprick was offered him, and an yearly pension

* Good doth not ascribe any thing of the form of Presbyterian church-government to Knox, because they admitted of superintendants in the church in his time, which was Episcopacy; but says, That Mr. Andrew Melvill brought this in, which he is pleased to call it) from Geneva, about the year 1575. Hist. p. 275. &c.

besides, from the King, in order to bring him into his designs; positively refused all, saying, That he regarded that performance as a bribe to enslave his conscience, which was dearer to him any thing whatever. He did not stop with this; but having occasion in 1598, to preach before the King, he publicly exhorted him to that he drew not the wrath of God upon himself, in patronizing a most fest breach of divine laws. Immediately after sermon, the King rose up, and charged him not to intermeddle in these matters.

When the Assembly, which was held at Aberdeen in 1604, was condemned by the state, he, in a very solemn manner, denounced the judgment of God against all such as had been concerned in distressing and imprisoning the ministers of Linlithgow, who maintained the lawfulness and justified the conduct of that Assembly, and the protestation given to the parliament in 1606; which parliament did many things to the further establishment of Prelacy. The following protestation was given by him, and delivered out of his own hands to the Earl of Dunbar.

Protestation offered to the Estates convened in Parliament at Perth, in the beginning of July, anno 1606.

“THE earnest desire of our hearts is to be faithful; and in case we would have been silent and unfaithful at this time, when the underpinning estate of Christ’s kirk craveth a duty at our hands, we should have laded up our hearts with patience, and our mouths with taciturnity, rather than to have impeached any with our admonition. But that which Christ commandeth, necessity urgeth, and duty wringeth out of us, to be faithful office-bearers in the kirk of God, no man can justly blame providing we hold ourselves within the bounds of that Christian moderation, which followeth God, without injury done to any man, especially these whom God hath lapped up within the skirts of his own honour and names, calling them gods upon earth.

“Now therefore, my Lords, convened in this present parliament, under the most high and excellent Majesty of our dread Sovereign, to your Honours is our exhortation, that ye would endeavour, with all seriousness of heart, love and zeal, to advance the building of the house of God; reserving always unto the Lord’s own hand, that glory which will communicate neither with man nor angel, viz. to prescribe from holy mountain, a lively pattern, according to which his own tabernacle should be formed. Remembering always, that there is no absolute undoubted authority in this world, excepting the sovereign authority of Christ, the king, to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the kirk, according to the good pleasure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to save his kirk, by the merit of his own sufferings. All other authority so intruded within the marches of divine commandment, that the kirk overpassing of the bounds set by God himself, bringeth men under fearful expectation of temporal and eternal judgments. For this cause, my Lords, let that authority of your meeting in this present parliament be like the ocean, which, as it is greatest of all other waters, so it containeth itself better within the coasts and limits appointed by God, than any rivers of fresh running water have done.

“Next, remember that God hath sent you to be nursing fathers to the kirk, craving of your hands, that ye would maintain and advance, your authority, that kirk which the Lord hath fashioned, by the unco-

ited work of his own new creation, as the prophet speaketh, *He hath*
not *made* *us* *ourselves*; but that ye should presume to fashion and
 be a new portraiture of a kirk, and a new form of divine service,
 which God in his word hath not before allowed; because, that were you
 extend your authority farther than the calling ye have of God doth
 permit, as namely, if ye should (as God forbid) authorize the authority
 of bishops, and their pre-eminence above their brethren, ye should bring
 to the kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the ex-
 perience of preceding ages hath testified to be the ground of great idle-
 ness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shame-
 less ambition, in the kirk of God. And, finally, to have been the ground
 of that Antichristian hierarchy, which mounteth up on the steps of pre-
 eminence of bishops, until that man of sin came forth, as the ripe fruit of
 man's wisdom, whom God shall consume with the breath of his own
 mouth. Let the sword of God pierce that belly, which brought forth
 such a monster; and let the staff of God crush that egg, which hath
 hatched such a cockatrice; and let not only that Roman Antichrist be
 thrown down from the high bench of his usurped authority, but also let
 all the steps, whereby he mounted up to that unlawful pre-eminence, be
 cut down, and utterly abolished in this land.

"Above all things, my Lords, beware to strive against God, with an
 open and displayed banner, by building up again the walls of Jericho,
 which the Lord hath not only cast down, but hath also laid them under
 a horrible interdiction and execration; so that the building of them again
 must needs stand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifying
 of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelite, in the days of Ahab: for he had no-
 thing but the interdiction of Joshua, and the curse pronounced by him, to
 stay him from the building again of Jericho; but the noblemen and states
 of this realm have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themselves,
 and subscribed with their own hands, in the Confession of Faith, called
 the King's Majesty's, published oftener than once or twice, subscribed
 and sworn by his most excellent Majesty, and by his Highness, the nobil-
 ity, estates, and whole subjects of this realm, to hold them back from set-
 ting up the dominion of bishops: because it is of verity, that they sub-
 scribed and swore the said confession, containing, not only the main-
 tenance of the doctrine, but also of the discipline professed within the
 realm of Scotland.

"Consider also, that this work cannot be set forward, without the
 great disorder of the gospel, defamation of many preachers, and evident
 loss of the people's souls, committed to our charge. For the
 people are brought almost to the like case, as they were in Syria, Arabia,
 and Egypt, about the 600th year of our Lord, when the people were so
 taken and brangled with contrary doctrines; some affirming, and others
 denying, the opinion of Eutyches, that in the end they lost all assured
 possession of true religion; and within short time thereafter, did cast the
 doors of their hearts open to the peril, to receive that vile and blasphema-
 tious doctrine of Mahomet; even so the people in this land are cast into such
 confusion, to hear the preachers, who damned so openly this stately pre-
 eminence of bishops, and then, within a few years after, accept the same
 pomp, and superiority, in their own persons, which they before
 condemned in others, that the people know not what way to incline, and
 the end will become so doubtful, in matters of religion and doctrine,

that their hearts will be like an open tavern, patent to every guest who chooses to come in.

“ We beseech your Honours to ponder this in the balance of a good and prudent mind, and suffer not the gospel to be slandered by the behaviour of a few preachers, of whom we are bold to affirm, that they go forward in this defection, not only abusing and appropriating the name of bishops to themselves, which is common to all the pastors of God’s kirk; but also taking upon themselves such offices, that carry upon them the ordinary charge of governing the civil affairs of the country, neglecting their flocks, and seeking to subordinate their brethren to their jurisdiction; if any of them, we say, be found to step forward in this cause of defection, they are more worthy, as rotten members of the church, than to have superiority and dominion over their brethren within the house of God.

“ This pre-eminence of bishops is that Dagon, which once stood before the ark of God in this land, and no band of iron shall be able to hold him up again. This is that pattern of that altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountain; and therefore compare it with it, as it did with that altar of Damascus; it came last to the temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ is inferior to this pre-eminence of bishops, and shall consist and stand in the house of God, when this new fashion of the altar shall go to the wall.

“ Remember, my Lords, that in times past your authority was against Christ, and not against him. Ye followed the light of God, and not against it; and, like a child in the mother’s hand, ye said to the Lord, *draw us after thee*. God forbid that ye should now leave off, and run away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presuming to follow him whom the Father hath appointed to be leader of you; and far to trail the holy ordinances of Christ by the cords of your authority, and the heels of the ordinances of men.

“ And albeit your Honours have no such intention to do any thing which may impair the honour of Christ’s kingdom; yet remember, that spiritual darkness, flowing from a very small beginning, doth so insensibly and thrust itself into the house of God, as men can hardly discern what secret means the light was dimmed, and darkness creeping in the upper hand; and in the end, at unawares, all was involved in a cloud of horrible apostasy.

“ And lest any should think this our admonition out of time, inasmuch as it is statute and ordained already by his Majesty, with advice of the estates in parliament, that all ministers, provided to prelacies, should vote in parliament; as likewise, the General Assembly (his Majesty’s present thereat) hath found the same lawful and expedient, we humbly and earnestly beseech all such to consider,

“ *First*, That the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the office-bearers and thereof, neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution, or alteration, besides the prescript of his holy word, by any innovations or doings of men, civil or ecclesiastical. And we are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourselves to prove, that this bishoprick erected, is against the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons of the kirk, the modern most learned and godly divines, the doctrine and constitution of the kirk of Scotland, since the first reformation of religion within the same country, the laws of the realm, ratifying the government of the kirk by the general and provincial assemblies,

ries and sessions; also against the well and honour of the king's & excellent Majesty, the well and honour of the realm, and quietness thereof; the established estate and well of the kirk, in the doctrine, discipline, and patrimony thereof; the well and honour of your Lordships, most ancient estate of this realm; and finally, against the well of all, every one, the good subjects thereof, in soul, body, and substance.

Next, That the act of parliament granting vote in parliament to ministers, is with a special provision, that nothing thereby be derogatory or prejudicial to the present established discipline of the kirk, and edification thereof, in general and synodical assemblies, presbyteries, sessions.

Thirdly and Lastly, The General Assembly, (his Majesty sitting voted and consenting therein,) tearing the corruption of that office, hath inscribed and bounded the same with a number of cautions; all which, together with such others as shall be concluded upon by the Assembly, were thought expedient to be inserted in the body of the act of parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in parliament, as most necessary and substantial parts of the same. And the General Assembly hath not agreed to give thereunto the name of bishops, for fear of importing the old corruption, pomp, and tyranny, of Papal bishops, but ordained them to be called commissioners for the kirk to sit in parliament. And it is of verity, that according to these cautions, never have these men, now called bishops, entered to that office of commissioner to vote in parliament, neither since their ingyring have they behaved themselves therein. And therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall hold that great court of parliament to judge both the quick and the dead, at his glorious manifestation; and in name of the kirk in general, so happily and well established within this realm, and whereof the said realm hath reaped the comfortable peace and unity, since from heresy, schism, and dissension, these forty-six years by past; and in name of our presbyteries, from which we have our commission; and in our own names, office-bearers and pastors within the same for discharging of our necessary duty, and disburdening of our consciences particular; we except and protest against the said bishopricks and bishops, and the erection, or confirmation, or ratification thereof, at this present parliament; most humbly craving that this our protestation may be admitted by your Honours, and registered among the statutes and acts of the same, in case (as God forbid) these bishopricks be erected, or confirmed therein."

The above Protestation was subscribed by the following Ministers.

Messrs. Andrew Melvill, James Melvill, William Scott, James Ross, James Carmichael, John Gillespie, William Erskine, Colin Campbell, James Muirhead, John Mitchell, John Davidson, John Coldon, John Methy, James Davidson, Adam Bannatyne, John Row, William Bannan, John Kennedy, John Ogilvie, John Scrimgeour, John Malcom, James Burden, Isaac Blackfoord, Isaac Strachan, James Row, James Row, Robert Merser, Edmund Myles, John French, Patrick Simpson, John Dykes, William Young, William Cooper, William Keith, John Duncan, James Merser, Robert Colvill, William Hog, Robert Wallace, David Barclay, John Weemes, William Cranston.

Mr. Simpson was not more distinguished for zeal in the cause of than for piety and an exemplary life, which had a happy effect on people with whom he stood connected. He was in a very eminent degree blessed with the spirit and return of prayer; the following, testified by old Mr. Row of Carnock, shews how much of the divine tenance he had in this duty.—His wife, Martha Barron, a very singular piety, fell sick, and, under her indisposition, was strongly tempted by the common enemy of salvation, suggesting to her, that she should be delivered up to him; which soon brought her into a very bad condition, and continued for some time increasing; she broke out into very dreadful expressions.—She was in one of these fits of despondency Sabbath morning, when Mr. Simpson was going to preach; but he, unconsciously troubled at her condition, and went to prayer, which he did not notice of. After he had done, he turned to the company present, and said, that they who had been witnesses to that sad hour, should praise the gracious work of God on her, and that the devil's malice against that poor woman should have a shameful foil. On a Tuesday about day-break, he went into his garden as private as possible to see Helen Gardiner, wife to one of the bailies of the town, a godly woman who had sat up that night with Mrs. Simpson, being concerned in her melancholy condition he was in, climbed over the garden wall to see him in this retirement; but, coming near the place where he was, he was terrified with a noise which she heard, as of the rushing of many people together, with a most melodious sound intermixed: she fell on her knees, and prayed that the Lord would pardon her rashness, and her regard for his servant had caused. Afterwards, she went to her husband and found him lying on the ground: she entreated him to tell her what had happened unto him, and, after many promises of secrecy, he consented to the obligation that she should not reveal it in his lifetime, but, if she should see him, she should be at liberty, he then said, "O! what am I! I am dust and ashes! that holy ministering spirits should be sent with their tongues to me!" And then told her, that he had had a vision, of angels, and that he had an audible answer from the Lord, respecting his wife's condition, and then, returning to the house, he said to the people who were present, "Be of good comfort, for I am sure, that ere ten hours of that brand shall be plucked out of the fire." After which he continued in prayer, at his wife's bed-side.—She continued for some time upon his mentioning Jacob wrestling with God, she sat up and drew the curtain aside, and said, "Thou art this day a Jacob, who has wrestled and hast prevailed; and now God hath made good his promise which he spoke this morning to you, for I am plucked out of the power of Satan, and he shall have no power over me." This interrupted him silent for a little; but afterwards, with great melting of heart, he proceeded in prayers, and magnified the riches of grace to God. From that hour she continued to utter nothing but the language of praise and comfort, until her death, which was on the Friday August 13, 1601.

Mr. Simpson lived for several years after this, fervent and diligent in the work of the ministry. In 1608, when the bishops and commissioners of the General Assembly convened in the palace at Edinburgh, the ministers assembled in the kirk of the town, and chose him Moderator; after which, they spent some time in prayer, and in the use of the comforts of their former meetings. They then agreed

sonard and peace, to be given into the bishops, &c. This
 and some others did in the name of the rest; but the bishops
 went to the next Assembly, and in the mean time took all
 means to strengthen their own party, which they effected.
 The noblemen and bishops came to Scirling, after dissolving
 it. In preaching before them, he openly charged the bishops
 with gross defection. They hesitated for some time, whether
 to delate him, or compound the matter; but, after delibera-
 tion, they dropped the affair altogether for the present. There is no reason
 to think he would have been subjected to the same sufferings with
 some of his brethren, had he lived; but before the cope-stone was
 laid in Scotland, he had entered into the joy of his Lord.
 He died on the 16th of March, 1618, which was about four months before the Perth
 Assembly, when the five articles were agreed upon,* he said, that
 he would put an end to all his troubles; and he accordingly died
 in a pious manner, blessing the Lord that he had not been perverted by
 the snares of these times; and said, As the Lord had said to
 Job, *Widerness, so, in some respects, he had dealt with him all
 his life.*

Mr. Simpson's History of the church for the space of about ten centuries,
 and some other little tracts, besides a History of the Councils, of
 which are nearly out of print altogether. Upon some of his
 sermons he has written, "Remember, O my soul, and never forget the
 Lord, who has given thee that consolation the Lord gave thee, and how he performed
 it according to Zech. iii. 2. *Is not this a brand plucked out of
 the fire?*"

MR. ANDREW DUNCAN.

MR. DUNCAN was settled minister at Craill in Fife, and was
 summoned before the High Commission Court at St. Andrews,
 in account of his faithfulness in opposing the five articles of
 the first time of his comparance, he declined their authority;
 and he adhered to his former delineature; upon which the
 High Commission Court passed the sentence of deposition against him,
 and commanded him to enter himself in ward at Dundee. After the sen-
 tence pronounced, he gave in a protestation, which was as follows:
 "I have done nothing of this business, whereof I have been
 accused; but have been serving Jesus Christ, my Master, in re-
 sponse to his simplicity and righteousness of heart, I protest, seeing ye
 are wrong, for a remedy at God's hand, the righteous Judge;
 and before his dreadful judgment-seat, to be censured and
 punished for my unrighteous dealings, at such a time as his Majesty shall
 please; and in the mean time decline this your judgment
 sentence, and appeal to the Ordinary Assembly of the church,
 which shall be produced in writ. Pity yourselves for the Lord's
 sake, and for your own dear souls, I beseech you, for Esau's pottage: re-
 member, who was cast away by the deceit of the wages of un-
 righteousness."

* At the communion. 1. Private communion. Private baptis-
 m. 2. Confirmation of children.

righteousness; forget not how miserable Judas was, who set himself for a trifle of money, that never did him good. Better be pined to death by hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth, to perish for ever, and never be recovered, so long as the days of heaven shall last, and the years of eternity shall endure. Why should ye distress your own brethren, sons and servants of the Lord Jesus? This is not he doing of the shepherds of the flock of Christ: if ye will not regard your souls nor consciences, look. I beseech you, to your fame: why will ye be miserable both in this life and in the life to come?"

When the Bishop of St. Andrews had read some few lines of this admonition, he cast it from him; the bishop of Dumblane took it up, and reading it, said, he calls them Esaus, Balaams, and Judas. "Not so," said Mr. Duncan, "read again, beware that ye be not like them." In the space of a month after, he was deposed for non-conformity.

In July 1621, he presented a large supplication, in name of himself, and some of his faithful brethren, who had been excluded the General Assembly, to Sir George Hay, Clerk-register, on which account he was in a few days after apprehended by the captain of the guards, and brought before the Council, who accused him for breaking ward, after he was suspended and confined to Dundee, because he had preached the week before at Craill. Mr. Duncan denied that he had been put to the horn; and as for breaking ward, he said, That for the sake of obedience, he staid at Dundee, separated from a wife and six children for half a year, and the winter approaching, forced him to go home. In the end, he requested them not to imprison him on his own charges; but the sentence had been resolved on before he compared. He was conveyed to Dumbarton castle next day; some say to Blackness castle: here he remained until October thereafter, when he was again brought before the Council, and by them was confined to Kilrennie, upon his own charges. This was a parish neighbouring to his own.

Upon another occasion, of the same nature with this just now narrated, this worthy man was banished out of the kingdom, and went to settle at Berwick; but having several children, and his wife big with another, they were reduced to great hardships, being obliged to part with their servant, having scarcely subsistence sufficient for themselves. One night in particular, the children asking for bread, and there being none to give them, they cried very sore; the mother was likewise much depressed in spirit, for Mr. Duncan had resource sometimes to prayer, and in the intervals endeavoured to cherish his wife's hope, and please the children, and at last got them to bed; but she continued to mourn heavily. He exhorted her to wait patiently upon God, who was now trying them, but would undoubtedly provide for them; and added, that if the Lord should rain down bread from heaven, they should not want. This confidence was the more remarkable, because they had neither friend nor acquaintance in that place to whom they could make their case known. And yet before morning, a man brought them a sackful of provision, and went off, without telling them from whence it came, though entreated to do it. When Mr. Duncan opened the sack, he found in it a bag with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves of bread, a bag of flour, another of barley, and such like provisions; and having brought the whole to his wife, he said, "See what a good Master I serve." After this she hired a servant again, but was soon reduced to a new extremity; the pains of child-bearing came upon her before she could make any provision for

very ; but Providence interposed in their behalf at this time also. He traveled in the night-season, and the good man knew not how to apply for a mid-wife, a gentlewoman came early in the morning to the door ; and having sent her servant back with the horse, when she was to return, she went in, and asked the maid of the house mistress was, and desired access to her, which she obtained. She kindled a good fire to be made, and ordered Mrs. Duncan to rise, without any other assistance than the house afforded, she delivered and afterwards accommodated Mrs. Duncan and the child with pieces of very fine linen, which she had brought along with her. She gave her likewise a box, containing some necessary cordials, and five ounces of gold, bidding them both be of good comfort, for they should not be long. After which, she went away on the horse, which was by this time returned for her ; but would not tell her name, nor from whence she came.

He did God take his own servant under his immediate care and protection, when men had wrongfully excluded him from enjoying his comfort : He continued zealous and steadfast in the faith, and, notwithstanding of his wife, his conduct was uniform with the circumstances of the foregoing narrative.

The following is a literal copy of the last will and testament of Mr. Andrew Duncan

Andrew Duncan, a sinful wight, Christ's unworthy minister in his gospel, being sickly and weak, worn with years, and heaviness of mind in this pilgrimage, and being now weary of this loathsome prison, weary of death, because of sin ; and having received sundry advertisements and summonses of my Master, to flit out of this uncouth country region of death, home to my native land ; and now sitting upon my son-door threshold, ready to obey, waiting till the sad messenger should come to convey me home to that glorious palace, even the heavenly Jerusalem, that may enter into possession of my heritage, even that kingdom of eternity, which Christ came down from heaven to purchase for me and they went up to prepare and possess it in my name, as my attorney, until it pleased his Majesty to take me thither, and may in my own person possess it.

I do hereby declare the declaration of my latter will, concerning these things, which God hath let me in this world, in manner following.—First, as touching myself, body and soul : my soul I leave to Christ Jesus, who purchased and where it was lost, redeemed it, that he may send his holy Spirit to transport to the bosom of Abraham, there to enjoy all happiness and contentment ; and as for this frail body, I commend it to the Lord, there to sleep and rest, as in a sweet bed, until the day of refreshment when it shall be re-united to the soul, and shall be set down at the right hand with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles ; yea, shall be seated with the throne with Christ, and get on the crown of glory on my head. As for the children whom God hath given me, (for which I thank his Majesty,) I leave them to his providence to be governed and directed by him, seeking him to be the tutor, curator, and agent, in their education, yea and a father ; and that he would lead them, by his Holy Spirit, through this evil world ; that they be profitable instruments in his kingdom commonwealth, to set out his glory ; beseeching his Majesty, (as they would have God's blessing, and mine for their affairs,) set him before their eyes, and to walk in his ways,

living peaceably in his fear, in all humility and meekness, with all those they have ado with: holding their course to heaven and comforting themselves with the glorious and fair re-look and heritage, which Christ hath conquered to them, and to all that love him. Under God, I leave Mr. John Duncan, my eldest son, to be tutor to my youngest daughter, Bessie Duncan, his youngest sister, to take care of her, and to see that all turns go right, touching her person and gear. My executors, I leave my three sons, Mr. John, William, and David Duncans, to o my turns after me, and to put in practice my directions; requesting hem to be good and comfortable to their sisters, but chiefly to the two that are at home, as they would have God's blessing and mine. As concerning my temporal goods, the baggage and blatherie of the earth, as have gotten them in the world of God's liberal hand, so I leave them behind me in the world; giving most humble and hearty thanks unto my heavenly Father for so long and comfortable lean of the same.—14th Ail, 1626.

MR. JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.

He was settled minister at Kinghorn, in Fife, an went as chaplain with King James, in 1590, to Denmark, when he brought him his Queen. He was afterwards concerned in several important affairs of the church, until that fatal year 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agreed on in an Assembly held at that place. He attended at the Assembly, and gave in some proposals, [See Calderwood's Hist. p. 28.] upon being, along with others of his faithful brethren, excluded from having a vote by the prevailing party of that Assembly.

In 1620, he was, with some others, summoned before the High Commission Court, for not preaching upon holidays, and not administering the communion conform to the agreement at Perth; with certification, if this was proven, that he should be deprived of exercising the functions of a minister in all time coming. But there being none present on the day appointed, except the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and the Isles, and Mr. Walter Whiteford, they were dismissed at that time; but were warned to compare again on the 1st of March. The bishops caused the clerk to exact their consent to deprivation, in case they did not compare against that day. Nevertheless, they all protested with one voice, that they would never willingly renounce their ministry; and such was the resolution and courage of Mr. Scrimgeour, that, notwithstanding all the threatenings of the bishops, he celebrated the communion conform to the ancient practice of the church, a few days thereafter.

On the day appointed for their next compareance the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Galloway, the Isles, Dumblane, Mr. Hewison, Commissary of Edinburgh, and Dr. Blair, being assembled in the bishop of St. Andrews lodging in Edinburgh, Mr. John Scrimgeour was again called upon to answer, and the bishop of St. Andrews alleged against him, that he had promised either to conform or quit his ministry, as he acted at his last compareance on January 26th reported: he replied, "I am sore straitened, I never saw reason to conform; and as for my ministry, it was not mine, and so I could not quit it." After long reasoning between him and the bishops, concerning church-policy and the keeping

olidays, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the
 op of St. Andrews said to him, "You are deprived of all function
 n the kirk, and ordained within six days to enter in ward at Dunoon."
 is a very summary and peremptory sentence," said Mr. Scrimgeour;
 might have been advised better, and first have heard what I would
 said." "You shall be heard," said the bishop. This brought on
 further reasoning, in the course of which Mr. Scrimgeour gave a
 ul testimony against the King's supremacy over the church, and,
 g other things, said, "I have had opportunity to reason with the
 himself on this subject, and have told him, that Christ was the
 reign, and only Director of his house; and that his Majesty was
 ct to him. I have had occasion to tell other men's matters to the
 ; and could have truly claimed this great preferment." "I tell you,
 John," said the Bishop of St. Andrews, "that the King is Pope,
 shall be so now." He replied, "That is an evil style you give
 ;" and then gave in his reasons in writ, which they read at leisure.
 rwards the Bishop of St. Andrews said to him, "Take up your
 as again; if you will not conform, I cannot help it: the King must
 obeyed, the Lords have given sentence, and will stand to it." "Ye
 not deprive me of my ministry," said Mr. Scrimgeour: "I received
 it from you: I received it from the whole Synod of Fife, and, for
 thing ye do, I will never think myself deposed." The Bishop of
 Andrews replied, "You are deprived only of the present exercise of

Then he presented the following protestation: "I protest before
 Lord Jesus, that I get manifest wrong; my reasons and allegations
 not considered and answered. I attest you to answer at his glorious
 arance, for this and such dealings; and protest, that my cause should
 been heard as I pled, and still plead and challenge. I likewise ap-
 to the Lord Jesus, his eternal word, to the King, my dread Sovereign,
 w, to the constitution of this kirk and kingdom, to the Councils and
 mbles of both; and protest, that I stand minister of the evangel,
 only by violence I am thrust from the same." "You must obey
 sentence," said the Bishop of St. Andrews. He answered, "That
 dee was far off, and he was not able for far journeys, as physicians can
 ea." And he added, "Little know ye what is in my purse." "Ye
 ken where will you choose the place of your confinement?" said the
 op. "At a little room of my own, called Bowhill, in the parish of
 herderran." Then said the Bishop, "Write, at Bowhill, during the
 's pleasure." Thus this worthy servant of Christ lived the rest of
 lays in Auchterderran. In his old age he was grievously afflicted
 the stone. He said to a godly minister, who went to see him a
 before his death, "I have been a rude stunkard all my life; and
 by this pain the Lord is humbling me, to make me as a lamb, before
 the me to himself."

e was a man something rude like in his clothing, and in some of his
 ions and behaviour; and yet was a very loving, tender-hearted
 f of a deep natural judgment; and very learned, especially in He-
 t. He often wished that most part of books were burnt, except the
 , and some short notes thereon. He had a peculiar talent for com-
 ng the dejected. He used a very familiar, but pressing manner of
 ing. He was also an eminent wrestler with God, and had more
 ordinary power and familiarity with him, as appears from the fol-
 lowing instances.

When he was minister at Kinghorn, there was a certain godly woman under his charge, who fell sick of a very lingering disease, and was all the while assaulted with strong temptations, leading her to think that she was a cast-away, notwithstanding that her whole conversation had put the reality of grace in her beyond a doubt. He often visited her while in this deep exercise; but her trouble and terrors still remained: as her dissolution drew on, her spiritual trouble increased. He went with two of his elders to her, and began first, in their presence, to comfort her, and pray with her; but she still grew worse. He ordered his elders to pray, and afterwards prayed himself, but no relief came. Then sitting pensive for a little space, he thus broke silence: "What is this! Our laying grounds of comfort before her will not do; prayer will not do: we must try another remedy. Sure I am, this is a daughter of Abraham; sure I am, she hath sent for me; and therefore, in the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus, who sent him to redeem sinners; in the name of Jesus Christ, who obeyed the Father, and came to save us; and in the name of the holy and blessed Spirit, our Quickener and Sanctifier—I, the elder, command thee, a daughter of Abraham, to be loosed from these bonds." And immediately peace and joy ensued.

Mr. Scrimgeour had several friends and children taken away by death; and his only daughter who at that time survived, and whom he dearly loved, being seized with the king's evil, by which she was reduced to the very point of death, so that he was called up to see her die; and finding her in this condition, he went out to the fields (as he himself told) in the night-time, in great grief and anxiety, and began to expostulate with the Lord, with such expressions as, for all the world, he durst not again utter. In a fit of displeasure, he said, "Thou, O Lord, knowest that I have been serving thee in the uprightness of my heart, according to my power and measure; nor have I stood in awe to declare thy mind even unto the greatest in the time, and thou seest that I take pleasure in this child. O that I could obtain such a thing at thy hand, as to spare her!" And being in great agony of spirit, at last it was said to him from the Lord, "I have heard thee at this time, but use not the like boldness in time coming, for such particulars." When he came home the child was recovered, and, sitting up in the bed, took some meat; and when he looked at her arm, it was perfectly whole.

MR. JOHN WELCH.

MR. JOHN WELCH was born a gentleman, his father being Laird of Collieston, an estate rather competent than large, in Nithsdale, about the year 1570, the dawning of our reformation being then but dark. He was a rich example of grace and mercy; but the night went before the day, being a most hopeless extravagant boy. It was not enough to him, frequently, when he was a young stripling, to run away from the school, and play the truant: but, after he had past his grammar, and was come to be a youth, he left the school and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the English border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and amongst them he staid till he spent a suit of clothes. Then when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's misery brought

him to the prodigal's resolution; so he resolved to return to his father's house, but durst not adventure till he should interpose a reconciler. In his return homeward, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, one Agnes Forsyth, and with her spent some days, earnestly entreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her house, his father came providentially to the house, to visit his cousin Mrs. Forsyth; and after they had talked a while, she asked him, Whether ever he heard any news of his son John? to her he replied with great grief, O cruel woman, how can you name him to me! The first news I expect to hear of him is, that he is hanged for a thief. She answered, Many a profligate boy had become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He insisted upon his sad complaint; but asked, Whether she knew his lost son was yet alive? She answered, Yes, he was; and she hoped he should prove a better man than he was a boy; and with that she called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beseeching his father, for Christ's sake, to pardon his misbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him, and threatened him. Yet at length, by his tears, and Mrs. Forsyth's importunities, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to send him to the college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever thereafter he should break, he said he should be content his father should disclaim him for ever: so his father carried him home, and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent student, of great expectation, and shewed himself a sincere convert; and so he proceeded to the ministry. His first settlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his ministry was rather admired by some, than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's shadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the ministers of that country were more ready to pick a quarrel with his person, than to follow his doctrine, as may appear to this day in their synodical records, where we find he had many to censure him, and only some to defend him; yet it was thought, his ministry in that place was not without fruit, though he stayed but short time there. Being a young man unmarried, he boarded himself in the house of one Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his bed-fellow, who to his dying day retained both a respect to Mr. Welch and his ministry, from the impression Mr. Welch's behaviour made upon his apprehension, though but a child. His custom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night prayers, to sit up and cover himself negligently therewith, and so to continue: for from the beginning of his ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill spent, if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy did not forget even to old age.

An old man of the name of Ewart, in Selkirk, who remembered Mr. Welch's being in that place, said, he was a type of Christ; an expression more significant than proper; for his meaning was, that he was an example that imitated Christ, as indeed in many things he did. He also said, that his custom was to preach publicly once every day, and to spend a whole time in spiritual exercises; that some in that place waited well on his ministry, with great tenderness; but that he was constrained to leave that place, because of the malice of the wicked.

The special cause of his departure was, a profane gentleman in the country, (one Scot of Headschaw, whose family is now extinct,) because Mr. Welch had either reprov'd him, or merely from hatred, Mr. Welch

was most unworthily abused by the unhappy man; and among the injuries he did him, this was one:—Mr. Welch kept always two good horses for his own use, and the wicked gentleman, when he could do no more, either with his own hand, or by his servants, cut off the rumps of the two innocent beasts; upon which they both died. Such base usage as this persuaded him to listen to a call to the ministry at Kirkcudbright, which was his next post.

But when he was to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man in all the town to transport his furniture, except only Ewart, who was at that time a poor young man, but master of two horses, with which he transported Mr. Welch's goods, and so left him; but as he took his leave, Mr. Welch gave him his blessing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to fear God, and promised he should never want; which promise providence made good through the whole course of the man's life, as was observed by all his neighbours.

At Kirkcudbright he stayed not long: but there he reaped a harvest of converts, which subsisted long after his departure, and were part of Mr. Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not his parish, while he was minister at Anworth: yet when his call to Ayr came to him, the people of the parish of Kirkcudbright never offered to detain him; so his transportation to Ayr was the more easy.

While he was at Kirkcudbright, he met with a young man in scarlet and silver lace, (the gentleman's name was Mr. Robert Glendinning,) new come home from his travels. He much surprised the young man, by telling him, he behoved to change his garb and way of life, and betake himself to the scriptures, which at that time was not his business, for he should be his successor in the ministry at Kirkcudbright; which accordingly came to pass some time thereafter.

Mr. Welch was transported to Ayr in 1590, and there continued till he was banished. There he had a very hard beginning, but a very sweet end; for when he came first to the town, the country was so wicked, and the hatred of godliness so great, that there could not one in all the town be found, who would let him a house to dwell in; so he was constrained to accommodate himself the best he might, in a part of a gentleman's house for a time: the gentleman's name was John Stuart, merchant, and sometime Provost of Ayr, an eminent Christian, and great assistant to Mr. Welch.

And when he had first taken up his residence in that town, the place was so divided into factions, and filled with bloody conflicts, that a man could hardly walk the streets with safety; wherefore Mr. Welch made it his first undertaking to remove the bloody quarrellings; but he found it a very difficult work: yet such was his earnestness to pursue his design, that many times he would rush betwixt two parties of men fighting, even in the midst of blood and wounds. He used to cover his head with a head-piece before he went to separate these bloody enemies; but would never use a sword, that they might see he came for peace, and not for war; and so, by little and little, he made the town a peaceable habitation.

His manner was, after he had ended a skirmish amongst his neighbours, and reconciled these bitter enemies, to cause cover a table upon the street, and there brought the enemies together; and, beginning with prayer, he persuaded them to profess themselves friends, then to eat and drink together; then, last of all, he ended the work with singing a psalm.

After the rude people began to observe his example, and listen to his only doctrine, he came quickly to that respect amongst them, that he was not only a necessary counsellor, without whose counsel they would do nothing, but an example to imitate.

He gave himself wholly to ministerial exercises; he preached once every week; he prayed the third part of his time; was unwearied in his studies; and for a proof of this, it was found among his papers, that he had ridged Suarez's Metaphysics, when they came first to his hand, even when he was well stricken in years. By all which it appears, that he has not only been a man of great diligence, but also of a strong and robust natural constitution, otherwise he had never endured the fatigue.

Sometimes, before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders, and bid them, he was afraid to go to the pulpit, because he found himself deserted; and thereafter desire one or more of them to pray, and when he would venture to the pulpit. But it was observed, this humble exercise used ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary instance; so near neighbours many times are contrary dispositions and humours. He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was some distance from the town, and there spend the whole night in prayer; for he used to allow his affections full expression, and prayed not only with an audible, but sometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr, before he came to it, an aged man, a minister of the town, called Porterfield. The man was judged no bad man for his moral inclinations, but so easy a disposition, that he used many times to go too great a length with his neighbours in many dangerous practices; amongst the rest, he used to go to the bow-butts and archery on the Sabbath afternoon, to Mr. Welch's great dissatisfaction. But the way used to reclaim him was not bitter severity, but this gentle policy. Mr. Welch, together with John Stuart and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, used to spend the Sabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer; and to this exercise they invited Mr. Porterfield, which he could not refuse; by which means he was not only diverted from his former sinful practice, but likewise brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour in his course of life.

While Mr. Welch was at Ayr, the Lord's day was greatly profaned, at a gentleman's house about eight miles distant from Ayr, by reason of the great confluence of people playing at the foot-ball, and other pastime. Mr. Welch writing several times to him to suppress the profanation of the Lord's day at his house, (which he slighted, not loving to be called a Papist,) Mr. Welch came one day to his gate, and called him out to him, that he had a message from God to shew him, that because he slighted the advice given him from the Lord, and would not restrain the profanation of the Lord's day committed in his bounds, therefore the Lord would cast him out of his house, and none of his posterity should inherit it; which accordingly came to pass: for although he was in a good estate situation at this time, yet henceforth all things went against him, so he was obliged to sell his estate; and when giving the purchaser possession thereof, he told his wife and children that he had found Mr. Welch a true prophet.*

He married Elisabeth Knox, daughter to the famous Mr. John Knox,

* Vide Mr. Welch's dispute with Gilbert Brown the Papist, in preface.

minister at Edinburgh; and she lived with him from his youth till his death. By her he had three sons.*

As the duty wherein Mr. Welch abounded and excelled most was in prayer, so his greatest attainments fell that way. He used to say, he wondered how a Christian could lie in bed all night, and not rise to pray; and many times he rose, and many times he watched. One night he rose from his wife, and went to the next room, where he staid so long at secret prayer, that his wife, fearing he might catch cold, was constrained to rise and follow him, and, as she hearkened, she heard him speak as by interrupted sentences, Lord, wilt thou not grant me Scotland? and, after a pause, Enough, Lord, enough; and so she returned to her bed, and he following her, not knowing she had heard him; but when he was by her, she asked him, What he meant by saying, Enough, Lord, enough? He shewed himself dissatisfied with her curiosity; but told her, he had been wrestling with the Lord for Scotland, and found there was a sad time at hand, but that the Lord would be gracious to a remnant. This was about the time when the bishops first overspread the land, and corrupted the church. This is more wonderful still: An honest minister, who was a parishioner of Mr. Welch many a day, said, "That one night, as he watched in his garden very late, and some friends waiting upon him in his house, and wearying because of his long stay, one of them chanced to open a window toward the place where he walked, and saw clearly strange light surround him, and speak strange words about his spiritual joy." But though Mr. Welch had, upon the account of his holiness, abilities, and success, acquired among his subdued people a very

* The first was called Dr. Welch, a doctor of medicine, who was unhappily killed, upon an innocent mistake in the low countries.

Another son he had most lamentably lost at sea; for when the ship in which he was, was sunk, he swam to a rock in the sea, but starved there for want of necessary food and refreshment; and when some time afterward, his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in a praying posture, upon his bended knees, with his hands stretched out; and this was all the satisfaction his friends and the world had upon his lamentable death.

Another he had, who was heir to his father's graces and blessings, and this was Mr. Josias Welch, minister at Temple-Patrick, in the north of Ireland, commonly called the cock of the conscience by the people of that country, because of his extraordinary awakening and rousing gift. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, which wrought that unparalleled work in the north of Ireland, about the year 1636; but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts about his own salvation all his time, and would ordinarily say, that minister was much to be pitied who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself. He died in his youth, and left for his successor Mr. John Welch, minister in Irongray in Galloway, the place of his grandfather's nativity. What business this made in Scotland, in the time of the late Episcopal persecution, for the space of twenty years, is known to all Scotland. He maintained his dangerous post of preaching the gospel upon the mountains of Scotland, notwithstanding of the threatenings of the state, the hatred of the bishops, the price set upon his head, and all the fierce industry of his cruel enemies. It is well known that bloody Claverhouse, upon secret information from his spies, that Mr. John Welch was to be found in some lurking place at forty miles distance, would make all that long journey in one winter's night, that he might catch him; but when he came, he missed always his prey. I never heard of a man that endured more toil, adventured upon more, or escaped so much hazard, not in the world. He used to tell his friends, who counselled him to be more cautious, and not to hazard himself so much, that he firmly believed dangerous undertakings would be his security; and that whenever he should give over that course and retire himself, his ministry should come to an end; which accordingly came to pass: for when, after the battle of Bothwell bridge, he retired to London, the Lord called him by death, and there he was honourably interred, not far from the King's palace.

great respect, yet was he never in such admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time.

And one cause was this: the magistrates of Ayr, forasmuch as this town alone was free, and the country about infected, thought fit to guard the ports with sentinels and watchmen; and one day, two travelling-merchants, each with a pack of cloth upon a horse, came to the town, leasing entrance, that they might sell their goods, producing a pass from the magistrates of the town from whence they came, which was at that time sound and free; yet, notwithstanding all this, the sentinels stopt them till the magistrates were called; and when they came, they would do nothing without their minister's advice: so Mr. Welch was called, and his opinion asked. He demurred, and putting off his hat, with his eyes toward heaven for a pretty space, though he uttered no audible words, yet continued in a praying posture; and after a little space told the magistrates, they would do well to discharge these travellers their town, affirming, with great asseveration, the plague was in these packs; so the magistrates commanded them to be gone; and they went to Cumnock, a town about twenty miles distant, and there sold their goods; which kindled such an infection in that place, that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made their people begin to think Mr. Welch as an oracle: yet, as he walked with God, and kept close with him, so he got not man, for he used frequently to dine abroad with such of his friends, as he thought were persons with whom he might maintain the communion of the saints; and once in the year, he used always to invite all his familiar acquaintances in the town, to a treat in his house, where there was a banquet of holiness and sobriety.

He continued the course of his ministry in Ayr, till King James's purpose of destroying the church of Scotland, by establishing bishops, was ripe; and then it became his duty to edify the church by his sufferings, as formerly he had done by his doctrine.

The reason why King James was so violent for bishops, was neither for divine institution, which he denied they had, nor yet the profit the church should reap by them, for he knew well both the men and their communications, but merely because he believed they were useful instruments to turn a limited monarchy into absolute dominion, and subjects into slaves; the design in the world he minded most.

Always in the pursuit of his design, he followed this method. In that place, he resolved to destroy General Assemblies, knowing well that so long as Assemblies might convene in freedom, bishops could never have their designed authority in Scotland; and the dissolution of Assemblies he brought about in this manner.

The General Assembly at Holyroodhouse, in 1602, with the King's command, indicted their meeting to be kept at Aberdeen, the last Tuesday of July 1604; and before that day came, the King by his Commissioner, the Laird of Laurieston, and Mr. Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the General Assembly, in a letter directed to the several presbyteries, commanded the meeting till the first Tuesday of July 1605, at the same place; last of all, in June 1605, the expected meeting to have been kept at Aberdeen following, is by a new letter from the King's Commissioner, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, absolutely discharged and dissolved, but without naming any day or place, for any other Assembly; and so the series of our Assemblies expired, never to revive again in the same form, till the covenant was renewed in 1638. However, many of

the godly ministers of Scotland, knowing well, if once the hedge of the government was broken, the corruption of the doctrine would soon follow, resolved not to quit their Assemblies so; and therefore a number of them convened at Aberdeen, upon the first Tuesday of July 1605, being the last day that was distinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but constitute themselves and dissolve. Among those was Mr. Welch, who, though he had not been present upon that precise day, yet because he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, was accused as guilty of the treasonable fact committed by them. So dangerous a point was the name of a General Assembly in King James's jealous judgment.

Within a month after this meeting, many of these godly men were incarcerated; some in one prison, some in another. Mr. Welch was sent first to Edinburgh tolbooth, and then to Blackness; and so from prison to prison, till he was banished to France, never to see Scotland again.

And now the scene of his life begins to alter: but, before his suffering, he had this strange warning.

After the meeting at Aberdeen was over, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night he rose from his wife, and went into his garden, as his custom was, but staid longer than ordinary, which troubled his wife, who, when he returned, expostulated with him very hard for his staying so long to wrong his health: he bid her be quiet, for it should be well with them. But he knew well he should never preach more at Ayr, and accordingly, before the next Sabbath, he was carried prisoner to Blackness castle. After that, he, with many others who had been sent to Aberdeen, were brought before the Council of Scotland at Edinburgh to answer for their rebellion and contempt, in holding a General Assembly not authorized by the King. And because they declined the Secret Council, as judges competent in causes purely spiritual, such as the nature and constitution of a General Assembly is, they were first removed to the prison at Blackness, and other places; and thereafter, six of the most considerable of them were brought under night from Blackness to Linlithgow, before the criminal judges, to answer an accusation of high treason, at the instance of Sir Thomas Hamilton, the King's Advocate, for declining, as he alleged, the King's lawful authority, in refusing to admit the Council judges competent in the cause of the nature of church-judicatories; and, after their accusation and answer was read by the verdict of a jury of very considerable gentlemen, they were condemned as guilty of high treason, the punishment deferred till the King's pleasure should be known; and thereafter their punishment was not banishment, that the cruel sentence might somewhat seem to soften the severe punishment, as the King had contrived it.

While he was in Blackness, he wrote his famous letter to Lilia Graham, Countess of Wigton; in which he utters, in the strongest terms, his consolation in suffering; his desire to be dissolved, that he might be with the Lord; the judgments he foresaw coming upon Scotland, &c. He also seems most positively to shew the true cause of their suffering and state of the testimony, in these words:

"Who am I, that he should first have called me, and then constitute me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of salvation these years already, and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom? Now, let it be so, that I have fought my fight, and run my race; as now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteousness; which

Lord, that righteous God, will give, and not to me only, but to all that his appearance, and choose to witness this, that Jesus Christ is the King of saints, and that his church is a most free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep meetings, and conventions, and assemblies; but also to judge of all affairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongst her members and members. These two points, 1. That Christ is the head of the church. That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's: these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment; being now convicted as traitors for the maintaining thereof. We have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our duty in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favourable as to honour us with that dignity; yea, I do affirm, that these two points above written, and all other things which belong to Christ's crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject, nor cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own altogether. So that I would be most glad to be set up as a sacrifice for so glorious a truth: it would be to me the most glorious day, and the gladdest hour, I ever saw in this life; but I am in his hand, to do with me whatsoever shall please his Majesty.

I am also bound and sworn, by a special covenant, to maintain the discipline and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and power, all the days of my life, under all the pains contained in the book of God, danger of body and soul, in the day of God's fearful judgment; and therefore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I speak for it, and my power defend it, according to my vocation."

He wrote about the same time to Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth. There are some prophetic expressions in that letter that merit notice.

As for that instrument, Spottiswood, we are sure the Lord will never pardon that man, but a malediction lies upon him, and shall accompany all his doings; and it may be, Sir, your eyes shall see as great confusion coming upon him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predecessors. Now, Sir, I am far from bitterness; but here I denounce the wrath of the everlasting God against him, which assuredly shall fall, except it be repented. Sir, Dagon shall not stand before the ark of the Lord; and the names of blasphemy that he wears, of Arch and Lord Bishop, shall have a fearful end. Not one beck is to be given to Haman, suppose he were as great a courtier as ever he was; suppose the decree was given and sealed with the King's ring, deliverance will come to us elsewhere, and not by him, who has been so sore an instrument, not against persons, that were nothing, (for I protest to you, Sir, in the sight of God, I forgive him all the evil he has done, or can do, to me.) but unto the poor kirk, in stamping under foot so glorious a kingdom and kingdom as was once in this land. He has helped to cut Samson's hair, and expose him to mocking; but the Lord will not be mocked. He shall be cast away as a stone out of a sling; his name shall rot; and a curse shall fall upon his posterity, after he is gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument of it, that it was told before, that when it shall come to pass, it may be seen there was warning given him: and therefore, Sir, if I have not the access myself, if it would please God to move you, I beseech you would deliver this hand-message to him, not as from me, but from the Lord."

The man of whom he complains, and threatens so sore, was Bishop Spottiswood, at that time designed Archbishop of Glasgow; and this

prophecy was punctually accomplished, though after the space of forty years: for, first the Archbishop himself died in a strange land, and, as many say, in misery; next, his son Robert Spottiswood, some time President of the Session, was beheaded by the parliament of Scotland, at the market-cross of St. Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh, to which many thousands witnessed; and as soon as ever he came upon the scaffold, Mr. Blair, the minister of the town, told him, that now Mr. Welch's prophecy was fulfilled upon him; to which he replied in anger, That Mr. Welch and he were both false prophets.

But before he left Scotland, some remarkable passages in his behaviour are to be remembered. And, first, when the dispute about church-government began to warm, as he was walking upon the street of Edinburgh betwixt two honest citizens, he told them, They had in their town two great ministers, who were no great friends to Christ's cause presently in controversy; but it should be seen the world should never hear of their repentance. The two men were Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. John Hall: and accordingly it came to pass; for Mr. Patrick Galloway died easing himself upon a stool; and Mr. John Hall, being at that time in Leith, and his servant-woman having left him alone in his house, while she went to the market, he was found dead at her return.

He was some time prisoner in Edinburgh castle before he went into exile; where, one night sitting at supper with the Lord Ochiltree, who was uncle to Mr. Welch's wife, as his manner was, he entertained the company with godly and edifying discourse, which was well received by all the company, except a debauched Popish young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked, and made wry faces; whereupon Mr. Welch broke out into a sad abrupt charge upon all the company to be silent, and observe the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, which they should presently behold; upon which the profane wretch sunk down and died beneath the table, to the great astonishment of all the company.

Another wonderful story they tell of him at the same time:—The Lord Ochiltree, the captain, being both son to the good Lord Ochiltree, and Mr. Welch's uncle-in-law, was indeed very civil to Mr. Welch; but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting Mr. Welch in his chamber, as he was one day walking in the court, and espying Mr. Welch at his chamber window, asked him kindly how he did, and if in any thing he could serve him? Mr. Welch answered him, he would earnestly entreat his Lordship, being at that time to go to court, to petition King James in his name, that he might have liberty to preach the gospel; which my Lord promised to do. Mr. Welch answered, my Lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly entreat and obtest you not to promise, except you faithfully perform. His Lordship answered, he would faithfully perform his promise; and so went for London. But though, at his first arrival, he was really purposed to present the petition to the King, when he found the King in such a rage against the godly ministers, that he durst not at that time present it; so he thought fit to delay it, and there-after entirely forgot it.

The first time that Mr. Welch saw his face after his return from Court, he asked him what he had done with his petition? His Lordship answered, he had presented it to the King, but that the King was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgotten,

he had got no answer. Nay, said Mr. Welch to him, my Lord, you could not lie to God, and to me; for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake it, except you would reform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour, your own time; which accordingly came to pass; for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated to James Stuart, son of Captain James, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

While he was detained prisoner in Edinburgh castle, his wife used for the most part to stay in his company, but upon a time fell into a longing to see her family in Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded; but when she was to take her journey, he strictly charged her not to take the ordinary way to her own house, when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to pass the river above the bridge, and so get the way to her own house, and not to come into the town; for, said he, before you come thither, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr; which accordingly came to pass.

The plague was at that time very terrible, and he being necessarily separate from his people, it was to him the more grievous; but when the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, his answer was, that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman in their town, should pray for them, and God should hear him. This counsel they accepted, and the gentleman, convening a number of the honest citizens, prayed earnestly for the town, as he was a mighty wrestler with God, and accordingly after that the plague decreased.

Now the time is come when he must leave Scotland, and never see it again. So, upon the 7th of November 1606, in the morning, he with his neighbours took ship at Leith; and though it was but two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell.* After prayer, they sung the 23d psalm, and so, to the great grief of the spectators, set sail for the south of France, and landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Within fourteen weeks after his arrival, such was the Lord's blessing upon his diligence, he was able to preach in French; and accordingly was speedily called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; one of them was Nerac, and thereafter was settled in St. Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town; and there he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. When he began to preach, it was observed by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke very correct French, but when he came to his application, and when his passions kindled, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French constructions. But there were some godly young men who admonished him of this, which he took in very good part; so, for correcting mistakes of that kind, he desired the young gentlemen, when they perceived him beginning to decline, to give him a sign, viz. that they were to stand up; and thereafter he was more exact in his expression through his whole sermon: so desirous was he not only to deliver his matter, but to recommend it in neat expression.

* With Mr. Welch, other five godly ministers were banished for the same cause, viz. Mr. Forbes, who went to Middleburgh, to the English chapel there; Robert Dury, who went to Holland, and was minister to the Scots congregation in Leyden; John Sharp, who became minister and professor of divinity at Dia in the Dulphinate, where he was Curius Theologus, &c.; and Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan, who in about a year got liberty to return to their former places. Calderwood's Hist. p. ult.

There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village; which moved Mr. Boyd of Trochrig once to ask him, after he had preached before the university with Saumer, with such boldness and authority, as if he had been before the meanest congregation, how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of such quality? To which he answered, That he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehensions from man at all; and this answer, said Mr. Boyd, did not remove my admiration, but rather increased it.

There was in his house, amongst many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman of great quality, and suitable expectations, and this was the heir of Lord Ochiltree, captain of the castle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welch's affections, fell ill of a grievous sickness, and after he had been long wasted with it, closed his eyes, and expired, to the apprehension of all spectators, and was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallet on the floor, that his body might be the more conveniently dressed. This was to Mr. Welch a very great grief, and therefore he stayed with the dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours, the friends brought in a coffin, whereinto they desired the corpse to be put, as the custom is; but Mr. Welch desired, that, for the satisfaction of his affections, they would forbear it for a time; which they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death were expired; then they desired, with great importunity, that the corpse might be coffined, and speedily buried, the weather being extremely hot; yet he persisted in his request, earnestly begging them to excuse him once more; so they left the corpse upon the pallet for full thirty-six hours; but even after all that, though he was urged, not only with great earnestness, but displeasure, they were constrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were past, Mr. Welch still held out against them; and then his friends perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead, but under some apoplectic fit, proposed to him, for his satisfaction, that trial should be made upon his body by doctors and chirurgeons, if possibly any spark of life might be found in him; and with this he was content.—So the physicians are set to work, who pinched him with pinchers in the fleshy parts of his body, and twisted a bow-string about his head with great force; but no sign of life appearing in him, the physicians pronounced him cold dead, and then there was no more delay to be made; yet Mr. Welch begged of them once more that they would but step into the room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and they granted. Then Mr. Welch fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord with all his might, and sometimes looked upon the dead body, continuing in wrestling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr. Welch, whom he distinctly knew, O Sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs; and these were the places they had sore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr. Welch perceived this, he called upon his friends, and showed them the dead young man restored to life again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though he lost the estate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great estate in Ireland, and was Lord Castlestuart and a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Stafford to be a counsellor in Ireland; which he refused to be, until the

and Scottish ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the land, were restored to the exercise of their ministry; and then continued so for all his life, not only in honour and power, profession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of where he lived. This story the nobleman himself commends to his friends in Ireland.

Mr. Welch was minister in one of the French villages, upon an occasion a Popish friar travelling through the country, because he could find no lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to a house for one night. The servants acquainted their master, and content to receive this guest. The family had supped before he came, so the servants convoyed the friar to his chamber; and when he had made his supper, they left him to his rest. There was but a contention betwixt him and Mr. Welch; and after the friar had slept, he was surprised with the hearing of a silent but continuing noise; at which he wondered very much, and was not able to sleep.

The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet a country-man, who saluted him because of his habit, and asked him how he had lodged that night? The friar answered, he had lodged with a goodly gent. minister. Then the country-man asked him what entertainment he had? The friar said, very bad: for, said he, I always held it a sin to haunt these ministers' houses, and am persuaded there was some mischief this night; for I heard a continual whispering all the night. I believe was no other thing than the minister and the devil together. The country-man told him he was much mistaken, and was nothing else than the minister at his night-prayer. O, said the friar, does the minister pray any? Yes, more than any man in the country; and if you please to stay another night, you may be satisfied. The friar got home to Mr. Welch's chamber, pretending indisposition, entreated another night's lodging; and Mr. Welch granted him.

The next morning, Mr. Welch came from his chamber, and made his exercise, according to his custom. And first he sung a psalm, and a portion of scripture, and discoursed upon it; thereafter he made his prayer with great fervour; to all which the friar was an astonished witness. When exercise was over, they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained.

Mr. Welch forbearing all question and dispute with him, continued his exercise. When evening came, Mr. Welch made exercise, as he had done the morning before, which occasioned more wonder to the friar, and they went to bed; but the friar wished much to know what the noise was: and therein he was soon satisfied; for after Mr. Welch had slept, the noise began; then the friar resolved to be certain of it, and to that end he crept silently to Mr. Welch's chamber, where he heard not only the sound, but the words distinctly, which were conversations betwixt God and man, such as he thought had not been heard of in the world. The next morning, as soon as Mr. Welch was ready, he went to him, and told him, that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life; but now he was resolved to adventure his soul with God, and thereupon declared himself Protestant. Mr. Welch welcomed him, and he continued a Protestant till his death. In the year 1563, King of France, made war upon the Protestants of France, and the city of St. Jean d'Angely was besieged.

sieged by him with his whole army, and brought into extreme danger. Mr. Welch was minister of the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, assuring them God would deliver them. In the time of the siege, a cannon-ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up; but would not leave the room, till he had, by solemn prayer, acknowledged his deliverance. During this siege, the townsmen made stout defence, till one of the King's gunners planted a gun so conveniently upon a rising ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall upon which the townsmen made their greatest defence. Upon this, they were constrained to forsake the whole wall in great terror; and though they had several guns planted upon the wall, no man durst undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr. Welch, he notwithstanding encouraged them to hold out, and running to the wall, found the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, near the wall; him he entreated to mount the wall, promising to assist him in person. The cannonier told Mr. Welch, that they behoved to dismount the gun upon the rising ground, else they were surely lost. Mr. Welch desired him to aim well, and he would serve him, and God would help him. The gunner fell to work, and Mr. Welch ran to fetch powder for a charge; for having left the ladle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner dismounted the King's gun at the first shot, and the citizens returned to their post of defence.

This discouraged the King so much, that he sent to the citizens to offer them fair conditions, viz. That they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, their civil privileges, and their walls should not be demolished; the King only desired that he might enter the city in a friendly manner with his servants. This the city thought fit to grant, and the King, with a few more, entered the city for a short time. While the King was in the city, Mr. Welch preached as usual; which offended the French Court; for while he was at sermon, the King sent the Duke de Espernon to fetch him out of the pulpit into his presence. The Duke went with his guard, and when he entered the church where Mr. Welch was preaching, Mr. Welch commanded to make way, and to place a seat, that the Duke might hear the word of the Lord. The Duke, instead of interrupting him, sat down, and gravely heard the sermon to an end; and then told Mr. Welch, he behoved to go with him to the King, which he willingly did. When the Duke came to the King, the King asked him, why he brought not the minister with him? and why he did not interrupt him? The Duke answered, Never man spake like this man. But he had brought him along with him. Whereupon Mr. Welch is called; and when he had entered the King's room, he knelt, and silently prayed for wisdom and assistance. Thereafter the King challenged him, how he durst preach in that place, since it was against the laws of France that any man should preach within the verge of his court. Mr. Welch answered, Sir, if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewise. For, said he, I preach, that you must be saved by the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own; and I preach, that as you are King of France, you are under the authority of no man on earth. Those men, he said, whom you heavey subject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do. The King replied, Well, well, you shall be my minister; and, at some say, called him father, which is an honour bestowed upon few of the greatest prelates in France. However, he was favourably dismissed at that time, and the King also left the city in peace.

at within a short time thereafter the war was renewed, and then Mr. Welch told the inhabitants of the city, that now their cup was full, and should no more escape; which accordingly came to pass, for the king took the town, and commanded Vitry, the captain of his guard, to defend and preserve his minister from all danger; then horses and waggon-wheels were provided for Mr. Welch, to transport him and his family for safety, whither he went, and there sojourned for a time.

After his flock in France was scattered, he obtained liberty to return to England; and his friends entreated that he might have permission to go to Scotland, because the physicians declared, there was no other way to preserve his life, but by the freedom he might have in his air. But to this King James would never yield, protesting, he would be unable to establish his beloved bishops in Scotland, if Mr. Welch was permitted to return thither; so he languished at London a considerable time; his disease was considered by some to have a tendency to a sort of leprosy; physicians said he had been poisoned; a languor he had, together with a great weakness in his knees, caused by his continual kneeling at prayer, by which it came to pass, that though he was unable to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly insensible in pain, and the flesh became hard like a sort of horn. But when, in the height of his weakness, he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive grief, his answer was, he had his life of God, and therefore it should be spent for him.

His friends importuned King James very much, that if he might not return to Scotland, at least he might have liberty to preach in London; which he would not grant till he heard all the hopes of life were past, then he allowed him liberty to preach, not fearing his activity.

When, as soon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced liberty; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently; which was his last performance: for when he had ended his sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within a few hours, quietly and without pain, he resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands, and was buried near Mr. Deering, the famous English divine, after he had lived little more than fifty-two years.

During his sickness, he was so filled and overcome with the sensible enjoyment of God, that he was overheard to utter these words: "O Lord, hold thy hand, it is enough, thy servant is a clay vessel, and can do no more."

His diligence was great, so it may be doubted whether his sowing or his harvest in success, was greatest; for if either his personal experiences in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting sinners, be considered, they will be found unparalleled in Scotland. And many years after Mr. Welch's death, Mr. David Dickson, at that time a flourishing minister at Irvine, was frequently heard to say, when people alluded to him of the success of his ministry, that the grape-gleanings in Scotland in Mr. Welch's time, were far above the vintage of Irvine in his time.

Mr. Welch, in his preaching, was spiritual and searching; his utterance tender and moving; he did not much insist upon scholastic purposes, and made no show of his learning. One of his hearers, who was afterwards minister at Moor-kirk in Kyle, used to say, that no man could hear him and forbear weeping, his conveyance was so affecting.

There is a large volume of his sermons now in Scotland; only a few of them have come to the press; nor did he ever appear in print, except in

his dispute with Abbot Brown, wherein he makes it appear, his learning was not behind other virtues; and in another, called Dr. Welch's Arragaddon, supposed to have been printed in France, wherein he gives his meditation upon the enemies of the church, and their destruction; but the piece itself is rarely to be found.

 Mr. ROBERT BOYD.

He was first settled minister at Vertal in France, but was afterwards, by the interest of Sieur du Plessis, translated to be professor of divinity at Samur, and some time after was invited home by King James, and settled principal of the college of Glasgow, and minister of Govan, at which place he ordinarily wrote his sermons in full; and yet when he came to the pulpit, he appeared with great life and power of affection. While he was in France, the Popish controversy employed his thoughts; but the church of Scotland expressed almost his whole attention after his return home; and he became a zealous friend and supporter of the more faithful part of the ministry, against the usurpation of the bishops and their ceremonies.

But the prelatists knowing that the eminency of his place, his piety and learning, would influence many to take part with that way, they therefore laboured with great assiduity, both by entreaties, threatenings, and the persuasions of some of his friends; insomuch that he gave in a paper to Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, in which he seemed in some sort to acknowledge the pre-eminence of bishops; but he got no rest the next night after this; being sore troubled for what he had done, he went back and sought his paper again with tears; but the Bishop pretended that he had already sent it up to the King, so that he could not obtain it.

Mr. Boyd, finding that from this time forward he could enjoy no peace in this place, he demitted both, and was chosen principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city. Dr. Cameron came into his places at Glasgow, in October 1622. Some of the other ministers of Edinburgh, particularly one Ramsay, envied him on account of his high reputation, both as a preacher and as a teacher, (the well-affected part of the people both in town and country crowding to his church,) and gave the King information against him as a non-conformist. The King sent a letter, December the 19th, to the magistrates of the town rebuking them for admitting him, and commanding him to be removed. The magistrates were not obedient to the command, and by a courtie entreated he might be continued; but the King would not grant that request. Accordingly, on the last day of January 1623, he renewed the order to remove him; and he was in a little time after that turned out of his place and office.

Some short time after this, Bishop Law was again prevailed on to admit Mr. Boyd to be minister of Paisley; for although no man was more opposite to the Perth articles than Mr. Boyd, as he had refused conformity to them both at Glasgow and Edinburgh, yet his learning and prudence recommended him to the Bishop's esteem. Here he remained in security and peace, until the Earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous Papist, dispossessed him on a Sabbath afternoon, while he was preaching, as he threw all his books out of the house where he had his residence. Up

plaining to the Privy Council, the offender was imprisoned, and the art, and bailies of Paisley, having undertaken to repossess Mr. Boyd in, and the gentleman professing his sorrow for what he had done, Boyd interceding with them for him, the Council passed the matter r.

but no sooner went he to take possession, than he found the church-ns secured, so that no access could be had; and though the magis-tes would have broke them open, yet the mob (urged on, as was sup-ed, by the Earl's mother) pressed so hard upon the good man, not y by opprobrious speeches, but also threw stones at him, as if he had n a malefactor, that he was forced to fly to Glasgow; and afterwards, ing no prospect of a peaceable settlement at Paisley, he returned to his a house at Trochrig in Carrick, where he probably continued till his th, which was some years after.

He was a man of great learning for that time, as his Commentary on Ephesians testifies. He would sometimes say, if he had his choice of guages wherein to deliver his sentiments, it would be in Greek. He of an austere countenance and carriage, and yet very tender-hearted.

had but a mean opinion of himself, but a high esteem of others in m he perceived any signs of grace and ingenuity. In the time of t convincing and converting work of the Lord, (commonly called arton sickness,) he came from his own house in Carrick, and met with y of the people; and having conversed with them, he heartily blessed Lord for the grace that was given unto them:

MR. ROBERT BRUCE.

MR. ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was second to the Laird of Airth, of whom he had the estate of Kinnaird, who g at that time a baron of the best quality in the kingdom, educated Robert with intention of being one of the Lords of Session; and for better accomplishment, sent him to France to study the civil law. r his return home, his father enjoined him to wait upon some affairs is that were then before the Court of Session, as he had got a patent red for his being one of these Lords. But God's thoughts being not im's thoughts, and having other designs with him, he began then to k mightily upon his conscience, that he could get no rest till he was sed to attend Mr. Andrew Melvill at St. Andrews, to study divinity r him; but to this his mother was averse, for she would not con- and until he first gave up some lands and casualties wherein he was t. This he most willingly did, and shaking off all impediments, he r resolved upon an employment more fitted to the serious turn of his l.

he went to St. Andrews some time before Mr. Andrew Melvill left ntry, and continued there until his return. Here he wanted not y sharp conflicts on this head; insomuch that upon a certain time, ing in the fields with that holy and religious man Mr. James Melvill, id to him, "Before I throw myself again into such torment of con- ce, which I have had in resisting the call to the ministry, I would t choose to walk through a fire of brimstone, even though it were

Amongst other things, upon the 19th of November 1596, he and Mess. Andrew Melvill and John Davidson were directed by the counsel of the thren, to deal with the Queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exercises and virtuous occupation amongst her maids, to persuade her to hear now and then the instructions of godly and discreet men. They went to her, but were refused admittance until another time. About the same time he was sent to the King, then sitting with the Lords in Session, to present some articles for redress of the wrongs then done to the church; but, in the mean time, a bustle falling out at Edinburgh by the mob, he removed to Linlithgow. Upon the Sabbath following, Mr. Bruce, preaching upon the 51st psalm, said, "The removal of our ministers is at hand, our lives shall be bitterly sought after; but we shall see with your eyes that God shall guard us, and be our buckler and defence," &c; and the day following, this was in part accomplished, when the King sent a charge from Linlithgow to Mr. Bruce, and the rest of the ministers of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the castle there, within three hours after the proclamation, under pain of horning. The rest of the ministers, knowing the King's anger was kindled against them, thought best to withdraw; but Mr. Bruce, knowing his own innocence, staid, and gave in an apology for himself and the rest of his faithful brethren. In April 1599, the King returned to Edinburgh, and was entertained in the house of Mr. Bruce, although he himself was not yet released. All this was nothing more than the drops before the shower, or as gathering of waters before an inundation breaks forth; for the King long for some time laboured to get Prelacy established in Scotland, because Mr. Bruce would not comply with his measures, and refused to give praise to God in public for the King's deliverance from the pretended conspiracy in 1600, until he was better ascertained of the fact, he only discharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but also obliged him to leave the kingdom.—When he embarked at the Queensferry, on the 1st of November the same year, there appeared such a great light as was seen at him and the company to sail, although it was near midnight. He arrived at Dieppe on the 8th of November.

Although, by the King's permission, he returned home the year following, yet because he would not, (1.) Acknowledge Gowrie's conspiracy; (2.) Purge the King in such places as he should appoint; and, (3.) Receive pardon of the King for his long distrust and disobedience, he could not be admitted to his place and office again, but was appointed by the King to keep ward in his own house of Kinnaird. At the King's departure to England, he had some respite for about a year more; but in 1605, he was summoned to compare at Edinburgh, on the 10th of February, before the commission of the General Assembly, and to see himself removed from his function at Edinburgh; they pronounced, in his absence, he decerned his place vacant, but now they intimated the sentence, and Livingstone had a commission from the King to put it in execution; he appealed; they prohibited him to preach; but he did not. In July thereafter, he was advertised by Chancellor Seafield, in the King's express order, discharging him to preach any more; but he would not use his authority in this, but only request him to stay for nine or ten days; to which he consented, thinking it but of moment for so short a time. But he quickly knew how soon the King's deviation from his Master's cause and interest might be brought to light, as he himself afterwards declared, his body was

fever, with such terror of conscience, that he promised and fully resolved to obey their commands no more.

Upon the 18th of August following, he was charged to enter in ward at Inverness, within the space of ten days, under pain of horning; which he obeyed upon the 17th following. And in this place he remained for the space of four years, teaching every Wednesday and Sabbath forenoon, and was exercised in reading public prayers every other night; in which his labours were blessed, for this dark country was wonderfully illuminated, and many brought to Christ, by means of his ministry, and a seed sown in these remote places, which remained for many years afterwards.

When he returned from Inverness to his own house, and though his son had obtained a license for him, yet here he could find nothing but grief and vexation, especially from the ministers of the Presbyteries of Stirling and Linlithgow, and all for curbing the vices some of them were subject to. At last he obtained liberty of the Council to transport his family to another house he had at Monkland; but, because of the Bishop of Glasgow, he was forced to retire back again to Kinnaird. Thus this good man was tossed about, and obliged to go from place to place.

In this manner he continued, until he was by the King's order summoned before the Council, in September 19, 1621, to answer for transgressing the law of his confinement, &c. When he appeared, he pleaded the favour granted him by his Majesty when in Denmark, and withal purged himself of the accusation laid against him; and yet, notwithstanding of all these, (said he,) the King hath exhausted both my estate and person, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is seeking; I am prepared to suffer my punishment, only I am careful not to suffer as a malefactor or evil doer. A warrant was delivered to him to enter in ward in the castle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the 1st of January; the bishops absented from the Council that day; however, they were his delators. He was again brought before the Council, where the King's will was intimate to him, viz. that he should return to his own house, until the 21st of April, and then transport himself again to Inverness, and remain within four miles thereof during the King's pleasure.

Here he remained, for the most part, until September 1624, when he obtained license again to return from his confinement to settle some of his domestic affairs; the condition of his license was strait, that he proposed with himself to return back to Inverness; but in the mean time the King died, and so he was not urged to go back to his confinement; and although King Charles I. did again renew his charge against him, some years after this, yet he continued mostly in his own house, preaching and teaching wherever he had occasion.

About this time, the parish of Larber having neither church nor stipend, Mr. Bruce repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of the ministry there; and many, besides the parish, attended upon his ministry at that place, with great success: and it would appear, that about the time Mr. Henderson, then minister at Leuchars, afterwards the famous Henderson, was at first converted by his ministry.

At this place it was his custom, after his sermon, to retire by himself some time for private prayer; and on a time, some noblemen who had far to ride, sent the beadle to learn if there was any appearance of his coming in; the man returned, saying, I think he shall not come out this day, for I overheard him say to another, "I protest I will not go, unless thou goest with me." However, in a little time he came, accompani-

but in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ; for, each was with much evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, for his hearers to perceive that he had been in the mount with that indeed he had brought that God whom he had met in *his mother's house, and unto the chambers of her that conceived him.* He was also a man who had somewhat of the spirit of discernment, and did prophetically speak of several things that afterwards to pass; yea, and divers persons distracted, (says Mr. Fleming, *Fulfilling of the Scripture, Part I. p. 450,*) and those who were rhy with the epileptical disease, or falling sickness, were brought to recovery, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully restored to health. This may seem strange; but it was true, for he was familiar with God, that he had more than ordinary familiarity

with him before his death, being then at Edinburgh, where through his means he often kept his chamber, whither a meeting of godly ministers, on some matter of church-concernment, hearing he was in town, sent for him, and gave him an account of the prelates' actings. After this, Mr. Bruce, on the 17th of July, 1638, delivered a sermon, in which he repeated over again to the Lord the very substance of his discourse, which was a very sad representation of the case of the church; all which time there was an extraordinary motion in all hearts, and such a sensible downpouring of the Spirit, that they could not contain themselves. Mr. Wemyss of Lathocker, being occasionally present, at departing, said, O how strange a man is this, for he has brought down the Spirit of God upon us all: this he said, because Mr. Bruce, at the time of that prayer, divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table.

At this time, he related a strange dream, how he had seen a long street, with black boards, flying in the air, with many black fowls flying about it; and as it touched any of them, they fell down, and he heard an audible voice speak to him, saying, *Hec sunt pastores ecclesie Scoticae*: upon which he fell a weeping, and that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of those who were struck down by a torch of his wrath, through deserting the Lord. He said, when he awakened, he found his pillow all wet with his tears. The accomplishment of this dream, I need not say; for those acquainted with our church-history know, that soon after this time was introduced into Scotland. Bishops set up, and with them came in Popish and Arminian tenets, with all manner of corruption and immorality, which continued in Scotland a number of years.

As Mr. Livingstone, I went to Edinburgh to see him, in the year 1640, he was then tutor of Bonnington. When we called on him, at his house in the morning, he told us, he was not for any company; but when we pressed him to tell us the cause, he answered, that when he had a good measure of the Lord's presence, and that he had been with him about an hour or two before we came in, and had been much comforted; and so we left him. At another time, I went to his house, and he was not till very late. When he came out of his closet, he was much comforted with weeping; and he told me, that that day he had been under great torture and hardships Dr. Leighton, our countryman, who was then at London;* and added, if I had been faithful,

* Dr. Leighton, Doctor of divinity in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for writing of *Zion's Blasphemy against Priests*, was ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower of London.

might have had the pillory, and some of my blood shed for Christ, as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all. I heard him once say, saith he, I would desire no more at my first appeal from King James, but one hour's converse with him: I know he has a conscience; I made him once weep bitterly at Holyroodhouse. About the year —, I heard him say, I wonder how I am kept so long here: I have lived two years already in violence; meaning, that he was then much beyond seventy years of age.*

When the time of his death drew near, which was in August 1631, through age and infirmity, he was mostly confined to his chamber, where he was frequently visited by his friends and acquaintances; and being, on a certain time, asked by one of them how matters stood betwixt God and his soul? he made this return, "When I was young, I was diligent, and lived by faith on the Son of God; but now I am old, and am not able to do so much, yet he condescends to feed me with lumps of sense." And that morning, before he was removed, his sickness being mostly a weakness through age, he came to breakfast; and having, as usual, eaten an egg, he said to his daughters, "I think I am yet hungry, ye may bring me another egg." But instantly thereafter, falling into deep meditation, and after having mused a little, he said, "Hold, daughter, my Master calls me." With these words, his sight failed him; and calling for his family Bible, but finding that he could not see, he said, "Cast up to me the 8th chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and set my finger on these words: "I am persuaded, that neither death nor life, &c. shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord." Now, said he, "Is my finger upon them?" and being told it was, he said, "Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup with my Lord Jesus Christ this night." And so, like Abraham of old, he gave up the ghost in a good age,† and was gathered to his people.

In this manner did this occidental star set in our horizon. There was none, in his time, who did speak with such evidence of the power of the Spirit; and no man had more seals of his ministry; yea, many of his hearers thought, that no man since the days of the apostles ever spoke with such power. And although he was no Bannerges, as being of a slow but grave delivery, yet he spoke with such authority and weight as became the oracles of the living God: so that some of the most stout-hearted of his hearers were ordinarily made to tremble, and by having this door, which had formerly been shut against Jesus Christ, as by an irresistible power broke open, and the secrets of their hearts made mani-

at London by two ruffians, and brought before Archbishop Laud, who sentenced him, besides a fine of 10,000*l.* to be tied to a stake, and receive thirty-six stripes with a triple cord, and then to stand two hours in the pillory, which he did in a cold winter night, and then to have his ear cut, his face fired, and his nose slit; and the same to be repeated that day se'nnight, and his other ear cut off, with the slitting of the other side of his nose, and burning his other cheek; all which was done with the utmost rigour; and then he was sent prisoner to the fleet, where he continued till upon petition to the parliament in 1640, he was released, and got for his reparation a vote of 6000*l.* which it is said was never paid, and made warden of that prison wherein he had been so long confined; but, through infirmity and bad treatment, he did not long survive, being then seventy-two years of age. See this more at length in Stevenson's History, vol. iii. p. 94.

* Livingstone's Memorable Characters, p. 74.

† By the calculation in Mr. Livingstone's account, he behoved to be only 75 years of age; but Mr. Calderwood makes him 77; and says, he had an honourable burial, being accompanied with four or five thousand people to the grave. Vide his History, p. 328.

t, they oftentimes went away under deep convictions. He had a very majestic countenance; in prayer he was short, especially when in public, and every word or sentence he spoke was as a bolt shot from heaven: he spent much of his time in private prayer. He had a very notable facility in searching the scriptures, and explaining the most obscure mysteries therein; and was a man who had much inward exercise of conscience anent his own personal case, and was oftentimes assaulted anent that grand fundamental truth, the being of a God; insomuch that it was most customary to him to say, as when he first spoke in the pulpit, "I think it a great matter to believe there is a God;" and by this he was the more fitted to deal with others under the like temptations.*

Mr. Bruce was also an eloquent and substantial writer, as the fore-mentioned apology, and his excellent letters to M. Espagnol, the Duke of Parma, Col. Semple, &c. doth copiously evince, Argal's sleep, &c. He was also deeply affected with the public cause and interest of the Christianist, and much depressed in spirit when he beheld the naughtiness and profanity of many ministers then in the church, and the carriage and deportment of others unsuitable to so great a calling; which made him oppress himself with much fear, that the ministry in Scotland would prove the greatest persecutors it had; which so lately came to pass.

MR. JOSIAS WELCH.

MR. JOSIAS WELCH was a younger son to the famous Mr. John Welch, sometime minister of the gospel at Ayr, and Elisabeth Knox, daughter to the great Mr. John Knox, who was minister at Edinburgh, from whom he received a most liberal and religious education. But what enhanced his reputation more, was, that he was heir to his father's graces and virtues. And although he had received all the branches of useful learning, and order for the ministry, yet, Prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he was detained for some time from that function, seeing that he was not at all in his own mind to enter into that office by the door of Episcopacy. At some time after, it so fell out, that meeting with worthy Mr. Blair, (who was then settled a minister at Bangor in Ireland,) he finding how stout a spirit Mr. Welch was of, exhorted and solicited him much to go over there, where he would find work enough, and he hoped success likewise; which accordingly came to pass: for upon his going thither, he was highly honoured and provided of the Lord, to bring the report of grace to the people at the six-mile water, on whom Mr. Blair, formerly minister there, had wrought some legal convictions; and having preached some time at Oldstone, he was settled at Newpatrick, where he with great vigilance and diligence exercised his office, which, by the blessing of God upon his labours, gained him the fruits of his ministry.

The devil, envying the success of the gospel in that quarter, stirred up the Prelatical clergy; whereupon the Bishop of Down, in May 1688, summoned cite him, Mess. Blair, Livingstone, and Dunbar, before him, and urged them to conform, and give their subscription to that

But Blair says, that he told him, that for three years he durst not say, my God, and his conscience smote him for the same.—Blair's Memoirs, p. 39.

effect; but they answered with great boldness, that there was no canon in that kingdom requiring this; yet, notwithstanding, were all four deposed by him from the office of the holy ministry.

After this, Mr. Welch continued for some time preaching in London, where he had a large auditory; and such was his devotion to Christ, that he commonly stood in a door looking out into the garden, that so he might be heard without as well as within; of which, being of a weakly constitution, he contracted such a cold, that it occasioned his death in a short time thereafter.

He continued in this way, until May 1634, when, by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart with the King in their behalf, the forest was granted a grant from the bishop of six months liberty; which was more willingly embraced than Mr. Welch: but he had only a few weeks in his own pulpit before he sickened, and died the afternoon before his death, which was on the Monday following of his sickness," saith Mr. Livingstone. "and came to him at eleven o'clock at night, and Mr. Binn came about two hours thereafter, he had many pious discourses, as also some wrestling and combat. One time he cried out, Oh for hypocrisy; on which a certain Jew satan is bobbing at his heels before he enters into any truth before he dies, being at prayer by his bedside, a certain victory coming out of my mouth, he took hold of my hand, and said, I will fight with you a little, and clapping his hands, cried, I will have victory for ever more; then he desired me to pray for him, and I did so, and he expired on the 23d of June 1634."

He left behind him the pious and faithful Mr. Josias Welch, in the field of glory, leaving only one man behind him, viz. Mr. John Welch, who was minister at Broungray in Galloway.

JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

John Gordon of Lachinvar (afterwards Viscount Kenmuir) about the year 1500. He received a reasonable measure of knowledge, but, through the circumstance of his birth, the corruption of his nature, the depravity of nature, and want of restraint in his younger years, he became somewhat irreligious and profane; when he arrived at manhood, broke out into more gross acts of uncleanness; and yet all the while the Lord never left him altogether without check or witness in his conscience; yea, sometimes when at particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with sorrow for sin, which being borne powerfully in upon his soul, he was set on fire, and held out against it. But for a long time he was a stranger to saving conversion. The most part of his life, after he advanced into years, he spent like the rich man in the gospel, casting down barns, and employing greater ones; for at his houses of Rusco and Kenmuir, he employed in building, parking, planting, and seeking worldly

About the year 1628, he was married to that virtuous and pious Lady Jean Campbell, sister to the worthy Marquis of Argyle; he had some children, two at least, one of whom it appears that he died the beginning of the year 1635; for we find Mr. Rutherford

ers, about that time, comforting this noble Lady upon such a
 al occasion.

1633, Charles I. to honour his coronation, in the place of his birth
 parliament, dignified many of the Scots nobility and gentry with
 titles, and places of office and honour, among whom was Sir John
 who, upon the 8th of May, was created Viscount Kenmuir, and
 Lord of Lochinvar.*

Accordingly, the Viscount came to the parliament, which sat down at
 Perth, June 16, 1633, and was present the first day, but staid only
 days thereafter; for being afraid to displease the King, from whom
 both received some, and expected more honours, and not having
 courage to glorify God by his presence, when his cause was at stake,
 he returned to the parliament, under pretence of indisposition of body, and re-
 turned to his house at Kenmuir in Galloway, and there slept se-
 veral months, without check of conscience, till August 1634,
 when some affairs occasioned his return to Edinburgh, where he remained
 some days, not knowing that with the ending of his affairs he was to end
 his.

He returned home with some alteration of bodily health, and
 that day his sickness increased, until the 12th of September ensu-
 ing, which was the day of his death.

The Lord had other thoughts, than that this nobleman should die
 without some sense of his sin, or yet go out of this world unobserved.—
 Therefore it pleased him, with his bodily affliction, to shake his soul
 with fears, making him sensible of the power of eternal wrath, for his own
 and for an example to others in after ages, never to wrong their
 consciences, or to be wanting to the cause or interest of God, when
 he had them an opportunity to that purpose.

On the Sabbath, August 31, being much weakened, he was visited
 by a pious and learned minister, who then lived in Galloway, not far
 from the house of Kenmuir: his Lordship much rejoiced at his coming,
 and praising the all-ruling providence, in sending him such a man (who had
 been sent from Galloway some time) sooner home than he expected.

At supper, his Lordship drew on a conference with the minister,
 and he was much taken up with the fears of death, and extremity of
 his sins. "I never dreamed," said he, "that death had such a terrible, au-
 ghful and gloomy countenance. I dare not die; howbeit, I know I must
 die. What shall I do, for I dare not venture in grips with death, because
 of my sins grievous, and so many, that I fear my account is out of
 order, and not so as becomes a dying man."

The minister for some time discoursed to him anent this weakness of
 his mind, which was in all men, believers not excepted, which made them
 afraid of death; but he hoped Christ would be his second in the combat,
 and he should rely upon the strength of Christ; but withal said, "My
 dear Lord, know more the ground of your fear of death, which is (as you say)
 the consciousness of your sins; for there can be no plea betwixt you and
 God, if your sins be not taken away in Christ; and therefore make
 your peace, and fear not." My Lord answered, "I have been too late in
 coming to God, and have deferred the time of making my account so
 long. I fear I have but the foolish virgins part of it, who came and
 stood at the door of the bridegroom so late, and never got in."

At this time the King created one Marquis, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and eight
 Bishops. While he was in Scotland, he dubbed fifty-four Knights on different occasions,
 and a Poet, &c.

The minister having resumed somewhat both of his own and his brother's sins, particularly their cares for this world and worldly honours, and thinking his Lordship designed to extenuate his fault in this, he made several weighty propositions, in way of conference, about the fear of death and his eternal all, which depended upon his being in or out of Christ; and obtested him in these words: "Therefore, I entreat my Lord, by the mercies of God, by your appearing before Christ the Judge, and by the salvation of your soul, that you would look not to leap, and venture not into eternity, without a certificate under Christ's hand, because it is said of the hypocrite, Job. xx. 11. *He is cast down in the grave, and his bones are full of the sins of his youth.*"

My Lord replied, "When I begin to look upon my life, I think I am wrong in it, and the lateness of my reckoning affrighteth me; they stay with me, and shew me the marks of a child of God, for you be my second in this combat, and wait upon me." His Lady answered, "You must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" to which he replied, "Amen—but," continued he, "how shall I know that I am in a state of grace, for while I be resolved, my fears will still overtake me." The minister said, "My Lord, scarcely or never doth a man so anxiously and carefully ask the question, whether he be a child of God or not?" But my Lord excepted against that, saying, "I do not think there is any reprobate in hell, but he would with all his heart be kingdome of heaven." The minister having explained the difference between a reprobate, his Lordship said, "You never saw any tokens of grace in me; and that is my great and only fear."

The minister said, "I was indeed sorry to see you so fearfully taken away with temptation, and you know, I gave you faithful warning it would come to this. I wish your soul was deeply humbled to but to your demand, I thought you ever had a love for the saints to the poorest, who carried Christ's image, although they could serve nor profit you in any way, 1 John iii. 14. *By this we know that we have loved from death unto life,*" &c. And at last with this mark, after many objections, he seemed convinced. The minister asked him, "My Lord, dare you now quit your part in Christ, and subscribe an absolute renunciation of him?" My Lord said, "O Sir, that is too hard, I hope he will have more to do together, and I will be advised ere I do that;" and was asked, "What mark is it to have judgment to discern a minister of God from an hireling?" The minister allowed it to be a good mark, and cited John x. 4. *My sheep know my voice.*

At the second conference, the minister urged deep humiliation and acknowledged the necessity thereof; but said, "Oh! if I could get but sin causeth me to be jealous of his love to such a man as he has been." The minister advised him "to be jealous of himself, but not of Jesus Christ, there being no meeting betwixt them without a sense of sin." Isa. lxi. 2, 3. Whereupon my Lord said, with a deep sigh accompanied with tears, "God send me that;" and thereafter reckoned out a number of his sins, which were as serpents or crocodiles before him. The minister told him, "That death and him were yet strange friends, he would tell another tale ere all the play be ended, and yet think death a sweet messenger to carry you to your Father's house." He said with tears, "God make it so;" and desired him to pray.

At the third conference, he said, "Death bindeth me strait. 'Tis a sweet a thing it is to seek God in health, and in time of prosper-

make our accounts, for now I am so distempered, that I cannot get my heart framed to think on my account, and the life to come." The minister told him, "He behoved to fight against sickness and pain, as well as sin and death, seeing it is a temptation."—He answered, "I have taken my play long, God hath given me thirty-five years to repent; but, alas! I have mispent it;" and with that he covered his face and wept. The minister assured him, that although his day was far spent, yet he behoved in the afternoon, yea, when near evening, to run fast, and not to lie in a bed, and miss his lodging; upon which he, with uplifted eyes, said, "Lord, how can I run? Lord, draw me, and I shall run," Cant. i. 4. The minister hearing this, desired him to pray, but he answered nothing; and within an hour, he prayed before him and his own Lady, very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakness, both inward and outward, saying, "I dare not knock at thy door, I lie at it scrambling as I may, till thou come out and take me in; I dare not speak; I look up to thee, and wait for one kiss of Christ's fair face. O when wilt thou come?"

At the fourth conference, he charged the minister to go to a secret place and pray for him, and do it not for the fashion: I know, said he, thy prayer will pull Christ out of heaven. The minister said, "What shall I seek, give us a commission?" He answered, "I charge you to tell your beloved, *that I am sick of love*. The minister desired if they should seek life or recovery? he said, "Yea, if it be God's good pleasure, for I have had my fear of death now less, and I think God is now loosing the root of the deep-grown tree of my soul, so firmly fastened to this life." The minister told him, if it were so, he behoved to covenant with God, in dedicating himself and all he had to God and his service; to which he readily consented: and after the minister had recited several scriptures to that purpose, such as Psalm lxxviii. 36, &c. he took the Bible, and marked, Mark other scriptures for me; and he marked 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxi. 1 and xxii. Psalm xxxviii. John xv. These places he turned over, and read often for one love-blink; "O Son of God, for one sight of thy face!" When the minister told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand, and drew him to him, and said with a sigh, Good news indeed; and desired him and others to tell him what access they had got to God through Christ for his soul.—They told him, they had got access; at which he rejoiced, and said, "Then will I believe and wait on; I cannot think but my beloved is coming leaping over the hills."

When friends or others came to visit him, whom he knew feared God, he would cause them to go and pray for him, and sent some of them expressly to the wood of Kenmuir on that errand. After some cool of a day, (as was thought,) he caused one of his attendants call for a minister to whom he said, smiling, "Rejoice now, for he is come. O! if I had a tongue to tell the world what Jesus Christ hath done for my

beloved, and yet, after all this, conceiving hopes of recovery, he became more remiss, and dead, for some days, and seldom called for the minister, though he would not suffer him to go home to his flock; which his lady and others perceiving, went to the physician, and asked his judgment about him. He plainly told them, there was nothing but death to be expected, if his flux returned, as it did. This made the minister go to him, and give him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him his glass was shorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to steal his soul out of the world sleeping. This being seconded

by the physician, he took the minister by the hand, thanked him for faithful and plain dealing, and acknowledged the folly of his deceitful heart, in looking over his affection to this life, when he was so fairly on his journey toward heaven; then ordered them all to leave the chamber, except the minister, and causing him to shut the door, he continued with him anent the state of his soul.

After prayer, the minister told him, he feared that his former judgment had not been well grounded, neither his humiliation deep enough; and therefore desired him to dig deeper, representing his offence both against the first and second table of the law, &c.: whereupon his Lordship recited out a number of great sins, and, amongst the rest, freely confessed, in deserting the last parliament, saying, "God knoweth I did it in fearful wresling of conscience, my light paying me home within, I seemed to be glad and joyful before men," &c. The minister struck with astonishment at this reckoning, after such fair appearance of sound marks of grace in his soul, stood up and read the first eight verses in the sixth epistle to the Hebrews, and discoursed thereon; the *Rev. xxi. But the fearful and unbelieving, &c.* and told him he had no word of mercy from the Lord to him, and so turned his back; at which he cried out with tears, (that they heard him at some distance,) "God armed is coming against me to beat out my brains; I would I dare not die; I would live; I dare not live; O what a burden is the hand of an angry God! Oh! what shall I do! Is there no mercy?" In this agony he lay for some time. Some said the Lord would kill him; others, he would make him despair. But he bore them, and went to a secret place, where he sought words from which to speak to this patient.

After this another minister came to visit him, to whom he said, "Thou hast slain me;" and before the minister could answer for himself, he said, "Not he, but the Spirit of God in him." The minister said, "Not the law hath slain you; and withal told him of the process the Law had against the house of Kenmuir. The other minister read the history of Manasseh, and of his wicked life, and how the Lord was entreated of him. But the former minister * went still upon wrath, telling him he knew he was extremely pained both in body and mind; but what he thought of the lake of fire and brimstone, of everlasting burning, utter darkness, with the devil and his angels? My Lord answered, "Is it me, if I should suffer my thoughts to dwell upon it at any time, were enough to cause me go out of my senses: but I pray you, what shall I do?" The minister told him he was still in the same state, and only the sentence was not given out, and therefore desired him to go for offending God. And further said, "What, my Lord, if Christ had given out the sentence of condemnation against you, and come to your bed-side and told you of it, would you not still love him, trust in him, and hang upon him? He answered, "God knoweth, I durst not deny him, howbeit he should slay me, I will still love him; yea, if the Lord should slay me, yet will I trust in him; I will lie down at his feet, let him trample upon me; I will die, if I die at Christ's feet." The minister, finding him claiming kindness to Christ, and hearing him

* This minister is supposed to have been Mr. Rutherford, who was by some the author of that pamphlet, entitled, *The Last and Heavenly Speech, &c. of James Stewart, Earl of Kenmuir.*



on of God, where art thou, when wilt thou come to me? Oh! look!" said, "Is it possible, my Lord, that you can love and hrist, and he not love and long for you? Can love and kind-only on your side? Is your poor love more than infinite love, math said, Isa. xlix. 15. *Can a woman forget, &c.?* My Lord, be yourself, you are graven upon the palms of God's hands." he, with a hearty smile, looked about to a gentleman, (one of nts,) and said, "I am written, man, upon the palms of Christ's will not forget me; is not this brave talking?"

rds the minister, finding him weaker, said, My Lord, the mar-is drawing near; make ready; set aside all care of your estate orld, and give yourself to meditation, and prayer and spiritual . After that, he was observed to be still upon that exercise y none were near him, he was found praying; yea, when to ap-leeping, he was overheard to be engaged in that duty. After , he called for one of his kinsmen, with whom he was not re-nd also for a minister, who had before offended him, that they riends again; which was done quickly. To the preacher he ave ground of offence against you as a natural man, and now u that which all men breathing could not have moved me to ow, because the Holy Spirit commands me, I must obey, and reely forgive you, as I would wish you to forgive me. You iminent station, walk before God, and be faithful to your call-heed to your steps; walk in the right road; hold your eye all the world, decline not from holiness; and take example To his cousin he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the f your father-in-law," for he had married the Bishop of Gal-ughter; "learn to know that you have a soul, for I say unto housandth part of the world know not that they have a soul. I liveth without any sense of God."

red the minister to sleep in a bed made upon the ground in a by him, and argued him to take a sleep, saying, "You and I journey to go; make ready for it." Four nights before his would drink a cup of wine to the minister, who said, "Receive rd, in hope you shall drink of the pure river of the water of eding from the throne of God and from the Lamb."—And cup was in his hand, with a smiling countenance, he said, I have good cause to drink with a good will to you." After viness, the minister said, "My Lord, I have good news to tell e not afraid of death and judgment, because the process that ge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Christ opled it under his feet." My Lord answered, with a smile, at is a lucky tale, I will then believe and rejoice, for sure I am, e and I once met; and will he not come again?" The minister ou have gotten the first fruit of the Spirit, the earnest thereof, t will not lose his earnest; therefore the bargain betwixt him oldeth." Then he asked, "What is Christ like, that I may ?" The minister answered, "He is like love, and altogether Cant. v. &c.

minister said, "My Lord, if you had the man Christ in your ould your heart, your breast, and sides, be pained with a stitch? ered, "God knoweth I would forget my pain, and thrust him art; yea, if I had my heart in the palm of my hand, I would

give it to him, and think it a gift too unworthy of him." He complained of Jesus Christ in coming and going—"I find," said he, "my soul drowned in heaviness; when the Lord cometh, he stayeth not long." The ministers said, "Wooers dwell not together, but married folk take up house, and sunder not; Jesus Christ is now wooing, and therefore he feedeth his own with hunger; which is as growing meat as the sense of his presence." He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not a man that he should change; or as the son of man that he should repent. Them that come to Christ, he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day." He was heard to say in his sleep, "My beloved is mine, and I am his." Being asked, if he had been sleeping? he said he had; but he remembered he had been giving a chain to Christ, &c. He asked, "When will my heart be loosed, and my tongue untied, that I may express the sweetness of the love of God to my own soul?" and before the minister answered any thing, he answered himself, "Even when the wind bloweth."

At another time, being asked his judgment anent the ceremonies then used in the church, he answered, "I think, and am persuaded in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, and antichristian, and come from hell. I repute it is a mercy that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor church. It is plain Popery that is coming among you. God help you; God forgive the nobility, for they are either very cold in defending the true religion, or ready to welcome Popery; whereas they should resist; and woe be to a dead time-serving and profane ministry!"

He called his lady, and a gentleman who came from the east country to visit him, and caused the door to be shut; then from his bed directed his speech to the gentleman thus: "I ever found you faithful and kind to me in my life; therefore I must now give you a charge, which you shall deliver to all noblemen you are acquainted with; go through them, and shew them from me, that I have found the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord my God, when I had occasion once in my life at the last parliament, for which fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord! My soul hath raged and roared; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. Tell them that they will be as I am now: encourage my friends that stood for the Lord; tell them that failed, if they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, they must repent, and crave mercy of the Lord. For all the earth I would not do as I have done."

To a gentleman, one of his kinsmen, he said, "I love you, soul and body; you are a blessed man, if you improve the blessed means of the word preached beside you. I would not have you drown yourself so much with the concerns of this world as I did. My grief is, that I had not the occasion of good means as you have; and if you yourself make no a right use of them, one day they shall be a witness against you," &c.

To Lord Herries, his brother-in-law, he said, "Mock not at my counsel, my Lord. In case you follow the course you are in, you shall never see the face of Jesus Christ; you are deceived with the merchandise of the whore, that makes the world drunk, out of the cup of her fornication your soul is built upon a sandy foundation. When you come to my state you will find no comfort in your religion. You know not what wretchedness I have had, before I came to this state of comfort. The kingdot

heaven is not gotten with a skip or leap, but with much seeking and fasting," &c.

To his sister, he said, "Who knows, sister, but the words of a dying sinner may prevail with a loving sister. Alas! you incline to a rotten religion; cast away these rotten rags, they will not avail you when you are brought to this case as I am. The half of the world are ignorant, and go to hell, and know not that they have a soul. Read the scriptures; they are plain and easy language to all who desire wisdom from God, and to be led to heaven."

To a gentleman his neighbour, he said, "Your soul is in a dangerous case, but you see it not. Leave these sinful courses. There are small means of instruction to be had, seeing the most part of the ministry are profane and ignorant. Search God's word for the good old way, and search and find out all your own ways."

To a gentleman, his cousin, he said, "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek God's direction for wisdom in your affairs, and you shall prosper; and learn to know, that you have the aid of God to be your friend."

To another cousin he said, "David, you are an aged man, and you know not well what an account you have to make. I know you better than you believe, for you worship God according to men's devices; you believe lies of God; your soul is in a dreadful case; and, till you know the truth, you shall never see your own way aright."

To a young man, his neighbour; "Because you are but young, beware of temptation and snares; above all, be careful to keep yourself in the way of means; resort to good company, and howbeit you be named a Puritan, and mocked, care not for that, but rejoice, and be glad that they will admit you to their society, for I must tell you, when I am at this point in which you see me, I get no other comfort to my soul from any other second means under heaven, but from those who are nicknamed Puritans; they are the men that can give a word of comfort to a wearied soul in due season; and that I have found by experience."

To one of his natural sisters, "My dove, thou art young, and alas! ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and upbringing well enough; but lack the Spirit of regeneration. Oh! if thou knew it, and felt the power of the Spirit as I do now! Think not all is gone because your brother is dead. Trust in God, and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourself to reading and praying, and be careful in hearing God's word, and to heed whom you hear, and how you hear, and God be with you."

To a minister he said, "Mr. James, it is not holiness enough to be a minister, for you ministers have your own faults, and those more heinous than others. I pray you, be more careful in your calling, and take good heed to the flock of God; know that every soul that perisheth by your negligence, shall be counted, to your soul, murdered before God. Take heed, in these dangerous days, how you lead the people of God, and take heed to your ministry."

To Mr. George Gillespie, then his chaplain, "You have carried yourself honestly to me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you shall prove a honest man; if I have been at any time harsh to you, forgive me. I wish I had taken better heed to many of your words, I might have got good by the means God gave me, but I made no use of them, &c. I am grieved for my ingratitude against my loving Lord, and that I should have sinned against him who came down from heaven to the earth for

my cause, to die for my sins; the sense of this love borne in upon my heart hath a reflex, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him again."

To another kinsman he said, "Learn to use your time well. Oh, alas! the ministry in this country are dead, God help you, ye are not led right, ye had need to be busy among yourselves. Men are as careless in the practice of godliness as it were but words, fashions, signs, and shews; but all these will not do the turn. Oh! but I find it hard now to thrust in and take the kingdom of heaven by force."

To two neighbouring gentlemen, he said, "It is not rising soon in the morning, and running to the park or stone dyke, that will bring peace to the conscience, when it comes to this part of the play. You know how I have been beguiled with this world; I would counsel you to seek that one thing necessary, even the salvation of your souls," &c.

To a cousin, bailie of Ayr, he said, "Robert, I know you have light and understanding; and though you need not be instructed by me, yet you need to be incited. Care not overmuch for the world, but make use of good means which you have in your country, for here is a pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark, they tell over a clash of terror, and clatter of comfort, without any sense or life."

To a cousin, and another gentleman who was along with him, he said, "Ye are young men, and have far to go; and it may be some of you have not far to go, and though your journey be short, it is yet very dangerous. Now are you happy, because you have time to lay your accounts with Jesus Christ. I entreat you to give your youth to Christ, for it is the best and most acceptable gift you can give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your lusts, and then reserve nothing to Jesus Christ but your rotten bones: it is to be feared that then he will not accept you. Learn therefore to watch, and take example by me."

He called Mr. Lamb, who was then Bishop of Galloway, and commanding all others to leave the room, he had a long conference with him, exhorting him earnestly not to molest or remove the Lord's servants, or enthrall their consciences to receive the five articles of Perth, or do any thing against their consciences, as he would wish to have mercy from God. The Bishop answered, "My Lord, our ceremonies are, of their own nature, but things indifferent, and we impose them for decency and order in God's kirk. They need not stand so scrupulously on them as matter of conscience in God's worship." My Lord replied, "I will not dispute with you, but one thing I know, and can tell you from dear experience, that these things, indeed, are matters of conscience, and not indifferent; and so I have found them. For since I lay on this bed, the sin that lay heaviest on my soul, was withdrawing myself from the parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth, against these things which they call indifferent; and in so doing I have denied my Lord my God."—When the Bishop began to commend him for his well-led life, putting him in hopes of health, and praised him for his civil carriage and behaviour, saying, he was no oppressor, and without any known vice, he answered, "No matter; a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go to hell."—The Bishop answered, "My Lord, I confess we have all our faults;" and thereafter, he insisted so long, that my Lord thought him impertinent. This made him interrupt the Bishop, saying, "What should I more, I have got a grip of Jesus Christ, and Christ of me!" &c. On the morrow, the Bishop came to visit him; and, upon asking how he did, he answered, I thank God, as well as a saved man hastening to heaven can.

After he had given the clerk of Kirkcudbright some suitable advice, in his Christian walk and particular calling, he caused him swear, in most solemn terms, that he should never consent to, but oppose the election of a corrupt minister or magistrate. And to his coachman, he said, You will go to any one who will give you the most hire; but do so, go where you can get the best company, though you get less hire, yet you will get the more grace. Then he made him hold up his hand, and promise before God so to do. And to two young serving-men, who came to him weeping to get his last blessing, he said, Content not yourselves with a superficial view of religion, blessing yourselves in the evening, only for a fashion; yea, though you would pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewise ye make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counsel you; but I tell you what to do; first pray to the Lord fervently, to enlighten the eyes of your mind, then seek grace to rule your affections; you will find the good of this when you come to my situation. Then he took their oaths to do so.

He gave many powerful exhortations to several persons, and caused a man to hold up his hand, and swear in his presence, that by God's blessing they should forbear their former sins, and follow his counsel, &c. When giving a divine counsel to a friend, he rested in the midst of it, looking up to heaven, prayed for a loosened heart and tongue to witness the goodness of God to men; and thereafter went on in his countenance unlike Jacob, Gen. xlix. 18. who in the midst of a propheticall ment, rested a little, and said, *I have waited for thy salvation.*

He gave his Lady, divers times, openly an honourable and ample testimony of her holiness, goodness, and respective kindness to him, and justly craved her forgiveness wherein he had offended her, and desired her to make the Lord her comforter; and said, he was gone before and it was but fifteen or sixteen years up or down.*

He spoke to all the boys of the house, the butler, cook, &c. omitting names, saying, Learn to serve and fear the Lord, and use carefully the means of your salvation. I know what is ordinarily your religion, ye go to church, and when you hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye make a noise, and it is forgot by you before you come home, then ye are holy enough. But I can tell you the kingdom of heaven is not got so easily. Use the means yourself, and win to some sense of God, pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to salvation, God forgive you, for I have discharged myself in that respect towards you, and appointed a man to teach you; your blood be on yourselves. He took an oath of his servants, that they should follow his advice, and said to them severally, If I have been rough to or abused you, I pray for God's sake to forgive me; and, amongst others, to whom he had been rough, said, Your Lordship never did me wrong, I will never get such a master again. Yet he urged the boy to say, My Lord I forgive you; howbeit the boy was hardly brought to say these words. He said to all the beholders about him, Sirs, behold how the Lord hath brought me.

On a gentleman burdened in his estate, he said, "Sir, I counsel you to lay your burden upon the Lord your God."—A religious gentleman of

* It would appear, from the date of the last of Mr. Rutherford's letters to this noble lady, that she lived till, or a little after, the Restoration.

I thought to have been dissolved ere now. The minister said, weary of the Lord's yoke, Jesus Christ is posting fast to be at you he is but a few miles. He answered, This is my infirmity. I will wait on, as worth the on-waiting; though he be long in coming, yet I dare say he is coming, leaping over the mountains, and skipping over the hills. The minister said, Some have gotten their fill of Christ in this life, howbeit he is often under a mask to his own. Even his best saints, Job, David, Jeremiah, &c. were under desolutions. My Lord said, But what are these examples to me? I am not in holiness near to them. The minister said, It is true, you cannot take so wide steps as they did, but you may in the same way with them. A young child followeth his father at the back, though he cannot take such wide steps as he. My Lord, your younger overcometh your faith, only but believe his word; you are long-er for Christ, only believe he is faithful, and will come quickly. To which he answered, I think it is time—Lord Jesus, come.

Then the minister said, My Lord our nature is anxious for our own preservation; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, patience, and hope. He answered, Good reason to be first served. Lord, I will wait on you; only, Lord, turn me not to dross.

Another said, Cast back your eyes, my Lord, on what you have read, and be thankful.—At the hearing of which he brake forth in praise of God; and finding himself now weak, and his speech failing more than an hour before his death, he desired the minister to pray. In prayer, the minister cried in his ear, "My Lord, can you now converse with Christ?" To which he returned no answer, nor was it expected he would speak any more:—Yet in a little the minister asked, Have you any sense of the Lord's love?—He answered, I have. The minister said, Do you now enjoy? He answered, I do enjoy. Thereafter he asked him, Will ye not sunder with Christ?—He answered, By no means. This was his last word, not being able to speak any more.—The minister said, if he should pray; and he turned his eyes towards him. In the midst of the last prayer, he was observed joyfully smiling and looking upwards. He departed this life about sun-setting, September 12, 1634, aged fifty-five years. It was observed, that he died at the same instant that the minister concluded his prayer.

Mr. Rutherford, in one of his letters to the Viscountess of Kenmuir, a few days after the death of her husband, to comfort her, among other things, used the following expression, "In this late visitation, that hath befallen your husband, ye have seen God's love and care in such a measure, that I thought our Lord brake the sharp point of the cross, and made us and your Ladyship see Christ take possession and infestment upon earth, of which he who is now reigning and triumphing with the hundred and forty thousand who stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion," &c.

Some may object, what did this nobleman for the cause of Christ, or for the Lord's covenanted work of reformation, that he should be inserted among the Scots Worthies? To this it may be answered, What did the eminent saint that ever was in Scotland, or any where else, until he was enabled by the grace of God? So it was with reference to him; the sooner was he made partaker of this, than he gave a most ample and faithful testimony for his truths and interest; and, although the Lord did not see it proper, that he should serve him after this manner, in this day and generation; yet he no doubt accepted of the will for the time, and why should we not enrol his name among these Worthies on earth, seeing he hath written his name among the living in Jerusalem.

MR. ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

AFTER Mr. Robert Cunningham had received a good education, he came chaplain to the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland, and afterwards settled minister at Holywood in Ireland, some time before Mr. Blair was settled at Bangor, and with whom Mr. Blair, after his settlement in that place, contracted such an acquaintance as was considerable to them both.

He applied himself close unto the work of the ministry, without doubt to him was the most desirable of all employments, being in the pulpit in his own element, like a fish in the water, or bird in the air, always judging that therein a Christian might enjoy much fellowship with Christ, and have an opportunity of doing him the best of services, considering what Christ said to Peter, John xxi. 15, &c. *Lovest thou more than these?—feed my lambs—feed my sheep.*

Here he continued to exercise his office as a faithful pastor over his flock to whom he was appointed overseer, until the time that several of his faithful brethren were deposed and ejected by the bishops; at that time the Bishop of Down threatened Mr. Blair with a prosecution against him, Mr. Cunningham, and some others; to whom Mr. Blair said, *may do with me and some others as you please; but if ever ye meet with Mr. Cunningham, your cup will be full: and indeed he was spared than any of the rest; which was a great benefit to their flock when they were deposed, he preached every week in one or other of the kirks. So with great pains, both at home and abroad, he wore out his body, which before was not very strong.*

When Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingstone were summoned before the synod to be deposed, they went the night before his appearance, to take leave of Mr. Cunningham; but the next day, as they were going to the church of Parphilips, he came up to them; whereat being surprised and asked, why he came thither? To which he answered, "All night I have been troubled with that place; at my first answer no man stood with me; therefore I am come to stand by you." But being the eye-sore of the devil, and the Prelatical clergy in that part of the country, he could not be suffered long to exercise his ministry; and in August 1636, he, and other of his faithful brethren, was thrust out and deposed. He continued mostly after this with the rest of his suffering brethren, until after the defeat of their enterprise to New England, that they were obliged to return to Ireland, and come over to Scotland; and not long after he took to his sickness in Irvine, whereof he soon after died.

During his sickness, besides many other gracious expressions, he said, "I see Christ standing over death's head, saying, Deal warily with my servant, loose thou this pin, then that pin, for his tabernacle must be set up again."

The day before his death, the members of the presbytery of Down made him a visit, whom he exhorted to be faithful to Christ and his cause; and to oppose the service-book, then pressed upon the people. "The Bishop," said he, "hath taken my ministry from me, and my life also, for my ministry is dearer to me than my life." Before his departure, his wife sitting by his bed-side, with his hand in hers, he did by prayer recommend the whole church of Ireland, the par-

Holywood, his suffering brethren in the ministry, and his children, to God; and withal added, " Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife ;—and with that he softly loosed his hand from hers, and thrust it a little from him ; at which she and several of the company fell a-weeping ; he endeavoured to comfort them with several gracious expressions, and, with the Lord's servant of old, mentioned Acts xiii. 26. *Having served his own generation, by the will of God he fell asleep,* March 27, 1637.

Mr. Cunningham was a man mostly under deep exercises of mind, and though in public preaching he was, to his own sense, sometimes not so assisted as ordinary, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreshing, being still carried through with a full gale, using more piercing expressions than many others. For meekness he was another Moses, and in patience another Job ;—To my discerning, (says one of our Scots Worthies, *) he was the man who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ in all his carriage, that ever I saw ; and was so far revered of all, even by the wicked, that he was often troubled with that scripture, *Who to you when all men speak well of you.*"

MR. JAMES MITCHELL.

His was son to James Mitchell of Dykes, in the parish of Ardrossan, and was born about the year 1621. His father, being factor to the Earl of Eglington, and a very religious man himself, gave his son a most liberal and religious education. For being sent to the university of St. Andrews when very young, he profited to such a degree, that by the time he was eighteen years of age, he was made master of arts.

After this he returned home to his father's house, where he studied for two years and a half, the Lord in a good measure blessing his pains and endeavours therein. Mr. Robert Bailie, then minister at Kilwinning, shewed him no small kindness, by the loan of his books, by his counsel, and by superintending his studies.

Thereafter, he was called by the Lady Houston, to attend her eldest son at the college, in which employment he continued other two years and a half ; in the which time the Lord blessed his studies there exceedingly ; and the great pains taken upon him by Mr. David Dickson, then professor of the university of Glasgow, Mr. Bailie, and others, had such blessing from heaven, that he passed both his private and public trials, in order for the ministry, to their great contentment.

After he was licensed, he came west and preached in Kilwinning and Ardrossan, to the satisfaction of all who heard him ; so that they blessed God in his behalf, and were very hopeful of his great abilities.

But before Martinmas 1643, he went back to Glasgow, where he attended his studies and his pupil. He preached some few times at Glasgow, wherewith all those who loved Christ, and his cause and people, were exceedingly well pleased. At this time, Mr. Dickson, Mr. [unclear], and Mr. Robert Ramsay, having great hopes of his gifts in preaching, told his father, that he had great reason to bless God for the gift

* Mr. Livingstone, in his Memorable Characteristics.

and graces bestowed upon him, above all their expectation; for, besides these, the Lord had taken him truly by the heart, and wrought graciously with his soul. He had given himself entirely up to prayer, and the study of the word of God; and reading thereof, was now become his delight.

But, the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a short time all their great expectations of him in the ministry were frustrated: For by his extreme abstinence, drinking of water, and indefatigable pains, he contracted that sickness of which he died soon after. His body began to languish, his stomach to refuse all sort of meat, and his constitution to alter. Mr. Dickson laid his condition much to heart, (Mr. Bailie being at London,) and kept him fifteen days with him; thereafter he went to Houston, and staid as long there, where the Lady and her daughter shewed more love and kindness than can be expressed, and that not only for the care he had for her son; but also, for the rare gifts and graces God had bestowed on him. His father having sent for him, he returned home. The first night on his journey, he was with Ralston; and the Laird of Ducathall, being there occasionally, attended him all the rest of the way homeward; for not being able to ride two miles together, he behoved to go into a house to rest himself for an hour: such was his weakly condition.

After his arrival at home, he put on his clothes every day, for fifteen days, and after that lay bedfast for ten weeks, until the day of his death, during which time the Lord was very merciful and gracious to him, both in an external and internal way. For his body, by degrees daily languished, till he became like a skeleton; and yet his face remained ever pleasant, beautiful, and well coloured, even to his last.

The last five or six weeks he lived, there were always three or four, and sometimes more, waiting on him; yet they never had occasion to be weary of him; but were rather refreshed with every day's continuance by the many wise, sweet, and gracious discourses, which proceeded out of his mouth.

In the time of his sickness, the Lord was graciously pleased to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, so that his peace and confidence in God was not much disturbed; or if the Lord was pleased to suffer any little assault, it soon vanished. His feeling and sorrow was not frequent nor great, but his faith and confidence in God, through Jesus Christ, was ever strong, which he told his father divers times was more sure and solid than the other. He said, that the Lord, before his sickness, had made fast work with him about the matters of his soul, and that before that he had been under sore exercises of mind, by the sense of his own guiltiness for a long time, before ever he had solid peace and clear confidence; and often said, "Unworthy I, and naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord, and the Lord knows, my soul dearly loves him back again." And the Lord knew his weakness to encounter with temptation, and so out of tender compassion thus pitied him.

He was also possessed of all manner of patience and submission under all his sore trouble, and never was heard to murmur in the least, but often thought his Master's time well worth the waiting on, and was frequently much refreshed with the seeing and hearing of honest and gracious neighbours, who came to visit him: so that he had little reason, with Heman, to complain, Psal. lxxviii. 18. *Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness.*

Among other of his gracious discoveries, he declaimed much against

imprudent speaking, wishing it might be amended, especially in young scholars and young ministers, as being but the froth and vanity of the foolish mind. Among other things, he lamented the pride of many young preachers and students, by usurping priority of place, &c. which seemed them not; and exclaimed frequently against himself for his own practice; yet he said he was in the strength of God brought to mortify the same. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themselves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God, and delight in his word; and often said, that he dearly loved the book of God, and sought them to be earnest in prayer, shewing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; therefore the spirit of supplication must be wrestled for, or else all prayer would be but lifeless and natural; and said, that being once with Lady Houston and some country gentlemen at Bagles, the spirit of prayer and supplication was poured upon him, in such a powerful and lively manner, two several days before they went to dinner, that all present were much affected, and shed tears in abundance; and yet at night he found himself so emptied and dead, that he durst not adventure to pray any at all these two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and cast down, none knowing the reason.— From this he was from that time convinced, that the dispensation and influence of spiritual and lively prayer came only from heaven, and from natural abilities that were in man.

The Laird of Cunningham coming to visit him, as he did frequently, enumerated all the remarkable passages of God's goodness and providence to him, especially since he contracted sickness, as in shewing infinite mercies to his soul, tender compassion towards his body and natural spirits, patience and submission to his will without grudging, calmness of spirit without passion, solid and constant peace within and without, &c. This is far beyond the Lord's manner of dealing with many of his dear saints, &c. "Now, Sir, think ye not but I stand greatly indebted to the goodness and kindness of God, that deals thus graciously and bountifully with me every way;" and then he burst out in praise to God in a sweet and lively manner.

At another time, the Laird being present, May 26, looking out of his window to the sun shining brightly on the opposite side of the house, he said, "O what a splendour and glory will all the elect and redeemed saints see one day; and O! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, who shall communicate that glory to all his own, but the shallow thoughts of worldly men are not able to conceive the excellency thereof," &c.

Again, Mr. Macqueen being present, his father inquired at him, where his communion with God stood? He said, in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the first effect of our justification; then there was access and love to God, patience and submission to his will, &c.; then the Lord's manifestation of himself to us, as Christ says, John xiv. 21. See the 20th verse, which he instanced.

He said one morning to Hugh Macgaven and his father, "I am not afraid of death, for I rest on infinite mercy, procured by the blood of the Son of God." Then he spake as to himself, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's good will to give you the kingdom." Then he said, "What are those who are of this little flock? Even sinners. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." But what kind of sinners? Not those who are sensible of sin and wrath, and see themselves to be

lost: therefore, says Christ, "I came to seek and to save them lost;" There are two words here, seeking and saving; and who are they whom Christ seeks, and who are of his flock.

To John Kyle, another morning, he said twice over, "My sorrow for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning." another time, perceiving his father weeping, he said, "I cannot you to mourn, for I know you have thought that I might, with blessing have proved a comfortable child to you; but comfort in this, that ere it be long I will be at a blessed rest, and in a far better state than I can be in this life, free from sin and every kind of sorrow and within a short time ye will follow after me. And in the mean time encourage yourself in the Lord, and let not your mourning be like that of those who have no hope. The Lord by degrees will assuage your grief, and he has appointed, else we would be swallowed up, and come to judgment &c. for I could never have been removed out of this life in a more honorable time than now, having both the favour of God and man, be it said that my name shall not be unsavoury when I am gone, I knoweth what affronts, grief, and calamities, I might fall into, but I know much longer in this life. And for crosses and trouble, how much of my life have been made bitter to me! for when I think what opportunity might have ere I was an actual minister, by divisions of the patron, and the presbytery, it could not but overwhelm me; and being entered, what a fighting life, with a stubborn people, might I have had! I know not; and then what discontentment I might have had, which is the lot of many an honest man, is uncertain; then the narrow straits of the world, reproaches of men, personal desires, and an evil world to fight with, these and many more cannot be borne by a man in a struggling state in this life. And now, lest this should be mere speculation, I could instance these things in the persons of worthy men; I pass all, and only point out one, whose gifts are well known to you, viz. Mr. David Dickson, who I am sure made the instrument of the conversion of many souls, and of his return to the country; and yet this gracious person has been tossed in a storm. And you know that the Lord made him a gracious instrument of late reformation, and yet he has in a great measure been slighted in his state and the kirk also. What reason have I then to bless God, whose mercy is timously removing me from all trouble, and will soon be welcome to heaven as if I had preached forty years; for he knows my intention, by his grace, to have honoured him in my ministry; seeing he has accepted the will for the deed, what reason have I to complain; for now I am willing and ready to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all: wherefore, dear father, comfort you with this."

One time, in conference concerning the sin in the godly, he said to him, "I am sure you are not now troubled with coveting so near death." He answered, "Ye are altogether deceived, as long as my foot remaineth on this earth, though the other were washed above the clouds, my mind would not be free of sinfulness. Whereupon he regretted that he could not get his mind and his heart so lifted up, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, or that duty as he could have wished; and that he could not find that spirit entertaining such thoughts of God's greatness and goodness as

and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts; but he was content, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, would pity and pass by this his weakness and infirmity, &c.

Some time before his death, he fell into several fainting-fits: about or twelve days before his dissolution, he fell into one, and was speechless near an hour, so that none present had any hopes that he would again recover; but in the meantime, he was wrapt up in divine contemplation. At last he began to recover, and his heart being enlarged, he opened his mouth with such lively exhortations as affected all present; and directing his speech to his father, he said, "Be glad, Sir, to see your son, yea, I say, your second son, made a crowned king." And to his mother, he said, "Be of good courage, and mourn not for want of me, for ye will find me in the all-sufficiency of God." Then he said, "O death, I give thee a defiance, through Jesus Christ;" and then again he said to on-lookers, "Sirs, this will be a blithe and joyful good-night."

In the meantime, Mr. Bell came in, to whom he said, "Sir, you are welcome to be witness to see me fight out my last fight." After which he fell quiet, and got some rest. Within two days, Mr. Bell being come to visit him, he said, "O Sir, but I was glad the last night when you was here, when I thought to be dissolved, that I might have met with my Master, and have enjoyed his presence for ever; but I was much grieved when I perceived a little reverting, and that I was likely to live longer," &c.

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and the manner of dissolution, he said, "O! how sweet a thing it were, for a man to sleep to death in the arms of Christ." He had many other lively and comfortable speeches, which were not remembered; the day never passing in the time of his sickness, but the on-waiters were refreshed by him.

The night before his departure, he was sensible of great pain; whereupon he said, "I see it is true, that we must enter into heaven through trouble; but the Lord will help us through it." Then he said; "I have great pain, but mixed with great mercy, and strong confidence." He called to mind that saying of Mr. John Knox, on his deathbed, "I do not esteem that pain, which will be to me an end of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal felicity."

His last words were these: "Lord, open the gates that I may enter in;" and a little after, his father asked what he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and caused all his fingers shiver and twinkle, and in presence of many honest neighbours, he yielded up his spirit, and went to his rest, a little after sun-rising, upon the 11th of June 1643, being twenty-three years of age.

Thus, in the bloom of youth, he ended his Christian warfare, and entered into the heavenly inheritance, a young man, but a ripe Christian. There were three special gifts vouchsafed to him by the Lord; a noble invention, a great memory, with a ready expression.

Among other fruits of his meditation and pains, he drew up a model and frame of preaching, which he entitled, "The Method of Preaching." Many other manuscripts he left behind him, as evidences of his indefatigable labour, which, if yet preserved in safe custody, might be of no small benefit to the public, as it appears that they have not hitherto been published.

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Mr. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Mr. Alexander Henderson had passed his degrees at the university with great applause, he was, by the Bishop of St. Andrew, preferred to be minister of Leuchars, in the shire of Fife. But being brought in there against the consent of that parish, which a dissenting party on the day of his ordination, the church doors were shut against the people, that they were obliged to break in by a

When Mr. Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did not keep silence, as his usual manner was, which did astonish the hearers; but it astonished him much more, when he heard him begin with these words: *He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth some other way, he is a thief and a robber*;—which words, by the blessing of God, and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took such hold on his mind, that very instant, and made such impressions on his heart as proved the very first mean of his conversion unto Christ.

After this, he became not only a most faithful and diligent minister of the gospel, but also a stanch Presbyterian, and had a very active part in carrying on the covenanted work of reformation, from the year 1638 to the day of his death, and was among the very first who got a charge of horning from the Bishop of St. Andrews, for refusing to buy and use the service-book, and book of canons, then imposed by the King upon the church; which occasioned him and some others to give in several petitions and complaints to the Council, both craving some mitigation thereof, and shewing the sinfulness thereof; for which, and some other considerations and overtures for relief, mostly compiled by Mr. Henderson, they were by order of proclamation charged, within twenty-four hours, to leave the town of Edinburgh, under the pain of rebellion.

Again, in 1638, when the national confession or covenant was agreed upon, and sworn unto, by almost all ranks in the land, the Marquis of Hamilton being sent by the King to suppress the covenanters, who, being held several conferences with him to little or no purpose, at last told them, that the book of canons and liturgy should be discharged, on condition they should yield up their covenants; which proposition did not only displease them, but also made them more vigilant to support and vindicate that solemn deed. Whereupon Mr. Henderson was again set to work, and in a short time favoured the public with sufficient grounds and reasons why they could not recede from any part of the covenant.

Some time after this, the table (so called) which was erected at Edinburgh for carrying on the reformation, being sorry that the town and shire of Aberdeen (excited by the persuasion of their doctors) stood against and opposed the covenant and work of reformation, sent some Earls, and Mess. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, to deal with them once more, to see if they could reclaim that town and country. But upon their rival there, they could have no access to preach in any church; wh



the three ministers resolved to preach in the Earl of Marshal's close hall, as the weather favoured them. Accordingly they preached by . Mr. Dickson preached in the morning, to a very numerous multitude; at noon, Mr. Cant preached; and Mr. Henderson preached at 3, to no less an auditory than in the morning; and all of them pressed produced arguments for subscribing the covenant; which had effect upon the people, that, after public worship was over, about persons subscribed the covenant, at one table there, of whom several were people of the best quality in that place.*

And here one thing was very observable, that while Mr. Henderson preached, the crowd being very great, there were several mockers; and among the rest, one John Logie, a student, threw clods at the ministers; but it was remarked, that within a few days after, he killed one John Torrie, a young boy, because the boy's father had beat him for disturbing his pease; and though, at that time, he escaped justice, yet he was again taken, and executed in 1644. Such was the consequence of disturbing the worship of God, and mocking at the ambassadors of Christ.

In the same year, at that famous General Assembly, convened at Glasgow, where many of the nobility were present, Mr. Henderson, without contrary vote, was chosen moderator, when he did, by solemn prayer, pronounce that Assembly, *de novo*, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; "among that man's other qualifications," said Mr. Bailey, "he had a purity of grave, good, and fervent prayer, which he exercised without ceasing, unto the end of that Assembly."†

It was on the 20th session of this Assembly, that Mr. Henderson the moderator, after a most pious and learned sermon, to a very great auditory from Psalm cx. 1. *The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, and in a most grave and solemn manner, excommunicate and depose the bishops*, according to the form published among the printed acts of the Assembly. In the 21st session, a supplication was given in for leave to transport him from Leuchars to Edinburgh: but this he was refused to do, having been near eighteen years minister there. He said that he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil, &c.; and there was much contest betwixt the two parties for some days, Edinburgh being divided by seventy-five votes, very much against his own inclination. At length he submitted, on condition, that when old age should overtake him, he should be again removed to a country charge. At the conclusion of this Assembly, he said, "We have now cast down the walls of Jerusalem, (meaning Prelacy), let him that buildeth them beware of the Hiel the Bethelite," &c.

Mr. Henderson, he was one of those commissioned for the church, to treat upon articles of pacification † with the King and his commissioners, near Berwick, where he behaved with great prudence and candour. And when the General Assembly, the same year, sat down at Edinburgh, 12th August, Mr. Henderson having been the former moderator, preached to them from Acts v. 33. *When they heard that, they were enraged, &c.* Towards the close of his discourse, he addressed himself to Traquair, his Majesty's Commissioner, in these words:—

* See the History of Church and State, vol. ii. p. 334.

† See the Letters, &c. p. 587.

‡ See the articles in the History of Church and State, vol. ii. p. 745. and the Civil History of Great Britain, p. 10, &c.

"We beseech your Grace to see that Caesar have his own; but let not have what is due to God, by whom Kings reign. God hath exalted your Grace unto many high places, within these few years, and is doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. Some exalted like Haman, some like Mordecai, &c. When the Israelites came out of Egypt, they gave all the silver and gold they had carried there for the building of the tabernacle: in like manner, your Grace may employ all your parts and endowments for the building up the church of God in this land," &c.

And to the members chosen, he said, "Right Honourable, Worshipful and Reverend, go on in your zeal and constancy: true zeal doth cool, but the longer it burns, the more fervent it will grow; if it please God, that by your means the light of the gospel shall be continued, and that you have the honour of being instrumental of a blessed reformation, it shall be useful and comfortable to yourselves and your posterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good servant, but a bad master; like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder. We had much need of Christian prudence, for we know to our advantage some have attempted to take of us this way. For this reason let it be seen to the world, that Presbytery, the government we choose for in the church, can consist very well with monarchy in the state: thereby we shall gain the favour of our King, and God shall give us glory." After this discourse, and the calling of the commissions, Traquair desired that Mr. Henderson might be continued moderator. Whether this was to corroborate his Master's design, or from a regard to Mr. Henderson's abilities, as he himself professed, is not certain; but the Assembly opposed this, as favouring too much of the constant moderator, the first step taken of late to introduce Prelacy; and no man could oppose Traquair's motion more than Mr. Henderson himself, and by that means it was overruled.

Mr. Henderson was one of those ministers who went with the Scots army to England, in the year 1640, every regiment having one of the most able ministers, in the bounds where they were raised, as chaplain; and when the treaty was set on foot, which began at Rippon, and ended at London, he was also one nominated as commissioner for the church; the duties of which he discharged with great prudence and advantage; and the very next year, he was, by the commission of the General Assembly, authorized to go with Lord Loudon, Warriston, and Barclay to the King, to importune him to call his English parliament, as the only and best expedient to obtain an honourable and lasting peace: but his embassy had not the desired effect.

After his return, he was chosen moderator to the General Assembly in 1643; and when the English commissioners, viz. Sir William Army, Sir Harry Vane the younger, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darly, from the parliament, and two ministers, Mr. Stephen Marshall a Presbyterian, and Philip Nye an Independent, from the General Assembly of divines at Edinburgh, where the General Assembly of the church of Scotland was then sitting, craving their aid and counsel upon such an emergent occasion, he was among the first of those nominated as commissioners, to go up to the parliament and assembly of England. And so, in a little after Mr. Henderson and Mr. Gillespie, with Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Nye, went for London, to get the solemn league ratified there; the rest of the commissioners staying behind, until it should be returned. Upon the

at London, and having received a warrant from the parliament in the next Assembly, (which warrant was presented by Mr. Henderson), the Assembly sent out three of their number to introduce them. At their entry, Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, welcomed them into the Assembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone on their account, both by sea and land, in such a rigorous season, it being in November; after which they were led to a place the most convenient in the house, which they kept ever after.*

He again, in 1646, being sent down from London to attend the King, then at the Scots army at Newcastle, at which time the General Assembly elected also Mess. Robert Blair, James Guthrie, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant, to wait on his Majesty. Here Mr. Henderson officiated for some time as his chaplain; and although he and Mr. Blair, of the Presbyterians, were the best beloved of the King, yet they could by no means prevail upon him to grant the first demand of his subjects; he obstinately refused, though they besought him on their knees.

The interval of these affairs, a series of letters were continued between the King, assisted by Sir Robert Murray on the one hand, and Mr. Henderson on the other: the one in defence of Episcopacy, and the other for the Presbytery, which were exchanged from the 15th of May to the middle of July, as each person was in readiness.

But during this controversy, Mr. Henderson's constitution being much worn out with fatigue and travel, he was obliged to break off his journey to the King's last paper, and to return to Edinburgh, where, in a short time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle, in exchange for an heavenly crown, about the middle of August 1646.

Some of the abettors of Prelacy, sensible of his great abilities, were most desirous to bring him over to their side at his death; and, for that purpose, palmed upon the world most groundless stories of his changing his principles at his last hours; yea, the anonymous author of the History of the Civil Wars of Great Britain goes farther, when he says, p. 200, "Mr. Henderson had the honour to be converted by his Majesty's discourse at Newcastle, and died reconciled to the church of England." But from these false calumnies he hath been sufficiently vindicated a long time ago, by a declaration in the 9th act of the General Assembly, in 1648. See also Mr. Logan's letter, in vindication of Mr. Henderson from these imputations cast on him by Mess. Sage and Ruddiman.

Some time after his death, a monument was erected on his grave, in the Grayfriars church-yard of Edinburgh, in form of a quadrangular stone, inscribed on three sides; and because there was some mention therein of the solemn league and covenant, or rather because Mr. Henderson had done much for and in behalf of the covenant, Commissioner Middleton, some time in June or July 1662, stooped so low as to procure an order of parliament to raze and demolish said monument; which was all

At that time the Assembly sat in King Henry VIII's Chapel, and when the weather was cooler, in Jerusalem Chamber, a spacious room in Westminster Abbey. The prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, had a chair set at the upper end, a foot higher than the earth; between stood two chairs for Dr. Burgess and Mr. White, assessors; before these stood a table, where Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough, the two scribes, sat; upon the right hand sat the Scotch commissioners; on the left hand the English divines, to the number of about 118, whereof about two thirds only attended close. They met every day of the week, except Saturday, six or seven hours at a time, and began and ended with prayer.

Such as the author of the Appendix to Spottiswood's History, and others.

ears of age, entitled, A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, &c.; which book was, in the year 1637, discharged, by order of proclamation, to be used, as being of too corrosive a quality to be digested by the bishops' weak stomachs.

After this he was ordained minister of Wemyss, by Mr. Robert Douglas, April 26, 1638, being the first who was admitted by a presbytery in that period, without an acknowledgment of the bishops. And now Mr. Gillespie began in a more public way to exert himself in defence of the Presbyterian interest, when, at the 11th session of that Venerable Assembly held at Glasgow 1638, he preached a very learned and judicious sermon from these words: *The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord, &c.*; in which sermon the Earl of Argyle thought that he touched the royal prerogative too near, and did very gravely admonish the Assembly concerning the same; which they all took in good part, as appeared from a discourse then made by the moderator for the support of that admonition.

At the General Assembly held at Edinburgh 1641, Mr. Gillespie had a call tabled from the town of Aberdeen; but the Lord Commissioner and himself here pled his cause so well, that he was for some time continued at Wemyss.—Yet he got no staying there long; for the General Assembly, in the following year, ordered him to be transported to the city of Edinburgh, where, it appears, he continued until the day of his death, which was about six years after.

Mr. George Gillespie was one of those four ministers, who were sent as commissioners from the church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, in the year 1643, where he displayed himself to be one of great parts and learning, debating with such perspicuity, strength of argument, and calmness of spirit, that few could equal, yea, none excel him in that Assembly. As for instance, one time, when both the Parliament and the Assembly were met together, and a long studied discourse being made in favour of Erastianism, to which none seemed ready to make an answer, and Mr. Gillespie being urged thereunto by his brethren the Scots commissioners, repeated the subject-matter of the whole discourse, and refuted it, to the admiration of all present;—and that which surprised them most was, that though it was usual for the members to take down notes of what was spoken at the Assembly for the help of their memory, and that Mr. Gillespie seemed to be that way employed during the time of that speech unto which he made answer; yet those who sat next him declared, that having looked into his note-book, they found nothing of that speech written, but here and there, "Lord, send light,—Lord, give assistance,—Lord, defend thine own cause," &c.

And although the practice of our church gave all our Scots commissioners great advantages, (the English divines having so great a difference,) that they had the first forming of all these pieces,* which were afterwards compiled and approved of by that Assembly; yet no one was more useful at supporting them therein than Mr. Gillespie, the youngest of them. "None (says one of his colleagues who was present,) in all the Assembly did reason more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie: he is an excellent man; my heart blesses God in his behalf." Again, when Acts xvii. 28.

* Such as our Catechisms, Directory for Worship, Form of Church-government; and when the Confession of Faith was about to be compiled, they added to our Scots commissioners, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyl, Mr. Herle the prolocutor, (Dr. Twisse being then dead, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Reynolds, and Mr. Reeves, who prepared materials for that purpose).

was brought for the proof of the power of ordination, and keen dispute arose upon it. "The very learned and accurate Gillespie, a singular ornament to our church, than whom not one in the Assembly spoke a better purpose, nor with better acceptance of all the hearers, shewed the Greek word, of purpose, by the Episcopalians translated ordination, truly choosing, importing the people's suffrage in electing their own face-bearers." And elsewhere says, "We get good help in our Assembly debates of Lord Wariston, an occasional commissioner, but of more than that noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and God, as for all my colleagues; so for him in particular, as equal to the first in the Assembly." [See Mr. Baillie's Letters.]

After his return from the Westminster Assembly, he was employed mostly in the public affairs of the church, until 1648, when he was sea moderator to the General Assembly; in which Assembly several famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of reformation, particularly that against the unlawful engagement then made by King and by the Duke of Hamilton, and those of the malignant faction. In this Assembly, he was one of those nominated to prosecute the cause of uniformity in religion with England; but in a short time after the sickness seized him, whereof he died about the 17th of December following.

Mr. Rutherford says to him, in a letter when on his deathbed, "not heavy, the life of faith is now called for; doing was never required on your accounts, though Christ in and by you hath done more than twenty, yea, an hundred gray-haired and godly pastors. Look in this word, Gal. ii. 20. *Nevertheless, I live: yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.*"

In his lifetime he was always firmly attached to the work of reformation, and continued so to the end of his life. For about two years before his decease, he sent a paper to the Commission of the General Assembly, wherein he gave faithful warning against every sin and heresy, and that he then perceived to be on the growing hand, both in church and state; and last of all, he emitted the following faithful testimony against association and compliance with the enemies of truth and holiness, in these words:

"Seeing now, in all appearance, the time of my dissolution is near, although I have, in my latter will, declared my mind of these affairs, yet I have thought good to add this further testimony. I esteem the malignant party in these kingdoms to be the seed of the enemies to piety and Presbyterian government, pretend what they please to the contrary, a generation who have not set God before them, and the malignant are to be joined the profane and scandalous; from which, as from heresy and error, the Lord, I trust, is about to purge his church. I have often comforted myself, and still do, with the hope that the Lord's purging this polluted land. Surely the Lord hath begun and will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture of hypocrites; but cannot excuse the conniving at gross and scandalous sinners, &c. I commend to them that fear God, seriously to consider, that the scriptures doth plainly hold forth, 1. That the helping of the cause of God, joining or mingling with wicked men, is a sin highly displeasing to God. 2. That this sin hath ordinarily ensnared God's people into divers sins. 3. That it hath been punished of God with grievous judgments."

That utter destruction is to be feared, when a people, after mercies and judgments, relapse into this sin, *Ezra* ix. 13, 14.

On these and the like grounds, for my own exonerat^on, that so true a truth want not the testimony of a dying witness of Christ, the unworthiest of many thousands, and that light may be held id warning given, I cannot be silent at this time, but speak by when I cannot by my tongue, yea now also by the pen of another, cannot by my own, seriously, and in the name of Jesus Christ, and obtesting all that fear God, and make conscience of their be very tender and circumspect, to watch and pray, that he be ared in that great and dangerous sin of compliance with malign-profane enemies of the truth, &c.; which if men will do, and d in his own way, they shall not only not repent it, but to the oy and peace of God's people, they shall see his work go on and gloriously. In witness of the premises, I have subscribed the

Kirkaldy, 5th December, 1648, before these witnesses," &c. about two days after, he gave up the ghost, death shutting his t he might then see God, and be for ever with him.

died Mr. George Gillespie, very little past the prime of life; a divine, a man of much boldness, and great freedom of expres-e signalized himself on every occasion where he was called forth se any part of his ministerial function. No man's death, at that is more lamented than his; and such was the sense the public is merit, that the Committee of Estates, by an act dated Decem-1648, did, "as an acknowledgment for his faithfulness in all ic employments intrusted to him by this church, both at home ad, his faithful labours, and indefatigable diligence in all the of his ministerial calling, for his Master's service, and his learn-ings published to the world, in which rare and profitable employ-oth for church and state, he truly spent himself, and closed his ain, That the sum of one thousand pounds sterling be given to and children," &c. And though the parliament did, by their d June 8, 1650, unanimously ratify the above act, and recom-to their Committee to make the same effectual; yet, the Usurper overrunning the country, this good design was frustrated, as soon, the rev. Mr. George Gillespie, minister at Strathmiglo, wards declare.*

s the English Popish Ceremonies, already mentioned, he wrote be's *Rod Blossoming*, &c. and his *Miscellaneous Questions*, first 1649; all which, with the forecited testimony, and some other ew that he was a man of most profound parts, learning, and

MR. JOHN McCLELLAND.

MR McCLELLAND having gone through several branches of use-fig, kept a school for some time at Newton in Ireland, where he nstrumental in training up several hopeful youth for the univer-wards he was tried and approved of by the honest ministers

* See Preface to Stevenson's History.
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in the county of Down, and being licensed, he preached in their churches, until, among others, for faithfulness, he was deposed and excommunicated by the bishops.

He was also engaged with the rest of his faithful brethren in their intended voyage to New England, in 1636; but that enterprise proving abortive, by reason of a storm, which forced them to return back to Ireland, he preached for some time through the counties of Down, Tyrone, and Donnegal, in private meetings, till being pursued by the Bishop's official, he was obliged to come over in disguise to Scotland, where, about the year 1638, he was admitted minister at Kirkcudbright, in which place he continued till the day of his death.

It would appear that he was married to one of Mr. Livingstone's wife's sisters, and the strictest friendship subsisted betwixt these two worthy men, both while in Ireland, and after their return to Scotland. While he was minister at Kirkcudbright, he discovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in testifying against the corruptions of the time, but also for his own singular walk and conversation, being one who was set for the advancement of all the practical parts of religion, and that as well in private duties as in public. For instance, when Mr. Henry Guthrie, then minister at Stirling, but afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, thought to have brought in a complaint to the General Assembly 1639, against private society-meetings, which were then become numerous through the land, yet some of the leading members knowing that Mr. Guthrie did it partly out of resentment against the Laird of Leckie, who was a great practicer and defender of these meetings, thought proper, rather than it should come to the Assembly, to yield that Mr. Guthrie should preach up the duty of religious exercise in families, and that Mess. M'Clelland, Blair, and Livingstone, should preach against night-meetings, (for they were so called then, because mostly kept in the night,) and other abuses; but these brethren endeavoured by conference to gain such as had offended by success in this matter, but by no means could be prevailed upon to preach against them; which so offended Mr. Guthrie, that he gave in a charge or complaint to the General Assembly 1640, wherein he alleged that three ministers were the only encouragers of these meetings. M'Clelland roundly took him up, and craved that a committee might be appointed to try these disorders, and to censure the offenders, whether those complained of or the complainers; which so nettled Mr. Guthrie, the Earl of Seaforth, and others of their fraternity, that nothing was heard in the Assembly for some time for confusion and noise stirred up by them.

Mr. M'Clelland was also one who was endued with the spirit of dissenting what should afterwards come to pass, as is evident from some of his prophetic expressions, particularly that letter which he wrote to the Lord of Kirkcudbright, dated February 20, 1649, a little before his death, an abstract of which may not be improper, and is as follows:

“ My Noble Lord,

“ I have received yours, and do acknowledge my obligation to your Lordship is redoubled. I long much to hear what decision followed on that debate concerning patronages.* Upon the most exact trial, they would

* Although patronage be a yoke upon the neck of the church, which neither our fathers were able to bear, contrary to Acts i. 13, &c. vi. 6. xiv. 23. 2 Cor. viii. 4. the practice of the primitive church, reason, and the natural rights of mankind; yet the beginning of our reformation from Popery, it was somewhat more tolerable (not

found a great plague to the kirk, an obstruction to the propagation of religion. I have reason to hope that such a wise and well constituted Parliament will be loath to lay such a yoke upon the churches, of so little advantage to any man, and so prejudicial to the work of God, as hath so many times represented. Certainly the removing it were the stopping the way of simony, except we will apprehend that whole presbyteries will be bribed for patronage. I can say no more but what Christ said to the Pharisees. It was not so from the beginning; the primitive church knew nothing of it.

"But as for their pernicious disposition to a rupture among sectaries, I can say nothing to them: only this, I conclude their judgment sleeps: *Shall they escape; shall they break the covenant, and be delivered?* &c. Ezek. xvii. 16, &c.; which I dare apply to England, I hope, without resting of scripture. *And therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely will I be oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense on his own head,* &c. This covenant was made with Nebuchadnezzar; the matter was civil, but the tie was religious; wherefore the Lord owns it as his covenant, because God's name was invoked and inrolled in it; and he calls England to witness. England's covenant was not made with Scotland only, but with the high and mighty God, principally for the reformation of his house, and it was received in the most solemn manner that I have heard; so that they may call it God's covenant both formally and materially; and the Lord did second the making of it with more than ordinary success to that nation. Now, it is manifestly despised and broken in the sight of all nations; therefore it remains that the Lord avenge the quarrel of his covenant.† England

(necessary) than now, when there were few ministers, the people but just emerging out of gross darkness, and our noblemen and gentlemen then being generally not only religious men, but also promoters of our reformation. (the quite contrary of which was the case at present;) and yet our wise reformers, while in an advancing state, made great acts, both in church and state, as barriers against this increasing evil, and never used until, by an act of parliament 1649, they got it utterly abolished. Soon after the Revolution, this act, among others, was declared null, and patronage in its full force restored; which continued till the Revolution, when its form was changed, by taking that away from patrons, and lodging it in the hands of such heritors and elders as were qualified by law. But as if this had not been enough, to denude the people of that right purchased to them by the blood of Christ, patronage was, in its extent, by act of parliament restored, and is now universally practised, with as bad circumstances as ever. And it is to be feared after all, that there are many now a-days more irritated and chagrin'd at this evil, because it more sensibly crosses their own inclination, than because it is an usurpation upon the church of Christ, else they would give a more ample testimony against the other branches of those encroachments made upon Christ's crown and royal prerogative. Those who would see more of the evil consequences of patronage and popular elections vindicated, may consult *RECTIUS INSTRUENDUM*; Park upon Patronage; the *Struggles of the People*; *The Full Vindication of the People's Right*, &c. *A Plea for the Church of Scotland against Patronage*; *The Candid Inquiry*; and, *An Attempt to prove every species of Patronage foreign to the nature of the Church*, &c.

† And may we not tremble and be afraid of the same judgments? for how applicable is this to our case in Scotland at present, wherein these our national vows and covenants are not only slighted and neglected, yes, flouted at by many in this profane generation, even some having a more seeming zeal for religion, stand not to argue and say, that although these covenants were binding on our forefathers, who made and took them, yet they can be no way obligatory on us, who were never personally engaged in them. But let such for certainty know, that as these solemn vows have their foundation in scripture, Numb. xxx. 2. Deut. v. 3. Josh. xxiv. 25. Psalm lxxvi. 11. Isa. xix. 18. Gal. iii. 15. the duties engaged in therein being purely theological and moral, cannot have respect unto all circumstances and periods of time; and besides, their

hath had to do with the Scots, French, Danes, Picts, Normans, and
 manns; but they never had such a party to deal with as the Lord of
 pleading for the violation of his covenant, &c. Englishmen &
 spectacles to all nations, for a broken covenant, when the living
 swears, *As I live, even the covenant that he hath despised, and the oath
 hath broken, will I recompense on his own head.* There is no place
 doubting. *Hath the Lord said it, hath the Lord sworn it! and will
 he do it?* His assertion is a ground for faith, his oath a ground of ful-
 lance of faith, if all England were as one man united in judgment
 affection, and if it had a wall round about it reaching to the sun
 it had as many armies as it has men, and every soldier had the
 of Goliath, and if their navies could cover the ocean, and if there were
 to peep out or move the tongue against them; yet I dare not
 their destruction, when the Lord hath sworn by his life, that
 avenge the breach of covenant. When, and by whom, and in
 manner he will do it, I do profess ignorance, and leave it to his
 Majesty, his own latitude, and will commit it to him, &c.

"My Lord, I live and will die, and if I be called home before
 time, I am in the assured hopes of the ruin of all God's enemies
 land; so I commit your Lordship and your Lady to the grace of

JOHN McCLELLAND.

A very little after he wrote this letter, in one of his sermons
 pressed himself much to the same purpose, thus: "The judgment
 England shall be so great, that a man shall ride fifty miles thro'
 best plenshed parts of England, before he hear a cock crow
 bark, or see a man's face." Also he further asserted, "That if
 the best land of all England, he would make sale of it for two
 the acre, and think he had come to a good market."^o And
 this may not have had its full accomplishment as yet, yet there is
 to believe that it will be fulfilled, for the Lord will not alter
 that is gone out of his mouth.

Mr. McClelland continued near twelve years at Kirkcudbright.
 the year 1650, he was called home to his Father's house, to
 fruition of that which he had seen in vision.

He was a man most strict and zealous in his life, and knew
 it was to be afraid of any man in the cause of God, being one
 most nearly acquainted with him, and knew much of his Master.
 Surely the Lord doth nothing but what he revealeth to his
 prophets.

A little before his death he made the following epitaph on his

Come, stingless death, have o'er; lo! here's my pass,
 In blood character'd, by his hand who was,
 And is, and shall be. Jordan, cut thy stream,
 Make channels dry. I bear my Father's name,
 Stamp'd on my brow. I am raviash'd with my crown,
 I shine so bright, down with all glory, down,

form being FORMALIS RATIO, i. e. formal reason, and the action solemn, the
 Heaven being both a party and witness therein, the obligation must be perpe-
 tue mortal on earth can lawfully dispense with, and so shall bind and oblige all
 under penalty of breach of God's covenant, while sun and moon endure.

^o See the forementioned letter and note in a pamphlet, entitled, *Some Py-
 raphlets of our Scots Worthies, &c.* from p. 20, &c.

That world can give. I see the peerless port,
 The golden street, the blessed soul's resort,
 The tree of life, floods gushing from the throne,
 Call me to joys. Begone, short woes, begone.
 I liv'd to die, but now I die to live,
 I do enjoy more than I did believe.
 The promise me unto possession ends,
 Faith in fruition, hope in having, ends.

MR. DAVID CALDERWOOD.

1. DAVID CALDERWOOD having spent some time at the grammar school, went to the university to study theology, in order for the ministry, and, after a short space, being found fit for that office, he was made minister at Crailing, near Jedburgh; where, for some considerable time, he reached the word of God with great wisdom, zeal, and diligence, and was a faithful wise harvest-man, brought in many sheaves into God's garner. But it being then a time when Prelacy was upon the advance of the church, and faithful ministers every where thrust out and suppressed, among the rest, gave in his declination in 1608, and thereupon signed instruments in the hands of James Johnston, notary public, in presence of some of the magistrates and council of the town; whereupon a citation being sent to the King by the bishops, a direction was sent from him to the Council, to punish him, and another minister who had acted exemplarily; but by the earnest dealing of the Earl of Lothian, then the Chancellor in favour of Mr. Calderwood, their punishment redounded only in a confinement within their own parish, &c.

He was continued until June 1617, that he was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at St. Andrews, upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon, the King being present, and his libel read and answered, the King, among other things, said, "What moved you to protest?"—"An article concluded among the Lords of the articles." Mr. David answered, "But what fault was there in it?" said the King, "It cutteth off our General Assemblies," answered Mr. Calderwood. The King having the protestation* in his hand, challenged him to the words of the last clause thereof. He answered, "Whatsoever is the phrase of speech, they meant no other thing but to protest, that we would give passive obedience to his Majesty, but could not give absolute obedience unto any unlawful thing which should flow from that article." "Active and passive obedience!" said the King.—"That is, rather suffer than practise," said Mr. David. "I will tell thee," said the King, "what is obedience, man.—What the centurion said to his soldiers, *To this man, Go, and he goeth, and that man, Come, and he cometh, that is obedience.*"—He answered, "To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit of the same kind; and that obedience was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power." "I am informed," said the King, "ye are a refractor; the Bishop of Glasgow ordinary, and Bishop of Caithness the moderator, and your presbytery testify ye have kept no order, ye have repaired to neither presbytery nor synod, and are no way conform." He answered, "I have been con-

* This protestation had been given in a little before this, to a meeting of ministers in the Kirk of Edinburgh. See Calderwood's History, p. 675.

fin'd these eight or nine years, so my conformity or nonconformity in that point could not be well known." "Gude faith, thou art a very knave," said the King: "see these same false Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations."—The King asked, if he was released, if he would obey or not?—He answered, I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer such questions, which are besides the libel," &c. ; after which he was removed.

When called in again, it was intimated to him, that if he did not repair to synods and presbyteries between this and October, conform in that time, and promise obedience in all time coming, the Bishop of Glasgow was to deprive him. Then Mr. David begged leave to speak to the bishops ; which being granted, he reasoned thus: "Neither can ye suspend or deprive me, in this High Court of Commission, for ye have no power in this court but by commission from his Majesty ; his Majesty cannot communicate that power to you, which he claims not to himself." At which the King wagged his head, and said to him, "Are there no bishops and fathers in the church, &c. persons clothed with power and authority to suspend and depose?"—"Not in this court," answered Mr. Calderwood. At which words there arose a confused noise, so that he was obliged to extend his voice, that he might be heard. In the end the King asked him, if he would obey the sentence? to which he answered, "Your sentence is not the sentence of the kirk, but a sentence null in itself, and therefore I cannot obey it." At which some, reviling, called him proud knave. Others were not a-hamed to shake his shoulders in most insolent manner, till at last he was removed a second time.

Being again called in, the sentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he ordained to be committed to close ward in the tolbooth of St. Andrews till afterwards, that farther orders were taken for his banishment, after which he was upbraided by the Bishop, who said, that he deserved to be used as Ogilvy the Jesuit, who was hanged. When he would have answered, the bishops would not allow him, and the King, in a rage, cried, Away with him!—And Lord Scoone taking him by the arm, led him out, where they staid some time waiting for the bailiffs of the town. In the mean time Mr. Calderwood said to Scoone, "My Lord, this is not the first like turn that hath fallen into your hands."—I must see the King, said Scoone. And to some ministers then standing by, he said, "Brethren, ye have Christ's cause in hand at this meeting, be not terrified with this spectacle, prove faithful servants to your Master." Scoone took him to his house till the keys of the tolbooth were had. By the way one demanded, "Whither with the man, my Lord?" "First to the tolbooth, and then to the gallows," said Scoone.

He was committed close prisoner, and the same afternoon a charter was given to transport him to the jail of Edinburgh. After the charter he was delivered to two of the guard to be transported thither, although severals offered to bail him, that he might not go out of the country. But no order of Council could be had for that end, for the King had design to keep him in close ward till a ship was ready to convey him to London, and then to Virginia: but Providence had ordered otherwise, for, upon several petitions in his behalf, he was liberate out of prison upon Lord Cranston being bail that he should depart out of the country. After this, Mr. Calderwood went with Lord Cranston to the King's house, where the said Lord presented a petition to him, that Mr. David should be confined to his parish; but the King inveighed against him

much, that at last he repulsed Cranston with his elbow. He insisted on a prerogation of time for his departure till the last of April, cause of the winter season, that he might have leisure to get up his ar's stipend.—The King answered, Howbeit he begged, it were no matter, he would know himself better the next time; and for the season the year, if he drowned in the seas, he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death. Yet Cranston being so importunate for the prerogation, the King answered, I will advise with my bishops. Thus the year was delayed until the year 1619, that he wrote a book, called Perth Assembly, which was condemned by the Council in December that same year;—but, as he himself says, (History, p. 732,) neither the book nor the author could be found, for in August preceding he had embarked for Holland.

During his abode there, one Patrick Scot, a landed gentleman near Holland, having wasted his patrimony, had no other means to recover his estate, but by some unlawful measure at Court; and for that end, in 1624, he set forth a recantation, under the name of a banished minister, viz. Mr. David Calderwood, who, because of his long sickness before, was supposed by many to have been dead. The King, as he had alleged to some of his friends, furnished him with the matter, and he set it down in verse. This project failing, he went over to Holland, and sought Mr. Calderwood in several towns, particularly in Amsterdam, in November, in order to dispatch him, as afterwards appeared. After he had staid twenty days in Amsterdam, making all the search he could, he was informed that Mr. Calderwood had returned home privately to his native country; which frustrated his intention.—After the death of King James, he put out a pamphlet full of this, entitled, *Vox vera*; and yet, notwithstanding of all his wicked and unlawful pursuits, he died soon after, so poor, that he had not wherewith to defray the charges of his burial.

Mr. Calderwood, being now returned home, after the death of King James, remained as private as possible, and was mostly at Edinburgh, where he strengthened the hands of nonconformists, being also a great opposer of sectarianism, until after 1638, that he was admitted minister of Pencaitland, in East Lothian.

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on in that period; for first he had an active hand in drawing up some excellent papers, wherein were contained the records of church-policy betwixt 1576 and 1638, which were presented and read by Mr. Johnston, the clerk, at the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638; as also, by recommendation of the General Assembly 1646, he was required to consider the order of the visitation of kirks, and trials of presbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next General Assembly; and likewise at the General Assembly 1648, a further recommendation was given him, to draw forth the form of visitation of particular congregations, against the next Assembly; and was also one of those appointed, with Mr. David Calderwood, to draw up the form of the Directory for the public worship of God by the General Assembly 1643.*

Mr. Calderwood gave in a protest against the Assembly 1649, for enacting the Directory for election of ministers; which protest was not given in in favour of patronage, as the author of the Modest Inquiry would insinuate; for Mr. Calderwood, in his *PROTEST* DAMASCENUM, hath affirmed once and again, in the strongest terms, the people's right to choose their own pastor.

After he had both spent and been spent, with the apostle, for the sake and interest of Jesus Christ, when the English army lay at Inverkeithing in 1651, he went to Jedburgh, where he sickened, and died in a good manner. He was another valiant champion for the truth, who, in pleading the crown and interest of Jesus Christ, knew not what it was to be by the face and frowns of the highest and most incensed adversaries.

Before he went to Holland, he wrote the book entitled *Pertinax*. While in Holland, he wrote that learned book called *Alitarceum*, with some other pieces in English, which contributed to keep many straight in that declining period. After his return, he wrote the history of our church, as far down as the year 1625, the printed copy that we have is only a short abstract of that late history, which, both as to the style and the manner wherein executed, is far preferable to the printed copy; and whoever compare the two, or the last, with his *Altare Damascenum*, both of which are in the hands of some, will readily grant the truth of this assertion; and this derogates nothing from the truth of the facts reported in the copy; and therefore no offence need be taken at the information there is a more full and better copy than is yet printed. See on the 78th page of Mr. Livingstone's *Life and Memorable Characteristics*, &c.

MR. HUGH BINNING.

He was son to John Binning of Dalvennan, and Margaret daughter of Mr. Matthew M'Kell, minister at Bothwell, and sister of Hugh M'Kell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. His father's circumstances were so good, being possessed of no inconsiderable estate in the shire of Ayr, that he was enabled to give his son Hugh a liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early in him;—for the greatness of his spirit, and capacity of judgment, gave his parents good grounds to conceive the pleasing hopes of his being a promising child.

When he was at the grammar-school, he made so great proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the Roman authors, that he stripped his fellow-scholars, even such as were by some years older than himself. When they went to their diversions, he declined them, and choosed to employ himself either in secret duty with God, or in conference with religious people, thinking time was too precious to be trifled away in these things. He began to have sweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others began seriously to heart their lost and undone state and condition by nature, so that before he arrived at the 13th or 14th year of his age, he had attained to such experience in the ways of God, that the most judicious and exercised Christians in the place confessed they were much strengthened, and comforted by him, nay, that he provoked their diligence in the duties of religion, being abundantly sensible that they were much outrun by such a youth.

Before he was fourteen years of age, he entered upon the study of divinity in the university of Glasgow, wherein he made a very e

ble progress, by which means he came to be taken notice of in the college by the professors and students, and at the same time he advanced remarkably in religion also. The abstruse depths of philosophy, which were the torture of a slow genius and a weak capacity, he dived into without any pain or trouble; so that, by his ready apprehension of things, he was able to do more in one hour, than others could do in many days by hard study and close application; and yet he was ever humble, and never exalted with self-conceit, the common foible of young men.

As soon as his course of philosophy was finished, he commenced Master of Arts with great applause. He began the study of divinity with a view to serve God in the holy ministry, at which time there happened to be a vacancy in the college of Glasgow, by the resignation of Mr. James Dalrymple * of Stair, who had sometime been his master. And though Mr. Binning was but lately his scholar, yet he was determined, after much entreaty, to stand as a candidate for that post.

According to the usual laudable custom, the masters of the college admitted a program, and sent it to all the universities of the kingdom, inviting such as had a mind for the profession of philosophy, to sist themselves before them, and offer themselves to compete for that preferment; giving assurance, that, without partiality, the place should be conferred upon him who should be found *dignior et doctior*.

The ministers of the city of Glasgow, considering how much it was the interest of the church that well qualified persons be put into the profession of philosophy, &c. and knowing that Mr. Binning was eminently pious, and of a bright genius, as well as solid judgment, set upon him to sist himself among the other competitors; but they had difficulty to overcome his modesty. They at last prevailed upon him to declare his willingness to undertake the dispute before the masters. Among others, there were other two candidates, one of whom had the advantage of great interest with Dr. Strange, Principal of the college at that time, and the other a scholar of great abilities; yet Mr. Binning so managed the dispute, and acquitted himself in all parts of his trial, that, to the conviction of the judges, he darkened his rivals. But the Doctor, and some of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend the person they inclined to prefer had an equality, much less a superiority, in the dispute, yet they argued, *ceteris paribus*, that this person they intended was a citizen's son, of a competency of learning, and a person of more years, and by these means had greater experience than what Mr. Binning, who was in a manner but of yesterday, could be supposed to have. But to this it was replied, that Mr. Binning was such a pregnant scholar, so wise and sensible as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth; and what was wanting in years was made up sufficiently by his more than ordinary and singular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the struggle to be great, (as indeed there were plausible reasons on both sides) proposed a dispute between the two candidates, *extempore*, upon such subject they should be pleased to prescribe. This being considered, they gave a period to the division amongst them; and those who had op-

* This gentleman entered advocate in 1648, and was by the Protector made one of the judges of the Session in 1657, and became President in 1681. In 1682, he had to retire to Holland: in 1689, he was restored to his office: and in 1690, was created a Viscount. He wrote the Institutions of the Law of Scotland, and also published a system of Divinity, greatly valued at that time; with a book, entitled, A Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in which there is discovered great force of argument and sound knowledge.

posed him, not being willing to engage their friend with such an able antagonist a second time, Mr. Binning was elected.

Mr. Binning was not quite nineteen years of age when he commenced regent and professor of philosophy; and though he had not time to prepare a system of any part of his profession, as he had instantly to begin his class, yet such was the quickness and fertility of his invention, the tenaciousness of his memory, and the solidity of his judgment, that his dictates to the scholars had a depth of learning, and perspicuity of expression, and was among the first in Scotland that began to reform philosophy from the barbarous terms and unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen.

He continued in this profession three years, and discharged his trust so as to gain the general applause of the university for academical exercises: and this was the more remarkable, that having turned his thoughts towards the ministry, he carried on his theological studies at the same time, and made great improvements therein; for his memory was so retentive, that he scarcely forgot any thing he had heard or read. It was easy and ordinary for him to transcribe any sermon, after he returned to his chamber, at such a length, that the intelligent and judicious reader who had heard it preached, would not find one sentence wanting.

During this period, he gave full proof of his progress and knowledge in divinity, by a composition from 2 Cor. v. 14. *For the love of Christ constraineth us, &c.* Which performance he sent to a gentlewoman, who had been some time at Edinburgh, for her private edification; who having perused the same, judged it to have been a sermon of some eminent minister in the west of Scotland, and put it into the hands of the then Provost of Edinburgh, who judged of it in the same manner. But when she returned to Glasgow, she found her mistake, by Mr. Binning's asking it at her. This was the first discovery he had given of his dexterity and abilities in explaining the scriptures.

At the expiration of three years as a professor of philosophy, the parish of Govan, which lies adjacent to the city of Glasgow, happened to be vacant, and before this, whoever was Principal of the college of Glasgow was also minister there; but this being attended with inconveniencies, an alteration was made; and the presbytery having a view to supply that vacancy with Mr. Binning, they took him upon trials, in order to be licensed a preacher;—and preaching there to the great satisfaction of the people, he was some time after called to be minister of that parish, which call the presbytery approved of, and entered him upon trials for ordination about the twenty-second year of his age, and he went through them to the unanimous approbation of the presbytery, giving testimony of his fitness to be one of the ministers of the city upon the first vacancy, having a view at the same time to bring him back to the university, whenever the profession of divinity should be vacant.

He was, considering his age, a prodigy of learning. For before he had arrived at the 26th year of his age, he had such a large stock of useful knowledge, as to be *philologus, philosophus, et theologus eximius*, and might well have been an ornament to the most famous and flourishing university in Europe. This was the more surprising, considering his weakness and infirmity of body, as not being able to read much at a time or to undergo the fatigue of continual study; insomuch that his knowledge seemed rather to have been born with him, than to have been acquired by hard and laborious study.

Though he was bookish, and much intent upon the fulfilling his ministry, yet he turned his thoughts to marriage, and did espouse a virtuous & excellent person, Mrs. Barbara Simpson, daughter to Mr. James Simpson, a minister in Ireland. Upon the day he was to be married, he it, accompanied with his friend and some others, among whom were several worthy ministers, into an adjacent country congregation, upon the day of their weekly sermon. The minister of the parish delayed sermon till they would come, hoping to put the work upon one of the ministers whom he expected to be there; but all declining it, he tried next to prevail on the bridegroom, with whom he succeeded, though the invitation was not expected. It was no difficult task to him to preach upon a short warning: he stepped aside a little to premeditate, and implore his sister's presence and assistance, (for he was ever afraid to be alone in his work,) and entered the pulpit immediately, and preached upon 1 Pet. 5. *But as he that hath called you is holy, &c.* At which time he was so remarkably helped, that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth, &c.

When the unhappy differences betwixt the resolutioners and protesters came out, among whom Mr. Binning was of the last denomination, this conjunction proved to be of fatal consequence. He saw some of the evils it in his own time; and being of a catholic and healing spirit, with a view to the cementing of differences, he wrote an excellent treatise of Christian love, which contains very strong and pathetic passages, most apposite to this subject. He was no funder of factions, but studious of public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles, and temperate passions, never imposing or overbearing upon others, but willingly listened to advice, and always yielded to reason.

The prevailing of the English sectarians under Oliver Cromwell,* the overthrow of the Presbyterian interest in England, and the various attempts which they made in Scotland on the constitution and discipline of his church, was one of the greatest difficulties which the ministers had to struggle with. Upon this he hath many excellent reflections in his sermons, particularly in that sermon from Deut. xxxii. 4, 5. See his works, p. 502, 557, &c.

After he had laboured four years in the ministry, serving God with his might in the gospel of his Son, he died in 1653 of a consumption, when he was scarce come to the prime and vigour of his life, being only in the 34th year of his age; leaving behind him a sweet savour, and an epistle of commendation upon the hearts of those who were his hearers.

He was a person of singular piety, of a humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious and lively preacher; nay, so extraordinary a person, that he was justly accounted a prodigy of human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the scriptures; and from a boy had been much under deep exercise, until the time, or a little before, that he entered upon the office of the ministry, when he came to a great calm and tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all these doubts, which for a long time he had been exercised with; and though he

As is said that the Presbyterians and Independents being on a certain time to dispute with Cromwell, while he was in Scotland, in or about Glasgow, wherest Mr. Binning was present, so managed the points controverted, that he not only puzzled Cromwell's ministers, but even put them to shame, which, after the dispute, made Oliver ask some of that learned and bold young man; and being told his name was Mr. Hugh Binning, he said, He hath bound well indeed; but, clapping his hand on his sword, said, I will loose all again.

studied in his discourses to condescend to the capacity of the meanest of hearers; yet it must be owned, that his gift of preaching was not much accommodated to a country congregation, as it was to the cities and learned. Mr Binning's method was peculiar to himself; and after the haranguing way. He was no stranger to the rules of art; knew well how to make his matter subservient to the subject he handled. His diction and language were easy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombast; and has a kind of undesigned, negligent elegance, which attracted the reader's attention. Considering the time he lived in, it might be thought that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland and was not at that time inferior to the best pulpit-orator in England. While he lived, he was highly esteemed, having been a successful instrument of saving himself, and them that heard him; of turning sinners unto righteousness, and of perfecting the saints. He died much lamented by all good people who had the opportunity of knowing him. The great divine, Mr. Durham, gave him this verdict: "That there was no speaking after Mr. Binning;" and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season.

Besides his works, which are bound up in one quarto volume, and mentioned upon occasion of the public resolutions, which has been already mentioned, some other little pieces of his have been published since. There is also a book in quarto said to be his, entitled, *An useful Catechism of Conscience*, learnedly and acutely discussed and resolved, concerning associations and confederacies with idolaters, heretics, malignants, &c. printed in 1693, which was like to have had some influence at that time upon King William's soldiers while in Flanders, which made him suppress it, and raise a prosecution against Mr. James Kid for publishing the same at Utrecht, in the Netherlands.

MR. ANDREW GRAY.

MR. ANDREW GRAY, by the calculation of his age, and the date of his entry into the ministry, seems to have been born about 1634; and he was very early sent to school, where he learned so fast, that in a short time he was sent to the university; and there, by the vivacity of his parts and ready genius, he made such proficiency, both in scholastic learning and divinity, that before he was twenty years of age, he was found accomplished for entering into the holy office of the ministry.

From his very infancy he had studied to be acquainted with the scriptures; and, like another young Samson, the Spirit of God began early to move him, there being such a delightful gravity in his conversation, that what Gregory Nazianzen once said of the great prophet might be applied to him;—"That he held forth learning beyond his age, and fixedness of manners beyond his learning."

This earthly vessel being thus filled with heavenly treasure, he was quickly licensed to preach, and got a call to be minister of the outer church of the high church of Glasgow, though he was scarce twenty years of age, far below the age appointed by the constitution of this church, unless in cases extraordinary.

No sooner was this young servant of Christ entered into his Master's vineyard, than the people from all quarters flocked to attend his sermons, being their constant emulation who should be most under the refreshing drops of his ministry; insomuch, that as he and his learned colleague, Mr. Durham, were one time walking together, Mr. Durham observing the multitude thronging into that church where Mr. Gray was to preach, and only a few going into the church where he was to preach, said to him, Brother, I perceive you are to have a throng church to-day."—To which he answered, "Truly, brother, they are fools to leave you, and come to me."—Mr. Durham replied, "Not so, dear brother; for none can receive such honour and success in his ministry, except it be given him from Heaven. I rejoice that Christ is preached, and that his kingdom and interest is getting ground; for I am content to be any thing, or nothing, that Christ may be all and all."

And indeed Mr. Gray had a notable and singular gift in preaching, being one experienced in the most mysterious points of a Christian practice and profession; and in handling of all his subjects, free of youthful vanity, or affectation of human literature, though he had a most scholastic genius, and more than ordinary abilities; that he did outstrip many that entered into the Lord's vineyard before him, his experience being very warm and rapturous, and well adapted to affect the hearts of his hearers; yea, he had such a faculty, and was so helped to press home God's threatenings upon the consciences of his hearers, that his contemporary, the aforesaid Mr. Durham, observed, that many times he caused the very hairs of their heads to stand up.

Among his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, this was one of the least, that he could so order his subject as to make it relish every palate. He could so dress a plain discourse as to delight a learned audience, and at the same time preach with a learned plainness, having so learned to conceal his art. He had such a clear notion of high mysteries, as to make them stoop to the meanest capacity. He had so learned Christ, and being a man of a most zealous temper, the great bent of his spirit, and that which he did spend himself in, was to make people know their dangerous state by nature, and to persuade them to believe, and lay hold of the great salvation.

All which singularities seem to have been his peculiar mercy from the Lord, to make him a burning and a shining light in the western climate, for about the space of two years * only, the Spirit of the Lord as it were setting up a lamp into a sudden blaze, that was not to continue long in his church. On which a late prefacer of some of his sermons has very judiciously observed,—“Yea, how awakening, convincing and reproving, may the example of this very young minister be to many ministers of the gospel, who have been many years in the vineyard, but fall short of his steps and progress! God thinks fit now and then to raise up a child to remove the sloth and negligence of many thousands of advanced years; and shows, that he can perfect his own praise out of the mouths of men.” &c.

His sermons are now in print, and well known in the world. His books do praise him in the gates; and though they are free from the

* According to the date of his exhortations at Kirkliston, June 12, 1653, and his letter to Lord Warriston, when on his deathbed, affixed to his select sermons, dated Feb. 7, 1654, it should appear, if both be authentic, that he was at least two years and a half in ministry.

metaphysical speculations of the schools, yet it must be granted that the excellencies of the ancient fathers and schoolmen do all centre in his doctrine carries light, his reproofs are weighty, and his expressions powerful: and though they are not in such an accurate or methodical style as some may expect, yet that may be easily accounted for if we consider, (1.) The great alteration and embellishment in the English language since his time; and, (2.) There can be no ground to doubt that they must be far inferior unto what they were when delivered by the author, who neither corrected, nor, as appears, intended that they should ever be published; and yet all this is sufficiently made up otherwise; for what is wanting in symmetry of parts, or equality of style, is made up in the pleasure of variety, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleasant harmony of different sounds; for so it truth in its own native dress.

It hath been often said, that Mr. Gray many times longed for the twenty-second year of his age, wherein he expected to rest from his labours by a perpetual jubilee, to enjoy his blessed Lord and Master. However, it is certain, that in his sermons we often find him longing for his majority, that he might enter into the possession of his heavenly Father's inheritance, prepared for him before the foundations of the world were laid.

He escaped death very narrowly, when going to Dundee, in company with Mr. Robert Fleming, sometime minister at Cambuslang; which remarkable sea-deliverance was matter of his thankfulness to God all his life after.

There is one thing that may be desiderated by the inquisitive, i. e. what Mr. Gray's sentiments were concerning the public resolutions, seeing he entered the ministry about the third year after these resolutions took place. Whatever his contentions in public were, it is creditably reported, that he debated in private against these defections with his learned colleague, Mr. Durham, who afterwards, on his deathbed, asked what he thought of these things?—He answered, that he was of the same mind with what he formerly heard;—and did much regret that he had been so sparing in public against these woful resolutions, speaking so pathetically of their sinfulness, and the calamities they would procure, that Mr. Durham, contrary to his former practice, durst never after speak in defence of them.

But the time now approaching that the Lord was about to accomplish the desire of his servant, he fell sick, and was cast into a high fever for several days. He was much tossed with sore trouble, without any intermission, and all the time continued in a most sedate frame of mind.

It is a loss that his last dying words were neither wrote nor remembered; only we may guess what his spiritual exercises were, from that short but excellent letter sent from him, a little before his death, to Lord Warriston, bearing date 7th February, 1656; wherein he shews, that he not only had a most clear discovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwell, and the evils that would come upon these lands for all these things, but also was most sensible of his own case and condition, as appears from the conclusion of that letter, where he accosts his Lordship thus: "Now, not to trouble your Lordship, whom I highly reverence, and my soul was knit to you in the Lord, but that you will bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and lay my broken state before him who hath pled the desperate case of many, according to the sweet word

11. iii. 5, 6. *Thou hast heard my voice, hide not thine ear, &c.* This is this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who, each of seven nights, hath slept little at all, with many other sad calars and circumstances."

was, in a short time, according to his desire, it was granted to him each, to pass unto the Author of life, his soul taking its flight into arms of his blessed Saviour, whom he had served faithfully in his and generation, being about twenty-two years old. He shone too precious to continue long, and burned so intensely, that he behoved to be extinguished; but now shines in the kingdom of his Father, more conspicuous and refulgent manner, even as the brightness of firmament, and the stars for ever and ever

He was in his day a most singular and pious youth; and though he young, yet he was old in grace, having lived long, and done much for d in a little time, being one, both in public and private life, who posed in a high degree every domestic and social virtue that could adorn character of a most powerful and pathetic preacher, a loving husband,* an affable friend, ever cheerful and agreeable in conversation, was ready to exert himself for the relief of all who asked or stood in l of assistance; which uncommon talents not only endeared him to brethren the clergy, but also to many others, from the one extremity e land to the other, that heard or knew any thing of him, who coned and highly esteemed him as one of the most able advocates for ropagation and advancement of Christ's kingdom.

His well-known sermons are printed in several small pieces. Those d his Works are bound in one volume octavo. To the eleven ser- s printed some time ago, are lately published a large collection, to number of fifty-one, entitled, his Select Sermons; whereof only three, onnexion sake, and his letter to Lord Warriston, are inserted, which e before published in his works. So that by this time, most, if not f the sermons are now in print, that ever were preached by him.

MR. JAMES DURHAM.

MR. JAMES DURHAM was born about the year 1622, and lineally ded- ded from the ancient and honourable family of Grange Durham, in parish of Monifeth, in the shire of Angus. He was the eldest son of the Durham of Easter Powrie, Esq. now called Wedderburn, after gentleman's name who is the present possessor thereof.

Being gone through all the parts of useful learning with success and applause, he left the university before he was graduate, and for some time lived as a private gentleman, at his own dwelling-house in the coun- ty without any thought then of farther prosecuting his studies, espe- cially for the ministry; and although he was always blameless and mo- derate in his life, both in the university and when he left it, yet he was much more to religion in the serious exercise and power of it; and through the means of education, did not stand well affected to the Presbyterian

I suppose that Mr. Gray was some short time married to that worthy young gentle- man, who afterwards was married to Mr. George Hutcheson, sometime minister of the church at Irvine.

government. He first married a daughter of the Laird of Dunt, his wife and her mother were both very pious women.

His conversion to the Lord was very remarkable. For, going his lady to visit her mother in the parish of Abercorn, some miles from Edinburgh,—it happened, that at this time the sacrament was administered in that parish. Upon Saturday his mother-in-law expressed him to go with them to church and hear sermon: at first shewed much unwillingness; but, partly by their persuasion, and partly by his complaisant disposition, he went along with them. The minister that preached that day was extremely affectionate and serious in his delivery; and though the sermon was a plain, familiar discourse, yet his seriousness fixed Mr. Durham's attention very closely, and he was affected therewith. But the change was reserved till the morning. When he came home, he said to his mother-in-law, the minister preached very seriously this day; I shall not need to be pressed to church to-morrow. Accordingly, on Sabbath morning, rising early he went to church, where Mr. Melvill preached from 2 Pet. ii. 7. *Ye that believe he is precious*, &c. where he so sweetly and seriously opened the preciousness of Christ, and the Spirit of God wrought so effectually upon his spirit, that in hearing of this sermon, he first closed with Christ and then went to the Lord's table, and took the seal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr. Melvill father when he spoke of

Afterwards he made serious religion his business, both in secret and in his family, and in all places and companies where he came, and daily embraced the interest of Christ and his church, as then established, and gave himself much up to reading: for which reason, that he might be free of all disturbance, &c. he caused build a study for himself, which little chamber he gave himself to prayer, reading, and meditation, and was so close a student there, that he often forgot to eat his bread, being sometimes so intent upon his studies, that servants who went to call him down, often returned without answer; yea, his lady frequently called on him with tears, before he would come. Such communion he had with the Lord sometimes in that place.

He made great proficiency in his studies, and not only became a practical Christian, but also a very learned man. One evidence which he gave in a short dispute with one of the then ministers of the town, while he was in that town. He met, in a house where he was occasionally, with the parson of the parish, (for so the ministers were called,) who knew not Mr. Durham. After some discourse, he fell upon the Popish controversy with him, and so put him to silence, that he could not answer a word, but went sneakingly out of the room from Mr. Durham to the provost, craving his assistance to apprehend Mr. Durham, a Jesuit, assuring the provost, that if ever there was a Jesuit in the country, he might pervert many from the faith. Upon which the provost going along with him to the house where the pretended Jesuit was entering the room, he immediately knew Mr. Durham, and saluted him as Laird of Easter Powrie, craving his pardon for their mistake; turning to the parson, asked where the person was he called the Jesuit.—Mr. Durham smiled, and the parson, ashamed, asked pardon of both; and was rebuked by the provost, who said, *Fy, fy!* that any try gentleman should be able to put our parson thus to silence.

His call and coming forth to the ministry was somewhat remarkable.

time when the civil wars broke forth, several gentlemen being the cause of religion, among whom he was chosen and called captain; in which station he behaved himself like another Corneilius a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, to God always with his company, &c. When the Scots army was to engage with the English, he judged meet to call his com- rader before the engagement; and as he began to pray, Mr. Dickson, then professor of divinity at Glasgow, coming past the army, the soldiers addressing themselves in prayer, and hearing Mr. Dickson praying, drew near, alighted from his horse, and joined in prayer, and was so much taken with Mr. Durham's prayer, that he desired to be captain, and having conversed with him a little, he solemnly charged him, that as soon as this piece of service was over, he should desire to be called to serve God in the holy ministry; for to that he judged it best to call him. But though, as yet, Mr. Durham had no clear- ening to Mr. Dickson's advice, yet two remarkable providences happened just upon the back of this solemn charge, served very much to way to comply with Mr. Dickson's desire:—The first was, that Mr. Dickson's horse was shot under him, and he was mercifully spared; the second was, in the heat of the battle, an English soldier attempted to strike him down with his sword; but apprehending that he was a minister by his grave carriage, black cloth and band, as was usual with gentlemen, he asked him if he was a priest? To which Mr. Durham replied, I am one of God's priests;—and he spared Mr. Durham, upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord had preserved his life, and that his saying he was a priest was a great mean thereof, resolved therefore, as a testimony of his grate- ful sense of the Lord's goodness to him, henceforth to devote himself to the service of God in the holy ministry, if the Lord should qualify him for the same.

Accordingly, in pursuance of this resolution, he quickly went to Glasgow, and studied divinity under Mr. David Dickson, then professor of divinity, who made such proficiency therein, that in a short time, being recommended to the presbytery of Irvine to preach the gospel; and next year, upon Mr. Dickson's recommendation, the session of Glasgow appointed him one of their ministers, to entreat Mr. Durham to come and preach at Glasgow. Accordingly he came, and preached two Sabbath-days the first week-day. The session being fully satisfied with his doctrine and gifts bestowed on him by the Lord for serving him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Black- burn, then vacant; in consequence of which, he was ordained minister there in November 1647.

He devoted himself to the work of the ministry with great diligence; and his profiting did quickly appear to all; but considering that no man should entangle himself with the affairs of this life, he obliged his people to return to his own country for a little time, to be free from worldly affairs there; yet he was not idle here, but preached the gospel. He first preached at Dundee, before a great multitude, and said, *L. 18. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*; and shewed that it was the greatest honour to be a gospel-minister: and afterwards he preached at Ferling, in his own country, upon 2 Cor. v. 18. *Let us give thanks to God for the ministry of reconciliation, &c.*; and a third time

at Monifieth, at the desire of the minister there, from 2 Cor. v. *then are ambassadors for Christ, &c.* In both places he indeed acted as an ambassador for Christ, and managed the gospel-treaty of peace for a good purpose. The next Sabbath he designed to have preached a sermon; but receiving an express to return to Glasgow in haste, being dangerously sick, he came away, leaving his affairs to the care of his friends, and returned to Glasgow, where, in a few days, his wife had been the desire of his eyes, died. His Christian submission to this afflicting dispensation was most remarkable. After a short time he said to some about him, "Now, who could persuade me that this dispensation of God's providence was good for me, if the Lord said it was so?" He was afterwards married to Margaret Muir, daughter of Mr. Zechariah Boyd, minister of the Barony church of Glasgow.

In 1650, Mr. Dickson, professor of divinity in the college of Glasgow, being called to be professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, the commissioners of the General Assembly, authorized for visiting the university of Glasgow, unanimously designed and called Mr. Durham to succeed Mr. Dickson as professor there. But before he was admitted to that charge, the General Assembly of this church being persuaded of his eminent piety and stedfastness, prudence and moderation, &c. after mature deliberation, that same year, pitched upon him, though but about twenty-eight years of age, as among the ablest and best accomplished ministers then in the church, to attend the King's family as chaplain. In which station, though the times were most difficult, abounding with snares and temptations, he did so wisely and faithfully acquit himself, that there was a conviction left upon the consciences of all who observed him. Yea, during his stay at Court, and when they went about the duty of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did bear all lightness and profanity, none allowing themselves to do any thing offensive before him. So that while he served the Lord in the ministry, and particularly in that post and character of the King's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour rather than the favour of great men, and studied more to profit and edify their souls, than to gratify their fancies, as some court parasites in their sermons do: One instance whereof was, that being called to preach before the parliament, many rulers were present, he preached from John iii. 10. *Art thou a Jew in Israel, and knowest not these things?* when he mostly insisted, that it was a most unaccountable thing for rulers and nobles in Israel, &c. ignorant of the great and necessary things of regeneration, and born again of the Spirit; and did most seriously press all, from the rich to the beggar, to seek and know experimentally these things. A pattern for all ministers who are called to preach on the like occasions. He continued with the King till he went to England, and then returned.

Towards the end of January 1651, the common session of the General Assembly appointed Mr. Patrick Gillespie to write a letter to Mr. Durham concerning Mr. Robert Ramsay's being professor of divinity, in place of the said Mr. James Durham, in the university of Glasgow. In compliance of which, Mr. Durham came to Glasgow; for he is mentioned to be in the session in the beginning of April after. At the same time, Cromwell and his army were in Glasgow; and on the Lord's day, Cromwell heard Mr. Durham preach, when he testified against his invasion of Scotland. Next day he sent for Mr. Durham, and told him, he thought he had been a wiser man than to meddle with matters of p

in his sermons.—To which he answered, it was not his practice; at he judged it both wisdom and prudence to speak his mind on and, seeing he had the opportunity to do it in his presence.—Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting on the subject in public; and at the same time sundry ministers, both in England and country, met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented, in strong terms, the injustice of his invasion.

It would appear that Mr. Durham, some time after this, had withdrawn from Glasgow, and therefore a letter was, in August after, ordered sent to him, to come and visit them, and preach; and in September there being a vacancy in the inner kirk by the death of Mr. Ramsay the common session gave an unanimous call, with which the town agreed to Mr. Durham to be minister there. And some time after this, he was received minister in the inner kirk, Mr. John Carstairs, brother-in-law, being his colleague in that church.

For the whole of his ministry he was a burning and a shining light; and especially he shined in humility and self-denial. An instance of which happened one day when Mr. Andrew Gray and he were to preach, being gone together, Mr. Durham observing multitudes thronging to Mr. Gray's church, and only a few into his, said to Mr. Gray, "Brother, you seem to have a throng church to-day." To which Mr. Gray answered, "Yes, brother, they are fools to leave you, and come to me."—"Not so, brother," replied Mr. Durham, "for a minister can receive no honour and success in his ministry, except it be given him from God. I rejoice that Christ is preached, though my esteem in people's eyes should decrease and be diminished; for I am content to be any thing so that Christ be all and all."

He was also a person of the utmost gravity, and scarce smiled at any time. Once, when Mr. William Guthrie, being exceeding merry, made sport of him with his pleasant, facetious, and harmless conversation, which Mr. Durham was at first a little disgusted; but it being the usual custom of that family to pray after dinner, which Mr. Guthrie did, upon being desired, with the greatest measure of seriousness and gravity, to the astonishment of all present; when they arose from prayer, Mr. Durham embraced him, and said, "O William, you are a merry man; if I had been so merry as you have been, I could not have had such a serious frame for prayer for the space of forty-eight hours." Mr. Durham was devout in all parts of his ministerial work, so especially at communion occasions. Then he endeavoured, through prayer and work up himself to such a divineness of frame, as he was enabled to enter into the spiritual state and majesty of that ordinance. Yes, even at these solemn and sweet occasions, he spoke some way as a prophet had been in heaven, commending Jesus Christ, making a display of free grace, &c. and brought the offers thereof so low, and so easy made to think the rope or cord of their salvation offered, was so low to sinners, that those of the lowest stature might catch hold of it. He gave himself much up to meditation, and usually said to those who came to propose their cases to him, but heard them not, "I was sure to handle their case in his sermons."

His disposition, and great moderation of spirit, remarkably appeared when this church was grievously divided betwixt the resolutioners and the moderates; and as he would never give his judgment on either side, he used to say, that division was far worse than either of the sides.

He was equally respected by both parties; for at a meeting in Glasgow, when those of the different sides met separately, they made choice of Mr. Durham for their moderator; but he would not join either of them, till they would both unite together; which accordingly did. At this meeting he gave in some overtures, the substance of which was, that they should eschew all party, or lengthening out the debate, by preaching or spreading on either side; and that they should forbear practising, expressing of acts made in the last Assembly, at St. Andrews, and also pressing or spreading appeals, declinations, &c. the same; and that no church-officer should be excepted on these things, they being found otherwise qualified, &c.

So weighty was the ministerial charge upon his spirit, that to live ten years longer, he would choose to live nine years in preaching the tenth; and it was thought his close study and toils cast him into that decay whereof he died. In the time of distress, the better part being afraid that the magistrates, and a ministry who were for the public resolutions, would put in a stamp after his death, moved Mr. Carstairs, his colleague, in desire him to name his successor; which, after some demur, and secrecy till it was nearer his death, he at last named Mr. Davie then minister of Govan: but afterwards, when dying, to the other ministers, and some of the people, he named other three, to whom they pleased.—This alteration made Mr. Carstairs inquisitive, after the rest were gone; to whom Mr. Durham replied, "I fear, Mr. Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be transported to earth: he will be there almost as soon as I."—Which proved true. Mr. Durham died the Friday after; and next Sabbath Mr. Veitch preached; and, though knowing nothing of this, told the people in the noon, it would be his last sermon to them; and the same night he died next Friday morning about three o'clock; the time Mr. Durham died, as Dr. Rattray, who was witness to both, did. When on his deathbed, he was under considerable darkness of state, and said to Mr. John Carstairs's brother, "For all that I have preached or written, there is but one scripture I can remember to grip unto: *Whosoever cometh into me, I will in no wise cast out.*" Carstairs answered, "You may depend upon it, though you had a hundred." When he was drawing towards his death, in a great conflict and agony, finding some difficulty in his passage, he cried, in a rapture of holy joy, some little time before he gave up his soul to God; "Is not the Lord good? Is he not infinitely good? how he smiles! I do say it, and I do proclaim it." He died the 25th of June 1658, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Thus died the eminently pious, learned, and judicious Mr. Durham, whose labours did always aim at the advancement of religion, and whose praise in the gospel is throughout all the world, both at home and abroad. He was a burning and a shining light of the first magnitude, and of whom it may be said, without any diminution from the merit of any, that he attained unto the first throne;

* See these overtures at large in the account of his life, prefixed to his works by the Rev. Mr. ...

Among the mighty. He was also one of great integrity and authority in the country where he lived; insomuch, that when any difference between two parties he was always chosen by both parties as their great referee or arbitrator, into whose sentence all parties submitted. Such was the equality and impartiality of his mind and healing spirit.

His colleague, Mr. John Carstairs, in his funeral sermon, from Is. lvii. *Be righteous man perisheth, and no one layeth it to heart, &c.* gives him the following character:—"Know ye not that there is a prince among pastors to-day! a faithful and wise steward, that knew well how to give his children their food in due season; a gentle and kind nurse; a faithful admonisher, reprove, &c.; a skilful counsellor in all straits and difficulties; in dark matters he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame; a burning and a shining light in the dark world; an interpreter of the word out of a thousand; to him men gave ear, and after his words no man spoke again."

His learned and pious works, wherein all the excellencies of the primitive and ancient fathers seem to concentrate, are, a Commentary on the Revelations; seventy-two Sermons on the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah; an Exposition of the Ten Commandments; an Exposition of the Song of Solomon; his Sermons on Death; on the Unsearchable Riches of Christ; his Communion Sermons; Sermons on Godliness and Self-denial; a Sermon on a Good Conscience. There are also a great many of his Sermons in manuscript, never yet published, viz. three Sermons upon Resisting the Holy Ghost, from Acts vii. 51.; eight on Preaching the Spirit; five upon giving the Spirit; thirteen upon Trusting and Delighting in God; two against Immoderate Anxiety; eight on the One Thing Needful; with a Discourse upon Prayer; and several other Sermons and Discourses, from Eph. v. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Luke l. Gal. v. 16. Psalm cxix. 67. 1 Thess. v. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 14. Matth. viii.

There is also a Treatise on Scandal, and an Exposition, by way of dispute upon Job, said to be his; but whether these, either as to style or matter, cohere with the other Works of the laborious Mr. Durham, must be left to the impartial and unbiassed reader.

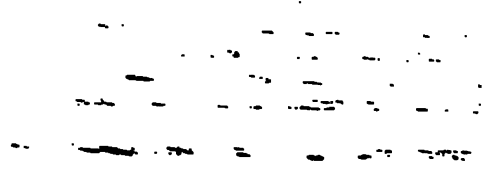
MR. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

MR. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a gentleman by extraction, having spent some time at the grammar-school, went to the university of Edinburgh, where he was so much admired for his pregnancy of parts, and deservedly looked upon as one from whom some great things might be expected, that in a short time, though then but very young, he was made professor of Philosophy in that university.

After some time after this, he was called to be minister at Anwoth, in Gallia, to which charge he entered by means of the then Viscount of Anwoth, without any acknowledgment or engagement to the bishops. He laboured with great diligence and success, both night and day, and usually by three o'clock in the morning, spending the whole time in reading, praying, writing, catechising, visiting, and other duties belonging to the ministerial profession and employment.

Here he wrote his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, &c. for which he was sum-

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the country-side might account themselves as his particular it being then in the dawning of the reformation, found not by the gospel, that part of the ancient prophecy being fulfilled; *For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams* Isa. xxxv. 6.

before that Venerable Assembly, held at Glasgow in 1638, account of all these his former proceedings, with respect to the same, and the causes thereof. By them he was appointed to the divinity at St. Andrews, and colleague in the ministry with Mr. Blair, who was translated hither about the same time. He did again so second this his eminent and faithful servant, in indefatigable pains, both in teaching in the schools, and in the congregation (St. Andrews), the seat of the Archbishop, means the nursery of all superstition, error, and profaneness, as well as a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars for the house of the Lord, almost through the whole land, many of which were led to heaven before himself, who received the spiritual life thereby, and many others did walk in that light after him.

He was mighty in the public parts of religion, so he was a great promoter and encourager of the private duties thereof. Thus, in 1640, when a charge was foisted in before the General Assembly, in defence of Mr. Henry Guthrie, minister at Stirling, afterwards at Dunkeld, against private society-meetings, which were then in vogue in the land, on which ensued much reasoning, the one side of a paper before drawn up by Mr. Henderson should be agreed in giving the order to be kept in these meetings, &c.; but Guthrie presents opposing this, Mr. Rutherford, who was never much given to speak in judicatories, threw in this syllogism, "What the Lord's warrant, no assembly may discharge; but private meetings are exercises, the scriptures do warrant, Mal. v. 16. *Then they shall speak one to another, &c. James v. 16. Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another, &c.* These things could not be done in public meetings," &c. And although the Earl of Seaforth, and those of Guthrie's faction, upbraided this good man for his want of influence upon the majority of the members; so that all the party got done, was an act antecedent the ordering of family

and one of the Scots commissioners appointed in 1643 to the General Assembly, and was very much beloved there for his usefulness and zeal in going about his Master's business. It was at this time that he published *Lex Rex*, and several other learned treatises against the Erastians, Anabaptists, Independents, and other sects, which began to prevail and increase at that time; and none ever dared to take up the gauntlet of defiance thrown down by this

The principal business of this Assembly was pretty well settled; and on October 24, 1647, moved, that it might be recorded, that the Assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the whole church of Scotland, all the time they had been dealing with these four things, mentioned in the solemn league,

When King Charles saw *Lex Rex*, he said, It would scarcely be possible for any man to give any, except what the parliament in 1662 gave it, and it to be burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman.

viz. their composing a Directory for Worship, an uniform Confession of Faith, a Form of Church Government and Discipline, and the Public Catechism, which was done in about a week after he and the rest returned home.

Upon the death of the learned Dematius, in 1651, the magistrates of Utrecht in Holland, being abundantly satisfied as to the learning, piety, and true zeal of the great Mr. Rutherford, invited him to the divinity chair there; but he could not be persuaded. His reasons elsewhere, when dissuading another gentleman from going abroad, seemed to be expressed in these words: "Let me entreat you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land. I see it, and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger; but though I have been tempted to the like, I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ, knowing he mindeth no evil to us, than in any Eden or garden on the earth."* From which it is evident, that he chose rather to suffer affliction in his own native country, than to leave his charge and flock in time of danger. He continued with them till the day of his death, in the free and faithful discharge of his duty.

When the unhappy difference fell out between those called the protestors and the public resolutioners, in 1650 and 1651, he espoused the protestors quarrel, and gave faithful warning against these public resolutions; and likewise, during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, he contended against all the prevailing sectaries that then ushered in with the sectaries by virtue of this toleration.† And such was his unwearied assiduity and diligence, that he seemed to pray constantly, to preach constantly, to catechise constantly, and to visit the sick, exhorting them from house to house, to teach as much in the schools, and spend as much time with the students and young men in fitting them for the ministry, as if he had been sequestered from all the world besides: and yet withal to write as much as if he had been constantly shut up in his study.

But no sooner did the restoration of Charles II. take place, than the face of affairs began to change; and after his forementioned book, *Lex Rex*, was burnt at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the New College of St. Andrews, where he was professor of divinity, the parliament, in 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them against him; and such was their humanity, when every body knew he was a-dying, that they caused summon him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason.‡ But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where the Judge was his friend; he was dead before that time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

* See his letter to Col. Gib Ker, part ii. letter 59.

† Betwixt this toleration and that of the Duke of York, there was this difference: in this, all sects and religions were tolerated, except Popery and Prelacy; but in that of York these two were only tolerated; and all others, except those who professed the Presbyterian, covenanted principles. And as for Queen Anne's toleration, it was nothing else than a rededication upon this, to restore their beloved idol Prelacy again.

‡ It is commonly said, that when the summons came, he spoke out of his bed, and said, Tell them I have got a summons already before a superior Judge and judicatory, and I behove to answer my first summons; and, ere your day come, I will be where few kings and great folks come. When they returned, and told he was a-dying, the parliament put to a vote, Whether or not to let him die in the college? It carried, Put him out, only a few dissenting. My Lord Burleigh said, Ye have voted that honest man out of the college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven. Some said, he would never win that hell was too good for him. Burleigh said, I wish I were as sure of heaven as he that I might think myself happy to get a grip of his sleeve to haul me in. See Walker's

When on his deathbed, he lamented much that he was withheld from bearing witness to the work of reformation since the year 1638; and, upon the 28th of February, he gave a large and faithful testimony * against the sinful courses of that time; which testimony he subscribed twelve days before his death, being full of joy and peace in believing.

During the time of his last sickness, he uttered many savoury speeches, and often broke out in a kind of sacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jesus, especially when his end drew near. He often called his blessed Master his kingly King. Some days before his death, he said, "I shall shine; I shall see him as he is; I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him; and I shall have my large share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; these very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may seem a wide word; but it is no fancy or delusion: it is true. Let my Lord's name be exalted; and, if he will, let my name be grinded in pieces, that he may be all in all. If he should slay me ten thousand times, I will trust." He often repeated, Jer. xv. 16. *Thy words were found, and I did eat them, &c.*

When exhorting one to diligence, he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian. For me I have got the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to some friends present, he said, "At the beginning of my sufferings I had mine own fears, like other sinful men, lest I should faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord; and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, as sure as his Spirit witnesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, Fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but matter of praise. I said to the Lord, if he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him; and I speak it with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good; but as really as ever he spoke to me by his spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." The Thursday night before his death, being much grieved with the state of the public, he had this expression, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification, as well as justification: repeating these words, *He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, &c.*; adding, I close with it, let him be so: he is my all in all."

March 17, three gentlewomen came to see him; and after exhorting them to read the word, and be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he said, "My honourable Master and lovely Lord, my great, royal King, hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my own guilt, even like other sinful men; but he hath pardoned, loved, washed, and given me joy unspeakable, and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cause. These whom ye call protestors are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those that have burnt the Causes of God's Wrath. They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice; but I believe *the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob.* Oh! to obtain mercy, to wrestle with God for their salvation. As for this presbytery, it hath stood in opposition to me these years past. I have my record in heaven, had no particular end in view; but was seeking the honour of God,

* See this testimony, and some of his last words, published in 1718.

the thriving of the gospel in this place, and the good of the New College that society which I have left upon the Lord. What personal wrong they have done me, and what grief they have occasioned to me, I heartily forgive them; and desire mercy to wrestle with God for mercy to them and for the salvation of them all.

The same day Mess. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilar and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery with him, coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand; none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; pray for Christ, preach for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ, do all for Christ; beware of men-pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The New College hath broken my heart; I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house; and it hath been, and still is, my desire, that he may dwell in this society; and that the youth may be fitted with sound knowledge." After this he said, "Dear brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to the presbytery;"—and Mr. M'Gill replying, "It was no presumption," he continued,—“Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge. Let them feed the flock out of love; preach for God; visit and catechise for God; and do all for God; beware of men-pleasing; the chief sin of the herd will appear shortly, &c. I have been a sinful man, and have mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned me, and accepted of my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant, and resolve never to depart from the protestation * against the controverted Assemblies. I was the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the Kirk of Scotland entire; and would not, for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the Causes of God's Wrath. Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation.

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave, he renewed his charge to them to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a faint, in which they who looked on expected his dissolution, he said, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr. Blair, whose praise is in the churches, being present, he took a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, he said to him, "Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of cordials on earth."—He answered, "They are all but dung; but they are Christ's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; I know he shall stand at the last upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall ever be with him; and what would you have more, there is an end." And stretching out his hands, he said again, "This is an end." And a little after, he said, "I have been a single man, I stand at the best pass that ever a man did; Christ is mine, and I am his." And he spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair, who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended, said to him again,—“What think ye now of Christ?”—To which he answered,

* This appears to be these papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. given in by him, and Mess. Cant and Livingstone, to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652.

* I shall live and adore him. Glory! glory to my Creator and my Redeemer for ever! Glory shines in Immanuel's land." In the afternoon of that day, he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the vale; and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;" which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expression, "Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well-tuned harp." He exhorted Dr. Colvill, a man who complied with Prelacy afterwards, to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant; and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the Doctor being the professor of the New College, he told him that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spake likewise to Mr. Honeyman, afterwards Bishop Honeyman, who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant, saying, The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvill and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me, a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he, before whom I stand, knows I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself upon all hazards, and as for the Causes of God's Wrath, which men have now condemned, tell Mr. James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times, were it possible, before I had passed from them." And then, to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me; and desire him, from me, to declare himself the man, that he is still for the government of the church of Scotland."

Afterwards, when some spoke to him of his former painfulness and faithfulness in the ministry, he said, "I disclaim all that; the port that I would be at, is redemption and forgiveness through his blood: *Thou shalt shew me the path of life; in thy sight is fulness of joy*; there is nothing now betwixt me and the resurrection, but *to-day thou shalt be with me in paradise*," Mr. Blair saying, "Shall I praise the Lord for all the mercies he has done, and is to do for you?" he answered, "Oh! for a well-tuned harp." To his child * he said, "I have again left you upon the Lord; it may be you will tell this to others, that *the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places, I have got a goodly heritage*. I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel."

Thus, by five o'clock in the morning, as he himself foretold, it was said unto him, "Come up hither;" and he gave up the ghost, and the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountains of spices.

In the foresaid manner died the famous Mr. Rutherford, who may justly be accounted among the sufferers of that time; for surely he was a martyr, both in his own design and resolution, and by the design and determination of men. Few men ever ran so long a race without cessation, so constantly, so unweariedly, and so unblameably. Two things, rarely to be found in one man, were eminent in him, viz. a quick invention, and sound judgment; and these accompanied with a homely but

* It appears that he married a second wife, by whom he had only one child alive. See his Letters, part iii. letter 55.

clear expression, and graceful elocution; so that such as knew him were in a strait whether to admire him most for his penetrating wit, sublime genius in the schools, and peculiar exactness in disputes and ters of controversy, or his familiar condescension in the pulpit, who was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time perhaps in any age of the church.—To sum up all in a word, he to have been one of the most resplendent lights that ever arose in a horizon.

If all his writings he breathes the true spirit of religion: but every way admirable letters, he seems to have outdone himself, as as every body else; which, although jested on by the profane wit of the age, because of some homely and familiar expressions in them, is he owned, by all who have any relish for true piety, that they can such sublime flights of devotion, that they must at once ravish and every sober, serious, and understanding reader.

Among the posthumous works of the laborious Mr. Rutherford, his Letters; the Tyral and Triumph of Faith; Christ's Dying and King of Sinners, &c. and a Discourse on Prayer; all in octavo. A course on the Covenant; on Liberty of Conscience; a Survey of ritual Antichrist; a Survey of Antinomianism; Antichrist Stormed several other controverted points, such as *Lex Rex*; the Due Right Church-Government; the Divine Right of Church-Government; Peaceable Plea for Presbytery, are for the most part in quarto; as his Summary of Church-Discipline, and a Treatise on the Divine fluence of the Spirit. There are also a variety of his Sermons in some of which were preached before both houses of parliament, in the year 1745. He wrote also upon Providence; but this being in Latin only in the hands of a few; as are also the greater part of his other works being so seldom republished. There is also a volume of Sermons, Sentential Discourses, &c.

Epitaph on his Grave-Stone.

What tongue, what pen, or skill of men,
Can honour Rutherford commend?
His learning justly rais'd his fame;
True goodness did adorn his name.
He did converse with things above;
Acquainted with Immanuel's love.
Most orthodox he was and sound;
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's King, and Zion's cause,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Most constantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
At last he was to full fruition
Of that which he had seen in vision.

W. W.

Oct. 9, 1635.

The Most Noble

RICHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

RICHIBALD CAMPBELL having, after a good classical education, applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, became well acquainted with the most interesting points of religion; which he retained and cultivated amidst his most laborious and highest employments, both in church and state, ever after.

In his early years he stood well affected to the Presbyterian interest, being still a favourer of the Puritans, (the Presbyterians then so called) when Mr. Rutherford was, for his nonconformity, brought before the High Commission Court in 1638, he interposed to the utmost behalf; concerning which, Mr. Rutherford, in his letters, (Part i. letter 37, and Part iii. letter 37,) says, "My Lord hath brought me a great deal of help from the highlands of Argyle, my Lord Lorn, who hath done as much as was within the compass of his power. God give me favour in return." And elsewhere to the Lady Kenmuir; "And write thanks to my brother, my Lord of Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor, weak, and stranger to him. I shall pray for him and his house while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the streets for his wronged oppressed Master, Christ Jesus." Nor was this all; for about the year 1640, he so laboured and prevailed with the Bishop of Galloway, that Sir John Erskine was released from the sentence of banishment, unto which he was assigned for the same noble cause.

When our reformation, commonly called the second reformation, was first begun in 1637, than he espoused the same cause himself; for we know that the Earl of Argyle, his father, dying about that time, left him a private counsellor, diligently attending all the sessions of that General Assembly, held then at Glasgow, in order to hear their proceedings and determinations concerning diocesan Episcopacy, and the five points of Perth, wherein he declared his full satisfaction with their decisions. And here it was that this noble Peer began to distinguish himself by his concern for the Redeemer's glory; in which he continued, and was most faithful therein, until he got the crown of martyrdom at last.

At this meeting, amongst many other things, his Lordship proposed the ratification of the confession and covenant; in which he wished them to proceed with great deliberation, lest (said he) they should bring any suspicion of perjury, who had sworn it in the sense he had done; but his motion was taken in good part by the members, and entered upon at the next session of that Assembly. Mr. Henderson, the moderator, at the dissolution of this Assembly, judging that, after all, the countenance given to their meetings by this Noble Peer deserved a particular acknowledgment, wished his Lordship had joined with them sooner; but he hoped he had reserved him for the best times, and would honour him hereafter. Whereupon his Lordship rose, and delivered an excellent speech, before the Assembly; in which, amongst other things, he said, "And whereas you wished I had joined you sooner, truly it was not want of affection for the good of religion, and my country, which withheld me, but a desire and hope, that, by staying with the Court, I have been able to bring a redress of grievances; and when I saw I could no longer stay, without proving unfaithful to my God and

my country, I thought good to do as I have done, &c. I remember told some of you, that pride and avarice are two evils that have wrought much woe to the church of Christ; and as they are grievous faults in man, they are especially so in churchmen, &c.—I hope every man shall walk by the square and rule which is now set before him, observing duty, 1. To superiors; 2. To equals; and, 3. To inferiors. Touching our duty to superiors, there needs nothing be added to what has wisely said by the moderator. Next, concerning equals, there is a much spoken of in the church, i. e. the power of ruling elders, some ministers apprehending it to be a curbing of their power; truly it may be some elders are not so wise as there is need for. But as unity ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring parishes and presbyteries meet together for settling the same, &c. And, thirdly, for inferiors, I hope ministers will discharge their duty to their flocks, and that people will have a due regard to those that are set over them to watch for their souls and not to think, that because they want bishops, they may live as they will,"* &c.

After this, when the Scots covenanters were obliged to take arms for their own defence, in 1639, and having marched towards the borders of England, under the command of General Leslie, this Noble Lord being set to guard the western coast, contributed very much, by his diligence and prudence, to preserve peace in these parts; and that not only in settling the gentlemen in these quarters, and taking security of them for that purpose, but also raised four hundred men in the shire of Argyll, which he took in hand to maintain at his own charges. Which number he afterwards increased to nine hundred able men; one half whereof he set on Kintyre, to wait on the Marquis of Antrim's design, and the other on the head of Lorn, to attend the motions of those of Lochaber, and the Western Isles. From thence he himself went over to Arran with a small cannon, and took the castle of Brodick, belonging to Hamilton; which he surrendered without resistance.

He was again, in the absence of the covenanters' army, in 1640, pointed to the same business; which he managed with no less success, for he apprehended no less than eight or nine of the ringleaders of the malignant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming; which industrious and faithful conduct of this gentleman, stirred up the malice of his and truth's adversaries, that they sought on all occasions, to vent their mischievous designs against him afterwards. For, at the very next sitting down of the Scots parliament, the Earl of Montrose discovered a most mischievous attempt to wound his reputation, and to set the King at perpetual variance with his Lordship; among other offensive speeches uttered by Montrose, one was, that the Earl of Athol, and the other eight gentlemen taken up by him the year, for carrying arms against their country, were in his Lordship's power at the ford of Lyons, he (Argyle) should have said publicly, "That the parliament (meaning the parliament) had consulted both lawyers and divers other persons about the deposing of the King, and had got resolution that it might be done in three cases, viz. 1. Desertion; 2. Invasion; and 3. Vendition. And that they once thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, but would do it at the next sitting thereof." Montrose concluded on Mr. James Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the for-

* See this discourse at large, in Stevenson's History, p. 674.

taken by Argyle, as his informer; and some of his Lordship's aids having brought the said commissary to Edinburgh, he was so hardy as to subscribe the acknowledgment of the above report to those. The Earl of Argyle denied the truth of this in the strongest manner, and resolved to prosecute Mr. Stuart before the Court of Justiciary, where his Lordship insisted for an impartial trial; which was granted, and, according to his desire, four Lords of the Session were added, *vide*, to the Court of Justiciary. Stuart was accused upon the laws of Scotland, particularly of a principal statesman; to evade the imminent danger which he wrote to Argyle, wherein he cleared him of the charge laid against him, and acknowledged that he himself forged them, out of malice against his Lordship, &c. But though Argyle's innocency was cleared, it was thought necessary to let the trial go on; and the fact being proven, he was condemned to die. Argyle would willingly have the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate wretch; but others thought the crime tended to mar the design of the late treaty, and judged it expedient, as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution, he discovered a great deal of remorse for what he had done; and although this worthy nobleman was vindicated in this, yet we find, that at the Restoration, it was made one of the principal handles against the noble martyr.

During these transactions, the King, disagreeing with his English parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended the Scots parliament there; in which parliament, that he might more effectually gain the Scots over to his interest, he not only granted a ratification of all their former proceedings, both in their own defence, and with respect to religion, but also dignified several of the Scots nobility: and being sensible of the many great and good services done by this noble Earl, he was seated at the head of the Treasury; and the day before the rising of the parliament, all the commissions granted to, and services and employments performed by, Archibald Earl of Argyle, in the service of his Majesty, were approved of; and an act of parliament made thereon, was read and voted, the King giving him his testimony in public, that he did not over honestly with him, though he was still stiff as to the point in controversy. And on the same day, Nov. 15, 1641, the King delivered a speech to the Lion King at Arms, and he to the Clerk-register, who read it publicly, whereby his Majesty created Archibald Earl of Argyle, Marquis of Argyle, Earl of Kintyre, Lord Lorn, &c. which being read, and given back to the King, his Majesty delivered the same with his own hand to the Marquis; who rose and made a very handsome speech in gratitude to his Majesty, shewing that he neither expected nor desired such honour or preferment.

During the sitting of the foresaid parliament, another incident occurred, which was a plot laid to destroy this nobleman, in the following manner: Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment, and influence, that the Marquis of Hamilton had with the King, laid a close design on their lives. The Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochran, and Lieut. General Stuart, were to have been the actors, (in which it was insinuated that his Majesty, Lord Almond, &c. were privy to the design,) which was that Hamilton and Argyle should be called for in the name of the King to speak with the King; in the way they were to have been arrested as traitors, and delivered to Earl Crawford, who was to wait for them with a considerable body of armed men. If any resistance was made,

he was to stab them immediately; if not, carry them prisoners to a ship of war, in the roads of Leith, where they were to be confined until they should be tried for treason. But this breaking out before it was fully ripe, the two noblemen, the night before, went off to a place of more strength, twelve miles distant, and so escaped this danger, as a bird out of the hands of the fowler. Yet such was their lenity and clemency, that upon a petition from them, the foresaid persons were set at liberty.

After this, the Earl (now Marquis) of Argyle had a most active hand in carrying on the work of reformation, and uniformity in religion in 1643. And while he was busied among the covenanters in 1644, Montrose and some others associated themselves to raise forces for the King, intending to draw the Scots army forth of England. To effect which, the Earl of Antrim undertook to send over ten thousand Irish, under the command of one Alaster M'Donald, a Scotsman, to the north of Scotland. A considerable body was accordingly sent, who committed many outrages in Argyle's country. To suppress this insurrection, the Committee of Estates, April 10, gave orders to the Marquis to raise three regiments which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took several of their principal chieftains, and dispersed the rest for some time. In Montrose being still on the field, wherein he gained several victories during this and the following year, and in the meantime plundered and murdered the greater part of Argyleshire, and other places belonging to the covenanters, without mercy: and although he was at last defeated and totally routed by General Leslie at Philiphaugh, yet such was the cruelty of those cut-throats, that the foresaid Macdonald and his Irish band returned to Argyleshire, in the beginning of 1646, and burnt and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected, in such a terrible manner that about 1200 men assembled in a body, under Acknalase, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the disaffected in the country; but the Athol-men falling upon them at Callender, and being but poorly armed, several of them were killed, and the rest fled toward Stirling, where their master, the Noble Marquis, met them, and considering their deplorable condition, carried them through to Lennox, to live upon the lands of the Lord Napier, and others of the disaffected, where they were better provided for. And in the meantime went over himself to Ireland, and brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with them landed in Argyleshire, upon which Macdonald betook himself to the sea, and from thence returned back to Ireland; whereby peace was restored in those parts.*

Again, in 1648, when the state fell into two factions, that of the royalists was headed by the Duke of Hamilton; and the other, (the covenanters,) by the Marquis of Argyle, from which it is easy to conclude, that from 1643, (when he had such an active hand in calling the Convention of Estates, and entering into the solemn league and covenant,) to 1648, he was the principal agent amongst the covenanters, and never failed, on all occasions, to appear in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his native country.

And for what was enacted in 1649, it is well known what appearances he made, and what interest he had in the parliament, and to the utmost of his power did employ the same for bringing home Charles II. and possessing him of his crown, and the exercise of his royal authority; and

* See a more full account of these transactions in Stevenson's History, vol. iii. p. 27

his he succeeded to good purpose, as long as the King followed his counsel and advice. But afterwards, taking in the malignant faction of places of power and trust, all went to shipwreck together; which is no small matter of grief to this worthy and religious nobleman.

And as the King was well received then by the Marquis of Argyle, so pretended a great deal of regard and kindness for him about that time; as appears from a letter or declaration, given under his own hand, St. Johnston, September 34, 1650, in which he says, "Having taken my consideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, restoring me to my just rights, &c. I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me, by some particular favour to him. And particularly I do promise, that I shall make him Duke of Argyle, a knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he shall think fit. I do further promise to hearken to his counsel, whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England. I shall see him paid the 40,000 pounds sterling which are due to him. All which I do promise to make good, upon the word of a King.

C. R.

But how all these fair promises were performed, will come afterwards to be observed. For this godly nobleman taking upon him to reprove the King for some of his immoralities,* which faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken off the Marquis's hand for the present, it appeared afterwards, that this godly freedom was never forgot, but it was again repaid him with the highest resentment; such was the reason he would not hearken to his counsel; for if debauchery and dissimulation had been accounted among the liberal sciences, then this Prince was to have been a master in that faculty.†

In the meantime, January 1, 1651, the King was crowned at Scoone, where, after an excellent sermon by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings 11, the King took the coronation oath; then sitting down in the chair of state, after some other ceremonies were performed, the Marquis of Argyle taking the crown in his hands, (Mr. Douglas prayed,) he set it upon the King's head; and so ascending the stage, attended by the officers of the crown, he was installed unto the royal throne by Archibald Marquis of Argyle, saying, "Stand fast, &c. from henceforth the place of you are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered to you by the authority of the Almighty."‡ Then the solemnity was concluded by a pertinent exhortation, both to King and people, wherein they were certified, that if they should conspire together against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, both their persons and supported should fall together.

At the King's forces having been before that defeated by Cromwell, the King, and being no longer able to make head against the English, fled to England; and here, by his particular allowance, the Marquis of Argyle, after kissing his hand, was left at Stirling. But the King's army being totally routed on the 3d of September, at Worcester, he was thence driven from all his dominions; in the meantime the

* Some accounts bear, that this was a rape committed by him.

† See the national covenant.

‡ See the coronation of Charles II. p. 38, &c.

English overran the whole country, so that the representatives of the nation were either obliged to take the tender, or else suffer great hardships; which tender the Marquis had refused at Dumbarton; whereupon they resolved to invade the Highlands and the shire of Argyle, being enclosed on all hands with regiments of foot and horse. Major Dean coming to the Marquis's house at Inverary, where he was lying sick, presented a paper, which he behoved to subscribe against to-morrow, or else be carried off prisoner; which, though sore against his will, for his own and his vassals and tenants safety, he was obliged to subscribe, with some alterations; which capitulation was made a mighty handle against him afterwards. And although he had some influence upon the usurper, and was present at several meetings, wherein he procured an equal bearing to the protesters at London, while he was there in 1657, yet he was rather a prisoner on demand than a free agent, and so continued until the Restoration.

Soon after the King's return, this Noble Marquis being very much solicited to repair to Court, and no doubt he himself inclined to wait on a Prince on whose head he had set the crown, and though some of his best friends used several arguments to divert him from his purpose, his matters were better settled; yet, from the testimony of a good conscience, knowing that he was able to vindicate himself from all aspersions, if he was but once admitted to the King's presence, he set out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to salute his Majesty; but whenever the King heard he was come thither notwithstanding his former fair promises, he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him, and carry him to the Tower, where he continued toward the beginning of December, that he was sent down in a man-of-war, to abide his trial before the parliament in Scotland. On the 5th they landed at Leith, and next day he was taken up the streets of Edinburgh covered, betwixt two of the town-bailies to the castle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On Feb. 13, 1661, his Lordship was brought down from the castle in a coach, with three of the magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by the town-guard, and presented before the bar of the House, where the King's advocate, Sir John Fletcher, accused him in common form of high treason, and producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The Marquis himself begged liberty to speak before that was done, but the House refused his reasonable desire, and ordered it to be read; and though he entreated them to hear a petition he had to present, yet that was too good a favour to be granted. The indictment, which was more monstrous forming than he had days allowed at first to bring in his defence, consisted of fourteen articles; the principal of which were, his entering into a solemn league and covenant with England, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell, &c.; all the rest being a heap of slanders, and perjury of matters of fact, gathered up against this good and great man, which he abundantly takes off in his information and answers.*

After his indictment was read, he had leave to speak; and discoursed for some time to good purpose. Among other things, he said, with respect to another case, "The things laid against me cannot be proven."—In this he confessed, that in the way allowed by solemn oath and covenant

* See these articles at large, and his answers, in Wodrow's Church-History, vol. p. 43—52.

served his God, his King, and his country ; and though he owned he acted not failings common to all persons in public business in such a case, yet he blessed God that he was able to make the falsehood of every article of his charge appear ; that he had done nothing with a wicked mind, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeseen events of which had proved bad.

The parliament fixed on the 27th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too short a time for replying to so many articles. However, at his request, it was put off till the 5th of March, when he appeared before the Lords of the Articles, who ordered him immediately to produce his defence ; whereupon he delivered a very moving speech, and gave in a most affecting petition, remitting himself to the King's mercy, and beseeching the parliament to intercede for him, which are too long here to be inserted. March the 6th, he was brought before the parliament. It was reported from the Articles, that he had offered a submission to his Majesty, &c. but his submission was voted not satisfactory, and he was commanded, on the morrow, to give in his defence to the Lords of the Articles. When he came before them, and told his defence was not ready, he was appointed to give them in on Monday, April 9, otherwise they would take the whole business before them, without any regard to what he should afterward say ; but it seems, on the day appointed, his defence was given in, which contained fifteen sheets of small print, whereon the Marquis's management was fully vindicated from all the falsehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

Upon the 16th of April, he was again before the parliament ; where, after the process was read, he had a very handsome and moving speech, wherein, at a considerable length,* he removed several reproaches cast upon him ; and touched at some things not in his papers : but whatever he or his lawyers could say, had little weight with the members of parliament. Some of them were already resolved what to do ; the House had many messages to hasten his process to an end, but the misgiving of many of their designed probations against this good man, embarrassed them mightily for some time ; for it appears, that there were upwards of thirty different libels all formed against him, and all came to nothing when they began to prove them, as other lies usually do ; so that they were forced to betake themselves to the innocent but necessary compliance with the English, after every shire and burgh in Scotland had made their submission to their conquerors.

In the beginning of May, witnesses were examined, and depositions taken against him ; after which he was, upon the 25th, brought before the bar of the House, to receive his sentence from his judges, who were *socii criminis* or accomplices, as he told the King's advocate. The House was very thin, all withdrawing, except those who were resolved to follow the example of the time. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodosius the Emperor, who enacted that the sentence of death should not be executed till thirty days after it was passed ; and added, I crave but ten, that the King may be acquainted with it :—but this was refused. Then the sentence was pronounced, " That he was found guilty of high treason, and adjudged to be executed to the death as a traitor ; his head to be severed from his body, at the cross of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th instant, and affixed on the same place where the Marquis of Montrose's

* See the Appendix to Wodrow's History, No. 18.

head formerly was, and his arms torn before them. Upon this he offered to speak; but the trumpet till they ended, and then said, "I had the honour of the King's head, and now he hastens me to a bettle. And directing himself to the commissioner, he said, "You have the indemnity of an earthly King; but you cannot have denied me a share in that; but you cannot have the indemnity of the King of kings; and shortly you must I pray he mete not out such measure to you when you are called to an account for all your sins and the rest."

After his sentence, he was ordered to the excellent Lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her she gave him till Monday to be with you, and she would make for it." She embracing him wept bitterly, and said, "The Lord will require it; the Lord will require it;" which he answered, "Being himself composed, he said, "Be not afraid of them: they know not what they are doing. They will do as they please, but they cannot shut God out from his temple; as content to be here as in the castle, and as content to be in the tower of London; and as content there as in the scaffold, as any of the saints were, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest man in the castle, which he intended to put in practice. He said, "If the people spake of stoning David, he said, "I will be stoned myself in the Lord."

He spent all his short time till Monday with the same cheerfulness, and in the proper exercise of a dying man. He said to his ministers who were permitted to attend him, he said, "I would not envy him, who was got before them;"—and he said, "that I tell you, my skill fails me, if you who are said to

suffer much or sin much: for though you go along with them, if you do not in all things, you are but where you suffer; and if you go not at all with them, you must suffer more."

During his life, he was reckoned rather timorous than bold. In prison, he said he was naturally inclined to be so, but desired those about him, as he could not but do, to be bold. The Lord had heard his prayer, and removed all fear from his heart. He said, "I have never seen of him on the scaffold." Robert D. Campbell, Esq., was the first who attended him.

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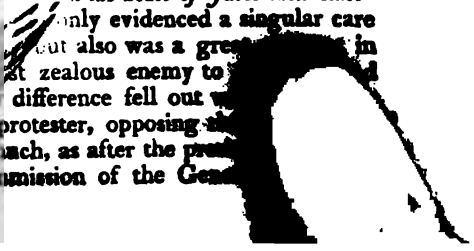


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it is only for compliance, which was the epidemical fault of the nation: I wish the Lord to pardon them. I say no more—but God hath laid engagements on Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; those who were then unborn, are yet engaged; and it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve from the oath of God. These times are like to be either very sinning or suffering times; and let Christians make their choice: there is a sad dilemma in the business, sin or suffer; and surely he that will choose the better part, will choose to suffer; others that choose to sin, will not escape suffering. They shall suffer; but perhaps not as I do, (pointing to the maiden,) but worse. Mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal. When I shall be sinning, they shall be howling. Beware therefore of sin, whatever you are aware of, especially in such times. And hence my condition is such now, as, when I am gone, will be seen not to be as many imagined. I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so may he pardon them, for this and other things, and what they have done to me may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would bless every one that stayeth behind."

When he delivered this his seasonable and pathetic speech, which, with his last words, is recorded at length in Naphtali, or the Wrestling of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Hamilton prayed; after which he prayed most sweetly himself: then he took his leave of all his friends on the scaffold. He first gave the executioner a napkin with some money in it; to his sons-in-law, Caithness and Ker, his watch and some other things out of his pocket: he gave to Loudon his silver penner; to Lothian a double ducat; and then threw off his coat. When going to the maiden, Mr. Hutcheson said, My Lord, now hold your grip sicker. He answered, "You know, Mr. Hutcheson, what I said to you in the chamber. I am not afraid to be surprised with fear." The Laird of Skelmorlie took him by the hand, when near the maiden, and found him most composed. He kneeled down most cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the signal, (which was by lifting up his hand,) and the instrument called the maiden struck his head from his body, which was fixed on the west end of the tolbooth, as a monument of the parliament's injustice and the land's misery. His body was by his friends put in a coffin, and conveyed, with a good many attendants, through Linlithgow and Falkirk to Glasgow, and from thence to Kilpatrick, where it was put in a boat, carried to Denune, and buried in Kilmunn church.

Thus died the Noble Marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr to religion since the reformation from Popery, the true portrait of whose character cannot be (says Wodrow, in his History, vol. i. p. 56.) drawn. His enemies themselves will allow him to have been a person of extraordinary piety, remarkable wisdom and prudence, great gravity and authority, and singular usefulness. He was the head of the covenanters in Scotland, and had been singularly active in the work of reformation there, and any almost that had engaged in that work he stuck closest by it, while most of the nation quitted it very much; so that this attack upon him was a stroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland, from the usurpation. But the tree of Prelacy and arbitrary measures being to be soaked, when planting, with the blood of this excellent person, staunch Presbyterian, and vigorous assertor of Scotland's liberty; and he was the great promoter thereof during his life, and steadfast in witnessing to it at his death, so it was to a great degree buried with him.

otland for many years. In a word, he had piety for a Christian, sense for a counsellor, carriage for a martyr, and soul for a king. If ever any man, he might be said to be a true Scotsman.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE, son to the Laird of Guthrie, a very honourable and ancient family, having gone through his course of classical learning, at the grammar-school and college, taught philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, where for several years he gave abundant proof that he was an able scholar. His temper was very steady and composed: he could reason upon the most subtle points with great solidity, and when every one else was warm, his temper was never ruffled. At any time, when indecent heats or wranglings happened to fall in when reasoning, it was his ordinary custom to say, "Enough of this, let us go to some other subject; we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greatest mixture of fervent zeal and sweet calmness in his temper, of any man in his time. But being educated in opposition to Presbyterian principles, he was highly Prelatical in his judgment when he came first to St. Andrews; but by conversing with the worthy Mr. Rutherford and others, and especially through his joining the weekly society's meetings there, for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way; and perhaps it was this that made the writer of the diurnal, who was no friend of his, say, "That if Mr. Guthrie had continued fixed to his first principles, he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." Whenas he came to judge for himself, he happily departed from his first principles; and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated, he left it, and thereby became a star of the first magnitude indeed. It is said, that while he was regent in the college of St. Andrews, Mr. Sharp being then a promising young man here, he several times wrote this verse upon him,

If thou, Sharp, die the common death of men,
I'll burn my bill, and throw away my pen.

Having passed his trials in 1638, he was settled minister at Lauder, where he remained for several years. In 1646, he was appointed one of those ministers who were to attend the King while at Newcastle; and likewise he was one of those nominated in the commission for the public affairs of the church, during the intervals betwixt the General Assemblies. And in about three years after this, he was translated to Stirling, where he continued until the Restoration, a most faithful watchman upon Zion's walls, who ceased not day and night to declare the whole counsel of God unto his people, *showing Israel their iniquities, and the house of Jacob their sins.*

After he came to Stirling, he again not only evidenced a singular care over that people he had the charge of, but also was a great assistant in the affairs of the church, being a most zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when that unhappy difference fell out with the public resolutions, he was a most stanch protester, opposing these resolutions unto the utmost of his power; insomuch, as after the presbytery of Stirling had wrote a letter to the Commission of the General Assembly,

showing their dislike and dissatisfaction with the resolutions, after they had been concluded upon at Perth, Dec. 14, 1650, Mr. Guthrie, and his colleague Mr. Bennet, went somewhat farther, and openly preached against them, as a thing involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party; for which, by a letter from the Chancellor, they were ordered to repair to Perth, on February 10, 1651, to answer before the King * and the Committee of Estates for that letter, and their doctrine; but upon the indisposition of one of them, they excused themselves by a letter for their non-appearance that day, but promised to attend upon the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22d, they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a protestation, signifying, that although they owned his Majesty's civil authority, yet was Mr. Guthrie challenged by the King and his Council for a doctrinal thesis, which he had maintained and spoken to in a sermon,—whereof they were incompetent judges in matters purely ecclesiastical, such as the examination and censuring of doctrines,—he did decline them on that account.†

The matter being deferred for some days, till the King returned from Aberdeen, in the meantime the two ministers were confined to Perth and Dundee; whereupon they (Feb. 28,) presented another paper or protestation,‡ which was much the same, though in stronger terms, and supported by many excellent arguments. After this the King and Committee thought proper to dismiss them, and to proceed no farther in the affair at present; and yet Mr. Guthrie's declining the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical here, was made the principal article in his indictment some years after, to give way to a personal pique Middleton bore against this good man, the occasion of which is as follows.

By improving an affront the King met with in 1659, some malignancy about him so prevailed to heighten his fears of the evil designs of the papists about him, that, by a correspondence with the Papists, malignants, &c. such as were disaffected to the covenants in the north, matters came to a little to such a pass, that a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were to rise and form themselves into an army, under Middleton's command, and the King was to cast himself into their arms.

* It surely was a piece of ill-advised conduct, as many of themselves afterwards acknowledged, that ever they elected or admitted any of that family of Ahab, after the mighty had so remarkably driven them forth of these kingdoms, unto the royal crown upon any terms whatsoever; particularly Charles II. after he had given such proofs of his dissimulation and disaffection unto the cause and people of God in these nations. After which they never had a day to prosper; for, by contending against the covenants, and yet at the same time vowing and praying for the head of malignants, not only had malignants and sectaries to fight with, but also made a detestable use of their former attainments, and so came to contend with one another, until Prelacy proved utter ruin at last. It is objected, that King Charles was a good-natured man, and the extermination of our excellent constitution was from evil counsellors. It is true, that evil counsellors have many times proved the ruin of kingdoms and empires; else the wise man would not have said, "Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established." Prov. xxv. 5. But take the matter as it is, he was still the head of that constitution, and (not to speak of his other iniquities) a most perfidious, treacherous, and wicked man; and could engage to-day and to-morrow, and all to obtain an earthly crown. For a further illustration of this, see the shewing the defection of both addressers and protesters, &c. Dr. Owen's sermon for the Protector of Scotland; the History of the Stuarts; and Bennet's Memorial of Britain's deliverances, &c.

† Apologetical Relation, § 5. p. 83.

‡ See these protestations in Wodrow's Church-History, vol. i. p. 58 and 59.

ingly, the King, with a few in his retinue, as if he were going, left his best friends, crossed the Tay, and came to Angus, where he was to have met with those people; but soon finding himself disappointed, he came back to the Committee of Estates, where indeed the greatest strength lay. In the meantime several who had been in the fear of punishment, got together under Middleton's command. General Leslie marched towards them, and the King wrote to them to surrender their arms. The Committee sent an indemnity to such as they would submit; and while the States were thus dealing with them, the session of the Assembly were not wanting to shew their zeal against the usurpers, who ventured to disturb the public peace; and it is said, that Mr. Guthrie here proposed summary excommunication, as a censure Middleton deserved, and as what he thought to be a suitable testimony from the Assembly at this juncture. This highest sentence was carried in the Assembly by a plurality of votes, and Mr. Guthrie was appointed to pronounce the sentence next Sabbath. In the meantime the Committee of Estates, not without some debates, had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton. There was an express sent to Stirling, with an account how things stood, and a letter, desiring Mr. Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the Commission's sentence. But this letter coming to him just as he was going to the pulpit, he did not open it till the work was over; and when he had, it is a question if he would have delayed the Commission's sentence upon a private missive to himself. However, the sentence was pronounced, and although the Commission of the church, Jan. 3, 1651, before their next meeting, did relax Middleton from that censure, and laid it upon a better man, Col. Strachan,* yet it is believed Middleton never forgot what Mr. Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterwards be more fully to appear.

Mr. Guthrie, about this time, wrote several of the papers upon the King's side; for which, and his faithfulness, he was one of those three persons deposed by the pretended Assembly, at St. Andrews 1657. It was such was the malice of these woful resolutioners, that upon his refusal of one of that party, and accession to the call of Mr. Rule to be his successor at Stirling, upon the death of Mr. Bennet in 1656, they proposed to stone this seer in Israel with stones, because his testimony had so tormented the men who dwelt upon the earth.

As Mr. Guthrie did faithfully testify against the resolutioners and the malignant party, so he did equally oppose himself to the sectaries and James Stewart's usurpation: and although he went up to London in 1657, where the Marquis of Argyll procured an equal hearing betwixt the promoters and the resolutioners, yet he so boldly defended the King's right in the debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit of the King's title in the face of the English officers, as was surprising to all gainsayers.—Yet, for this and other hardships that he endured on this account, at this time, he was but poorly rewarded, as by the following will come to be observed.

Soon after the Restoration, while Mr. Guthrie and some others of his faithful brethren, who assembled at Edinburgh, were drawing up a petition (August 23,) in way of supplication to his Majesty, they were all seized, (except one who happily escaped,) and imprisoned in the

same unjust sentence was pronounced in the high church of Glasgow, by Mr. John King, who professed Mr. Durham's posthumous works, some of which are supposed to be written by him, especially his Treatise on Scandal.

castle of Edinburgh; and from thence Mr. Guthrie was taken to the castle, (the author of the Apologetical Relation says to Dundee,) he continued till a little before his trial, which was upon the 20th of February 1661. When he came to his trial, the Chancellor told him he was called before them to answer to the charge of high treason, (of which charge he had received some weeks before;) and the Advocate proposed his indictment should be read;—which the House read into: The heads of which were,

(1.) His contriving, consenting to, and exhibiting before the Court of Estates, the paper called the Western Remonstrance.

(2.) His contriving, writing, and publishing that abominable paper called The Causes of the Lord's Wrath.

(3.) His contriving, writing, and subscribing the paper, called Humble Petition * of the twenty-third of August last.

(4.) His convocating of the King's lieges, &c.

(5.) His declaring his Majesty, by his appeals and protestations sent by him at Perth, incapable to be judge over him. And,

(6.) Some treasonable expressions he was alleged to have uttered at a meeting in 1650 or 1651.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent speech before parliament, wherein he both defended himself, and that noble cause which he suffered; which being too nervous to abridge, and too long to insert in this place, the reader will find it in Wodrow's History, p. 61.

After he had delivered this speech, he was ordered to remove to the castle, and humbly craved that some time might be given him to consult with his lawyers. This was granted; and he was allowed till the 29th to prepare his defence. It is affirmed, upon very good authority, that when he consulted with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much surprised them by the exactness in our Scots laws, and suggested several things to them that had escaped his advocate; which made Sir John Nisbet express himself to this purpose: "If it had been in the reasoning part, or in the consequences from scripture and divinity, I would have wondered that he had given us some help; but even in the matter of our own laws, our statutes and acts of parliament, he pointed out several things that had escaped us." And likewise the day before his first appearance in parliament, it is said he sent a copy of the forementioned speech to John and the rest of his lawyers, of the reasoning and law part, and could mend nothing therein.

The advocates considering his defence, and the giving of it up some weeks, until April the 11th, when the process against him was read in the House, upon which he made a speech affecting and affecting the purpose; in which he concludes thus:

"My Lords, in the last place, I humbly beg, that having brought pregnant and clear evidence from the word of God, so much divine law and human laws, and so much of the common practice of this kingdom in my defence, and being already cast out of my minister of my dwelling and maintenance, myself and my family put to the charity of others, having now suffered eight months imprisonment, your Lordships would put no other burden upon me. I shall conclude with the words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Behold, I am in your hand*

* See this paper, called The Humble Petition, in Crookshanks' History, vol. I.

do to me what seemeth good to you : I know, for certain, that the Lord hath commanded me to speak all these things ; and that if you put me to death, you shall g innocnt blood upon yourselves, and upon the inhabitants of this city.

My Lords, my conscience I cannot submit ; but this old crazy body I mortal flesh, I do submit, to do with it whatever ye will, whether by death, or banishment, or imprisonment, or any thing else ; only I beseech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood : it is not the extinguishing of me, or many others, that will extinguish the covenant and work of reformation since the year 1638. My blood, bondage, or banishment, will contribute more for the propagation of these things, than life or liberty could do, though I should live many years," &c.

And though this speech had not that influence that might have been expected, yet it made such impression upon some of the members, that they withdrew, declaring unto one another, that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man. But his judges were determined to proceed ; and accordingly his indictment was found relevant. Bishop Burnet says, "The Earl of Tweeddale was the only man that stood against putting him to death : he said, banishment had hitherto been the severest censure laid upon preachers for their opinions,—yet he was condemned to die." The day of his execution was not named, till the 28th of May, when the parliament ordered him and William Govan to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 1st of June, and Mr. Guthrie's head to be fixed on the Nether-Bow, his estate to be confiscated, his arms torn ; and the head of the other upon the West Port of Edinburgh.

And thus a sentence of death was passed upon Mr. Guthrie, for his opposition to the Causes of God's Wrath, his writing the petition last year, the protestation above mentioned ; matters done a good many years ago, and every way agreeable and conform to the word of God, the scriptures and practice of this and other churches, and the laws of the kingdom. After he had received his sentence, he accosted the parliament thus : "My Lords, never let this sentence affect you more than it does me, and never let my blood be required of the King's family."

Thus it was resolved that this excellent man should fall a sacrifice to the rage and personal pique, as the Marquis's was said to be a more exacting ; and it is said, that the managers had no small debate what sentence should be ; for he was dealt with by some of them to retract what he had done and written, and join with the present measures, and they even offered a bishoprick. The other side were in no hazard in making the experiment, for they might be assured of his firmness in his profession. A bishoprick was a very small temptation to him ; and the executioner improved his inflexibility, to have his life taken away, to the terror to others, that they might have the less opposition in establishing a velacy.

Against Mr. Guthrie's sentence and his execution, he was in perfect peace and serenity of spirit, and wrote a great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval, he uttered several bold expressions, which, together with the foresaid religious letters, if they now be recovered, might be of no small use, in this apostate and debilitated age. The day (June 1,) on which he was to be executed, upon some reports that he was to buy his life, at the expense of retracting some of the things he had formerly said and done, he wrote and read the following declaration.

“ These are to declare, That I do own the Causes of God's Wrath the Supplication at Edinburgh, August last, and the accession I had to the remonstrances. And if any do think, or have reported, that I was willing to recede from these, they have wronged me, as never having my ground from me to think or to report so. This I attest, under my hand at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock forenoon, before these witnesses,

Mr. Arthur Forbes, Mr. John Guthrie,
Mr. Hugh Walker, and Mr. James Cowie.”

That same day he dined with his friends with great cheerfulness. After dinner he called for a little cheese, which he had been dissuaded from taking, for some time, as not good for the gravel, which he was troubled with, and said, I am now beyond the hazard of the gravel. When he had been secret for some time, he came forth with the utmost fortitude and composure, and was carried down under a guard from the tolbooth to the scaffold, which was erected at the cross. Here he was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death, and spake an hour upon the ladder, with the composure of one delivering a sermon. His last speech is in Naphtali, where, among other things becoming a martyr, he saith, “ One thing I warn you all of, the God is very wroth with Scotland, and threatens to depart, and remove his candlestick. The causes of his wrath are many; and would to God it were not one great cause, that the causes of wrath are despised. Consider the case that is recorded, Jer. xxxvi. and the consequences of it, tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition of wrath, 1. By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, so far, that many have not only lost all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality. 2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that hath broken the matters of the covenant and cause of God. Be ye astonished, O heavens, at this! &c. 3. By horrible ingratitude. The Lord, after ten years oppression, hath broken the yoke of stranger from off our necks; but the fruits of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen our hands to do evil, by a most dreadful sacrificing to the creature. We have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost their salvation. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving ministers. I know, and do bear testimony, that in the church of Scotland, there is no true and faithful ministry; and I pray you to honour these, for the works' sake. I do bear my witness to the national covenant of Scotland, and solemn league and covenant betwixt the three kingdoms. The sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe can be loosed or dissolved with by no person, or party, or power upon earth, but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be so for ever hereafter, and are confirmed and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls, since our entrance thereinto. I bear my testimony to the protestation against the separated Assemblies, and the public resolutions. I take God to witness upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold with the pulpit of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God who has shown his mercy to me such a wretch, and has revealed his Son to me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel, and that he hath designed, in the midst of such contradictions from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and especially in this station wherein I was last, I mean the congregation and presbytery

Jesus Christ is my light and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation, and all my desire. Him! O him! I do with strength of my soul commend to you. Bless him, O my soul, from now and for ever!" He concluded with the words of old Simeon, *thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* He copied this his last speech and testimony, subscribed and sealed, and sent to keep, which he was to deliver to his son, then a child, as he came to age. When on the scaffold, he lifted the napkin off his face, just before he was turned over, and cried, "The covenants, and the promises, shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

Seven weeks after he was executed, and his head placed on the Nether-Port, Middleton's coach coming down that way, several drops of blood fell from the head upon the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off; and when physicians were called, and desired to inquire if any natural cause could be given for this, they could give none. The incident being noised abroad, and all means tried, at length the head was removed, and a new cover put on: but this was much sooner than the wiping off the guilt of this great and good man's blood-shedders of it, and the disgrace from this poor nation.*

He fell the faithful Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the first martyr offered unto the death in that period, for asserting the kingly presence of Jesus Christ, in opposition to Erastian supremacy. He was honoured of God, to be zealous and singularly faithful in carrying on the work of reformation, and had carried himself straight under all persecutions and revolutions; and because he had been such, he must live no longer.

He did much for the interest of the King in Scotland, which the King no doubt was sensible of. When he got notice of his death, with some warmth, "And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Guthrie?" He was answered, that having so many friends in the House, he could not be taken. "Well," said the King, "if I had known you could have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie." Indeed he was not far out with it; for Mr. Guthrie was capable to do more service to the King, as he was one accomplished with almost every qualification, natural or acquired, necessary to complete both a patriot and a Christian.

It is a loss we are favoured with so few of the writings of this man. For, besides those papers already mentioned, he wrote several upon the protesters side, among which was also a paper written against the usurper Oliver Cromwell, for which he suffered some hard-ship during the time of that usurpation. His last sermon, at Stirling, taken from Matth. xiv. 22. was published in 1738, entitled, *A Cry to the Dead, &c.*; with his *Ten Considerations* against the decay of the Church, first published by himself in 1660; and an authentic paper signed and subscribed by himself upon the occasion of his being stoned by the resolution-party about 1656, for his accession to the call of Mr. Ralston to be his colleague, after the death of Mr. Bennet. He also wrote a treatise on ruling elders and deacons, about the time he entered the ministry, which is now affixed to the last edition of his cousin James Guthrie's treatise of the *Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ.*

At Hamilton, when a student at the college of Edinburgh, at the hazard of his life, he took down Mr. Guthrie's head and buried it, after it had stood a spectacle for many years: and it is observable, that the very same person afterwards succeeded in Stirling, where he was minister for twelve years.

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON.

He was heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawer, and husband of Margaret, Baroness of Loudon.

The first of his state-preferments was in 1633, when King Charles I. came to Scotland, in order to have his coronation performed there.* At which time he dignified several of the Scots nobility with higher titles of honour; and, among the rest, this nobleman was created Earl of Loudon, 12th May, 1633.

It appears, that from his youth he had been well affected to the Presbyterian interest; for no sooner did that reformation, commonly called the second reformation, begin to take air, which was about the year 1637, than he appeared a principal promoter thereof, and that not only in joining these petitioners, afterwards called the covenanters, but also when the General Assembly sat down at Glasgow, in November 1638, he thought it his honour to attend the same in almost every session thereof, and was of great service, both by his advice in difficult cases, and also by several excellent speeches that he delivered therein. As witness, upon the very entry, when the difference arose between the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commissioner, and some of the rest, anent choosing a clerk to the Assembly, the Marquis, refusing to be assisted by Traquair and Sir Lewis Stuart, urged several reasons for compliance with his Majesty's pleasure, &c. and at last renewed his protest; whereupon Lord Loudon, in name of commissioners to the Assembly, gave in reasons of a pretty high strain, why the Lord Commissioner and his assessors ought to have but one vote in the Assembly, &c. Of these reasons Traquair craved a double, and promised to answer them; but it appears never found kind for this employment.

About this time, he told the King's Commissioner roundly, "That knew no other bonds betwixt a King and his subjects, but religion and laws; and if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them. They would not be so; such fears were past with them."†

The King and the Bishop being galled to the heart to see, that, by the Assembly, Presbytery was almost restored, and Prelacy well nigh abolished, he immediately put himself at the head of an army, in order to reduce them, &c. The Scots hearing of the preparation, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the border: but upon the approach of the Scots, the English were moved with great timidity, whereupon ensued a pacification.—Commissioners being appointed to treat on both sides, the Scots were permitted to make known their desires; the Lord Loudon being one of the Scots Commissioners, upon his knees said, "That their demand was only to enjoy their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom." The King replied, "That if that was all that was desired, the peace would be"

* He was crowned on the 8th of June, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrew, assisted by the Bishops of Ross and Murray; Laud, then Bishop of London, had the direction of the ceremony. He preached in the Chapel-Royal, and insisted upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the church, &c. His discourse was far from being to the mind of the people.—See Stevenson's History, vol. 1. Bennet's Memorial, p. 178.

† Vide Bailey's Letters, vol. i. p. 62.

e." And after several particulars were agreed upon, the King said, "That all ecclesiastical matters should be decided by an Assembly, and civil matters by the Parliament; which Assembly should be once a-year. That, on the 6th of August should be held a free Assembly, when the King would be present, and pass an act of law." The articles of the pacification were subscribed, &c. June 18, commissioners of both sides, in view of both armies, at Kirks-croft, in 1639.

this treaty was short-lived and ill observed; for the King, irritable at the bishops, soon after burnt the pacification by the hands of the Scotch, charging the Scots with a breach of the articles of the treaty, though the Earl of Loudon gave him sufficient proofs of the contrary; the freedom used by his Lordship no way pleased the King: but he refused to return home, and the King kept his resentment till an opportunity.

In the meantime, the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, on the 12th. Mr. Dickson was chosen moderator; and at this Assembly, several matters were discussed, Mess. Henderson and Ramsay entered into a demonstration, that Episcopacy had its beginning from men, and not from human institution, &c. But they had not proceeded far, till they were interrupted by Traquair, the King's Commissioner, who desired they did not desire them to fall upon any scholastic dispute, but how they were in the reformation had found Episcopacy contrary to the constitution of this church; whereupon the truly Noble Lord Loudon, being present, did most solidly explain the Act of the General Assembly 1580, which condemned the office of bishops in the most express terms, prior to the subscription of the national covenant; and because of a difficulty from these words in that act, viz. as it was then used, his Lordship observed, that in the Assemblies 1560, 1576, 1577, and 1578, Episcopacy came still under consideration, though not directly as to the corruption, &c.; and having enlarged upon the office of bishops as without a warrant from the word of God, he concludes,—"As we have said, so that the connexion between the Assemblies of 1580 and of 1581 is quite clear, Episcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the word of God, and Presbytery put in, as having that divine warrant; and was accordingly sworn unto."

On the same day on which the Assembly arose, the Parliament sat down: deliberating upon matters that did not correspond with the King's design; but as the King did all he could to stop them, that they might have nothing to do, whereupon they agreed to send up the Earls of Dunfermline and Argyll to implore his Majesty to allow the parliament to proceed, and determine what was before them, &c. But ere these two Lords had presented to the Court, orders were sent them, discharging them in the King's name from coming within a mile of him, on supposition that they had no express warrant from the Lord Commissioner; and they were returned home.

In the meantime the parliament, by the King's orders, is prorogued on the 2d of June 1640, and matters continued so till January 1641, that a committee of parliament, having obtained leave to send up commissioners to represent their grievances, did again commission the two fore-mentioned Earls, to whom they added Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Sir James Argyll provost of Irvine. On their arrival, they were allowed to appear before the King's hand, and some time after were appointed to attend the

Council-chamber; but understanding they were not to have a hearing of the King himself, they craved a copy of Traquair's information to the Council of England; which was denied. At last the King gave them audience himself upon the 3d of March, when the Lord Loudon, after having addressed his Majesty, shewed that his ancient and native kingdom is dependent upon any other judicatory whatever; and craved his Majesty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cause of the church and kingdom; and then speaking concerning those who have or misrepresent, or traduce these his most loyal Scots subjects, he says, "it please God, for our sins, to make our condition so deplorable as that we may get the shadow of your Majesty's authority, as we hope in God that will not, to palliate their ends, then, as those who were sworn to defend our religion, our recourse must be only to the God of Jacob for our refuge, who is the Lord of lords, and King of kings, and by whom kings do reign, and princes decree justice. And if, in speaking thus out of zeal to religion, and the duty we owe to our country, and that cause which is laid upon us, any thing hath escaped us, sith it is spoken from the sincerity of our hearts, we fall down at your Majesty's feet, crave pardon for our freedom." Again, having eloquently expatiated upon the desires of his subjects, and the laws of the kingdom, he speaks of the law of God, and the power of the church, and says, "Next, we must distinguish betwixt the church and the state, betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil power; both which are materially one, yet formally they are contained in distinct power, in jurisdiction, in laws, in bodies, in ends, in offices, in officers; and although the church, and ecclesiastical assemblies thereof, are formally different and distinct from the parliament and civil judicatory, yet there is so strict and necessary a conjunction betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, betwixt religion and justice, as the one cannot fully subsist and be preserved without the other, and therefore they must stand and fall, live and die together," &c. He enlarged farther upon the privileges of both church and state, and then concluded with mentioning the sum of their desires, which is,——"that your Majesty (if he) may be graciously pleased to command, that the parliament may proceed freely to determine all these articles given in to them, and whatsoever exceptions, objections, or informations, are made against any of the particular overtures, &c. we are most willing to receive the same, and write, and are content, in the same way, to return our answers and humble desires."^a

March 11, the commissioners appeared, and brought their instructions; whereupon ensued some reasonings betwixt them and the King, at which time Archbishop Laud, who sat at the King's right hand, was observed to mock the Scots Commissioners, causing the King put such questions to them as he pleased. At last Traquair gave in several queries and objections to them, unto which they gave most solid and sufficient answers in every particular.

But this farce being over, for it seems nothing else was here intended by the Court than to entrap the commissioners, and particularly the Noble Earl, who had so strenuously asserted the laws and liberties of his native country. In the end, all the deputies, by the King's order, were taken into custody, and the Earl of Loudon sent to the Tower for a letter which was alleged to be wrote by him, and sent by the Scots to the King.

^a History of the Stuarts, vol. i.

King, as to their sovereign, imploring his aid against their natural King, of the following tenor :

“ SIRE,

“ YOUR Majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colwill, to represent unto your Majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings as of our inventions, which we desire to be engraven and written in the whole world, with a beam of the sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore beseech you, Sire, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs. Being much assured, Sire, of an assistance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to the nation, which will not yield the glory of any other whatsoever, to be eternally, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants.”

This letter, says a historian,* was advised to, and composed by Monbrose, when the King was coming against Scotland with a potent army, transcribed by Lord Loudon, and subscribed by them two, and the Lords Rothes, Mar, Montgomery, and Forrester, and General Leslie; but the translation being found faulty by Lord Maitland, &c. it was dropped altogether; which copy wanted both the date, (which the worst of its enemies never pretended it had,) and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed it never had; but falling into the King's hand by means of Craquair, he intended to make a handle of it, to make Lord Loudon the first sacrifice. This Noble Lord being examined before the Council, did very honestly acknowledge the hand-writing and subscription to be his; but said, it was before the late pacification, when his Majesty was marching in hostility against his native country; that in these circumstances it seemed necessary to have an intercessor to mitigate his wrath, and they could think of none so well qualified as the French King, being the nearest relation by affinity to their sovereign of any other crowned head in the world; but that being but shortly thought on before the arrival of the English on the border, was judged too late, and therefore was never either addressed by them, or sent to the French King.

Notwithstanding this, evil was intended against this Noble Peer, and being remanded back to prison, was very near being dispatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers, but without any legal trial or conviction. Burnet fairly acknowledges,† that the King was advised to proceed capitally against him; but the English historians‡ go still farther, and plainly say, that the King, about three o'clock in the afternoon, sent his own letter to William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to see the Lord Loudon's head struck off, within the Tower, before nine the next morning, (a striking demonstration of the cruel and forgiving spirit for which by some King Charles is so much extolled.) Upon this command, the lieutenant of the Tower, that his Majesty might prepare for death, gave him notice of it; which awful execution he, knowing the justice of his cause, received with astonishing patience and serenity of mind. The lieutenant went himself to the

* History of the Stuarts, vol. i.

† Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

‡ Rushworth's History, vol. i. Oldmixon, vol. i.

Marquis of Hamilton, who he thought was bound in honour to interpose in this matter. The Marquis and the lieutenant made their way to the King, who was then in bed. The warrant was scarce named, when the King, understanding their errand, stopped them, saying, By God, it shall be executed. But the Marquis laying before him the odiousness of the fact, by the violation of the safe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, and the putting him to death without conviction, or so much as a legal trial, with the dismal consequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in respect of Scotland, which would certainly be lost, but likewise of his own personal safety from the nobility. Whereupon the King called for the warrant, tore it, and dismissed the Marquis and the lieutenant somewhat abruptly. After this, about the 28th of June, this Noble Lord, upon promise of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met with from the King, and of contributing his endeavours to dispose them to peace, was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripened for a new war, the King put himself at the head of another army, in order to suppress the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots resolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a numerous army, mostly of veteran troops, many of whom had served in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus.*—A party of the King's forces disputed the passage of the Tyne, but were defeated at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcastle and Berwick, pushing their way as far as Durham. Here the Noble Earl of Loudon acted no mean part; for he not only gained upon the citizens of Edinburgh and other places, to contribute money and other necessaries, for the use and supply of the Scots army, but also commanded a brigade of horse, with whom, in the foresaid skirmish at Newburn, he had no small share of the victory. The King retired to York; and finding himself environed on all hands, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots a second time. On the other side, the Scots nominated the Earls of Dunfermline, Rothes, and Loudon, with some gentlemen, and Mess. Henderson and Johnson, advocates for the church, as their commissioners for the treaty. Both commissioners, upon October 1, 1640, met at Rippon; where, after agreeing upon some articles for a cessation of arms for three months, the treaty was transferred to London. Unto which the Scots commissioners (upon a patent granted from the King for their safe conduct) consented, and went thither. And because great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their presence and influence at London, the committee at Newcastle appointed Mr. Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr. Robert Bailey, for his eminence in managing the Arminian controversy; and Mr. George Gillespie, for his nervous and pithy confutation of the English ceremonies, to accompany the three noblemen, as their chaplains: and Mess. Smith and Borthwick followed soon after.

After this treaty, things went pretty smooth for some time in Scotland; but the King not relishing the proceedings of the English parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. When this parliament sat down, (before the King's arrival at Traquair, Montrose, and several other incendiaries, having been charged before them for stirring up strife between the King and his subjects, for

* See Dr. Welwood's Memoirs.

the covenanters, of whom some appeared, and some appeared
 he meanwhile, the Noble Earl of Loudon said so much in fa-
 vour of them, discharging himself so effectually of all the orders
 of the last year by the King, that some, forgetting the obligation
 under to steer with an even hand, began to suspect him of
 partialities, so that he was well nigh left out of the commission
 with the parliament's agreement to the treaty; which so much
 to the Lordship, that he supplicated the parliament to be examined
 in his past conduct and negotiations, if they found him faithful;
 he emboldened, having the testimony of a good conscience;
 pleased the members of the House very much. The House de-
 cided, that he had behaved himself faithfully and wisely in all
 employments, and that he not only deserved to have an act of
 grace, but likewise to be rewarded by the Estates, that their favours
 might be known to posterity, &c. They further considered,
 that as such an eminent instrument could not be easily supplied,
 he dealt not so freely with any of our commissioners, as with
 Loudon; nor did ever any of our commissioners use so much in-
 discretion with his Majesty as he did; and he behaved once more
 to Loudon, with the treaty, now revised by the parliament, sub-
 stituted the Lord President and others.

On the return of the commissioners, the King being arrived in par-
 ty began to dignify several of the Scots nobility with offices of
 state because a Lord Treasurer was a-wanting, it was moved, that
 he deserve that office so well as the Earl of Loudon, who had done
 so for his country. But the King, judging more wisely in this,
 it was more difficult to find a fit person for the Chancery than
 the treasury, was obliged to make the Earl of Loudon Chancellor,
 both to his own inclination, for he was never ambitious of pre-
 siding to the solicitation of his friends. But to make amends for
 the loss of his fees, an annual pension of L.1000 was added to this

On the 2d of October 1642, this Noble Lord did so-
 lemnly swear the oath of allegiance, then that of private counsellor,
 when the great seal, which for two years had been kept by the
 Earl of Hamilton, was with the mace delivered to him out of his
 hand, he did swear the oath *de fidei administratione officii*, and
 the Lion King at Arms, placed in the seat under his Majesty's
 right hand of the Lord President of parliament: from thence
 he arose, and prostrating himself before the King, said,
 "that comes neither from the east nor from the west, but from
 heaven. I acknowledge I have this from your Majesty, as from
 the fount of honour upon earth, and the fountain of all earthly honour here,
 I endeavour to answer that expectation your Majesty has of me,
 and the good-will of this Honourable House, in faithfully dis-
 charging you both (without desert of mine) have put upon me."
 After his Majesty's hand, he retired to his seat.

This notable turn of affairs from the womb of providence; for
 the last year, for the cause of Christ and love of his country,
 Loudon, receiving the message or sentence of death, is now, for
 wisdom and prudence, advanced by the same person and author-
 ity to the helm of the highest affairs of the kingdom; which verifies

what the wise man saith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and before honour is humility*, Prov. xv. 33.

As soon as this excellent nobleman was advanced to this dignity and office, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his native country, but also, the next year, went up to London, to importune his Majesty to call his English parliament, as the most expedient way to bring about a firm, permanent, or lasting peace, betwixt the two kingdoms. And although he was not one of those commissioners nominated and sent up from the Parliament and Assembly of the church of Scotland, 1643, yet it is evident from a letter sent from them while at London, bearing the date of January 6, 1645, that he was amongst them there, using his utmost endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion, in doctrine, discipline, and church-government, which took place, and was established in these nations at that time.

And next year, before the King surrendered himself to the Scots army at Newcastle, Lord Loudon being sent up as commissioner to the King, after the Lord Leven, at the head of one hundred officers in the army, had presented a petition upon their knees, beseeching his Majesty to give them satisfaction in point of religion, and to take the covenant, &c. &c. in plain terms, accost the King in this manner: "The difference between your Majesty and your Parliament is grown to such an height, that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majesty, with all your garrisons and strong holds, in their hands, &c. They are in a capacity now to do what they will in church and state; and some are so afraid, and others so unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majesty's last solution. Now, Sire, if your Majesty shall refuse your assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the House and in the city, and all England will join against you as one man: they will depose you, and set up another government: they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and remove our arms out of England; and upon your return we will be obliged to settle religion and peace without you; which will ruin your Majesty and your posterity. We own the propositions as higher in some things than we approve of; but the only way to establish your Majesty, is to consent to them at present. Your Majesty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have lost in a time of tempest and trouble." Whether or not the King found him a true prophet in all this must be left to the history of these times.

He was again employed in the like errand to the King, in 1648; but with no better success, as appears from two excellent speeches to the Scots parliament at his return, concerning these proceedings. And the same year, in the month of June, he was with a handful of covenanters, at a communion at Mauchlin muir, where they were set upon Callender's and Middleton's forces, after they had given their promise his Lorship of the contrary.

Although this Noble Earl, through the influence of the Earl of Loudon had given his consent at first to the King, who was setting on foot an army for his own rescue, yet he came to be among those who protested against the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement. To account for this, he had before received a promise of a gift of the town of Glasgow and a gift sometimes blindeth the eyes, and much more of a nobleman whose estate was at that time somewhat burdened; but by converse with some of the protesting side, and some ministers, who discovered him his mistake, when his foot was well nigh slipt, he was so convinc-

hat this was contrary to his trust, that he subscribed an admonition to more stedfastness, for the Commission of the church, in the high church of Edinburgh.

But at last Charles I. being executed, and his son Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new scene begins to appear in 1650; for malignants being then again brought into places of power and trust, it behoved the Lord Chancellor (who never was a friend to malignants) to demit. He had now for near the space of ten years presided in parliament, and had been highly instrumental in the hand of the Lord, to establish in this nation, both in church and state, the purest reformation that ever was established in any particular nation, under the New Testament dispensation: but now he was turned out, and Lord Burleigh substituted in his place.

In what manner he was mostly employed during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, there is no certain account; only it is probable, that notwithstanding the many struggles he had in asserting the King's interest, he mostly lived a private life, as most of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did at that time.

But no sooner was the King restored again into his dominions, than these lands did again return back unto the old vomit of Popery, Prelacy, and slavery; and it is inconceivable to express the grief of heart this godly nobleman sustained, when he beheld, not only the carved work of the sanctuary cut down, by defacing that glorious structure of reformation, which he had such an eminent hand in erecting and building up, but also to find himself at the King's mercy for his accession to the same. He knew, that, next the Marquis of Argyle, he was the butt of the enemy's malice, and he had frequently applied for his Majesty's grace, but was often refused; so that the violent courses now carrying on, and the plain invasions upon the liberties and religion of the nation made him weary of his life; and being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray fast that he might never see the next session of parliament, else he might follow his dear friend the Marquis of Argyle; and the Lord was pleased to grant his request: for he died, in a most Christian manner, at Edinburgh, March 15, 1662, and his corpse was carried home, and interred beside his ancestors.

The most exaggerated praises that can be at present bestowed on this renowned patriot, the worthy Earl of Loudon, must be far below his merit, who was possessed of such singular prudence, eloquence, and learning, joined with remarkable courage; which excellent endowments he invariably applied for the support of our ancient and admirable constitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occasions; whereby he might be truly accounted the chief advocate, both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To sum up all in a few words: he was a most exquisite orator in the senate, a refined politician, without what some would say it is impossible to be so, and an honour to his name; an ornament to this nation; and in every virtue, in politic, social, and domestic, a pattern worthy of imitation: and although HIS OFFSPRING* have hitherto all along retained a sense of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented that few or none of our noblemen at this day will follow his example.

* His son James Earl of Loudon suffered much after his father's death, during the interregnum; and at last was obliged to leave his native country, and died an exile at Leyden, after having endured a series of hardships. And there are recent instances of the truly noble and independent spirit for liberty this worthy family have all along retained, which we doubt not will be transmitted to their posterity.

MR. ROBERT BAILEY.

MR. ROBERT BAILEY was born at Glasgow in 1539. His father was a citizen there, being lineally descended from Bailey of Jerviston, a brother of the house of Carplin, and a branch of the ancient house of Lemington, all in the county of Lenark; and by his mother's side he was of the same stock with the Gibsons of Durie, who have made such a figure in the law. He received his education at Glasgow, and at that university plied his studies so hard, that by his industry and uncommon genius, he attained to the knowledge of twelve or thirteen of the languages, and could write a Latin style, that, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Augustan age.

After his study of divinity, he took orders from Archbishop Law, about the year 1622, and was soon after presented by the Earl of Eglington to the church of Kilwinning. When the reformation began in 1637, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his education, and tenderness of the King's authority, to see through some of the measures then taken. Yet, after reasoning, reading, and prayer, as he himself expressed it, he came heartily into the covenanters interest about that time.

Being a man of distinct and solid judgment, he was often employed in the public business of the church. In 1638, he was chosen by his own presbytery, to be a member of that memorable Assembly held at Glasgow, where he behaved himself with great wisdom and moderation.

He was also one of those who attended as chaplains to the army in 1639 and 1640, and was present during the whole treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded at London. What comfort he had in these things, he describes in these words: "As for myself, I never found my mind in a better temper than it was all that time, from my outset until my home was again homeward. I was one who had taken leave of the world, and resolved to die in that service. I found the favour of God shining on me, and a sweet, meek, and humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me along." The same year, 1640, he was by the covenanting Lords sent to London to draw up an accusation against Archbishop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the church of Scotland.

He was translated from Kilwinning to be professor of divinity at Glasgow, when Mr. David Dickson was translated from thence to the divinity-chair at Edinburgh. And he was one of those commissioners sent from the church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly in 1646, where he remained almost the whole time of that Assembly. And when they rose, as an acknowledgment of his good services, the parliament of England made him a handsome present of silver-plate, with an inscription, signifying it to be a token of their great respect to him, which was long since was to be seen in the house of Carnbrue, being carefully preserved; and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his first wife, Lillias Fleming, he had one son and four daughters; by his second wife, Principal Strang's daughter, he had one daughter, who was married to Walkinshaw of Barrowheld.

About this time he was a great confident of the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Cassillis, Eglington, Lauderdale, and Loudon, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, with others of the chief managers among the covenanters, whereby he obtained the most

knowledge of the transactions of that time, which he has carefully set down in his letters; as he expresses himself, there was not any one whom his correspondent could get a more full narrative under Cromwell's usurpation. He joined with that party called resolutioners, who imposed several of the papers belonging to that side, in 1661. He was, by Lauderdale's interest, made Principal of the College of Glasgow, on the removal of Mr. Patrick Gillespie, about which time, it is commonly said, he had a bishoprick offered him; but that he refused it, because he says the writer of the memorial of his life prefixed to his letters, he chose to enter into a dispute with those with whom he had formerly been in friendship. But this was only a sly way of wounding an enemy's character; for Mr. Bailey continued firmly attached to Presbyterian government, and in opposition to Prelacy, to his very last. Several attempts could be brought to this purpose; but a few excerpts from some of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale, a little before his death,* may effectually wipe away that reproach. "Having the care of this bearer, I tell you my heart is broken with grief, and I feel the burden of the public weighty, and hastening me to my grave. I need you do that disservice to the King, which all of you cannot possibly do, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, with the overthrowing down all our laws at once, which concerned our church since the Reformation. Was this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wisdom to bring back the same designs, the same practices? Will they not bring on the same effects, whatever fools dream?" And in the same letter downward, he says, "My Lord, you are the man in all the world I love best, and esteem most. I think I may write to you what I please. If you have gone with your heart to your covenant; to countenance the reintroduction of bishops and to strengthen the King by your advice in these things, I think I am the prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer for that sin," &c. And when the Archbishop came to visit him, when on his death-bed, he would not so much as give him the appellation of Lord: it appears that the introduction of Prelacy was a mean of bringing on his death, as seems evident from his last public letter to his cousin Mr. Lauderdale, dated May 12, 1662, some weeks before his death.—After some of the west-country ministers being called in to Edinburgh, he writes, "The guise is now, the bishops will trouble no man; but the states will punish seditious ministers. This poor church is in the most hard condition that ever we have seen. This is my daily grief; this hath brought me to a bodily trouble on me, and is like to do me more harm.—And not long after that, in the month of July, he got to his rest and gloryward, being aged sixty-three years.

Robert Bailey may very justly, for his profound and universal knowledge, exact and solid judgment, be accounted amongst the great men of his time. He was an honour to his country, and his works do praise the gates; among which are, his Scripture-chronology, wrote in his own hand; his Canterbury Self-conviction; his Parallel, or Comparison of the Mass-book with the Mass-book; his Dissuasive against the Errors of the Mass, and a large manuscript collection of historical papers and letters, consisting of four volumes folio, beginning at the year 1637, and ending with the Restoration, never hitherto published. To him is by some ascribed

* See another of his letters to Lauderdale, Wedrow's History, vol. i. p. 229.

ed that book, entitled, *Historia motuum in regno Scocie, annis 1634—1640*; and if he was the author of that, then also of another anonymous paper, called, *A Short Relation of the State of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Reformation of Religion to the month of October 1638*. For, from the preface of the last mentioned book, it appears that both were wrote by the same hand. He also wrote *Laudensium*, an anecdote against Arminianism; a *Reply to the Modest Inquirer*; with other tracts, and some sermons on public occasions.

N. B. In the life and now published letters of Principal Bailey, we have a recent proof of human frailty; nay more, that even great and good men will be biassed in judgment, and prejudiced in mind at others more faithful than themselves: for instance, these very noblemen and ministers to whom he gives the highest eulogiums of praise, for being the prime instruments in God's hand for carrying on the work of reformation, betwixt 1638 and 1649, as soon as they took the remonstrators' side he not only represents some of them to be of such a character as I shall forbear to mention, but even gives us a very diminutive view of the most faithful contendings about that time; wherein the gallant Argyll,—courageous Loudon,—the able statesman Warriston,—faithful Gairrie,—godly Rutherford,—peaceable Livingstone,—honest M'Ward, &c. cannot evite their share of reflections; which no doubt add nothing to the credit of the last ten years of his history; and all from a mistaken view of the controversy betwixt those protesters and his own party of resolutioners; taking all the divisions and calamities that befel the church, state, and army, at that time, to proceed from the protesters not concurring with them; whereas it is just the reverse; the taking in Charles II. that atheistical wretch, and his malignant faction, into the bosom of the church, proved the Achan in the camp, that brought all these upon the church, state, and army, at and since that time. These protesters could not submit their consciences to the arbitrary dictates of public resolutioners: they could not agree to violate their almost sworn covenant, by approving of the admission of these wicked malignants into public places of power and trust; in defence of which many of them faced the awful gibbet, banishment, imprisonment, and other excruciating hardships; whereas several hundreds of the resolutioners, on the very first blast of temptation, involved themselves in fearful spots and perjury: some of them became violent persecutors of these faithful brethren; and not a few of them absolute monsters of iniquity. The dreadful effects of which have almost ruined both church and state in these lands; and perhaps this same malignant faction will utterly ruin it at last, if the Lord in mercy prevent not. For the above, see *Bailey's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 350—443.

MR. DAVID DICKSON.

Mr. DICKSON was born about the year 1583. He was the only son of Mr. John Dick, or Dickson, merchant in Glasgow, whose father was an old feuer and possessor of some lands in the barony of Fintry, and parson of St. Ninian's, called the Kirk of the Muir. His parents were religious and of a considerable substance, and were many years married before they

, who was their only child; and as he was a Samuel, asked of so he was early devoted to him and the ministry; yet afterwards was forgot, till Providence, by a rod, and sore sickness brought their sins to remembrance, and then he was sent to studies at the university of Glasgow, where he had received the degree of Master of Arts, he was professor of philosophy in that college, where he was very useful up the youth in solid learning; and with the learned Principal Lockridge, the worthy Mr. Blair, and other pious members of the college, his pains were singularly blessed in reviving decayed serious young men, in that declining and corrupted time, a little opposition of Prelacy upon the church. Here, by a recommendation to the General Assembly, not long after our reformation from the regents were only to continue eight years in their profession; and such as were found qualified were licensed, and upon a call, were admitted to the holy ministry; by which constitution the church was to be filled with ministers well seen in all the branches of the ministry. Accordingly, Mr. Dickson was, in 1618, ordained in the town of Irvine, where he laboured for about twenty-three

years, the corrupt Assembly at Perth agreed to the five propositions proposed upon them by the King and the prelates. Mr. Dickson, had no great scruple against Episcopacy, as he had not studied them much, till the articles were imposed by this meeting, and he carefully examined them; and the more he looked into them, the more objection he found to them; and when, some time after, by a sore sickness he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave testimony of the sinfulness of them.

When this came to take air, Mr. James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission Court, Jan.

Mr. Dickson, at his entrance to the ministry at Irvine, preached 1 Cor. v. 11. the first part, *Knowing the terror of the Lord we are saved*; and when he perceived, at this juncture, a separation at least, the Sabbath before his comparance, he chose the next words, *But we are made manifest unto God*. Extraordinary power and workings of the affections accompanied that parting sermon.

Mr. Dickson appeared before the Commission, where, after the summons read, and some other reasoning among the bishops, he gave his signature; upon which, some of the bishops, whispering in his ear, they had favoured him upon the good report they had heard of his ministry, said to him, Take it up, take it up.—He answered, I laid it not down for that end to take it up again. Spottiswood, Bishop of St. Andrews, asked, if he would subscribe it. He answered himself ready. The clerk, at the Bishop's desire, began to read, but had scarce read three lines, till the Bishop burst forth in reproaches, full of gall and bitterness; and turning to Mr. David, these men will speak of humility and meekness, and talk of the spirit of God, &c. but ye are led by the spirit of the devil; there is more of the spirit of the devil, I dare say, than in all the bishops of Scotland. I hanged James Glasgow for the like fault." Mr. David answered, "I am ready to stand here as the King's subject, &c.; grant me the benefit of a subject, and I crave no more." But the Bishop took no notice of these words. Aberdeen asked him, whether

he would obey the King, or not? He answered, "I will obey th in all things in the Lord." I told you that, said Glasgow, I k would seek to his limitation. Aberdeen asked again, May not th give his authority, that we have, to as many sutors and tailors ir burgh, to sit, and see whether ye be doing your duty or not? Mr. said, My declinature will answer to that. Then St. Andrews fel to railing, The devil, said he, will devise, he has scripture enoug then called him knave, swinger, a young lad; and said, he mig been teaching bairns in the school: thou knowest what Aristotle said he, but thou hast no theology; because he perceived that Mr. son gave him no titles, but once called him Sir, he gnashed his tee said, Sir, you might have called me Lord; when I was in Glasgo since, ye called me so, but I cannot tell how, ye are become a j now. All this time he stood silent, and once lifted up his eyes to l which St. Andrews called a proud look. So after some more reas betwixt him and the bishops, St. Andrews pronounced the sente these words: "We deprive you of your ministry at Irvine, and you to enter in Turref, in the north, in twenty days." "The will Lord be done," said Mr. David; "though ye cast me off, the Lo take me up. Send me whither ye will, I hope my Master will g me; and as he has been with me heretofore, he will be with me s with his own weak servant."

Mr. Dickson continued preaching till the twenty days were e and then began his journey. But the Earl of Eglinton prevaile the Bishop of Glasgow, that he might come to Eglinton, and there. But the people from all quarters, resorting to his serm Eglinton's hall and court-yard, he enjoyed that liberty but two m for the Bishop sent him another charge, and he went to the place confinement.

While in Turref, he was daily employed to preach, by Mr. T Mitchell minister there. But he found far greater difficulty both in ing and preaching there, than formerly. Some time after, his l prevailed with the Bishop of Glasgow to repone him, upon condit would take back his declinature, and for that purpose wrote to Mr. son to come to Glasgow. He came as desired; and though man and gracious persons urged him to yield, yet he could not be persua yea, at last it was granted to him, that if he, or any friend he pl would go to the Bishop's castle, and either lift the paper, or sud friend to take it off the hall-table, without seeing the Bishop at might return to Irvine. But he found that to be but a juggling it a weighty matter, in point of public testimony, and resolved to s no farther in this matter, but to return to his confinement. Accor he began his journey, and was scarce a mile out of town, till his so filled with such joy and approbation from God, that he seldom b like.

But some time after, by the continual intercession of the Earl t linton and the town of Irvine with the Bishop, the Earl got a list send for him, and a promise, that he should stay till the King chal him. Thus he returned, without any condition on his part, to his about the end of July 1623.

While at Irvine, Mr. Dickson's ministry was singularly counte of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted, and fe lived in his day, were more instrumental in this work than he;

people, under exercise and soul concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons; and the most eminent Christians, from all corners of the church, came and joined him at the communions; which were then times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

Yea, not a few came from distant places, and settled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry; yet he himself observed, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr. Welch's time; where indeed the gospel had wonderful success in conviction, conversion, and confirmation. Here he commonly had his week-day sermon upon Monday, which was the market-day then at Irvine.— Upon the Sabbath-evenings, many persons under soul-distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down. In all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall, which was in his own house, there would sometimes have been scores of serious Christians, waiting for him after he came from church. These, with the people round the town, who came into the market, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day. By these week-day sermons, the famous Stuarton sickness (as it was called) was begun about the year 1680, and spread from house to house for many miles in the valley, where Stuarton water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon such serious persons, as were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excess, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, that Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid serious practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy.

About the years 1630 and 1631, some of our Scots ministers, Mess. Livingstone, Blair, and others, were settled among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where they were remarkably owned of the Lord in their ministry and communions about the six-mile water, for reviving religion, and the power and practice of it. But the Irish bishops, at the instigation of the Scots bishops, got them removed for a season. After they were silenced, and had come over to Scotland, about the year 1637, Mr. Dickson employed Mess. Blair, Livingstone, and Cunningham, at his communion, for which he was called before the High Commission; but, the prelates power being on the decline, he soon got rid of that trouble.

Several other instances might be given concerning Mr. Dickson, both to his usefulness in answering perplexing cases of conscience, and to students who had their eye to the ministry. While he was at Irvine, his prudent directions, cautions, and encouragements, given them, were extremely useful and beneficial; as also some examples might be given of his usefulness to his very enemies; but there is little room here to insist on these things.

It was Mr. Dickson who brought over the presbytery of Irvine to supplicate the Council in 1697, for a suspension of the Service-book. At that time, four supplications from different quarters, met at the Council-table door, to their mutual surprise and encouragement; which were small beginnings of that happy turn of affairs, that next year ensued; which great revolution, Mr. Dickson had no small share. He was

sent to Aberdeen, with Mess. Henderson and Cant, by the covenants to persuade that town and country to join in renewing the covenants; this brought him to bear a great part in the debates with the Doctors Forbes, Barrow, Sibbald, &c. at Aberdeen; which, by print, needs no farther notice at present.

And when the King was prevailed with to allow a free General Assembly at Glasgow, November 1638, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Bailey, first presbytery, made no small figure there in all the important matters that grave Assembly. Here Mr. Dickson signalized himself, in a reasonable and prudent speech he had, when his Majesty's Commission threatened to leave the Assembly; as also, in the 11th session, December he had another most learned discourse against Arminianism.*

By this time, the Lord's eminent countenancing of Mr. Dickson's ministry at Irvine, not only spread abroad, but his eminent preaching, and holy zeal, came to be universally known, especially ministers, from the part he bore in the Assembly of Glasgow, so that he was almost unanimously chosen moderator to the next General Assembly at Edinburgh, in August 1639, in the 10th session whereof, the Assembly of Glasgow presented a call to him; but, partly because of his own sion, and the vigorous appearance of the Earl of Eglinton, and his people, and mostly for the remarkable usefulness of his ministry in that corner, the General Assembly continued him still at Irvine.

Not long after this, about 1641, he was transported to be professor of the university of Glasgow, where he did great service to the church, training up young men for the holy ministry; and yet, notwithstanding of his laborious work, he preached on the forenoon of every Sabbath the high church there; where for some time he had the learned Mr. trick Gillespie for his colleague.

In 1643, the church laid a very great work upon him, together with Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Henderson, to form a draught of a direct public worship, as appears by an act of the General Assembly. When pestilence was raging at Glasgow in 1647, the masters and students, by Mr. Dickson's motion, removed to Irvine. There it was that the learned Mr. Durham passed his trials, and was earnestly recommended by the professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. A very strict friendship subsisted between those two great lights of the church, and the other effects of their religious conversation, we have the *Sum of Knowledge*, which hath been so often printed with our Confession and Catechisms. This, after several conversations upon the subject, in the manner of handling it, so that it might be useful to vulgar capacity, was by Mess. Dickson and Durham dictated to a reverend minister in the year 1650; and though never judicially approved by this church, it deserves to be much more read and practised than what it at present is.

About this time he was transported from the profession of divinity at Glasgow, to the same work at Edinburgh. At which time he published his *Prælectiones in confessionem fidei*, now published in English, which he dictated in Latin to his scholars. There he continued his labors, of students in divinity, the growing hopes of the church; and of Glasgow or at Edinburgh, the most part of the Presbyterian ministers, first in the west, south, and east parts of Scotland, from 1640, to

* See the first discourse in Stevenson's History, p. 562; and the last in the *Journal*.

er his inspection; and from the fore-mentioned book, we may perceive his care to educate them in the form of sound words, and to ground them in the excellent standards of doctrine agreed to by the once famous church of Scotland; and happy had their successors been, had they preserved, and handed down to posterity, the scriptural doctrines pure and entire, as they were delivered by our first reformers, to Mr. Dickson and his contemporaries, and from him and them handed down without corruption to their successors.

All this time, viz. in 1650, and 1651, Mr. Dickson had a great share in the printed pamphlets upon the unhappy debates betwixt the resolutioners and the protesters: he was in his opinion for the public resolutioners; and most of the papers on that side were wrote by him, Mr. Bailey, and Mr. Douglas; as those on the other side were wrote by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and a few others.

Mr. Dickson continued at Edinburgh, discharging his trust with great diligence and faithfulness, until the melancholy turn by the restoration of Prelacy, upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refusing the oath of supremacy, he was with many other Worthies, turned out; so that his heart was broken with this heavy change on the beautiful face of that once famed reformed church.

He had married Margaret Robertson, daughter to Archibald Robertson of Stonehall, a younger brother of the house of Ernock, in the shire of Lanark. By her he had three sons: John, clerk to the Exchequer in Scotland; Alexander, professor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh; and Archibald, who lived with his family afterwards in the parish of Irvine.

On December 1662, he fell extremely sick, at which time worthy Mr. Livingstone, now suffering for the same cause, though he had then but forty-eight hours liberty to stay in Edinburgh, came to see him on his deathbed. They had been intimately acquainted near forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow-confessors together. When Mr. Livingstone asked the professor, what were his thoughts of the present affairs, and how it was with himself? His answer was, "That he was sure Jesus Christ would not put up with the indignities done against his work and people:" and as for himself, said he, "I have taken all my good deeds, and all my evil deeds, and have cast them together in a heap before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace."*

Having been very low and weak for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke in particular to each of them, and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the apostolical blessing, Cor. xiii. 13, 14. with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand, and closed his own eyes; and, without any struggle, or apparent pain, immediately expired in his son's arms, and, like Jacob of old, was gathered to his people in a good old age, being now upwards of seventy-two years.

He was a man singularly endowed with an edifying gift of preaching; and his painful labours had been, in an eminent manner, blessed with success. His sermons were always full of solid and substantial matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style; not low, but extremely strong and affecting, being somewhat a-kin to the style of godly Mr. Lutherford; and it is said, that scarce any minister of that time came so

* See Mr. Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics, p. 81.

near Mr. Dickson's style or method of preaching, as the Rev. Mr. Guthrie, minister at Finwick, who equalled, if not, exceeded him.

His works are, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, on Matthew's Gospel, in 4to; on the Psalms of David, in 8vo Epistles, Latin and English, in 4to; and his *Praelectiones in con fidei*; or, Truth's Victory over Error, &c. in folio; *Therapeuticæ* or, Cases of Conscience resolved, in Latin 4to, in English 8vo; *Use of the Promises*, 12mo, printed at Dublin in 1630. And these, he wrote a great part of the Answers to the Demands, and to the Replies of the Doctors of Aberdeen, in 4to; and some pamphlets in defence of the public resolutioners, as has been already served; and some short poems on pious and serious subjects, the Christian Sacrifice, True Christian Love, to be sung with the common tunes of the Psalms. There are also several other pieces mostly in manuscript, such as, his *Tyrones concionaturi*, supposed to be read to his scholars at Glasgow; *Summarium libri Isaiaæ*: his *Letter to the Resolutioners*; his *First Paper on the Public Resolutions*; his *Letter to Mr. Gillespie and Mr. James Guthrie*; his *Non-separation so Well-affected in the Army*; as also some sermons at Irvine, upon i. 5. and his *Precepts for a Daily Direction of a Christian, &c. by catechism*, for his congregation at Irvine; with a *Compend of Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations*, and the first nine chapters of the Romans.

SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

THE first of his public appearances in favours of that glorious reformation, commonly called the second reformation period, was made about the beginning of 1638. When it came first to be known that Traquair was going up to the King, the deputies, afterwards the covenanters, were desirous that he would carry up an instrument which the Lord Balmerino and Mr. Johnston (the only advocates trusted by the petitioners) had drawn up, and that he would present the same, with their supplication, to his Majesty. But both these were refused, and orders given by his Majesty to Traquair, to publish a proclamation at Edinburgh and Stirling, against the requisitions of the covenanters. Sixteen of the nobles, with many barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, did, after hearing said proclamation, cause Mr. Johnston to protest against the same. And the same year, when the Marquis of Milton caused publish a declaration, in name of the King, the covenanters, upon hearing it, gave in another protestation in the same manner by Mr. Johnston; whereupon the Earl of Cassillis, in name of the nobility; Gibson of Durie, in name of the barons; Fletcher, provost of the city, in name of the burgesses; Mr. Kerr minister at Preston, in name of the church; and Mr. Archibald Johnston, in name of all others who adhered to the covenant, took instruments in the hands of three of them, and, in all humility, offered a copy of the same to the herald of arms of Edinburgh.*

* See further of these declarations and protests in Stevenson's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 361.

On the 9th of September, another declaration of the same nature being read, the noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, &c. gave another protest, Mr. Johnston header and advocate for the church, in name of all adhered to the Confession of Faith, and the covenant lately renewed the kingdom, took instruments in the hands of three notaries there; and offered a copy thereof to the herald at the cross of Edin-

burgh the same year, when the famous General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, in the month of November, Mr. Henderson being chosen moderator; it was moved, that Mr. Johnston, who had hitherto served the church at Edinburgh without reward, and yet, with great diligence, skill, and integrity, deserved the office of clerk above all others. After much deliberation, concerning him and some others put on a leet for election, the Assembly being called, on a vote for clerk, it carried unanimously for Mr. Johnston, who then gave his oath for fidelity, diligence, and a conscientiousness of the registers; and was admitted to all the rights, profits, and duties, which any in that office had formerly enjoyed; and instructions taken, both of his admittance and acceptance.

Johnston being thus installed, the moderator desired, that all who had any acts or books of former Assemblies, would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr. Sandihills (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing some acts from 1592 to that of Aberdeen in 1618, &c.; and when interrogate concerning the rest, he solemnly averred, that he had received no more from the Archbishop, and, to his knowledge, he had none belonging to the church. Then a farther motion was made by the Assembly, for recovering the rest wanting, that if any had them, they should give them up; whereupon Mr. Johnston gave an evidence how much he was of the trust reposed in him, by producing on the table some books, being now seven in all, which were sufficient to make up a register of the church from the beginning of the Reformation; which was acceptable to the whole Assembly.

In the 24th session of this Assembly, a commission was given to Mr. Johnston to be their procurator, and Mr. Dalgliesh to be their agent; and in their last session, of December 20, an act passed, allowing him the possession of all treaties and papers that concerned the church, prohibiting printers from publishing any thing of that kind, not licensed by

the King and the Canterburian faction, being highly displeas'd with the proceedings of this Assembly, advanced with an army towards Edinburgh, which made the covenanters, seeing the danger they were in, unto, raise another army, with which, under the command of James Leslie, they marched towards the King's army, now encamped on the south side of Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach, the English began to faint; whereupon the King and the English nobility desired a treaty; which was easily granted by the King, who appointed the Earls of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Loudon, Sir James Kirkcaldie, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, as their commissioners to treat with the English commissioners; to whom his Majesty granted a safe conduct, upon the 16th of June 1639. The Scots, having made known their demands, concluded upon several particulars, which were answered by the other party. On the 17th, and the day following, the articles of pacification were subscribed by both parties, in sight of both armies, at Kirks, near

But this treaty was but short-lived, and as ill kept; for the very next year, the King took arms again against the Scots, who immediately armed themselves a second time, and went for England, where they defeated a party of the English at Newburn, and pushed their way as far as Durham. The King finding himself in this strait, the English applying him behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, resolved on a second treaty, which was set on foot at Rippon, and concluded at London; and thither Mr. Henderson and Mr. Johnston were sent again, as the commissioners for the church; in which affairs they behaved with great prudence and candour. When the Scots parliament sat down this year, they, by an act, appointed a fee of 100 merks to Mr. Johnston as advocate for the church, and 500 merks as clerk to the General Assembly; so sensible were they of his many services done to the church and nation.

Next year, 1641, the King, having fallen out with his English parliament, came to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. In this parliament several offices of state were filled up with persons fit for such employments. The Earl of Argyle being put at the head of the Treasury, and the Earl of Loudon made Chancellor; among others, Mr. Archibald Johnston stood fair for the Register-office; and the general opinion of the well-affected thought it the just reward of his labours; but the King, Lennox, Argyle, &c. being for Gibson of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr. Johnston's disappointment was supplied by the King conferring the order of knighthood upon him, and granting him a commission to be one of the Lords of Session, with an annual pension of L.200; and Orbiston was made Justice Clerk.*

During this and the next year, Mr. (now Sir) Archibald Johnston had several great employments committed to his trust. He was one of those nominated to conserve the articles of peace betwixt the two kingdoms until the meeting of parliament, &c. And then he was appointed one of these commissioners, who were sent up to London to negotiate with the English parliament, for sending over some relief from Scotland to Ireland, it being then on the back of the Irish rebellion. While at London they waited on his Majesty at Windsor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament; but for this he gave them little thanks; although he found his mistake afterwards.

When the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, in 1643, upon a motion from Sir Archibald Johnston, their clerk, emitted a declaration for joining with the English parliament, for a variety of reasons of which these were the sum and substance. "(1.) They apprehend the war is for religion. (2.) The Protestant faith is in danger. (3.) Gratitude for the assistance in the time of the former reformation, required a suitable return. (4.) Because the churches of Scotland and England, being embarked in one bottom, if the one be ruined, the other cannot subsist. (5.) The prospect of an uniformity between the two kingdoms in discipline and worship, will strengthen the Protestant interest at home and abroad. (6.) The present parliament had been friendly to the Scots, and might be so again. (7.) Though the King had so lately established religion amongst them, according to their desire, yet they could not confide in his royal declaration, having so

* See a more full account of these affairs in the History of Church and State, vol. p. 1009.

actions and promises contradictory the one to the other," &c. Estates took in good part, and suggested other reasons of their own they saw proper.

At the latter end of this Assembly, upon the arrival of the commissioners from the Parliament and Assembly at Westminster, the Scots by an act of session 14, commissioned Mess. Henderson, Rutherford, Bailey, and Gillespie, ministers; John Earl of Mar, Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, or any three of them, whereof two should be ministers, to the kingdom of England, and there to deliver the declaration to the Parliament of England, and the letter sent to the Assembly, now sitting in that kingdom, and to propound, consult, conclude with that Assembly, or any commissioner deputed, committee or commissioner deputed by the House of Parliament, which may further the union of this island, in one form of government, one Confession of Faith, one Catechism, one Directory of Worship of God, according to the instructions they have received from the Assembly, or shall receive from time to time hereafter, from the Commissioners of the Assembly, deputed for that effect." This was again renewed by several acts of the subsequent Assembly the year 1648. And it appears, that Lord Warriston did not use diligence as a member of the Westminster Assembly, for to procure the uniformity of religion in worship, discipline, and government also, for some time, he sat as a member of the English Assembly for concerting such methods as might bring about a firm peace betwixt the two kingdoms afterwards; which is, and has been, a most noble piece of service both to church and state in our country; yet, we shall find it accounted high treason in this worthy nobleman's words.

Lord Warriston had, for his upright and faithful dealing, in the many matters committed to his charge, received many marks of favour and dignity, both from church and state; and, to crown all the rest, his parliament, in 1646, made an act, appointing his commission Lord Advocate, with the conduct of the committee of London-castle, and the general officers of the army: all which evince a noble hand he had in carrying on that blessed work of re-

formation. He has also been clerk to the General Assembly since the year 1638; and that unhappy difference fell out in 1650, when the act of classes was passed, whereby malignants were again taken into places of trust, which occasioned the rise of those called protesters and seceders. In 1650, Lord Warriston was one of those who had a principal part in managing affairs among those faithful anti-resolutioners; and he wrote a most solid letter to that meeting at St. Andrews, July 18, 1650, in which, among other things, he says, "The said Assembly is no lawful, full, or free General Assembly, say, 'Sir Archibald Johnston, clerk to the Assembly, a man undeniably faithful, singularly distinguished with the acts and proceedings of this kirk, and with the cause of the Reformation, and who hath been useful above many others in the work of reformation, from the beginning, in all respects, both at home and abroad; having written his mind to the Assembly, (not being able to come himself,) about the things that are done in the Assembly, and held out much clear light from the

scriptures, and from the acts of former Assemblies, in these parts albeith the letter was delivered publicly to the moderator, in the the Assembly, and urged to be read by him who presented it, th the moderator did break it up, and caused it to be read; and the members did thereafter, upon several occasions, and at severa press the reading of it, but it could never be obtained," &c.

And further, those papers bearing the name of representation positions, protestations, &c. were, by the said Lord Warristor Cant, Rutherford, Livingstone, &c. presented to the reverend n and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652, when the Marquis gyle, at London, procured an equal hearing to the protesters; ; Simpson, one of these three ministers deposed by the Assembly i being sent up by the protesters for that purpose, in the begin 1657, Mess. James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie, the other th had been deposed by that Assembly, together with Lord W: were sent up to assist Mr. Simpson. [See Blair's Memoirs, p. 15

Lord Warriston had now, for the space of five years or more, v and acted, with all his power, for the King's interest; and, i man of great resolution, he both spoke and wrote openly against men submitting to take offices under the usurper: but being sen London in the foresaid year 1657, with some of the Scots nobility some important affairs, and Cromwell being fully sensible how i would be for his interest to gain such a man as Warriston over side, he prevailed upon him to re-enter to the office of Clerk- n which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards, as wel sitting and presiding in some meeting at London after Oliver's de

Mr. Wodrow (vol. i. p. 164.) says, that at that meeting at Edin which sent him up to London upon business, he reasoned against to the utmost of his power opposed his being sent up, acquaintin with what was his weak side; that through the easiness of his tem might not be able to resist importunity, craving, that he might sent among snares; and yet, after all, he was peremptorily named

To account some way for his conduct in this:—His family was rous; and very considerable sums were owing him, which he h vanced for the public service, and a good many bygone years salar was, through importunity, thus prevailed upon to side with the e there being no other door open then for his relief. And yet all his compliance, it was observed, he was generally more sad and choly than what he had formerly been; and it is said, that his o affairs did not prosper so well afterwards.

The King being restored again to his dominions in 1660, i Noble Marquis of Argyle imprisoned, July 14, orders came down i Sir James Stuart, provost of Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Johnston riston, and Sir John Chiesly of Carswell. The first and last wer but Lord Warriston escaped for a time, and therefore was sum by sound of trumpet, to surrender himself, and a proclamation out for seizing him, promising an hundred pounds Scots to w should do it, and discharging all from concealing or harbouring h der pain of treason. A most arbitrary step indeed! for here is i a reward offered for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but d it treason for any to harbour him, and that without any cause ass

Upon the 10th of October following, he was, by order of the i declared fugitive; and next year (February 1,) the indictmeas

Warriston, William Dundas, and John Hurne, was read in the none of them being present. Warriston was forfeited, and his for- publicly proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh. The principal of his indictment were, his pleading against Newton Gordon, e had the King's express orders to plead for him; his assisting to of the west kirk, &c.; his drawing out, contriving, or consenting paper called the Western Remonstrance, and the book called the of the Lord's Wrath; his sitting in parliament as a Peer of Eng- strary to his oath, &c.; his accepting the office of Clerk-register e usurper;—and being president of the committee of safety, which l was laid aside, &c. But neither of all these were the proper of this good man's sufferings, but a personal prejudice and pique he bottom of all these bitter proceedings; for the godly freedom in reproving vice, was what could never be forgotten or forgiven. row hints, that the Earl of Bristol was interceding for him, and I have an account of this holy freedom Lord Warriston used, reverend minister, who was his chaplain at that time, and took to advise my Lord not to adventure on it: yet this excellent per- the glory of God and the honour of religion more in his eyes own safety, went on in his designed reproof, and would not, for fument, quit the peace he expected in his own conscience, by dis- ng himself, be the event what it would; he got a great many fair and all was pretended to be taken well from my Lord Register; he was told by his well-wishers, it was never forgot." For, in tice with Cromwell, he was not alone in the matter; the greater the nation being involved therein as well as he; and several of ho had been named trustees to the usurper were all discharged ourt, except Warriston, who was before come to Scotland, and to appear before the parliament at the sitting down thereof. good man, after the sentence of forfeiture and death passed against the first parliament, being obliged to go abroad, to escape the his enemies, even there did their crafty malice reach him; for t Hamburgh, being visited with sore sickness, it is certain that es, one of King Charles's physicians, intending to kill him, con- his faith and office, did prescribe poison to him instead of physic, a caused draw from him sixty ounces of blood, whereby, though d wonderfully preserved his life, he was brought near the gates i, and so far lost his memory, that he could not remember what said or done a quarter of an hour before, and continued so until of his martyrdom. yet all this did not satisfy his cruel and blood-thirsty enemies; e was yet in life they sought him carefully; and at last having advisedly to France, one Alexander Murray, being dispatched in him, apprehended him at Roan, while he was engaged in secret a duty wherein he much delighted. In January 1663, he was over prisoner, and committed to the tower of London, where nued till the beginning of June, when he was sent down to Edin- o be executed. carriage during his passage was truly Christian. He landed at n the 8th and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from he was brought before the parliament on the 8th of July. His Bishop Burnet, in his history, says, he was so disordered both in d mind, that it was a reproach to any government to proceed him.

When at the bar of the House, he discovered such weakness of mind and judgment, that almost every person lamented him, except the other bishops, who scandalously and basely triumphed over, and loudly derided him; although it is well known, says the author of the *Logistical Relation*, "that Lord Warriston was once in case, not to have been a member, but a president, of any judicatory in Europe to have spoke for the cause and interest of Christ before kings stopping of the mouths of gainstayers.

Here it seemed that many of the members of parliament in spare his life; but when the question was put, whether the time of execution should be just now fixed, or delayed. Lauderdale interposed upon calling the rolls, and delivered a most beautiful speech for sent execution. And sentence was pronounced, that he be ha the cross of Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, and his head placed North-B. w. beside that of Mr. Guthrie. He received his sentence with such meekness as filled all with admiration; for then he desired, best blessings might be on church and state, and on his Majesty, w might befall himself, and that God would give him true and counsellors.

During the whole time of his imprisonment, he was in a most ritual and tender frame, to the conviction of his very enemies; nearer that his death approached, the composure of his mind became more conspicuous. He rested agreeably, the night before his execution and in the morning was full of consolation, sweetly expressing his assurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of getting a morsel of the Lamb's praise in his mouth. Before noon he dined with content, "hoping to sup in heaven, and to drink the next cup fresh in his Father's kingdom."

After he had spent some time in secret prayer, about two o'clock was taken from prison, attended by several of his friends in motion though he himself was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, a perfect serenity of mind. When come to the scaffold, he said first to the people, "Your prayers, your prayers." When he came to the scaffold he said, "I intreat you, quiet yourselves a little, till this man deliver his last speech among you," and desired they would not be offended at his making use of the paper to help his memory, so impaired by long sickness, and the malice of physicians. Then he delivered his speech, first on the one side of the scaffold, and then on the other which speech, after a short preamble, shewing that that which he desired to have spoken at his death, was not now in his power, being taken from him, yet hoped the Lord would preserve it to be his testimony being now for some time in a most melancholy circumstance, by a long and sore sickness, drawing of blood, &c. He, in the first part, confesseth his sins, pleads for forgiveness, bewails his compliance with the usurper, although, said he, he was not alone in that offence, the body of the nation going before him, and the example of all men to ensnare him, &c. Then declares his adherence to the covenants of reformation, earnestly desiring the prayers of all the Lord's people, &c.; and vindicates himself from having any accessions to the late King's death, and to the making of the change of government, and the great God of heaven to witness between him and his people. And at last concluded with these words: "I do here now submit and commit my soul and body, wife and children, and children's."

from generation to generation for ever, with all others his friends and followers, all his doing and suffering witnesses, sympathizing ones in present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, enjoyments, and inheritments on earth, and in heaven, in time and all eternity; all which suits, with all others which he hath, at any time, by his Spirit, moved and assisted the Father's merciful bowels, the Son's mediating merits, and me to put up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, both now and for ever more. Amen.*

After the reading of his speech, he prayed with great fervency and liberty, and, being in a rapture, he began thus: "Abba, Father! Accept this thy poor sinful servant, coming unto thee, through the merits of Jesus Christ," &c. then taking leave of his friends, he prayed again with great fervency, being now near the end of that sweet work he had so much, through the course of his time, been employed in. No ministers were allowed to be with him; but it was, by those present, observed that God sufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by some of his friends in deep mourning; and, as he ascended, he said, "Your prayers, your prayers. Your prayers I desire in the name of the Lord." Such was the esteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, "I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scare at suffering for the interest of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in these days; but be encouraged to suffer for him, for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While the rope was putting about his neck, he repeated these words again, adding, "The Lord hath graciously comforted me." When the executioner desired his forgiveness, he said, "The Lord forgive thee, poor man;" and withal gave him some money, bidding him do his office if he was ready; and crying out, "O pray, pray! Praise, praise, praise,"—he was turned over, and died almost without any struggle, with his hands lifted up unto heaven, whither his soul ascended, to enjoy the beatific presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

He was soon cut down, and his head struck off, and set up beside that of his dear friend Mr. Guthrie; and his body carried to the Grayfriars church-yard. But his head soon after, by the interest and intercession of lieutenant-general Drummond, who was married to one of his daughters, was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus stood, and thus fell, the eminently pious and truly learned Lord Warriston, whose talents as a speaker in the senate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here insisted upon; and for prayer, he was one among a thousand, and oft-times met with very remarkable reasons; and though he was for some time borne down with weakness and distress, yet he never came in the least to doubt of his eternal happiness; and used to say, "I dare never question my salvation, I have so often seen God's face in the house of prayer." And, as the last cited historian observes, "Although his memory and talents were for some time impaired, like the sun at his setting, after he had been a while under a cloud, he shone most brightly and surprisingly, and so in some measure the more fully; for that morning he was under a wonderful effusion of the Spirit, as great perhaps as many have had since the primitive times."

* See Naphtali, and the Appendix to Wodrow's History.

He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations, and in which is a valuable treasure both of Christian experience, and matters of fact little known at present, which might be of great use and light to the history of that period, and wherein he records his sure hopes, (after much wrestling in which he was mightily helped.) that the church of Scotland would be manifestly visited, and freed from the evils she fell under after the Restoration. And his numerous family, whom he so often left upon the Lord's providence, were, for the most part, as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them in his own outward prosperity. *He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life: but I will confess his name before my Father and his angels.*

MR. JAMES WOOD.

He was some time after the year 1651, made provost, or principal of the old college of St. Andrews, and one of the ministers there; and being one who in judgment fell in with the resolution party, it occasioned some difference betwixt him and Mr. Rutherford, at that time professor of divinity in the new college there; and yet he had ever a great and high esteem for Mr. Wood, as appears from a message he sent him when on his deathbed, wherein he said, "Tell Mr. James Wood from me, to heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done, and desire him from me to declare himself the man he is, still for the government of the church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him; for Mr. Wood was true and faithful to the Presbyterian government; nothing could prevail upon him to comply in the least degree with abjured Popery. So far was he from that, that the apostasy and treachery of others, viz. Mr. Sharp, whom he had too much trusted, broke his upright spirit, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of him whom he called Judas, Demas, and Gehazi, all in one; after he had found what he had acted to the church of Scotland, under trust.*

Mr. Wood continued in the exercise of the foresaid offices until 1661, when by the instigation of Bishop Sharp, he got a charge to appear before the Council on the 23d July, to answer to several things laid to his charge; and though Mr. Sharp was indebted to Mr. Wood for any reputation he had, and was under as great obligations to him as one man could be to another, (for they had been more than ordinarily familiar,) yet now the Primate could not bear his continuing any longer there, and he caused cite him before the Council.

When he compeared, he was interrogate,—How he came to be pre-

* About the time of Middleton's parliament 1661, or 1662, Mr. Wood, in company with Mr. Vetch, went into one Glen's shop in Edinburgh, to see Sharp, whom he had not seen since he turned bishop.—Sharp uncovering his head to receive the Communion, they had a full view of his face, to whom Mr. Wood looked very seriously; and with much affection, uttered these words: "O thou Judas, apostate, traitor, that hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian church of Scotland, to its utter ruin, as far as thou canst, if I know any thing of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though this was spoken eighteen years before, it was exactly accomplished in 1679. See Vetch's large Life Biography, first edition, p. 472.

college of St. Andrews?—When he began to answer, he was in a very huffing manner, and commanded to give in his word; for the Archbishop, and others present, could not ell some truths he was entering upon. He told them, he by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the some here, added he, (meaning Bishop Sharp,) very well ereupon he was removed, and a little after called in again, tence intimate unto him, which was, “That the Lords of r the present, do declare the same place to be vacant, and orrmand him to confine himself within the city of Edinburgh, depart from thence until farther orders.” When his sentence te to him, he told them, he was sorry they had condemned a out hearing him, whom they could not charge with the any law. In September following, Bishop Sharp got the privileges of that office; which shews that he had some reazing Mr. Wood from that place.

: 30th of the same month, Mr. Wood presented a petition to , shewing,—That his father was extremely sick, that he had essary affairs at St. Andrews, and desired liberty to go there ect. Which petition being read, with a testificate of his fanity, the Council granted license to the petitioner to go to rs, to visit his father, and perform his other necessary affairs; rning when he should be called by the Council. continued, till toward the beginning of the year 1664, when cness, whereof he died; and though he suffered not in his boal of his brethren did, yet the Archbishop, it appears, was re- in his name and reputation after his death, if not sooner; in igh the Primate saw good, once or twice, to give him a visit, is deathbed in St. Andrews. He was now extremely low in ind spoke very little to Mr. Sharp, and nothing at all about s made in the state of public affairs. However the conse- these visits was,—The Primate spread a rumour, that Mr. ag now under the views of death and eternity, professed him- d-different as to church-government, and declared himself as Episcopacy as Presbytery; and in all companies Sharp assert- fr. Wood had declared to himself, that Presbyterian govern- d-different, and alterable at the pleasure of the magistrate, and hood; yea, he had the impudence (says Wodrow, vol i. p. cite up an account of this to Court, even before Mr. Wood’s hich reports coming to the ears of this good man, they added his former sorrow; and he could have no rest till he vindicat- from such a false calumny, by a solemn testimony, which he self, and subscribed upon the 2d of March, before two wit- a public notary; which testimony, being burnt by order of eommission, in April following, deserves a place here.

is Wood, being very shortly, by appearance, to render up my Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me, for before the world. It hath been said of me, that I have, departed from my wonted zeal for the Presbyterian go- ing myself, concerning it, as if it were a matter not to and that no man should trouble himself, therefore, in Surely any Christian that knows me in this kirk,

will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It is true, that I being under sickness, have said sometimes, in conference about my soul's state that I was taken up about greater business than any thing of that kind and what wonder I said so, being under such wresting against my interest Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any other ordinance? But for my estimation of Presbyterian government the Lord knoweth, that since the day he convinced my heart, which was by a strong hand, that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible church, I never had the least change of thought concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And I declare, before God and the world, that I still account so of it; and that, however there may be some more precious ordinances, that is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see meet to put him to the trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would account it a glory to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take God, angels, and men, to be my witness; and have subscribed these presents, at St. Andrews, on the 2d of March 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before these witnesses, &c.

Mr. William Tullidaff,
Mr. John Carstairs,
John Pitcairn, *writer*.

JAMES WOOD

After this he uttered many heavenly expressions, to several persons who came to see him; all setting forth the sweet experience of his soul until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this present life for a crown of righteousness.

Mr. Wood was among the brightest lights of that period. He had been colleague to Mr. Sharp, and, after the Restoration, he lamented much that he had been deceived by that unhappy man. He refuted the Independents, and asserted Presbyterian government, as is evident from that work of his, wrote in opposition to Nicolas Lockier's *Little Stone hewed out of the Mountain*, and his other books that are in print. It is also said, that before his death he lamented his taking part with the public resolutioners very much.

'I have been informed (says Wodrow) that he left some very valuable manuscripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian scheme of doctrine, ready for the press, which doubtless, if published, would be of no small use in this age, when Arminianism hath so far got the ascendant.'

MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE was born at Pitfrothy, in 1620. He was the eldest son of the Laird of Pitfrothy in the shire of Forfar; and by the mother's side descended from the ancient house of Easter Ogle, of which she was a daughter. God blessed his parents with a numerous offspring for he had three sisters-german and four brothers, who all, except one, dedicated themselves to the service of the gospel of Christ; namely, Mr. Robert, who was licensed to preach, but never was ordained to the charge.

of any parish, his tender constitution and numerous infirmities rendered him unfit, and soon brought him to the end of his days: Mr. Alexander was a minister in the presbytery of Brichen, about 1645, where he continued a pious and useful labourer in the work of the gospel, till the introduction of Prelacy; which unhappy change affected him in the tenderest manner, and was thought to have shortened his days; for he died in 1661; and Mr. John, the youngest, was minister at Tarbolton, in Ayrshire, in which place he continued till the Restoration, in 1662, when the Council met at Glasgow, commonly called the Drunken Meeting, on the 1st of October. By this infamous act of Glasgow, above a third part of the ministers in Scotland were thrust from their charges, amounting to near 400. Mr. John Guthrie had his share of the hardships that many faithful ministers of Jesus Christ at that time were brought under. The next year, being 1663, the Council, at the instigation of the Bishop of Glasgow, summoned him and other nine to appear before them on the 25th of July, under pain of rebellion; but he and other six did not appear. In 1666, he joined with that party, who, on the 26th of November, renewed the covenants at Lanark; after a sermon preached by him, he tendered the covenants, which were read; to every article of which, with their hands lifted up to heaven, they engaged, * with great solemnity and devotion. After their defeat at Pentland, he, no doubt, had his share of the violence and cruelty that then reigned, till, in 1668, he was removed to a better world.

Mr. William soon gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by very considerable progress made in the Latin and Greek languages. Then he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, where he studied philosophy under the memorable Mr. James Guthrie, his cousin, who was afterwards minister at Stirling, "and who," says Mr. Trail, "I saw die in and for the Lord, at Edinburgh, June 1, 1661."

As the master and scholar were near relations, Mr. Guthrie was his peculiar care, and lodged, when at the college, in the same chamber with him; and therefore had the principles of learning infused into him with more accuracy than his class-fellows.

Having taken the degree of Master of Arts, he applied himself for some years to the study of divinity, under the direction of Mr. Samuel Rutherford. Mr. Trail says, "Then and there it pleased the Lord, who separated him from his mother's womb, to call him, by his grace, by the ministry of the excellent Mr. Samuel Rutherford; and this young man became one of the first fruits of his ministry at St. Andrews.—His conversion was begun with great terror of God in his soul, and completed with that joy and peace in believing that accompanied him through his life. After this blessed change wrought upon him, he resolved to obey the call of God to serve him in the ministry of his gospel, which was given him by the Lord's calling him effectually to grace and glory. He did for this end so dispose of his outward estate, to which he was born heir, as not to be entangled with the affairs of this life." He gave his estate to the only brother of the five who was not engaged in the sacred office, that thereby he might be perfectly disentangled from the affairs of this life, and entirely employed in these of the eternal world.

Soon after he was licensed to preach, he left St. Andrews, with high esteem and approbation from the professors of that university; which

* See Wedrop's and Cruickshanks's Histories.

they gave proof of, by their ample recommendations. After this he came tutor to Lord Mauchlin, eldest son to the Earl of Loudon which situation he continued for some time, till he entered upon a rochial charge.

The parish of Kilmarnock, in the shire of Ayr, being large, and m of the people, belonging to the said parish, being no less than six or se miles distant from their own kirk; for which and other reasons, the t tors and others procured a disjunction, and called the new parish l wick, or New Kilmarnock.

Mr. Guthrie was employed to preach at Galston, on a preparation- before the celebration of the Lord's supper: and several members of new-erected parish were present on that occasion, who, being greatly fied by his sermons, conceived such a value for him, that they immedi ly resolved to make choice of him for their minister; and, in consequ thereof, gave him a very harmonious call; which he complied with. i said, that he; along with the people, made choice of the piece of gro for building the church upon, and preached within the walls of the ho before it was completed, which bears the date of being built in 1643; i he was ordained unto the sacred office, November 7, 1644.

He had many difficulties at first to struggle with; and many circ stances of his ministry were extremely discouraging: and yet, thro the divine blessing, the gospel preached by him had surprising succe and became, in an eminent manner, the wisdom and power of God to salivation of many perishing souls.

After Mr. Guthrie came to Fenwick, many of the people were so it and barbarous, that they never attended upon divine worship; and by not so much as the face of their pastor: to such, every thing that pected religi n, was disagreeable. Many refused to be visited or c chised by him; they would not even admit him into their houses; such he sometimes went in the evening, disguised in the character of traveller, and sought lodging, which he could not even obtain with much entreaty; but having obtained it, he would engage in some g ral amusing conversation at first; and then ask them, how they l their minister? When they told him, they did not go to church, he gaged them to go and take a trial; others he hired with money to g When the time of family-worship came, he desired to know if they n any; and if not, what reason had they for so doing.

There was one person in particular whom he would have to pnd family-worship, who told him, that he could not pray; and he a what was the reason? He told him, that he never used to pray any, so could not. He would not take this for answer, but would have man to make a trial in that duty before him; to which the man rep "O Lord! thou knowest that this man would have me to pray, a thou knowest that I cannot pray." After which Mr. Guthrie b stop; and said, he had done enough; and prayed himself, to their surprise. When prayer was ended, the wife said to her husband, surely this was a minister, (for they did not know him.) After th engaged them to come to the kirk on Sabbath, and see what they sh of their minister. When they came there, they discovered, to the sternation, that it had been their minister himself who had allured thither. And this condescending manner of gaining them, proc constant attendance on public ordinances; and was at length ac panied by the fruits of righteousness, which are, through Jesus C unto the praise of God.

There was also another person in his parish, who had a custom of going ~~u~~-fowling on the Sabbath-day, and neglecting the church; in which practice he had continued for a considerable time. Mr. Guthrie asked him, what reason he had for so doing? He told him, that the Sabbath-day was the most fortunate day in all the week for that exercise. Mr. Guthrie asked, what he could make by that day's exercise? He replied, that he would make half a crown of money that day. Mr. Guthrie told him, if he would go to church on Sabbath, he would give him as much; and by that means got his promise. After sermon was over, Mr. Guthrie asked, if he would come back the next Sabbath day, and he would give him the same? which he did; and from that time afterwards never failed to keep the church, and also freed Mr. Guthrie of his promise.—He afterwards became a member of his session.

He would frequently use innocent recreations, such as fishing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which contributed much to preserve a vigorous state of health; and while in frequent conversation with the neighbouring gentry, as these occasions gave him frequent opportunity, he would bear in upon them reproofs and instructions, with an inoffensive familiarity, as Mr. Dunlop has observed of him; "But as he was animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his blessed Master, and a tender compassion to the souls of men; and as it was the principal thing that made him desire life and health, that he might employ them in propagating the kingdom of God, and in turning transgressors from their ways; so the very hours of recreation were dedicated to this purpose; which was so endeared to him, that he knew how to make his diversions subservient to the nobler ends of his ministry. He made them the occasion of familiarising his people to him, and introducing himself to their affections; and, in the disguise of a sportsman, he gained some to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a minister's dress; of which these happened several memorable examples."

His person was stately and well set; his features comely and handsome; he had a strong clear voice, joined to a good ear, which gave him a great pleasure in music; and he failed not to employ that talent for the noblest use, the praising of his Maker and Saviour; in which part of divine worship his soul and body acted with united and unwearied vigour.

He was happily married to one Agnes Campbell, daughter to one David Campbell of Sheldon, in the shire of Ayr, a remote branch of the family of Loudon. In August 1645, his family affairs were both easy and comfortable. His wife was a gentlewoman endued with all the qualities that could render her a blessing to her husband, joined to handsome and comely features, good sense and good breeding, sweetened by a modest cheerfulness of temper, and, what was most comfortable to Mr. Guthrie, she was sincerely pious; so that they lived a little more than twenty years in the most complete friendship, and with a constant mutual satisfaction, founded on the noblest principles; one faith, one hope, one baptism, and a sovereign love to Jesus Christ, which zealously inspired them both. By her he had six children; two of whom only outlived himself, both of them daughters, who endeavoured to follow the example of their excellent parents. One of them was married to Miller of Glenlee, a gentleman in the shire of Ayr; and the other to Mr. Peter Warner, in 1681.

After the Revolution, Mr. Warner was settled at Irvine. He had two children, William of Airdrie, and Margaret Warner, married to Mr. Wodrow minister at Eastwood, who wrote the

History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, betwixt the years 1660 and 1668, inclusive.—But to return.

When Mr. Guthrie was but young, and new married, he was appointed, by the General Assembly, to attend the army. When he was preparing for his departure, a violent fit of the gravel, unto which he was often subject, reduced him to the greatest extremity of pain and danger which made his religious spouse understand and improve the divine chastisement. She then saw how easily God could put an end to his life which she was too apprehensive about; and brought herself to a resolution, never to oppose her inclination to his entering upon any employment whereby he might honour his Master, though never so much hazard should attend it.

While he was with the army, upon the defeat of a party he was with, he was preserved in a very extraordinary manner; which made him ever retain a greater sense of the divine goodness; and at his return to his parish, he was animated to a more vigorous diligence in the work of the ministry, and propagating the kingdom of the Son of God, both among his people and all round about him; his public preaching, especially at the administration of the Lord's supper, and his private conversation, conspiring together for these noble purposes.

After this, Mr. Guthrie had occasion again to be with the army, when the English sectaries prevailed, under Oliver Cromwell. After the defeat at Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650, when the army was at Stirling, that worthy man Mr. Rutherford writes a letter to him; wherein, by way of exhortation, near the end, he says, "But let me obtest all the serious souldiers, by the face, his secret sealed ones, by the strongest consolations of the Spirit, by the gentleness of Jesus Christ, that Plant of Renown, by your faithful counsels, and by your appearing before God, when the white throne shall be up, be not deceived with these fair words: though my spirit be diminished at the cunning distinctions, which are found out in the maintenance of the covenant; that help may be had against this man; yet my trembling to entertain the least thought of joining with these deceivers." Accordingly he joined the remonstrators, and was chosen moderator of that synod at Edinburgh, after the public resolutioners went out against them.

The author of his memoirs saith, "His pleasant and facetious conversation procured him an universal respect from the English officers, who made them fond of his company; while at the same time, his courage and constancy did not fail him in the cause of his great Master; and was often useful to curb the extravagancies of the sectaries, and maintain order and regularity." One instance of which happened at the administration of the Lord's supper, at Glasgow, celebrated by Mr. Andrew Galloway. Several of the English officers had formed a design, to put in execution the disorderly principle of a promiscuous admission to the Lord's supper, by coming to it themselves, without acquainting the minister, or in any other due manner found worthy of that privilege. It being Mr. Guthrie's turn to serve at that table, he spoke to them, when they were at their pews in order to make the attempt, with such gravity, reason, and zeal, that they were quite confounded, and sat down without making any further disturbance.

About this time that set of heretics, called Quakers, endeavoured to sow their tares in Fenwick parish, when Mr. Guthrie was some distance absent, about his own private affairs in Angus. But he returned home

fore this infection had sunk deep; recovered some who were in hazard of being tainted by it fatal influence; and confounded the rest, that they despaired of any further attack upon his flock. This wild set had made many proselytes to their demented delusions in Kilbride, Glasgow, and other neighbouring parishes; yea they prospered so well in Glasford parish, that there is yet a church-yard in that place, where they buried their own dead, with their heads to the east, contrary to the practice of all other Christians.

After this, he had several calls for transportation to other parishes, of more importance than ever Fenwick was; which places were, Renfrew, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. But the air and recreation of a country-life were useful to him, in maintaining a healthful constitution; and, above all, the love his flock had to him, caused him to set on an invincible obstinacy against all designs of separation from them: a relation, when it is animated with this principle of the spiritual life, and founded on so noble a bottom, enters deepest into the soul; and a minister can scarce miss to have peculiar tenderness and warmth of divine affections to those whose father he is, after the Spirit; and hath been favoured of God, in bringing them to the kingdom of his Son, and baptizing them through the gospel; whose heavenly birth is now the highest pleasure and brightest triumph of his life, and will be one day his crown of glory and rejoicing. And doubtless, when Mr. Guthrie preached at Fenwick, a poor obscure parish, to the most considerable charges in the nation, it was a proof of his mortification to the world, and that he was moved by views superior to temporal interests.

About 1656, or 1657, some unknown person somehow got a copy of some imperfect notes of some sermons that Mr. Guthrie had preached upon the 55th chapter of Isaiah, with relation to personal covenanting; and, without the least intimation of the design made to him, printed them in a little pamphlet 61 pages 12mo, under this title, A clear, attractive, shining Beam of Light, from Christ, the Sun of Light, leading unto himself, &c. Printed at Aberdeen, 1657.

This book was indeed anonymous; but Mr. Guthrie was reputed the author by the whole country, and was therefore obliged to take notice of it. He was equally displeas'd at the vanity of the title, and the defect of the work itself, which consisted of some broken notes of his sermons, carelessly huddled together, by an injudicious hand. He saw that the best method to remedy this, was to review his own sermons; from which he compos'd that admirable treatise, *The Christian's Great Interest*, the only genuine work of Mr. Guthrie, which hath been blessed by a most wonderful success, in our own country; being published, very early, a little before the introduction of Prelacy at the Restoration. The author of his *Memoirs* saith, "He had a story from a reverend divine of the church, who had the sentiments of Dr. Owen, from his mouth, who said, You have truly men of great spirits in Scotland; and for a gentleman, Mr. Bailey of Jarviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I almost ever met with; and for a divine, said he, (taking out of his pocket a little gilt copy of Mr. Guthrie's treatise,) that I should take to have been one of the greatest divines that ever wrote any such words, and I carry it and the Sedan New Testament still in my pocket. I have wrote several folios, but there is more divinity in them all. It was translated into Low Dutch by the Reverend Mr. Keelman, and was highly esteem'd in Holland; so

that Mrs Guthrie and one of her daughters met with uncommon kindness, when their relation to its author was known. It translated into French, and High Dutch; and we are informed was also translated into one of the Eastern languages, at the request of that noble patron of religion, learning, and charity, the Honourable Robert Boyle."

At the Synod of Glasgow, held April 1661, after long debate about proper measures for the security of religion, the matter was referred to a committee; Mr. Guthrie presided in the draught of an act for the parliament, wherein a faithful testimony was given to the principles of our reformation, in worship, doctrine, discipline, and government, in terms equally remarkable for their prudence and courage. Every member approved of it; and it was transmitted to the synod.—But some on the opposite side, judged it not convenient, and gave an opportunity to those who designed to comply with Prelacy, to procure a delay at that time, but it was crushed: yet it affords a proof of the zeal and firmness of Mr. Guthrie.

About this time, being the last time that he was with his cousin James Guthrie, he happened to be very melancholy, which his cousin James said, "A penny for your thought, cousin." Mr. Guthrie answered, "There is a poor man at the door, give him the penny;" being asked what was done, he proceeded, and said, "I'll tell you, cousin, what I am only thinking upon, but I am sure of, if I be not under a delusion, the malignants will be your death, and this gravel will be mine; I will have the advantage of me, for you will die honourably before witnesses, with a rope about your neck; and I will die whining upon a pickle straw, and will endure more pain before I rise from your death than all the pain you will have in your death."

He took a resolution to wait on his worthy friend Mr. James Guthrie to his death, (his execution being on Saturday June 1,) notwithstanding the great hazard at that time in so doing; but his session prevailed, although with much difficulty, by their earnest entreaties, to lay down his design at that time.

Through the interposition of the Earl of Eglinton, the Countess of Glencairn, whom he had obliged before the Restoration, who was imprisoned for his loyalty, now contributed what he could for his liberation; by which means (of the Chancellor) he, above many, obtained four years further respite with his people at Fenwick. In which time his church, although a large country one, was overlaid and crowded on Sabbath-day, and very many without doors, from distant parts as Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Lanark, Kilbryde, Glassford, St. Newmills, Eaglesham, and many other places, who hanged for the gospel preached, and got a meal by the word of his ministry. Their usual practice to come to Fenwick on Saturday, and to spend the greatest part of the night in prayer to God, and conversation about the great concerns of their souls, to attend the public worship on Sabbath-day, to dedicate the remainder of that holy day in religious exercises, and then to go home on Monday the length of ten, twelve, or fifteen miles, without grudging in the least at the long way, want of other refreshments; neither did they find themselves the less profited by any other business through the week.* These years were the

* After the rest of his brethren were cast out, people so flocked to his

lar, under the divine influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying the ministry and ordinances dispensed by Mr. Guthrie, in all his life, and will all be had in remembrance; a remarkable blessing accompanied ordinances to people who came with such a disposition of soul; great numbers were converted unto the truth, and many built up in their most holy faith. In a word, he was honoured to be an instrument in the Lord's hand of turning many to a religious life; and who, after his being taken from them, could never, without exultation of soul, and emotion of re-ved affection, think upon their spiritual father, and the power of that glorious grace, which, in those days, triumphed so gloriously; and for many years afterwards, they were considered, above many other parishes in the kingdom, as a civilized and religious people; he having, with a coming boldness, fortified them in a zealous adherence to the purity of the reformation; warned them of the defect that was then made by the introduction of Prelacy; and instructed them in the duty of such a difficult time; so that they never made any compliance with the Prelatical schemes afterwards.

The extraordinary reputation and usefulness of his ministry were admired and followed by all the country around him; which provoked the proud and angry prelates against him, and was one of the causes of his being at last attacked by them. Then the Earl of Glencairn made a visit to the Archbishop of Glasgow at his own house, and at parting was regarded as a favour in particular from him, that Mr. Guthrie might be overlooked, as knowing him to be an excellent man. The Bishop notwithstanding refused him, but did, with a disdainful haughty air, tell him, "That will not be done; it cannot be, he is a ringleader and keeper up of schism in your diocese;" and then left the Chancellor very abruptly. Row, Alcock, and some other Presbyterian gentlemen, who were waiting on him, observing the Chancellor discomposed when the Bishop left him, pressed to ask him what the matter was; to which the Earl answered, "I have set up these men, and they will tread us under their feet." In consequence of this resolution of Bishop Burnet, Mr. Guthrie was, by permission from him, suspended; and the Bishop dealt with several of the curates, to intimate the sentence against him, and many others; for (says Wodrow) "There was an awe upon their spirits, which scared them from meddling with this great man." Be as it will, he prevailed with the curate of Calder, and promised him five hundred Sterling of reward. Mr. Guthrie, being warned of this design of the Bishop against him, advised with his friends to make no resistance at all in violation from the church and manse, since his enemy wanted only a handle to persecute him criminally for his former zeal and faith-

fully, on Wednesday July 20, he, with his congregation, kept the day with fasting and prayer. He preached to them from Hos. xiii. 9. *Thou hast destroyed thyself, &c.* From that scripture, with great tenderness and affection, he laid before them their own sins, and the sins of the age they lived in; and indeed the place was a *Bochim*. At the close of this day's work, he gave them intimation of sermon on the following day, very early; and accordingly, his people and many others, assembled at the church of Fenwick, betwixt four and five in the morning,

! the church was so thronged, that each communicant (it is said) had to go to the keepers of the door, before they got entrance, to prevent disc-

when he preached to them from the close of his last text, *But in help*. And as he used on ordinary Sabbaths, he also now hadmons, and a short interval betwixt them, and dismissed the people in the morning. Upon this melancholy occasion, he directed unto the great Fountain of help, when the gospel and ministers taken from them; and took his leave of them, commending them who was able to build them up, and help them in time of need.

Upon the day appointed, the curate came to Fenwick, with a twelve soldiers, on the Sabbath-day; and, by commission from the bishop, discharged Mr. Guthrie to preach any more in Fenwick, the church vacant, and suspended him from the exercise of his

The curate left the party without, and came into the manse; declared, that the Bishop and committee, after much lenity shewed for a long time, were constrained to pass the sentence of excommunication against him, for not keeping of presbyteries and synods with his brethren, and his unpeaceableness in the church; of which he was appointed to make public intimation unto him; for which purpose, he read his commission under the hand of the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Mr. Guthrie answered, "I judge it not convenient to say an answer to what you have spoken; only, whereas you allege that I have been much lenity used towards me,—be it known to you, that I thank the Lord for party in that, and thank him first; yea, I look upon it as a blessing which God opened to me for the preaching of this gospel, which any man else was able to shut, till it was given you of God; and that sentence passed against me, I declare before these gentlemen (including the officers of the party,) that I lay no weight upon it, and do not respect the authority, who, by their law, laid the ground for this sentence passed against me. I declare I would not surcease from the exercise of my ministry, all that sentence. And as to the crimes I am charged with,—I do not keep presbyteries and synods with the rest of my brethren; but I do not think those who do now sit in these to be my brethren, who have separated from the truth and cause of God; nor do I judge those to be lawful courts of Christ that are now sitting; and as to my peaceableness,—I know I am bidden follow peace with all men, but I know I am bidden follow it with holiness; and since I could not obtain peace without prejudice to holiness, I thought myself obliged to let it go; and for your commission, Sir, to intimate this sentence,—I here do think myself called by the Lord to the work of the ministry, and for the sake the nearest relation in the world, and gave up myself to the service of the gospel in this place, having received an unanimous call from the parish, and was licensed and ordained by the presbytery; and the Lord he hath given me some success and seals of my ministry, and many souls and consciences of not a few, who are gone to heaven, and many who are yet in the way to it. And now, Sir, if you will take it upon you to interrupt my work among this people, I shall wish the Lord to give you the guilt of it; I cannot but leave all the bad consequences that may fall out upon it betwixt God and your own consciences. And I do further declare, before these gentlemen, that I am suspended from my ministry for adhering to the covenants and word of God, for which you and others have apostatized."

Here the curate interrupting him, said, the Lord had a witness

at covenant had a being; and that he judged them apostates that adhered to that covenant; and he wished that the Lord would not only forgive him, meaning Mr. Guthrie, but if it were lawful to pray for the dead, (at which expression the soldiers laughed,) that the Lord might forgive the sin of this church these hundred years by-past. It is true, answered Mr. Guthrie, the Lord had a work before that covenant had being; but it is as true, that it hath been more glorious since that covenant; and it is a small thing for us to be judged of you, in adhering to this covenant, who have so deeply corrupted your ways; and seem to reflect on the whole work of reformation from Popery these hundred years by-gone, by intimating that the church had need of pardon for the same. As for you, gentlemen, (added he to the soldiers,) I wish the Lord may pardon your countenancing this man in his business. One of them scoffingly replied, I wish we never do a greater fault. Well, said Mr. Guthrie, a little sin may damn a man's soul.

After all this and more had passed, Mr. Guthrie called for a glass of wine, and, craving a blessing himself, drank to the commander of the soldiers. After they were by him civilly entertained, they left the house. In parting with the curate, Mr. Guthrie signified so much to him, that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding on him, for what he was a-doing; and seriously warned him to prepare for the stroke coming upon him, and that very soon.

When the curate left the manse, he went to the church with the soldiers, his guard, now his hearers, and preached to them not a quarter of an hour, and intimated to them from the pulpit, the Bishop's sentence against Mr. Guthrie. Nobody came to hear him (says Wodrow) but his party, and a few children, who created him some disturbance, till they were chased away by the soldiers. Indeed his people were ready to have sacrificed their all, and resisted even unto blood, in his defence and the gospel, had they been permitted by him.

As for the curate, (says Mr. Wodrow,) I am well assured he never preached any more after he left Fenwick; he reached Glasgow, but it is not certain if he reached Calder, though but four miles from Glasgow: however, in a few days he died, in great torment, of an iliac passion; all his wife and children died all in a year or thereby, and none belonging to him were left. His reward of five pounds was dear bought; it was the price of blood, the blood of souls: neither he nor his had any satisfaction in it. Such a dangerous thing it is to meddle with Christ's servants.

After this Mr. Guthrie continued in Fenwick, until the year 1668. His brother, to whom his paternal estate was made over, dying in summer, Mr. Guthrie's presence at home was the more necessary, for ordering of his private affairs; which made him and his wife make a journey into Angus about the same time. He had not been long in that country, when he was seized with a complication of distempers, the gravel, with which he had been formerly troubled, the gout, a violent heart-burning, an ulcer in his kidneys; all which attacked him with great fury. Being thus tormented with violent pain, his friends were sometimes obliged to hold down his head, and up his feet; and yet he would say, I could hath been kind to him, for all the ills he had done; and at the same time said, "Though I should die mad, yet I know I shall die in the Lord. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord at all times, but

more especially when a flood of errors, snares, and judgments, are beginning, or coming on a nation, church, or people."

In the midst of all his heavy affliction, he still adored the measures of Divine Providence, though at the same time he longed for his dissolution and expressed the satisfaction and joy with which he would make the grave his dwelling-place, when God should think fit to give him rest there. His compassionate Master did at last indulge the pious breathing of his soul; for, after eight or ten days illness, he was gathered to his father in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Lewis Skinner of Brechin, upon Wednesday forenoon, October 10, 1665, in the 45th year of his age, and was buried in the church of Brechin, under Pitfrothy's desk.

During his sickness, he was visited by the Bishop of Brechin, and several Episcopal ministers and relations, who all had a high value for him; notwithstanding, he expressed his sorrow with great freedom, for their compliance with the corrupted establishment in ecclesiastical affairs. He died in the full assurance of faith, as to his own interest in God's covenant, and under the pleasing hopes, that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

Mr. John Livingstone, in his Memorable Characteristics, says, "Mr. William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, was a man of most ready and fruitful invention, and apposite comparisons, qualified both to awaken and pacify conscience, straight and zealous for the cause of Christ, and a great light in the west of Scotland." And elsewhere says, "Mr. Guthrie in his doctrine, was as full and free as any man in Scotland had ever been; which, together with the excellency of his preaching gift, did recommend him to the affection of his people, that they turned the cornfield of his glebe into a little town, every one building a house for his family on it, that they might live under the drop of his ministry."

Mr. Crawford, in a MS. never published, says, Mr. Guthrie was a burning and a shining light, kept in after many others, by the favour of the old Earl of Eglinton, the Chancellor's father-in-law.—He converted and confirmed many thousands of souls, and was esteemed the greatest preacher in Scotland."

And indeed he was accounted as singular a person for confirming those that were under soul-exercise, as almost any in his age, or any age we have heard of.—Many have made reflections on him, because he left his ministry, on account of the Bishop's suspension; his reasons may be taken from what hath been already related. It is true, indeed, the authority of the Stuarts was too much the idol of jealousy to many of our reformers; for we may well think, as a late author says, though no enemy unto these civil powers, that it was a wonder the nation did not rise up as one man, to cut off those who had razed the whole of the Presbyterian constitution; but the Lord, for holy and wise ends, did meet to do otherwise, and cut off those in power by another arm, if they had all been brought to the furnace together; although they may well have all the while seen, as Mr. Guthrie has observed, "That the civil power laid the foundation for the other."

So far as can be learned, Mr. Guthrie never preached in Fenwick again, after the intimation of the Bishop's sentence to him; and it is well known, that he, with many of his people in Fenwick, upon a Sabbath day, went to Sturton, to hear a young Presbyterian minister preach; and when he was coming home, they said to him, that they were not pleased with the man's preaching, he being of a slow delivery;—he said, they were

the man, he had a great sermon; and if they pleased, at a place, he should let them hear a good part thereof.—And sitting on the ground, in a good summer night, about the sun-set, he having rehearsed the sermon, they thought it a wonderful because of his good delivery, and their amazing love to him: they arose, and set forward.

It is that Mr. Guthrie was a man of strong natural parts, notwithstanding his being a hard student at first; his voice was among the best, and yet managed with a charming cadence and elevation; was singular, and by it he was wholly master of the passions. He was an eminent surgeon at the jointing of a broken bone, the stating of a doubtful conscience; so that afflicted persons came far and near, and received much satisfaction and comfort.

Those who were very rude, when he came first to the parsonage, were very sorrowful, and, at the curate's intimation of his commission, would have made resistance, if he would have opposed them, not fearing the hazards or hardships they might have had that account afterwards.

In his valuable treatise already mentioned, there are also a few other sermons, bearing his name, said to be preached at Fenwick, &c. xiv. 44, &c. Hos. xiii. 9, &c. But because they are somewhat different in expression, differing from the style of his treatise, some have been thought spurious, or at least not as they were at first delivered by him; as for that treatise on ruling elders, which is now annexed to the edition of his treatise, called his works, it was wrote by his cousin, Guthrie of Stirling. There are also some other discourses in manuscript, out of which I had occasion to transcribe seventeen in the year 1779. There are yet a great variety of other notes of sermons, bearing his name, yet in manuscript, some of them to be wrote with his own hand.

MR. ROBERT BLAIR.

Mr. Blair was born at Irvine in 1593. His father was John Blair of Irvine, a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of Blair; his mother was Beatrix Muir, of the ancient family of Muir. His father died when he was young, leaving his mother with a young family, of whom Robert was the youngest. She continued near fifty years widow, and lived till she was an hundred years old.

Robert entered into the college of Glasgow, about the year 1608, and studied hard, and made great progress; but lest he should have any impediment in his proficiency, as he himself observes, the Lord of Irvine visited him with a tertian fever, for full four months, to the great interruption of his studies.

A remarkable accident occurred till the 20th year of his age, when he was sometimes to the exercise of archery, and the like recreations; lest his studies should have been hindered, he resolved to be diligent every other night, and for that purpose could find no place but a room wherunto none were permitted to go, by reason of an illness that was said to frequent it; yea, wherein it is also said, that

he himself had seen the devil, in the likeness of one of his fellow-students whom he took to be really his companion, but when he, with a candle in his hand, chased him to the corner of the room, offering to pull him out, he found nothing; after which he was never more troubled, studying one night without fear, and the other he slept very sweetly, believing him who was still his great Preserver and Protector for ever.

Having now finished his course of philosophy, under the discipline of his own brother, Mr. William Blair, who was afterwards minister of Dumbarton, he engaged for some time to be an assistant to an assistant schoolmaster at Glasgow, who had above 300 scholars under his instruction, the half of whom were committed to the charge of Mr. Blair. In this time he was called, by the ministry of the famous Mr. Boyd Trochrigg, then principal of the college of Glasgow, in whose hands he himself observes in his Memoirs, the Lord did put the key of his life, so that whenever he heard him in public or private, he profited more being, as it were, sent to him from God, to speak the words of eternal life.

Two years after, he was admitted in the room of his brother, Mr. William Blair, to be regent in the college of Glasgow, though not without the opposition of Archbishop Law, who had promised that place to another. But neither the principal nor regents giving place to his motion, Mr. Blair was admitted. After his admission, his elder colleagues perceived what great skill and insight he had in humanity, urged him to read the classical authors; whereupon he began and read Plautus; but the Lord being displeas'd with that design, diverted him from it, by meeting with Augustine's Confession, wherein he inveighs sharply against the education of youth in heathen writings.—Whereupon he betook himself to the reading of the holy scriptures, and the ancient fathers, especially Augustine, who had another relish; and though he perceived that our modern divines were more sound than several of the ancient, yet in his spare hours he was resolv'd to peruse the ancient monuments, wherein he made a considerable progress.

In summer 1616, he entered on trials for the ministry; and it was impos'd upon him to preach in the College-Kirk the first Sabbath after his licensure, and some years after, being told by some of the hearers, who were well acquainted with religion than he was then, that in his sermon the Lord did speak to their hearts; which not only surpris'd him, but also oblig'd him to follow after the Lord.

Upon an evening the same year, having been engaged with some dissipated religious company, when he returned to his chamber to his wonted devotion, he was threaten'd to be deserted of God, had a restless night, and to-morrow resolv'd on a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; but towards the end of that day, he found access to God with sweet peace through Jesus Christ, and turn'd to beware of such company; but when coming into another extreme of rudeness and incivility to profane persons, he found it was very hard for shortsighted sinners to hold the straight way.

While he was regent in the college, upon a report that a new oath was to be impos'd upon the masters, he inquir'd at Mr. Galloway, one of his fellow-regents, what he would do in this? He answer'd

* In the form of a crooked boy, who laugh'd in his face, &c. *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol. i. page 357.

By my faith, I must live.—Mr. Blair said, “Sir, I will not swear by my faith, as you do, but truly, I intend to live by my faith. You may choose your own way, but I will adventure on the Lord.”—And so this man did continue, to whom the matter of an oath was a small thing, after he was gone; but it is to be noticed, that Mr. Forsyth was many years in such poverty, as forced him to supplicate the General Assembly for some relief; when Mr. Blair, who was chosen moderator, upon his appearing in such a desperate case, could not shun observing that former passage of his; and upon his distress to him in private, with great tenderness put him in mind, that he had been truly carried through by his faith, at which he formerly had scoffed.

Sometime after he was regent in the college, he was under deep exercises of soul, wherein he attained unto much comfort.—Among other things, that great oracle, *the just shall live by faith*, sounded loudly in his ears, which put him on a new search of the scriptures, in which he went on till Mr. Calverwall’s Treatise of Faith came out; which being the same with what is since published by the Westminster Assembly, he was thereby much satisfied and comforted.

“By this study of the nature of faith, and especially of the text before mentioned, (says he,) I learned, 1st, That nominal Christians, or common professors, were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only do Papists err, who place faith in an implicit assent to the truth which they know not, and that it is better defined by ignorance than knowledge, (a way of believing very suitable to Antichrist’s slaves, who are led by the nose they know not whither,) but also secure Protestants, who, abusing the description of old given of faith, say, that it implies an assured knowledge in the person who believes of the love of God in Christ to him in particular: this assurance is no doubt attainable, and many believers do comfortably enjoy the same, as our divines prove unanswerably against the Popish doctors, who maintain the necessity of perpetual doubting, and miscall comfortable assurance the Protestant’s presumption. But notwithstanding that comfortable assurance doth ordinarily accompany a high degree of faith, yet that assurance is not to be found in all the degrees of saving faith; so that by not adverting to that distinction, many gracious souls and sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ, and rested upon him as he is offered to them in the word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all: on the other hand, many secure and impenitent sinners, who have not yet believed the Lord’s holiness, nor abhorrence of sin, nor their own ruined state and condition, do from self-love imagine, without any warrant of the word, that they are beloved of God, and that the foresaid description of faith agrees well to them.

“2dly, I perceived, that many that make a right use of faith in order to attain to the knowledge of their justification, make no direct use of it in order to sanctification; and that the living of *the just by faith*, reacheth farther than I formerly conceived; and that the heart is purified by faith. If any say, Why did I not know, that precious faith, being a grace, is not only a part of our holiness, but does promote other parts of holiness; I answer, that I did indeed know this, and made use of faith as a motive to stir me up to holiness, according to the apostle’s exhortation, *Having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.* But I had not before learn-

ed to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, though, it may be, I had both heard and spoken that by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose, that they who receive forgiveness of sin, are sanctified through faith in Christ, as our glorious Saviour taught the apostle, Acts xv. 18.—Then I saw, that it was no wonder that my not making use of faith for sanctification, as has been said, occasioned an obstruction in the progress of holiness; and I perceived, that making use of Christ for sanctification, without direct employing of faith to extract the same out of him, was like one seeking water out of a deep well, without a long cord to let down the bucket, and draw it up again.—Then was I like one that came to the storehouse, but got my provision reached unto me, as it were, through a window: I had come to the house of mercy, but had not found the right door; but by this discovery I found a patent door, at which to go in, to receive provision and furniture from Christ Jesus. Thus the blessed Lord trained me up, step by step, suffering many difficulties to arise, that more light from himself might flow in.

“I hoped then to make better progress, and with less stumbling; but shortly after, I met with another difficulty; and, wondering what discovery would next clear the way, I found that the spirit of holiness, whose immediate and proper work was to sanctify, had been slighted, and thereby grieved: for though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of him and to him frequently, and had been seeking the outpouring thereof, and urging others to seek the same; yet that discovery appeared unto me a new practical lesson: and so I laboured more to cherish, and not quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth, according to the scripture, by that blessed guide; and that, by that heavenly Comforter, I might be encouraged in all troubles, and settled up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

“About that time, the Lord set me to work to stir up the students under my discipline, earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in seeking of the Lord: and my endeavours this way were graciously blessed to severals of them.”

Dr. John Cameron, being brought from France, and settled principal of the college in Mr. Boyd's place, and being wholly set on to promote the cause of Episcopacy, urged Mr. Blair to conform to the Perth articles; but he utterly refused. And, it being a thing usual in these days for the regents to meet to dispute some thesis, for their better improvement, Mr. Blair had the advantage of his opponent, who was a French student, who maintained that election did proceed upon foreseen faith; but the Doctor stated himself in the opposition to Mr. Blair, in a way which tended to Arminianism; and Mr. Blair being urged to a second dispute by the Doctor himself, did so drive him to the mire of Arminianism, as did redound much to the Doctor's ignominy afterwards; and though he and Mr. Blair were afterwards reconciled, yet he, being so settled in that dispute, improved all occasions against him; and, for that purpose, when Mr. Blair was on a visit to some of his godly friends and acquaintances, he caused one Gardner search his prelections on Aristotle's ethics and politics; and finding some things capable of wresting, brought them to the Doctor, who presented them to the Archbishop of Glasgow; which coming to Mr. Blair's ears he was so far from being innocent, being assured the Lord would clear his integrity, that he prepared a written apology, and desired a public hearing before the ma-

isters and magistrates of the city; which being granted, he managed the points so properly, that all present professed their entire satisfaction with him; yea, one of the ministers of the city, who had been influenced against him formerly, said, in the face of that meeting, Would to God King James had been present, and heard what answers that man hath given. Such a powerful antagonist rendered his life so uneasy, that he resolved to leave the college, and go abroad; which resolution no sooner took air, than the Doctor and the Archbishop, knowing his abilities, wrote letters to cause him stay; but he, finding that little trust was to be put in their fair promises, and being weary of teaching philosophy, demitted his charge, took his leave of the Doctor, wishing him well, although he was the cause of his going away, and left the college, to the great grief of his fellow-regents and students, and the people of Glasgow.

Though he had several charges in Scotland presented him, and an invitation to go to France, yet, the next day after his leaving Glasgow, he had an invitation to go and be minister of Bangor, in the county of Down in Ireland; which call he for some time rejected, until he was several times rebuked of the Lord; which made him bound in spirit to set his face towards a voyage to that country; and although he met with a contrary wind, and turned sea-sick, yet he had such recourse to God, that upon the very sight of that land, he was made to exult with joy; and whilst he came near Bangor, he had a strong impression borne in upon him, that the dean thereof was sick which impression he found to be true when he came thither: for Mr. Gibson, the incumbent, being sick, invited him to preach there; which he did for three Sabbaths, to the good liking of the people of that parish; and, though he was formerly but a very naughty man, yet he told Mr. Blair, he was to succeed him in that place; and exhorted him, in the name of Christ, not to leave that good way wherein he had begun to walk, professing much sorrow that he had been a dean. He condemned Episcopacy more than ever Mr. Blair durst; and drawing his head toward his bosom, with both his arms, he blessed him; which conduct being so unlike himself, and speaking in a strain so different from his usual, made a person standing by say, An angel is speaking out of the Dean's bed to Mr. Blair; thinking it could not be in a man. Within a few days he died, and Mr. Blair was settled minister there, whose ordination was on this manner. He went to Bishop Cox, and told him his opinions, and withal said, that his sole ordination contradicted his principles. But the Bishop, being informed beforehand of his great parts and piety, answered him both wittily and submissively, saying, "Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you about Presbytery to have a divine warrant. Will ye not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come among them in no other relation than a Presbyter?" for on no lower ground could he be answerable to law. This Mr. Blair could not refuse: he was accordingly ordained about the year 1623.

Being thus settled, his charge was very great, having above 1200 people come to age, besides children, who stood greatly in need of instruction; and in this case, he preached twice a-week, besides the Lord's day; on which occasions he found little difficulty, either as to matter or

He became the chief instrument of that great work which appeared chiefly thereafter, at Six-mile water, and other parts in the counties of Down and Antrim; and that not only by his own ministry, wherein he

was both diligent and faithful, but also in the great pains he took up others unto the like duty.

While he was at Bangor, there was one Constable in that part went to Scotland with horses to sell, and at a fair sold them all who pretended that he had not money at present, but gave him a Martinmas.—The poor man, suspecting nothing, returned home one night about that time, going homeward, near Bangor, his man (who was supposed to be the devil) meets him; “Now, (says he) know my bargain, how I bought you at such a place, and now as I promised, to pay the price.” Bought me! said the poor trembling, you bought but my horses. “Nay,” said the devil, let you know I bought yourself;” and farther he said, he must kill body, and the more excellent the person, the better it would be for him, and particularly charged him to kill Mr. Blair, else he would kill him. The man was so overcome with terror, through the violence of the temptation, that he determined the thing, and went to Mr. Blair’s house, with a dagger in his right hand, under his cloak, and though confounded, was moving to get it out; but on Mr. Blair’s seeing him, he fell a-trembling, and on inquiry declared the whole fact withal said, he had laboured to draw out the dagger, but it would not come from the scabbard, though he knew not what hindered it; so he essayed to draw it forth again, it came out with ease. Mr. Blair blessed the Lord, and exhorted him to choose him for his refuge, which he departed.*

But two weeks afterwards, being confined to his bed, he sent Mr. Blair, and told him, that the night before, as he was returning he saw the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to Mr. Blair what he had passed betwixt them, claiming him as his; and putting the dagger to his head, and the band from his neck, said, that on hallow-even should have him soul and body, in spite of the minister and all; and begged Mr. Blair, for Christ’s sake, to be with him against the devil. Mr. Blair instructed him, prayed with him, and promised to be with him against the appointed time; but, before that time, he had much to do in his own mind, whether to keep that appointment or not: yet, he took one of his elders with him, and went according to promise, and spent the whole night in prayer, explaining the doctrine of Christ’s redemption, and praising with short intermissions, &c. And in the morning they took courage, defying Satan and all his devices. The man was very penitent, and died in a little after.

It was during the first year of his ministry, that he resolved to go through a whole book or chapter, but to make choice of such passages which held forth important heads of religion; and to do this course with one sermon of heaven’s glory, and another of hell’s torments; but when he came to meditate on these subjects, he was held up all day in great perplexity, and could fix upon neither method nor till night; when, after sorrowing for his disorder, the Lord, in his pity, brought both matter and method into his mind, which he did with him until he got the same delivered.

About this time he met with a most notable deliverance: for, in a high house at the end of the town until the manse was built, he sat at his studies, the candle was done, and calling for another

lady brought it from a room under which he lay, to her astonishment, a joist under his bed had taken fire, which, had he been in bed as usual, the consequence, in all probability, had been dreadful to the whole family, as well as to him, the wind being strong from that quarter; but, by timely alarm given, the danger was prevented; which made him thank to God for this great deliverance.

When he first celebrated the Lord's supper, his heart was much lifted up in speaking of the new covenant, which made him, under the view of good administration of that ordinance, resolve to go back unto that inexhaustible fountain of consolation; and coming over to Scotland about the year 1630, he received no small assistance from Mr. Dickson, who was restored unto his flock at Irvine, and was studying and preaching on the same subject.

But it was not many years that he could have liberty in the exercise of his office; for, in harvest 1631, he and Mr. Livingstone were by Ecklin, Bishop of Down, suspended from their office; but, upon recourse to Archbishop Usher, who sent a letter to the Bishop, their sentence was relaxed, and they went on in their ministry, until May 1632, that they were, by the said Bishop, deposed from the office of the holy ministry.

After this, no redress could be had: whereupon Mr. Blair resolved on a journey to Court, to represent their petitions and grievances to the King; and after his arrival at London, he could have no access for sometime to the Majesty, and so laboured under many difficulties with little hopes of success, until one day, having gone to Greenwich Park, where, being tired with waiting on the Court, and while at prayer, the Lord assured him, that he would hunt the violent man to destroy him. And while in earnest with the Lord for a favourite return, he adventured to see a sign, that, if the Lord would make the reeds, (growing hard and which were so moved with the wind, as he was tossed in mind, to rise from shaking, he would take it as an assurance of the dispatch of his business. To which the Lord condescended; for, in a little time, it grew so calm, that not one of them moved; and in a short time he got access to his mind, wherein the King did not only sign his petition, but with his own hand, wrote on the margin, (directed to the depute,) *These are these men, for they are Scotsmen.*

It was while in England that he had, from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a strange dream of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon she was lying, and particular acquaintances attending her; and although she was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this exactly came to pass.

But yet, after his return, the King's letter being slighted by the depute, who was newly returned from England, he was forced to have recourse to Archbishop Usher; which drew tears from his eyes, that he might help them; and yet, by the interposition of Lord Castletuart to the King, they got six months liberty. But, upon the back of this, in the year 1634, he was again convened before the Bishop, and the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him, by Ecklin, Bishop of Down. After the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Blair rose up, and published the Bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to answer that wicked deed. Whereupon he did appeal from the justice of

It is thought to have been about this time that Mr. Blair married his first wife, Beatrix Blair, a very ingenious woman, of the house of Berduis.

God to his mercy ; but Mr. Blair replied, Your appeal is like to be rejected, because you act against the light of your own conscience. A few months after he fell sick ; and the physician inquiring of his sick after sometime's silence, he with great difficulty said, It is my conscience, man, To which the Doctor replied, I have no cure for that. A little time after he died.

After his ejection, he preached often in his own, and in others houses until the beginning of 1635, that he began to think of marriage with Catharine Montgomery, daughter to Hugh Montgomery, form of Busbie in Ayrshire, (then in Ireland,) for which he came over Scotland with his own and his wife's friends. And upon his return Ireland, they were married in the month of May following.

But matters still continuing the same, he engaged with the rest of ejected ministers in their resolution in building a ship, called the Eagle wings, of about 115 tons, on purpose to go to New England. But about 300 or 400 leagues from Ireland, meeting with a terrible hurricane, they were forced back unto the same harbour from whence they loosed ; the Lord having work for them elsewhere, it was fit their purposes should be defeated. And having continued four months after this in Ireland, and upon information that he and Mr. Livingstone were to be apprehended they immediately went out of the way, took shipping, and landed in Scotland in 1631.

All that summer after his arrival, he was much employed in public and private exercises as ever before, mostly at Irvine and the country around and partly at Edinburgh. But things being then in confusion, before the service-book was then urged upon the ministers, his old inclination to go to France revived ; and upon an invitation to be chaplain of Hepburn's regiment in the French service, newly enlisted in Scotland with them he embarked at Leith ; but some of these recruits, who were mostly Highlanders, being desperately wicked, upon his reproving them for ening to stab him, he resolved to quit that voyage, and calling to the shipmaster to set him on shore, without imparting his design, a boat was immediately ordered for his service ; at which time he met with some deliverance, for his foot sliding, he was in danger of going to the bottom but the Lord ordered, that he got hold of a rope, by which he was relieved.

Mr. Blair's return gave great satisfaction to his friends at Edinburgh and the reformation being then in the ascendant, in the spring of 1632 he got a call to be colleague to Mr. Annan at Ayr ; and upon his going at a meeting of the presbytery, having preached from 2 Cor. iv. 17. it was, at the special desire of all the people there, admitted a minister.

He staid not long here ; for having before the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, fully vindicated himself, both against his accusers Dr. Cameron, while regent in the university, and his settlement in Leith he was, for his great parts and known abilities, by them ordered to be transported to St. Andrews ; but the Assembly's motives to this did not determent for sometime ; and the burgh of Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bless his labours, had the favour for another year. But the Assembly held at Edinburgh 1639, being offended for his dissent, ordered him peremptorily to transport himself thither.

In 1640, when the King had, by the advice of the clergy, caused the articles of the former treaty with the Scots, and again prepared to chastise them with a royal army, the Scots, resolving not always to

game, raised an army, invaded England, routed about 4000 English at burn, had Newcastle surrendered to them, and within two days were ers of Durham; which produced a new treaty, more favourable to than the former; and with this army was Mr. Blair, who went Lord Lindsay's regiment; and when that treaty was on foot, the mittee of Estates and the army sent him up to assist the commis- sers with his best advice.

gain, after the rebellion in Ireland 1641, those who survived the n supplicated the General Assembly 1642, for a supply of ministers, n severals went over, and among the first Mr. Blair. During his there, he generally preached once every day, and twice on Sabbath, frequently in the field, the auditors being so numerous, and in some ese he administered the Lord's supper.

fter his return, the condition of the church and state was various ng the years 1643 and 1644; and particularly in August 1643, the mittee of the General Assembly, whereof Mr. Blair was one, with a Earl of Rutland, and other Scots Commissioners from the parlia- of England, and Mess. Stephen Marshall and Philip Nye, ministers, ed to a solemn league and covenant betwixt the two kingdoms of land and England; and in the end of the same year, when the Scots ed the English parliament, Mr. Blair was, by the Commission of the eral Assembly, appointed minister to the Earl of Crawford's regi- t; with whom he staid until the King was routed at Marston-muir, r 1644, when he returned to his charge at St. Andrews.

he Parliament and commission of the kirk sat at Perth in July 1645. parliament was opened with a sermon by Mr. Blair; and, after he , upon the forenoon of the 27th, a day of solemn humiliation. preach- again to the parliament, he rode out to the army, then encamped at gondermy, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments, to first of whom he had been chaplain.—He told the brigade, that he informed that many of them were turned dissolute and profane; assured them, that though the Lord had covered their heads in the of battle, few of them being killed at Marston-muir, they should not ble to stand before a less formidable foe, unless they repented. ough this freedom was taken in good part from one who wished them h, yet was too little laid to heart; and the most part of Crawford's re- tent was cut off at Kilsyth, in three weeks afterwards.

fter the defeat at Kilsyth, severals were for treating with Montrose, Mr. Blair opposed it; so that nothing was concluded until the Lord n to look upon the affliction of his people; for the Committee of Es- recalled General Leslie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from ed, to oppose whom, Montrose marched southward; but was shame- defeated at Philiphaugh, September 13, many of his forces being d and taken prisoners, and he hardly escaped. On the 26th, the Par- and Commission of the General Assembly sat down at St. An- (the plague being then in Edinburgh;) here Mr. Blair preached e the parliament, and also prayed before the several sessions thereof; when several prisoners, taken at Philiphaugh, were tried, three of e viz. Sir Robert Spottiswood, Mess. Nathaniel Gordon and Andrew e, were to be executed on the 17th of January thereafter, Mr. Blair e them often, and was at much pains with them: he prevailed so h Gordon, that he desired to be released from the sentence of ex- munication which he was under; and accordingly Mr. Blair did the

same. The other two, who were bishops sons, died impenitent.
corvi malum ovum.

In 1646, the General Assembly, sitting at Edinburgh, ordered Blair, who was then moderator, with Mr. Cant and Mr. Robert Decker to repair to the King at Newcastle, to concur with worthy Mr. Ader Henderson and others, who were labouring to convince him of bloodshed in these kingdoms, and reconcile him to Presbyterian government and the covenants. When these three ministers got to Newcastle, the room was immediately filled with several sorts of people for their reception. Mr. Andrew Cant, being eldest, began briskly to inveigh, with his wonted zeal and plainness, that the King favoured Popery; Mr. Blair interrupted him, and modestly hinted, that it was a fit time nor place for that. The King looking on him earnestly said, "That honest man speaks wisely and discreetly; therefore I allow you three to attend me to-morrow at ten o'clock, in my bed-chamber." They attended, according to appointment, but got little satisfaction. Only Mr. Blair asked his Majesty, if there were not abominations in Popery, &c. The King, lifting his hat, said, "I take God to witness that there are abominations in Popery, which I so much abhor, that I consent to them, I would rather lose my life and my crown." After all this, Mr. Blair and Mr. Henderson, for these two he favoured most, having most earnestly desired him to satisfy the just desires of his subjects, he obstinately refused, though they besought him on their knees with tears. Renewed commissions for this end were sent from Scotland but to no good purpose, and Mr. Blair returned home to St. Andrew. Mr. Henderson died at Edinburgh, August 19; which the King soon after heard, than he sent for Mr. Blair to supply his place, as he had done in Scotland; which Mr. Blair, through fear of being ensnared, at first averred unto; but having consulted with Mr. David Dickson, reflecting that Mr. Henderson had held his integrity fast unto the death, he applied himself to that employment with great diligence, every day, lecturing once and preaching twice; besides preaching some days in St. Nicholas's Church; as also conversing much with the King, desiring him to condescend to the just desires of his parliament, and other times debating concerning Prelacy, liturgies, and ceremonies.

One day, after prayer, the King asked him, If it was warranted by prayer to determine a controversy? Mr. Blair, taking the hint, and thought he had determined no controversy in that prayer: Yes, said the King, you have determined the Pope to be Antichrist, which is a controversy among orthodox divines. To this Mr. Blair replied, To me no controversy, and I am sorry it should be accounted so by your Majesty; sure it was none to your father. This silenced the King, who was a great defender of his father's opinions; and his testimony Blair knew well, was of more authority with him than the testimony of any divine. After a few months stay, Mr. Blair was permitted to return to his flock and family.

After the sitting of the Scots parliament, Mr. Blair made speech to the King at Newcastle, where he urged him, with all the strength he was master of, to subscribe the covenants, and abolish Episcopacy in England, and he was confident all his honest Scotsmen would follow his quarrel against his enemies in England, &c. To which the King answered, that he was bound by his great oath to defend Episcopacy.

that church; and ere he wronged his conscience, by violating his coronation-oath, he would lose his crown. Mr. Blair asked the form of that oath, he said, it was to maintain it to the utmost of his power. Then, said Mr. Blair, you have not only defended it to the utmost of your power, but so long, and so far, that now you have no power, &c. But for nothing could he prevail upon the King, and left him with a sorrowful heart, and returned to St. Andrews.

Again, in the year 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh, the commission of the Kirk, sent Mr. Blair, and Mess. David Dickson and James Guthrie, to deal with him for an uniformity in England. When they came, he entertained them with smooth speeches, and solemn appeals to God as to the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Blair being best acquainted with him, spoke for all the rest; and, among other things, begged an answer to these three questions: (1.) What was his opinion of monarchical government? He answered, he was for monarchical government, &c. (2.) What was his opinion of toleration? He answered confidently, that he was altogether against toleration. (3.) What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? O now, said Cromwell, Mr. Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me, that I give you not a present answer to this, &c. This he shifted, because he had before, in conversation with Mr. Blair, confessed he was for Independency. When they came out, Mr. Dickson said, I am glad to hear this man speak no worse; whereunto Mr. Blair replied, If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe one word he says, for he is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar.

When the differences fell out betwixt the protesters and resolutioners, Mr. Blair was at London, and afterwards for the most part remained quiet in that affair; for which he was subjected to some hardships; yet he never omitted any proper place or occasion, for the uniting and ceasing these differences, none now in Scotland being more earnest in this than he and the learned and pious Mr. James Durham, minister at Glasgow. These two, meeting at St. Andrews, had the influence to draw a meeting of the two sides to Edinburgh, where harmony was like to prevail; but the Lord's anger, being still drawn out for the prevailing party of that time, all promising beginnings were blasted, and all hopes of agreement did vanish.

Thus affairs continued until the year 1660, that the kingdom, being sick of distractions, restored again Charles II; the woful consequences are otherwise too well known: and on this last occasion, Mr. Blair again began to bestir himself to procure union betwixt the two parties, and for that end obtained a meeting; but his endeavours were frustrated, and no reconciliation could be made, till both sides were cast into the furnace of a sore and long persecution.

For, in September 1661, Mr. Sharp came to St. Andrews, and the phylitery, having had assurance of his deceitful carriage at Court, and the probability of his being made Archbishop of St. Andrews, sent Mr. Blair and another to him, to discharge their duty; which they did faithfully, that Sharp was never at ease till Mr. Blair was rooted out. Mr. Blair taking occasion, in a sermon from 1 Pet. iii. 13, &c. to enquire on suffering for righteousness sake, giving his testimony to the truth and the work of reformation, against the sinful and corrupt state of the times, he was called before the Council, November 5, and Mr. Advocate and some noblemen were appointed to converse with

Mr. Blair, where they posed him on the following points: (1.) Whether he had asserted Presbyterian government to be *jure divino*? (2.) Whether he had asserted, that suffering for it was suffering for righteousness sake? And, (3.) Whether in his prayers against Popery, he had joined Prelacy with it? Having answered all in the affirmative, professing his sorrow that they doubted his opinions in these points, he was first confined to his chamber in Edinburgh; and afterwards, upon supplication, and the attestation of physicians on account of his health, he was permitted to retire to Inveresk, about the 12th of January 1662.

Mr. Blair continued here till October following, enjoying much of God's presence amidst his outward trouble; but being again commanded before the Council, by the way, he took a sore fit of the gravel, and was for that time excused; and afterwards, through the Chancellor's favour, got liberty to go where he pleased, except St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and the west country.—He went to Kirkaldy.

While at Kirkaldy, he lectured and prayed often to some Christian friends in his own family; and for his recreation taught his younger son the Greek language and logic. But the Archbishop, envying the repose Mr. Blair and some others had in these circumstances, procured an act, that no outed minister should reside within twenty miles of an archbishop's see; and Mr. Blair removed from Kirkaldy to Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, an obscure place, in February 1666, where he continued till his death, which was shortly after.

For, upon the 10th of August, Mr. Blair, being now worn out with old age, and his spirits sunk with sorrow and grief for the desolation of the Lord's sanctuary in Scotland, took his last sickness, and sustained most serious thoughts of his near approaching end, ever extolling his glorious and good Master whom he had served. His sickness increasing, he was visited by many Christian friends and acquaintances, whom he strengthened by his many gracious and edifying words.

At one time, when they told him of some severe acts of council made, upon Archbishop Sharp's instigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance, &c. And to Mr. Rutherford, at another time, he said, I would not exchange condition with that man, (though he was now on the bed of languishing, and the other possessed of great riches and revenues,) though all betwixt them were red gold, and given him to the bargain. When some ministers asked him, if he had any hopes of deliverance to the people of God? he said, he would not take upon him to determine the times and seasons the Lord keeps in his own hand, but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was casting the prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people, and even some who were most active in setting them up; were now beginning to loathe them for their pride, falsehood, and covetousness.

To his wife and children he spake gravely and Christianly; and, after he had solemnly blessed them, he severally admonished them as he judged expedient. His son David said, The best and worst of men have their thoughts and after-thoughts; now, Sir, God having given you time for your after-thoughts on your way, we would hear what they are now.—He answered, I have again and again thought upon my former ways, and am grieved with mine heart; and as for my public actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would do as I have done. He often repeated the 16th and 23d psalms, and

st psalm which he used to call his own psalm. About two days his death, his speech began to fail, and he could not be well heard understood: however, some things were not lost; for, speaking of eminent saints then alive, he prayed earnestly that the Lord would bless them; and, as an evidence of his love to them, he desired Mr. Hutcheson, then present to carry his Christian remembrance to

When Mr. Hutcheson went from his bed side, he said to his wife, hers who waited on him, that he rejoiced in suffering as a persecutor. "Is it not persecution," added he, "to thrust me from the work of the ministry, which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which was my joy and crown of reward; and to chase me from place to place, till I am wasted with pain and sorrow for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogative, interest, and cause." What he afterwards said, was either forgot or not remembered, till, at length, about four o'clock in the morning, he was gathered to his fathers, by a blessed and happy death, the certain result of a

body lies in the burial-place at Aberdour: and upon the church-side above his grave, was erected a little monument with this inscription

*Hic recondita jacent mortui
Exuvie D. Roberti Blair, S. S.
Evangelii apud Andreampolim
Predicatoris fidelissimi. Obiit
Augusti 27, 1666. Etatis sue 73.*

Blair was a man of a fine constitution, both of body and mind, of a serene but amiable countenance and carriage, thoroughly learned, and with a most public spirit for God. He was of unremitting diligence and assiduity, in all the private as well as public duties of his station. He highly endeared himself to the affection of his own people, and to the country where he lived; and their attachment to him was not strengthened by his conduct in the judicatories of the church; which constituted the distinguishing part of his character.

In the General Assembly resolved upon a new explication of the Bible, among others of the godly and learned in the ministry, Mr. Blair had the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes assigned to him for his share; but he neglected that task, till he was rendered useless for other duties, and then set about and finished his Commentary on the Proverbs in 1666. He composed also some small poetical pieces, as a poem in commendation of Jesus Christ, for the confutation of Popish errors; and some short epigrams on different subjects.

Mr. HUGH M'KAIL.

M'KAIL was born about the year 1640, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh, under the inspection of his uncle Mr. Hugh Blair, in whose family he resided. In the winter 1661, he offered himself for the ministry, before the presbytery of Edinburgh, being then but twenty years old; and, being by them licensed, he preached several times with great applause. He preached his last public sermon

from Cant. i. 7. in the High Church of Edinburgh, upon the Sabbath immediately preceding the 8th of September 1662, the day fixed by the then parliament for the removal of the ministers of Edinburgh.

In this sermon, taking occasion to speak of the great and many persecutions to which the church of God has been and is obnoxious, amplifying the point from the persons and powers that have been instrumental therein, he said, That the church and people of God had been persecuted both by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church, &c. ; which case, to the conviction of his adversaries, seemed so similar to the state and condition of the then rulers of church and state, that, though he made no particular application, yet was he reputed guilty. Whereupon, a few days after, a party of horse was sent to the place of his residence, near Edinburgh, to apprehend him ; but, upon little more than a moment's warning, he escaped out of bed into another chamber, where he was preserved from the search. After this, he was obliged to return home to his father's house ; and, having lurked there for some time, he spent other four years before his death in several other places.

While he lived at his father's house, troubles arose in the west ; and the news thereof having alarmed him, with the rest of that country, upon the 18th of November, for such motives and considerations as he himself afterwards more fully declares, he joined himself to those who rose in these parts, for the assisting of that poor afflicted party. Being of a tender constitution, by the toil, fatigue, and continual marching in tempestuous weather, he was so disabled and weakened, that he could no longer endure ; and upon the 27th of the said month, he was obliged to leave them near Cramond water ; and, in his way to Libberton parish, passing through Braid's Craigs, he was taken without any resistance, (having only a small ordinary sword,) by some of the countrymen who were sent out to view the fields. And here it is observable, that his former escape was no more miraculous than his present taking was fatal ; for the least caution might have prevented him this inconveniency ; but God, who gave him the full experience of his turning all things to the good of them that love him, did thus, by his simplicity, prepare the way for his own glory, and his servant's joy and victory.

He was brought to Edinburgh, first to the town-council house, and there searched for letters ; but none being found, he was committed prisoner to the tolbooth. Upon Wednesday the 28th, he was, by order of the Secret Council, brought before the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Priestfield, and others, in order to his examination ; where, being interrogate, concerning his joining the west-land forces, he conceiving himself not obliged, by any law or reason, to be his own accuser, did decline the question. After some reasoning, he was desired to subscribe his name, but refused ; which, when reported to the Council, gave great offence, and brought him under some suspicion of being a dissembler. On the 29th he was again called before them, where, for allaying the Council's prejudice, he gave in a declaration under his hand, testifying that he had been with the west-land forces, &c. Though it was certainly known, that he had both formed and subscribed this acknowledgement the night before, yet they still persisted in their jealousy, suspecting him to have been privy to all the designs of that party, and dealt with him, with the greater importunity, to declare an account of the whole business ; and upon December 3, the boots (a most terrible instrument of torture) were laid on the council-house table before him, and he was cr-

l, that if he would not confess, he should be tortured to-morrow. Accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to confess, he only declared, that he knew no more than what he had already confessed; whereupon they ordered the executioner to put his leg to the block; and to proceed to the torture, to the number of ten or eleven strokes; and considerable intervals; yet all did not move him to express any remorse or bitterness.

This torture was the cause of his not being indicted with the first ten; he and seven others were arraigned and sentenced on Wednesday December 5, to be executed on the Friday following.—Many thought, that his small accession to the rebellion, and what he had suffered by torture, should have procured him some favour, but it was otherwise determined; nor was his former conduct forgot, and the words *Achab on the throne*. On Monday the 10th, he and other seven received their indictment of treason, and were summoned to appear before the justices on Wednesday December 12; but the torture and close imprisonment (for so it was ordered) had cast him into a fever, whereby he was utterly unable to make his appearance; therefore, upon Tuesday the 11th, he gave in a supplication to the Lords of the Council, declaring his weak and sickly condition, craving that they would surcease any legal procedure against him, in such an extremely weak and sickly condition, and that they would discharge him of the foresaid treason. Hereupon the Council ordered two physicians and two chirurgeons to visit him, and to return their attestations, upon soul and conscience, betwixt and to-morrow at ten o'clock, to the justices.

Upon December 8, his brother went from Edinburgh to Glasgow, to deliver a letter from the Lady Marquis of Douglas, and another from the Duchess of Hamilton, to the Lord Commissioner, in his favour; but it proved ineffectual; his cousin, Mr. Matthew M'Kail, carried another letter from the Lady Marquis of Douglas, to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, for the same purpose; but with no better success.

On December 18, he being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the justices, where the general indictment was read, founded both on old and late acts of parliament, made against rising in arms, joining into leagues and covenants, and renewing the solemn league and covenant, without and against the King's authority, &c. Mr. Hugh was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places, on horseback, &c. Whereupon, being permitted to answer, he spoke in his own defence, both concerning the charge laid against him, and likewise of the ties and obligations that were upon this land to the King, commending the institution, dignity, and blessing of Presbyterian government. He said, The last words of the national covenant had always been of a great weight upon his spirit. Here he was interrupted by the King's Advocate, who bade him forbear that discourse, and answer the charge for the crime of rebellion. Unto which he answered, The thing required of me is to declare as he had done, was that weighty and important saying of our Lord Jesus, *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I also confess before the angels of God, &c.* After this confession, the depositions of those examined against him, were read, with his reply to the same, the assize was inclosed; after which they gave their verdict, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray, their chancellor, reported him guilty, &c. The verdict being reported, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him and the rest to be taken, on Friday December 20, to the market-cross of Edinburgh, there to be

hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be escheat and forfeited for his Highness's use. At the hearing of this sentence cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: blessed be the name of the Lord.* He was then carried back to the tolbooth through the guards, the people making lamentation for him by the way. After he came to his chamber, he immediately addressed himself to God in prayer with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himself, and those who were condemned with him. Afterwards, to a friend he said, "O how good news! to be within four days journey to enjoy the sight of Jesus Christ; and protested, "he was not so cumbered how to die, as he had sometimes been to preach a sermon." To some women lamenting for him, he said "That his condition, though he was but young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours in the ministry, was not to be mourned; for a drop of my blood, through the grace of God, may make more heart contrite, than many years sermons might have done."

This afternoon he supplicated the Council for liberty to his father to come to him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he discoursed a little concerning obedience to parents, from the fifth commandment; and then, after prayer, his father said to him, "Hugh, I called thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruit." He answered, "That his too good thought of him afflicted him. His father said, "He was persuaded God was visiting not his own sins, but his parents sins, so that he might say, Our fathers have sinned and we have borne their iniquity." He further said, "I have sinned; thou poor sheep what hast thou done?" Mr. Hugh answered with many groans, "That, through coming short of the fifth commandment, he had come short of the promise, that his days should be prolonged in the land of the living; and that God's controversy with his father was for overvaluing his children, especially himself."

Upon the 20th of December, through the importunity of friends, more than his own inclination, he gave in a petition to the Council, craving their clemency, after having declared his own innocence; but it proved altogether ineffectual.—During his abode in prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fears of death, and by expelling the overcloudings of terror, that sometimes the best of men, through the frailty of flesh and blood, are subject unto. He was also wonderfully assisted in prayer and praise, to the admiration of all the hearers; especially on Thursday's night, when, being at supper with his fellow-prisoners, his father, and one or two more, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Christmas-pye to the prelates. After supper, in thanksgiving, he broke forth into several expressions, both concerning himself and the church of God; and at last used that exclamation in the last of Daniel, *What, Lord, shall be the end of these wonders?*

The last night of his life he propounded and answered several questions for the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners: how should he go from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people, and guards of soldiers to a scaffold and gibbet, and overcome the impressions of all this? He answered, By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of angels who are on-lookers; according to that, *We are a gazing-stock to the world's angels, and men;* for the angels, rejoicing at our good confession, are pre-

* Let both parents and children learn from this precious father and son.

sent to convoy and carry our souls, as the soul of Lazarus, to Abraham's bosom, not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himself, with the songs of angels and blessed spirits; but the angels are ministering spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers, &c. What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are hastening to it, seeing the word saith, *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard*, &c. To this he answered, That the scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven; (1.) By way of similitude, as in Rev. xxi. where heaven is held forth by the representation of a glorious city, there discoursed of, &c. (2.) By holding forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him in sincerity, which is the very joy and habitation of heaven, Rev. v. 12; and no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.

The last words he spoke at supper were in the commendation of love above knowledge, "O but notions of knowledge without love are of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dangerous." After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th psalm, and then said, "If there were any thing in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, were the reading of the scriptures. I said, I shall not see the Lord in the land of the living; but this needs not make us sad, for where we go, the Lamb is the book of scripture, and the light of that city, and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs," &c. Supper being ended, he called for a pen, saying, It was to write his testament; herein he ordered some few books he had to be re-delivered to several persons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and slept till five in the morning; then he arose, and called for his comrade John Wodrow, saying pleasantly, "Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going to be hanged this day, seeing we lie so long." Then he spake to him in the words of Isaiah, xlii. 24; and after some short discourse, John said to him, "You and I will be chambered shortly beside Mr. Robertson." He answered, "John, I fear you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold." He said, "He had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awakening, but it was a little overclouded thereafter." He prayed with great fervency, pleading his covenant-relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witness a good confession before many witnesses. Then his father coming to him, bade him farewell. His last word to him after prayer was, That his sufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. Then he desired his father to leave him, and go to his chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with him on the scaffold; for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.

About two o'clock afternoon he was brought to the scaffold, with other who suffered with him; where, to the conviction of all that formerly saw him, he had a fairer and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his speech to the multitude northward, saying, "That as his years in the world had been but few, his words then should not be many;" and then spoke to the people the speech and testimony which he had before written and subscribed, which will be found in Naphtali and Samson's title.

Having done speaking, he sung a part of the 31st psalm, & prayed with such power and fervency, as caused many to weep. Then he gave his hat and cloak from him; and when he took the ladder to go up, he said, with an audible voice, "I care not to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my house." Hearing a noise among the people, he called down to his sufferers, saying, "Friends and fellow-sufferers, be not afraid; for of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven:" and then, having seen himself thereon, he said, "I do partly believe that the noble counsellors and rulers of this land would have used some mitigation of this punishment had they not been instigated by the prelates, so that our blood was shed principally at the prelates door; but this is my comfort now, that my Redeemer liveth, &c. And now I do willingly lay down for the truth and cause of God, the covenants, and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation; and it is my vow to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy, which embrace this rope," (the executioner then putting the rope round his neck). Then hearing the people weep, he said, "Your work is to weep, but to pray, that we may be honourably borne through; and I am comforted by the Lord that supports me now; as I have been beholding the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence of death, I hope ye will not be wanting to me now in the last step of my journey, that I may witness a good confession; and that ye may know the ground of my encouragement in this work is, I shall read to you the last chapter of the Bible;" which having read, he said, "Here is the glory that is to be revealed on me, a pure river of water of life, and here you see my access to my glory and reward, *Let him that is thirsty come, &c.*; and here you see my welcome, *the Spirit and the bride say come.*" Then he said, "I have one word more to say to my friends, before I go down to the scaffold,) Where are ye? Ye need neither lament nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I make use of that expression, *I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and martyrs, and to the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable multitude of angels, to the general assembly of the first-born, to God the Father, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Messiah, the new covenant; and I bid you all farewell, for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he will be now more merciful to me than you can be; farewell, farewell, in the Lord."* Then a napkin being put on his face, he prayed a little, and put it off his hand, and said, he had a word more to say concerning what he had in his death: "I hope you perceive no alteration or discolouring in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder to profess it is a wonder to myself; and I will tell you the reason, beside the justice of my cause, that is my comfort, what was said by our Saviour when he died, *That the angels did carry his soul to Abraham's bosom* so that as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a gallows, a people looking out at windows; so there is a more solemn preparation of angels to carry my soul to Abraham's bosom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come to Christ's Father, and to present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and to be with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be interrupted."

farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars; welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death."

Then he desired the executioner not to turn him over until he himself should put over his shoulders, which, after praying a little in private, he said, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed my soul, O Lord God of truth." And thus, in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

His death was so much lamented by the on-lookers and spectators, that it was scarce a dry cheek seen in all the streets and windows about the town of Edinburgh, at the time of his execution. A late historian * tells him this character that "he was a youth of 26 years of age, universally beloved, singularly pious, of very considerable learning; he had travelled the world, and travelled some years abroad, and was a very comely and graceful person. I am told, saith he, that he used to fast one day a week, and had frequently, before this, signified to his friends his resolution of such a death as he now underwent. His share in the rising of the Covenanters was known to be but small; and when he spoke of his comfort and joy at his death, heavy were the groans of those present."

MR. JOHN NEVAY.

MR. JOHN NEVAY was licensed and ordained a minister in the time of Scotland's purest reformation, and settled at Newmills in the parish of Edinburgh; and was, besides his soundness in the faith, shining piety in conversation, and great diligence in attending all the parts of his ministerial function, particularly church-judicatories; one who was also very zealous in contending against several steps of defection, which were contrary to the work of reformation carried on in that period. Thus, when the Earl of Callendar and Major-General Middleton were cruelly harassing the covenanters, and well-affected people in the west of Scotland, because they would not join in the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement in war against England, which was a manifest breach of the solemn league and covenant, Mr. Nevay was one of those ministers, and other well-affected people, who were assembled at the celebration of the Lord's supper at Mauchlin-muir, in June 1648, where opposition, in their own defence, was made to the said Callendar and Middleton's forces, who attacked them there upon the last day of that solemnity. †

Mr. Crookshanks. This was about Nov. 1662, when the Council commenced a prosecution against Sir James Stuart, for entertaining him in that family. See his History, i. p. 134.

Bishop Guthrie says, That the chief managers here were Messrs. William Ardit, James Guthrie, and John Nevay; and that the covenanters were of foot 2000 and 500 strong; and this is more than probable. See his Memoirs, p. 177. Bailey's History adds Messrs. Must, Thomas Wylie, Gabriel Maxwell, and Alexander Blair; and says they were about 800 foot, and 12 horse strong. Vol. ii. p. 295-297.

Again, when that pretended Assembly held at Edinburgh and St. Andrews, in 1651, did approve and ratify the public resolutions, in bringing in the justly excluded malignants into places of public power and trust in judicatories and armies, he was one of those called remonstrators who faithfully witnessed and protested against that sad course of covenant-breaking and land defiling sin.

And, as a conclusion to all, when that head of malignants, Charles II. was again restored as King over these lands, in consequence of which, the whole of our covenanted work of reformation, which for sometime had flourished, now began to be defaced and overturned; and therefore it behoved the chief promoters thereof to be, in the first place, attacked: and Mr. Nevay, being the Earl of Loudon's chaplain, and very much valued by him, must be included among the rest; and was, Nov. 18, 1662, by order of the Council, cited, with some others, to repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the Council, on the 9th of December after. He did not compare until the 23d, when he was examined, and upon his refusal of the oath of allegiance, he was banished, and enacted himself in a bond as follows:

" I JOHN NEVAY, minister of the gospel at Newmills, bind and oblige myself to remove forth of the King's dominions, and not to return under pain of death; and that I shall remove before the first of February; and that I shall not remain within the dioceses of Glasgow and Edinburgh in the meantime. Subscribed at Edinburgh, December 23.

JOHN NEVAY."

And taking leave of his old parishioners, no doubt with a sorrowful heart, he prepared for his journey, and went over to Holland, among the rest of our banished ministers; where for some years he preached to such as would come and hear him; and yet all the while he retained the affection of a most dear and loving pastor to his old parishioners of Loudon, both by sending them many sermons, and several affectionate letters, wherein he not only exhorted them to steadfastness in midst of manifold temptations, but also shewed a longing desire to return to his native land and parishioners again; as is evident from that excellent letter, wrote sometime before his death, dated at Rotterdam, October 22, 1669; in which letter, among other things, he has these expressions: " I can do no more than pray for you; and if I could do that well, I had done almost all that is required. I am not worthy of the esteem you have of me: I have not whereof to glory, but much whereof I am ashamed, and which may make me go mourning to my grave; but if you stand fast, I live; you are all my crown and joy in this earth; next to the joy of Jerusalem and her King, and I hope to have some of you my joy and crown in our Father's kingdom, besides those that are gone before us, and entered into the joy of the Lord. I have not been altogether ignorant of the changes and wars that have been amongst you, deep calling unto deep, nor how the Lord did sit on all your floods as King, and did give you many times some more ease than others, and you wanted not your share in the most honourable testimony that ever was given to the truth and kingdom of Christ in that land, since the days of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, Mr. George Wishart, and Mr. Walter Mill, &c. martyrs."

That Mr. John Nevay was no mean divine in his day, either in parts of learning, is fully evident, both from an act of the General Assembly at

wherein he was one of those four ministers who were appointed to read and correct Rouse's Paraphrase of David's Psalms in Metre, lately printed in England, (of which he had the last thirty for his share;) and a most elegant and handsome Paraphrase, of his upon the Song of Solomon in Latin verse, both of which shew him to have been of a profound judgment and rare abilities.

There are 52 sermons, or rather notes of sermons of his, published, of the nature, properties, blessings, &c. of the Covenant of Grace, in 9 sermons on Christ's Temptations, in manuscript, being all sent from Holland, for the benefit of his old parishioners at Newmills, might also have been published, if those upon the covenant had met at reception they deserved.

MR. JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

LIVINGSTONE was born in 1603. He was son to Mr. William Livingstone, minister first at Monymusk or Kilsyth, and afterwards removed to Lanark. He was nearly related to the house of Callendar; first taught his son to read and write, he put him to the Latin at Stirling, under Mr. Wallace, a godly and learned man. He remained till summer 1617, when he returned home. In October following he was sent to the college of Glasgow, where he staid four years, and passed Master of Arts in 1621.

From this he staid with his father until he began to preach, during which time he began to observe the Lord's great goodness, that he was not such parents, who taught him the principles of religion so soon as he was capable to understand any thing. He says, in his own history of his life, that he does not remember the time or means particularly, whereby the Lord at first wrought upon his heart; only, when he was but very young, he would sometimes pray with some feeling, and with some word with some delight; but thereafter did often intermit such prayers, and then would have some challenges, and begin, and intermit &c. He says, he had no inclination to the ministry, till a year or more after he had passed his course at the college; upon which he bent his desires to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and to go to London for that end; but when proposed to his father, he refused to comply about this time his father, having purchased some land in the parish of Monymusk, took the rights in his son's name, proposing that he should live there; but this he refused, thinking it would divert him from his studies, and, in the midst of these straits, he resolved to set apart a day by himself before God, for more special direction; which he did at Cleghorn wood, where, after much confusion and anent the state of his mind, at last he thought it was made out to him, that he behoved to follow Jesus Christ; which if he did not, he should have no assurance of heaven: upon which, laying aside all thoughts of other things, he bet himself to the study of divinity. He continued a year and a half in his father's house, where he studied, and sometimes preached; during which time he wrote all his sermons before he preached them, until one day he went to preach after the communion of Quodgen, and having in

readiness a sermon which he had preached at another place one day before, but perceiving several there who had heard him preach that sermon formerly, he resolved to choose a new text, and wrote only some notes of the heads he was to deliver; yet he says he found, at that time, more assistance in enlarging upon these points, and more motion in his own heart, than ever he had found before; which made him never afterwards write any more sermons, excepting only some notes for the help of his memory.

About April 1626, he was sent for by Lord Kenmuir to Galloway, in reference to a call to the parish of Anworth; but some hindrance coming in the way, this design was laid aside. In the harvest following, he hearkened to another call to Torphichen; but this proved also unsuccessful.

After this he went to the Earl of Wigton's, where he staid sometimes; the most part of this summer he travelled from place to place, according as he got invitations to preach, and especially at communions in Lanark, Irvine, Newmills, Kinniel, &c. He was also sometimes invited to preach at the Shots in that place, he says, he used to find more liberty in preaching than elsewhere; yea, the only day in all his life wherein he found most of the presence of God in preaching, he observes, was on a Monday after a communion at the kirk of Shots, June 21, 1630. The night before, he had been with some Christians, who spent the night in prayer and conference; on the morning there came such a misgiving of spirit upon him, in considering his own unworthiness and weakness, and the expectation of the people, that he was consulting to have stolen away somewhere, and declined that day's work; but thinking he could not so distrust God, he went to preach, where he got remarkable assistance in speaking about one hour and a half, from Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26. *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean, from all your filthiness, &c.* Here he was led out in such a melting strain, that, by the downpouring of the Spirit from on high, a most discernible change was wrought upon about 500 of his hearers, who could either date their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation, from that day forward.* Some little of that stamp, he says, remained on him the Thursday after, when he preached at Kilmarnock; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was so deserted, that what he had meditated upon, wrote, and kept fully in memory, he could not get pronounced; which so discouraged him, that he resolved not to preach for sometime, at least at Irvine; but Mr. Dickson would not suffer him to go from thence, till he preached next Sabbath; which he did with some freedom.

This summer, being in Irvine, he got letters from Viscount Clanniboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchie; and, seeing no appearance of entering into the ministry in Scotland, he went thither, and got an unanimous call from that parish. Here he laboured with the utmost assiduity among that people, who were both rude and profane before that; and they became the most experienced Christians in that country. But he was not above a year here, until the Bishop of Down suspended him and Mr. Blair for non-conformity. They remained deposed until May 1632, when by the intercession of Lord Castlestuart, a warrant was granted them from the King to be restored.

After this he was married to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, who was then in Ireland. In Novem-

* See the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, part i. p. 434. Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 243.

he was again deposed by the Bishop of Down, and a little after, was excommunicated by one Mr. Melvill minister of Down. Finding no appearance of liberty either to ministers or from the bondage of the prelates, he, with others of the deposed, took a resolution to go to New England, upon which they built that purpose; and when all things were ready, they, about the summer, loosed from Lochfergus; but a violent storm arising, driven near the banks of Newfoundland, and were all in danger drowned, and, after prayer and consultation, they were returned back to Lochfergus. After this he staid in Ireland, and that he and Mr. Blair were to be apprehended; and then out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When he came Mr. Dickson caused him to preach, for which he was called inwards. Leaving Irvine, he passed by London and Lanark, where he continued sometime.

In the beginning of March 1638, when the body of the land was begun the national covenant, he was sent post to London with copies of the covenant, and letters to friends at court of both nations. He came there, Mr. Borthwick delivered the letters for him; he had been there but few days, until he had word sent him from the Hamilton, that he had overheard the King say, he was come, and would put a pair of fetters about his feet: whereupon leaving he taken in the post-way, he bought a horse, and came home by the western way, and was present at Lanark and other places where the covenant was read and sworn unto; and, excepting at the Shotts, already noticed, he, as himself says, never saw such a manifestation of the Spirit of God; all the people so generally and willingly gave up their hearts, thousands of persons all at once lifting up their hands, as falling from their eyes; so that, through the whole land, (a few Papists, and others who adhered to the prelates excepted) universally entered into the covenant of God, for the reformation against prelates and their ceremonies.

In 1638, he got a call both from Stranrawer in Galloway, and in Carrick; but he referred the matter to Mess. Blair, Dickson, Henderson, Rutherford, and his father; who having heard of it, advised him to Stranrawer; and he was received there by the congregation upon the 5th of July 1638. Here he remained, in the charge of the ministry, until harvest 1648, that he was, by the General Assembly, transported to Ancrum in Tiviotdale. When he came to Ancrum, he found the people very tractable, but very few of them very loose in their carriage; and it was a great deal of time before any competent number of them were brought to such a degree as he could adventure to celebrate the Lord's supper; but through the grace of God, some of them began to lay

the parliament and church of Scotland had sent some commissioners with the King at the Hague, in order to his admission; but without satisfaction. Yet the parliament, in summer 1648, sent commissioners to prosecute the foresaid treaty at Breda; and the kirk chose Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Wood, and Mr. Hatcheson to them, with the Lords Cassilis and Callender, that in name of the church they should present their desires. Mr. Livingstone was very unwilling to

go, and that for several reasons; the chief of which was, he still suspected the King to be not right at heart in respect of the true Presbyterian religion, and notwithstanding, he saw that many in the kingdom were ready to receive the King home upon any terms; but he was prevailed on by Mess. Dickson, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie, to go. After much conference and reasoning with the King at Breda, they were not like to come to any conclusion. Here he observed, that the King still continued the use of the service-book and his chaplains, and was many a night balling and dancing till near day. This, with many other things, made him conclude there would be no blessing on that treaty; the treaty, to his unspeakable grief, was at last concluded, and sometime after the King set sail for Scotland; but Mr. Livingstone refused to go aboard with them; so that when Mr. Brody and Mr. Hutcheson saw that they could not prevail with him to come aboard, they desired him before parting to come into the ship, to speak of some matters in hand; which he did, and in the meanwhile, the boat that should have waited his return made straight for shore without him. After this the King agreed with the commissioners to swear and subscribe the covenant, and it was laid upon him to preach the next Sabbath, and tender the covenants, national and solemn league, and take his oath thereon; but he, judging that such a rash and precipitate swearing of the covenants would not be for the honour of the cause they were embarked in, did all he could to deter the King and commissioners from doing it until he came to Scotland; but when nothing would dissuade the King from his resolution, it was done; for the King performed every thing that could have been required of him; upon which Mr. Livingstone observed, that it seems to have been the guilt, not only of commissioners, but of the whole kingdom yea, of the church also, who knew the terms whereupon he was to be admitted to his government, and yet without any evidence of a real change upon his heart, and without forsaking former principles, counsels, and company.

After they landed in Scotland, before he took his leave of the King at Dundee, he used some freedom with him. After speaking somewhat to him anent his carriage, he advised him, that as he saw the English approaching in a most victorious manner, he would divert the stroke of a declaration, or some such way, wherein he needed not weaken his title to the crown of England, and not prosecute his title at present by force and sword, until the storm blew over, and then perhaps they would be in a better case to be governed, &c. But he did not relish this much, well, saying, he would not wish to sell his father's blood; which Mr. Livingstone conclude, that either he was not called to meddle in state-matters, or else he should have little success. Another instance of this he gives us, in 1654, when he and Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. Menzies were called up by the Protector to London, where he proposed to him, that he would take off the heavy fines, that were laid on ministers in Scotland, which they were unable to pay; he seemed to like the proposition, but when he proposed the overture to the Council, they went into the purpose.

While at London, preaching before the Protector, he mentioned the King in prayer, whereat some were greatly incensed; but Cromwell, knowing Mr. Livingstone's influence in Scotland, said, "Let him say what he is a good man: and what are we poor men in comparison of the King of England?"

The General Assembly appointed some ministers, and him among the rest, to wait upon the army and the Committee of Estates that resided with them; but the fear and apprehension of what ensued, kept him back from going, and he went home until he got the sad news of the defeat at Dunbar. After which Cromwell wrote to him from Edinburgh, to come and speak to him; but he excused himself. That winter the unhappy difference fell out anent the public resolutions; his light carried him to join the protesters against the resolutioners; and the Assembly that followed thereafter, he was present at their first meeting in the west, at Kilmarnock, and several other meetings of the protesting brethren afterwards; but not being satisfied with keeping these meetings so often, and continuing them so long, which he imagined made the breach wider, he declined them for sometime.

After this, he spent the rest of his time in the exercise of the ministry, both at Ancrum and other places, until summer 1660, that news was brought him that the King was called home, and then he clearly foresaw that the overturning of the whole work of reformation would ensue, and trial to all who should adhere to the same. But in 1662, when the Parliament and Council had, by proclamation, ordered all ministers who had come in since 1649, and had not kept the holiday of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelates or remove, he then more clearly foresaw a storm approaching. At the last communion which he had at Ancrum, in October, he says, that after sermon on Monday, it pleased the Lord to open his mouth, in a reasonably large discourse, anent the grounds and encouragements to suffer for the present controversy of the kingdom of Christ, in the appointing the government of his house; then he took his leave of that place, although he knew nothing of what was shortly to follow after.

After he had, with Elijah, eaten before a great journey, having communicated before he entered upon suffering, he heard, in a little time, of the Council's procedure against him, and about twelve or sixteen others who were to be brought before them; he went presently to Edinburgh, before the summons could reach him, and lurked there sometime, until he got certain information of the Council's design, whether they were for their life, like as was done with Mr. Guthrie, or only for banishment, as was done with Mr. M'Ward and Mr. Simpson; but, finding that they intended only the last, he accordingly resolved to appear with his brethren. He appeared, Dec. 11, and was examined * before the Council, the sum of which came to this, That they required him to subscribe the oath of allegiance, which he, upon several solid grounds and reasons, refused; and sentence was pronounced, that in forty-eight hours he should depart Edinburgh, and go to the north side of Tay, and within six months depart out of all the King's dominions. Accordingly he went from Edinburgh to Leith; and thereafter, upon a petition in regard to his infirmity, he obtained liberty to stay there until he should remove. He petitioned also for a few days to go home to see his wife and children; but was refused; as also for an extract of his sentence, but could not obtain it. In 1663, he went aboard, accompanied by several friends on the ship; they set sail, and in eight days came to Rotterdam, where he met the rest of the banished ministers there before him. Here he got several occasions of preaching to the Scots congregation at Rotterdam;

* Wedrow's History, vol. i. p. 144.

and in December following, his wife, with two of his children, came over to him, and the other five were left in Scotland.

Here, upon a retrograde view of his life, he, in the foresaid historical account, observes, that the Lord had given him a body not very strong, and yet not weak; for he could hardly remember himself wearied in reading and studying, although he had continued seven or eight hours without rising, and also that there were but two recreations that he was in danger to be taken with; the first was hunting on horseback, but this he had very little occasion of, yet he found it very enticing; the other was singing in concerts of music, wherein he had some skill, and in which he took great delight. He says further, that he was always short-sighted, and could not discern any person or thing afar off; but hitherto he had found no occasion for spectacles, and could read small print as long, and with as little light, almost as any other. And, as to his inclination, he was generally soft and amorous, averse to debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and too easy to be wrought upon. And although he could not say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness, yet he could say, he had been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils, and rather inclined to solitariness than company, and was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts; and for outward things, he was never rich; and although, when in Killinchie, he had not above four pounds Sterling of stipend a-year, yet he was never in want.

He further observes, that he could not remember any particular time of conversion, or that he was much cast down or lifted up; only one night, in the Dean of Kilmarnock's, having been, most of the day before, in company with some people of Stuarton, who were under rare and not exercise of mind, he lay down under some heaviness, that he never had such experience of; but, in the midst of his sleep, there came such a terror of the wrath of God upon him, that if it had but increased a little higher, or continued but a few minutes longer, he had been in a most dreadful condition, but it was instantly removed, and he thought it was said within his heart, "See what a fool thou art to desire the thing thou couldst not endure." In his preaching he was sometimes much deserted and cast down, and again at other times tolerably assisted. He himself declares, that he never preached a sermon, excepting two, that he would be earnest to see again in print, the first (says Wodrow) was at the Kirk of Shots, as was already noticed, and the other at a communion Meeting at Holywood in Ireland; and both these times he had spent the night before in conference and prayer with some Christians, without any more than ordinary preparation. For otherwise, says he, his gift was rather suited to common people, than to learned judicious auditors. He had a tolerable insight in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and somewhat of the Syriac languages; Arabic he did essay, but he soon dropped it.

He had as much of the French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, as enabled him to make use of their books and Bibles. It was thrice laid upon him by the General Assembly to write the history of the church of Scotland since the Reformation 1638; but this, for certain reasons, he had altogether omitted.

The greater part of his time in Holland he spent in reducing the original text into a Latin translation of the Bible; and for that purpose compared Pagnin's with the original text, and with the later translations.

such as Munster, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the English, but especially the Dutch, which he thought was the most accurate translation.

Whether by constant sitting at these studies, or some other reasons, the infirmities of old age creeping on, he could not determine, but since the year 1664, there was such a continual pain contracted in his bladder, that he could not walk abroad, and a shaking of his hands, that he could scarcely write any; otherwise he blessed the Lord that hitherto he had found no great defection either in body or mind.

Thus he continued at Rotterdam until August 9, 1672, when he died. Some of his last words were, "Carry my commendation to Jesus Christ, and I come there myself;" after a pause, he added, "I die in the faith, but the truths of God, which he hath helped the church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by him as truths so long as sun and moon endure, and that Independency, though there be good men and well-meaning professors of that way, will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware of, for they vanish into vain opinions. I have my own faults, as well as other men, but he made me always abhor myself. I have, I know, given offence to many, through my slackness and negligence; but I forgive, and desire to be forgiven." After a pause, as he was not able to speak much at a time, he said, "I would not give people to forecast the worst, but there is a dark cloud above the reformed churches, which prognosticates a storm coming." His wife, dying shortly followed, desired him to take leave of his friends: "I dare not, (replied he, with an affectionate tenderness,) but it is like our meeting will only be for a short time." And then he slept in the Lord.

Although it is usual with the most of men, when writing their own account, through modesty, to conceal their own parts, qualifications, and abilities, yet here these things cannot be hid: for it is pretty evident, that since our reformation commenced in Scotland, there has been none of these labours in the gospel have been more remarkably blessed with the pouring of the Spirit in conversion-work than great Mr. Livingstone's; yea, it is a question, if any one, since the primitive times, can produce so many convincing and confirming seals of their ministry; as we see the Kirk of Shots, and Holywood in Ireland, at which two places, it is said, that about 1500 souls were either confirmed, or converted and brought to Christ.

His works, besides his letter from Leith, 1663, to his parishioners at Leith, are, his Memorable Characteristics of Divine Providence, &c. a manuscript of his own life, of which this is an abbeviated. He, while in his Patmos of Holland, wrote a New Latin Translation of the Old Testament, which was revised and approved of by Vossius, Estenseus, Nethenus, Leusden, and other eminent lights of that time; before his death, it was put into the hands of the last to be printed.

Mr. JOHN SEMPLE.

JOHN SEMPLE was for his exemplary walk and singular piety, had such an esteem and veneration, that all ranks of people stood in awe of him; and particularly the clergy, he being a great check upon the lazy and corrupt part of them, who oftentimes were much afraid of him.—

One time, coming from Carsphairn to Sanquhair, being twelve miles of a rough way, on a Monday morning, after the sacrament, the ministers being still in bed, got up in all haste, to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their clothes, said, "What will become of the sheep, when the shepherds sleep so long: in my way hither, I saw some shepherds on the hills looking after their flocks.—Which, considering his age, and early journey so many miles after he had preached the day before at home, had much influence on them, and made them somewhat ashamed.

He was one who very carefully attended church-judicatories, from which he was seldom absent, and that from a principle of conscience; so that almost no impediment could hinder him in his purposes; for one time going to the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, twenty miles distant from Carsphairn, when about to ford the water of Dee, he was told by some, that it was impassable; yet he persisted, saying, "I must go through, if the Lord will; I am going about his work."—He entered in, and the strength of the current carried him and his horse beneath the ford; he fell from his horse, and stood upright in the water, and taking off his hat, prayed a word; after which he and his horse got safely out, to the admiration of all the spectators there present.

He was also a man much given to secret prayer, and ordinarily prayed in the kirk before sacramental occasions, and oftentimes set apart Friday in wrestling with the Lord for his gracious presence on communion Sabbaths; and was often favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of both ministers and people; and would appoint a week-day thereafter for thanksgiving to God.

As he was one faithful and laborious in his Master's service, so he was also most courageous and bold, having no respect of persons, but did sharply reprove all sorts of wickedness in the highest as well as in the lowest, and yet he was so convincingly a man of God, that the most wicked, to whom he was a terror, had a kindness for him, and sometimes spoke favourably of him, as one who wished their souls well; insomuch as one time, some persons of quality calling him a varlet, another person of quality, whom he had often reproved for his wickedness, being present said, he was sure if he was a varlet, he was one of God's varlet's. At another time, when a certain gentleman, from whose house he was going home, sent one of the rudest of his servants, well furnished, with horse, broad sword, and loaded pistols, to attack him in a desert place at the night-time; and the servant was ordered to do all that he could to fright him. Accordingly he surprised him with holding a pistol to his breast, bidding him render up his purse, under pain of being shot. Mr. Semple, with much presence of mind, although he knew nothing of the pre-concert, answered, It seems you are a wicked man, who will not take my life or my purse, if God gives you leave. As for my purse, I will not do you much service, though you had it; and for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleaseth; however, if you will lay by your weapons, I will wrestle a fall with you for my life, which, if you be a man, you cannot refuse, seeing I have no weapon to fight with you.—In short, after many threats, though all in vain, the servant discovered the whole plot, and asked him, if he was not at first afraid? Not in the least, answered he, for although you had threatened me, as I knew not but you might, I was sure to get the sooner to heaven; and then they parted.

Mr. Semple was a man who knew much of his Master's mind, as is evidently appears by his discovering of several future events:—for a time, when news came that Cromwell and those with him were on the trial of Charles I. some persons asked him, what he thought would become of the King?—He went to his closet a little, and coming back, he said to them, the King is gone, he will neither do us good nor ill any more; which of a truth came to pass. At another time, being by the house of Kenmuir, as the masons were making some additions thereunto, he said, Lads, ye are busy, enlarging and repairing the house, but it will be burnt like a crow's nest in a misty morning; which accordingly came to pass, for it was burnt in a dark misty morning by the English.

Upon a certain time, when a neighbouring minister was distributing the elements before the sacrament, and when reaching a token to a certain man, Mr. Semple (standing by) said, hold your hand, she hath gotten many tokens already; she is a witch;—which though none suspected at the time, she herself confessed to be true, and was deservedly put to death for the same.

At another time a minister in the shire of Galloway, sending one of his elders to Mr. Semple with a letter, earnestly desiring his help at the sacrament, which was to be in three weeks after. He read the letter, and went to his closet, and coming back, he said to the elder, I am sorry I have come so far on a needless errand: go home, and tell your sister, she hath had all the communions that ever she will have, for she is guilty of fornication, and God will bring it to light ere that time. This likewise came to pass. He often said to a person of quality (Lord Kenmuir) that he was a rough wicked man, for which God would shake him over hell before he died; and yet God would give him his soul for a key: which had its accomplishment at last, to the no small comfort and satisfaction of all his near and dear relations.

When some Scots regiments, in the year 1648, in their march through the shire of Preston in England, to the Duke's engagement, (as it was commonly called,) and hearing that the sacrament was to be dispensed the next Lord's day, some of the soldiers put up their horses in the kirk, and went to the manse and destroyed the communion elements in a most profane manner, Mr. Semple being then from home. The next day, he complained to the commanding officer in such a pathetic manner, representing the horrible vileness of such an action, that the officer not only pardoned the action, but also gave money for furnishing them again; he never told them, he was sorry for the errand they were going upon, but that it would not prosper; and the profanity of that army would ruin the country.

About or after this, he went up to a hill and prayed; and being reproached by some acquaintances, what answer he got? he replied, I have had fought with neither small nor great, but with the Duke of Mar, whom he never left until he was beheaded; which was too sadly accomplished. [Stevenson's History, vol. iii. p. 298.]

His painful endeavours were blessed with no small success, especially on solemn occasions: and this the devil envied very much; and particularly one time, among many, when he designed to administer the sacrament, before which he assured the people of a great communion, and precious and remarkable downpouring of the Spirit, but that the devil would be envious about this good work, and that he was afraid he would be permitted to raise a storm or spout of rain, designing to

Mr. JOHN SEMPLE.

drown some of them; but, said he, it shall not be in his power to any of you, no, not so much as a dog. Accordingly it came to Monday, when he was dismissing the people, they saw a man all entering the water a little above them, at which they were amazed, the water was very large. He lost his feet, as they apprehended, a down on his back, waving his hand: the people ran and got round yet they were in danger of being all drawn into the water and Mr. Semple looking on, cried, Quit the rope, and let him go; I it is, it is the devil; he will burn, but not drown; and by drowning you, would have God dishonoured, and the wicked world to reproach the work of God, because he hath got some glory to his free grace king to many of your souls at this time, &c. All search was in that country to find if any man was lost; but none was found which made them conclude it to be the devil.

Mr. Semple, being one of the faithful protesters, in the year 1660 apprehended with the famous Mr. James Guthrie, at Edinburgh, just 1660; and, after ten months imprisonment in the castle, was before the bloody Council, who threatened him severely with death or banishment; but he answered with boldness, My God will not either kill or banish me; but I will go home and die in peace, my dust will lie among the bodies of my people. Accordingly he was dismissed; and went home, and entered his pulpit, saying, I part with thee too easily, but I shall hang by the wicks of thee now. It was some time after the Restoration, that, while under his hidings, being in bed with another minister, the backside of the bed falling down ground, the enemy came and carried away the other minister, leaving not him; which was a most remarkable deliverance.

Lastly, He was so concerned for the salvation of his people, that on his deathbed he sent for them, and preached to them with a piety, shewing them their miserable state by nature, and their need of a Saviour; expressing his sorrow to leave many of them as graceless, and got them, with so much vehemency, as made many of them weep.

He died at Carsphairn, about the year 1677, being upwards of 70 years of age, in much assurance of heaven, often longing to be allowed to join in the God of his salvation; and that under great impressions of dreadful judgments to come on these covenanted sinning lands: and scarce able to speak, he cried three times over, A Popish sword to Scotland, England, and Ireland! &c.

Mr. JAMES MITCHELL.

Mr. JAMES MITCHELL * was educated at the university of Edinburgh and was, with some other of his fellow-students, made Master of Arts in 1656. Mr. Robert Leighton, afterwards Bishop Leighton, was then principal of that college, before the degree was conferred upon

* It is generally told, that, when his mother was ready to be delivered of him, being in the next room, entreated the midwife, if possible, to stop the pains a few minutes; but she answered, she could not. Afterwards, being asked the reason, she said, He would not die an ordinary death,

ered to them the national and solemn league and covenant; which wants, upon mature deliberation, he took, finding nothing in them but sort compend of the moral law, binding to our duty towards God, towards man, in their several stations, and taking the King's interest therein included: when others were taking the tender to Oliver Cromwell, he subscribed the oath of allegiance to the King; but how he repaid for this after the Restoration, the following account will more discover.

Mr. Mitchell, having received a license to preach the gospel, very soon after the restoration, was, with the rest of his faithful brethren, reduced to many hardships and difficulties. I find (says Wodrow, vol. i. p. 292,) Mr. Trail, minister at Edinburgh, in 1661, recommending him to some sisters in Galloway as a good youth, that had not much to subsist on, and as fit for a school, or teaching gentlemen's children. There being no door of access then to the ministry for him, or any such, when necessity was on such an advance in Scotland.

But whether he employed himself in this manner, or if he preached on some occasions, where he could have the best opportunity, we have no certain account; only we find he joined with that faithful handful who were in 1666; but was not at the engagement at Pentland, * being sent by Captain Arnot to Edinburgh the day before, upon some necessary business, on such an emergent occasion. However, he was excepted from indemnity in the several lists for that purpose.

After the Pentland affair, in the space of six weeks, Mr. Mitchell went abroad, in the trading way, to Flanders, and was for sometime upon the shores of Germany; after which he, in the space of three quarters of a year, returned home with some Dutchmen of Amsterdam, having a cargo of different sorts of goods, which took sometime up before he got them all sold off.

Mr. Mitchell, being now excluded from all mercy or favour from the government, and having not yet laid down arms, and taking the Archbishop of St. Andrews to be the main instigator of all the oppression and persecution of his faithful brethren, took up a resolution, in 1668, to disturb him; and for that purpose, upon the 11th of July, he waited the Archbishop's coming down in the afternoon to his coach, at the head of Blackfriars Wynd in Edinburgh, and with him was Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney. When the Archbishop had entered, and taken his seat in the coach, Mr. Mitchell stepped straight to the north side of the coach, and discharged a pistol, loaded with three balls, in at the door thereof; that instant Honeyman set his foot in the boot of the coach, and reaching out his hand to step in, received the shot designed for Sharp in the wrist in his hand, and the Primate escaped.

Upon this, Mr. Mitchell crossed the street with much composure, till he came to Niddery's Wynd-head, where a man offered to stop him, to which he presented a pistol, upon which he let him go; he stepped down the Wynd, and up Stevenlaw's Close, went into a house, changed his name, and came straight to the street, as being the place where indeed he would be least suspected. The cry arose, that a man was killed; to which some replied, it was only a bishop, and all was very soon quiet.

Upon Monday the 13th, the Council issued out a proclamation, commanding that Mr. Mitchell should be apprehended, and brought to the Court.

Wodrow thinks he was at Pentland; but in his answers before the Committee

offering a reward of five thousand merks to any that would discover, and pardon to accessories; but nothing more at that time.

The managers, and those of the Prelatical persuasion, made a noise and handle of this against the Presbyterians; whereas this was his only, without the knowledge or pre-concert of any, as he himself in a letter declares; yea, with a design to bespatter the Presbyterians of Scotland, a most scurrilous pamphlet was published at London only reflecting on our excellent reformers from Popery, publishing lies against Mr. Alexander Henderson, abusing Mr. David Dickson's breaking jests upon the remonstrators and Presbyterians, as the matter, but also, in a most malicious and groundless kind of reproach, slandering Mr. Mitchell.

After this, Mr. Mitchell shifted the best way he could, until the beginning of the year 1674, he was discovered by Sir William Shrewsbury's brother, and ere ever Mr. Mitchell was aware, he caused a certain number of his servants, armed for that purpose, lay hold on and apprehend and commit him to prison; and on the 10th of February was examined by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Register, and Lord Justice-Clerk; he denied the assassination of the Archbishop; but being taken before the Chancellor, he confessed, that it was he who shot the Archbishop, while aiming at the Archbishop, upon assurance of his life, by the Chancellor in these words: "Upon my great oath and reputation I be Chancellor, I shall save your life." On the 12th he was examined before the Council, and said nothing but what he had said before the Committee: he was remitted to the Justice Court to receive his sentence and sentence, which was, to have his right hand struck off at the cross of Edinburgh, and his goods forfeited; which last part was not executed, till his Majesty had got notice; because, says Lord Justice-Clerk in a letter to Earl Kincardine, assurance of life was given him in his confession.

However, he was, on the second of March, brought before the Court of Justiciary, and indicted for being concerned at Pentlands, and for an attempt on the Archbishop of St. Andrews. But he pleaded, Not Guilty, and insisted, that the things alleged against him should be proved. The Lords postponed the affair till the 25th. Meanwhile, the Council passed an act (March 12,) specifying, that Mr. James Mitchell confessed firing the pistol at the Archbishop of St. Andrews, upon assurance of his life by one of the Committee, who had a warrant from the Lord Commissioner and Secret Council to give the same; and therefore freely confess, &c. In the said act, it was declared, that, on account of his refusing to adhere to his confession, the promises made to him were void; and that the Lords of Justiciary and jury ought to proceed against him, without any regard to these. About the 25th, he was brought before the Justiciary; but, as there was no proof against him, the consent of the Advocate, protracted the affair; and he was remanded to prison.

Thus he continued until January 6, 1676, that he was ordered to be examined before the Council by torture, concerning his being concerned in the rebellion, as they termed it, in the year 1666. Accordingly he was brought before them upon the 18th, about six o'clock at night. Lord Justice-Clerk presides, told him, he was brought before them to see whether he would adhere to his former confession. He answered, "My Lord, it is well known to your Lordship, and others here present, that, by the

ler, I was remitted to the Lords of Justiciary, before whom I received indictment at my Lord Advocate's instance, &c. to which indictment answered at three several diets; and the last diet, being deserted by my Lord Advocate, I humbly conceive, that, both by the law of the nation, and the practice of this Court, I ought to have been set at liberty; yet, notwithstanding, I was, contrary to law, equity, and justice, returned to prison: and upon what account I am this night before you, I am ignorant." The preses told him, he was only called to see if he would own his former confession. He replied, "He knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore made no such confession as he alleged." Upon this, the treasurer-depute said, The pannel was one of the most arrogant liars and rogues he had known. Mr. Mitchell replied, "My Lord, if there were fewer of these persons, you have been speaking of, in the nation, I could not be standing this night at the bar; but my Lord Advocate saith, that what is alleged against me is not my confession." The preses said, "Sir, we will cause a sharper thing make you confess." He answered, "My Lord, I hope you are Christians, and not Pagans." Then he was returned to prison.

On the 22d, he was again called before them, to see if he would own his former confession, and a paper produced, alleged to be subscribed by him; but he would not acknowledge the same. The preses said, "You are what is upon the table, (meaning the boots,) I will see if that will make you do it." Mr. Mitchell answered, "My Lord, I confess, that by torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the priests; you may compel me to speak amiss of your Lordships; to call myself a thief, a murderer, &c. and then pannel me on it: but, if you will here put me to it, I protest before God and your Lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgement, nor have any force in law against me, or any other person. As to be plain with you, my Lords, I am so much of a Christian, that whatever your Lordships shall legally prove against me, if it be truth, shall not deny it;—but, on the contrary, I am so much of a man, and Scotsman, that I never held myself obliged, by the law of God, nature, or nations, to be my own accuser." The treasurer-depute said, he had the devil's logic, and sophisticated like him: ask him, whether that be his subscription? Mr. Mitchell replied, I acknowledge no such thing; and he was sent back to prison.

Upon the 24th, they assembled in their robes in the inner parliament-house, and the boots and executioner were presented. Mr. Mitchell was again interrogated as above; but still persisting, he was ordered to the stocks: and he knowing that, after the manner of the Spanish inquisition, the more he confessed, either concerning himself or others, the more the torture would be to make him confess the more, delivered him in this manner. "My Lords, I have been now these two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which hath been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable of death; and it is well known, that some, in a shorter time, have been executed to make away with themselves; but respect and obedience to the law and command of God hath made me to undergo all these hardships, and I hope this torture with patience also, viz. that for the preservation of my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my power; and to keep innocent blood off your Lordships persons and families, and the shedding of mine, you would doubtless bring upon yourselves

and posterity, and wrath from the Lord to the consuming there
there should be no escaping; and now again I protest, &c. as
When you please, call for the man appointed for the work." The
tioner being called, he was tied in a two-armed chair, and the
brought: the executioner asked, which of the legs he should take
Lords bade him take any of them; the executioner laying the left
boot; Mr. Mitchell, lifting it out again, said, "Since the Judge
not determined, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it
cause;" and so laid his right leg into the engine. After which, the
vocate asked leave to speak but one word; but notwithstanding, it
at a great length. To which Mr. Mitchell answered. "The Adv
word or two hath multiplied to so many, that my memory cannot
in the condition wherein I am, (the torture being begun,) to resume
in particular; but I shall essay to answer the scope of his disc
Whereas he hath been speaking of the sovereignty of the magist
shall go somewhat further than he hath done, and own that the
trate whom God hath appointed is God's depute; both the thro
the judgment are the Lord's, when he judgeth for God, and acc
to his law; and a part of his office is to deliver the poor oppress
of the hand of the oppressor, and shed no innocent blood, Jer. xxii.
And whereas the Advocate has been hinting at the sinfulness of lyi
any account: it is answered, that not only lying is sinful, but also
nicious speaking of the truth is a horrid sin before the Lord, w
tendeth to the shedding of innocent blood; witness the case of
Psalm lii. compared with 2 Sam. xxii. 9. But what my Lord Adv
has forged against me is false; so that I am standing on my f
ground, viz. the preservation of my own life, and the life of others;
as lies in my power; the which I am expressly commanded by the
of hosts."

Then the clerk's servant being called, interrogated him in the
in upwards of thirty questions, which were all in writ, of which the
lowing are of the most importance.

Q. Are you that Mr. James Mitchell who was excepted out of
King's grace and favour?

A. I never committed any crime deserving to be excluded.

Q. Were you at Pentland?

A. No.

Q. Were you at Ayr? and did you join with the rebels there?

A. I never joined with any such.

Q. Where was you at the time of Pentland?

A. In Edinburgh.

Q. When did you know of their rising in arms?

A. When the rest of the city knew of it.

Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace?

A. I knew him not at that time.

Q. Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot?

A. No.

The other questions were anent his going abroad, &c. He said
that they intended to catch him in a contradiction, or to find
would witness against him. At the beginning of the torture,
"My Lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with
therefore I beseech you to remember what Solomon saith, *He who
no mercy shall have judgment without mercy, &c.* And now, my Lord

ely from my heart forgive you, who are sitting judges upon the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrible piece of work, and also those who are vitiating their eyes in beholding the same; and I trust that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg that God may be pleased, for Christ's sake, to blot out my sins and iniquities, and never to lay them to my charge here nor hereafter."

All this being over, the executioner took down his leg from a chest which it was lying all the time in the boot, and set both on the ground; and thrusting in the shelves to drive the wedges, began his strokes, at every one of which, inquiring if he had any more to say, or would say any more, Mr. Mitchell answered, No; and they continued to nine strokes upon the head of the wedges: at length he fainted, through the extremity of the pain; at which the executioner cried, Alas! my Lords, he is dead! then they stopped the torture, and went off; and in a little time, when recovered, he was carried in the same chair to the tolbooth.

It is indeed true, that Mr. Mitchell made a confession, upon the promise of his life; but the managers having revoked their promise, because he would not adhere to his confession before the Justiciary, being advised by some friends not to trust too much to that promise, and be his own persecuter. "The reader must determine (says Crookshanks) how far he is to blame now, in not owning his confession judicially, as they had judicially revoked the condition upon which the confession was made; and to put a man to torture for finding out things for which they had at the least proof, seems to be unprecedented and cruel; and to bring him to a farther trial, appears to be unjust. For as another author * has well observed, "That when a confession or promise is made upon a condition, and that condition is judicially rescinded, the obligation of the promise or confession is taken away, and both parties are in *status quo*, Josh. ii. 14, &c.: that in many cases it is lawful to conceal and obscure a necessary duty, and divert enemies from a pursuit of it for a time, Sam. xvi. 1, 2. xx. 5, 6. Jer. xxxviii. 24, &c.: that when an open enemy perverts and overturns the very nature and matter of a discourse or confession, by leaving out the most material truths, and putting in untruths and circumstances in their room, it no longer is the former discourse or confession, &c.: that when a person is brought before a limited judicatory, &c. before whom nothing was ever confessed or proven, the person may justly stand to his defence, and put his enemies to bring in proof against him," &c.

After this, Mr. Mitchell continued in prison till the beginning of next year, when he and Mr. Frazer of Brae, were, with a party of twelve horse and thirty foot, sent to the Bass, where he remained till about the 6th of December, when he was again brought to Edinburgh, in order for his trial and execution; which came on upon the 7th of January 1678. On the third of the month, Sir George Lockhart and Mr. John Ellis were appointed to plead for the pannel; but Sharp would have his life, and Lauderdale gave way to it. Sir Archibald Primrose, lately turned out of the Register's place, took a copy of the Council's act against Mr. Mitchell, and sent it to his counsel; and a day or two before the trial, went to Lauderdale, who, together with Lord Rothes, Lord Halton, and Sharp, was summoned: the prisoner's witness, Primrose, told Lauderdale, that he thought a promise of life had been given: the latter denied

* The author of the narration of his torture; which is inserted at large in Naphtali

it: the former wished that that act of the Council might be looked on as a precedent. Lauderdale said, he would not give himself the trouble to look at the book of Council.

When his trial came on, the great proof was, his confession, Feb. 16, 1674; many and long were the reasons on the points of the indictment, Sir George Lockhart argued in behalf of the prisoner with great ingenuity, to the admiration of the audience, that no extra-judicial confession could be allowed in Court, and that his confession was extorted from him by hopes and promises of life. The debates were so tedious that they adjourned to the 9th of January; the replies and duplies are too tedious to be inserted here: the reader will find them at large in Wodrow's History.

The witnesses being examined, Lord Rothes, being shewn Mr. Mitchell's confession, swore that he was present, and saw him subscribe that confession, and heard him make that confession, but that he did not at all give any assurance to the prisoner for his life; nor did he remember that there was any warrant given by the Council to his Lordship for that effect. Halton and Lauderdale swore much to the same purpose; but the Archbishop swore, that he knew him at the first sight at the bar, to be the person who shot at him, &c. But that he either gave him assurance, or a warrant to any to give it, was a false and malicious calumny. His Grace gave no promise to Nichol Somerville, other than that it was in his interest to make a free confession. This Nichol Somerville, Mitchell's brother-in-law, offered in Court to depone, that the Archbishop promised to him to secure his life, if he would prevail with him to confess. The Archbishop denied this, and called it a villainous lie. Several other depositions were taken; such as Sir William Paterson, John Vanse, and the Bishop of Galloway, who all swore in favour of the prisoner, it being dangerous for them, at this juncture, to do otherwise.

After the witnesses were examined, the Advocate declared he had no objection against the probation; whereupon Mr. Mitchell produced a copy of an Act of Council, March 12, 1674, praying that the register might be permitted to be read, or the clerk obliged to give extracts; but this they refused. "Lockhart (says Burnet) pleaded for this; but Lauderdale, who was only a witness, and had no right to speak, refused; and so it was neglected."

The assize was inclosed, and ordered to return their verdict to-morrow afternoon; which being done, the sentence was pronounced, "That Mr. James Mitchell should be taken to the Grass-market of Edinburgh, upon Friday the 18th of January instant, betwixt two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he was dead, and all his moveables, goods, and gear escheat, and in-brother to his Majesty's use," &c. No sooner did the Court break up, than the Lords, being up stairs, found the act recorded, and signed by Lord Rothes, the President of the Council.—"This action," says the late historian, "and all concerned in it, were looked on by all the people as a horror; and it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and oppression, as the like had not perhaps been known."

Two days after the sentence, orders came from Court, for placing Mitchell's head and hands on some public place of the city; but the sentence being passed, no alteration could be made; and if Sharp had been in this, he missed his end and design. About the same time, a woman petitioned the Council, that her husband might be reprived for so long a time, that she might be in case to see and take her last farewell of him.

strength of that provision," 1 Kings xix. 7. Then, after the reciting several scriptures, as comforting to him in his sufferings, he comes at last to conclude with these words: "And seeing I have not preferred a sought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, berty, and safety of thy church and people; although it be now miscon-structed by many, yet I hope that thou, O Lord, wilt make thy light break forth as the morning, and thy righteousness as the noon-day, so that shame and darkness shall cover all who are enemies to thy righteous cause: for thou, O Lord, art the Shield of my head, and Sword of my excellency; and mine enemies shall be found liars, and shall be subdued. Amen, yea and Amen.—(Sic subscribitur,)

JAMES MITCHELL."

Accordingly, upon the 18th of January, he was taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, and the sentence put in execution. In the morning he delivered some copies of what he had to say, if permitted, at his death; but not having liberty to deliver this part of his vindictory speech to the people, he threw it over the scaffold, the substance of which was as follows.

" Christian People,

"It being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my sentence, that I would not have liberty to speak in this place, I have not troubled myself to prepare any formal discourse, on account of the pretended crime for which I am accused and sentenced; neither did I think it very necessary, the fame of the process having gone so much abroad, what by a former indictment given me near four years ago, the diet at which was suffered to desert, in respect the late Advocate could not find a just way to reach me with the extra-judicial confession they opposed to me, all knew he was zealous in it, yet my charity to him is such, that he would not suffer that unwarrantable zeal so far to blind him, as to overstretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of a native subject; first by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by bringing me to the Bass; and then, after all, by giving me a new indictment at the instance of the new Advocate, who before was one of mine, when I received the first indictment; to which new indictment, and debate in the process, I refer you; and particularly to these two defences of an extra-judicial confession, and the promise of life given to me by the Chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity thereof I am content to die; and ready to lay down my life; and hope your charity to me, a dying man, will be such as not to mistrust me therein; especially since it is notoriously adminiculate by act of Secret Council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of State present in Council at the making of said act, and whom the act bears to have been present: the Duke of Lauderdale, being then his Majesty's Commissioner, was likewise present;—and which act of Council was, by the Lords of Justice, most unjustly repelled, &c. Thus much for a short account of the affair for which I am unjustly brought to this place; but I acknowledge my private and particular sins have been such as deserved a worse death than mine; but I hope, in the merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from the eternal punishment due to me for sin. I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this place, for my private and particular sins, but I am brought here that the work of God may be made manifest, and for the

al of faith, John ix. 3. 1 Pet. i. 7; that I might be a witness for his spised truths and interests in this land, where I am called to seal the me with my blood; and I wish heartily that this my poor life may put end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this place, so ich actuated by these perfidious prelates, in opposition to whom, and simony to the cause of Christ, I at this time lay down my life, and as God that he hath thought me so much worthy as to do the same, r his glory and interest. Finally: Concerning a Christian duty, in a ngular and extraordinary case, and anent my particular judgment, con- rning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested ewhere. Farewell all earthly enjoyments; and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

“JAMES MITCHELL.”

Here we have heard the end of the zealous and faithful Mr. James Mitchell, who, beyond all doubt, was a most pious man, notwithstanding the foul aspersions that have been, or will be cast upon him, not only by malignant prelates, but even by the high-fliers, or more corrupted part of the Presbyterian persuasion, namely, on account of his firing at Bishop Sharp; which, they think, is enough to explode, affront, or bespatter, all the faithful contendings of the true reformed and covenanted church of Scotland. But in this Mr. Mitchell stands in need of little or no vindication; for by this time, the reader may perceive, that he looked upon himself as in a state of war, and that, as Sharp was doubtless one of the chief stigators of the tyranny, bloodshed, and oppression, in that dismal period, he therefore, no doubt, thought he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, especially as the ways of common justice were locked up: yet all this opens no door for every private person, at their own hand, to execute justice on an open offender, where there is access to a lawful magistrate appointed for that end. Yea, what he himself hath anent this affair, in a letter dated Feb. 1674, may be sufficient to stop the mouths of all that have, or may oppose the same, a few words of which may be subjoined to this narrative; where, after he has resumed that passed betwixt him and the Chancellor, he says, that as to his design against Sharp, “he looked upon him to be the main instigator of the oppression and bloodshed of his brethren, that followed thereupon, and of the continual pursuing of his life; and he being a soldier, not having laid down arms, but being still upon his own defence, and having no other end or quarrel against any man, but what, according to his apprehension of him, may be understood by the many thousands of the faithful, besides the prosecution of the ends of the same covenant, which was to be, in that point, the overthrow of prelates and Prelacy; and he being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to him in like manner; and as he was always to take his advantage, as it appeared, so he took of him any opportunity that offered.—For (says he) I, by his instigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him at all occasions,” &c. And a little farther he instances, in Gen. xiii. 19. where the seducer, or enticer to a false worship, is to be put to death, and that by the hand of the witness, whereof he was one; he takes notice of Phineas, Elijah, &c.; and then observes, that the bishops could say, what they did was by law and authority, but what he did was contrary to both; but he answers, The King himself, and all the Estates of the land, &c. both were and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to extirpate the perjured prelates and Prelacy, and, in doing thereunto have defended one another with their lives and fortunes, &c.

G g

Mr. JOHN WELWOOD.

MR. JOHN WELWOOD, born about 1649, was son to Mr. James Welwood, sometime minister at Tindergirth, and brother to Mr. Andrew Welwood, and James Welwood, Doctor of Medicine at London. After he had gone through the ordinary courses of learning, he entered on the ministry, and afterwards preached in many places: but we do not hear that he was ever settled minister in any parish, it being then a time when all who intended any honesty or faithfulness in testifying against the sin and defections of the times, were thrust out of the church, and prosecuted with the greatest severity. It is said that he preached some five or six sermons in the parish where his father was minister, which were blessed with more discernible effects of good amongst that people, than all the diligent painfulness his father had exercised in the time he was minister of that parish.

And, besides his singular piety and faithfulness in preaching, he was a most fervent presser to all the duties of a Christian life, particularly to the setting up and keeping of fellowship and society meetings for prayer and Christian conference, which he often frequented himself. One time among several others, at the new house in Livingstone parish, after the night was far spent, he said, Let one pray, and be short, that we may get to our apartments before it be light: it was the turn of one who exceeded many in gifts. But before he ended, it was day-light within the house. After prayer he said, James, James, your gifts have the start of your graces: and to the rest he said, Be advised, all of you, not to follow him at all times, and in all things; otherwise there will be many ins and many outs in your track and walk.

In 1677, there was an Erastian meeting of the actually indulged and non-indulged, procured by the indulged and their favourites, in order to get unity made and kept up; but rather, in reality, a conspiracy, without any truth, unity, or veracity, among these backsliders and false prophets. Mr. Welwood, worthy Mr. Cameron, and another minister, were called before this meeting, in order to have them deposed, and their license taken from them, for their faithfulness in preaching up separation from the actually indulged. But they declined their authority, as being no lawful judicatory of Jesus Christ, whilst thus made up of those who were actually indulged. Some of them went to Mr. Hog, who was then in town, though not at this meeting, for his advice anent them. To whom he said, His name is Welwood; but if ye take that unhappy course to depose them, he will perhaps turn out the Torwood at last.

Mr. Welwood was a man of a lean and tender body. He always slept late, and drank but little, as being one still under a deep exercise, the state and case of his soul laying a great concern upon his spirit, about the defections and tyranny of that day, especially concerning the indulged, and so many pleading in their favour: but, being of a sickly constitution before, he turned more melancholy and tender. Much about this time (says Wodrow,) he was informed against to the managers at Edinburgh, that having intruded upon the kirk of Tarbolton, in the shire of Ayr, the Council appointed Glencairn and Lord Ross to see that he be turned out and apprehended. But there is nothing further can be learned anent the order.

the Sabbath, when he was going to preach, and the tent set up for the laird on whose ground it was, caused lift it, and set it on another laird's ground. But when Mr. Welwood saw it, he said, In a short time that laird shall not have one furr of land. Some quarrelled him saying so, this laird being then a great professor. He said, Let alone the laird, and he will turn out in his own colours. Shortly after this, he was out in adultery, and became most miserable and contemptible, because as was said, one of York's four-pound Papists.

At the beginning of the year 1679, he said to William Nicolson, a shire man, Ye shall have a brave summer of the gospel this year; for your further encouragement, an old man or woman, for very age, yet live to see the bishops down, and yet the church not delivered: ere all be done, we will get a few faithful ministers in Scotland too. But keep still amongst the faithful poor mourning remnant that trust in God; for there is a cloud coming on the church of Scotland, the effects of which was never heard of; for the most part will turn to defecation. But I see, on the other side of it, the church's delivery, with ministers and Christians, that you would be ashamed to open a mouth against them.

Among his last public days of preaching, he preached at Boulterhall Kirk, upon that text, *Not many noble, &c.* Here he wished that all the nobles' people, whom he had placed in stations of distinction, there and yonder, would express their thankfulness, that the words *not many*: not *not any*, and that the whole of them were not excluded. In the course of that sermon he said, pointing to St. Andrews, "If that unhappy man Sharp die the death of all men, God never spoke by me." The man had a servant, who, upon liberty from his master on Saturday's eve, went to visit his brother, who was a servant to a gentleman near Boulterhall, the Bishop ordering him to be home on Sabbath night. He returned with the laird and his brother that day. Mr. Welwood noticed the man with the Bishop's livery on; and when sermon was ended, he desired the man to stand up, for he had somewhat to say to him. "I desire you, man, (I he,) before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master, that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life, are near an end; that his death shall be both sudden, surprising, and bloody; and as he thirsted after, and shed the blood of the saints, he shall not go to the grave in peace," &c. The youth went home, and at supper the Bishop asked him, if he had been at a conventicle? he said, he was. He asked what his text was, and what he said? The man told him several things, and particularly the above message from Mr. Welwood. The Bishop made sport of it; but his wife said, I advise you to take more heed of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words.

Shortly after this, he went to Perth, and there lodged in the house of John Barclay. His bodily weakness increasing, he was laid aside leaving his Master in public; and lingered under a consumptive fever, until the beginning of April 1679, when he died. During the latter part of his sickness, while he was able to speak, he laid himself out in good to souls. None but such as were looked upon to be friends of the persecuted cause knew that he was in town; and his practice was to go to them in, one family after another, at different times, and discourse with them about their spiritual state. His conversation was both convincing, and confirming. Many came to visit him; and, among the rest, one Ayton, younger of Inchdarny in Fife, a pious youth, about

eighteen years of age; and giving Mr. Welwood an account of the great tyranny and wickedness of Prelate Sharp, Mr. Welwood said, "You will shortly be quit of him: and he will get a sudden and sharp off-going; and you will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven;" which literally came to pass the May following.

About the same time, he said to another who came to visit him, "That many of the Lord's people should be in arms that summer for the defence of the gospel; but he was fully persuaded that they would work no deliverance; and that, after the fall of that party, the public standard of the gospel should fall for sometime, so that there would not be a true, faithful minister in Scotland, excepting two, unto whom they could resort, to hear or converse with anent the state of the church; and they would also seal the testimony with their blood; and that after this there should be a dreadful defection and apostasy: but God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people, wherein many of the Lord's people, who had made defection from his way, should fall among the rest in this common calamity; but this stroke, he thought would not be long, and upon the back thereof there would be the most glorious deliverance and reformation that ever was in Britain, wherein the church should never be troubled any more with Prelacy."

When drawing near his end, in conversation with some friends, he used frequently to communicate his own exercise and experience, with the assurance he had obtained of his interest in Christ; he said, "I have no more doubt of my interest in Christ, than if I were in heaven already." And at another time he said, "Although I have been for some weeks without sensible comforting presence, yet I have not the least doubt of my interest in Christ: I have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my interest, but cannot get it done." That morning ere he died, when he observed the light of the day, he said, "Now eternal light, and no more night and darkness to me." And that night, he exchanged a weakly body, a wicked world, and a weary life; for an immortal crown of glory, in that heavenly inheritance which is prepared and reserved for such as him.

The night after his exit, his corpse was removed from John Barclay's house into a private room, belonging to one Janet Hutton, till his friends might consult about his funeral, that so he might not be put to trouble for concealing him. It was quickly spread abroad, that an intercommuned preacher was dead in town, upon which the magistrates ordered a messenger to go and arrest the corpse. They lay there that night; and the next day, a considerable number of his friends in Fife, in good order, came to town to attend his burial. But the magistrates would not suffer him to be interred at Perth, but ordered the town-militia to be raised; and imprisoned John Bryce, boxmaster or treasurer to the guildry, for refusing to give out the militia's arms. However, the magistrates gave his friends leave to carry his corpse out of town, and bury them without their precincts, where they pleased; but any of the town's people, who were observed to accompany the funeral, were imprisoned. After they were gone out of town, his friends sent two men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in that church-yard. The men went to Mr. Pitcairn, the minister there, (one of the old resolutions,) and desired the keys of the church-yard, that they might dig a grave for the corpse of Mr. Welwood; but he refused to give them. They went over the church-yard dyke, and digged a grave, and there the corpse was interred.

There appears to be only one of his sermons in print, said to be preached in Bogle's-hole in Clydesdale, upon 1 Peter iv. 18. *And if the righteous scarcely be saved, &c.*

There are also some of his religious letters, written to his godly friends and acquaintances, yet extant in manuscript. But we are not to expect to meet with any thing considerable of the writings of Mr. John Welwood, or the succeeding worthies; and no wonder, seeing that, in such a broken state of the church, they were still upon their watch, haunted and hurried from place to place, without the least time or conveniency for writing; and oftentimes what little fragments they had collected fell into the hands of false friends and enemies, and were by them either destroyed or lost.

WILLIAM GORDON OF EARLSTOUN.

WILLIAM GORDON of Earlstoun, was son to that great reformer, Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun; and was lineally descended of that famous Alexander Gordon, who entertained the followers of John Wickliffe, and who had a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used to read at their meetings, at the wood near Airds, beside Earlstoun. William Gordon, having thus the advantage of a very religious education, began very early to follow Christ. As early as 1637, Mr. Rutherford, in his letters, admonishes him thus: "Sir, lay the foundation thus, and ye shall not soon shrink nor be shaken; make tight work at the bottom, and your ship shall ride against all storms; if withal your anchor be fastened on good ground, I mean within the veil," &c. And indeed, by the blessing of God, he began very early to distinguish himself for piety and religion, with a firm attachment to the Presbyterian interest and a strenuous work of reformation; in which he continued stedfast and unmoveable, until he lost his life in the honourable cause.

What hand he had in the public affairs during Cromwell's usurpation, we cannot so well say: we must suppose him upon the remonstrators side. His first public testimony he gave after the restoration of Charles II. recorded in history, was about 1663, when some commissioners were appointed by the Council to go south, and inquire anent some opposition that was then made by the people to the settlement of curates at Kirkcubright and Irongray; and the said commissioners, knowing this worthy gentleman's firmness to the Presbyterian principles, and being desirous either to make him comply in settling an Episcopal incumbent in the parish of Dalry in Galloway, where, by the once established laws, he had some right in presenting; or, if he refused to concur with the same, which they had all reason imaginable to suspect he would, to give him no further trouble. Accordingly, they wrote him a letter, in the following tenor:—"Finding the church of Dalry to be one of those in which the Bishop hath presented an actual minister, Mr. George [Name] fit and qualified for the charge, and that the gentleman is to come

Mr. Crookshanks, in his History, page 439, calls him Mr. James Welwood; which probably proceeds from a mistake in P. Walker's Remarkable Passages of the Lives of Simple, Welwood, &c. p. 26. edit. 1728.

to your parish this Sabbath next to preach to that people, and that are a person of special interest there, we do require you to cause an edict to be served, and the congregation to convene and countenance him, so as to be encouraged to prosecute his ministry in that manner.
Your loving friends and servants,

“ LINLITHGOW. GALLOWAY
“ ANNANDALE. DRUMLANA.

To this letter Earlstoun gave them a very respectful return, shewing upon solid reasons, why he could not comply with this their unjust demand, as the following excerpt from that letter evidences:—“ I ever judge it safest to obey God, and stand at a distance from whatsoever doth tend to God’s glory, and the edification of the souls of his scattered people, of which that congregation is a part. And besides, my Lords known to many, that I pretend to lay claim to the right of patronage of that parish, and have already determined therein, with the consent of the people, to a truly worthy and qualified person, that he may be permitted to exercise his gifts amongst that people; and for me to countenance the bearer of your Lordships letter, were to procure me most shamefully and dishonourably to wrong the majesty of God, and violently to take away the Christian liberty of his afflicted people, and encroach upon my own right,” &c.*

This was, without question, what the managers wanted, and a trouble began; for, on the 30th of July following, “ The Lord Council ordered letters to be directed, to charge William Gordon Earlstoun to compare before them, to answer for his seditious and outrageous carriage:” that was, his refusing to comply with Prelacy, and the curates, and for his favouring and hearing the outed ministers. further, November 24, same year, “ The Council being informed, that the Laird of Earlstoun kept conventicles and private meetings in his house, do order letters to be directed against him, to compare before the Council, to answer for his contempt, under pain of rebellion.” But this nowise dashed the courage of this faithful confessor of Christ in adhering to his persecuted and despised gospel; which made these tyrannical enemies yet pass a more severe and rigorous act against him, which it was exhibited, that he had been at several conventicles, and were pleased to call the preachings of the gospel, where Mr. G. Semple, a deposed minister, did preach in the Corsack wood and of Airds; and heard texts of scripture explained, both in his manse and in his own house, by outed ministers; “ and being required to himself to abstain from all such meetings in time coming, and to behave peaceably and orderly, conform to law,” he refused to do the same as they did, therefore, order the said William Gordon of Earlstoun to be banished, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month, and to return under pain of death, and that he live peaceably during that time under the penalty of L.10,000, or otherwise to enter his person in prison. Here it would appear, that he did not obey this sentence.—A

* Here observe, that though this worthy gentleman mentions the right of patronage, yet it is with this proviso or limitation, the choice or consent of the people; but says he, it would wrong the majesty of God, take away the Christian liberty of the people, and invalidate his own right: and how unlike is this to the species of patronage and claim of patrons at this time, when nothing but absolute power and arbitrary decrees will satisfy them.

we have little or no particular account of his sufferings, yet we are assured he endured a series of hardships. In 1667, he was turned out of his house and all; and the said house made a garrison for Bannahat wicked wretch, and his party; after which, almost every year added him new troubles, until the 22d or 23d of January 1679, that raged out of all his troubles, and arrived at the haven of rest, and had his glorious reward, in the following manner.—

Being some affairs to settle, (perhaps on a view never to return,) he would not join that suffering handful, who were then in arms near Bothwell; he sent his son, who was in the action; he himself hastening forward as soon as possible to their assistance, and not knowing of their retreat, was met near the place by a party of English dragoons, who were in quest of the sufferers; and, like another valiant champion of the cause, he refused to surrender, or comply with their demand, and so fell him upon the spot: his son being out of the way, and his father not obtaining that his body should be buried amongst the bones of his ancestors, he was interred in the church-yard of Glassford; and a pillar or monument was erected over his grave, yet no inscription got inscribed, because of the severity of these times.*

As I fell a renowned Gordon, one whose character at present I am incapacity to describe; only I may venture to say, that he was a gentleman of good parts and endowments; a man devoted to religion and morality; and a prime supporter of the Presbyterian interest in that country where he lived.—The Gordons have all along made a full figure in our Scottish history: but here was a patriot, a good man, a confessor, and, I may add, a martyr of Jesus Christ.

MESS. JOHN KID AND JOHN KING.

MESS. JOHN KID and JOHN KING suffered many hardships during the persecuting period, namely, from the year 1670 to the time of their martyrdom, 1679. Mr. King was sometime chaplain to Lord Cardross; and in 1674, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the year 1674; but got out on a bond and surety for 5000 merks, to appear when called. Next year he was again, by a party of the persecutors, apprehended in the said Lord Cardross's, but was immediately rescued from their hands by some good people, who had profited much by his ministry. After this, he was taken a third time by bloody Claverhouse near Hamilton, with about ten others, and brought to Evandale, where they were all rescued by suffering brethren at Drumclog. After which he and Mr. Kid

son, Alexander Gordon, narrowly escaped being taken, by means of one of his friends, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton made him dismount, and put on women's clothes, and rock the cradle. After this, he went over to his brother, Mr. Hamilton, to represent the low case of the united societies to the churches of the Netherlands: he was by them called home, and when returning back a second time was apprehended by the enemy, and put to the torture; but by means of his friend the Duke of Gordon, his life was spared. However, he was sent to the Bass, and thence, I suppose to Blackness, where, from 1683, he continued till he was liberated by the Revolution. It is to be lamented, that neither he, after this, nor his son Sir John, fully followed the steps of their ancestors.

were of great service, and preached often among the honest par sufferers, till their defeat at Bothwell, where Mr. Kid, among others, was taken and brought to Edinburgh. It would appear King was apprehended also, at the same time, in or west from Glasgow for a party of English dragoons being there, one of them came back called for some ale, and drank to the confusion of the crowd. Another of his companions asking him, at the stable-green-post, he was going? he answered, To carry King to hell. But this post had not gone far whistling and singing, till his carbine accident fell off, and killed him on the spot. *God shall shoot at them with a suddenly shall they be wounded.* Psalm lxiv. 7.

Mr. King was taken to Edinburgh, where both he and Mr. Kid before the Council, July 9. Mr. King confessed, when examined he was with those who rose at that time, &c. Mr. Kid confessed he preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, in two places. They signed their confession, which was afterwards put in evidence against them before the Justiciary. On the 12th, Mr. King was again examined before the Council, and put to the torture. He was more than once in the boots, where he behaved with modesty and patience. Mr. King was examined on the 16th before the Justiciary, and Mr. Kid on the day following. On the 22d they signed their indictments. Their trial came on upon the 28th. They were again before the Justiciary, where, upon their former petition of the 24th, advocates were allowed to plead for them,† but no exculpa-

* The following account of the taking of Mr. King has been received from a correspondent.

Mr. King having come to pay his respects to the Laird of Blair, in Dalry parish, Kilwinning, to whom formerly he had been some time chaplain, one Bryce farmer, who had been groom there while Mr. King was about that house, gentlemanly came and desired Mr. King to pay him a visit; to which he consented. As he went; where he preached a short word on the Saturday night following the Sabbath morning, a party of the enemy (said to be Crichton's dragoons) quest of him, and getting the scent, two of them in disguise came to an old man's cattle near Bryce Blair's house, and asked him, whether he knew where that minister Mr. King was? for they were afraid he would be taken, as the custom was the pursuit of him; and if they knew where he was, they would secure him. The old man, having more honesty than policy, cried out, I'll run and tell him. Upon they rode full speed after him to the house. Finding a servant of the house on Mr. King's and his servant's horses, they immediately dismounted; and having their own horses into the standing corn, threatening him not to stir from the pain of death, one of them took his saddle, and putting it on Mr. King's horse. Many a mile have I rode after thee, but I shall ride upon thee now.

By this time the rest had surrounded the house; and Mr. King and his servant on the bed, they immediately commanded them to rise and put on their clothes. The servant was putting on his spurs, one of the soldiers damned him, saying, putting a spur on a prisoner? To whom he replied, he would put on what he pleased, which he received from him a blow: then another gave that soldier a blow. Damn you, Sir, are you striking a prisoner while making no resistance? And Mr. King's servant threw his master's walces into a peat-loft. Thus they were carried off.—They hired one David Cumming, in the same parish, to be taken to Glasgow; who willingly consented. They pressed a horse for him to ride on; they had not gone far when the horse run stark mad, and jumping about him with such violence as affrighted the beholders, they were obliged to go; but no sooner was he returned home, than he became as calm as ever. He had to go on foot to Glasgow. From thence Mr. King was sent to Edinburgh, which his servant was set at liberty. For what afterwards became of Cumming, see Appendix.

† See a short hint of their advocates pleadings and petitions in behalf of King and Kid in Crookshank's History, vol. ii. p. 27.

ved them. When their indictments were read, the advocate produced their confessions before the Council, as proof against them; and accordingly they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on Thursday the 14th of August, and their heads and right arms to be cut off, and disposed of at the Council's pleasure.

Accordingly, the same day, the King's act of indemnity was published in the forenoon; and, to grace the solemnity, the two noble martyrs, who had denied a share therein, were in the afternoon brought forth to their execution. It was related by one there present, that, as they approached the place, walking together hand in hand, Mr. Kid, looking about to Mr. King, with a cheerful countenance, said, "I have often heard and read of a king sacrificed, but I seldom or never heard of a king made a sacrifice." Upon the scaffold they appeared with a great deal of courage and firmness of mind, as was usual with the martyrs in these times, and died with such peace and joy; even a joy that none of their persecutors could meddle with. Their heads were cut off on another scaffold, prepared for the purpose.

Thus ended these two worthy ministers and martyrs of Jesus Christ, who had owned their allegiance to Zion's King and Lord, and given a faithful testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, &c. in the covenanted work of reformation, in its different parts and periods. The reader will find their dying testimonies in Naphtali and the stem Martyrology.

Mr. JOHN BROWN.

Mr. BROWN was ordained minister at Wamphry, in Annandale. There is no certain account how long he was minister there; only, it was some time before the restoration of Charles II., as appears from his great zeal in opposing Prelacy, which was then about to be intruded into the church; insomuch that, for his fortitude and freedom with respect to his neighbouring ministers, for their compliance with the prelates, contrary to the promise they had given him, he was turned out of that

parish on the 6th of November 1662, he was brought before the Council. There by letters to converse with the managers, or by a citation, it is uncertain. But the same day, the Council's act against him runs thus: "John Brown of Wamphry, being convened before the Council, abusing and reproaching some ministers for keeping the diocesan communion with the Archbishop of Glasgow, calling them perjured knaves and traitors, did acknowledge that he called them false knaves for so doing, because they had promised the contrary to him. The Council ordered him to be secured close prisoner in the tolbooth till farther order."

He remained in prison till December 11, when, after Mr. Livingstone and others had received their sentence, the Council came to this conclusion: "Upon a petition presented by Mr. John Brown, minister of Wamphry, now prisoner in Edinburgh, shewing, that he had kept close prisoner these five weeks bypast, and seeing that, by want

of free air, and other necessaries for maintaining his crazy body, he is in hazard to lose his life, therefore humbly desiring warrant to be put at liberty, upon caution to enter his person when he should be commanded, as the petition bears; which being at length heard and considered, the Lords of Council ordain the supplicant to be put at liberty, forth of the tolbooth, he first obliging himself to remove and depart off the King's dominions, and not to return, without license from his Majesty and Council, under pain of death."

Great were the hardships he underwent in prison, for (says Crookshanks) he was denied even the necessaries of life; and though, because of the ill treatment he met with, he was brought almost to the gates of death, yet he could not have the benefit of the free air, until he signed a bond, obliging himself to a voluntary banishment, and that without any just cause.

But, upon the 23d of the same month, on presenting a petition to the Council, to prorogue the time of his removal from the kingdom, in regard he was not able to provide himself with necessaries, and the weather so unseasonable that he could not have the opportunity of a ship, &c. as the petition bears; which being read and considered, "They grant him two months longer after the 11th of December bypast;—in the meantime he being peaceable, acting nothing in prejudice of the present government," &c.—And next year he went over to Holland, then the asylum of the banished, where he lived many years, but never, that we heard of, saw his own native country any more.

How he employed himself mostly in Holland, we are at a loss to say; his many elaborate pieces, both practical, argumentative, and historical, witness that he was not idle; which were either mostly wrote there, or published from thence; and particularly those concerning the indulgence-paying, &c.; sent for the support and strengthening of his persecuted brethren in the church of Scotland, unto whom he and Mr. M^r Ward contributed all in their power, that they might be kept straight while labouring in the furnace of affliction, under a scene of sore oppression and bloody tyranny. But hither did the malice of their enemies yet pursue them. For the King, by the instigation of Prelate Sharp, in 1676, wrote to the States-General to remove them from their province: and although the States neither did nor could reasonably grant this demand, seeing they had got the full stress of laws in Scotland many years before, yet it appears, that they were obliged to wander farther from the land of their nativity.

Some time before his death, he was admitted minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; where he, with great prudence and diligence, exercised that function; it being always his study and care to gain many souls to Christ. For as he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God to his people, in warning them against the evils of the time, so he was likewise a great textuary, close in handling any truth he discoursed upon, and in the application most home, warm, and searching, shewing himself a most skilful casuist. His sermons were not so plain, but the learned might admire them; nor so learned, but the plain understood them. His fellow-soldier and companion in tribulation (M^r Ward in his Earnest Contendings, p. 541,) gives him this testimony: "That the whole of his sermons, without the intermixture of any other matter, had a speciality of pure gospel-tincture, breathing nothing but faith in and communion with him," &c.

The ordination of faithful Mr. Richard Cameron seems to have been the last of his public employments; and his last but excellent discourse, before his exit from this world, which appears to have been about the end of 1679, was from Jer. ii. 35. *Behold I will plead with thee, because thou sayest I have not sinned, &c.* And having finished his course with joy, he lies in the Lord. *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.*

No doubt Mr. Brown was a man famous in his day, both for learning, faithfulness, warm zeal, and true piety. He was a notable writer, a choice and pathetic preacher; in controversy he was acute, masculine, and strong; in history, plain and comprehensive; in divinity, substantial and divine: the first he discovers in his work printed in Latin against the Socinians, and his treatise *de Causa Dei contra Anti-Sabbatarios*, which the learned world know better than can be here described. There is also a large manuscript history, entitled, *Apologia pro Ecclesia, &c. anno Domini 1660*, consisting of 1600 pages in 4to, which he gave in to Charles Gordon, sometime minister at Dalmony, to be by him presented to the first free General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and was by him exhibited to the General Assembly in 1692: of this history the Apologetical Relation seems to be an abridgment. His letters and other papers, particularly the history of the indulgence, written and sent home to his native country, manifest his great and fervent zeal for the cause of Christ. And his other practical pieces, such as that on Justification on the Romans; Quakerism the Way to Paganism; the Hope of Glory; and Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life: the first and second parts of his Life of Faith, and Enoch's Testament opened up, &c.; all which evidence his solid piety, and real acquaintance with God and godliness.

HENRY HALL OF HAUGH-HEAD.

Mr. HALL of Haugh-head, in the parish of Eckford in Teviotdale, having had a religious education, began very early to mind a life of holiness, in all manner of godly conversation. In his younger years he was a zealous opposer of the public resolutions that took place in 1651; so much, that when the minister of that parish complied with that course, he refused to hear him, and often went to Ancrum to hear Mr. Livingstone. After the restoration of that wicked tyrant Charles I. being oppressed with the malicious persecutions of the curates and malignants for his nonconformity, he was obliged to depart his native country, and go over to the border of England in 1665, where he was very much renowned for his singular zeal in propagating the gospel, instructing the ignorant, and procuring ministers to preach now and then among that people, who before his coming were very rude and barbarous, but now many of them became famous for piety. In 1666, he was taken prisoner on his way coming to Pentland, to the assistance of his covenanted brethren, and imprisoned with some others in Cessford Castle. But, by divine providence, he soon escaped thence, through the care of his friend the Earl of Roxburgh, who was a blood relation of his, into whom the castle then pertained. He retired again to Northumberland, where from this time until 1679 he lived, being very much

beloved of all that knew him, for his care and concern in propagating the gospel of Christ in that country; insomuch that his blameless and ingenuous conversation drew love, reverence, and esteem, even from his enemies. About 1678, the heat of the persecution in Scotland caused many to wander about in Northumberland, as one Col. Struther violently pursuing all Scotsmen in those places. Haugh-head was in that scuffle near Crookham, where one of his nearest intimates, the learned and religious gentleman Thomas Kerr of Hayhop, fell— which he was obliged to return to Scotland, where he wandered down in the hottest time of the persecution, mostly with Mr. T. Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron: during which time, besides many other Christian virtues, he signalized himself by a real zeal and defence of the persecuted gospel in the fields. He was one of the elders of the church of Scotland, who, at the council of war at head-muir, June 18, 1669, were chosen, with Mess. Cargill, Douglas, King, and Barclay, to draw up the Causes of the Lord's Wrath against the land, which were to be the causes of a fast on the day following. He had, indeed, an active hand in the most part of the transactions among the covenanters at that time; as being one of the commanding officers in that army, from the skirmish at Drumclog, to their defeat at Bothwell-bridge.

After this, being forfeited, and diligently searched for and taken after, to eschew the violent hands of these his indefatigable persecutors, he was forced to go over to Holland (the only refuge then of our sufferers.) But he had not staid there long, until his zeal for the persecuted interest of Christ, and his tender sympathy for the afflicted remnant of his covenanted brethren, who were then wandering in Scotland through the desolate caves and dens of the earth, drew him home, choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting fury, to live at ease in the time of Joseph's affliction, making Moses's good choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to see what momentary pleasures the ease of the world could afford. He was very much concerned with the riches of this world; for he would not give his ground to hold field-preachings, * when few or none would do it; for he was still a true lover of the free and faithful gospel, and was always against the indulgence.

About a quarter of a year after his return from Holland, he was again taken up with Mr. Cargill, lurking as privily as they could about Edinburgh, Borrowstounness, and other places on this and the other side of the firth of Forth. At last they were taken notice of by these bloody hounds, the cruel Borrowsstounness and Carriden, who soon smelled out Mr. Cargill and his companion, and presently sent information to Middleton, Governor of Blackness castle, who was a Papist. After consultation, he immediately took the scent after them, ordering his soldiers to follow him in small parties, by twos and threes together, at convenient intervals, to avoid suspicion, while he and his man rode up after them at some distance. When they came to Queensferry; where, perceiving the house where they were lodged, he sent his servant off in haste for his men, putting up his

* The rev. Mr. George Barclay, who was very public at this time, and had done out many a good turn, and was a blessed instrument to the edification of many, got a wall of that murdering east wind, in the year 1679, said, The best sermon he had in preaching of the gospel was in the bounds belonging to the Laird of Haugh-head, worthy Henry Hall, &c.

another house, and coming to them as a stranger, pretended a great deal of kindness to Mr. Cargill and him, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When each had taken a glass, and were in some friendly conference, the Governor wearying that his men came not up, threw off the mask, and laid hands on them, saying, they were his prisoners, and commanded the people of the house in the King's name to assist. But they all refused, except one Thomas George a waiter; by whose assistance he got the gate shut. In the meanwhile, Haugh-head, being a bold and brisk man, struggled hard with the Governor, until Cargill got off; and after the scuffle, as he was going off himself, having got clear of the Governor. Thomas George struck him on the head with a carbine, and wounded him mortally. However, he got out; and by this time the women of the town, who were assembled at the gate to the rescue of the prisoners, convoyed him out of town.—He walked sometime on foot, but unable to speak much, save only some little reflection upon a woman who interposed, hindering him to kill the Governor, that so he might have made his escape more timeously. At last he fainted, and was carried to a country-house near Echlin; and although chirurgeons were speedily brought, yet he never recovered the use of his speech any more. Dalziel, living near-by, was soon advertised, and came quickly with a party of the guards, and seized him: and although every one saw the gentleman just a-dying, yet such was his inhumanity, that he must carry him to Edinburgh. But he died in their hands, on the way thither; and made an end of this his earthly pilgrimage, to receive his heavenly town. His corpse was carried to Canongate tolbooth, where it lay three days without burial: and then his friends convened for that end, to do their last office to him; yet that could not be granted. At last they caused bury him clandestinely in the night; for such was the fury of these limbs of antichrist, that after they had slain the witnesses, they would not suffer them to be decently interred in the earth; which is another lasting evidence of the cruelty of those times.

Thus this worthy gentleman, after he had in an eminent manner served his day and generation, fell a victim to Prelatic iury. Upon him was found, when he was taken, a rude draught of an unsubscribed paper, afterwards called the Queensferry Paper; which the reader will find inserted at large in Wodrow's History, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 46; the substance of which is contained in Crookshanks' History, and in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses.

MR. RICHARD CAMERON.

MR. RICHARD CAMERON was born in Falkland, in the shire of Fife, his father being a merchant there. He was of the Episcopal persuasion at first; for, after he had passed his course of learning, he was sometime schoolmaster and precentor to the curate of Falkland. He sometimes attended the sermons of the indulged, as he had opportunity; but at last it pleased the Lord to incline him to go out and hear the persecuted gospel in the fields; which when the curates understood, they set upon him, partly by flattery and partly by threats, and at last by more direct per-

secution, to make him forbear attending those meetings. But such was the wonderful working of the Lord by his powerful spirit upon him, that having got a lively discovery of the sin and hazard of Prelacy, he deserted the curates altogether; and no sooner was he enlightened anent the evil of Prelacy, but he began more narrowly to search into the state of things, that he might know what was his proper and necessary duty. The Lord was pleased to discover to him the sinfulness of the indulgence, as flowing from the ecclesiastical supremacy usurped by the King; and, being zealously affected for the honour of Christ, wronged by that Erastian acknowledgment of the magistrate's usurped power over the church, he longed for an opportunity to give a testimony against it. This made him leave Falkland, and go to Sir Walter Scot of Harden, who attended the indulged meetings. Here he took the opportunity, notwithstanding of many strong temptations to the contrary, to witness in his station against the indulgence. Particularly on Sabbath, when called to attend the Lady to church, he returned from the entry, refusing to go that day; and spent it in his chamber, where he met with much of the Lord's presence, as he himself afterwards testified, and got very evident discoveries of the nature of these temptations and suggestions of Satan, which were like to prevail with him before; and upon Monday, giving a reason to the said Sir Walter and his Lady why he went not to church with them, he took occasion to be plain and express in testifying against the indulgence, in the original rise, spring, and complex nature thereof. After which, finding his service would be no longer acceptable to them, he went to the south, where he met with the reverend Mr. John Welch. He staid some time in his company, who, finding him a man every way qualified for the ministry, pressed him to accept a license to preach; which he for sometime refused, chiefly upon the account that having such clear discoveries of the sinfulness of the indulgence, he could not but testify against it explicitly, so soon as he should have opportunity to preach the gospel in public. But the force of his objections being answered by Mr. Welch's serious solicitations, he was prevailed on to accept of a license from the outed ministers, who were then preaching in the fields, and had not then complied with the indulgence. Accordingly he was licensed by Mr. Welch and Mr. Semple, at Haugh-head in Teviotdale, at the house of Henry Hall. Here he told them, he would be a bone of contention among them; for if he preached against a national sin among them, it should be against the indulgences, and for separation from the indulged.

After he was licensed, they sent him at first to preach in Annandale. He said, how could he go there? He knew not what sort of people they were. But Mr. Welch said, Go your way, Richie, and set the fire of hell to their tails. He went, and the first day he preached upon that text, *How shall I put thee among the children, &c.* In the application he said, Put you among the children! the offspring of robbers and thieves. Many have heard of Annandale thieves. Some of them got a merciful cast that day, and told it afterwards, that it was the first field-meeting that ever they attended; and that they went out of curiosity, to see how a minister could preach in a tent, and people sit on the ground. After this, he preached several times with Mr. Welch and Mr. Semple, and others until 1679, that he and Mr. Welwood were called before that Erastian meeting at Edinburgh, in order to be deposed, for their freedom and faithfulness in preaching against the sinful compliance of that time.

After this he preached at Maybole, where many thousands of people were assembled together, it being the first time that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was then dispensed in the open fields. At this time he used yet more freedom in testifying against the sinfulness of the indulgences, for which he was also called before another meeting of the same kind at Dinugh in Galloway; and a little after that, he was again called before a presbytery of them, at Sundewall in Dunscore, in Nithsdale: but this was the third time they had designed to take his license from him. It was where Robert Gray, a Northumberland man, (who suffered afterwards in the Grassmarket in 1682,) Robert Neilson and others, protested against them for such a conduct. At this meeting they prevailed with him to give his promise, that for some short time he should forbear in an explicit way of preaching against the indulgence, and separation from them who were indulged; which promise lay heavy on him afterwards, as will appear in its own proper place.

After the giving of this promise, finding himself by virtue thereof and up from declaring the whole counsel of God, he turned a little melancholy; and to get the definite time of that unhappy promise extended, in the end of the year 1678, he went over to Holland, not knowing what work the Lord had for him there; where he conversed with Mr. M'Ward and others of our banished Worthies. In his private conversation and exercise in families, but especially in his public sermon in the Scots kirk of Rotterdam, he was most refreshing unto many souls, where he was most close upon conversion-work, from that text, *Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, &c.*; and most satisfying and profitable to Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and others, who were sadly misinformed by the indulged, and those of their persuasion, that he could do nothing, but babble against the indulgence, cess-paying, &c. But he touched upon none of these things, except in prayer, when lamenting over the deplorable case of Scotland by defection and tyranny. About this time, Mr. M'Ward said to him, "Richard, the public standard is now fallen in Scotland; and, if I know any thing of the mind of the Lord, you are called to undergo your trials before us; and go forth, and lift the fallen standard, and display it publicly before the world; but before ye put your hand to it, ye shall go to as many of the ministers (for so they were yet called) as ye can find, and give them a hearty invitation to go with you; and if they will not go, go alone, for the Lord will go with you."

Accordingly, he was ordained by Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and Robert a famous Dutch divine. When their hands were lifted up from his head, Mr. M'Ward continued his on his head, and cried out, "Behold, ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of the Lord Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and shall be set up before sun and moon, in the view of the world."

In the beginning of 1680, he returned home to Scotland, where he spent some time in going from minister to minister, of those who formerly held the public standard of the gospel in the fields; but all in vain, the persecution being then so hot after Bothwell, against all such who had accepted the indulgence and indemnity, none of them would adhere upon that hazard, except Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Thomas

Those who dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's supper here, were Messrs. Archibald, John Welch, Andrew Morton, Patrick Warner, George Barclay, and others.

Douglas, who came together, and kept a public fast-day in Darneid-muir betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian; one of the chief causes of which was the reception of the Duke of York, that sworn vassal of antichrist, in Scotland, after he had been excluded from England and several other places. After several meetings among themselves, for forming a declaration and testimony, which they were about to publish to the world, last they agreed upon one, which they published at the market-cross Sanquhar, June 22, 1680; from which place it is commonly called the Sanquhar declaration. After this they were obliged, for sometime, separate one from another, and go to different corners of the land; that not only upon account of the urgent call and necessity of the people who were then in a most starving condition, with respect to the free and faithful preached gospel, but also on account of the indefatigable search of the enemy, who, for their better encouragement, had, by proclamation 5000 merks offered for apprehending Mr. Cameron, 3000 for Mr. Cameron and Mr. Douglas, and 100 for each of the rest, who were concerned in the publication of the foresaid declaration.

After parting, Mr. Cameron went to Swine-know in New Monkland where he had a most confirming and comforting day, upon that most refreshing text, Isaiah xxxi. 2. *And a man shall be a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, &c.* In his preface that day, he was fully assured that the Lord, in mercy to this church and nation would sweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of the name Stuart for their treachery, tyranny, and lechery, but especially for usurping the royal prerogatives of Christ; and this he was as sure of as his hands were upon that cloth, yea, and more sure, for he had that sense, but the other by faith.

Mr. H. E.* who suffered much by imprisonment and otherwise in that period, and though otherwise a worthy good man, yet was so much that he had one time premeditated a sermon, wherein he intended to speak somewhat against Mr. Cameron and Mr. Cargill, so far was from taking part with them: but on Saturday's night he heard an audible voice, which said unto him, *audi*; he answered, *audio*, I hear: the voice spoke again, and said, "Beware of calling Cameron's words vain." This stopt him from his intended purpose. This he told himself to an old reverend minister, who afterwards related the matter as above.

When he came to preach in and about Cumnock, he was much opposed by the Lairds of Logan and Horsecleugh, who represented him as a Jesuit, and a vile naughty person. But yet some of the Lord's people, who had retained their former faithfulness, gave him a call to preach in that 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 hastening to an endless state of either well or wo. One Andrew Dalziel, a debauchee, (a cocker or fowler,) who was in the house, being a stormy day, cried out, "Sir, we neither know you nor your God." Mr. Cameron, musing a little, said, "You, and all who do not know God in mercy, shall know him in his judgments, which shall be most and surprising in a few days upon you; and I, as a sent servant of Christ, whose commission I bear, and whose badge I wear upon my breast, give you warning, and leave you to the justice of God." Accordingly, in a few days after, the said Andrew, being in perfect health

* Probably this was Mr. Henry Erskine, the late Mr. Erskine's grandfather.

took his breakfast plentifully, and before he rose fell a-vomiting, and vomited his heart's blood into the very vessel out of which he had taken his breakfast, and died in a most frightful manner. This admonishing passage, together with the power and presence of the Lord going along with the gospel dispensed by him, during the little time he was there, made the foresaid two Lairds desire a conference with him; which he readily assented to. After which they were obliged to acknowledge, that they had been in the wrong to him, and desired his forgiveness. He forgave them from his heart he forgave them what wrongs they had done to him; and for what wrongs they had done to the interest of Christ, it was not his part; but he was persuaded that they would be remarkably punished for it. And to the Laird of Logan he said, that he should be written down as a traitor; and to Horsecleugh, that he should suffer by burning.—Both of which afterwards came to pass.

Upon the fourth of July following, being eighteen days before his death, he preached at the Grass-water-side near Cumnock. In his sermon that day, he said, "There are three or four things I have to tell you this day, which I must not omit, because I will be but a breakfast or a few hours to the enemy, some day or other shortly; and then my work and my time will be finished both. And the first is this: As for King James II. who is now upon the throne of Britain, after him there shall be a crowned King of the name of Stuart in Scotland.* 2dly, There shall not be an old covenanter's head above ground, that swore these oaths with uplifted hands, ere ye get a right reformation set up in Scotland. 3dly, A man shall ride a day's journey in the shires of Galloway, Ayr, and Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house, nor hear a cock crow, ere ye get a right reformation; and several other shires shall be as better. And, 4thly, The rod that the Lord will make instrumental to his, will be the French and other foreigners, together with a party in Scotland joining them: but ye that stand to the testimony in that day, be not discouraged at the fewness of your number; for when Christ comes to raise up his own work in Scotland, he will not want men enough to fight for him," &c.

In the week following, he preached in the parish of Carluke, upon these words, Isaiah xl. 24. *Shall the prey be taken from the mighty?* &c. And the Sabbath following, at Hind-Bottom, near Crawford-John, he preached these words: *You will come to me that you may have life.* In the time of his sermon he fell a-weeping, and the greater part of the multitude also, had their faces wet with tears, and many had their faces red with grief, that few dry cheeks were to be seen among them. After this, unto the day of his death, he mostly kept his chamber-door shut until night; for the mistress of the house where he staid, having been several times at the door, she got no access. At last she forced it up, and found him very meagre and weary. She earnestly desired to know how it was with him. He said, "A weary promise I gave to these ministers has lain heavy upon me, for which my carcase shall dung the wilderness, and that ere it be long." Being now near his end, he had such a large earnest of the Spirit, that it made him have such a longing desire for full possession of the heavenly inheritance, that he seldom prayed in a family, asked a blessing, or gave thanks, but he requested patience to wait until the Lord's appointed time.

* King James II. never took the coronation-oath of Scotland.

at him if he knew them. He took his son's hands and head, were very fair, being a man of a fair complexion, with his own and kissed them, and said, "I know, I know them; they are my own dear son's: it is the Lord, good is the will of the Lord, cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to us all our days." After which, by order of the Council, his head was fixed upon the Nether-bow port, and his hands beside it, with the feet upward.

As this valiant soldier and minister of Jesus Christ came to his end, he had been not only highly instrumental in turning many souls to God, but also in lifting up a faithful standard for his royal Lord and Master, against all his enemies, and the defections and sinful courses of that time. One of his and Christ's declared enemies, when he took out his head at Edinburgh, gave him this testimony, saying, "I was the head and hands of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." And wherever the faithful contend for the once famous covenanted church of Scotland are honourably mentioned of, this, to his honour, shall be recorded of him.

When he was slain, there was found upon him a short paper, or bond of mutual defence, which the reader will find inserted in Wodrow's History, and in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses. There are also a few of his Letters now published with Mr. Renwick's Collection of Letters. But the only sermon of his that appeared in print formerly, is that which he preached at Carluke, entitled, Good News to Scotland, published in 1746.

He wrote also in defence of the Sanquhar declaration; but we have no account of its being ever published. Some more of his sermons were published.

Acrostic on his Name.

Most noble Cameron of renown,
A fame of thee shall ne'er go down;
Since truth with zeal thou didst pursue,
To Zion's King loyal and true.
Ev'n when the dragon sp'd his flood,
Resist thou didst unto the blood:

Ran swiftly in thy Christian race,
In faith and patience to that place,
Christ did prepare to such as thee,
He knew would not his standard see.
A pattern of valour and zeal,
Rather to suffer than to fail,
Didst shew thyself with might and main,

Counting that dross others thought gain;
A faithful witness 'gainst all those,
Men of all sorts did truth-oppose;
Even thou with Moses didst esteem
Reproaches for the God of heaven:
On him alone thou didst rely,
Not sparing for his cause to die

DAVID HACKSTON OF RATHILLET.

DAVID HACKSTON of Rathillet, in Fife, is said in his younger years to have been without the least sense of any thing religious, until it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to incline him to go out and attend the gospel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the gospel-net, and became such a true convert, that after a most mature deliberation upon the controverted points of the principles of religion in that period, he at last embarked himself in that noble cause, for which he afterwards suffered, with a full resolution to stand and fall with the despised, persecuted people, cause, and interest of Jesus Christ.

There is no account of any public appearance that this worthy gentleman made amongst that party, until the 3d of May 1679, that we find him, with other eight gentlemen, who were in quest of one Carmichael, who, by means of the Archbishop, had got commission to harass and persecute all he could find in the shire of Fife, for nonconformity; but not finding him, when they were ready to drop the search, they providentially met with their arch enemy himself. Whenever they descried his coach, one of them said, it seems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hands; and proposed they should choose one for their leader, whose orders the rest were to obey. Upon which they chose David Hackston for their commander: but he refused, upon account of a difference subsisting betwixt Sharp and him, in a civil process, wherein he judged himself to have been wronged by the Primate; which deed he thought would give the world ground to think it was rather out of personal pique and revenge, which he professed he was free of. They then chose another, and came up with the coach; and having got the Bishop out, and given him some wounds, he fell on the ground. They ordered him to pray; but, instead of that, seeing Rathillet at some distance, having never alighted from his horse, he crept towards him on his hands and his feet, and said, Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will promise me.—To which he answered, I shall never lay a hand on you. At last he was killed; after which every one judged of the action as their inclination moved them. However, the deed was wholly charged upon him and his brother-in-law, Balfour of Kinloch, although he had no active hand in this action.

About the latter end of the same month of May, that he might not be found wanting to the Lord's cause, interest, and people, upon any eminent occasion, he, with some friends from Fife, joined that suffering handful of covenanters at Evandale, where, after he, Mr. Hamilton, had drawn up that declaration, afterwards called the Rutherglen declaration, he and Mr. Douglas went to the market-cross of Rutherglen, upon the anniversary day, the 29th of May, where they extinguished the bonfires, and published the said testimony. They returned back to Evandale, where they were attacked by Claverhouse, upon the first of June near Drunclog. Here Mr. Hackston was appointed one of the commanding officers, under Mr. Hamilton, who commanded in chief, where he behaved with much valour and gallantry during that skirmish, after which he was a very useful instrument among that faithful remnant; as witness his repeated protests against the corrupt and Erastian party, and had an active hand in the most part of the public transactions.

among them, until that fatal day, the 22d of June, where he and his troop of horse were the last upon the field of battle at Bothwell-bridge.

But this worthy and religious gentleman, being now declared a rebel to the King, though no rebel to Zion's King, and a proclamation issued out, wherein was a reward offered of 10,000 merks to any who could inform of or apprehend him, or any of those concerned in the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Upon this, and the proclamation after Bothwell, he was obliged to retire out of the way for about a year's space. In which time he did not neglect to attend the gospel in the fields, wherever he could have it faithfully dispensed. But this pious gentleman, having run fast and done much in a little time, it could not be expected he should continue long; and upon the 22d of July 1680, having been with that little party a few days, who attended Mr. Richard Cameron at Airs-moss, they were surprised by Bruce of Earlishall, Airley's troop, and Strahan's dragoons.

Here, being commander in chief of that little band, and seeing the army approaching fast, he rode off to seek some strength of ground for his better advantage, and the rest followed; but seeing they could go no farther, they turned back, and drew up quickly; eight horse on the right, and fifteen on the left; and the foot, who were but ill armed in the middle. He then asked, if they were all willing to fight? They all answered, they were. Both armies advanced, and a strong party of the enemy's horse coming hard upon them, their horse fired, killed and wounded severals of them, both horse and foot: after which they advanced to the enemy's very faces, when, after giving and receiving fire, David Hackston being in the front, finding the horse behind him broke, he was in among them, and out at a side, without any damage; but being assaulted by severals, with whom he fought a long time, they followed him, and he them by turns, until he stuck in a bog, and the foremost of them, one Ramsay, one of his acquaintance, who followed him in, and being on foot, fought with small swords, without much advantage on either side. But at length closing, he was struck down by three on the back behind him; and falling, after he had received three sore wounds on the head, they saved his life, which he submitted to. He was, with the rest of the prisoners, carried to the rear, where they gave him all a testimony* of brave resolute men. After this he was brought to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, where Dalziel threatened to hang him for not satisfying him with answers. After which he and other prisoners were taken to Edinburgh, where, by order of the Council, he was received by the magistrates at the water-gate, and he set on a cart's bare back, with his face backwards, and the other three laid on a bar of iron, and carried up the street, and Mr. Cameron's head on a pike before them, to the parliament-close, where he was taken down, and the rest loosed, by the hands of the hangman.

He was immediately brought before the Council, where his indictment was read by the Chancellor, and he examined; which examination, and

some of these bloody enemies said, that that handful were men of the greatest courage, that ever they set their faces to fight against, although they had been at battles many times; that if they had been as well trained, horsed, and armed, as they were, they would have been put to flight. And few of them escaped, for their shots and wounds were deadly, of which few recovered; for though there were but nine of the company killed, yet there were twenty-eight of the enemy killed or died of their wounds, in three days. Walker's Memoirs, p. 56.

and his answers thereunto, being elsewhere * inserted at large, it may suffice here to observe, that being asked, if he thought the Bishop's death murder? he told them, that he was not obliged to answer such questions; yet he would not call it so, but rather say, it was not murder. Being further asked, if he owned the King's authority, he replied, "That though he was not obliged to answer, yet as he was permitted to speak, he would say something to that: and, 1st, That there could be no lawful authority, but what was of God; and that no authority, stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and that he knew of no authority nor justiciary this day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful; and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting murderers, sorcerers, and such others, at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people." Bishop Paterson asked, "If ever Pilate, and that judicature who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges?" He said, "He would answer no perjured prelate in the nation." Paterson replied, "He could not be called perjured, since he never took that sacrilegious covenant." Mr. Hackston said, "That God would own that covenant, when none of them were to oppose it," &c. Notwithstanding these bold, free, and open answers, they threatened him with torture; but this he nowise regarded.

Upon the 26th, he was again brought before the Council, where he answered much to the same purpose as before. The Chancellor said, he was a vicious man. He answered, that while he was so, he had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwise, it was not so. He asked him, if he would yet own that cause with his blood, if at liberty?—He answered, that both their fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before him. Then he was called by all a murderer.—He answered, God should decide it betwixt them, to whom he referred it, who were most murderers in his sight, him or them. Bishop Paterson's brother, in conference, told him, that the whole Council found that he was a man of great parts, and also of good birth. He said, that for his birth, he was related to the best in the kingdom, which he thought little of; and as for his parts they were very small; yet he trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which he was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice, as to let his cause be disputed, he doubted not to plead against all who might speak against it.

Upon the 27th, he was taken before the Justiciary, where he declined the King's authority as an usurper of the prerogative of the Son of God, whereby he had involved the land in idolatry, perjury, and other wickedness; and declined them, as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ, &c.; and therefore doubted not, with his own consent, sustain them as competent judges; but declined them, as open and stated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging to him only.

On the 29th, he was brought to his trial, where the Council, in a most unprecedented way, appointed the manner of his execution; for they well knew his judges would find him guilty. And upon Friday the 30th, being brought again before them, they asked, if he had any more to say?—He answered, What I have said I will seal. Then they told him, they

† See his letters and answers in the Cloud of Witnesses.

somewhat to say to him; and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence, which he did; but told them, they were all murderers; for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that years by-gone, they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but also grinded the faces of the poor; so that oppression, perjury, bloodshed, were to be found in their skirts.

Upon this he was carried from the bar, on a hurdle drawn backwards, to the place of execution, at the cross of Edinburgh. None were suffered to be with him but two bailies, the executioner, and his servants. He was permitted to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people. Being come upon the scaffold, his right hand was struck off, a little after his left; which he endured with great firmness and constancy. The hangman being long in cutting off the right hand, he desired him to strike in the joint of the left; which being done, he was hewn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and suffered to fall down a considerable way upon the lower scaffold, three times, with his whole weight, and then fixed at the top of the gallows. Then the executioner, with a large knife, cut open his breast, and pulled out his heart, ere he was dead, for it moved when it fell on the scaffold. He then took his knife in it, and shewed it on all sides to the people, crying, Here is the heart of a traitor. At last, he threw it into a fire prepared for that purpose; and having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Ner-Bow; one of his quarters, with his hands, at St. Andrews; another at Glasgow; a third at Leith; and the fourth at Burntisland.—Thus fell a champion for the cause of Christ, a sacrifice unto Prelatical fury, to satisfy the lust and ambition of wicked and bloody men. Whether his courage, constancy, or faithfulness, had the pre-eminence, is hard to determine. But his memory is still alive, and it is better to say no more of him, than either too much or too little.

ROBERT KER OF KERSLAND, Esq.

ROBERT KER of Kersland, being born and educated in a very religious family, began early to discover more than an ordinary zeal for religion. At the first public appearance that we find he made for the cause and interest of religion, was in 1666, about Nov. 26, when he, Caldwell, and the others of the Renfrew Gentlemen, gathered themselves together, and marched eastward to join Colonel Wallace, and that little handful who renewed the covenants at Lanark. But having heard that General Meldrum was by that time got betwixt them and their friends, they were obliged to dismiss. But this could not escape the knowledge of the magistrates; for the Laird of Blackstoun, one of their own number, upon a promise of pardon, informed against the rest, and so redeemed his own life by accusing his neighbour.—But of this he had nothing to boast afterwards.*

Kersland was after this obliged to retire out of the way; and the next year he was forfeited in his life and fortune, and his estate given to Lieutenant-General Drummond of Cromlie, and his lands in Beith to

* See more of this Laird of Blackstoun in the Appendix.

William Blair of that ilk; which estate they unjustly held till their revolution.*

After this, to elude the storm, he thought fit to retire, and go to Holland, and there chose to live with his family at Utrecht, who had the advantage of hearing the gospel, and other excellent instruction. In that place he continued near three years. But his thinking it necessary that he should come home to settle some of his affairs, if possible, his lady returned home in the end of 1669, and he soon followed: but, to his unspeakable grief, he found, when he came to Edinburgh, that she was in a fever: she lodged in the house of a man who was a favourer of the sufferers. And though he lodged in a private place, and only used to come in the evenings to visit his sick yet one Cannon of Mardrogate, who had not altogether cast off the at least his treachery and apostasy was not then discovered, got of it.—He soon gave information to the Chancellor, and orders were procured from Lauderdale, then in town, to search that house, to the intent that Mr. John Welch was keeping conventicles in Lady Ker's chamber. But the design was for Kersland himself, as the sequel declares. Accordingly a party came; and finding no conventicle, just going to retire: but one Murray † having particular notice of Mardrogate, that when any company came to the room, Kersland always used to retire behind a bed; and having a torch in his hand provided for that end, said, he behoved to search the room; and going straight behind the bed and brought him out, charging him to raise his arms. Kersland told him he had none but the Bible, which he held in his hand;—and that was enough to condemn him in those days. At parting with his lady, she shewed much calmness and composure, exhorting him to do nothing that might wound his conscience out of duty to her or her children, and repeated that text of scripture, *No man can put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.*

He was forthwith taken to the guard, and then to the Abbey, where a committee of the Council, that same night, was gathered for his examination. When he was brought before them, they asked him concerning the lawfulness of the appearance at Pentland; which he, in plain terms, owned to be lawful, and what he thought duty.—Upon this he was immediately imprisoned. When going away, the Chancellor rebuked him with what passed betwixt him and his lady; which he suffered with much patience.

He was near three months prisoner in Edinburgh; and then sent to Dumbarton castle, where he continued near a year. Then he was ordered for Aberdeen, where he was kept close without fire, for three months space, in the cold winter season. After Aberdeen he was brought south to Stirling castle, where he continued some years; and then was, a second time, returned to Dumbarton, where he continued till October 1677. Then the Council confined him at Glasgow, and allowed him some time to transport himself and his family to Glasgow, into that place.

Coming to his family at Glasgow, he was visited by many of his acquaintances: and the same night, convoying the Lady Ker and her daughter, he was taken by some of the guards, and kept in

* For a particular account of this gift, see Samson's Riddle, &c. p. 139, 140.

† See more of Murray in the Appendix.

se till the next day; when the commanding officer would have dis-
 sed him, but first he behoved to know the Archbishop's pleasure, who
 mediately ordered him a close prisoner in the tolbooth. The Arch-
 top took horse immediately for Edinburgh: Lady Kersland follow-
 after, if possible, to prevent misinformation.—In the meantime, a
 breaking out in Glasgow, the tolbooth being in danger, and the ma-
 rates refusing to let out the prisoners, the well-affected people of the
 n got long ladders, and set the prisoners free, and Kersland among
 rest, after he had been eight years prisoner. After the hurry was
 r, he inclined to have surrendered himself again prisoner; but hearing
 n his lady of the Archbishop's design against him, he retired and ab-
 nded all that winter.* In the spring and summer following, he kept
 npany with the persecuted ministers, and heard the gospel preached in
 fields, and was at communions, particularly that at Mayhole. About
 beginning of harvest 1678, he returned again to Utrecht, where he
 stinued until the day of his death.

When near his departure, his dear acquaintance Sir Robert Hamilton
 ig with him, and signifying to him that he might be spared as another
 eb to see the good land when the storm was over; to whom, amongst
 last words, he said, "What is man before the Lord? yea, what is a
 ion? as the drop of a bucket, or the small dust in the balance: yea,
 than nothing, and vanity. But this much I can say in humility, that
 ough free grace, I have endeavoured to keep the post that God hath
 me at. These fourteen years I have not desired to lift the one foot,
 ore God shewed me where to set down the other." And so, in a few
 nites, he finished his course with joy, and fell asleep in Jesus, Nov. 14,
 10, leaving his wife and five children, in a strange land.

It were superfluous to insist here upon the character of the thrice re-
 vened Ker. It is evident to all, he was a man of a great mind, far

* It would appear that he was retaken about the end of that year, by the acts of
 meil, and liberated without any conditions; which was a thing uncommon at this time.
 Wodrow's History, vol. 1.

B. It has been thought somewhat strange, that the posterity of such ancient and
 ous families as this and Earlstoun, should be now extinct in their houses and estates.
 This needs be no paradox; for the condition of the covenant, or promise of property
 dignity, is:—"If thy children will keep my covenant and testimony, their children
 also sit upon thy throne for ever, and shall return unto the Lord thy God, and obey
 voice; thy God will bring thee unto the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou
 possess it." Now, the contrary practices must produce the contrary effects; and
 none more remarkable than those who apostatized from the profession, principles,
 duty of their ancestors. It is said that Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlstoun fell into a
 ate and irreligious life. And for Donald Ker, he fell in with King William, and
 killed at the battle of Steinkirk, in Flanders, 1692. And for John Crawford, alias
 who married his sister, and with her got the estate of Kersland, he got a patent to be
 patrem sequatur sui proles, from Queen Anne and her ministry, by virtue of
 he feigned himself sometimes a Jacobite, and sometimes an old Dissenter or Came-
 (as he called them,) unto whom he gives high encomiums. What correspondence
 has have with some of those who had been officers in the Angus regiment, I know
 but it is evident, from the minute of the general meeting, that he was never admit-
 to the community of secrets of the old genuine Dissenters; for though he attended
 more of their meetings, yet he was refused, and so could never influence them to
 any of their declarations.

The reader will find the above-mentioned patent on the frontispiece of his Memoirs;
 what satisfaction he himself had in this dirty work, and wicked courses in the Court's
 (as he himself calls it,) and how he was by them paid, as he deserved, in these
 Memoirs, from p. 31 to p. 81, &c.

above a servile and mercenary disposition.—He was, for a non years, hurried from place to place, and guarded from prison to He endured all this with undaunted courage.—He then lost : estate for the cause of Christ; and though he got not the martyr's yet he beyond all doubt obtained the sufferer's reward.

MR. DONALD CARGILL.

MR. CARGILL seems to have been born sometime about the year He was eldest son to a most respected family in the parish of R After he had been sometime in the schools of Aberdeen, he went Andrews, where, having perfected his course of philosophy, his pressed upon him much to study divinity, in order for the ministr he, through tenderness of spirit, constantly refused, telling his fath the work of the ministry was too great a burden for his weak sho and requested to command him to any other employment he p But his father still continuing to urge him, he resolved to set apart of private fasting, to seek the Lord's mind therein. And after wrestling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of *Ezeki* chiefly these words in the first verse, *Son of man, eat this roll, and j unto the house of Israel*, made a strong impression upon his mind, he durst no longer refuse his father's desire, but dedicated himself unto that office.

After this, he got a call to the Barony Church of Glasgow. It ordered by Divine Providence, that the very first text the presbyt dered him to preach upon, was from these words in the third of I already mentioned, by which he was more confirmed that he had call to this parish. This parish had been long vacant, by reas two ministers of the Resolution-party, viz. Mess. Young and Bli still opposed the settlement of such godly men as had been called people. But, in reference to Mr. Cargill's call, they were, in God vidence, much bound up from their wonted opposition. Here M gill, perceiving the lightness and unconcerned behaviour of the under the word, was much discouraged thereat, so that he resol return home, and not accept the call, which, when he was urged b godly ministers not to do, and his reason asked, he answered, the rebellious people. The ministers solicited him to stay, but in vai when the horse was drawn, and he just going to begin his journey in the house of Mr. Durham, when he had saluted several of his C friends that came to see him take horse, as he was taking farew certain godly woman, she said to him, "Sir, you have prom preach on Thursday; and have you appointed a meal for poor e people, and will you go away and not give it? if you do, the e God will go with you." This so moved him, that he durst not g as he intended; but sitting down, desired her and others to pray e So he remained, and was settled in that parish, where he contin exercise his ministry with great success, to the unspeakable ane both of his own parish, and all the godly that heard and knew hi that, by the unhappy Restoration of Charles II., Prelacy was e stored.

Upon the 26th of May following, the day consecrated in commemoration of the said Restoration, he had occasion to preach in his own church, being his ordinary week-day's preaching, when he saw an unusual throng of people come to hear him, thinking he had preached in compliance with that solemnity. Upon entering the pulpit, he said, "We are not come here to keep this day upon the account for which others keep it. We thought once to have blessed the day, wherein the King came to us again, but now we think we shall have reason to curse it; and if any of you come here in order to the solemnizing of this day, we desire you to remove." And enlarging upon these words, in the 9th of Hosea, *Rejoice not, O Israel, &c.* he said, "This is the first step of our going a-whoring from God; and whoever of the Lord's people this day are rejoicing, their joy will be like the crackling of thorns under a pot, it will soon be turned to mourning; he (meaning the King) will be the wofullest sight that ever the poor church of Scotland saw: wo, wo, wo unto him; his name shall stink while the world stands, for treachery, tyranny, and idolatry."

This did extremely enrage the malignant party against him; so that he was hotly pursued, he was obliged to abscond, remaining sometimes in water-houses, and sometimes lying all night without, among broom near the city, yet never omitting any proper occasion of private preaching, exhorting, and visiting of families, and other ministerial duties. But at length, when the churches were all vacated of Presbyterians by an act of Council in 1662, Middleton sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him, but, coming to the church, found him not, he having providentially just slipped out of the one door a minute before they came in at the other; whereupon they took the keys of the church door with them, and departed. In the meanwhile the Council passed an act of confinement, banishing him unto the north side of the Tay, under penalty of being imprisoned, and prosecuted as a seditious person:—but this sentence he no ways regarded.

During this time, partly by grief for the ruin of God's work in the country, and partly by the toils and inconveniencies of his labours and accommodation, his voice became so broken, that he could not be heard far together, which was a sore exercise to him and discouragement, to walk in the fields but one day. Mr. Blackatter coming to preach near Glasgow, he essayed to preach with him; and standing on a chair, as his custom was, he lectured on Isaiah xlv. 3. *I will pour water on him that is thirsty, &c.* The people were much discouraged, knowing his voice to be so broken, lest they should not have heard by reason of the great confluence.

But it pleased the Lord to loose his tongue, and restore his voice with a distinct clearness, that none could easily exceed him; and notwithstanding his voice, but his spirit was so enlarged, and such a door of utterance given him, that Mr. Blackatter, succeeding him, said to the people, "What have such preaching, have no need to invite strangers to preach with us; make good use of your mercy." After this he continued to preach without the city, a great multitude attending and profiting by his preaching, being wonderfully preserved in the midst of dangers, the enemy sometimes sending out to watch him, and catch something from him, whereof they might accuse him, &c.

In October 1665, they made a public search for him in the city. But he being informed, took horse, and rode out of town, and at a narrow pass of the way, he met a good number of musketeers. As he

passed them, turning to another way on the right hand, one of them asked him, Sir, what o'clock is it? he answered, It is six. Another of them, knowing his voice, said, There is the man we are seeking.—Upon hearing this, he put spurs to his horse, and so escaped.

For about three years he usually resided in the house of one Margaret Craig, a very godly woman, where he lectured morning and evening to such as came to hear him. And though they searched strictly for him here yet Providence so ordered it, that he was either casually or purposely absent; for the Lord was often so gracious to him, that he left him not without some notice of approaching danger. Thus, one Sabbath, as he was going to Woodside to preach, as he was about to mount his horse, having one foot in the stirrup, he turned about to his man, and said, I must not go yonder to-day.—And in a little, a party of the enemy came there in quest of him; but missing the mark they aimed at, they fell upon the people, and apprehended and imprisoned severals of them.

Another of his remarkable escapes was at a search made for him in the city, where they came to his chamber, and found him not, being providentially in another house that night.—But what is most remarkable, being one day preaching privately in the house of one Mr. Calender, they came and beset the house: the people put him and another into a window, closing the window up with books. The search was so strict, that they searched the very ceiling of the house, until one of them fell through the lower loft. Had they removed but one of the books, they would certainly have found him. But the Lord so ordered that they did it not for, as one of the soldiers was about to take up one of them, the man cried to the commander, that he was going to take his master's book, and he was ordered to let them be. Thus narrowly he escaped the danger.

Thus he continued until the 23d of November 1668, that the Council upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. But when he was apprehended, and compeared before the Council, and strictly examined, when in he was most singularly strengthened to bear a faithful testimony to his Master's honour, and his persecuted cause and truths; yet, by the interposition of some persons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relations, he was dismissed, and presently returned to Glasgow, and there performed all the ministerial duties, as when in his own church, notwithstanding the diligence of persecutors in searching for him again.

Sometime before Bothwell, notwithstanding all the searches that were made for him by the enemy, which were both strict and frequent, he preached publicly for eighteen Sabbath-days to multitudes, consisting several thousands, within a little more than a quarter of a mile of the city of Glasgow; yea, so near it, that the psalms, when singing, were heard through several parts of it; and yet all this time uninterrupted.

At Bothwell, being taken by the enemy, and struck down to the ground with a sword, seeing nothing but present death for him, he received several dangerous wounds in the head, one of the soldiers asked his name? he told him it was Donald Cargill: another asked him, was he a minister? he answered he was: whereupon they let him live. When his wounds were examined, he feared to ask if they were mortal, desiring, in submission to God, to live, judging that the Lord had yet further work for him to accomplish.

Sometime after the battle at Bothwell, he was pursued from his

number, out of town, and forced to go through several thorn-hedges. But he was no sooner out, than he saw a troop of dragoons just opposite to him: back he could not go, soldiers being posted every where to catch him; upon which he went forward, near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, until he got past. But coming to the place of the water at which he intended to go over, he saw another troop standing on the other side, who called to him, but he made them no answer. And going about a mile up the water, he escaped, and preached at Langside next Sabbath, without interruption. At another time, being in a house beset with soldiers, he went through the midst of them, they thinking it was the goodman of the house, and escaped.

After Bothwell,* he fell into a deep exercise anent his call to the ministry; but, by the grace and goodness of God, he soon emerged out of that, and also got much light anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender against the enemy's usurped power, and against the sinful compliance of ministers, in accepting the indulgence, with indemnities, oaths, bonds, and all other corruptions.

There was a certain woman in Rutherglen, about two miles from Glasgow, who, by the instigation of some, both ministers and professors, was persuaded to advise her husband to go but once to hear the curate, to prevent the family being reduced; which she prevailed on him to do. But going the next day after to milk her cows, two or three of them dropt down dead at her feet, and Satan, as she thought, appeared unto her; which cast her under sad and sore exercises and desertion; so that she was brought to question her interest in Christ, and all that had formerly passed betwixt God and her soul, and was often tempted to destroy herself, and sundry times attempted it. Being before known to be an eminent Christian, she was visited by many Christians, but without success, still crying out she was undone; she had denied Christ, and he had denied her. After continuing a long time in this exercise, she cried for Mr. Cargill; who came to her, but found her distemper so strong, that for several visits he was obliged to leave her as he found her, in his no small grief. However, after setting some days apart on her behalf, he at last came again to her; but finding her no better, still retaining all comfort, still crying out that she had no interest in the mercy of God, or merits of Christ, but had sinned the unpardonable sin; he, looking in her face for a considerable time, took out his Bible, and, naming her, said, "I have this day a commission from my Lord and Master, to renew the marriage-contract betwixt you and him; and if ye will not consent, I am to require your subscription on this Bible, that you are willing to quit all right, interest in, or pretence unto him:" and then he dipped her pen and ink for that purpose. She was silent for some time; but at last cried out, "O! *salvation is come unto this house.* I take him; I take him on his own terms, as he is offered unto me by his faithful ambassador." From that time her bonds were loosed.

One time, Mr. Cargill, Mr. Walter Smith, and some other Christian friends, being met in a friend's house in Edinburgh, one of the company told him of the general bonding of the Western gentlemen for suppressing field-meetings, and putting all out of their grounds who frequented the same. After sitting silent for some time, he answered, with several

It appears that it was about this time that he resolved to go over to Holland, but we have no certain account where or what time he said there; but from the sequel of the following account, it could not be long.

&c. (2.) If these men die the ordinary death of men, then God hath spoken by me."*

About the 22d of October following, a long and severe proclamation is issued out against him and his followers, wherein a reward of 5000 marks was offered for apprehending him, &c.—Next month, Governor Middleton, having been frustrated in his design upon Mr. Cargill at Levenferry, laid another plot for him, by consulting one James Henderson in Ferry, who, by forging and signing letters, in the name of Bailie Adam in Culross, and some other serious Christians in Fife, for Mr. Cargill to come over, and preach to them at the hill of Beith. Accordingly, Henderson went to Edinburgh with the letters, and, after a most diligent search, found him in the West-bow. Mr. Cargill being willing to answer the call, Henderson proposed to go before, and have a boat ready at the Ferry when they came; and, that he might know them, he desired to see Mr. Cargill's cloth, Mr. Skeen and Mr. Boig being in the same room. In the meantime, he had Middleton's soldiers lying at Hutcheon-hole, about three miles from Edinburgh. Mr. Skeen, Archibald Stuart, Mrs. Muir, and Marion Hervey, took the way before, on foot; Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig being to follow on horseback. When they came to the place, the soldiers spied them; but Mrs. Muir stepped, and went and stopped Mr. Cargill and Mr. Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh.

After this remarkable escape, Mr. Cargill, seeing nothing but the violent flames of treachery and tyranny against him, above all others, retired about three months to England, where the Lord blessed his labours, to the conviction and edification of many. In the time of his absence a delusion of the Gibbites arose, from one John Gib, sailor in Borrowstoness, who, with other three men, and twenty-six women, vented and sustained the most strange delusions. Sometime after, Mr. Cargill returned from England, and was at no small pains to reclaim them, but with little success. After his last conference with them, at † Darnavel, in Cambusnethen parish, he came next Sabbath, and preached at the Waterbank wood, below Lanark, and from thence to Loudon-hill, where he preached upon a fast-day, being the 5th of May. Here he intended to have preached once, and to have baptised some children. His text was, *No man hath followed me in the regeneration, &c.* When sermon was over, and the children baptised, more children came up; whereupon friends pressed him to preach in the afternoon; which he did, from these words, *Weep not for me, &c.* In the meanwhile, the enemy at Glasgow getting notice of this meeting, seized all the horses in and about the

The first of these was clearly verified, in the case of Lord Rothes; and the second verified, in the remembrance of some yet alive. (1.) Every person knoweth that Rothes was poisoned. (2.) His brother, the Duke of York, died at St. Germain's, in France. (3.) The Duke of Monmouth was executed at London. (4.) The Duke of Beaufort turned a belly-god, and died on the chamber-box. (5.) The Duke of Rothes was hanged, under the dreadful terror of that sentence, &c. (6.) Bloody Sir George Balfour died at London, and all the passages of his body running blood. (7.) General Rothes died with a glass of wine at his mouth, in perfect health. See Walker's Re-

At this time the Gibbites were all taken and imprisoned in the tolbooth and the house of Edinburgh; but by the Duke of York, and his faction, were soon liberated; after which, the four men and two women went west to the Frost-moss, between Perth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, every one of them using expressions at that horrid action which are fearful to utter.

town, that they could come by, and mounted in quest of him: yea, such was their haste and fury, that one of the soldiers, who happened to be behind the rest, riding furiously down the street called the Stockwell, at mid-day, rode over a child, and killed it on the spot. Just as Mr. Cargill was praying at the close, a lad alarmed them of the enemy's approach. They having no sentinels that day, which was not their ordinary, were surprised that some of them who had been at Peniland, Bothwell, Air-moss, and other dangers, were never so seized with fear, some of the women throwing their children from them. In this confusion, Mr. Cargill was running straight on the enemy; but Gavin Wotherpoon and others haled him to the moss, unto which the people fled. The dragons fired hard upon them; but there were none either killed or taken that day.

About this time, some spoke to Mr. Cargill of his preaching and praying short. They said, "O Sir, it is long betwixt meals, and we are in a starving condition; all is good, sweet and wholesome, that you deliver, but why do you so straiten us?" He said, "Ever since I bowed a knee in good earnest to pray, I never durst preach and pray with my gifts; and when my heart is not affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I always thought it time to quit it. What comes not from the heart, I have little hope it will go to the hearts of others." Then he repeated these words in the 51st psalm, *Then will I teach transgressors thy way, &c.*

From Loudon-hill he took a tour through Ayrshire to Carrick and Galloway, preaching, baptising, and marrying some people; but staid not long until he returned to Clydesdale. He designed, after his return to have preached one day at Tinto-hill; but the Lady of St. John's Kirk gave it out to be at Home common. He being in the house of John Liddel, near Tinto, went out to spend the Sabbath morning by himself, and seeing the people all passing by, he inquired the reason; which being told, he rose and followed them five miles. The morning being warty (about the 1st of June,) and the heights steep, he was very fatigued before he got to the place, where a man gave him a drink of water out of his bonnet, and another between sermons; this being the best entertainment he got that day, for he had tasted nothing in the morning. He then he lectured on the 6th of Isaiah, and preached on these words, *Be ye high-minded, but fear, &c.* From thence he went to Fife, and baptised many children, and preached one day at Daven common, and then returned to the Benry-bridge in Cambusnethen, where he received a challenge from the hands of two men to come back to Galloway, but got it not answered.*

Mr. Cargill, in that short time, had run very fast towards his end, which now hastens apace. Having left the Benry-bridge, he preached one day at Auchingilloch,† and then came to preach his last sermon at Dunsyre common, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, upon that text, *Isa. xvi. 20. Come my people, and enter into your chambers, &c.*

* To these two men he said, If I be not under a delusion, (for that was his ordinary way of speaking of things to come,) the French and other foreigners, with some other men in this land, will be your stroke: it will come at such a nick of time, when all those nations will be in a capacity to help another. For me I am to die shortly by the hand of those murderers, and shall not see it. I know not how the Lord's people will endure it, that have to meet with it; but the foresight and forethought of it makes me tremble. And then, as it had been to himself, he said, Short, but very sharp.

† Sometimes he ran on foot, having lost several horses in his remarkable escape, of which was shot under him, at Linlithgow-bridge.

The week before he was taken, he married two persons: and being in the latter

me that night, through the persuasion of Mr. Smith and Mr. went with the Lady of St. John's Kirk, as far as Covington mill, use of one Andrew Fisher. In the meantime, James Irvine of having got a general commission, marched with a party of from Kilbride, and next morning, by sun-rising, came to St. rk, and having searched it, he searched also the house of one , and then came to Covington mill, and there apprehended him, b, and Mr. Boig. Bonshaw, when he found them, cried out, l Bonshaw! and blessed day that ever I was born! that has h a prize! a prize of 5000 merks for apprehending of him this . They marched hard to Lanark, and put them in jail, until some refreshment, and then brought them out in haste, got id set the prisoners on their bare backs. Bonshaw tied Mr. feet below the horse's belly, with his own hands, very hard; at a good man looked down to him, and said, "Why do you tie d? your wickedness is great. You will not long escape the just of God; and, if I be not mistaken, it will seize you in this very Which accordingly next year came to pass; for having got his hood, one of his comrades, in a rage, ran him through with a Lanark; and his last words were, "G—d d—n my soul eter- I am gone." *Mischief shall hunt the violent man.*

ame to Glasgow in haste, fearing a rescue of the prisoners; waiting at the tolbooth till the magistrates came to receive ; John Nisbet, the Archbishop's factor, said to Mr Cargill in r-ree times over, Will you give us one word more? (alluding to tion he used sometimes when preaching;) to whom Mr. Cargill regret, "*Mock not, lest your bands be made strong.*" The day is when you shall not have one word to say, though you would." came quickly to pass; for, not many days after, he fell sudden- l for three days his tongue swelled, and though he was most speak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great and seeming terror.

Glasgow they were taken to Edinburgh, and on July 15th, were before the Council. Chancellor Rothes (being one of those excommunicated at Torwood) raged against him, threatening torture and a violent death. To whom he said, "My Lord orbear to threaten me, for die what death I will, your eyes shall"—Which accordingly came to pass; for he died the morning ay, in the afternoon of which Mr. Cargill was executed.

before the Council, he was asked, if he acknowledged the King's , &c.; he answered, as the magistrate's authority is now estab- the act of parliament, and explanatory act, that he denied the eing also examined anent the excommunication at Torwood, he to answer, as being an ecclesiastical matter, and they a civil ju-

He owned the lawfulness of defensive arms, in cases of ne-nd denied that those who rose at Bothwell, &c. were rebels; g interrogated anent the Sanquhar declaration, he declined to dgment until he had more time to consider the contents there- further declared, he could not give his sense of the killing the but that the scriptures say, upon the Lord's giving a call to a

and his wife brought him his dinner. Being pressed to eat, he said, Let me not be pressed; for I took not that meal of meat these thirty years, but I could as much when I rose up as when I sat down. *Vide Walker's Religion, p. 45.*

private man to kill, he might do it lawfully; and gave the instances of Jael and Phineas. These were the most material points on which he was examined.*

While he was in prison, a gentlewoman who came to visit him, told him, weeping, "That these heaven-daring enemies were contriving a most violent death for him; some, a barrel with pikes to roll him in; others, an iron chair, red-hot, to roast him in," &c. But 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 of my old head, and then fare them well; they have done with me, and I with them for ever."

He was again before the Council on the 19th, but refused to answer their questions, except anent the excommunication. There was some motion made to spare him, as he was an old man, and send him prisoner to the Bass during life; which motion being put to a vote, was, by the casting vote of the Earl of Rothes, rejected; who doomed him to the gallows, there to die like a traitor.

Upon the 26th he was brought before the Justiciary, and indicted in common form. His confession being produced in evidence against him, he was brought in guilty of high treason, and condemned, with the rest, to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Nother Bow. When they came to these words in his indictment, viz. *cast off all fear of God*, &c. he caused the clerk to stop, and, pointing to the Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, said, "The man that hath caused the paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my fancy; but that man I say, who took the Holy Bible in his hand, &c. said, It would never be well with the land, until that book was destroyed, &c.; I say, he is the man that hath cast off all fear of God." The Advocate stormed at this, but could not deny the truth thereof.

When they got their sentence announced by sound of trumpet, he said, "That is 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.

Being come to the scaffold, he stood with his back to the ladder, desired the attention of the numerous spectators; and after singing the 16th verse of the 118th psalm, he began to speak to three or four people; but being interrupted by the drums, he said, with a sad countenance, "Ye see we have not liberty to speak what we would, God knoweth our hearts." As he proceeded, he was again interrupted. Then, after a little pause or silence, he began to exhort the people, to shew his own comfort in laying down his life, in the assurance of blessed eternity, expressed himself in these words: "Now, I am at the end of my interest in Christ, and peace with God, as all within this Bible the Spirit of God can make me; and I am fully persuaded, that this is the very way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I entreat you, not discouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him as it can desire to be; and now this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever mine eyes did see. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God; but ere long they shall be enraged one against

* See his examination, &c. at large in Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 184.

to their own confusion." Here the drums did beat a third time. Putting his foot on the ladder, he said, "The Lord knows I go on earth with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered it to preach."—When up, he sat down, and said, "Now I am getting of the crown, which shall be sure, for which I bless the Lord. I desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, to see me to triumph over devils, men, and sin: they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done me; and I hope my sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty." Having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin, and bade farewell all relations and friends in Christ; farewell acquaintance; farewell earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and fasting, wanderings, reproach, and sufferings. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit." Then he prayed, and the executioner turned him over as he was praying; and so ended his course, and the ministry that he had received of the Lord. His character from Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, who was his parish minister. He was affectionate, affable, and tender-hearted, to all men; he thought had any thing of the image of God in them; sober and temperate in his diet, saying commonly, It was well won that was the flesh; generous, liberal, and most charitable to the poor; a man free of covetousness; a frequent visiter of the sick; much alone, but when about his Master's public work, laying every opportunity to edify; in conversation, still dropping what might minister grace to the hearers; his countenance was edifying to behold; often sighing with deep groans; preaching in season and out of season, upon all hazards; ever the same in judgment and practice. In his youth he was much given to the duty of secret prayer, for many years together; wherein it was observed, that, both in secret and in public, he always sat straight up upon his knees, with his hands lifted up in prayer; in this posture (as some took notice) he died with the rope about

his neck. His last speech and testimony, and several other religious discourses, with the lecture, sermon, and sentence of excommunication at his death, which are all published, there are also several other sermons, and many of sermons, interspersed among some peoples hands, in print or manuscript, some of which have been published. Yet, if we may believe the reports, in his Remarkable Passages, &c. who heard several of his sermons, they are nothing to what they were when delivered; and his sermons, though very imperfect, yet doubtless far inferior to what they would have been, if they had been corrected and published by the worthy author himself.

Acrostic on his Name.

Most sweet and savoury is thy fame,
 And more renowned is thy name,
 Surely than any can record,
 Thou highly favour'd of the Lord.
 Enslaved thou on earth didst live;
 Rich grace to thee the Lord did give.

During the time thou dwelt below,
 On in a course to heaven didst go.

MR. DONALD CARGILL.

Not casten down with doubts and fears,
Assur'd of heav'n near thirty years.
Labour thou didst in Christ's vineyard;
Diligent wast, no time thou spar'd.

Christ's standard thou didst bear alone,
After others from it were gone.
Right zeal for truth was found in thee,
Great sinners censur'dst faithfully.
In holding truth didst constant prove,
Laidst down thy life out of true love.

JUNE 21, 1741.

W. W.

MR. WALTER SMITH.

WALTER SMITH was son to Walter Smith, in the parish of St. near Airth in Stirlingshire. He was an eminent Christian and scholar. He went over to Holland, where he studied sometime the famous Leusden, who had a great esteem and value for him, one both of high attainments and great experience in the serious and solid practice of Christianity.

In 1679, we find that he made no mean figure among that little of the Lord's suffering remnant, who rose in their own day at Bothwell-bridge: for he was both chosen clerk to the council and also a commanding-officer among the honest party; and he was not only to witness and protest against the sinful compact that corrupt Erastian party, and then foisted themselves in among the honour, but was also one of those three who were then appointed to draw out the Causes of the Lord's Wrath against the land, and the Hamiltonian petition was to be one of the last causes thereof, with a new declaration they intended to have published at that time; and although both were undertaken, yet the Lord did not honour them to publish, as some of them, with great regret, unto their dying day, did not see the light.

After the overthrow and dispersion of the covenanters at Bothwell-bridge, wherein the Erastian party among them had no little hand, it was that Mr. Smith went over for sometime to Holland, but did not stay long; for we meet with him again with Mr. Cargill at Torwood in September 1680; after which, he was very helpful to him in his judgment and advice in difficult cases, and praying in families when fatigued with sore travel, being an old man, and going then often and many times in public preaching days presenting for him.

He had a longing desire to preach Christ and him crucified to the world, and the word of salvation through his name. Mr. Cargill had the same desire; and for that end, it is said, he had written to two of his friends to meet him at Cumberhead, in Lismehago in Clydesdale; but the day came, the door was closed, for they were in the enemy's hands. However, Mr. Smith followed the example of our blessed Lord Jesus, in going about doing good, in many places and to many people, in spiritual, edifying conversation, and was a singular example

See a more full account of this in Wilson's Relation of Bothwell-bridge.

ty and zeal; which had more influence upon many than most part of ministers of that day.

A little before his death, he drew up twenty-two rules for fellowship society-meetings, which at that time greatly increased, from the river y to Newcastle, in which he was very instrumental, which afterwards tled into a general and quarterly correspondence, four times yearly, it so they might speak one with another, when they wanted the public aching of the gospel; and to appoint general fasting days through whole community, wherein their own sins, and the prevailing sins l defensions of the times, were the principal causes thereof; and that h society was to meet and spend some time of the Lord's day together, en deprived of the public ordinances.* Mr. Cargill said, that these iety-meetings would increase more and more for a time; but when judgments came upon these sinful lands, there would be few stand- society-meetings when there would be most need, few mourners, yers, pleaders, &c. what through carnality, security, darkness, dead- s, and divisions.

ut he was now well nigh the evening of his life, and his labours both. having been with Mr. Cargill when he preached his last sermon on nsyre common, betwixt Clydesdale and Lothian, he was next morn- , by wicked Bonshaw, (who had formerly traded in fine horses be- t the two kingdoms,) apprehended at Covington mill. He was with rest of the prisoners carried from Lanark to Glasgow, and from ace taken to Edinburgh, where, upon the 15th of July, he was brought ore the Council, and there examined, If he owned the King, and his ority as lawful? He answered, "He cannot acknowledge the present ority the King is now invested with, and the exercise thereof, being clothed with a supremacy over the church." Being interrogate, If King's falling from the covenant looses him from his obedience, and he King thereby loses his authority? he answered, "He thinks he is ged to perform all the duties of the covenant, conform to the word God; and the King is only to be obeyed in terms of the covenant." ng further interrogate anent the Torwood excommunication, he ded, "He thought their reasons were just."

On the 19th, he was again brought before them, and interrogate, If owned the Sanguhar declaration? It was then read to him, and he ed the same in all its articles, except that he looked not upon these as the formal representatives of the Presbyterian church, as they ed themselves. And as to that expression, The King should have denuded many years ago, he did not like the word *denuded*; but What the King has done justifies the people's revolting against him. to these words, where the King is called an usurper and a tyrant, he Certainly the King is an usurper, and wished he was not a tyrant. On the 26th, he was with the rest brought before the Justiciary, being indicted in common form, their confessions were produced nces against them, and they all brought in guilty of high treason, ndemned to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, upon the 27th, their heads to be severed from their bodies, and those of Mess. Car- Smith, and Boig, to be placed on the Nether Bow, and the heads of others on the West Port; all which was done accordingly.

The reader will find an account of these their transactions in their own register, ublished of late, under the title of Faithful Contendings Displayed.

After Mr. Cargill was executed, Mr. Smith was brought upon the scaffold, where he adhered to the very same cause with Mr. Cargill, and declared the same usurpation of Christ's crown and dignity, and died with great assurance of his interest in Christ, declaring his abhorrence of Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all other steps of defection. He went up the ladder with all signs of cheerfulness; and when the executioner was to untie his cravat, he would not suffer him, but untied it himself, and, calling to his brother, he threw it down, saying, This is the last token you shall get from me. After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and said, I have one word more to say, and that is, to all who have any love to God and his righteous cause, that they would set time apart, and sing a song of praise to the Lord, for what he has done for my soul; and my soul saith, To him be praise. Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying, and died in the Lord, with his face bending upon Mr. Cargill's breast. These two cleaved to one another, in love and unity, in their life; and between them, in their death, there was no disparity. *Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided, but*

The now glorified Mr. Walter Smith, was a man no less learned than pious, faithful, and religious. His old master, the professor of divinity at Utrecht in Holland, when he heard of his public, violent, bloody death of martyrdom, gave him this testimony, weeping, saying, in broken English, "O Smith! the great, brave Smith! who exceeded all that I ever taught. He was capable to teach many, but few to instruct him." Besides some letters, and the forementioned twenty-two rules for fellow-meetings, he wrote also twenty-two steps of national defection; all which are now published; and if these, with his last testimony, be rightly considered, it will appear that his writings were inferior to few of the writings of that time.

MR. ROBERT GARNOCK.

[What relates to this Worthy is extracted from the account of his life, wrote by him when in prison, yet in manuscript; what concerns his trial and martyrdom has been collected from history and other writings.]

ROBERT GARNOCK was born in Stirling, and baptised by faithful James Guthrie. In his younger years, his parents took much pains to train him up in the way of duty; but soon after the Restoration, faithful ministers being turned out, curates were put in their place, with them came ignorance, profanity, and persecution.—Sometimes in this, Mr. Law preached at his own house in Monteith, and once Mr. Hutchison sometimes at Kippen. Being one Saturday's evening he went out to his grandmother's house in the country, and having an uncle who frequented these meetings, he went along with him to a place called Shield-brae.—And next Sabbath he went with him through great difficulties, being then but young, through frost and snow, and heard Mr. Law at Monteith: which sermon, through a divine blessing, wrought upon his mind.—Thus he continued for a considerable time, to go out on the first of the week for an opportunity of hearing the gospel, and to return

the beginning of next week to Stirling; but did not let his parents know any thing of the matter.

But one time hearing a proclamation read at the cross, exhibiting, that who did not hear, or receive privileges from the curates, were to be severely punished; which much troubled his mind, making him hesitate whether to go to a field-preaching that he heard was to be next Sabbath, or not. But at last he came to this resolution: Says he, "The Lord inclined my heart to go, and put that word to me, Go for once, go for all, they take thee for that which is to come. So I went there, and the Lord did me good: for I got at that sermon, that which, although they had rent me in a thousand pieces, I would not have said what I had said before. So the Lord made me follow the gospel for a long time; and although I knew little then what it meant, yet he put it in my heart still to keep by the honest side, and not to comply or join with enemies of one kind or another; yea, not to watch, ward, or strengthen their hands any manner of way. When I was asked, why I would not keep watch (or stand sentry) on the town, as it was commanded duty? I told them, I would not lift arms against the work of God. If ever I carried arms, should be for the defence of the gospel."

Now he became a persecuted man, and was obliged to leave the town. His father being a blacksmith, he had learned the same trade, and so he went sometime to Glasgow, and followed his occupation. From Glasgow he returned home; and from thence went again to Borrowstounness, where he had great debate, as himself expresses it,—“about that woful obligeance: I did not know the dreadful hazard of hearing them, until when they preached at the the hazard of men's lives. This made me examine the matter, until I found out that they were directly wrong, and contrary to scripture, had changed their head, had quitted Jesus Christ their head, and had taken their commission from men, owning that a profane, adulterous wretch as head of the church; receiving their commission to preach in such and such places from him, and those bloody lives under him.”

From Borrowstounness he returned back to Falkirk, and thence home to Stirling, where he remained for sometime under a series of difficulties; after he had got off when taken with others at the Shield-brae, while he was making bold to visit Mr. Skeen, he was taken in the castle, and kept there all night, and used very barbarously by the soldiers; and at eight o'clock in the morning taken before the provost, who not being then at leisure, he was imprisoned till the afternoon. But by the intercession of one Colia Kenzie, to whom his father was smith, he was got out, and without so much as paying the jailer's fee. “I had much of the Lord's kindness at that time, (says he,) although I did not then know what it meant; and I was thrust forth unto my wandering again.”

About this time he intended to go to Ireland: but being disappointed, he returned back to Stirling, where he was tossed to and fro for some time; and yet, he remarks, he had some sweet times in this condition; and one night, when he was down in the Carse with one Baron Murray; after which heavy trials ensued unto him from professors; because he testified against every kind of their compliance with the current of the times. Upon this account, he and the society-meeting he was in

That night, he says, they saw a remarkable flash of fire; the elements seeming, as it were, to open and close again.

could not agree. This made him leave them, and go to one in the country; which, he says, "were more sound in judgment, and of an undaunted courage and zeal for God and his cause; for the life of religion was in that society."

At this time he fell into such a degree of temptation, by the devices of the enemy of man's salvation, that he was made to supplicate the Lord several times, that he might not be permitted to afflict him in some visible shape; which he then apprehended he was attempting to do. But from these dreadful oppressions he was at last, through the goodness of God, happily delivered; although as yet, he knew but little of experimental religion. And, says he, "The world thought I had religion; but to know the hidden things of godliness was yet a mystery to me. I did not know any thing as yet of the new birth, or what it was spiritually to take the kingdom of heaven by violence," &c.; which serves to show, that one may do and suffer many things for Christ and religion, and yet at the same time be a stranger to the life and power thereof.

But anon he falls into another difficulty; for a proclamation being issued, that all betwixt thirteen and sixty were to pay poll-money, and was sent his father, that if he would pay it, he should have his liberty; which was no small temptation. But this he absolutely refused, and also told his father plainly, when urged by him to do it, that if one pence (or four pennies) would do it, he would not give it. His father said, he would give it for him; to whom he answered, if he did, he needed never expect it, or any consideration for it, from him. And for the result of the matter, hear his own words: "And, O! but the Lord was kind to me then; and his love was better than life. I was tossed in my wanderings and banishment with many ups and downs, till I came to Edinburgh, where I heard of a communion to be on the borders of England; and then I went to it. O! let me bless the Lord, that ever trusted me with such a lot as that was; for the 20th, 21st, and 22d of April 1677, were the three most wonderful days with the Lord's presence that ever I saw on earth. O! but his power was wonderfully seen, and great to all the assembly, especially to me. O! the three wonderful days of the Lord's presence at East-Nisbet in the Merse. That was the greatest communion, I suppose, these twenty years. I got there what I will never forget while I live. Glory to his sweet name that ever there was such a day in Scotland. His work was wonderful to me, both in spirituals and temporals. O! that I could get him praised and magnified for it. He was seen that day sitting at the head of his table, and his spikenard sending forth a pleasant smell. Both good and bad were made to cry out, and some to say, with the disciples, *It is good for us to be here.* They would have been content to have staid there; and I thought it was a begun heaven to be in that place."

After this, he returned home to Stirling, and got liberty to follow his employment for some time.—But, lo! another difficulty occurred; for while the Highland host was commanded west, in the beginning of 1678, all Stirling being commanded to be in arms, which all, excepting a few, obeyed, he refused, and went out of town with these few, and kept a meeting. When he returned, his father told him, he was past for the first time, but it behoved him to mount guard to-morrow. He refused: his father was angry, and urged him with the practices of others. He told his father, he would hang his faith upon no man's belt, &c. On the morrow, when the drums beat to mount guard, being the day of his

ial meeting, he went out of the town under a heavy load of reproach, even from professors, who said, that it was not from principles conscience he hesitated, but that he might have liberty to stroll through the country, because he attended these meetings; which was no matter to bear. Orders were given to apprehend him: but at that he escaped from them, and wandered from one place to another, until the beginning of August 1678, that he came to Carrick communion at Maybole; and what his exercise was there, himself thus excuses: "I was wonderfully trusted there; but not so as at the other. I went to the first table and then went and heard worthy Mess. Kid and Cameron preach at a little distance from the meeting, who never left the pews till they sealed and crowned it with their blood. I cannot say but the Lord was kind to me there, on the day after, and on the fast-day, in the middle of the week after that, near the borders of Kilmarnock parish, there a division arose about the indulgence, which to this day is never done away. After my return home, I was made to enter into covenant with him upon his own terms, against the indulgence and all other compliances: and because, through the Lord's strength I had resolved to keep my bargain, and not to join with them, it was said, I had got new heart, and I was much reproached; yet I got much of the Lord's kindness when attending the preached gospel in the fields, to which I would sometimes go twenty miles."

And having thus wandered to and fro for sometime, he went to Edinburgh to see the prisoners, and then returned home to Stirling in the end of the week. Late on Saturday night, he heard of a field-preaching; and seeing the soldiers and troopers marching out of the town to attack the people at that meeting, he made himself ready, and, with a few others, set out towards the meeting: and, being armed, they soon arrived near the place; but the soldiers coming forward, the people still, as they approached, seeing the enemy, turned off. So he, a few armed men, and the minister, seeing this, took a hill above Fintry, beside the craigs of Blglass. So the enemy came forward. This little handful drew up in the best posture the time and place would allow, and sung a psalm; at which the soldiers were so affrighted, that they told afterwards, that the enemy's matches had almost fallen out of their hands. At last a trooper stepped up, commanded them to dismiss: but this they refused. This was repeated several times, till the captain of the foot came forward, and gave them the same charge; which they also refused. Upon this, he commanded a party of his men to advance, and fire upon them; which they did once or twice; which was by this little company returned with such courage and agility, until the whole party, and the commanding officer, consisting of forty-eight men and sixteen horsemen, fired upon this little handful, which he thinks amounted to not above eighteen that had arms, with a few women. After several fires were returned on both sides, one of the sufferers stepped forward, and shot one side of the captain's perriwig off, at which the foot fled; but the horsemen, taking advantage of the rising ground, surrounded this small party. They then fired on a young man, but missed him. However, they took him and the others prisoners. The rest fled. Robert Garnock was hindermost, being the last on the place of action, and says, he intended not to have been taken, but rather killed. At last, one of the enemy came after him, on which he resolved either to kill or be killed before he surrendered—catching a pistol from one for that purpose. But another coming

in for assistance, the trooper fled off, and so they escaped to the other side of a precipice, where they staid until the enemy were gone, who marched directly with their prisoners to Stirling.

After the fray was over, Robert staid till evening, and spoke with some friends and the minister, who dissuaded him all they could from going into Stirling. But being now approaching toward the eve of his pilgrimage state, with Paul in another case, when going up to Jerusalem, he could not be prevailed upon; and so went to town; and entering it about one in the morning, he got into a house, at the foot of the Castlehill, and there got his arms left with much difficulty; but, as he was near the head of the Castlehill, he was, by two soldiers, who were lying in wait for those who had been at that meeting, apprehended and brought to the guard; and then brought before Lord Linlithgow's son; who asked him, If he was at that preaching? he told him he was at no preaching. Linlithgow's son said, he was a liar. Robert said, he was no liar, and seeing ye will not believe me, I will tell no more: prove the rest. Linlithgow said, he would make him do it. But he answered, he should not. Then he asked his name, trade, and his father's name, and where they dwelt? all which he answered. Then he bade keep him fast. At night, he was much abused by the soldiers; some of them who had been wounded in the skirmish, threatening him with torture, gagging in the mouth, &c. all which he bore with much patience. In the morning, a sergeant came to examine him; but he refused him as a judge to answer to. At last, the commanding-officer came and examined him, If he was at that skirmish? he answered, That for being there he was taken; and whether I was there or not, I am not bound to give you an account. So he went out, and in a little returned with the provost, who thought to surplant him by asking, Who of Stirling folk was there? he answered, That they were both your neighbours and mine; and though he had been there, he might account him very impudent to tell: for though he thought it his duty to ask, yet it was not his to tell or answer: and he thought he should rather commend him for so doing. After several other things anent that affair, he was commanded to close prison; and none, not so much as his father, allowed to speak to him; but he did not want company at that time; for, says he, "O but I had a sweet time of it! the Lord's countenance was better unto me than all the company in the world."

The forementioned skirmish had fallen out May 8, 1679; and upon the 19th of the same month, he was put into the common prison, amongst malefactors; where he got some more liberty, having some others of the sufferers with him. However, they were very much disturbed by a notorious murderer, who, being drunk one time, thought to have killed him with a large plank or form. But happily the stroke did not hurt him, though he struck with all his force twice, whereby another was almost killed. This made him and other five to lie sometimes upon the stairs, for they could have no other place; though they desired the thieves-hole, they could not obtain it. And thus they passed the time with much pain and trouble, until June 10, that the Fifemen were broke at Bewly,* and numbers taken, which were brought in prisoners on the 11th; whereby they were very much thronged. Here he continued till the break at Bothwell on the 22d, after which there was no small confusion by ten-

* This seems to have been the skirmish at Bewly-bog, only mentioned in history.

I pressing of a bond of conformity against offensive arms, got his share during that time.

On the 13th of July, he was brought forth, and in company with more prisoners, under a strong guard of red coats, taken from Edinburgh, and put into the Grayfriars church-yard, amongst all prisoners: there he was more vexed, both by the enemy and low-sufferers, than ever. A specimen of which is here given in his own words: "Some of my neighbours desired the bond; so they were ready to take it; but I refused. However, the most part of them took it. There were some of them supplicated for any bond. This made me conclude it was our duty to testify against it; which piece of it was put upon me, against which some of the prisoners objected. I was rendered odious; but many a day the Lord was kind unto me at that yard, and kept me from many a fear and snare: his love was sweet unto me. The men complained of us to the commanders, who examined me, on the bond and other things: they said, I was gagged, and every day I was vexed with them, until almost all prisoners petitioned for it.—And there was as good as seventy men sent into the yard to take it; and they said, it was not a head bond: when they had done, they sent in two gentlewomen with the bond; and they set upon me. I told them, if every one of us was as much of it as I had, they would not be so busy to press it: his, the bloody crew came to the yard, and called on me, and would take the bond? I said, No. They said, I would get my sentence.—So I was sore put to it: I would often have been at it if something; but the Lord would not suffer me. So, in his strength I fought on against my own heart and them all, and overcame. The cross was sweet and easy unto me. There needs none fear on suffering in his way and strength. O happy days, that I was trusted with such a thing! My bargaining with lovely Jesus was sweet unto me. It is true, affliction, for the present, seems not joyous unto us; but afterwards *it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness to them that exercise thereby.* I never knew the treachery of ministers, the crafty hypocrisy and double-dealing in the matters of God, and time, and I could never love them after that; for they made their conscience in taking that bond. I was brought out on the 25th of October, with a guard of soldiers: when coming out, one asked, If I would take the bond? I, smiling, said, No. He, then, said, I had a face to glorify God in the Grassmarket. So well to all my neighbours, who were sorry; and White bade goodnight with them, for I should never see them more. But he said, take good heart; for we may meet again for all this. So they went before their Council-court. They asked, if I would take the bond? I said, No. Some of them said, Maybe he does not know it: he said, He knows it well enough. So one of them read it, they would have me subscribe a lie to take away my life? for I was in rebellion, nor intended to be so. They said, they would take the bond for me. I answered, they needed not trouble themselves: I was not designed to subscribe any bond at this time.

Q. You rise in rebellion against the King?"

A. I was not rising in rebellion against the King."

Q. You take the bond, never to rise against the King and his

A. "What is the thing ye call authority? They said, If they, the soldiers, or any other subject, should kill me, I was bound not to resist. I answered, That I will never do."

Q. "Is the Bishop's death murder?"

A. "I am a prisoner; and so no judge."

Q. "Is Bothwell-bridge rebellion?"

A. "I am not bound to give my judgment in that."

Then one of them said, "I told you what the rebel rascal would say: you will be hanged, Sir. I answered, you must first convict me of a crime. They said, You did excommunicate prisoners for taking the bond. I said, That was not in my power; and moreover, I was now before them, and prove it if they were able. They said, They would hang me for rebellion. I said, You cannot: for if you walk according to your own laws, I should have my liberty. They said, Should we give a rebellious knave, like you, your liberty? you should be hanged immediately. I answered, That lies not yet in your power: so they caused quickly to take me away, and put me in the iron-house tolbooth. Much more passed that I must not spend time to notice."

So they brought me to the iron-house, to fifteen of my dear companions in tribulation; and there we were a sweet company, being all of one judgment: there serving the Lord, day and night, in singleness of heart, his blessing was seen amongst us; for his love was better than life. We were all with one accord trysted sweetly together: and O it was sweet to be in this company, and pleasant to those who came in to see us, until the indictments came in amongst us. There were ten got their indictments. Six came off, and four got their sentence to die at Magus muir. There were fifteen brought out of the yard; and some of them got their liberty offered, if they would witness against me. But they refused: so they got all their indictments; but all complied, save one, who was sentenced to die with the other four at Magus muir."

In this situation he continued till November 13, that he was, by the intercession of some friends, brought to the west galleries on the other side of the tolbooth, where he continued sometime, till called again before some of the Council; after which, he was again committed to close prison for a time, till one night, being called forth by one of the keepers, one Mr. John Blair, being present, accosted him thus: Wherefore do you refuse the bond? he answered, I have no time now for that matter. But out of that place, said Blair, you shall not go; for the covenants and the 13th of the Romans bind you to it. I answered, No: they just bound me to the contrary. What if Popery should come to the land, should we bind ourselves never to defend the true religion? he said, We were bound then. I said, No: Presbyterians are taken by their word, and they should abide by it: and ere all were done, it should be a dear bond upon them: as for my part, I would rather go to the Grassmarket, and seal it with my blood, &c. After he came down, the keeper of the tolbooth abused him in a very indiscreet manner, saying, that if there were more men, he should be hanged; and that he was an ignorant fool, ministers nor men could not convince him; and bade take him off again to close prison, where he was again as much vexed with a company of bonders as ever; for they were not only become lax in principle, but in duty also. So he roundly told them, "You are far from what you were in the iron-house, before you took the bond: then you would have been

sat duty by two or three in the morning; now you lie in bed till eight
 nine in the day. They said, It was true enough; but said no more." After
 these got their liberty, he was accompanied with some other
 ones, some of whom were kept in for debt. And then, he says, he
 said have been up by four in the morning, and made exercise amongst
 him three times a-day; and the Lord was kind to him during that time;
 he resolved never to make any compliance; and in this he was made
meat out of the eater, and sweet out of the strong. But some gentlemen,
 for religion, where he was before, prevailed with the keeper of
 the tolbooth, to have him back to them about the beginning of 1680.
 Here the old temptation to compliance, and tampering with the enemy,
 was fresh renewed; for the ministers coming in to visit these, when they
 would do no more, they brought ministers to the rooms to preach, and
 he would not hear them; which he positively refused. At last, they brought
 a minister, one of his acquaintance; him that should have preached that
 he was taken.* But hearing that he had made some compliance
 to the enemy, he would not go to the next room to hear him make
 his discourse, till he knew the certainty of the matter. After which, he came
 to another room, where they had some conference. A short hint of it is
 as follows. "He asked after my welfare; and if I was going out of
 the prison? I told him, I blessed the Lord for it, I was well, and was not
 going out yet." After some conversation anent field-preachings, parti-
 cularly one by worthy Mr. Cameron at Monkland, which he condemned,
 he asked, Why I did not hear ministers? I answered, I desired to hear
 them but what are faithful; for I am a prisoner, and would gladly be in
 the right way, not to wrong myself. He said, Wherein are they un-
 faithful? I said, In changing their head, quitting the Lord's way, and
 going on with covenant-breakers, murderers of his people, &c. He said,
 how could you prove that? I said, Their practice proves it. He said,
 these were but failings, and these would not perjure a man; and it is
 not for you to cast off ministers: you know not what you are doing.
 I do not cast them off: they cast off themselves, by quitting the hold-
 ing of their ministry of Christ. Q. How prove you that? A. The 10th
 of John proves it; for they come not in by the door. You may put me
 in mind; but I think, that in Gal. i. 6. *I marvel that ye are so soon removed
 from him that called you, &c.* you may read that at your leisure, how Paul
 did not his gospel from men, nor by the will of men. He said, Lay by
 your hands; but what is the reason you will not hear others? I said, I desire to
 hear none of these gaping for the indulgence, and not faithful in preach-
 ing against it."

After some conference anent Mess. Cameron and Cargill, in which he
 said, Mr. Cameron was no minister, and Mr. Cargill was once one, and
 he had quitted it; that they received their doctrines from men, their hearers,
 he said, You must preach such and such doctrines, and we will hear
 you. To all which the martyr gave pertinent answers. He said, "Ro-
 bert, do not think I am angry that you come not to hear me; for I desire
 to hear you, nor any of your faction, to come and hear me, for I cannot
 hear to all your humours." I said, it was all the worse for that. He
 said, Some of these faults would cast off a minister: they were but fail-
 ings, and not principles. I said, I could not debate; but I should let any

whether this was Mr. Law, after the Revolution, minister at Edinburgh, Mr. Hut-
 chinson, or another, is not ascertained.

Christian judge, if it was no principle for a minister to hold Christ head of the church. I told him, that there was once a day I would have ventured my life at his back for the defence of Christ's gospel; but not now: and I was more willing to lay down my life now, for his sweet and dear truths, than ever I was. He said, the Lord pity and help me. I said, I had much need of it. And so he went away, and rendered me odious. This, amongst other things, made me go to God, and to engage in covenant with his Son never to hear any of those who betrayed his cause, till I saw evidences of their repentance. And I would have been willing to have quitted all for that chiefest among ten thousand."

Thus he continued, till, he says, he got bad counsel from some of his friends to supplicate for his liberty; and they prevailed so far as to draw up a supplication, and brought him to subscribe. But when they had got him to take the pen in his hand, "The Lord bade me hold," says he; "and one came and bade me take heed. So I did it not; for which I bless his holy name. But this lets me see, there is no standing in me. Had it not been his free love, I had gone the blackest way ever one did," &c.

The night before gallant Hackston was executed, being down stairs, and hearing of the way and manner he was to be executed, he went up stairs, (though it was treason to speak to him,) and told him of it; which he could scarcely believe. But the keepers hearing, came up to persuade him to the contrary, and to put Robert in the irons. However, they got eight gray coats, who watched Mr. Hackston all night, persuading him to the contrary; so that he did not know till at the place of execution.

It would appear, he was not put in the irons then until sometime after, that a young woman, who was taken at the Ferry when Hallhead was killed, who having liberty to come into Lady Gilkerleugh, then in prison, was conveyed out in a gentleman's habit; of which he and another got the blame, though entirely innocent; for which they were laid in irons: the other got his liberty; but Robert continued alone sometime, till they intended to send him off with some soldiers to Tanquirs. But the Lord having otherwise determined, they could not get as many of the Council convened as to get an order made out; and so he continued in prison; during which time, he endured a sore conflict with such of his fellow-prisoners who complied, and got off, and others came in their place, who set upon him afresh; so that he, and any one who was of his opinion, could scarcely get liberty to worship God in the room without disturbance, calling him a devil, &c. And those who were faithful, and a comfort to him, were still taken from him, and executed, while he was retained (his time not being yet come) in prison, where he was sometime with one John Scarlet, who, he says, was one of the basest of creatures.

To relate all the trials and difficulties he underwent, during the time of his imprisonment, near the space of two years and a half, with his various exercises, with the remarkable goodness of God towards him all that time, would be more than can conveniently be accomplished at present. I shall only notice one or two very strange occurrences of divine providence towards him; which he observes, with a few of his own expressions concerning himself and exercise, and his condition towards the end of his narrative and life also: which follows in his own words.

"I have no reason," says he, "but to go through with cheerfulness, whatever he puts me to for owning his cause: for if it had not been his

re to me, I might have been a sufferer for the worst of crimes : is in me what is in the worst of creatures ; a remarkable instance . I was trusty with long since, which, while I live, I will not . Being at home working with my father, and having mended a k to an honest woman, I went home with it to put it on. The not being at leisure, there was a gun standing beside me ; and es having guns amongst my hands to dress, took it up, and, not g that it was loaded, thinking the gun not good, tried to fire it ; on it went off, and the ball went up through a loft above, and ost killed a woman and a child ; and had not Providence direct-shot, I had suffered as a murderer : and am I not obliged to ad suffer for the *chiefest among ten thousand*, that has so honoured or wretch ? for many other things have escaped me ; but I may to mention what the Lord has done for me, both at field-preach- other places.

ve had a continued warfare, and my predominants grew mightily nd, which made my life sometimes heavy ; but among the many ghts and days I have had, was that 23d in the evening, and 24th orning, of August 1681. The Lord was kind to me. That was nning of mornings indeed, whereon I got some of the Lord's d whereon I got an open door, and got a little within the court, e was allowed to give in what I had to say, either as to my own se, or the case of the church, which is low at this day. I have ad some sweet days since : but I have misguided them, and could in with him ; for my corruptions are so mighty, that sometimes een made to cry out, Woes me that ever I was born a man of d contention to many ! *O wretched man that I am ! who shall de- from the body of this death ?* But the Lord maketh up all again love ; so that I have many ups and downs in my case. I have some things particularly worthy remark ; such as, one night I was by a French captain, when out of town ; but the Lord remark- ered me, and brought me back again. So the Lord has let me ight have suffered for worse actions. So that I have no ground for God while I live, and bless his name that ever honoured me dignity of suffering for his name and honourable cause.

it will become of me, is yet uncertain ; but upon some considera- at the land was doing in bringing in Popery, the love I bear to l, and his righteous cause, made me give in my protestation he parliament, which this present year, 1681, has made laws for gthening of Popery : and I could do no less ; for the glory of ; dearer to me than my life.

now, for any thing I know, I will be tortured, and my life taken, ill get no more written. As to any that read it, I beg of them ll that is evil in my life, as they wish to shun hell ; and if there ing in it that is for use, I request the Lord that he may bring upon them when I am gone, and make it useful for them that . So I bid you all farewell, desiring none of you may slight your duty as I have done ; but shun the appearances of evil, cleave to is good, and spend much of your time with God. Be not for day ; and give not ever much sleep unto yourselves.—O ! you would be prevailed with to spend time for God, it would be that and most desirable service ever you took in hand. O be its fall in love with him, who is, without compare, *the chiefest*

among ten thousand, yea, altogether lowly.—Take him for your all, and bind yourselves hand and foot to his obedience. Let your ears be nailed to the posts of his doors, and be his servants for ever.

“And now, seeing I get no more time allowed me here on earth, I close with my hearty farewell to all friends; and pray the Lord may guide them in all truth, and keep them from dreadful snares that are coming through this covenanted land of Scotland. So I bid you all farewell, and be faithful to the death. I know not certainly what may become of me after this; but I look and expect, that my time in this world is now near an end, and so desire to welcome all that the Lord sends. Thinking presently to be called in before God’s enemies, I subscribe it,

ROBERT GARNOCK.”

Sept. 28. 1781.

And having now with pleasure heard somewhat of the life and exercises of Robert Garnock, we come now to notice somewhat antecedent to his trial, death, or martyrdom, which now hastens apace. So, according to his own expectation above narrated, he was brought before the Council on October 1, where he disowned the King’s authority, refused them as his judges, and on the 7th was brought before the Justiciary, and indicted “That he did before the Council, on the 1st of October, decline the authority of the King and Council, and called the King and Council tyrant murderers, perjured, and mansworn; declaring it was lawful to raise arms against them; and gave in a most treasonable paper, termed, *Protestation and Testimony against Parliamenters*; wherein he terms the members of parliament idolaters, usurpers of the Lord’s inheritance; and protests against their procedure in their hell-hatched acts; which paper is signed by his hand, whereby he is guilty of treason. And further, gave in a declaration to the Council, wherein the said Robert Garnock disowns the King’s authority and government, and protests against the Council as tyrants. ‘Therefore,’ &c. By such an explicit confession, his own protest being turned to an indictment, without any matters of fact against him, there was no difficulty of probation, his own protest and declination produced before the Justiciary and assize to whom he was removed. But before the assize were enclosed, Robert Garnock, and other five who were indicted with him, delivered a paper to the inquest, containing a protestation and warning, wherein “they advise them to consider what they are doing, and upon what grounds they pass a sentence upon them. They declare they are no rebels; they disown no authority that is according to the word of God, and the covenants the land is bound to. They charge them to consider how deep a guilt covenant-breaking is, and put them in mind they are to be answerable to the great Judge for what they do in this matter; and say they do this, since they are in hazard of their lives, and against them. It is a dangerous thing to pass a sentence on men merely because of their conscience and judgment, because they cannot in conscience yield to the iniquitous laws of men, that they are free subjects, never taken in any action contrary to the sent laws. Adding, that those whom they once thought should obey the rule for God, have turned their authority for tyranny and inhumanity, and employ it both in destroying the laws of God, and murdering people against and without law, as we ourselves can prove and see when brought in before them. After two years imprisonment, at

them most cruelly and tyrant-like rose from the place of judgment, and drew a sword, and would have killed one of us; but Providence ordered otherwise; however, the wound is yet to be shewn. The like action was never heard or read of. After reminding them of David Finlay, murdered at Newmills, Mr. Mitchell's case, and James Lermund, who was murdered after he was three times freed by the assize, they added, that after such murders as deserve death, they cannot see how they can own them as judges, charging them to notice what they do; assuring them their blood will be heavy upon them: concluding with Jer. xxvi. 5; and charging them not to take innocent blood on their heads." Subscribed at Edinburgh, October 7, 1681.

ROBERT GARNOCK, D. FARRIE, JA. STEWART, ALEXR. RUSSELL,
PAT. FORMAN, and G. LAFSLY.

Notwithstanding all this, they were brought in guilty, and sentenced to be executed at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, upon the 10th instant; Forman's hand to be cut off before, and the heads and hands of the rest after death, and to be set upon the Pleasance Port.

What his deportment and exercises were, at the place of execution, we are at a loss to describe; but, from what is already related, we may safely conclude, that, through divine grace, his demeanour was truly noble and Christian. But, that the reader may guess somewhat of his exercises, temper and disposition, about that time, I shall extract a few sentences of his own words from his last speech and dying testimony.

"I bless the Lord, that ever he honoured the like of me with a bloody sheet, and bloody winding-sheet, for his noble, honourable, and sweet cause. O, will ye love him, Sirs? O, he is well worth the loving, and sitting all for. O, for many lives to seal the sweet cause with: if I had many lives as there are hairs on my head, I would think them all little but martyrs for truth. I bless the Lord, I do not suffer unwillingly, or by constraint, but heartily and cheerfully. I have been a long time prisoner, and have been altered of my prison. I was amongst and in the company of the most part who suffered since Bothwell, and was in company with many ensnaring persons; though I do not question their being godly folk; and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counsel. Glory, glory to his holy and sweet name. It is many times I wonder how I have done such and such things; but it is he that has done it: he hath done all things in me and for me: holy is his name. I bless the Lord I am this day to step out of time into eternity, and I am no more troubled, than if I were to take a match by marriage on earth, and not so much. I bless the Lord I have much peace of conscience in what I have done. O, but I think it a very weighty piece of business to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled. Indeed the Lord is kind, and has trained me up for this day, and now I cannot him no longer. I shall be filled with his love this night; for I will be with him in paradise, and get a new song put in my mouth, the song of Moses and the Lamb: I will be in amongst the general assembly of the first-born, and enjoy the sweet presence of God and his Son Jesus Christ, and the spirits of just men made perfect: I am sure of it. Now, my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himself, and ho-

Probably this was R. Garnock, who, though a private man, was honoured of the Lord to be a public witness, which was most galling to them.

nouring me with my worthy pastor Mr. James Guthrie : although I had nothing when he was alive, yet the Lord hath honoured me to protest against Popery, and to seal it with my blood ; and he hath honoured me to protest against Prelacy, and to seal it with my blood. The Lord has kept me in prison to this day for that end. Mr. Guthrie's house is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine must go on another. Give glory to the Lord's sweet name, for what he hath done for me.

" Now I bless the Lord, I am not, as many suspect me, thinking get to heaven by my suffering. No, there is no attaining of it but thro' the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye that are the true seed of God, and the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent, and run the Time is precious : O make use of it, and act for God ; contend for truth stand for God against all his enemies ; fear not the wrath of man ; fight one another ; wrestle with God ; mutually, in societies, confess your sins one to another ; pray one with another ; reprove, exhort, and rebuke one another in love. Slight no commanded duty : be faithful in your stations, as ye will be answerable at the great day ; seek not counsel from men ; follow none further than they hold by truth.

" Now, farewell, sweet reproaches, for my lovely Lord Jesus, though once they were not joyous but grievous, yet now they are sweet. Alas I bless the Lord for it ; I heartily forgive all men for any thing they have said of me ; and I pray it may not be laid unto their charge in the day of accounts : and for what they have done to God and his cause, I leave that to God and their own conscience. Farewell, all Christian acquaintances, father, mother, &c. Farewell, sweet prison, for my royal Lord Jesus Christ, now at an end. Farewell, all crosses of one sort or another : as ye so farewell, every thing in time, reading, praying, and believing. We come, eternal life, and the spirits of just men made perfect : welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : into thy hands I commit my spirit.—*Sic subscribitur.*

" ROBERT GARNOCK."

Accordingly, the foregoing sentence in all its parts was executed upon them all, except Lapsly, who got off. And so they had their passage from the valley of misery to the celestial country above, to inhabit that land where the inhabitants say not, *I am sick, and the people that dwell there are forgiven all their iniquities.*

Thus ended Robert Garnock in the flower of his youth ; a young man but old in experimental religion. His faithfulness was as remarkable as his piety, and his courage and constancy as both. He was inured to tribulations almost from his youth, wherein he was so far from being discouraged at the cross of Christ, that he, in imitation of the primitive martyrs, seemed rather ambitious of suffering. He always aimed at honesty ; and notwithstanding all opposition from pretended friends and professed foes, he was, by the Lord's strength, enabled to remain unshaken to the last : for, though he was nigh tripped, yet with the faithful man he was seldom foiled, never vanquished. May the Lord enable many in this apostate, insidious, and lukewarm generation, to emulate the martyr, in imitation of him who now inherits the promise, *Be ye faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*

N. B. The faithful and pious Mr. Renwick was present, and was much affected at the above execution : after which, he assembled some friends and lifted their bodies in the night, and buried them in the West Kir

ry also got their heads down; but, day approaching, they could not ke the same place, but were obliged to turn aside to Laurieston's yards, whom one Alexander Tweedie, then in company with them, was gar- er, it is said, planted a white-rose bush above them, and a red one below n a little; which proved more fruitful than any bushes in all the den. This place being uncultivated for a considerable time, they lay October 7, 1728, that another gardener, trenching the ground, found n. They were lifted, and by direction were laid on a table in the nder house of the proprietor; and a fair linen cloth cut out and laid n them, where all had access to come and see them; where they be- } a hole in each head, which the hangman broke with his hammer, n he drove them on the pikes. On the 19th, they were put in a full in, covered with black, and by some friends carried into Grayfriars ch-yard, and interred near the martyrs tomb, being near forty-five n since their separation from their bodies: they were reburied on the n day, Wednesday, about four o'clock afternoon, the same time that t they went to their resting place: and attended, says one present, sh the greatest multitude of people, old and young men and women, sters and others, that ever I saw together." And there they lie, iving a glorious resurrection on the morning of the last day, when y shall be raised up with more honour, than at their death they were nd with reproach and ignominy.

 MR. ROBERT M-WARD.

MR. ROBERT M-WARD was born in Glenluce. After he had gone hgh his course of learning at the university, he was ordained minister he gospel at Glasgow, where he continued for sometime, in the faith- e-charge of his duty, until the year 1661, that this good man and eparate preacher began to observe the design of the then managers e-earn the whole covenanted-work of reformation. In the month ebruary that year, he gave a most faithful and seasonable testimony n the glaring defections of that time, in an excellent sermon in the e Church of Glasgow, upon a week-day; which sermon was after- e the ground of a most severe prosecution. His text was in Amos e, *You have I known of all the families of the earth, &c.* He had preached e for sometime upon the week-days; and, after he had run through e and abounding sins, and those of the city, he came to the general e personal sins, that were then abounding; and, having enlarged upon e things in scriptural eloquence, in a most moving way, he gives e many pertinent directions to mourn, consider, repent, and re- e people and pour out their souls before the Lord, and encourag- e to these duties from this, "That God would look upon e as their dissent from what is done, prejudicial to his work e, and marked them among the mourners of Zion." But what e noticed, was that with which he closeth this sermon, "As e here (saith he.) as a poor member of this church of Scotland, e worthy minister in it, I do this day call you who are the people e, that I humbly offer my dissent to all acts which are e against the covenants and the work of reformation in

he defended, by scripture and reason, his expressions in his a
the bar of the House.

And although his excellent speech had not the influence
have been expected, yet doubtless it had some, for the H
coming to an issue at this time. He indeed expected a sente
which no way damped him; but his Master had more, an
derable work too, for him elsewhere. Whether it was
from Court to shed no more blood, or for other certain
is not known; but his affair was delayed for sometime, and
encouragement given him of success; he, upon the Mond
gave in a supplication to the parliament, wherein he exchange
protest and dissent, which he had used in his sermon, with t
fying, solemnly declaring, and bearing witness; and yet,
time declares, he is not brought to this alteration, so much
his person, &c. as from an earnest desire to remove out of
or the least occasion of stumbling, that there may be the mo
easy access, without prejudice of words, to ponder and give
the matter, &c.; and withal, humbly prostrates himself at th
feet, to be disposed of as they shall think meet.

This supplication, with what went before, might have
persecutors, (as the forecited historians observe,) and yet it h
for Mr. Sharp and his friends resolved now to be rid, as m
could, of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers; a
he behoved to be banished, which was the highest thing th
to, unless they had taken his life. Upon the 5th or 6th of J
liament gave him for answer, "That they pass sentence of
upon the supplicant, allowing him six months to tarry in the
of which only in Glasgow, with power to him to receive th
year's stipend, at departure."

His Master having work for him elsewhere, he submitte
tence, and transported himself and his family to Rotterdam

of Primate Sharp, wrote to the States-General to cause remove James Wallace, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown, out of their provinces. But the States, considering that Mess. M'Ward and Brown had already submitted unto the Scots law, and received the sentence of banishment, during life, out of the King's dominion, and having come under their protection, could not be imposed on to remove them out of these provinces, or be any further disquieted; and for this end sent a letter to their ambassador at the Court of England, to signify the same to his Majesty.

After this, this famous man was concerned in ordaining worthy and faithful Mr. Richard Cameron, when in Holland, in the year 1679, and afterwards sent him home, with positive instructions to lift and bear up a free and faithful standard against every defection and encroachment made upon the church of Christ in these lands, and particularly the indulgences, against which Mr. M'Ward never failed to give a free and faithful testimony, as is evident from several of his writings, particularly that in answer to Mr. Fleming.

He remained at Rotterdam, until sometime about the year 1681 or 1682, that he died. It is said, that when in his last sickness, he desired Mr. Shields, and some other friends, to carry him out to see a comet or blazing-star, that then appeared; and when he saw it, he blessed the Lord that now he was about to close his eyes, and was not to see the joyful days that were coming on Britain and Ireland, but especially upon faithful Scotland. After which he died, and entered into his Master's joy, after he had been for twenty years absent from his native country.

It were altogether superfluous here to insist upon the character of this faithful minister and witness of Jesus Christ, seeing that his own writings so fully evidence him to have been a man of admirable eloquence, (not to speak of his learning,) and singular zeal and faithfulness. While remaining in Holland, he wrote several pieces, which are said to be the following: The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland, published about 1679; Earnest Condemnings, &c. published in 1723; Banders Disbanded; with several Preliminary Epistles to some of Mr. Brown's Works. He wrote also many other papers and letters, but especially, a History of the Defections of the Church of Scotland, which has never hitherto been published. Some accounts say that Naphtali was wrote by him.

CAPT. JOHN PATON.

JOHN PATON was born at Meadow-head, in the parish of Fenwick, and near the town of Ayr. He was brought up in the art and occupation of husbandry, near the state of manhood. But of the way and manner in which he went at first to the military life, there are various accounts. Some say that he enlisted at first a volunteer, and went abroad to the wars in Germany, where, for some heroic achievement, at the taking of a certain town (probably by Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden,) he was advanced to Captain's post; and that when he returned home he was so far from being known, that his parents scarcely knew him. Other accounts bear, that he went with the Scots army (or militia) who went to England in Janu-

ary 1643-4, and was at the battle of Marston-muir; at which place, it is said, that by some bad drink an asthmatical disorder was contracted in his breast, which continued ever after.

But whatever of the ways, or if both ways were certain, he behaved to return very suddenly home; for it is said, that in 1645, when the several ministers in the western shires were called out upon the head of their own parish militia, to oppose Montrose's insurrection, he was called out by Mr. William Guthrie, or, as some say, taken by him from the plough, and, under the character of a captain, behaved with much gallantry, about that time, among the covenanters, particularly upon their defeat by Montrose at Kilsyth, which fell out in the following manner.

Montrose, having upon July 2d, obtained a victory over the covenanters, advanced over the Forth; upon the 14th, he encamped at Kilsyth near Stirling, and upon the 15th, encountered the covenanters army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Bailie. At the first onset, some of Montrose's Highlanders, going too far up the hill, were environed by the covenanters, and like to have been worsted; but the old Lord Airly being sent from Montrose with fresh supplies of men, the covenanters were obliged to give way, and were by the enemy turned over into a standing marsh or bog, where there was no probability either of fighting or escaping. In this hurry, one of the Captain's acquaintance, when sinking, cried out to him, for God's sake to help; but when he got time to look that way, he could not see him, for he was gone through the surface of the marsh, and could never be found afterwards. Upon this disaster, the swiftest of the covenanters horse got to Stirling: the foot were mostly killed on the spot, and in the chase, which, according to some historians, continued for the space of fourteen miles, whereby the greater part of the covenanters army was either drowned, or by these cruel savages cut off and killed.

In this extremity, the Captain, as soon as he could get free of the bog, with sword in hand made the best of his way through the enemy, till he had got safe to the two Colonels Hacket and Strahan, who all three rode off together; but had not gone far till they were encountered by about fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed, except two who escaped. When they had gone a little farther, they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of these they killed ten, so that only three of them could make their escape. But, upon the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the Colonels said, in a familiar dialect, Johnny, if thou dost not somewhat now, we are all dead men. To whom the Captain answered, Fear not; for we will do what we can before we either yield or flee before them. They killed nine of them, and put the rest to flight.

About this time the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people: for Montrose having defeated the covenanters at five or six different times, the Committee of Estates began to bethink themselves, and for that end saw cause to recall General Leslie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England. To oppose him, Montrose marched southward; but was shamefully routed by Leslie at Philipbaugh, upon the 18th of September. Many of his forces were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with much difficulty.* After which Mr. William Guthrie and Captain Paton returned home again to Fenwick.

* Although Montrose got off at this time, yet when he made another insurrection in 1650, he was fought and routed by a few troops, under the command of the forementioned

Thus matters went on till the year 1648, that there arose two factions in Scotland, which were headed by Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyle. The one party aimed at bringing down the King to Scotland; but the other opposed the same. However, the levies went on, whereby Duke Hamilton, with a potent army, marched to England. In the meanwhile, Major-General Middleton came upon a certain handful of the covenanters, assembled at the celebration of the Lord's supper at Mauchline, a small village in the shire of Ayr. At which place were Mess. William Ardair, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, ministers, and the Earl of Loudon, who solicited Middleton to let the people dismiss in a peaceable manner; which he promised to do. But, in a most perfidious way, he fell upon them the Monday after, which occasioned some bloodshed on both sides; for Captain Paton, being still aware of their malignants, notwithstanding all their fair promises, caused his people from Fenwick to take arms with them; which accordingly they did; whereby they only made resistance; yea, it is said, that the Captain that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand.

But Duke Hamilton and his army being defeated, and he himself afterwards beheaded, the English pursuing the victory, Cromwell and his men entered Scotland, by which means the engagers were not only made to yield, but quite dispersed. Whereupon some of the stragglers came west plundering, and took up their residence, for sometime, in the mairs of Loudon, Eglesham, and Fenwick, which made the Captain again better himself; and taking a party of Fenwick men, he went in quest of them, and found some of them at a certain house in the parish of Lochgoon, and there gave them such a fright, though without any bloodshed, at which they give their promise never to trouble or molest that house, or any other place in the bounds again, under pain of death; and they went off without any further molestation.

Charles I. having been beheaded, January 30, 1648-9, and Charles II. called home from Breda, 1650, upon notice of an invasion from the English, the Scotch Parliament appointed a levy of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse, to be instantly raised for the defence of the King and kingdom; among whom it behoved the Captain again to take the field, for he was now become too popular to be hid in obscurity.

Accordingly Cromwell and his army entered Scotland in July 1650; after which several skirmishes ensued betwixt the English and the Scots' army, till the Scots were, by Cromwell and his army, upon the 3d of September, totally routed at Dunbar. After which, the act of classes being repealed, both church and state began to act in different capacities, and to look as suspiciously on one another as on the common enemy. There were in the army, on the protesters' side, Colonels Kerr, Hackett and Strahan, and of inferior officers, Major Stuart, Captain Arnot, brother to the Laird of Lochridge, Captain Paton, and others. The contention came to such a crisis, that the Colonels Kerr and Strahan left the King's army, and came to the west with some other officers; and many of them were esteemed the most religious and best affected in the army.

Colonels Strahan, Hackett and Kerr, and he himself taken afterwards in the Laird of Assen's bond and brought to Edinburgh, where he was by the parliament condemned to be hanged, May 21, on a gallows sixty feet high, three hours space: his head to be cut off, and placed on the tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom; which was executed accordingly. See the History of the Civil Wars, p. 30. Montrose's Memoire, p. 317, &c.

They proceeded so far as to give battle to the English at Hamilton, but were worsted; the Lord's wrath having gone forth against the whole land, because Achan was in the camp of our Scottish Israel.

The King and the Scotch army, being no longer able to hold out against the English, shifted about, and went for England; and about the end of August 1651, had Worcester surrendered to them. But the English army following hard upon their heels, they were by them totally routed upon the 3d of September, which made the King fly out of the kingdom. After this the Captain returned home, when he saw how fruitless and unsuccessful this expedition had been.

About this time, he took up the farm of Meadow-head, where he was born, and married one Janet Lindsay, who lived with him but a very short time. And here he no less excelled in the duties of the true Christian life, in a private station, than he exceeded others while a soldier in the camp; and being under the ministry of that faithful man Mr. William Guthrie, by whom he was made a member of his session; and continued so till that bright and shining light in the church was turned out by Charles II. who was again restored; and the yoke of supremacy and tyranny was by him wreathed about the neck of both church and state, whereby matters grew still worse, till 1660, that upon some insolences committed in the south and west by Sir James Turner, some people rose, under the command of Barscob, and other gentlemen from Galloway, for their own defence. Several parties from the shire of Ayr joined them, commanded by Colonel James Wallace from Achans: Captain Arnot came with a party from Mauchline; Lockart of Wicketshaw, with a party from Carluke; Major Lermount, with a party from above Galston; Neilson of Corsack, with a party from Galloway; and Captain Paton, who now behoved to take the field again, commanded a party of horse from Loudon, Fenwick, and other places. And being assembled, they went eastward, renewed the covenants at Lanark; and from thence went to Bathgate, then to Collington, and so on till they came to Rullion, near Pentland hills, where they were upon that fatal day, November 28, attacked by General Dalziel and the King's forces. At their first onset, Captain Arnot, with a party of horse, fought a party of Dalziel's men with good success; and after him, another party made the General's men fly; but upon their last rencounter, about sun-setting, Dalziel, being repulsed so often, advanced the whole left wing of his army upon Colonel Wallace's right, where he had scarce three weak horse to receive them, and were obliged to give way. Here Captain Paton, who was all along with Captain Arnot in the first encounter, behaved with great courage and gallantry. Dalziel, knowing him in the former wars, advanced upon him himself, thinking to take him prisoner. Upon his approach, each presented their pistols. Upon their first discharge, Captain Paton perceiving the pistol-ball to hoop down upon Dalziel's boots, and knowing what was the cause, (he having proof,) put his hand to his pocket for some small pieces of silver he had there for the purpose, and put one of them into his other pistol. But Dalziel, having his eye on him in the meanwhile, retreated behind his own man, who by that means was slain. The Colonel's men, being flanked in on all hands by Dalziel's men, were broke and overpowered in all their ranks; so that the Captain and other two horsemen from Fenwick were surrounded, five men deep, by the General, through whom he and the two men at his back had to

take their way, when there was almost no other on the field of battle; having, in this encounter, stood nearly an hour.

Whenever Dalziel perceived him go off, he commanded three of his men to follow hard after him, giving them marks whereby they should know him. Immediately they came up with the Captain, before whom was a great slough or stank in the way, out of which three Galloway men had just drawn their horses. They cried to the Captain, what could they do now? He answered them, what was the fray—he saw but three men coming upon them; and then caused his horse jump the ditch, and faced about, with his sword drawn in his hand, stood still, till the first, coming up, endeavoured to make his horse jump over also. Upon which, he with his sword* clave his head in two; and his horse being mangled, fell into the bog, with the other two men and horse. He told them to take his compliments to their master, and tell him he was not coming this night; and came off, and got safe home at last.

After this, Christ's followers and witnesses were reduced to many hardships, particularly such as had been any way accessory to the rising at Scotland, so that they were obliged to resort to the wildernesses, and other desolate and solitary places. The winter following, he and about twenty persons had a very remarkable deliverance from the enemy.—Being assembled at Lochgoin, upon a certain night, for fellowship and friendly conversation, they were miraculously anticipated or prevented by a repeated dream of the enemy's approaching, by the old man of the house, who was gone to bed for some rest on account of his infirmity, so that just with as much time as they could make their escape, the enemy being within forty falls of the house. After they got off, the old man rose up quickly, and met them with an apology for the circumstance of the house was then in, (it being but a little after day-break:) and being at that time was discovered.

About this time, the Captain sometimes remained at home, and sometimes in such remote places wherein he could best be concealed from the eyes of his persecutors. He married a second wife, one Janet Miller of Eglesham, (whose father fell at Bothwell bridge;) by whom he had six children, who continued still to possess the farm of Meadowhead at Artnock in tack, until the day of his death.

He was also one who frequented the pure preached gospel wherever he could obtain it; and was a great encourager of the practice of carrying arms for the defence thereof, which he took to be a proper mean in order to restrain the enemy from violence. But things growing still worse and worse, new troops of horse and companies of foot being poured in into the western shires, on purpose to suppress and search out these field-preachers, which occasioned their rising again in 1679. While, by these multiplied severities, they were, with those of whom the apostle speaks, *troubled, afflicted, and tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; and they were driven in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth,* Heb. xi. 38.

After that suffering remnant, under the command of Mr. Robert Hamilton, having got the victory over Claverhouse on the 1st of June 1676, at a place called Evandale, in which skirmish there was about thirty-six or

thirty sword or short shabblie yet remains. It was then, by his progenitors, counted as twenty-eight gaps in its edge, which made them afterwards observe, that there were just as many years of the persecution as there were steps or broken pieces in its

forty of that bloody crew killed, they went on the next day for Glasgow in pursuit of the enemy: but that proving unsuccessful, they returned back; and on June 3d formed themselves into a camp, and held a council of war. On the 4th they rendezvoused at Kyperidge, &c.; and on the 5th they went to Commissary Fleming's park, in the parish of Killybeg, by which time, Captain Paton, who all this time had not been idle, joined them with a body of horsemen from Fenwick and Galston; and others joined them, so that they were greatly increased.

They had hitherto been of one heart and one mind: but a company of horse from Carrick came to them, with whom were Mr. W. and some other ministers who favoured the indulgence; after which they never had a day to do well, until they were defeated at Bothwell-bridge upon the 22d of June following.

The protesting party were not for joining with those of the Episcopal side, till they should declare themselves fully for God and his cause against all and every defection whatever: but Mr. Welch and his friends found out a way to get rid of such officers as they feared most opposed to them; for orders were given to Rathillet, Haugh-head, Carmichael, Mr. Smith, to go to Glasgow, to meet with Mr. King and Captain Paton, and they obeyed. When at Glasgow, Mr. King and Captain Paton drove them out of the town, as they apprehended, to preach somewhere within the town; but at last, upon inquiry where they were going, it was answered, according to orders sent privately to Mr. King and Captain Paton, that they were to go and disperse a meeting of the enemies at Campsie; but upon going there, they found no such thing; which they believe it was only a stratagem to get free of Mr. King and the rest of the faithful officers. Upon which they returned.

The faithful officers were Mr. Hamilton, General Hackston of Rathillet, Hall of Haugh-head, Captain Paton in Meadowhead, John Baillie of Kinloch, Mr. Walter Smith, William Carmichael, William Cleland, James Henderson, and Robert Fleming. Their ministers were Donald Cargill, Thomas Douglas, John Kid, and John King; for Richard Cameron was then in Holland. Henry Hall of Haugh-head, John Paton in Meadowhead, William Carmichael, and Andrew Hall, were ruling elders of the church of Scotland.

Thus the protesting party continued to struggle with the Episcopal party, in which contendings Captain Paton had no small share, till that fatal day, June 22d, when they were broke, and made to fly before the enemy. The Captain at this time was made a Major; and the accounts bear, that the day preceding he was made a Colonel. Mr. Wilson, when writing upon that affair, says, that he supposes John Paton, Robert Fleming, James Henderson, and William Cleland, were intended to be Colonels of regiments; however, as he did not enjoy this long, we find him still afterwards continued in the character of Captain John Paton.

After the defeat at Bothwell-bridge, Captain Paton made the best of his way homeward; and having had a fine horse with all manner of furniture, from the sheriff of Ayr, upon the way he gave him to a man to take home to his master; but being robbed of all its fine mounting by an old intelligencer (of the same name, as was supposed,) which much surprised the sheriff when he received the horse, and the sheriff when he got notice thereof. This was a most base and shameful design to stain the character of this honest and good man.

sufferers were now exposed to new hardships; and none more Captain Paton, who was not only declared rebel by order of provision, but also a round sum offered for his head, which made him be hotly pursued, and that even in his most secret lurking-places. At this time, a little after Bothwell, he had another most remarkable and deliverance from his blood-thirsty enemies; which fell out in this manner.

Captain, with a few more, being one night quartered in the fore-mentioned house of Lochgoin,* with James Howie, who was one of his sufferers; at which time one Captain Ingles, with a party, lay at the house of Kilmarnock's, who sent out parties on all hands to see what they could apprehend; and that night, a party, being out in quest of the sufferers, came to Meadowhead, and from thence went to a remote place in the muirs of Fenwick, called Croilburn; but finding nothing there, they went next to Lochgoin, as apprehending they would not miss their design there; and that they might come upon this house more securely, they sent about five men, with one Sergeant Rae, by a way, whereby the main body could not come so well up undiscovered.

The sufferers had watched all night, which was very stormy, by turns; and about day-break, the Captain, on account of his asthmatical disorder, went to the far end of the house for some rest. In the meanwhile, one James Woodburn went out to see if he could observe any, (but it seems he could not very surely;) and going to secret duty instead of this, which he was but a little time returned, until, on a sudden, ere they were aware, Sergeant Rae came to the inner door of the house, and cried Dogs! I have found you now. The four men took to the spence—and John Howie happened to be then in the byre, among the cattle. The wife of the house, one Isabel Howie, seeing none but the soldiers, cried to them to take to the hills, and not be killed in the house. James Woodburn took hold of Rae, as he was coming boldly forward to the door of the house in which they were, and ran him backward out of the outer door of the house, giving him such a hasty turn as made him lie on the ground. In the meanwhile, the Captain, being alarmed, got up, put on his coat, though not very hastily, and they got all out; by which time the rest of the party was up. The sergeant fired his gun at them; which John Kirkland answered by the like with his. The bullet passed so close to the sergeant, that it took off the knot of hair on the side of his head. The whole crew being now alarmed, the Captain and the rest took the way to Eglesham muirs, and they followed. Two of the men ran with the Captain, and other two stood by turns, and fired back on the enemy,

his house and family was always a harbour and succour to our late sufferers, both ministers and private Christians; for which, after this, and their nonconformity to Prelacy, they were not only harassed, pillaged and plundered, to the number of twelve times during that period, but also both the said James Howie the possessor, and his son, was, by virtue of a proclamation, May 5, 1689, declared rebels, names inserted in the fugitive-roll, and put on the parish church-doors, whereby they were exposed to close hiding, in which they escaped many imminent dangers; and were as happy as to survive the Revolution at last, yet never acceded to the Revolution, &c. But the said James Howie, when dying, November 1691, emitted a will or testimony, wherein he not only gave good and satisfying evidence of his faith in Jesus Christ, and saving interest in Jesus Christ, but also gave a most faithful testimony of his own heart's consent to the work of reformation, and that in all the parts and periods

the enemy firing on them likewise; but by reason of some wetness their guns had got in coming through the water, they were not so ready to fire, which helped the others to escape.

After they had pursued them some time, John Kirkland turned about, and stooped down on his knee, and aimed so well, that he shot a Highland serjeant through the thigh, which made the front still stoop as they came forward, till they were again commanded to run. By this time the sufferers had gained some ground; and being come to the muirs of Eglesham, the four men went to the heights, in view of the enemy, and caused the Captain, who was old and not able to run, take another way by himself. At last he got a mare upon the field, and took the liberty to mount her a little, that he might be more suddenly out of their reach. But ere he was aware, a party of dragoons going for Newmills was at hand; and what was more observable, he wanted his shoes, having cast them off before, and was riding on the beast's bare back: but he passed by them slowly, and got off undiscovered; and at length gave the mare her liberty, which returned home, and went to another of his lurking-places. All this happened on a Monday morning; and on the morning these persecutors returned, plundered the house, drove off their cattle, and left almost nothing remaining.*

About this time the Captain met with another deliverance. For he having a child removed by death, the incumbent of the parish, knowing the time when the corpse was to be interred, gave notice to a party of soldiers at Kilmarnock, to come up and take him at the burial of his child. But some persons present at the burial, persuaded him to return back, in case the enemy should come upon them at the church-yard; which accordingly did, when he was but a little distant from the church.

He was also a great succourer of those sufferers himself, in so far as his circumstances could admit, several of his fellow-companions in tribulation and patience of Jesus Christ resorting at certain times to him, such as worthy David Hackston of Rathillet, Balfour of Kinloch, and Mr. Donald Cargill; and it is said, that Mr. Cargill dispensed the sacrament of baptism to twenty-two children in his barn at Meadowbank, sometime after the engagement at Bothwell-bridge.†

But, being now near the end of his race and weary pilgrimage, at the beginning of August 1684, he came to the house of one Robert Brown in Floack, in the parish of Mearns, (formerly one of his hiding-places, where he was, by five soldiers, apprehended before ever he or any of his house were aware. He had no arms; yet the indwellers there offered their assistance, if he wanted it. Indeed they were in a condition to have rescued him; yea, he himself, once in a day, was in case to have extricated himself from double that number. But he said, it would bring them further trouble, &c.; and as for himself, he was now become weary of his life, being so hunted from place to place, and being now well advanced in years, his hidings became the more irksome; and he was not afraid to die, for he knew well, that whenever he fell into their hands, this would be the case, and he had got time to think thereon for many years; and for his interest in Christ, of that he was sure. They took him to

* In the time of this, or another plunder shortly after this, some of the soldiers burnt the Bible in the fire, in a most audacious manner.

† This seems to have been when he made a tour through Ayrshire to Glasgow. A little after, they were surprised by the enemy on a fast-day, near Loudon Hill, and he was killed.

marnock, but knew not who he was, (taking him for some old minister or other,) till they came to a place on the highway, called Morr-yeat, where the goodman of that place, seeing him in these circumstances, said, Alas! Captain Paton, are you there? And then to their joy, they knew who they had got into their hands. He was carried from Kilmarnock, (where his eldest daughter, being about fourteen years of age, got access to see him,) to Ayr, and then back to Glasgow, and soon after to Edinburgh.

It is reported as a fact, that General Dalziel met him here, and took him in his arms, saying, "John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way, before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty; but now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write to His Majesty for your life." The Captain replied, "You will not be pardoned." Dalziel said, "Will I not? If he does not grant me the life of your man, I shall never draw a sword for him again." And it is said, that, having spoken sometime together, a man came and said to the Captain, You are a rebel to the King. To whom he replied, Friend, I have done more for the King than perhaps thou hast done. Dalziel said, Yes, John, that is true, (perhaps he meant at Worcester.) And he struck the Captain on the head with his cane, till he staggered, saying, He would learn in other manners than to use such a prisoner so. After this and more reasoning, the Captain thanked him for his courtesy, and they parted.

His trial was not long delayed. Mr. Wodrow says, that April 16, the Council ordered a reward of L.20 sterling to Cornet Lewis Lauder, for apprehending John Paton, who had been a notorious rebel these eighteen years. He was brought before the Justiciary, and indicted for being with the rebels at Glasgow, Bothwell, &c. The Advocate, *ex superabundanti*, pressed his being at Pentland, and insisted on his being at Bothwell. The Lords found his libel relevant; and for probation, they refer to his own confession before the Council: John Paton, in Meadowhead in Fenwick, that he was taken in the parish of Mearns, in the house of Robert Howie of Black, and that he haunted ordinarily in the fields and muirs, confessing that he was moved by the country-people to go out in the year 1666, commanded a party at Pentland; confesses that he joined with the rebels at Glasgow, about eight days before the engagement, commanded a party at Bothwell, &c. The assize had no more to cognize upon, but his own confession, yet brought him in guilty. The Lords condemned him to be executed at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, on Wednesday the 23d of July. But, by other accounts he was charged before the Council for being a rebel since the year 1640; his being an opposer of Montrose; and being at Mauchline muir, &c.

He was prevailed on to petition the Council, upon which he was referred to the 30th, and from that to May 9, when he suffered according to the sentence. And no doubt Dalziel was as good as his word; for it is said, that he obtained a reprieve for him from the King; but that being sent to the hands of Bishop Paterson, was kept up by him till he was executed; which enraged the General not a little. It seems that they had a mind to spare him; but as he observed, in his last speech, the presence of an effectual stop to that. In the last eight days that he lived, he had a room by himself, that he might more conveniently prepare for death, which was a favour at that time granted him above many others. As to his conduct or deportment was, at the place of execution, we are not a loss to know: only it is believed it was such as well became a valiant servant and soldier of Jesus Christ; an evidence of which

we have in his last speech and dying testimony, wherein, among other things, he says, "You are come here to look on me a dying man, and you need not expect that I shall say much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus, as ever a poor sinner had to say, &c. I bless the Lord I am not come here as a thief or murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, and hate bloodshed, directly or indirectly; and now I am a poor sinner, and never could merit any thing but wrath: and I have no righteousness of my own; all is Jesus Christ's, and his alone. Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. The Council asked me, If I acknowledged authority? I said, All authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things, as if I had been a rebel since the year 1640, at Montrose's taking, and at Mauchline muir. Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do."—"In the next place he adheres to the scriptures, the covenants, and the whole work of reformation;" and then says, "Now, I leave my testimony as a dying man against that horrid usurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown-rights; I mean that supremacy established by law in these lands, which is a manifest usurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be Head to the church," Col. i. 18, &c. And further, he addressed himself in a few words to two or three sorts of people, exhorting them to be diligent in the exercise of duty; and then, in the last place, comes to salute all his friends in Christ, whether prisoned or banished, widows, the fatherless, wandering and cast out for Christ's sake and the gospel's. He forgave all his enemies, in the following words: "Now, as to my persecutors, I forgive all of them, instigators, reproachers, soldiers, private council, justiciaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me; but what they have done in despite against the image of God in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them, but I wish they may seek forgiveness of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedly." Then he leaves his wife and six small children on the Lord, takes his leave of worldly enjoyments, and concludes, saying, "Farewell, sweet scriptures, preaching, praying, reading, singing, and all duties. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I desire to commit my soul to thee in well-doing. Lord, receive my spirit."*

Thus another gallant soldier of Jesus Christ came to his end, the actions of whose life, and demeanour at death, do fully indicate that he was of no rugged disposition, as has been by some asserted of these our late sufferers; but rather of a meek, judicious, and Christian conversation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulness for the cause and interest of Zion's King and Lord. He was of a middle stature, (as accounts bear,) strong and robust, somewhat fair of complexion, with large eye-brows. But what enhanced him more, was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergent occasion; and though his extraction was but mean, it might be truly said of him, That he lived a hero, and died a martyr.

* The reader may consult his last speech, which is at full length in the Cloud of Witnesses.

JOHN NISBET OF HARDHILL.

JOHN NISBET, born about the year 1627, was son to James Nisbet, and really descended from one Murdoch Nisbet in Hardhill, who, about 1600, joined those called the Lollards of Kyle; but a persecution being raised against them, he fled over seas, and took a copy of the New Testament in writing. Sometime after, he returned home, digged a vault in the bottom of his own house, into which he retired, serving God, reading his new book, and instructing such as had access to him. But to return.

John Nisbet being somewhat advanced in years, and one who had the advantage of a tall, strong, well-buit body, and of a bold, daring, public spirit, went abroad, and joined in the military, which was of great use to him afterwards. Having spent some time in foreign countries, he returned to Scotland, and swore the covenants when King Charles, at his coronation, swore them at Scoone in 1650. Then, having left the military, he came home and married one Margaret Law, who proved an equal, true, and kind yoke-fellow to him all the days of her life, and by whom he had several children, three of whom survived himself, viz. Hugh, James, and Alexander.

In the month of December 1683, she died on the eighth day of her sickness, and was buried in Stone-house church-yard. This behoved to be done in the night, because it might not be known, neither would any do it, but such as might not appear in the day-time. The curate having knowledge of it, threatened to take the corpse up, burn it, or cast it to the dogs; but some of the persecuted party sent him a letter, assuring him, that if he touched these graves, they would burn him and his family, and all he had; so he desisted.

He early applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, which, through the grace of God, was so effectual, that he not only became well acquainted with the most interesting parts of practical religion, but also attained no small degree of knowledge in points of principle, which proved of unspeakable advantage to him in all that occurred to him in the after-part of his life, in maintaining the testimony of that day.

He married, and took up the Hardhill in the parish of Loudon, in which station he behaved with much discretion and prudence. For no sooner did Prelacy and Erastianism appear on the field, in opposition to our ancient and laudable form of church-government, at the restoration of Charles II., than he took part with the Presbyterian side. And having, in 1664, got a child baptized by one of the ejected ministers, (as they were then called,) the incumbent or curate of the parish was so enraged, that he declared his resolution from the pulpit, to excommunicate him the next Lord's day. But, behold, the Lord's hand interposed here; for before that day came the curate was landed in eternity.

This gentleman, being always active for religion, and a great encourager of field-meetings, was, with the rest of Christ's faithful witnesses, obliged to go without the camp bearing his reproach. When that faithful remnant assembled together, and renewed the covenant at Lanark, 1666, his conscience summoned him out to join them in that particular circumstance; which being known, and he threatened for such an action, he resolved to follow these persecuted people, and so kept with them in arms

is, not accepting deliverance, that he might preserve enjoyment of the gospel, faithfully preached in the a man of a public spirit, a great observer of fellow- (as! a duty too much neglected.) and very staunch testimony, and became very popular among the more sufferers, and was by them often employed as one of rs to their general meetings, which they had established his, that they might the better understand the mind carrying on a testimony in that broken state.

remarkable was—The Sabbath night, (being that eight as taken,) as he and four more were travelling, it being thick, small rain; no moon, for that was not her season; the clouds clave asunder, toward east and west, over a light sprang out beyond that of the sun, which lasted of two minutes. They heard a noise, and were much one to another, What may that mean? but he spoke ing three deep groans. One of them asked him, What He said, “ We know not well at present, but within a know better: yet we have a *more sure word of prophecy*, unto and do well to take heed:” And then he groaned again, for me, I am ready to live or to die for him, as he in his will call me to it, and bear me through in it; and although much from prelates and false friends, these twenty-one I would not for a thousand worlds I had done otherwise; and spares me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths; am ready to seal his cause with my blood; for I have longed sixteen years, and it may be I will ere long get it to do his will; and if he will help me through with it, I shall all eternity:” which made them all wonder, he being a d man; for although he was a strict observer of the Sabbath, niner of the scripture, and a great wrestler in prayer, yet he rved as to his own case and soul’s concernment, that few t was with him as to that, until he came to prison.

and more could not escape the knowledge of the managers, as from Earlston’s answers before the Council, 1683; and wa ne of the articles that John Richmond suffered for, at the asgow, March 19, 1684, was his being in company with John his made the search after him and other sufferers more des- hereupon, in the month of November 1683, having retired, ber of his lurking-places, to a certain house called Midland, n of Fenwick, where were assembled for prayer and other re- cises, on a Saturday’s night, other three of his faithful bre- Peter Gemmel, a younger brother of the house of Horsehill, parish; George Woodburn, a brother of the Woodburns, in f Loudon; and one John Fergushill from Tarbolton. Upon Lieutenant Nisbet, and a party of Colonel Buchan’s dragoons, a quest of the wanderers, (as they were sometimes called,) d on the Sabbath morning to depart. But old John Fergus- ng able to go by reason of some infirmities, they were ob- urn back with him, after they had gone a little way from the were the same day apprehended. The way and manner of his answers, both at Ayr and before the Council at Edin-

could not suffer us to cast off our clothes. On Monday, on the way to Ayr, he raged against me, and said, that I had the blood of the three men on my head that were killed yesterday; and that I was guilty of it, and the cause of all the troubles that were come on the poor barony of Cunningham, first and last. But when we came near the town, he filled me out from the rest, and soberly asked me, What he should say for the superior officers in my behalf? I told him, that if the Lord would keep me from wronging truth, I was at a point already in what he put me to as to suffering. When we first entered the tolbooth of Ayr, there came two, and asked some things at me; but they were to little purpose. Then I was taken out with a guard, and brought before Buchan. He asked me, 1st, If I was at that conventicle? I told him, I looked upon it as my duty. 2dly, How many armed men were there? I told him, I went to hear the gospel preached, and not to take up the account of what men were there. 3dly, Where away went they? &c. I told him, it was more than I could tell. 4thly, Do you own the King? I told him, while he owned the way and work of God, I thought myself bound both to own and fight for him; but when he quitted the way of God, I thought I was obliged to quit him. 5thly, Will you own the Duke of York as King? I told him, I would not; for it was both against my principles and the laws of the nation. 6thly, Was you clear to join with Argyle? I said, No. He held me long, and spake of many things. We had the musters through hands, Popery, Prelacy, Presbyterianism, malignants, defensive and offensive arms, there being none in the room but he and I. I thought it remarkable, that all the time from Sabbath and to this present, I had and gave as much peace and quietness of my mind as ever in my life. Help me to praise him! for he alone did it. Now, my dear friends and acquaintance, cease not to pray for me while I am in the body, for I may say I fear nothing, but that, through weakness, I wrong truth. And my last advice is, that ye be more diligent in following Christian duties. Alas! that I was not more sincere, zealous, and forward for his work and cause in my day. Cease to be jealous one of another, and only let self-examination be more studied; and this, through his blessing, shall open a door to more of a Christian soul-exercise; and more of a soul-exercise, through his blessing, would keep away vain jangling, that does no way profit, but gives way to Satan and his temptations, &c.

"When I came to Edinburgh, I was kept the first night in the guard. The next night I was brought into their council-house, where were present Drummond, (viz. Perth,) Linlithgow, and one Paterson, together with some others. They first said to me, that they looked upon me as one acquainted with all that was done amongst these rebellious persons; therefore the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council would take it as a great favour, that I would be free in telling them what I knew that might most conduce to the peace and security of the nation. I told them, that when I came to particulars, I should speak nothing but truth, for I was more afraid to lie than to die; but I hoped they would be so

When he stood he then? Bishop Paterson's brother came, and clapping his hands on his shoulder, said, Thomas, as sure as God is in the heavens, you'll never see a change of government. But in this he proved a false prophet. However, he and John Gemmal were, with eleven more, banished to Barbadoes, and sold for slaves there; where they continued for about three years, and at last purchased their liberty, and returned home at the revolution. The first known person they saw, after their landing at Irvine, was Lieutenant Nisbet, by whom they had been apprehended; and of whom see more in the Appendix.

sure as I would have been. But immediately at my taking, he so shined on me, and ever since that, he and his cross are to me far beyond whatever he was before. Therefore, let none scare or stand at a distance from their duty for fear of the cross; for now I can say from experience, that it is as easy, yea, and more sweet, to lie in prison in irons, than it is to be at liberty. But I must forbear at present."

Upon the 26th, he was ordered by the Council to be prosecuted before the Justiciary. Accordingly, on the 30th, he was before the Justiciary, and arraigned, his own confession being the only proof against him, which runs thus: "John Nisbet of Hardhill, prisoner, confesses, when examined before the Council, that he was at Drumelglo, had arms, and made use of them against the King's forces; and that he was at Glasgow; and that he was at a field-meeting within these two months, between Eaglesham and Kilbride," &c. The which being read, he adhered to, but refused to subscribe it. The assize brought him in guilty; and the Lords sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket, December 4, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, and his lands, goods and gear, to be forfeited to the King's use.

It was inserted by the Council in his confession, that the reason why he could not join with Argyle was, that one Cleland told him, that Argyle and his party were against all kingly government. Mr. Wodrow thinks this false; and that it was only foisted in by the clerk of the Council, it not being the first time that things of this nature had been done by them. But he behoves to have been in a mistake here; for in one of Hardhill's papers, in manuscript, left behind him by way of testimony, he gives this as the first reason for not joining with Argyle; and the second was to the same purpose with what Mr. Wodrow has observed, viz. because the societies could not espouse his declaration, as the issue of the quarrel was not concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottish covenanters, and because it opened a door to a sinful confederacy. His sentence was accordingly executed; and he appeared upon the scaffold with a great deal of courage and Christian composure, and died with much assurance, and with a joy which none of his persecutors could meddle with. It was affirmed by some who were present at his execution, that the scaffold or gibbet gave way and came down, which made some present flatter themselves, that by some laws in being he had saved his life, as they had used to say in such cases. But behold a disappointment here, for he behoved not to escape so, for this end he was there. Immediately all was reared up, and the martyr executed.

In his last testimony, which is inserted in the Cloud of Witnesses, is a recital of many choice scripture-texts, which had been comforting and strengthening to him in the house of his pilgrimage, he comes, among other things in point of testimony, to say, "Now, my dear friends in Christ, I have always, since the public resolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my duty to join with the people, in witnessing against these sinful courses, and now seeing that it has ended in nothing less than the making us captives, that we may return to Egypt by the open doors, that are made wide to us in Popery, and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land, to be there. Wherefore, it is the unquestionable and indispensable duty of us who have any love to God, and to his Son Jesus Christ, to witness continually, and conscientiously, against all that the enemies of the Lord, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of re-

e; "for blood, blood shall be the judgment of these lands." ; the first six verses of the 34th psalm, and read the 8th chapter Romans, and prayed divinely with great presence of mind, and id. Then went up the ladder, rejoicing and praising the Lord, ll evidently saw; and so ended the race which he had run, with d patience, upon the 4th of December 1686, in the 58th year of

was a man of strong memory, good judgment, and much given enial. It is said of him, that under his hidings in a cave, near or is own house, he wrote out all the New Testament; which pro- according to some accounts, might be a transcription of an old igh one of his ancestors is said to have copied out in the time of when the scriptures were not permitted to be read in the vulgar

hill was always a man very particular upon the testimony of the igh made some compliers censure him as one too harsh and rug- nint of principle. But this must be altogether groundless; for f the forementioned manuscripts, he lets fall these words: "Now, usreports, that were so much spread of me, I declare, as a dying going out of time to eternity, that the Lord never suffered me in t to incline to follow any one of those persons who were drawn , follow erroneous principles. Only I thought it still my duty to r of them, as they had souls, wondering always wherefore I was any measure, and they got leave to fall in such a manner. I ever endure to hear one creature rail and cry out against another, g we are all alike by nature." And afterwards, when speaking yle's declaration, he farther says, "Let all beware of refusing to th ministers or professors upon account of personal infirmities, ready to raise prejudice among persons. But it shall be found a contrary to the word of God, and so contrary to God himself, to er with ministers or professors, that hold it lawful to meddle with ings; for the holy scriptures allow of no such thing. He is a od; and all that name the name of God must depart from evil." e were also twenty-six steps of defection drawn up by him, (yet in ript,) wherein he is most explicit in proving, from clear scripture- the sinfulness of the land's apostasy from God, both nationally sonally, from the public resolutions to the time of his death in He was by some thought too severe in his design of killing the s at Drumclog. But in this he was not altogether to blame; for ny's word was, No quarters, and the sufferers were the same; and it grieved Mr. Hamilton very much, when he beheld some of ared, after the Lord had delivered them into their hand. *Happy be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us*, Psalm cxxvii. 8. Yea, ll himself seems to have had clear grounds and motives for this, of the above-mentioned steps of defection, with which we shall e this narrative.

hly, As there has been rash, envious, and carnal executing of jus- his and the church's enemies, so he has also been provoked to re- st off, and take the power out of his people's hand, for being so of them, when he brought forth and gave a commission, to exe- them that vengeance due unto them, as it is, Psalm cxlix. 9. For e ought to be executed in such and such a way and manner as d, so it ought to be fully executed without sparing, as is clear.

from Joshua vii. 24, &c. For sparing the life of the enemy, and fleeing upon the spoil, 1 Sam. xv. 18. Saul is sharply rebuked; and though he excused himself, yet for that very thing he is rejected from being King. Let the practice of Drumclog be remembered and mourned for. If there was not a deep ignorance, reason might teach this; for what master, having servants, and putting them to do his work, would take such a slight at his servants hands as to do part of his work, and come and say to the master, that it is not necessary to do the rest; when the not doing of it would be dishonourable to the master, and hurtful to the whole family. Therefore was the wrath of the Lord against his people, inasmuch that he abhorred his inheritance, and hiding his face from his people, making them afraid at the shaking of a leaf, and to flee when none pursueth, being a scorn and hissing to enemies, and fear to some who desire to befriend his cause. And, O! lay to heart and mourn for what has been done to provoke him to anger, in not seeking the truth to execute judgment, and therefore he has not pardoned. *Behold! for your iniquities have you sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother away,* Isa. 1, 1. &c."

Mr. ALEXANDER PEDEN.

Mr. ALEXANDER PEDEN was born in the parish of Sorn, in the shire of Ayr. After he had passed his courses of learning at the university of Glasgow, he was, for sometime, employed to be schoolmaster, precentor, and seal clerk, to Mr. John Guthrie, minister of the gospel, then at Tarbolton. When he was about to enter into the ministry, he was accused by a young woman, as being the father of a child, which she was with. But of every aspersion he was fully cleared, by the confession of the real father. The woman, after suffering many calamities, put an end to her own life, in the very same place where Mr. Peden had spent twenty-four hours, following the divine direction, while he was embarrassed with that affair.

A little before the restoration, he was settled minister at New Glasgow in Galloway, where he continued for about the space of three years, when he was, among others, thrust out by the violence and tyranny of the Presbyteries. When he was about to depart from that parish, he lectured on Acts xx. from the seventh verse to the end, and preached in the forenoon from these words, in the 31st verse: *Therefore watch, and remember, for the space of three years I ceased not to warn every man, &c.* asserting that he had declared unto them the whole counsel of God, and had kept nothing, professing he was free from the blood of all souls. In the afternoon, he preached from the 32d verse: *And now, brethren, I commend you to the word of his grace, &c.* which occasioned a weeping day in that church. He many times requested them to be silent; but they sorrowed much all, when he told them, they should never see his face in that pulpit. He continued till night; and when he closed the pulpit-door, he laid three times very hard on it with his Bible, saying three times over, *I rest thee, in my Master's name, that none ever enter thee, but shall come in by the door, as I have done.* Accordingly, never did any

* According to Mr. Wodrow, he was sometime also precentor at Fenwick. See his History, vol. i. p. 443.

ed enter that pulpit, until the Revolution, that one of the Presby-
persuasion opened it.

out the beginning of the year 1666, a proclamation was emitted by
Council against him, and several of the ejected ministers; wherein he
charged with holding conventicles, preaching and baptizing children
alstoun in Kilmarnock parish, in October last, and another in Castle-
in Craigy parish, where he baptized twenty-five children. But upon
non-appearance at this citation, he was next year declared a rebel,
forfeited in both life and fortune.*

fter this, he joined with that faithful party, which, in the same year,
broke at Pentland hills; and with them he came the length of Clyde,
re he had a melancholy view of their end, and parted with them there:
wards, when one of his friends said to him, Sir, you did well that
them, seeing you was persuaded that they would fall and flee before
enemy, he was offended, and said, Glory, glory to God, that he sent
not to hell immediately, for I should have staid with them, though
ould have been all cut in pieces.

the same year, he met with a very remarkable deliverance. For he,
Welch, and the Laird of Glenover, riding together, they met a party
e enemy's horse, whom there was no evading. The Laird fainted;
ng they should be taken. Mr. Peden, seeing this, said, Keep up
courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arrest on these men,
they shall do us no harm. When they met, they were courteous,
asked the way. Mr. Peden went off the way, and shewed them the
of the water of Titt. When he returned, the Laird said, Why did
to? you might have let the lad go with them. No, said he, they
ave asked questions of the lad, which might have discovered us;
for me, I knew they would be like the Egyptian dogs; they could
rove a tongue against me, my time not being yet come, &c.

passed his time sometimes in Scotland, and sometimes in Ireland,†
June 1673, that he was, by Major Cockburn, taken in the house of
Ferguson of Knockdew, in Carrick, who constrained him to stay
ght. Mr. Peden told them, it would be a dear night's quarters to
both: accordingly they were both carried prisoners to Edinburgh:
the said Hugh was fined in 1000 merks for reset, harbour, and
with him. Sometime after his examination, he was sent prisoner
Bass. One Sabbath morning, being about the public worship of
a young girl, about the age of fourteen years, came to the chamber-
mocking with loud laughter, he said, Poor thing, thou laughest
reckest at the worship of God; but, ere long, God shall write such
and surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing,
very shortly after that, as she was walking on the rock, a blast of
empt her off to the sea, where she was lost.

any day, as he was walking on the rock, some soldiers were pass-
and one of them cried, The devil take him. He said, Fy, fy!
thou knowest not what thou art saying; but thou shalt repent
at which he stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted,
for Mr. Peden, saying, The devil would immediately come
him away. Mr. Peden came, and spoke to and prayed for him,
restoring came to him again, and found him in his right mind,

Scott's History, vol. i. p. 235.

*Scott, in his Eighth Additional Passage, &c. says, that he was in Ireland in the
1673; but of this we have no farther account.*

in that house where he was, went to a fair in Mauchline, and soon, when they came to take their horses, they got some he taking of which, the said Hugh broke out into railing sufferers, particularly against Mr. Cameron, who was lately; slain at Airs-moss. Mr. Peden, being in another room, all, was so grieved, that he came to the chamber-door, and Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you shall know man Mr. Cameron was: God shall punish that blasphemous ours in such a manner, that you shall be set up for a beacon railing Rabshakehs. Robert Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, his horse, being persuaded that his word would not fall to the d fearing also that some mischief might befall him in the said mpany, he hastened home to his own house, and the said e Earl's; and casting off his boots, he was struck with a sud- and pain through his body, with his mouth wide open, and hanging out in a fearful manner. They sent for the said ske some blood from him, but all in vain; for he died before

and in the year 1682, he married that singular Christian, John his house in Priesthall, in the parish of Moorkirk in Kyle, and Weir. After marriage, he said to the bride, Isabel, you have man to be your husband, but you will not enjoy him long; mpany, and keep linen by you to be his winding-sheet, for ye when you are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one; y came to pass, in the beginning of May 1685.

the year, 1682, he went to Ireland again; and coming to the William Steel in Glenwhary, in the county of Antrim, he in- frs. Steel, if she wanted a servant for threshing victual? She did; and asked what his wages were a-day and a-week? He the common rate was a common rule. To which she assented. At he put to bed in the barn with the servant-lad, and that night pray and groaning. On the morrow, he threshed with the ent next night in the same manner. The second day, the lad mistress, This man sleeps none, but groans and prays all night; o sleep with him; he threshes very well, and not sparing him- I think he hath not been used to it, &c.; and when I put the ler, he goes to such a place, and prays for the afflicted church l, and names so many people in the furnace, &c. He wrought day; and his mistress watched and overheard him praying, as said. At night she desired her husband to inquire if he was which he did, and desired him to be free with him, and he only be no enemy to him, but a friend. Mr. Peden said, he mised of his office, and gave an account of his circumstances. He no more set to work, or to lie with the lad. He staid trouble time in that place, and was a blessed instrument in the mind the civilizing others, &c. There was a servant-lad in whom he could not look upon but with frowns; and at last the said William Steel and his wife. Put her away, for she ma to your family; she is with child, and will murder it, and shed for the same: which accordingly came to pass; for which was at Carrickfergus; the usual punishment of malefactors in the year 1684, being in the house of John Slowan, in the parish of

in undergoing in Scotland ; and of the death of King Charles, the news which came not to Ireland till twenty-four hours thereafter.

After this he longed to be out of Ireland ; what through the fearful apprehension of that dismal rebellion that broke out there about four years after, and what from a desire he had to take part with the sufferers of Scotland. And before his departure from thence, he baptized a child to one John Maxwell, a Glasgow man, who had fled over from the execution, which was all the drink-money (as he expressed it) that he had to leave in Ireland.

After he and twenty Scots sufferers came aboard, he went on deck, and prayed, (there not being then the least wind,) where he made a rehearsal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and helped them in the day of their distress, and now they were in a great strait. Waving his hand to the west, from whence he desired the wind, he said, Lord, give us a loaf-full of wind ; fill the sails, Lord, and give us a fresh gale, and let us have a swift and safe passage over to the goodly land, come of us what will. When he began to pray, the sails were hanging all straight down, but ere he ended, they were all blown full, and they got a very swift and safe passage over. In the morning after they landed, he lectured ere they parted, on a brae-side ; in which he uttered some awful threatenings against Scotland, saying, The time was coming, that they might travel many miles in Galloway, Nithsdale, Ayr, and Clydesdale, and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow ; and he further added, My soul trembles to think what will become of the indulged, backslidden, and upsitten ministers of Scotland ; as the Lord lives, one of them shall ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's binnacle, nor assert Christ's kingly prerogative as Head and King of his church,

After his arrival in Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1685, he set with several remarkable deliverances from the enemy. One time, being from them on horseback, he was obliged to ride a water, where he was in imminent danger. After he got out, he cried, Lads, do not follow me, for I assure you, ye want my boat, and so will drown ; and consider where your landing will be, &c. ; which affrighted them from entering the water. At another time, being hard pursued, he was forced to take a bog and a moss before him. One of the dragoons, being more forward than the rest, ran into that dangerous bog, where he and the horse were never seen more.

About this time, he preached one Sabbath night in a sheep-house, the hazard of the time affording no better. That night he lectured upon mos vii. 8. *And I will set a plumb-line in the midst of my people, the house of Israel, &c.* In this lecture he said, I'll tell you good news. Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichrist's wing, which shall bring down the Duke of York, and banish him out of these kingdoms. And there shall never a man of the house of Stuart sit upon the throne of Britain after the Duke of York, whose reign is now short ; for their lechery, treachery, rannay, and shedding the precious blood of the Lord's people. But oh ! black will the days be that will come upon Ireland ! so that they shall travel forty miles, and not see a reeking house, or hear a cock crow, &c. When ended, he and those with him lay down in the sheep-house, and got some sleep ; and early next morning went up a burn-side, and did long. When he came back, he sung the 92d psalm, from the 7th verse to the end ; and then repeated that verse,

ried Christ; but after that he shall get up upon them; and at the rack of his winding-sheet, as many of them as are alive, who were at his trial, shall be distracted and mad with fear, not knowing what to do: Then, John, there shall be brave days, such as the church of Scotland ever saw the like; but I shall not see them, but you may.

About this time, as he was preaching in the day-time, in the parish of Pirvan, and being in the fields, one David Mason, then a professor, came a haste, trampling upon the people to be near him. At which he said, There comes the devil's rattle-bag: we do not want him here. After his, the said David became officer and informer in that bounds, running through, rattling, and summoning the people to their unhappy courts for nonconformity; at which he and his got the name of the devil's rattle-bag. Since the Revolution, he complained to his minister, that he and his family got that name. The minister said, Ye well deserved it; and he was an honest man that gave you it: you and yours must enjoy it; here is no help for that.

It is very remarkable, that being sick, and the landlord with whom he staid being afraid to keep him in his house, (the enemy being then in search of hiding people,) made him a bed among the standing corn; at which time a great rain fell out, insomuch that the waters were raised, and yet not one drop to be observed within ten feet of his bed, while he lay in that field.

Much about the same time, he came to Garfield, in the parish of Mauchline, to the house of one Matthew Hog, a smith by trade. He went to his barn, but thought himself not safe there, foot and horse of the enemy searching for wanderers, as they were then called. He desired the favour of his loft, being an old waste house two storeys high. This he refused. He then said, Weel, weel, poor man, you will not let me have the shelter of your roof; but that same house will be your judgment and ruin yet. Sometime after this, the gable of that house fell, and killed both him and his son.

His last sermon was preached in the Collinwood, at the water of Ayr, a short time before his death. In the preface before this sermon, he said, There are four or five things I have to tell you this night; and the first is, A bloody sword, a bloody sword, a bloody sword for thee, O Scotland! that shall pierce the hearts of many. 2dly, Many miles shall ye travel, and see nothing but desolation and ruinous wastes in thee, O Scotland! 3dly, The most fertile places in thee shall be as waste as the mountains. 4thly, The women with child shall be ript up and dashed in pieces. 5thly, Many a conventicle has God had in thee, O Scotland! ere long, God will make a conventicle that will make Scotland tremble. Many a preaching has God bestowed on thee; but, ere long, his judgments shall be as frequent as these precious meetings were, when he sent forth his faithful servants to give faithful warning of the word of thy apostasy from God, in breaking, burning, and burying his command, persecuting, slighting, and contemning the gospel, shedding the precious blood of his saints and servants. God sent forth a Welwood, a Kid, a Cameron, a Cargill, and others to preach to thee; but, ere long, he shall preach to thee by fire and a bloody sword. God will let none of these men's words fall to the ground, that he sent forth with a commission to preach these things in his name, &c. In the sermon, he further said, that a few years after his death, there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and Scotland's persecution

should cease; upon which every one would believe the deliverance was come, and consequently would fall fatally secure; but you will be all very far mistaken, for both Scotland and England will be scourged by foreigners, and a set of unhappy men in these lands taking part with them, before any of you can pretend to be happy, or get a thorough deliverance; which will be more severe chastisement than any other they have met with, or can come under, if once that were over.

After much wandering from place to place, through Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway, his death drawing near, he came to his brother's house, in the parish of Sorn, where he was born, where he caused dig a cave, with a willow-bush covering the mouth thereof, near to his brother's house. The enemy got notice, and searched the house narrowly several times, but they found him not. While in this cave, he said to some friends,* 1st, That God would make Scotland a desolation. 2dly, There would be a remnant in the land whom God would spare and hide. 3dly, They would be in holes and caves of the earth, and be supplied with meat and drink; and when they came out of their holes, they would not have freedom to walk for stumbling on dead corpses. And, 4thly, A stone cut out of the mountain would come down; and God would be revenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedness; and then the church would come forth with a lunny bairn-time at her back of young ones: and he wished that the Lord's people might be hid in their caves, as if they were not in the world; for nothing would do until God appeared with his judgments, &c. And withal gave them this sign, that if he be but once buried, they might be in doubt, but if oftener than once, they might be persuaded that all he had said would come to pass; and earnestly desired them to take his corpse out to Airmoss, and bury him beside Richie, (meaning Mr. Richard Cameron,) that he might have rest in his grave, for he had got little during his life. But he said, bury him where they would, he would be lifted again; but the man that would first put hands to his corpse, four things would befall him: 1st, He would get a great fall from his house. 2dly, He would fall in adultery. 3dly, In theft; and for that he should leave the land. 4thly, Make a melancholy end abroad by murder. All which came to pass. This man was one Murdoch, a son by trade, but then in the military service, being the first man that put hands to his corpse.

Mr. Peden had for sometime been too credulous in believing the seditious and lique misrepresentations of some false brethren concerning Mr. James Renwick, whereby he was much alienated from him; which exceedingly grieved Mr. James Renwick, stumbled some of his followers, and confirmed some of his adversaries, who boasted that now Mr. Peden was turned his enemy. But now, when dying, he sent for him, who came to him in all haste, and found him lying in very low circumstances. When Mr. Renwick came in, he raised himself upon his elbow, with his hand on his head, and said, Are you the Mr. James Renwick there is so much noise about? He answered, Father, my name is James Renwick; but I have given the world no ground to make any noise about me, for I have espoused no new principles or practices, but what our reformers and covenanters maintained, &c. He caused him sit down, and give him an account of his conversion, principles, and call to the ministry.

* The foresaid old copy says, this was within two hours of his death.

which Mr. Renwick did, in a most distinct manner. When ended, Mr. Peden said, Sir, you have answered me to soul's satisfaction; I am very sorry that I should have believed any such evil reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my sympathy with you, but made me express myself so bitterly against you, for which I have sadly repented. But, Sir, ere you go, you must pray for me, for I am old, and going to leave the world: which he did with more than ordinary enlargement. When he ended, he took him by the hand, and drew him to him, and kissed him, saying, Sir, I find you a faithful servant to your Master; you are in a single dependence upon the Lord, and ye will get honestly through, and clear off the stage, when many others, who hold their heads high, will lie in the mire, and make foul hands and garments. And then he prayed, that the Lord might spirit, strengthen, support, and comfort him in all duties and difficulties.*

A little before his death, he said, Ye will all be displeas'd where I will be buried at last; but I discharge you all to lift my corpse. At last, one morning early he left the cave, and came to his brother's door. His brother's wife said, Where are you going? the enemy will be here. He said, I know that. Alas! Sir, said she, what will become of you? He said, I must go back to the cave again. He said, I have done with that, but if it is discovered: but there is no matter; for within forty-eight hours, I will be beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations, and his instruments in hell and on earth, and they shall trouble me no more. About twenty hours after that, he entered the house; the enemy came, found him in the cave, searched the barn narrowly, casting the unthreshen corn, searched the house, stabbing the beds, but entered not into the place where he lay. After a weary pilgrimage, within forty-eight hours after that, he became an inhabitant of that land, where the weary are at rest, and he then past sixty years of age.

He was buried in the Laird of Auchinleck's aisle; but a troop of dragoons came and lifted his corpse, and carried it † two miles, to Cumnock low-foot, after he had been forty days in the grave, where he lies buried beside other martyrs.

Thus died Mr. Alexander Peden, so much famed for his singular piety, zeal, faithfulness, and indefatigableness in the duty of prayer; especially who exceeded all we have heard of in latter times, for that he was of foreseeing and foretelling future events, both with respect to the church and nation of Scotland and Ireland, and particular persons and families, several of which are already accomplished. A gentleman of London, when speaking in his writings of Mr. Peden, says: Abundance of good man's predictions are well known to be already come to pass. †

Some have doubted of the certainty of this interview: however, there is no seeming improbability in it; nor does it make any thing to the disparagement of either Mr. Peden or Mr. Renwick.

After this, (says Patrick Walker,) that troop of dragoons came to quarter in Carruthers, two of them were quartered in the house of James Gray, one of his neighbours; and being frighted in their sleep, they started up, and clapped their hands, saying, Peden, Peden! These two dragoons affirmed, that out of curiosity they opened the coffin to see his corpse, and yet it had no smell, though he had been forty days in the grave.

John Ker of Kersland, in his Memoirs, page 8, where he adds, that when some people were going to join Argyle in 1685, Mr. Peden, after a short ejaculation, bid them be careful, for Argyle was fallen a sacrifice that minute. Some taking out their watches, marked the time, which accordingly answered to his being taken.

And although these things are now made to stoop or yield to the force of ridicule, and the sarcasms of the profane, and the fashions of an atheistical age and generation; yet we must believe and conclude with the Spirit of God, that the secrets of the Lord both have been, are, and will be, with them who fear his name.

There are some few of Mr. Peden's sermons in print, especially two preached at Glenluce in 1682; the one from Matt. xxi. 38, and the other from Luke xxiv. 21; which prophetic sermons, though in a homely style, are of a most zealous and spiritual strain; now reprinted, in a late collection of sermons. As for those papers handed about in Mr. Peden's name, anent Mr. James Renwick and his followers, they are, with good reason, looked upon as altogether spurious.

MR. JOHN BLACKADDER.

MR. JOHN BLACKADDER was a lineal descendent, and the only representative of the house of Tulliallan. After he had undergone his course of classical learning, he was ordained minister of the gospel at Traquair, near Dumfries, where he continued faithfully to discharge the trust committed to his charge, until he was, with many others of his faithful brethren, thrust out by that act, commonly called the drunken act of Glasgow, in the year 1662. At that time, a party came from Dumfries to seize him; but he was gone out of the way. But his wife and children, to whom the soldiers were extremely rude, were forced to retire to Bannocknoch, in Glencairn parish. But there he and his numerous family* met with further troubles: for in the year 1665, a party of Sir James Turner's men came in quest of him; but happily he and his wife went at Edinburgh. However, with great fury, and terrible oaths and execrations, in the middle of the night, they turned out the children from their beds, caused one of them to hold the candle till they searched his books and papers, and took what they liked. They stabbed the beds with their swords, and threatened to roast the children on the fire, and caused one of them to run near half a mile in a dark night in his shirt.

After this, he went and preached in the fields, where he had numerous meetings, particularly at the hill of Beith in Fife, in the year 1670. He had been, before this, by the Council's letter, put to the horn; and, after this, came west about the year 1675, and preached in the parish of Kilbride, and other places. The same year being in the Cowhill, in Livingstone parish, he went out in the evening, being in the month of August, to a retired place. When he came in again, he seemed somewhat melancholy. Being asked by some friends, what was the reason? He said, he was afraid of a contagious mist that should go through the land in many places that night, which might have sad effects, and death to fol-

* Amongst the branches of this numerous family, were Mr. Adam Blackadder, who was first imprisoned in Stirling, at seventeen years of age, and afterwards in Blackness, in the year 1684, for waiting on his father, John Blackadder, who came over with Argyle in 1685, and was apprehended, but afterwards set at liberty; and that religious gentleman, Colonel Blackadder, sometime governor of Stirling castle since the Revolution. Whether that Dr. William Blackadder, mentioned in history, was that Mr. Blackadder who was at Bothwell, or if he was son to Mr. John Blackadder, and brother to the above-mentioned, I cannot say at present.

and, as a mean, he desired them to keep doors and windows as close possible, and notice where it stood thickest and longest: which they did; and it was upon a little town called the Craigs, wherein was but a few families; and within four months after that, thirty corpses went out of that place: great dearth and scarcity followed for three years space after. Mr. Blackadder was in his judgment against the indulgence, and touched sometimes with Mr. John Dickson, they being both of one sentiment. He continued under several hardships till the year 1678, that he went over to Mr. M^r Ward in Holland. Having continued sometime there, and then returned home, he was about Edinburgh at the time of Bothwell;* and, after that, was of no small use to the prisoners, in persuading them from taking the bond, and other compliances; which he did by letters.

After he had endured a series of hardships, and surmounted a number of difficulties, he came to discharge his last public work at a muir-side, the new house in the parish of Livingstone, March 28, 1681. He lectured upon Micah, chapter iv. from the 9th verse; where he asserted, "That the nearer our delivery, our pains and showers would come thicker and sorer upon us, and that we had been in the fields; but ere we were delivered, we would go down to Babylon; that either Popery would overspread the land, or else would be at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of water." He preached upon 1 Thess. iii. 3. And, amongst other things, desired people to take good heed what ministers they heard, and what advice they followed: and, praying, he said, he was as clear and willing to hold up the blessed standard of the gospel as ever; and trusted the Lord he was free of every bond and imposition; and said, "The Lord rebuke, give repentance and forgiveness to those ministers who persuaded the poor prisoners to take the bond; for their perishing at a was more shaking to him than some thousands of them that had been slain in the fields." He went into Edinburgh, and being got notice of by Major Johnson, he was by him apprehended on the 6th of April, following, and brought first to General Dalziel, then to the guard, and then before a Committee of Council, consisting of the Chancellor, General, Advocate, and Bishop Paterson. The Chancellor asked, if he had communicated the King, or was at Torwood? He answered, he was not there these four years. Chan. But do you approve of what was done there? Ans. I am not free to declare my inward sentiments of things and persons; and therefore I humbly beg to be excused.† You may form a charge against me, and I shall endeavour to answer it as I can. Chan. But we hear you keep conventicles since the indemnity. Ans. I am a minister of the gospel, though unworthy, and under the strictest obligation to exercise my ministry, as I shall be answerable at the great day. I stand, and do still, count it my duty to exercise my ministry as I am called thereunto. Chan. But you have preached in the fields, that is to say, on muirs and hill sides; I shall not ask you, if you have preached in houses, though there is no liberty even for that. Ans. I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference between preaching in houses and in the fields, but as it may best serve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know

* It was one Mr. William Blackadder that was at Bothwell.

† A historian says, that Mr. Blackadder was as free to have declared his disapprobation of what was done there, as he was of his not being there.—But whether it be not a charge thrown upon the memory of this worthy man, to insinuate that he should suffer such hardships, and so many years imprisonment, merely out of ill nature, when he was free to have declared what would have satisfied them, must be left with the reader.

I any restriction as to either in the word. My commission reaches houses and fields, within and without doors. Chan. We doubt you and have seen the laws discharging such preaching? Ans. I am sorry that ever any laws were made against preaching the Chan. Not against the gospel, but against preaching rebellion. Chancellor asked, if he kept conventicles in Fife? which he did not. He was then carried to the guard. The Council sat in the afternoon but he was not again called before them; but without a farther trial was sentenced to go to the Bass. Accordingly, April 7, he was thither; when on the way, at Fisher-row, there happened to be a great number of people; the Captain, apprehending it might be for his rescue, threatened Blackadder, if they attempted any thing of that kind, he would shoot him through the head. He told the Captain, he knew not any such design.

He continued there till the end of the year 1685, when he was afflicted with a rheumatism from the air of the place. A motion was made for his liberation on bail, on this account; but it never took effect: he then entered into the joy of his Lord, about the beginning of the year 1686, and as the interest of Christ always lay near his heart through the Lord, so amongst his last words he said, "The Lord would yet arise, and defend his own cause, in spite of all his enemies."—Thus died Mr. Blackadder, a pious man, and a powerful preacher. There are many well-vouched instances of the Lord's countenancing his ministry in the fields, and of the remarkable success of his sermons, which were not so low and flat, but the pious and learned might admire them, and the so learned, but the plainest capacity might understand them. He was possessed of many singular virtues. His going through such dangers with such undaunted courage was remarkable, and his life to God and his church exemplary.

We have only seen two of his many pathetic sermons, which were very extensive upon the sufferings of Christ, from Isa. liiii. 11. *For the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied, &c.* The reader will find in a small collection of sermons lately published.

MR. JAMES RENWICK.

MR. JAMES RENWICK was born in the parish of Glencairn, Perthshire, on the 15th of February, 1662. His parents, though not rich, yet were very pious and zealous for piety. His father, Andrew Renwick, a weaver by trade, and his mother, Elisabeth Corsan, had several children before Mr. Renwick was born; but she died young; for which, when his mother was pouring forth her grief, her husband used to comfort her with declaring, that he was so satisfied to have children, whether they lived or died, young or old, providing they might be heirs of glory. But with this she could not be satisfied; but had it for her exercise to seek a child, that might not only be an heir of glory, but might live to see the third generation; whereupon, when Mr. James was born, she was answered in answer of prayer, and reputed herself under manifold obligations to dedicate him to the Lord; who satisfied her with early evidence of his accepting that return of his own gift, and confirmed the same by many remarkable appearances of his gracious dealings with the child.

From the time he was two years of age, he was observed to be aiming at the highest expectations and hopes, that the Lord would be with him and do good by him, &c. so that all the reproaches he sustained, difficulties and dangers that afterwards he underwent, to his dying day, never moved him in the least from the confidence that the Lord would carry him through, and off the stage, in some honourable way for his own glory. His father also, before his death, on February 1, 1679, obtained the same persuasion, that his time in the world would be but short, but that the Lord would make some eminent use of him.

After he had learned to read the Bible, about six years old, the Lord gave him some sproutings of gracious preparations, training him in his prayer, exercising him with doubts and debates above childish apprehension, about the Maker of all things, 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 train of musing, and continued in this exercise for about the space of two years, until he, by prayer and meditation on the history of the creation, came to a thorough belief that God made all things, and that all which he made was very good. And yet, after he came to more maturity, he relapsed to a deeper labyrinth of darkness about these foundation-truths, and was so 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 limestone, he would be content to go through them all, if so be he could be assured there was a God." Out of which he emerged, through grace, into the sweet serenity of a settled persuasion of the being of a God, and of his interest in him.

From his younger years, he made much conscience of obeying his parents, whose order, if they had spoken of putting him to any trade, he would no way decline; yet his inclination was constant for his book, and special Providence propitiously furnished him with means of greater proficiency at Edinburgh, by many, who were so enamoured of his hopeful disposition, that they earnestly promoted his education; and when he was ready for the university, they encouraged him in attending gentlemen's sons, for the improvement of their studies, and his own both in which association of youths, as it is usually accompanied with various temptations to youthful vanity, so it enticed him, with others, to spend much of his time in gaming and recreations. Then it was, for no other part of his time can be instanced, when some who knew him not (for these were only his traducers) took occasion, from this extravagance, to reproach him with profanity and flagitiousness, which his nature ever detested, and disdained the very suspicion thereof. When his time at college drew near an end, he demonstrated such a tenderness of the living God, &c. that, upon his refusal of the oath of allegiance then required, he was denied his share of the public solemnity of laureation with the rest of the candidates, but received it privately at Edinburgh. In which he continued his studies, attending on the then private and stated meetings for gospel-ordinances for a time.

Upon a deplorable discovery of the unfaithfulness of the generality, of nonconformist ministers, he was again for some time plunged in the shades of darkness; doubting what should be the end of such backsliding ministers, until, upon a more inquisitive search after such ministers as were not free from these defections, he found more light, and his know-

ledge of the iniquity of these courses was augmented, and his zeal increased. And being more confirmed, when he beheld how signally the faithful ministers were owned of the Lord, and carried off the stage with great steadfastness, faith and patience, especially after the death of that faithful minister and martyr, Mr. Donald Cargill, at whose execution he was present, July 27, 1681, he was so moved, that he determined to embark with these witnesses in that cause for which they suffered: and he was afterwards so strengthened and established in that resolution, getting instructions 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, could never shake his mind to the least doubt concerning them.

Accordingly, in this persuasion, upon grounds of scripture and reason, &c. in October 1681, he came to a meeting with some of these faithful witnesses of Christ, and conferring about the testimonies of some other martyrs lately executed, which he was very earnest always to gather and keep on record, he refreshed them greatly, by a discourse, shewing how much he was grieved and offended with those who heard the curates, pleaded for cess-paying, and defended the owning of the tyrants authority, &c.; and how sad it was to him that none were giving a formal testimony against these things; and in the end added, "That 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 times to the succeeding generations; and would desire nothing more than to be helped to be serviceable to them."

At his very first coming among them, he could not but be taken notice of; for, while some were speaking of removing the bodies of the martyrs lately executed at the Gallowlee, Mr. Renwick was very forward to promote it, and active to assist therein, and when the sincere seekers of God, who were interspersed up and down the land, and adhered to the testimony, as Mess. Cameron and Cargil left it, towards the end of 1681, began to settle a correspondence in general, for preserving union, understanding one another's minds, and preventing declensions to right or left hand extremes. In the first of which, the Duke of York holding a parliament at Edinburgh, they agreed upon emitting that declaration, published at Lanark, Jan. 12, 1682, wherein Mr. Renwick was employed proclaiming it, but had no hand in the penning thereof, otherwise it might have been more considerably worded than what it was; for though he approved of the matter of it, yet he always acknowledged there were some expressions therein rather unadvised.

After publishing this declaration, the next general meeting, finding themselves reproached and informed against, both at home, and abroad in foreign churches, as if they had fallen from the principles of the church of Scotland, thought it expedient to send the Laird of Earlsdon to the United Provinces to vindicate themselves from these reproaches, and to crave that sympathy which they could not obtain from their own countrymen. Which at length, through mercy, proved so encouraging to them, that a door was opened to provide for a succession of faithful ministers, by sending some to be fitted for the work of the ministry there. Accordingly Mr. Renwick, with some others, went thither. His comrades were ready, and sailed before, which made him impatiently haste to follow. Yet, at his departure, to a comrade he affirmed, "Though they were gone before him, as they did not depart together, so he saw some-

ing should fall out, which should obstruct their coming home together to ;' which was verified by the falling off of Mr. Flint (however forced at that time) to a contrary course of defection.

When he went over, he was settled at the university of Groningen, where he plied his studies so hard, and with such proficiency, that, upon the necessities of his friends in Scotland, longing for his labours, and his own ardent desire to be at the work, in a short time he was ready for ordination. To precipitate which, his dear friend Mr. Robert Hamilton, who merited so much of those who reaped the benefit of Mr. Renwick's labours afterwards, applied to one Mr. Brakel, a godly Dutch minister, who was much delighted at first with the motion, and advised it should be done at Embden; but this could not be obtained, because the principal man there who was to have the management of the affair was in his judgment Cocceian. Whereupon Mr. Hamilton solicited the classes of Groningen to undertake it; which they willingly promised to do; and being for the testimonial of Mr. Renwick, and the rest who went over at that time, Mr. Renwick's was produced, (being providentially in readiness when the others were wanting,) and though in a rude dress, was sustained. The classes being convened, they were called in and had an open harangue, wherein open testimony was given against all the forms and corruptions of their church: whereat they were so far from being offended, that, after a solemn and serious consideration of their cause, they declared it was the Lord's cause, and cost what it would, though all the eyes of the earth were against it, they would go through with it. They three should have passed together; but upon some discontents arising, the other two were retarded. It was the custom of the place, that every one that passes must pay twenty guilders for the use of the church; but they jointly declared, that they would be at all the charges themselves.

But the next difficulty was, that being told it was impossible for any to do without subscribing their Catechism, &c. and observing that their sins and corruptions are therein justified, Mr. Renwick resolutely answered, He would do no such thing, being engaged by a solemn covenant to the contrary. This was like to spoil all; but at length they consented that he subscribe the Confession and Catechism of the church of Scotland, a practice never before heard of in that land; which was agreed. The day of ordination being come, Mr. Renwick was called in a very respectful way. After spending some time in prayer, the examination began, which lasted from ten in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon. Then his friends, who were attending in the church, were called in, amongst whom was his honoured friend Mr. Hamilton, and the elder of the church of Scotland,* to be witness to the laying on of hands; which, after the exhortation, they performed with prayer, the whole meeting melting in tears; and thereafter, he had a discourse to the classes. With this solemnity the classes were so much affected, that they, to which he and his friends were invited, the preses declared their satisfaction all the brethren had in Mr. Renwick; that they thought the 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 or heard so much of the Lord's Spirit accompanying any work as that, &c. As soon as these difficulties were over, than others of a more disagree-

* See in his testimonials from the classes, which are inserted in his life at large,

able aspect began to arise, which, if they had appeared but one day sooner, might have stopped the ordination, at least for a time. But the very next day, Mr. Brakel told them, that a formed libel was coming from the Scottish ministers at Rotterdam, containing heavy accusations against the poor society-people in Scotland, &c. which they behoved either to vindicate, or else the ordination must be stopped; but this being too late as to Mr. Renwick, it came to nothing at last.

After this ordination, he had a most longing desire to improve his talents for the poor, persecuted people in Scotland, who were his brethren; and having received large testimonials for his ordination and learning (particularly in the Hebrew and Greek tongue) from the classes, and finding a ship ready to sail, he embarked at the Brill; but waiting some days upon the wind, he was so discouraged by some profane passengers pressing the King's health, &c. that he was forced to leave that vessel and take another bound for Ireland. A sea-storm compelled them to put into Rye harbour in England, about the time when there was so much noise of the Rychouse plot, which created him no small danger; but after many perils at sea, he arrived safe at Dublin, where he had many conflicts with the ministers there, anent their defections and indifference and yet in such a gaining and gospel-way, that he left convictions on the spirits, of his being a pious and zealous youth, which procured him a speedy passage to Scotland. In which passage, he had considerable dangers and a prospect of more, as not knowing how or where he should come to land, all ports being then so strictly observed, and the ships refusing to let him go till his name be given up. But yet at last he prevailed on to give him a cast to the shore, where he began his wandering and uncertain wanderings, which continued with him till he was apprehended, through an unknown wilderness, amongst unknown people being some time before he could meet with any of the societies.

In September 1683, he commenced his ministerial work in Scotland taking up the testimony of the standard of Christ where it was first had fallen at the removal of the former witnesses, Mess. Cameron and Cargill, which, in the strength of his Master, he undertook to prosecute and maintain against opposition from all hands, which seemed insupportable to sense and reason.

In the midst of which difficulties, he was received by a poor, persecuted people, who had lost all that worldly enjoyment they had, for the sake of the gospel. His first public meeting was in a moss at Darroch, where for their information and his own vindication, he thought it expedient not only to let them know how he was called to the ministry, and what he adhered to, but besides to unbosom himself about the then prevailing questions of the time, particularly concerning ministers, defections, shewing whom he could not join with, and his reasons for so doing; in the end told them on what grounds he stood, and resolved to stand upon; which he resolved (the Lord assisting him) to seal with his blood.

After this, the father of lies began to spue out a flood of reports to swallow up and bury his name and work in contempt, which were credulously entertained, and industriously spread, not only by the people but even by many professors, &c.; some saying, he had excommunicated all the ministers in Scotland, and some after they were dead; who he only gave reasons why he could not keep communion with some of the present circumstances. Others said, that he was no Presbyterian and that his design was only to propagate schism. But the truth was

was a professed witness against all the defections of Presbyterians in any part of their covenanted work of reformation, &c. Again, the ministers alleged he was a Sectarian, Independent, or Anabaptist, they knew not what. But when he had sometimes occasion to be among them, in and about Newcastle and Northumberland,* they were much offended as any, at his faithful freedom in discovering the evils of their way, and declared that they never met with such severe dealing as any Presbyterian before him.

But the general outcry was, that he had no mission at all. Others charging him, that he came only by chance, at a throw of the dice; and many other calumnies, refuted by the foregoing relation.

On the other hand, some gave out that he and his followers maintained the murdering principles of the delirious and detestable blasphemies of the Jews; all which shameless and senseless fictions he ever opposed and refuted. Yea, some ministers, more seemingly serious in their essays to possess the people against him, said, "That they had sought and searched the mind of the Lord in it; that his labours should never profit the Church of Scotland, nor any soul in it," &c. assuring themselves he would be able to bring to nothing him and them that followed him, ere it were long; comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses: which reproaches he was remarkably supported under, and went on in his Master's business while he had any work for him to do.

At the meanwhile, by the noise that went through the country concerning him the Council got notice; and thereupon, being enraged at report of his preaching in the fields, they raised a hotter and a more violent persecution against him, than can be instanced against any one in the nation; nay, than ever the most notorious murderer was pursued with: for, having publicly proclaimed him a traitor, rebel, &c. they proceeded to pursue his followers with all the rigour that hellish fury and rage could suggest or invent; and yet the more they opposed, the more they grew and increased.

In 1684, his difficulties from enemies, and discouragements from friends came to him, and manifold vexations from all hands, began to increase more and more; and yet all the while he would not intermit one day's preaching, but was still incessant and undaunted in his work; which he the ministers inform against him, as if he had intruded upon other men's labours; alleging, that when another minister was to preach in a parish, he unexpectedly came and preached in the same parish; and for this purpose, instanced one time near Paisley; whereas he went upon a visit from severals in that bounds, without knowing then whether there was such a minister in that country. It is confessed, that he hath sometimes taken the churches to preach in, when either the weather, instant storms, at the time, or respect to secrecy and safety, did exclude from any other place. But, could this be called intrusion, to creep into the churches for one night, when they could not stand, nor durst they be seen to do so?

In the year, in prosecution of a cruel information, the soldiers became more vigilant in their indefatigable diligence to seek and hunt after him; and from whom he had many remarkable deliverances: particularly in the month of July, as he was going to a meeting, a country-man, seeing

him, seems to have been when he made a hasty journey thither, in the year 1684. See his Letters, p. 94 and 136.

these poor, wandering mountain-men, (as they were called;) and when they had spent all their balls, they were nothing nearer their purpose than when they began; for the more they were afflicted, the more they grew. *The bush did burn, but was not consumed, because the Lord was in the bush.*

Charles II. being dead, and the Duke of York, a professed Papist, proclaimed in February 1685, Mr. Renwick could not let go this opportunity of witnessing against that usurpation of a Papist upon the government of the nation, and his design of overturning the covenanted work of reformation, and introducing Popery. Accordingly, he and about 200 men went to Sanquhar, May 28, 1685, and published that declaration, afterwards called the Sanquhar declaration.

In the meantime, the Earl of Argyle's expedition taking place, Mr. Renwick was much solicited to join with them. He expressed the esteem he had of his honest and laudable intention, and spoke very favourably of him, declaring his willingness to concur, if the quarrel and declaration were rightly stated; but because it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of our Scottish covenants, &c. he could not agree with them; which created unto him a new series of trouble and reproach, and that from all hands, and from none more than the indulged.

In 1686, Mr. Renwick was constrained to be more public and explicit in his testimony against the designs and defections of the time; wherein he met with more contradictions and opposition from all hands, and more discouraging and distracting treatment, even from some who once followed him; and was much troubled with letters of accusation against him from many hands. One of the ministers that came over with Argyle, wrote a very vindictive letter * against him; which letter he answered at large. He also was traduced, both at home and abroad, by one Alexander Gordon, who sometimes joined with that suffering party; but by none more than one Robert Cathcart in Carrick, who wrote a scurrilous libel against him; from which Mr. Renwick vindicated himself in the plainest terms. But this not satisfying the said Robert Cathcart, he did, in the name of his friends in Carrick, and the shire of Wigton, though without the knowledge of the half of them, take a protest against Mr. Renwick's preaching or conversing within their jurisdiction; giving him occasion, with David, to complain, *They speak vanity, their heart gathereth iniquity, &c.;* *Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trust, hath lift up his heel against me.*

Notwithstanding of all former obloquies he sustained from all sorts of opposers, he had one faithful and fervent wrestler on his side, Mr. Alexander Peden; and yet a little before his death, these reproaches so far prevailed with him, as to instigate him to a declared opposition against Mr. Renwick; which not only contributed to grieve him much, but was also an occasion of stumbling to many † others of the well affected, and to the confirmation of his opposers. Yet, nevertheless, he proceeded in his progress through the country, preaching, catechising, and baptising; travelling through Galloway, where he was rencountered with a most

* See his letters and the answers, with the reasoning on Cathcart's affair at large, from p. 84 to 97.

† Mr. Peden on his deathbed sent for him, and, after some conferences, owned he had been misinformed against him; exhorting him to go forward, and he would be carried honestly through; asked his forgiveness, and desired him to pray with him before he departed; all which Mr. Renwick did with great cheerfulness. See Walker's Remarks of the life of Mr. Peden.

insolent protestation given in against him, by the professors between Dee and Cree, subscribed by one Hutchison; which paper he read over at a public meeting in that bounds, after a lecture upon Psalm xv. and a sermon from Song ii. 2., giving the people to know what was done in their name, with several animadversions hereon, as that which overturned several pieces of our valuable reformation; exhorting them, if there were any there who concurred therein, that they would speedily retract their hand from such an iniquity,* &c.

Shortly after this, while his work was increasing daily on his hand, and his difficulties multiplying, the Lord made his burden lighter, by the help of Mr. David Houston from Ireland, and Mr. Alexander Shields, who joined with him all in one accord, witnessing against the sins of the time: which as it was very refreshing to him, and satisfied his longings, desires and endeavours, so it furnished him withal to answer those who said, that he neither desired to join with another minister, nor so much as to meet with any other for joining. The first being already confirmed, and as for the other, it is well known how far he travelled both in Scotland and England, to meet with ministers for a coalescence, who superciliously refused. He once sent a friend on that purpose, to a minister of great note in Glendale in Northumberland; but he peremptorily refused. At another time, in the same country, before that he happened to be in a much respected gentlewoman's house, where providentially Dr. Kinkaid came to visit, whom Mr. James, in another room, overheard discharging her by many arguments not to entertain or countenance Mr. Renwick, if he should come that way; whereupon he sent for the Doctor, letting him know that the same person was in the house, and that he desired to discourse with him on that head; but this he refused.

After this, one informed against him to the Holland ministers, who returned back with Mr. Brakel's advice to Mr. Renwick and others; but as it relished of a gospel-spirit, not like that of his informers, it was in no way offensive to him. Mr. Roelman, another famous Dutch divine, and a great sympathizer once with Mr. Renwick, and that afflicted party, their informations, turned also his enemy, which was more weighty to him, that such a great man should be so credulous; but all these things never moved him, being fully resolved to suffer this and more for the cause of Christ.

In 1687, a proclamation was issued out, February 12, tolerating moderate Presbyterians to meet in their private houses to hear the indulged ministers, while the field-meetings should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law, &c. A second proclamation was given June 10, allowing all to serve God in their own way, in any house, &c. A third was emitted October 5, declaring that all preachers and hearers, at a meeting in the open fields, should be prosecuted with the utmost severity, that the law will allow, &c.; and that all dissenting ministers who professing they should teach nothing that should alienate the hearts of the spectators, the government; and that the privy-councillors, abridging the justly acquainted with the places set apart for their preaching, back with a son, it seems, was granted as an answer to an address, though he had on in, in name of all the Presbyterian ministers, that that de-
 Mr. Renwick found it his duty, not only to declare against the greatest ambit-

See his letter to Earlston, p. 163.

granters, but also against the accepters of this toleration; warning the people of the hazard of their accession to it, &c. At which the aged were so incensed, that no sooner was their meeting well settled, they began to shew their teeth at him, calling him an intruder, a white devil, going through the land carrying the devil's white; that he had done more hurt to the church of Scotland than its enemies had done these twenty years, &c. As also spreading papers through the country, as given under his hand, to render him odious; which in them were nothing else than forgeries, wherein they only discovered their own treachery.

But all this could not move him, even when his enemies were shooting arrows at him; being not only the butt of the wicked, but the scorn of professors also who were at their ease, and a man much wondered at every way; yet still he continued at his work, his inward man increasing more and more, when his outward man was much decaying; and his labour for fulfilling his ministry, and finishing his testimony, still increasing more, the less peace and accommodation he could find in the world; at the same time becoming so weak, that he could not mount or sit on a horse; so that he behoved to be carried to the place of preaching, never in the least complained of any distemper in the time thereof.

In the meanwhile, the persecution against him being so furious, that less than five months after the toleration, fifteen most desperate searches were made for him; to encourage which, a proclamation was made, on the 18th, wherein a reward of £.100 sterling was offered to any who should bring in the persons of him and some others, either dead or alive.

At the beginning of 1688, being now drawing near the period of his life, he ran very fast, and wrought very hard, both as a Christian and a minister: and having for sometime had a design to emit something in way of testimony against both the granters and accepters of the toleration, that might afterwards stand on record, he went towards Edinburgh, on his way, at Peebles, he escaped very narrowly being apprehended. When at Edinburgh, he longed and could have no rest till he got that which he, with the concurrence of some others, had drawn up in form, signed; and upon inquiry, hearing that there was to be no presbytery or synod of tolerated ministers for sometime, he went to Mr. Hugh Wedderburn, whom he heard was moderator, and delivered a protestation into his hands; and then, upon some reasons, emitted it in public as his testimony against the toleration.*

From thence he went to Fife, and preached some Sabbaths; and upon the 29th of January, preached his last sermon at Borrowstounness. Then he returned to Edinburgh, and lodged in a friend's house in the Castle, who dealt in uncustomed goods; and wanting his former circumlocution, (his time being come,) one John Justice, a waiter, discovered the house that very night; and hearing him praying in the family, suspected who it was, attacked the house next morning, Feb. 1, and pressing to search for uncustomed goods, they got entrance; and when Mr. Renwick came to the door, Mr. Justice challenged him in these words: My life for it, this is Mr. Renwick. After which he went to the street crying for assistance to carry the dog Renwick to the guard.

In the meantime, Mr. James and other two friends essayed to make their escape at another door, but were repelled by the waiters. Where-

* This testimony was again republished by some friends to the same cause.

upon he discharged a pistol, which made the assailants give way; but as he passed through them, one with a long staff hit him on the breast, which doubtless disabled him from running. Going down the Castle-wynd, towards the head of the Cowgate, having lost his hat, he was taken notice of, and seized by a fellow on the street, while the other two escaped.

He was taken to the guard, and there kept sometime.—One Graham, captain of the guard, seeing him of a little stature, and comely, youthful countenance, cried, What is this the boy Renwick that the nation hath been so much troubled with? At the same time, one Bailie Charters coming in, with great insolency accused him with bawdyhouses, which he replied to with deserved disdain. Then he was carried before a quorum of the Council: and when Graham delivered him off his hand, he was heard to say, "Now I have given Renwick up to the Presbyterians, let them do with him what they please." What passed here could not be learned.

He was committed close prisoner, and laid in irons; where, as soon as he was left alone, he betook himself to prayer to his God, making a free offer of his life to him, requesting for throughbearing grace, and that his enemies might be restrained from torturing his body: all which requests were signally granted, and by him thankfully acknowledged before his execution.

Before he received his indictment, he was taken before the Chancellor, into the Viscount of Tarbet's lodging, and there examined concerning his owning the authority of James VII., the cess, and carrying arms at field meetings; and delivered himself with such freedom and boldness as astonished all present. The reason why he was interrogated about the cess was, that a pocket-book was found about him, in which were the notes of two sermons he had preached on these points which he owned. There were also some capitals in the same book; and because the committee were urgent to know these names, partly to avoid torture, and knowing they could render the persons no more obnoxious, he ingenuously declared the truth of the matter; which ingenuity did much allay their rage against him: and being asked by the Chancellor, What persuasion he was of? He answered, Of the Protestant Presbyterian persuasion. Again, How it came to pass he differed so much from other Presbyterians, who had accepted of the toleration, and owned the King's authority? and what he thought of them? He answered, He was a Presbyterian, and adhered to the old Presbyterian principles, which all were obliged by the covenant to maintain, and were once generally professed and maintained by the nation, from 1640 to 1660, from which they had apostatized for a little liberty, they knew not how long, as you yourselves have done for a little honour. The Chancellor replied, and the rest applauded, That they believed that these were the Presbyterian principles, and that all Presbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage. On February 3, he received his indictment upon the three said heads, viz. disowning the King's authority, the unlawfulness of carrying the cess, and the lawfulness of defensive arms. All which he was answer on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a list of forty-five, out of which the jury was to be chosen, and a list of the witnesses to be brought against him.

After receiving his indictment, his mother got access to see him; whom he spoke many savoury words. And on Sabbath, February 5, he regretted that now he must leave his poor flock; and declared, "That

his choice, he could not think of it without terror, to enter again venture upon that conflict with a body of sin and death; yet, if again to go and preach in the field, he durst not vary in the least, sh one hairbreadth from the testimony, but would look on himself as obliged to use the same freedom and faithfulness as he had done

And in a letter, on February 6, he desired that the persons names were deciphered might be acquainted with it; and concluded, "I desire that none may be troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice in him, who with hope and joy is waiting for his coronation-hour." At that time, his mother asked him, how he was? He answered, he was at that since his last examination he could scarcely pray. At he looked on him with an affrighted countenance; and he told her, hardly pray, being so taken up with praising, and ravished with of the Lord. When his mother was expressing her fear of fainting, How shall I look upon that head and those hands set up he rest, on the port of the city? &c. He smiled, telling her, she not see that; for, said he, I have offered my life unto the Lord, sought that he may bind them up; and I am persuaded that they be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head

He was at first much afraid of the tortures; but now, having a persuasion that these were not to be his trials, through grace helped to say, "That the terror of them was so removed, that he rather choose to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil, than do any at might wrong truth." When some other friends were permitted him, he exhorted them to make sure their peace with God, and steadfastness in his ways; and when they regretted their loss of said, "They had more need to thank the Lord, that he should taken away from these reproaches,* which had broken his heart, sh could not be otherwise wiped off, even though he should get without yielding in the least."

ay, February 8, he appeared before the Justiciary; and when his nt was read, the Justice-clerk asked him, If he adhered to his confession, and acknowledged all that was in the libel? He b, "All, except where it is said I have cast off all fear of God: ay; for it is because I fear to offend God, and violate his law, n here standing ready to be condemned." Then he was interro: he owned authority, and James VII. to be his lawful sovereign? ered, "I own all authority that hath its prescriptions and limit- on the word of God; but cannot own this usurper as lawful ing, both by the word of God such a one is incapable to bear likewise by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none own of Scotland, until he swear to defend the Protestant reli- hich a man of his profession could not do." They urged, Could him to be King? Was he not the late King's brother? Had the any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be his by act of parliament? He answered, "He was no doubt King but not *de jure*; that he was brother to the other King, he knew to the contrary; what children the other had, he knew not: but word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the

gives these reproaches, already noticed, with many others, he and his followers ed as men of anarchial, murdering, and bloody principles, which makes it the r that their successors should be still charged with the same.

ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be shewn that he had could have any right." The next question was, If he owned, taught it to be unlawful to pay cesses and taxations to his Majesty answered, "For the present cess, enacted for the present usurper it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppressive to the subject maintenance of tyranny, and because it is imposed for suppression of the gospel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment of the furnace to devour the three children, if so they had been by that tyrant?" &c.

Next, they moved the question, if he owned he had taught him to come armed to their meetings, and, in case of opposition, &c. He answered, "It were inconsistent with reason and religion to do otherwise: you yourselves would do it in the like circumstances that I taught them to carry arms to defend themselves, and not to use unjust violence." Further, they asked, If he owned the notes of the two sermons written therein, and that he had preached them, he said, "If ye have added nothing, I will own it, and am ready to read all the truths contained therein with my blood."—All his confessions read over, he was required to subscribe it. He said, "He would do it, since he looked on it as a partial owning of their authority; refusing several times, he said, "With protestation, I will subscribe the paper as it is my testimony, but not in obedience to you."

Then the assizers were called in by fives,* and sworn; again he objected nothing; but protested, "That none might sit on a jury that professed Protestant or Presbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was brought in again, and sentence passed, that he should be executed in the Grassmarket on Friday following. Lord Linlithgow, Justice-general, asked, "Would he sired longer time?" He answered, "It was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was shortened, it was welcome; his time was the best:" then he was returned to prison. Without delay, and against his will, yea, after open refusing to the Admiralty, he was reprieved to the 17th day; which gave occasion for several to renew their reproaches.

Though none, who suffered in the former part of this disturbance, spoke with more fortitude, freedom, and boldness, than Mr. Renwick, yet none were treated with so much moderation. The Lord Justice-criminal was much admired beyond their ordinary; for they allowed him to say what he pleased, without threatening and interrupting him, though he gave none of them the title of Lord, except Linlithgow.

* And it is to be remarked, that many of the jury were professors, and tolerated meetings; while others, even of the malignants, chose rather to run of the penalty, as the Laird of Torrence, who compeared not, and Somerville laird of Douglas, who, though when he appeared, yet when he saw Mr. Renwick about, and direct his speech to them, he ran away, saying, He trembled to see away the life of such a pious-like man, though they should take his whole list of the assizers is as follows:—James Hume of Kimmergem; John Hay wells; John Martin, clerk to the manufactory; Alexander Martin, son of—; Robert Halyburton, merchant; Thomas Laurie, merchant; Archibald ston, merchant; Thomas Wylie, merchant; James Hamilton, vintner; William burn, merchant; James Hamilton jun. stationer; Robert Currie, stationer; Young, merchant; John Cunningham, merchant in Glasgow; Ninian Kaims, Chancellor.

nobleman by birth. And though his friends (which was not usual sentence) were denied access, yet both Papists and Episcopalians were allowed to see him. Bishop Paterson often visited him; nay, he sought a reprieve for him, which would easily have been granted, had he petitioned for it. The Bishop asked him, "Think you none could be saved but those of your principles? He answered, "I never said nor did that none could be saved, except they were of these principles; these are truths which I suffer for, and which I have not rashly concluded, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed, that these are sufficient points to suffer for." The Bishop took his leave, deploring his sorrow for his being so tenacious, and said, "It had been a loss he had been of such principles, for he was a pretty lad." The night before he suffered, he sent to him, to signify his readiness to serve him to the utmost of his power. Mr. Renwick thanked him with courtesy, but knew nothing that he could do, or that he could

Mr. Naught, one of the curates, made him a visit in his canonicals, which Mr. Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, in his opinion concerning the toleration, and those that accepted it. Mr. Renwick declared, that he was against the toleration; but as for those that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. The curate commended him for one of great gravity and ingenuity, &c. The King's Advocate, came also to visit him, and declared, he was sorry for his death, and that it should fall out in his short days. Several Popish priests and gentlemen of the guard, with some of the rated ministers, were permitted to converse with him. The priest, who was overheard saying, he was a most obstinate heretic; and had used such freedom with him, that it became a proverb in the prison at that time, "Begone, as Mr. Renwick said to the priests." Several petitions were written from several hands, of the most favourable nature that could be invented, and sent him to subscribe; but all in vain, it was offered to him, if he would but let a drop of ink fall on the paper, it would satisfy; but he would not. In the meantime, he was so close, that he could get nothing wrote. His begun testimony, as he was writing, was taken from him, and pen and ink removed. The next day, he got a short paper wrote the night before, which is to be seen in the Cloud of Witnesses, as his last speech and testimony.

On Tuesday the 14th, he was brought before the Council, on account of his reformatory vindication; but what passed there cannot be learned, but that they signified how much kindness they had shewn him, in that they had reprieved him without his supplication, a thing never done before.

He answered with extraordinary cheerfulness, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of his Master. A friend asked him, how he was? he said, very well; and he would be better in three days. He told his mother, that the last execution he was at was Robert Gray's; and that he had a strong impression on his mind, that he should be next; and often said, He saw need for his suffering his time; and that he was persuaded his death would do more than his life for many years could have done. Being asked, What did God would do with the remnant behind him? He answered, He would be well with them; for God would not forsake nor cast off his people.

On the day of his execution, the chief jailer begged, that, at the place

of execution, he would not mention the causes of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr. Renwick told him, That what God would give him to speak, that would he speak, and nothing else. The jailer told him, that he might still have his life, if he would but sign that petition, which he offered him. He answered, That he never read in scripture, or in history, where martyrs petitioned for their lives, when called to suffer for truth, though they might require them not to take their life, and remonstrate the wickedness of murdering them; but in the present circumstance he judged it would be found a receding from truth, and a declining from a testimony for Christ.

His mother and sisters, having obtained leave to see him, after some refreshment, in returning thanks, he said, "O Lord, thou hast brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me, more than if I were to lie down in a bed of roses: nay, through grace, to thy praise, I may say I never had the fear of death since I came to this prison; but from the place where I was taken, I could have gone very composedly to the scaffold. O! how can I contain this, to be within two hours of the crown of glory!" He exhorted them much to prepare for death; "for it is (said he) the king of terrors, though not to me now, as it was sometimes in my hidings; but now let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. Would ever I have thought that the fear of suffering and of death could be so taken from me! But what shall I say to it? It is the doing of the Lord, and marvellous in our eyes. I have many times counted the cost of following Christ, but never thought it would be 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 an expressly sweet and satisfying peace to me, that he hath kept me from complying with the enemies in the least." Perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her "to remember, that they who loved any thing better than Christ were not worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," &c. Then he went to prayer, wherein he ran out much in praise, and pleaded much in behalf of the suffering remnant, that the Lord would raise up witnesses that might transmit the testimony to succeeding generations, and that the Lord would not leave Scotland; asserting, with great confidence of hope, that he was strengthened in the hope of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

At length, hearing the drums beat for the guard, he fell into a transport, saying, Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage; the bridegroom is coming; I am ready, I am ready. Then taking leave of his mother and sisters, he entreated them not to be discouraged; for, ere all were done, they should see matter of praise in that day's work. He was taken to the low council-house, as was usual; where, after his sentence was read, they desired him to speak what he had to say there. He said, "I have nothing to say to you, but that which is written in Jer. xxiv. 14, 15. *As for me, behold, I am in your hand,*" &c. He was told that the drums would beat at the scaffold all the time, and therefore they desired him to pray there: but he refused; and declared, he would not be limited in what he would say, and that he had premeditated nothing, but would speak what was given him. They offered him any minister to be with him; but he answered, If I would have had any of them for my

ounsellors or comforters, I should not have been here this day. I require none with me but this one man, (meaning the friend that was waiting upon him.)

He went from thence to the scaffold with great cheerfulness, as one in transport of triumphant joy, and had the greatest crowd of spectators that has perhaps been seen at any execution; but little was heard, on account of the beating of the drums all the time without intermission, from his first ascending the scaffold until he was cast over. Yet, from the friends and others permitted to attend him, there were some of his last words collected.

When he went first on the scaffold, some forbade him to speak anything, because the people could not hear; which he took no notice of. There was a curate standing at the side of the scaffold, who, tempting him, said, 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 such as you are. The curate said, Own our King, and pray for him, whatever you say against us. He replied, "I will discourse 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 who have not ruled for him."

Then he sang Psalm ciii., read Rev. xix.; then prayed, commending his soul to God through the Redeemer, and his cause to be vindicated in his own time; and appealed to the Lord, if this was not the most joyful day he ever saw in the world, a day that he had much longed for. He insisted much in blessing the Lord in honouring him with the crown of martyrdom; an honour which the angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for their princely Master. He complained of being disturbed in worshipping God: but, said he, I shall be above these clouds; then shall I enjoy thee, and glorify thee, without interruption or intermission, for ever. Prayer being ended, he spoke to the people much to the purpose of his written testimony, whereof somewhat was remembered, to this effect:

"Spectators! 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 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 denouncing the usurpation and tyranny of James Duke of York. 2. For teaching, that it was unlawful to pay the cess expressly exacted for buying down the gospel. 3. For teaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themselves in their meeting for the persecuted and oppressed 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! 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 Public 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 fields, and defending the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all these truths that have been sealed by bloodshed, either on scaffold, field, 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 right, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of ruling in 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 his toleration flowing from this absolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done. He answered, I have near done; and then said, "Ye that are the people of God, do not weary to maintain the testimony of the day in your stations and places; and whatsoever ye do, make sure an interest in Christ; for there is a storm coming that will 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 made him desist; and go up the ladder, where he prayed and 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 herself ready." The executioner being tied about his face, he said to his friend attending, "Farewell; 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, and the Lord will provide you teachers and ministers; and when he comes, he will make these despised truths glorious in the earth." He was turned over, with these words in his mouth, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, Lord God of truth."

Thus died the faithful, pious, and zealous Mr. James Renwick, on the third day after the 26th year of his age, a young man, and a young minister, but a ripe Christian, and renowned martyr of Christ, for whose sake he loved not his life unto the death, by whose blood, and the power 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 had 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, convince neutrals, comfort friends, and astonish all.

He was of stature somewhat low, of a fair complexion, and like a young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Most men were well of him after he was dead: even his murderers as well as others who they thought he went to heaven. Malignants generally said, he was a Presbyterian. The Viscount of Tarbet, one of the counsellors, was in company, when speaking of him, said, "That he was one of the stout maintainers of his principles that ever came before them. Others were used always to cause one time or other to waver; but him we could

ove. Where we left him, there we found him. We could never yield or vary in the least. He was the man we have seen only and pertinaciously adhering to the old way of Presbyterian sentiment, who, if he had lived in Knox's days, would not have died as he was then in being." He was the last that on a scaffold sealed money for religion, liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation in Scotland.

As what hand Mr. Renwick had in the informatory vindication, and forementioned testimony against the toleration, both of which long ago been published, there was also of late, by some wellwishers to the same cause and testimony, published a collection of very valuable pieces, lectures, and sermons of his, in two volumes; as also an edition of very choice letters, wrote by him, from July 8, 1682, to the day of his death, February 17, 1688. There is also a treatise of the admission of ruling elders, which the reader will find affixed to the end of the forementioned testimony, wrote by Mr. Shields.

Therefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of troubles, &c. These are they which came out of great tribulations, and washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. I saw, under the altar, the souls of them that were slain for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth. Here is the blood of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." Heb. xii. 1. Rev. vii. 14. and, vi. 9, &c.

In Scotland, during these twenty-eight years persecution, according to calculation, above 18,000 people suffered death, or the utmost rigour and extremities; whereof 1700 were banished to the plantations, and 750 banished to the northern islands; of these 2000 were executed. Those who suffered by imprisonment, confinement, and other hardships of this nature, were computed at or above 3,600, including the forementioned, and 55 who were pannelled to be executed when they died. Those killed in several skirmishes, or on surprise, and who died of their wounds on such occasions, were reckoned to be those who went to voluntary banishment to other countries, &c. amounted to 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood, without process of law, besides 362 who were by form of law executed. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other hardships contracted in their flight to the mountains, and sometimes even in the fields of death murdered by the bloody soldiers, cannot be well computed, but will certainly make up the number above specified: and the Lord's church and people of old, while in Egypt, the more they were oppressed, the more they grew, the blood of the martyrs being the seed of the church. Yea, to the honour of the truth, and the glory of that God whom they served, they were so far from being spent or eradicated, that, at the Revolution, they could raise a regiment of men, without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the church of Scotland being verified now as evidently as ever, *Behold the bush burned, and the bush was not consumed.*

For a full account of these sufferings, in the Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, from p. 290 to 295.

MR. ALEXANDER MONCRIEF.

^b In virtue of an act of the General Assembly 1642, appointing of six able men, for the planting of vacant churches, Mr. Monk pitched upon for the church of Scoonie in Fife; and, upon Sept 26, 1643, was received there with great contentment.

After which, he had an active hand in carrying on the work of reformation at that time; and was nominated in the commission for the reformation of the kirk. In the years 1650 and 1651, he made no small account among those called Protesters; and had a particular hand in the solemn Remonstrance, and the Causes of God's Wrath, which were set up about that time.

During Cromwell's usurpation, he suffered much on account of his fidelity in praying for the King. Upon account of which, he was often searched, and rifled by the English, and he obliged to hide upon the Sabbath, he had spies set upon him, and was closely watched where he went after preaching. He was frequently pursued; and one day a party of horse came after him, yet by a special providence (he was tacked once and again by them) he got clear of them. Yet, a little while he was seized by them in a neighbouring congregation, and imprisoned some time.*

After he was liberated, he was pitched upon, as a person of great courage and magnanimity; to present the protestation and testimony of the toleration, and the errors and sectaries that then prevailed in the church and state, given in October 1658 to General Monk, drawn up and signed by himself, Mess. Rutherford, James Guthrie, and many others; he did with the greatest firmness, for which he was exposed to persecutions; but what return he had for all his faithfulness and loyalty to the King, comes immediately to be discovered.

For no sooner was the King restored and settled in his dominions, than this worthy and good man was involved in a new series of sufferings, being assembled at Edinburgh, with Mr. James Guthrie, and others of his brethren, in August 1660, where they drew up that supplication and address to the King, commonly called the paper of 23d of August, they were all imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, except Mr. Hay of Craignethen, who escaped.

He continued under confinement until July 12, 1661, that he was indicted and charged, much about the same time with Mr. Guthrie, which runs upon his having a share in the Remonstrance in forming the Causes of God's Wrath. Refusing to retract in them, he was brought before the parliament several times; a prosecution for his life was so hot, that the Earl of Athole, and the parliament, particularly interested and concerned in this good

* Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 71, &c.

† In this testimony, among other things, they say, "We do profess our dissent from that the civil powers should take upon them to prescribe public humiliation, as giving, with the causes and diets thereof, to all the ministers and members of the church, as being contrary to the well-warranted privileges and constant practice of the church, and in its own nature introductory to greater encroachments, and putting the hands of the civil powers the modelling of the public worship of God, a thing which is not only unchristian, but also unparliamentary, and unbecomingly ecclesiastic," &c.

wife, being importuned by her to appear for him in parliament, dealt her to endeavour to prevail with him to recede from some of his principles, otherwise, they told her, it was impossible to save his life. An excellent woman answered, "That they all knew she was happy in her good husband, and she had a great affection for him, and many children; yet she knew him to be so stedfast to his principles, where his conscience was concerned, that nobody need deal with him on that head; her part, before she should contribute any thing that would break his peace with his Master, she would rather choose to receive his head at the block." About the same time, two ladies of the first quality were pleased to concern themselves in his case, as to provide a compliment in a bill (which was not unusual at that time,) and send it to the Advocate's office. Afterwards they went and visited her on his behalf; but were told her it was impossible to save his life, and the compliment was again refused.

But it was so over-ruled in Providence, that Mr. Moncrief being much respected, and his hardships almost universally regretted, upon account of his eminent piety, integrity, and uprightness, several of all ranks, and great persuasions, and unknown to him, began to make application, and interpose for him, so that the spirit of some of his most violent persecutors began to abate, his process lingered, till, after a tedious imprisonment, he fell sick, and obtained the favour of confinement in Edinburgh. The parliament passed this sentence upon him, "That he, the said Mr. Alexander Moncrief, be for ever incapable of exercising any public trust, or ecclesiastic, within the kingdom, until, in the next session of parliament, further orders be taken concerning him, and discharge him in the interim to go to his parish:" and all this for owning before them his accession to the Remonstrance and Causes of God's Wrath.

After this sentence, when living peaceably about eight or nine miles from his own parish, people began to resort to him, and hear him preach; and upon, under a most severe storm in the middle of winter, by virtue of a writ made against him, he was charged to remove twenty miles from his house and charge, and seven or eight from a bishop's seat or royal palace; and was with his family forced from his house, and obliged to suffer in that storm; and yet when he had removed to a place at a considerable distance, even then he got a second charge to remove farther, till he was obliged to go to a remote place in the Highlands, where his God, who had all along countenanced and supported him wonderfully in his trials, honoured him to be instrumental in the conversion of many.

As the persecution somewhat abating, he brought his family to Perth, for the education of his children, where he continued preaching the gospel. But at first, but afterwards a great many, attended his ministry. He again informed against, a party of the horse-guards were sent to arrest him; but he escaped, though his house was narrowly searched. He removed him from his family, and he was obliged to lurk a good while.

At length he came with his family to Edinburgh, where he preached several many years, under a series of persecution. He was inter-combined in the year 1675, and his house, and many other places in and about the city, were narrowly searched for him; yet he was always remarkably preserved, of which many instances might be given. When he went into the country, many a time parties of the guard were sent in quest of him, and sometimes he would meet them on his return, and pass through

the midst of them unknown. When he was one time lodged in a remote part of the suburbs of Edinburgh, a captain, with a party, searched every house and chamber of the close, but never entered into the house he was in, though the door was open.

Again, when he was lurking in a private family without the walls of Edinburgh, a party was sent to apprehend him. Providentially he had gone out the walk by the house; the party, observing him by his gravity to be a minister, said one to another, That may be the man we are seeking: nay, said another, he would not be walking there. Again, when he was advertised that the soldiers were coming to search for him in his own house, he lingered till another minister came to him, and said, Sir, you must surely have a protection from Heaven, that you are so secure here, when the town is in such disorder, and a general search to be made. Immediately he went off, and in a little after Mr. Moncrief went out; and he was not well down stairs before the guard came up and searched his house. He took a short turn in the street, and came back just as the guard went off.

But the persecution growing still worse, he was obliged to disperse his family for some time. He was solicited, when in these circumstances, to leave the kingdom, and had an ample call to Londonderry in Ireland; yet he always declined to leave his native country; and in his pleasant way used to say, he would suffer where he had sinned, and essay to keep possession of his Master's house till he should come again. He had a sore sickness about the beginning of June 1680; in which time he uttered many heavenly expressions. But he recovered, and continued in this the house of his pilgrimage until harvest 1688, when he died, and got above all sin and sorrow, after he had endured a great fight of affliction to obtain a crown of eternal life.

He was mighty in prayer, and had some very remarkable and strange returns thereof. His memory was savoury a long time after his death. Many could bear witness, that God was with him of a truth. He left many seals of his ministry in Fife, and was a most faithful and painful minister. His sufferings are a little hinted at in the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, though neither he nor his persecutors are mentioned there. The relation runs thus:

"The first relates to a considerable family in this country, who made it their business to trouble and persecute the minister of that parish, an eminently holy and faithful man; yea, upon account of his faithfulness, the old laird of that house did pursue him, out of malice, with a false libel, before the synod, either to get him broken and put out of the parish, or at least to crush his spirit, and weaken him in the exercise of his ministry; but did there meet with a disappointment, the Lord clearing the innocence of his servant, and the malice of the other. At which time, that gentleman, while he went to the stable where his horses were, being then at the synod on that account, was in the place stricken with sickness, forced to hasten home, and take his bed, and there seized with horror of conscience, which made him often cry, entreating most earnestly for his minister, whom he had thus persecuted, and often said, Oh! to see his face; and told his friends, that if he would not come to him, they should carry him to his house. But his lady did, out of malice, in a most rude and violent way, hinder the minister's access to him; and thus that poor gentleman died in great horror and anguish.

er his death his lady still pursued the quarrel with no less malice, she also fell sick, and had much terror upon her conscience, crying to the minister, who was providentially absent, so that she was denied what she kept back from her husband; but he came to her after her death, and she confessed with much bitterness her wrong to him. After this, a young man who had been their chaplain, and engaged to appear as a witness against that godly man, was so terrified by his conscience, that he could get no rest till he went to the next town to acknowledge that horrid sin, in bearing false witness against his minister; but being by some kept from a public appearance, he went to another part of the country, where it is reported he died distracted. At last of all, the young laird, who succeeded in that estate, would not pursue the quarrel; and finding more access through the change of times, did so endeavour with some who were in power, that an act was passed for banishing him out of that parish: and although he was otherwise accused upon account of the public cause, yet it was the violent persecution of that gentleman was the main cause of his sentence, as those who had a hand in passing it did confess; for he solemnly sworn, that if he lived there, that minister should not be in peace. Returning to his house a few days after, and boasting how he kept his word, and got his minister cast out of his parish, he was suddenly struck by the Lord with a high fever, which plucked him away every strength of his years." Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 428.

Mr. ANGUS MACBEAN.

ANGUS MACBEAN was born about 1656. After he had spent some time at the grammar school with good proficiency, he went to the University of Aberdeen; where he began to distinguish himself, no less by his great regard to practical religion, although he was yet of the popish persuasion, than for his extraordinary parts and abilities in

At this time the bishops, having found their mistake in sending men of little learning, and less religion, to the south and west parts of Scotland, where the people were much disaffected to them, applied to the professors of divinity to name some of the greatest abilities to be sent to those parts. Accordingly, Professor Menzies singled out Mr. Macbean amongst his students, to be sent to the town of Ayr; but he did not stay long there, having got a call to be minister of Inverness; he was accepted of, and was there admitted, December 29, 1683; and proved a very pathetic and zealous preacher, and one of the most successful of that way. He usually once a-week lectured on a large portion of scripture, which was not the custom then in that apostate and

Notwithstanding of his being in the highest esteem among the people, the constancy shewn by the sufferers for the cause of truth, and the cruelty used towards them, made such deep impressions on his mind, that it could never afterwards be rooted out or effaced. As a native witness of the toleration granted by the Duke of York, the mass

was openly set up in the castle of Inverness, against which Mr. Macbean preached publicly, and warned the people of the imminent danger which was then in. At which the priest was so incensed, that he wrote Mr. Macbean a letter, challenging him to a public dispute. This he received in a crowd on the weekly market, where he usually went with some constables to prevent common swearing. He went to a house and there wrote such an answer to the priest, as determined him to no more challenges. The report of this having spread, some of James's officers being there, entered into a resolution to go to the next Lord's-day, and to take him out of the pulpit, in case he went out against that way. Of this he was informed late on Saturday by some friends who importuned him to abstain from saying any thing which might exasperate them. But he preached next day on Col. i. 18 proved that Christ was the sole King and Head of his church, in opposition to both Popery and Erastianism; whereupon the officers gathered up to execute their design, which the good man did not observe. He turned himself about (for they sat in a loft on the left side of the pulpit) Then he said with an authority that put them out of countenance that these things I am become the song of drunkards. On which he sat down, for it was when drinking that they had formed that design. From the Popish controversy, he was led to a more serious inquiry into the merits of what was then the real controversy; and serious wrestling with God, and earnest prayer for light and direction from him, in which he spent several nights in his garden, he at length determined fully to declare for the truth, whatever might be the consequence. Accordingly, in 1687, he declined to sit in the presbytery, but continued to preach. In August, the presbytery were informed, that he absented wilfully, but that he disowned the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, &c.; and they appointed a committee to converse with him; who, having done so, at a subsequent diet, reported that Mr. Macbean declared plainly to them, that he had no more to do with them in their judicatories any more; that it was over his head that he had entered into the ministry under bishops; that these convictions were returning with greater force upon his conscience, so that he could not overcome them; that he was convinced by the scriptures that the only government God owned in these nations; that he was fully determined to make all the satisfaction he could to the Presbyterians; to preach for them and in their favour; and that they should be dispensed with, by bishop and presbytery, from keeping meetings, he could not promise, that in his preaching he would lay no ground of misconstruction to those that owned Prelacy. At the time his colleague Mr. Gilbert Marshall farther reported, that Mr. Macbean, both in his public lectures and sermons, did so reflect upon the government of the church, as was like to make a schism at Inverness; therefore he had caused cite him to that meeting, to answer the reproachful doctrine that could not be endured. Mr. Macbean appeared before them; nevertheless the magistrates prevailed with the presbytery to desist from proceeding against him at that time. Shortly thereafter the presbytery referred him to the synod of Aberdeen, who appointed a committee to join with the presbytery of Inverness to deal with him.

In the meantime Mr. Macbean went to the church without his clerical habit, publicly renounced Prelacy, declared himself a Presbyter,

As he found not freedom in the exercise of his charge, he demitted it: he preached his farewell-sermon on Job xxxiv. 31, 32. The scriptures advanced and insisted on, as warrants for his conduct, were Is. viii. 14. Jer. xv. 18—21. 2 Cor. vi. 16, 18.; and to prove that Christ is the sole Head of the Church, Eph. v. 23. Col. i. 18. 1 Peter ii. 7. At Lord's day he went to Ross, and there, in Mr. Macgilligen's meeting-house, preached the truths he formerly opposed; and sometimes thereafter he preached at Inverness, till he was by order of the Council led to Edinburgh before them.

On this surprising change and alteration, a great opposition among the railing party soon appeared against him; which was the less to be wondered at, as he embraced every opportunity of declaring for the cause of truth, which they were most violent against; and therefore the presbytery of Inverness sent one of their number to inform the Bishop of Gray, then at Glasgow, of the whole affair. But the Bishop dying at the same time, the Archbishop of St. Andrews took the affair into his cognizance, and procured an order from the Council to bring him to Edinburgh. In consequence of which he was carried south in January 1688, by very tempestuous weather, and was called before the Council, where he made a bold and noble stand in defence of the truths he had so solemnly professed. One of the questions asked at him was, If he thought King's power was limited? He answered, he knew no power, but the Almighty's, unlimited. And though the Council could not then find a way to attack him against the state, yet, to please the bishops he must be imprisoned; and on the 27th February thereafter, the Archbishop of St. Andrews convened him before him and the Bishop of Murray, and Doctors and ministers in Edinburgh, where, in virtue of his metropolitan capacity, he deposed him from the exercise of his pastoral office, deprived him of all benefits that might accrue to him thereby, since he was guilty of his wilful desertion; with certification, if he should transgress the sentence of excommunication should pass against him. He thereupon remanded back to prison; and though the town of Inverness wrote, earnestly soliciting him to make some compliance, that they might be favoured with his return, yet he valiantly withstood their entreaties; and by his answer, dated July 1688, he dissuaded them from pressing on his return, as what he assured them would never happen; and he maintained himself in the strongest manner for his adherence to Prelacy, being against it in the most express way, as antisciptural as well as unchristian. His confinement, and the fatigue of his journey, having been such a shock to his constitution, as to endanger his life, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, offered a ransom of 10,000 merks to the Earl of Perth, then Chancellor, that he would present him when called upon, providing he was set at liberty; but he refused to set him at liberty, though he was in a very languid condition in the tolbooth, where he remained till the Earl of Perth ran away, when the Edinburgh mob set the prisoners at liberty. He continued about Edinburgh till February 1689, when he finished his course in the Lord, in the 33d year of his age: a few days before, news came, that the parliament of England had set a crown on King William, who put an end to those boodily times, and that tyrannical government.

Mr. Macbean, without all doubt, was a man both pious and learned, who was at first brought up in the Prelatical persuasion; and when near

his death, he frequently compared himself in this particular to Moses, who from Mount Pisgah saw the land of promise, but for his sinful compliance, as he always called it, would not be allowed to enter therein, having sometime before his death a firm belief of the amazing deliverance which the church and nation soon met with, and left this mortal life, rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God.

MR. THOMAS HOG.

MR. THOMAS HOG was born in 1628, in Tain in the county of Ross. His parents were careful to give their son a liberal education; for which purpose he was sent early to school, and, from his commencement to the study of letters, he discovered an uncommon genius, and soon made such proficiency as rendered him respected during his youth. He was much addicted to the harmless diversions of that age; yet they did never abate his progress in his studies, nor his detestation of any thing immoral, or unbecoming the character of a scholar. He was put to the university in the New Town of Aberdeen, where he made great proficiency, and was admitted Master of Arts, with the universal approbation of the regent of the College.

About this time a very remarkable incident fell out, which confirmed Mr. Hog's aversion to drunkenness, and his belief of an over-ruling Providence: for, having accompanied a merchant of Aberdeen to a ship in the mouth of the Dee, who was going a voyage, (being one of his acquaintance,) upon his return, with two burgesses who had gone the same errand, through the importunity of one of them, they turned all aside to take a bottle in an inn by the way. There he tarried till he thought they had drunk sufficiently; and finding they were not disposed to go home, he laid down his share of the reckoning, and was going away; but they, being averse to part with him, and resolute in their cups, laid hold on him to stay; but he being full six feet high, and proportionably strong and vigorous, soon twisted himself out of their grips, and went off; and came home to his chamber, and went to bed at his usual hour; but, though in good health, he could get no rest till one o'clock, when he fell asleep and rested quietly till the morning, and then arose. At which time coming forth to his class, one met him weeping, and told him, that the two men he left last night, after continuing a while at their cups, fell contending, and then a-fighting, in which the one killed the other. He asked, At what time? and being told just at one, he adored that Providence which had both seasonably disposed him to leave them, and made him uneasy whilst the complication of sin was thus committing.

And though Mr. Hog was adorned with these natural and acquired accomplishments, which constitute a truly amiable person, heightened with the lustre of an unblameable life; yet, as he himself acknowledges, he remained a stranger to the saving operations of the Spirit of God, till about 1638, when the arm of the Lord was gloriously revealed in the revival of the work of reformation, and the influences of his grace poured out upon many through the nation: and yet still his conversation was strictly moral, and he frequented societies, conversed and prayed with them, was in the diligent use of means; and in reference to the pub

ligion and reformation, was sound, bold, and resolute; in his acknowledging the Lord, bringing these his difficulties before him, he thought he got some notable returns; yet upon all these he declared, that if he was then in a state of grace and salvation, he was not in that state afterwards; for that the whole of the following work, the Spirit and word of God was wrought on his heart, was wrought upon a strong and clear conviction of his having been as that time a sinner, notwithstanding all the forementioned lengths.

The manner and means of his saving conversion were, we are at liberty to describe; only we find he was under a very deep and severe trial, and that his convictions were very close, particular, and pointed to his sin before him; and that during this work, which was of a long and painful nature, whole clouds of sin were charged home upon him, and he was almost at a loss for measure; so that he was brought well nigh to despair. He was chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland, where the work of God was wrought in several souls about that house; and amongst whom the butler was at the same time under the same law-exercise, and yet the one did not follow the other; notwithstanding the Countess, who was an eminent Christian, wanted not some discerning of what was a-working within him, and particularly with Mr. Hog, as will appear by what follows.

One day Mr. Hog, sitting alone in his chamber in extreme anguish, and in great wrath in his view, a horrible temptation was thrown in like lightning, viz. Why do you continue under such intolerable extremities? Put rather an end to a miserable life immediately. Upon this temptation, he resented the temptation and the tempter with indignation, and as if with a dagger, at which the enemy pointed, lying well sharpened, lest the assault should have been renewed, he rose up, and went to the window; after which he sat down, and fell a musing upon the intricacies of his distress; and while in the midst of this terrible trial, the Countess, besides her custom, (though she had been ever ready to be kind,) knocked gently at the door, and invited him to go and see her of a present of summer-fruit: he went with her, and beheld that nothing could be known concerning his former troubles, and was comforted by her kind speech and behaviour, that she was either ignorant of his danger, or that she suspected somewhat of the matter.

After this entertainment he returned to his room, and found the temptation mercifully removed.

From the manner of his relief, we learn in general, that, from a carnal sin, he was carried up to the fountain-head, original sin, and conviction of unbelief as the seat of this fountain, according to 2. John iii. 16, 38. The Lord having in this manner laid a foundation, and excellent foundation, he was at length blessed with faith's view of the glory of Christ in his offices and person; which did so ravish his heart, to render him most willing, through grace, to forego, endure, and adventure upon any thing in his cause, and for

the most considerable adventure, while in his family, was his being invited to convert a young gentleman, of the name of Monro, who dwelt in the house, and though of a sober deportment, yet void of piety. He took great pleasure in Mr. Hog's company; but wasted his time in idle, frothy, and useless discourse. He bore with him patiently, but pitying his case, he used all means possible with him,

till by divine grace he was wholly brought over from a state of black-ture into a state of grace; and if he visited Mr. Hog often before, he made many more visits to him after this; but never gave him occasion to impeach him, for the gentleman became eminently gracious; and for an evidence that this free dealing was blessed, the good man, in his after conduct, did so excel in the virtues opposite to the former blemishes, that he was esteemed for accommodating differences; and several gentlemen did submit their contests to him, and acquiesced in his sole determination.

After Mr. Hog was settled at Killearn, this gentleman made him a visit; where, after their mutual endearments, the gentleman addressed Mr. Hog in this amazing dialect: "Sir, my course is nigh finished, and I am upon my entrance into a state of eternal rest. The Lord hath his own way of giving the watchful Christian previous warning concerning the end of the warfare, 2 Peter i. 14.; and I, being so privileged, have been seriously pondering where it may be most convenient to breathe out my last, and quietly lay down this tabernacle; and seeing, after deliberation, I can find no place so fit as with you, I have adventured to come and die with you. At this time the gentleman was in good health, and ate his meat as well as ever; whereupon Mr. Hog endeavoured to divert him from these thoughts; but he firmly persisted in his persuasion: and accordingly in a few days he was seized with a fever, whereof he died.

Mr. Hog was licensed to preach the gospel in the 26th year of his age; and ere one year elapsed several parishes were competing for him, some of which could have yielded him a greater living than what he ever had; but he preferred Killearn to the rest, because he understood that sovereign grace was pursuing some elect vessels there; and he knew that several gentlemen, especially the Baron of Foulis, were friends to religion there: and he was ordained minister in 1654 or 1655, with the unanimous consent and approbation of all concerned.

Mr. Hog, being thus settled, heartily applied himself to his work, taking heed to himself and his doctrine, that he might both save himself and them that heard him, casting a good copy or example before them in all manner of temperance and Christian virtues, but more especially remarkable in his public character. His concern and sympathy with the ignorant was great, the bulk of the people of that parish, through the long infirmity of their former pastor, and the intervening vacation, being neglected in their examination, became very ignorant; but he was at great pains in spreading catechisms and other abstracts among them; and going from house to house, he prayed with, exhorted, and instructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and his deportment was attended with as much majesty, proper to that function, as had been observed in any: and no wonder, for few were favoured with so many tokens of the divine presence, in the discharge of their ministry; as witness J—s N—o, E—b B—e his spouse, B—a B—e his sister, afterwards Mrs. S—d, Mr. R—s, the judicious and famous John Monro of Ross, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. Angus Macbean minister at Inverness, William Bullock his own servant, Christian Macintosh a poor woman in the depths of soul-distress, holy Mr. Ross, Mr. John Wood, and the so much famed John Monro, were either converted or confirmed by him while in this parish, or after his ejection, while he was settled at Knockgaudy in Murray; and none more particular than the instance of Monro of Lumlair, an heritor in that parish, who, upon seeing

y expressions by Mr. Hog, which he was at first dreadfully yet were made the means of his thorough conversion, so that led on Mr. Hog after as his best friend, and laid himself out the success of his ministry.

As it pleased the Lord thus to bless his parochial labours with change wrought upon a considerable number of the people, he to join the more judicious in societies for prayer and conference he kept under his own inspection, and did heartily con-tem; for he himself was much in the exercise of that duty, several notable returns, of which we have several instances.

A good woman having come to him with this sore lamentation, a daughter C—— L—— was distracted, Mr. Hog charged one or two persons, for he frequently employed such on extraordinary occasions set apart a day and a night for fasting and prayer, and then met in prayer for the maid next day. Accordingly, when this fast was performed, she recovered her senses as well as before.

A daughter of the Laird of Parks, his brother-in-law, who lodged being seized with a high fever, and little hope of life; Mr. Hog attended the child dearly, and while he and his wife were jointly supplicating the Lord in prayer, acknowledging their own and the child's sin, the fever instantly left her. This passage was found in his own diary, and he concludes with admiration upon the goodness of God, to ascribe the praise of all.

In a like manner, a child of the rev. Mr. Urquhart having been near death, those present pressed Mr. Hog to pray, for he was so esteemed that none other would in such case do it, he consented; upon which he solemnly charged them to join with him; he fervently wrestled in prayer and supplication for sometime, and she was restored to health. A like instance is found of a child of the same, in his own diary.

One David Dunbar, who lived at a distance, being in a frenzy, was brought to Mr. Hog's house in one of his fits; Mr. Hog caused him to sit down, having advised with Mr. Fraser of Brae, and some others what should be done for the lad; some were for letting blood, but Mr. Hog said, The prelates have deprived us of money wherewith to employ physicians, therefore let us employ him who cures freely, and so Mr. Fraser to pray; but he put it back on himself. So, after charging the distracted person to be still, he prayed fervently for the child, and he was immediately restored to his right mind. This is attested by those who were eye and ear witnesses.

Mr. Hog having once gone to see a gracious woman in great distress, both of body and mind, he prayed with her and for her; this remarkable expression among many others, O Lord, remission, and we in thy name rebuke the same; and immediately the woman was restored both in body and in mind. And yet, considering the Lord had honoured him in such a manner, it is any in his day more carefully guarded against delusions than in his ordinary, whenever he bowed a knee, to request to be delivered from delusions, &c.

Mr. Hog was sent of God to be an ambassador of peace to the world; he was also a messenger of wrath to others. Of which we have several instances; but none more particular than the following, of a certain man in the parish, who had one dead in his family, and intend-

ed to bury in the kirk: but, on account of the vulgar superstition, the General Assembly had by an act discharged the same; and Mr. Hog being a strenuous defender of the act of the church, the gentleman was at a loss what to do; but one William Monro, a strong, hectoring fellow, engaged to make his way good against all opposition, and succeeded so far, that the people with the corpse were entering the church-yard when Mr. Hog got notice. He went out, and set his back to the door through which the corpse was to pass, and began to reason with the people, to convince them of their error in breaking through good order; but this had not the desired effect, for the fellow laid violent hands on Mr. Hog to pull him from the door; but he, having the spirit of a man as well as of a Christian, turned on his adversary, wrested the key out of his hand, and told the assailant, were he to repel force with force, probably he would be no gainer; and then said to the people, "This man hath grieved the Spirit of the Lord, and you shall see either his sudden repentance, or a singular judgment befall him." Accordingly the poor wretch continued in his wicked courses, and met with the foretold judgment in a few months after that. Having made a violent attack upon one, who drew out the wretch's sword and dagger, and thrust him through the belly, so that his bowels burst out, and he died most miserably.

Another instance of this kind fell out, while he was lecturing in the Laird of Letham's house, in the county of Murray. During the time of worship, he observed a servant laugh once and again, and after an admonition the third time; at which Mr. Hog paused a little, and then with an air of severity said, "The Spirit of God is grieved by one in the company, for mocking at these great truths; therefore I am bold to say, such offers of grace shall be visibly and more suddenly punished than any here could wish," &c. After they had supped, and retired to their apartments, a message came to his chamber, telling him, that the fore-mentioned mocker was seized with a sudden sickness, and cried bitterly for him. Upon this Mr. Hog arose, quickly cast on his gown, and came down stairs to see him, without losing a minute's time; but ere he got to him, the poor creature was dead.

Mr. Hog was in judgment on that side called protesters, and therefore was in 1661 deposed by the synod of Ross, because he would not decline that party judicially; and afterwards, when he knew he was to be put out of the charge at Killearn in 1662, he had a farewell sermon to them, where, with the apostle Paul, he took God and their own consciences to witness, that he had not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God to them; and added, that the storm would be of a long continuance; but, after all, the sky would clear, and he would live to see it, and be called to his own charge again as minister of Killearn, and die with them. And further said, If any of you shall decline from that good way, and these truths wherein ye have been taught, and shall comply with the wicked designs now carried on, I take heaven and earth to witness against you; I take the stones of these walls I preached in, every word that was spoken, and every one of you, to be witnesses against another. With many other words he exhorted them; and his labours were not altogether in vain; for there was not a parish in Scotland that complied less with the corruptions than they did.

After his ejection, John Card, who was converted by his ministry, told him that he should go to Murray. Of which he had no thoughts then; but in a little the Laird of Park offered him Knockgaudy, near Oldearn, to

hour and dwell in; of which he accepted, and went thither; where he was a very useful instrument in the hand of the Lord, in turning many souls to him, as has been already said; and here finding his private ministry so blessed with success, he adventured to give the sacrament in this place; which was a bold attempt, considering the severity of the laws at that time. But this solemnity being remarkably blessed with the divine presence and glory, the communicants returned to their habitations with unspeakable joy, and, among the rest, one Macleod, who came from Lan-shire, and understood nothing of the English language: but Mr. Hog understanding the Irish language, he told him, that he came hither obeying the command of his exalted Redeemer, and understood what was preached there in the English, as well as if every word had been spoken in his own tongue; which when Mr. Hog interpreted to the rest, they were filled with wonder, and the good man was allowed to communicate, which he did with joy.

In 1668, he was imprisoned for the truth at Forres, upon a complaint of keeping conventicles, &c.; and there he was wonderfully strengthened and comforted, having great joy in his sufferings. Upon his account many prayers were put up by many in Murray; and their prayers, and the saith of the church's prayers for Peter while in the like case, set him a-working. The effect was, that Mr. Hog, without his own knowledge or expectation, was set at liberty, without any concessions on his

part. But what was more remarkable, he was again apprehended about the year 1676, for the same cause, and sent to Edinburgh. He said to some company, I thank my God, this messenger was most welcome to me: giving a scratch with his nails on the wall, he said, I trust in the Lord God, that before my conscience shall get that much of a scratch, my neck (pointing to it) shall go for it. Accordingly, when tried, he counted himself joyfully to a prison, rather than bind himself from preaching; and was sent to the Bass, where, by the air of the place and close confinement, he fell into a bloody flux, whereof he was in great danger. A physician being called, he gave his opinion, unless he was removed from that place, there was no hope of life: but Mr. Hog, being asked, would not address that mongrel court, at any rate. However, the doctor, of his own accord, did it without his knowledge, and gave in petition to the Council, in the strongest terms he could devise. The petition being read, some of the Lords interceded for Mr. Hog, and said, he should be lived more quietly, and travelled not the country so much as the Presbyterian did. Upon which Bishop Sharp, taking up the argument, said, that the prisoner did, and was in a capacity to do, more hurt to the king's interests, sitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do travelling from this corner of the land to the other; and if the justice of the law was pursuing him, to take him off the stage, the clemency of the government should not interpose to hinder it; and it was his opinion, that there was any place in the prison worse than another, he should be kept there. Which motion, being seconded by the prelates, was put to the king and carried, to the closest prison of the Bass; which was speedily executed. When the keeper intimated this to Mr. Hog, he said, it was as severe as if Satan himself had penned it. His servant, William Mack, being with him when he carried him down to that low, nasty prison in the Bass, fell a-weeping, and cried, Now, master, your death is inevitable. But the good man, directing his eyes up, said, Now,

hat men have no mercy, the Lord will shew himself merciful; from the moment of my entering this dungeon I date my recovery. And so I fell out, for the very next day he recovered surprisingly, and in a short time was as well as ever. Yet afterwards, when speaking of the arch-relate, he never shewed any resentment, but merrily said, Commend him to me for a good physician.

In the end of 1679, being brought to Edinburgh before the Council and refusing to take the bond to live peaceably, he was remanded back to prison, and afterwards liberated; but on what conditions we do not learn.

About 1683, he fell again under the displeasure of the managers, holding private conventicles, and was banished by the Privy Council and desired to remove out of the kingdom in forty-eight hours, unless he gave caution not to exercise any part of his ministry, under the penalty of 5000 merks, over and above performance; which conditions he would by no means submit to, and therefore retired to Berwick, and from thence to London, with a design the first opportunity to go from thence to Carolina; but the pretended plot, called the Presbyterian plot, then breaking out, he was thrown into prison, where he continued some time, his money being near spent, (for besides his own and his servant's maintenance, he paid ten shillings sterling weekly to the keeper, for a place by himself, and not to be put down among thieves and felons,) he said to his servant William, I'll set to-morrow apart for prayer, and see that no person be allowed to come in to interrupt me. Accordingly he retired early, and continued close at meditation and prayer till twelve o'clock, when a person in the habit of a gentleman desired to speak with Mr. William Bullock told him, that his master was retired, &c.; yet he interceded to see him. Upon which William, seeing the man of a pleasant aspect, reported his desire to his master, who ordered him to a room. Mr. Hog received him courteously. The other entertained him with a discourse about suffering for a good God, and a good cause, and exhorted that *our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, are not to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed.* After which he arose and embraced Mr. Hog most lovingly, exhorted him to continue in well-doing, and then took out of his pocket a white paper, and gave it to him. Mr. Hog, finding its weight, understood it was money, and said to the man, Upon what account, Sir, do you give me this money?—The man answered, Because I am appointed by our great and exalted Master to do so. Mr. Hog asked his name? and upon his refusing to tell him, Mr. Hog said, Sir, it is not curiosity that prompts me to ask, but I have my heart enlarged, and then I shall account it my duty to call for you at my dwelling in this city, for I suppose you are a citizen in London. The other replied, You must ask me no more questions; but *be faithful to the truth, and thou shalt have a crown of life.* Then he retired, and Mr. Hog never saw nor heard of him any more. When Mr. Hog opened the paper, there were 100 sterling in it, which to the good man was more than if he had got 1000 pounds settled on him yearly.*

After he was set at liberty, being at London in 1685, when the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, and Argyle in Scotland, he plain to some of his acquaintance, that God would never honour any of these

* This relation was attested by William Bullock, who was his faithful servant many years, who was eye and ear witness, and was inclined to think he was an angel.

the instruments of our deliverance. And much about the same time, the protestants at Court, knowing he was in the city, and that he was endued with a prophetic spirit, drew King James's attention so far, that they wanted Mr. Hog should be consulted concerning affairs at that juncture. This being communicated to him, he concealed his mind, till he consulted the Lord by prayer. In the meantime he made ready for his vocation, and then told them, what he charged them to report to him fully, that if King James had seriously adhered to the principles of the holy reformed religion, his throne should have been established in righteousness; and if he would yet turn himself from Popery, matters might be well with him; but if otherwise, the land would spue him out. As this was reported, the King ordered he should be speedily apprehended; but he, having foreseen this, eschewed it by a speedy flight to Holland.

When in Holland, he was soon introduced to the Prince of Orange, who had him in great esteem, and therefore let him into the secret of his mission to deliver these nations from Popery and tyranny. In the instance Mr. Hog agreed with worthy Mr. McWard and Mr. Brown; who was far from clearness to withdraw from all Presbyterian * ministers, either had not taken the benefit of the indulgence, or those exposed offering notwithstanding the same.

Mr. Hog returned to Scotland in 1688, where he staid till 1691, that the old parishioners, finding the way cleared, sent commissioners to accompany him back to his parish of Killearn; where he was received with great joy in June or July that year. But his constitution being broken, he was unable to discharge his function much in public after that; however, his conversation became still more heavenly. King William, as a reward to his merit, resolving to have this good man near him, sent him permission to be one of his chaplains, which was no mean evidence of esteem for him, and the truth of his prediction concerning him. But never after that honour was bestowed upon him, he was seized with the stone, or rather the complication of troubles, whereof he died.

His sickness was considerably long, and accompanied with great pain. One of his judicious servants, hearing the heavy moans he made, asked, whether it was soul or bodily pain that extorted such heavy groans from him? To which he composedly replied, No soul-trouble, man; for a hundred and a hundred times my Lord hath assured me that I shall be with him for ever; but I am making moan for my body.—And thereupon enquired him agreeably concerning the Lord's purging away sin from his children, Is. xxvii. 9. At another time, he said, Pity me, O ye my friends, and do not pray for my life; you see I have a complication of troubles upon me; allow me to go to my eternal rest. And then, with great concern of soul, he cried, Look, O my God, upon mine affliction, and forgive all my sins. And yet, says his servant, never was his conversation more heavenly and spiritual, than when thus chastised. Towards the end, he was much feasted with our Saviour's comfortable message to his disciples, John xx. 17. *I ascend to my Father, and to your Father; and I am with you, and your God.* To the writer of some remarkable passages of

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 It must of necessity here be observed, that any who are acquainted with the history of these times, will find that Mr. Hog was not so explicit upon point of his duty, as the more faithful part of our sufferers at that time; otherwise he had attained, and attainments, a very remarkable and extraordinary man, as this narra-

his life, he said, he could not give a look to the Lord, but he was persuaded of his everlasting love. And to Mr. Stuart, who succeeded in that place, at another time he said, Never did the sun in the firmament shine more brightly to the eyes of my body, than Christ the Righteousness hath shined on my soul.—“ And sometime afterwards continues the same writer, “ when I understood he was very low, at his last visit; and when I asked him how he did, he answered, unchangeableness of my God is my rock. Upon Sabbath evening he staid with him that week, when I came from the church, his speech was unintelligible to me, but his servant desired me to pray, and commit my soul and body to God. After prayer I retired a little, and when I returned, I found all present in tears at his dissolution, especially I and his faithful servant William Bullock.” Mr. James Hog, the forementioned writer of the remarkable passages, adds, That Mr. Hog had many times foretold that his Lord and Husband was to come so in the end he cried out, “ Now he is come; my Lord is come; I praise to him for ever more. Amen.” And with these words he closed his eyes, upon the 4th January 1692, being about sixty years of age.

Mr. Hog was of a tall stature, but more remarkable for his temperance and fortitude of mind; he was most temperate in diet and sleep. His study, he said, was a great incentive to lust, and rising betimes in the morning was good for the health, but best adapted for study, wherein he took most pleasure. His more serious work, his necessary diversions, his visits to his friends, &c. and even meaner things, were all gone about by the duty. He was sought unto by many for his good and faithful counsel, and in prayer he was most solemn and fervent, the profoundest in the lowest submission, and yet a marvellous boldness and intimacy with God, attended his engagements in this exercise: it might be truly said of him as of Luther when he prayed, It was with so much reverence that he prayed to God, and with so much boldness as if he had been speaking to his friend. And though the Lord did not bless him with many children, he gave him the powerful assurance of that promise, *Isa. lvi. 5. I will give thee a name better than of sons and daughters*; which he signally fulfilled to him in making him the instrument of begetting many children to the Lord.

MR. ROBERT FLEMING.

MR. ROBERT FLEMING was born at Bathens in 1630. He was the son of Mr. James Fleming minister of the gospel there, who being a very pious and religious man, took great care of his son's education; and for that purpose sent him first to the college of Edinburgh, where he read the course of philosophy with great applause, and made great proficiency in the learned languages. Then being translated to St. Andrews, he pursued his course of theology in that university, under the conduct of Mr. Rutherford.

His natural parts being very great, his understanding quick and penetrating, his judgment clear and profound, his fancy rich, his memory strong, and expressions masculine, they did with such a grace and authority, that even them who were not acquainted with his accents and idioms, and these his acquired learning was answerable, the culture of which

through the divine blessing, improved with great diligence. History, the eye of learning, he singularly affected, especially sacred history, the right eye. But to him all history was sacred, seeing he considered God's actions more than man's therein. Nor did he value any man, but for the knowledge of God, wherewith he himself was so much acquainted; for his conversion to God was very early.

Before he was full twenty-three years old, he was called to a pastoral charge, and was settled therein at Cambuslang, in Clydesdale, where he served the Lord in the ministry till after the restoration of Charles II. when that storm arose that drove out so many, and particularly that act, commonly called the Glasgow act, whereby near 400 faithful ministers were ejected, of whom the world was not worthy.

He had taken to wife Christiana Hamilton, justly famed for her person, gifts, and graces. By her he had seven children, and, with them and himself, sweetly committed unto his God's provision, he humbly received the honour of his ejection. Of the children the Lord received three of them to himself, before their mother, and two of them died afterwards; the other two survived their father for some time. As for his worldly substance, his share seemed according to Agur's desire; and with Luther he said, to his knowledge he never desired much of it, or was very careful for or about it; for during the most tragical days, his table was spread and cup filled, and his head anointed with fresh oil, his children were liberally educated, and in his work he was profusely rich: but of his own laying up he had no treasure but in heaven. His own testimony of his life was this: It was once made up of seeming contrarities, great outward trouble, and great inward comfort; and I never found (said he) more comfort than when under most affliction.

For some time after his ejection, he lived mostly at Edinburgh, Fife, and other places, until September 1678, that all the ministers in and about Edinburgh being called to appear before the Council to hear their sentence, to repair unto the places of their confinement; but he and some others not appearing, were ordered to be apprehended wherever they could be found; which made him shift as well as he could for some time, till he was at last apprehended, and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was during the time of Bothwell battle. A little after he was, with some others, called before the Council, and though they were willing to find bail for their appearance when called, yet because they refused to live peaceably, and not to rise up in arms against the King, or any authorized by him, they were remanded back to prison. However, he was liberated,* and went to Holland, where, after the death of the famous and faithful Mr. Brown, he was admitted minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.

And here again his activity in the ministry was such as was to be expected from such a large soul, comprehensive of the interest of God and his church.—What a writer he was, need not here be told; but in preaching he might be called a Boanerges, and Barnabas also, for con-

* *Mr. Walker* in his remarks says, That while he was in prison he dealt earnestly with *Mess. King and Kid*, then under sentence of death, to give a healing testimony in favour of the indulged; and that he was liberated upon the terms of indemnity, &c. However, be as it will, to derogate from nothing due to the memory of Mr. Fleming, it is well known, that though he was never actively indulged himself, yet he ran into some *indulgences* in coalescence with them; which was no small grief at that time to faithful *Mr. Ward*, as witness his *Earnest Contendings*, &c.

d now I do here, with my full and joyful consent, testify my giving myself again to the Lord, and to his work and service here, and that he shall call me, with desire to consecrate my old age to my Lord and the guide of my youth. I love my Master and his services, and I will be nailed to the posts of his door, as one who would not go from that blessed yoke and service; and lay in hope the whole assurance hereof on his grace and help, &c. To him I commit myself, my works and services, which, with my whole desire, I offer to my Lord whose hand I desire to secure my credit for the gospel's sake, my comfort and enlargement in this day of deep trouble and anguish, together with my poor children, and the whole interest of my family and estate, desiring to put myself with humble confidence, and all that is in me, under his care and conduct. O my soul, bless thou this! This I write the 1st of January 1692. *My Lord and my God.*

"R. FLEMING."

14. In the first day and Monday of this new-year, 1694, that as I formerly, through most of my life past, so now I desire to renew my devotion and engagement to the Lord my God, and to join in the likeness with what herein hath been formerly, with my whole heart and life, and to offer to my dearest Lord praise, in remembrance of what hath been through the year past, and in the whole of my life, his gracious tender conduct hath been so wonderful (and well bestowed) that he hath dealt with thy servant, according to thy word) in all that hath fallen me, &c.

d now I do again, by a surrender witness, my entire commitment of myself, my poor children, my credit for the gospel, my conduct and estate in so extraordinary a juncture, to my dearest Lord to his gracious and compassionate care and providence; together with my works, and my small design to serve him and my generation; and I do entreat my Lord for his grace and strength, to secure and make his poor service, if it were his blessed will, yet more abundantly forthcoming to my Lord with hopes of acceptance, I write this, 1st January 1694. *Deus spero lucem.*

"R. FLEMING."

Now drawing near his end, in the same year 1694, upon the 17th he took sickness, and on the 25th died. On his first arrest, O (said he to such as were about him,) sickness and death are common things. But till the spark of his fever was risen to a flame, he was not aware that sickness was to be unto death; for he told a relation, that it should be so, it was strange, seeing the Lord did not hide from him things that he did with him and his. Yet before his expiration, apprehensive of its approach. Calling to him a friend, he asked, Freedom he found in prayer for him? seems God to beckon to your soul? or does he bring you up, and leave dark impressions on your mind? This way, said he, I have often known the mind of the Lord. And telling him he was under darkness in the case, he replied, I will trouble your mind, trouble not yourself for me; I think I may say, I have overcome above the fear of death.

While his groans and struggling argued him to be under no ease, but his answers to inquiring friends certified, that the distress was not in his soul. Always he would say, I am very well, or I was

never better, or I feel no sickness. This he would say, while he seemed to be sensible of every thing besides pain. But the malignant distemper wasting his natural spirits, he could speak but little; but what he spoke was all of it like himself. Having felt himself indisposed for his wonted meditation and prayer, he thus said to some near him, I have not been able in a manner to form one serious thought since I was sick, or to apply myself unto God: he has applied himself unto me, and one of his manifestations was such as I could have borne no more. Opening his eyes after a long sleep, one of his sons asked how he did? He answered, Never better. Do you know me? said his son. Unto which, with a sweet smile he answered, Yes, yes, dear son, I know you. This was about two hours before he died. About an hour afterwards he cried earnestly, Help, help, for the Lord's sake, and then breathed weaker and weaker, till he gave up the ghost, and, after he had seen the salvation of God, he departed in peace, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Thus lived and died Mr. Fleming, after he had served his day and generation. His works yet declare what sort of man he was; for besides the forenamed treatise, the Confirming Work of Religion, his Epistolary Discourse, and his well-known book, the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, he left a writing behind him, under this title, A short Index of some of the Great Appearances of the Lord in the dispensations of his Providence to his Poor Servant, &c. And although the obscurity of these hints leaves us in the dark, yet as they serve to shew forth his Master's particular care over his servant, who was most industrious in observing the Lord's special providences over others, and perhaps may give some further light into the different transactions of his life, they are here inserted.

"1. How near I was brought to death in my infancy, given over and esteemed a burden to my friends, so as my death was made desirable to them, I being the refuse of my father's children; yet even I was then God's choice, and in a most singular way restored. 2. That remarkable deliverance, in receiving a blow by a club when a child, which was so near my eye as endangered both my sight and life. 3. The strange and extraordinary impression I had of an audible voice in the church at night, when, being a child, I had got up to the pulpit, calling me to make haste, &c. 4. That I, of all my father's sons should be spared, when the other three were so promising, and should thus come to be the only male heir surviving of such a stock. 5. That solemn and memorable day of communion at Grayfriars, in the entry of the year 1648, where I had so extraordinary a sense of the Lord's presence, yea, whence I can date the first sealing evidence of my conversion, now forty years past. 6. The Lord's gracious and signal preservation and deliverance given me at Dunbar fight. 7. These solemn times and near approaches of the Lord to my soul; the first at Elve, when I went there, and the other a little after my father's death, in the high study. 8. That scripture, Acts xii. was given me to be my first text, and how I was unexpectedly and by surprise engaged therein. 9. The great deliverances at sea going to Dundee, the first in company with the Duke of Lauderdale, the other in company with Mr. Gray of Glasgow. 10. That extraordinary dream and marvellous vision I had twice repeated, with the inexpressible joy after the same. 11. These memorable impressions and passages about my health, when it seemed hopeless, at my first entry upon the ministry, and the strange expression of Mr. Simpson of Newmills. 12. the Lord's immediate and wonderful appearance for me in my first entry to the mi-

with that extraordinary storm on the day of my ordination, and
 izing assault which followed the same in what befell, wherein
 immediate appearance against me was so visible. 13. The great
 spicuous seal given to my ministry from the Lord, in the conver-
 several persons, with that marvellous power which then accom-
 the word on the hearts of the people. 14. That signal appear-
 the Lord, and his marvellous condescendence in my marriage-lot;
 he whole conduct of the same. 15. My deliverance from so immi-
 tard of my life, in my fall from my horse at Kilmarnock. 16. The
 marvellous assistance at the two communions of Cathcart and
 , with the great enlargement I had at the last of these two places,
 1st table. 17. That, as my entry to my charge was with such a
 unshine, so no less did the Lord appear at my parting from that
 te. 18. The Lord's special providence as to my outward lot after
 oval thence, in many circumstances that way. 19. The gracious
 my wife so long, when her life was in such hazard in 1665 and
 20. The preservation I had in going over to Fife in 1672, and the
 nt I got there. 21. The dream at Boussay, wherein I got such ex-
 taining as to my wife's removal, with the Lord's marvellous appear-
 d presence the Thursday after, at St. Johnston's. 22. That extra-
 warning I got again of my dear wife's death, and the manner of it;
 lbn; in 1674. 23. These two remarkable scripture places given me
 Nisbet, on my return from London, 1674, viz. that in Rom. iv. in
 noon, and that in Psalm cxv. in the afternoon. 24. Those great
 al confirmations given me at my wife's death, and that great ex-
 ary voice, so distinct and cleat, which I heard a few nights after
 th. 25. These special confirmations given me at my leaving my
 at West Nisbet, Ridsdale, Stanton, and the first at sea from the
 26. These solemn passaget to confirm my faith, Heb. xi. and
 xxiii; and at other times at London, and the last night there before
 away. 27. These extraordinary and signal times I had at my first
 at Rotterdam. 28. These two marvellous providences that did
 me at Worden, and about the business of William Mader. 29.
 rvellous sign given me of the state of my family, in what happened
 sudden withering of the tree, and its extraordinary reviving again
 hit entry to my house at Rotterdam. 30. The great deliverance
 e in the high-street. 31. The good providence in returning my
 it had been long lost. 32. The special providence in preserv-
 on from perishing in water. 33. The surprising relief when
 the Council * of Scotland to appear, with that sweet resignation
 and which I had then under such a pungent trial. 34. The re-
 warning I was forced to give, that some present should be
 ay by death before the next Lord's day. 35. The Lord's imme-
 porting under a long series of wonders, (I may truly say,) for
 obliged in a singular way to set up my Ebenezer, that hither-
 the Lord helped. 36. The remarkable appearance of the Lord
 which I omitted in its place) in the strange providence relating
 penny's death in Prestonpans. 37. The solemn providence
 in my life, my fall under the York coach in August 1654,
 the great wheel went over my leg, so as I could feel it passing

to have been in 1683, upon a process of forfeiture and citation of ap-
 plicants amongst others; but upon a representation given in, his diet was de-
 clined as a part of his compliance.

me without hurting, far less breaking my leg, as if it had been thus carried over in a just poize, to let me see how Providence watched over me, &c. 38. The comfort God gave me in my children, and those extraordinary confirmations I got from God upon the death of those sweet children whom God removed from me to himself."

Now, reader, go and do thou likewise; for *blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing*, Matt. xxiv.

MR. ALEXANDER SHIELDS.

MR. ALEXANDER SHIELDS, son to James Shields of Haugh-head in the Merse, born in 1660 or 1661; and being sent to school when capable of instruction, made such proficiency there, that in a short time he entered upon the study of philosophy, under Sir William Paterson, then regent of the college of Edinburgh, (afterwards clerk to the bloody Council,) where he made no less progress: for, being of a lively genius and penetrating wit, he soon commenced Master of Arts, and that with no small applause: and having furnished his mind with no small degree of the ancillary knowledge of learning, he began to think upon the study of divinity in view for the ministry. But finding little encouragement this way for any who could not in conscience join with Prelacy, or the prevailing defections of those called the indulged, he took a resolution, and went over among others to Holland, (shortly before or after Bothwell,) for the further improvement of his studies, where he continued for a short time, and then returned home to his native country.

But upon his going to London, to be an amanuensis to Dr. Owen, or some of the English divines, who were writing books for the press, he had a letter of recommendation to one Mr. Blackie, a Scots minister, who, appointing him to speak with him at a certain season, had several ministers convened unknown to him, and did press and enjoin him to take license. So that being carried into it, in that sudden and surprising way, he did accept of it from the Scots dissenting ministers at London, but without any imposition or sinful restriction. However, the oath of allegiance becoming in a little time the trial of that place, Mr. Shields studied, as he had occasion, to shew the sinfulness thereof; which these ministers took so ill, that they threatened to stop his mouth; but he refused to submit himself thereunto.

But it was not long here that he could have liberty to exercise his office: for, upon the 11th January 1685, he was with some others, apprehended by the city-mareschal, (at a private meeting in Gutter-lane,) who came upon them at an unawares, and commanded them to surrender in the King's name. Mr. Shields, being first in his way, replied, What King do you mean? by whose authority do you disturb the peaceable ordinances of Jesus Christ? Sir, you dishonour your King in making him an enemy to the worship of God. At which the mareschal said, he had other business to do than to stand prating with him. Mr. Shields made an attempt to escape, but was not able; and he and his companions were brought before the Lord Mayor, who threatened to send him to bridge-well. However, bail was offered and admitted for him, to answer at Guildhall upon the 14th. Upon which day he attended, with a firm

olution to answer. But while he went out for a refreshment, he was fled for, and none answering, his bail-bond was forfeited, which afterwards gave him no small uneasiness when his bail's wife said to him, *Woe!* why have you ruined our family? However, to prevent further usage, he appeared on the 20th, when he was arraigned in common law, and examined, Whether he was at Bothwell, and if he approved of *John Sharp's* death? with several other questions. To which he replied, that he was not obliged to give an account of his thoughts, and that he came there to answer to his indictment, and not to such questions *these*. Upon which he was taken to Newgate by a single officer, without any mittimus, or any express order unto what prison he should be committed. By the way (says he*) he could have escaped, had he not been led or betrayed there by flattery. It was some days before a mittimus came, by which he was ordered to be kept in custody till the next quarter-session, which was to be at Guildhall, on the 23d of February following.

But Charles II. in this interval dying, he was, with other seven who were apprehended with him, March 5, put on board the Kitchen yacht for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 13th, and the next day Mr. Shields was examined before the Council, where he pled the liberty of his thoughts, putting them to prove his accusation, and waving a direct answer antecedent owning the King's authority; which gave way to his slip backwards, as he, in his own impartial account of his sufferings, observes among other reflections: "In this I cannot but adore the wisdom of the Lord's conduct, but with blushing at the folly of mine. I was misled determined, I think by a sovereign hand, and led upon this not really trodden path by truth's confessors beyond my ordinary genius or inclination, to fence with these long weapons, declining direct answers, which is the most difficult road, and most liable to snares; and wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging truth than in the plain open way." However, he was remanded back to prison till the 23d, when he was brought before the Justiciary, and interrogate, Whether he would abjure a apologetical declaration, and own the authority of James VII.? But being still on the reserve, he was sent back till the 25th, and from thence continued till the day following, which he calls the day of his fatal fall, a just desert of his former blind and bold approaches to the brink of these precipices over which he had looked, and was now left to fall there. Here he was again examined to the effect aforesaid, and withal threatened with the most severe usage if he did not satisfy them. Whereupon he gave in a minute in writing, wherein, after a short preamble, he says, "The result of my thoughts is in the sincerity of an unfeigned conscience, and in the fear of God, that I do renounce and disown that and other declarations, in so far as that they declare war against the King oppressively, purposely, or designedly, and assert that it is lawful to kill all employed by his Majesty, or any, because so employed in church, state, city, or country." When they read this, they said it was satisfactory, and required him to hold up his hand. This he still refused, till allowed to dictate to the clerk what words he should swear. Which being done, he protested, that it might not be constructed to any other sense than the true words he delivered in the minute he did subscribe and swear. At which induced him to this, he says, was, "They gave it in his own meaning; and so far was his mind deceived, that by a quibble and nice

* In his own Impartial Relation, p. 21.

distinction they thought that the word might bear, that this was not a disowning of that nor no declaration that ever he saw, (save one of their pretending,) nor that neither, but in so far, or if so be; which different expressions he was taught to confound by scholastic notions infused into him by the Court, and some of the indulged ministers while in prison." &c. Having so done, the Justiciary dismissed him; but, on pretence he was the Council's prisoner, he was sent back to his now more weary prison than ever: for he had no sooner made this foolish and unfaithful step of compliance, (as he himself expresses it,) than his conscience smote him, and continuing so to do, he aggravated his fall in such a sort as he wanted words to express.

Yet after all this his dangers were not over; for having wrote a letter to John Balfour, to be by him transmitted to some friends in Holland, declaring his grief and sorrow, and his mind ament his former compliances, &c. it fell into the enemies hands; whereupon he was again brought before the Lords of Council; and though much threatening ensued, yet he owned the letter, and declared his sorrow for what he had formerly done. After which they appointed him to confer with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. With them he had a long reasoning, and, among other things, they objected that all powers were ordained of God, be they what they will. Answered, "All power is ordained of God by his provident will, but every power assumed by man is not so by his approbative and perceptive will." One of the prelates said, that even his provident will is not to be resisted. He answered, that the holy product of it cannot, and may not, but the instrument he made use of sometimes might be resisted." It was urged, that Nero was then reigning when this command of non-resistance was given. He answered, that the command was given in general for our instruction how to carry in our duty under lawful magistrates, abstracting from Nero. Then they asked him, how he would reconcile his principles with that article in the Confession of Faith; That difference in religion? &c. He answered, "Very easily: for though difference in religion did not make void his power, yet it might stop his admission to that power where that religion he differed from was established by law," &c.

He was continued till August 6, when he was again before the Justiciary, and indicted; which made him write two letters, one to the Advocate, and the other to his old regent, Sir William Paterson, which he thought somewhat mitigated their fury. Whereupon he drew up a declaration of his sentiments, and gave it in to the Lords of Council, upon which much reasoning between him and them ensued. After two conferences, wherein he was asked many questions, in the third he descended to sign the oath of abjuration, which they had so much insisted he should again take, as he had at their command torn his name from the first; only it was worded thus, If so be such things are there inserted; which he told them, he was sure was not the case: this with difficulty was granted. As he subscribed, he protested before them, "That none were to think by this he justified the act of succession, or the abrogation of the ancient laws about it, or the want of security for religion or liberty, or that he acknowledged the divine approbation of it," &c. When all was over, he was delayed till to-morrow, and sent to the Bass, and doubtless would have suffered, had he not got out in women's clothes, and eloped.

After his escape, without seeking after any other party whatsoever, he came straight to Mr. Renwick, and that faithful contending remnant then

fields, where, upon the 5th of December 1686, he attended a meeting preaching at the wood of Earlstoun in Galloway. After which he used with Mr. Renwick for sometime. In which time he ceased both in public and private, to give full proof and evidence of his grief and sorrow for his former apostasy and compliances. Upon the 10th he came to their general meeting, where he gave them full satisfaction in espousing all and every part of their testimony, and likewise a public confession of his own guilt; wherein he acknowledged, that he had involved himself in the guilt of owning the (so called) tyranny of James VII. shewing the sinfulness thereof, taking shame to himself. (2.) He acknowledged his guilt in taking the oath of abjuration and his relapsing into the same iniquity, the sinfulness of which he owned at great length, and spake so largely to these particulars, as striking the heinousness of that sin, as Mr. Renwick say, "I suppose could have done it, unless they had known the terrors of the law." and added, "I thought it both singular and promising to see a man come forth with such a confession of his own defections, when of that set are seen in our age to be honoured with the like." After this, when Mr. Renwick and the united societies were necessary to publish their informatory vindication, Mr. Shields went over to London to have the same printed about the beginning of the year 1687; appears he was necessitated to return home before that work was finished.

After Mr. Renwick's death, he continued for sometime in the fields, preaching in Crawford muirs, at Disinkorthill, in Galston parish, and other places; and about the end of the same year, 1688, when the king and the united societies, who had, in the interregnum of the late king, thrust out some of the curates, and demolished some of the monuments of idolatry, were obliged to publish a vindication of themselves in these proceedings; which they did at the cross of Douglas. Mr. Shields, being present, did sing some verses in the beginning of the psalm, *In Judah's land God is well known*, &c. making some notes; while expatiating on the same, said, that this psalm was sweetly sung by the famous Mr. Robert Bruce, at the cross of Edinburgh, at the break of the Spanish Armada the same time, a hundred years ago.

On the 3d of March 1689, when Mr. Linning, he, and Mr. Boyd, renewed the covenants at Borland-hill in Lismahago, Mr. Shields stood up before a vast confluence of people, and declared his unfeigned repentance for his former sin of compliances, &c. to the affecting of all the people, and the abundant satisfaction of the godly there present, who were grieved therewith.

And after the Revolution, he was of much service to the army, and was esteemed by King William. And after his return home, he, with Messrs. Linning and Boyd presented a large paper of proposals to the first General Assembly after the Revolution,* both craving a re-

See the Moderator and remaining Members of the General Assembly, now published at Edinburgh, October 1690 The humble Proposals of Mr. Alexander Shields, &c.

our eye could suitably affect our hearts this day, Right Reverend, that find much matter, both of rejoicing and mourning, in the woe-

and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contentions than to propose divisions," it never once got a hearing, but was thrown over the board of that Assembly. And yet, notwithstanding all this, the three foreign brethren being resolved to unite with them at any rate, gave in ano-

stitutions thereof, the present building is so far advanced, without pulling down and purging away the rubbish, and condemning these corruptions and defections, in compliance with them, or confessing and forsaking them, as our fathers used to do: and the Prelatical clergy, after all that they had done, and bitter fruits they have produced, are yet kept in every place, and like to continue, as a seminary and nursery of a corrupt ministry. As long as this rubbish stands, there can be little hope of purity or stability in the superstructure.

In former reformatations also, the advancement used to be progressive, leaving where the former reformation stopt, and going forward, after it 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 in 1645. In former reformatations, our worthy ancestors used to begin with renovation of the national covenants, and acknowledgments of the breaches thereof, which hitherto had been neglected, to the great grief of many.

It is also matter of lamentation to reflect, that in former reformatations, though adversaries troubled the builders, and hired counsellors to frustrate their purpose; yet, being furnished and spirited of the Lord for a generation work, they never studied to please men, but to acquit themselves, as faithful servants of their princely Master Jesus Christ, in pressing against all sins and corruptions of great and small, impartially; in acts of Assembly, ordaining and recommending to all ministers, faithfulness in applying the doctrine to the sins of the time, under threat of censure; but now, though there was never greater freedom and encouragement for, and necessity of faithfulness, when the adversaries of the church are seeking to build, but on design to mar the work, and many who much inclining 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 to spare, the iniquities of the time.

Though in former reformatations this church was, for order and authority, as beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, and terrible as an army with banners; yet now, alas! the crown hath fallen from our heads, we confess that we have sinned. This holy and beautiful fabric hath been burnt up with the fire of enemies' fury, with the fire of our divisions, and with the fire of the Lord's indignation, 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, Prelatical, and malignant party have come in with guile and fraud; and by the cedings of those that should have stood the gap, have broke down the carved work of our covenanted reformation, descending all the legal bulwarks of ecclesiastical constitutions, church cessions, and national covenants, wherewith it was fenced: wherefore! they were too much encouraged by our faint resistance, and too general involvement in the sin of submitting to, and countenancing of,

ther, called the shorter paper, importing their submission, casting down all their former proposals and desires at the Assembly's feet, "to be disposed of as their wisdom should think fit." Which paper he, through their insinuation, was brought to subscribe, and of which, it is said,* he

the intrusions of the Prelatical party. At length, having set up these their ensigns for signs, in sign of complete victory obtained over the servants and subjects of our exalted Prince, after they had invaded his kingdom and place, and made havoc and slaughter of such as would not yield, they offered some tempting terms, whereupon they would suffer them to live in subjection to these usurpations, painted indeed with the pretences of favours, but really, at least indirectly, requiring a recognisance of the usurper's 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 confusions.

We did indeed demur to concur with and follow, and did think it our duty to withdraw from these ministers who promoted courses of defection after specified; and to adhere to those (though but few) who were more steadfast 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, subordinate unto, complying with, modified and authorized 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 ourselves, but on our contendings and sufferings.

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 easy 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 conditions, necessary for composing these unhappy differences, and restoring the holy and happy union in the Lord:

* Pat. Walker says, that Mr. Shields much lamented his silence before the Assembly, and of his coming so far short of his former resolutions; and if ever he saw such an occasion, he would not be so slack.—Mess. Linning and Boyd had too much influence upon him, being in haste for stipends and wives. Rem. of the lives of Mess. Semple, &c. first edition, p. 78.

ldly repented afterwards. For having dropt his former testimony at
 their feet, who trampled on it; and though they did not rend him, yet
 they soon found out a way to get rid of him. For,

Soon after the Revolution, he was settled minister at St. Andrews,

that 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 serious
 considerations.

I. That to the end the causes of our divisions, the anger of the Lord
 in the holy cause, and our mutual offences as the sinful cause, may be
 removed, that the effect may cease, a mutual, impartial, 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 de-
 ceptions from the right ways of the Lord; that the great wrongs and in-
 dignities done to our great Head and King, by enemies encroachments
 in his prerogatives, and his kingdom's liberties, and our compliances
 herewith on the one hand; and, on the other, may not be passed in
 oblivion, but diligently inquired into, and what accession to them, or par-
 ticipation with them, all of us have been involved in these thirty years
 gone: 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,
 Socinian, and Erastian Prelacy, and the several degrees of compliance
 herewith; 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 Prelatic curates:
 particularly owning and submitting to their ministry, and receiving ordi-
 nances 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 entering in at the
 door, in the way and order of Christ, and not having, yea despising and
 renouncing, a call from the people, and ordination by the presbytery, 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
 strangers, who are none of Christ's officers, and forfeiting and foregoing
 any other right that any of them formerly could pretend to, by palpable
 violation to the enemies of this church.

2. Because both in principle and profession, and in the way of their
 duty to 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 schismatics, who caused divisions and
 schisms, contrary to the doctrine of this church, breaking her union and
 fellowship, going out themselves from the fellowship of this church, and lead-
 ing people away from her vowed reformation; yea, who violently thrust
 out and persecuted her faithful pastors and children, for adhering to that
 reformation, which they designed to raze and ruin.

4. Because they were and are perjured covenant-breakers, avowedly
 breaking 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 doc-

where he continued in the discharge of his office until 1699, that he, with Mess. Borland, Stobo, and Dalgliesh, were pitched upon to go over with his countrymen to the national settlement at Darien in America, where he, by letters under his own hand, gave particular account of matters

trine, many of them tainted with the leaven of Popery, 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 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 object of the church's censure: and though, 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 acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with, Erastianism and Prelacy, or his Majesty's Government ecclesiastic, Act parl. I. Chap. 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 defection, and to extirpate them; yet in contradiction hereunto, we were commanded by the rescinders of the covenants to hear the Prelatic curates, as a badge of our yielding to the rescinding of the covenants.

9. Because this course was offensive and stumbling, both in hardening those that complied with Prelacy, and weakening 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, not only is the judgment of many a case of confession, which it 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 offices and privileges, contending for the church's reformation; 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 overturning the reformation.

11. We must presume to plead also, That inquiry be made into the heinous 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 obligation, 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 temptation and tribulation, have been guilty of breach of these holy covenants; par-

wherein it is evident that his spirit was quite sunk with the divisions, impiety, and unrighteousness, of too many of that handful, and at last was sadly crushed with the fatal disappointment of that undertaking, and the conduct of the then government; which he shewed, had it been

regularly by consenting unto, subscribing, swearing, and taking any of these new multiplied, mischievously contrived, capriciously conceived; and unreasonably imposed oaths, tests, or bonds, in matters of religion, since the overturning of the covenanted reformation and establishment of Presbyterianism; and by persuading people to take them, and forbearing a necessary 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 contend against as sinful and scandalous:

I. Because all of them did infer, import, and imply a sinful, unitive conjunction, incorporation, association, and confederacy with the people in these abominations, that were promoting a course of apostasy from the true religion.

II. Because all of them were incapable of qualifications required in such engagements, to be taken in truth, righteousness, and judgment.

III. Because all of them, in the sense of the imposers, interpreted by their words and actings, were condemnatory of, and contradictory unto the covenants, and some part of the covenanted reformation.

IV. Because, by the ancient acts of Assembly; all public oaths imposed upon the malignant party, without consent of the church, are condemned, June 1648, A.M. sess. 18 and sess. 26, those ministers are ordained to be silenced, who subscribe any bonds, or take any oaths, not approved of by the General Assembly; or by their counsel, countenance, and approbation, make themselves accessory to the taking of such bonds and oaths by others.

V. 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 sole authority, as Mediator, giving to a man a magisterial and architectonic power, to alter and innovate, authorize and exauctorate, allow or restrain, dispose of the government and governors of the church, according to his own pleasure; invading the liberties of the gospel-church, introducing a civil dominion upon her government, contrary to its nature, and giving to the magistrate a ministerial stewardship, distinct from the civil government, in its nature, causes, ends, officers, and actings; and giving to the magistrate the power of the keys, without and against Christ's donation of authority, even the dogmatic critic, and diatactic, decisive suffrage and power in cases ecclesiastic, which Christ hath intrusted to the church as her representative; and denying to the church the exercise of these powers, without the magistrate's warrant and indulgence. We also contend, That it may be inquired into how far this encroachment hath been continued, submitted unto, complied with, homologate, strengthened, and established, by receiving and accepting, without consent of the church, against the express dissent and testimony of some faithful members, to the contrary, the indulgences in 1669 and 1679, and by the compliance of others, not witnessing against the same, and others censur-

faithfully and well managed, might have been of great advantage to the Christian religion; and yet, for want of a reinforcement, they were either cut off or dispersed. While in Calicut he preached mostly on Acts xvii. 26, 27. *God hath determined the time*

ing the faithful for discovering the sinfulness thereof.—I remonstrate upon these grounds, complexly considered :

1. Because, as the contrivance and end of the grant thereof was to vance and establish the supremacy; to engage Presbyterians, co-operate towards the settling and strengthening thereof, or to from opposing the peaceable possession of the granter's usurped to extort from them, at least an indirect recognisance of acknowledgment in ministerial exercises, to his usurped power, which would be best acquiesced in; to suppress the preaching of the gospel in persecuted meetings in fields and how necessary at that time; and to divide and increase animosities among Presbyterians, by insinuating upon those called the more moderate to commend the indulgence his clemency, while other nonconformists, to interdicted duties, were justly complaining of the effects of it. And as the woful effects of it, strengthening the supremacy in the hands of those that witnessed against it, extinguishing increasing many divisions, did correspond with those wretched so these could not be counteracted, but very much strengthened and promoted, by the acceptance of the indulgence, which, in its own way was so palpably subservient thereto, even though there had been many against these designs and ends; yet when the means of these ends were complied with, it was rendered irrite, and contrary.

2. Because, as the supremacy received much strength and from the indulgence, so reciprocally it had its rise, spring, and subsistence, from the supremacy from which it flowed, upon which it stood, and by which at length it was removed. And in the conveyance of the indulgence, all the power of the supremacy was asserted, and exerted, in first taking away the power of Christ's stewards, and then restoring only one of them to with restrictions bounding, and instructions regulating their exercise of that. The acceptance whereof, so clogged with these circumstances, without a clear and distinct testimony, in that confession, hath at least a great appearance, which should have been removed from, of a conniving at, submitting unto, complying with, and approving of, that Erastian usurpation.

3. Because, as it was interpreted to be accepted in the manner wherein it was granted, without a testimony against the supplanting the entry of those ministers to their churches, by this indulgence being judicial to the church's privilege; some of them being fixed in their churches, whereunto they had no peculiar pastoral relation; and some transplanted from one church to another, without the interposition of any ecclesiastic presbyterial authority, without the free consent of the people; being in many respects prelimited: and in the execution thereof, at the Council's pleasure and order. And those that were restored to their own churches, being there admitted, not by their own right and claim of an undissolved relation, but by virtue of the holding of the indulgence.

pointed, and the bounds of our habitation. One time, as he and the rest of the ministers made a tour up the country, upon their return, they were bewildered in the woods; and hearing the noise of the sea, they got at last to the shore, and so were obliged to pass through various windings and

4. Because the embracing thereof, and the continuing 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 writing, preaching, and protesting against the ecclesiastic supremacy in the magistrate, and all Erastian courses, did bear the cross of Christ with much steadfastness; 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 hardening to Erastian enemies, stumbling to many friends, and offensive to posterity.

5. Because it is contradictory to our covenants to receive indulgences, contrived and conferred on purpose to divide (by the terror of persecution on the one hand, and the persuasion of this pretended liberty, taking off the legal restraint on the other) ministers 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 contradictory to the engagement to duties, in 1648, where the obligation bears, "Because many of late have laboured to supplant the liberties of the kirk, we shall maintain and defend the kirk of Scotland, all her liberties and privileges, against all who shall oppose or undertake the same, or encroach thereupon, under any pretext whatsoever."

IV. Likewise, we plead and obtest, That a search may be made into, as a review taken of the late toleration, and 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 granter, and tendency of the grant itself, in its own nature, being the introduction of Popery and slavery, could in any probability be counteracted, but rather corroborated, by this addressing for it, and accepting of it, even though there had been a testimony against the design thereof, as there was none, and could be none consistent with the continuance thereof; so being conveyed from absolute power, which all were required to obey without reserve, stopping, suspending, and disabling 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 encroachment, yea, the very condition of enjoying the benefit of it, being exclusively of such a testimony, which might any way tend to the alienation of the people from such a despotical government, in all its encroachments, did, indirectly at least, imply compliance with, if not the recognition and acknowledgment of that usurped power, and the arbitrary exercise and effect of it in suspending the penal statutes.

2. Because it was extended, not only to Prelacy, but to Popery, Quakerism, and all idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy, 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; con-

bendings of the coast, under lash of the swelling surges or wave sea, being sometimes obliged to climb upon their hands and feet u steep and hard rocks, until at last Mr. Shields was like to faint troubled them much. Their provision and cordials were spent ; a

trary to the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, chap. xx. § 1. an xxiii. § 3. Being placed also among the sins of the second comma the Larger Catechism ; contrary to the principles of the church i land ; being condemned, warned of, and witnessed against, by act ssembly in 1649. And by her faithful pastors preaching, writing, i testing against such tolerations ; and sometimes even when Papi excluded, as that, against which the ministers of Fife and Perth did And contrary to our covenants, wherein we are bound to preserve ation, and uniformity in doctrine, worship, discipline, and gove to extirpate Popery, &c. to free our souls from the guilt of othe sins, defend our liberties ; and consequently never to comply with ation, eversive of all these interests we are sworn to maintain, and live of these things we are sworn to endeavour the extirpation of.

3. Because it was clogged with such conditions and limitations exceedingly hamper the freedom of the ministry, being offered clamations, and accepted in addresses and obedience, with restric persons who might preach, allowing some, and discharging othe had as good authority as they, to exercise their ministry to place they should preach, only where intimation was given of the nam place, and of the preachers, to some of the Lords of the Counc and to the matter what they might, or at least what they might not *to wit*, nothing that might have any tendency to alienate the heart people from a Popish and tyrannical government ; and conseque thing against the wickedness, or the misery of tyranny ; nothing the toleration, and the open sins proclaimed therein, and wicked c signed thereby ; nothing against disabling the penal statutes, or obligations of them, and ties of national covenants strengthening :

4. Because of the manifold scandal of it, we cannot but witness it, because so disgraceful to the Protestant religion, and prejud the interest thereof. It was reproachful to our religion, sometime blished by law, then only tolerate, under the notion of an evil to fered. How confounding and consternating was this to all the ri churches, that sometimes admired and envied Scotland's establis now to see her so dispirited and deceived, as to accept and addre toleration, without a testimony, whereby, instead of all the laws venants securing her reformation, the only tenor and security fo had now remaining, was the arbitrary word of an absolute prince principles obliged him to break it ! What occasion of disdainful li did it give to the Prelatical party, then pleading for the nation's ! observe Presbyterians acquiescing in that which suspended and stop penal statutes ! yea, what matter of gloriation and boasting was it pists, to see Presbyterians sleeping and succumbing, and not of when, at this opened gap, they were bringing in the Trojan h Popery and slavery !

V. Moreover, with respect to some things at present, which we, corruptions, and are offensive to many, we cannot forbear to reme and plead, That considerations may be taken of the sinfulness of

They came to a welcome spring of fresh water springing out of the rock by the sea-side: "This well (says Mr. Borland) was to us as that well was to Hagar in the wilderness.—By this well we rested a little; and Mr. Shields having drunk of it, was refreshed and strengthened, and,

universal defect and neglect of zeal and faithfulness, in receiving the buried national covenants, 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 require of parents, when they present their children in 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 threatenings 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 threatened 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 renovation of the covenants; and, in their ecclesiastic constitutions, enjoined all ministers to preach up the covenants, and witness against all defections from them, and indifferency or lukewarmness to them; which also is a breach of covenant in itself.

VI. Hence, more particularly, we cannot but signify how much we and any 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 Presbyterians; such as the imposing and taking many oaths and oaths, repugnant to the covenants and work of reformation; which many complied with to shift persecution, and many others to purchase preferments 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 delating and informing against honest, suffering people, and using armed force to pursue and apprehend them; appearing under displayed banners for the defence of tyranny, on expeditions against them; Pentland, Bothwell-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 impositions; and, especially, the defiling 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 constitutions 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

with the help of the Lord, we were enabled to proceed on our journey." After which Mr. Shields and Mr. Borland escaped death very narrowly, the ship sinking in the harbour of Kingston a very little after they were gone out of it. He died of a malignant fever, June 14, 1700, in a

complaints through several corners of the land, of the sad slackness and remissness of discipline: the report and *fama clamosa* whereof, at least, doth wound our ears and pierce our hearts, viz. That some who have gone a great length in the abovementioned compliances, even to the swearing the test itself, besides other wicked oaths, and to the prosecuting 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 borne the name of that office under that government, but had taken these scandalous forementioned 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 their 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 likely thereby to be gained to repentance, but rather hardened in, and tempted to think little of these destroying sins.

We plead not here, that every one of these defects, or every degree of these offences, should be, in the case of this epidemic involvement, proceeded against by disciplinary censure; nor do we urge, that all chargeable with these offences above taxed, especially such as are in controversy, should be either personally rebuked in public, or obliged publicly to confess their own degree of the guilt of them; though 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 convinced. Nor do we propose that the condemnation of every one of these steps of defection that are questioned, should be so far stretched, *quoal momentum rei*, as either to be stated by us, as a ground of separation formerly, or now required as a necessary condition of communion; though 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 overtures of our reformation, and the mischiefs of Prelacy, supremacy, and tyranny established by wicked laws, which were the foundations and fountains of all the offensive compliances abovementioned, to be grievances against the laws of the land; so the Right Reverend, the members of this Venerable Assembly, may find and declare, these wicked 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 aforesaid offences, may provide by ecclesiastic constitutions for the future, that the

Scotswoman's house, at Port-Royal in Jamaica, a little after he left Caledonia. A kind countrywoman, Isabel Murray, paid the expense of his funeral. His last preaching was from the last words of Hosea; *Who is wise? and he shall understand these things: prudent? and he shall know them,*

like compliances, with the like contrivances of usurping enemies, may never again be allowed, under pain of church-censure, 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 order as causes of a public fast, upon some week-day, through all the meetings of Presbyterians within this kingdom; and that the sins of the people be interlined among these causes. Further,

As we humbly conceive, it would prove a very proper and promising expedient, for promoting, preserving, and propagating reformation; for settling and keeping order and union; for preventing and precluding innovation or corruptions; for discovering and discouraging apostates or schismatics, malignants, or sectaries, and excluding them from access to be further hurt; so we hope we shall be approved, and seconded by many in this Reverend Assembly, in craving the renewing of the covenants, either both the national and solemn league, with accommodations for our times, or one made up of both, with additions or explications suited to our present case and day, with a solemn acknowledgment of the public breaches, and engagement to the duties of the covenants: humbly praying, that none be forced to swear or subscribe the same, or so much as is 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 thereof.

In fine, though 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 our churches whereinto they have intruded; not readmitted that are, or may be laid aside, until they give approvable evidence of their repentance in their sinful conformity. (1.) Upon all these grounds exhibited above without hearing of them. (2.) Because former experience of the hurt received by the entertainment of the Episcopal clergy in 1638, does now stand for their care to prevent it in time coming. (3.) Because the people under their ministry have hitherto been, and are perishing in ignorance and irreligion, being either starved for want of faithful and spiritual instruction, or poisoned with false instruction; and therefore pity and zeal to propagate the gospel, should prompt to all endeavours to purge them out. (4.) Because the settlement, purgation, and renovation of the church, will be exceedingly obstructed by the continuance 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 danger to leaven the whole lump. (5.) Because all of them are among those whom the laws of Christ do oblige, the constitutions of this church

*for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but transgressors shall fall therein.**

And thus the so much famed Mr. Alexander Shields, after he had tasted somewhat of the various vicissitudes of life and fortune, was obliged to die in a strange land. He was a man of a low stature, ruddy complexion, quick and piercing wit, full of zeal, whatever way he intended; of a public spirit, and firm in the cause he espoused; pretty well informed in most branches of learning; in arguing very ready, only somewhat fiery; but in writing on controversy he exceeded most men in that age.

His works are, the Hind let Loose, Mr. Renwick's Life, and the Vin-

do ordain, and the present civil sanctions for establishing church-government do allow, the church-representative to try and purge out; being all of them either insufficient, or negligent, or erroneous, or scandalous, if those characters may be applied, or interpreted, according to the scriptures, or as the church hath extended them heretofore.

We are content that none of the curates be put out but the insufficient 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 communion 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 human judgment, be reputed insufficiency: we are content none be put away but the negligent, if so be they do not warn the wicked of their destroying sins, that feed themselves, and not the flock, that do not strengthen the diseased, nor heal the sick, &c. that omit the pressing of necessary duties impartially on persons and families, and the censuring of scandals without respect of persons, be comprehended in that character: we are satisfied none can be removed but the erroneous, if they be judged to be such, who not only own Popery, Arminianism and Socinianism, but are unsound in their explanation of the kingly office of Christ, or the perfection of the scriptures in the point of church officers and government, in the matter of oaths, and of the magistrate's power, and do maintain Erastianism, an exploded and abjured error in this church: and we seek no more but that all be removed who are scandalous, and none but they, if intruders, covenant-breakers, 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 exigencies 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 obarring of wind and clouds shall hinder both sowing and reaping. But if laying aside the plasters, wherewith the wounds of our backslidings have been slightly covered, rather than cured, you put to your hand the healing of your breaches, in condescending to these our humble desires, you shall win the blessing of many souls rent and racked with these divisions.

* See a more full account of Mr. Shields, both while in Caledonia and Jamaica, in the history of Darien, lately republished, p. 42—49.

his Dying Testimony, his own Impartial Relation, the Renovation Covenant at Borland Hill. There are also some Lectures of his in print; a Vindication of our Solemn Covenants, of his Religious Letters, both before and since the Revolution. But how far this agrees with his conduct at the Revolution, its coherency it has with his other writings, or if Mr. Linning's conduct therein, is not our province to determine at present. There are some pocket volumes of his Journals yet in manuscript, which with other valuable papers, redeemed from destruction after Mr. Linning's death.

den the land of many weights and woes whereof it is weary; and to all the neighbouring churches a pattern, transmit to all ages an example, and erect to all ages a monument of self-denying piety; a work to be paralleled with the glories of former times. If our hopes shall fail us, we shall not know whether to wish we were with our brethren by the enemies hand, and had never seen this our bondage; for it will be a death to us, and not a reviving, not a returning to the Lord, searching and trying, and discarding the iniquities of our ways. But, however, we intend not to secede from the church, but to maintain union and communion in truth with all the ministers and members of this church that do, and they do, follow the institutions of Christ; and to approve of all that God assisting, as much for peace and concord, as ever we were able to be men of divisive principles; hoping it shall appear we are not *as he feedeth, and where he makes his flock to rest at noon, and are who turn aside by the flocks of his companions, but going forth by the flocks, beside the shepherds tents: yet with this protested dissent and testimony against, all the abovementioned corruptions, and offensive courses, which obliged us to stand at a distance from the church, a deformation; that our present joining in these circumstances, are removed, may not infer, or be interpreted, an approving of those formerly condemned; and be free from all partaking in these by consent, connivance, compliance, or communion therein. We humbly supplicate, that these our humble proposals may be recorded in the books of Assembly.* ALEXANDER SHIELDS, &c.

MR. JOHN DICKSON.

MR. DICKSON, born of creditable parents, as some say, related to the famous Dickson, was sent to the grammar school, and from thence to the university; where, after he had gone through his courses of study, he studied divinity, and then passed his trials for the ministry; and was found duly qualified for that office, he was licensed. And, before the Restoration, was ordained and settled minister of the church at Glasgow, where he continued for sometime a most faithful, diligent, and zealous preacher of the gospel.

He died soon after the Restoration of Charles II. Prelacy beginning

to advance in Scotland, he was, upon the 13th of October 1660, before the Committee of Estates, and by them imprisoned in the of Edinburgh, information having been given in against him James Hamilton of Elistoun,* and some of his parishioners, of pressions he had used in a sermon, alleged to reflect upon the ment and committee of Estates, tending to sedition and division which he was kept in prison till the parliament sat down, and he vacated; and though he got out at this time, yet he was exposed to much trouble and suffering afterwards, as now comes to be observed.

After this Mr. Dickson was obliged to wander from place with the rest of those who could not in conscience comply with the rent of defection and apostasy at that time, preaching to supply him; wherein he ceased not, in shewing the sinfulness of cess-paying, and of the indulgence; and likewise wrote a faithful ing to the shire of Fife against the same, shewing, in the most and striking manner, the hazard and evil of such a compliance.

In 1670, we find he preached at Glenvail, and in June that and Mr. Blackadder preached to a numerous congregation at I in Dunfermline parish in Fife. While they were at public worship the Lord's day, a lieutenant of militia in that place came up back to the people, and made a great deal of disturbance, threatening fright, and if possible, to scatter them; whereupon one, more courageous than the rest, stepped forward to him, and, after entreating him to move peaceably, took his horse by the bridle, pulled out a pistol, and told him, he would shoot him dead if he was not silent; and, if he would or not, he was there compelled to sit on horseback till the worship was over; after which he had his liberty to go where he pleased. Upon the back of this horrid insult, (as the persecuters were pleased to call it,) on the 11th of August, a decret was obtained by the Advocate against Mr. Dickson, Mr. Blackadder, and several ministers, wherein they were charged with holding conventicles in houses and in fields; and being, after citation, called, and not complying, were, in absence, denounced and put to the horn, which obliged them to wander up and down the country, sometimes preaching in places where they had opportunity.

And thus continued Mr. Dickson in the midst of imminent danger, by virtue of a new-modelled Council, June 4, 1764, there was sent out parties in quest of all conventicle-preachers, (as they were called, who accepted not of the indulgence,) amongst whom were Mess. Dickson, Welsh, Blackadder, &c. 400 pounds sterling was given for Mr. Welsh, and 1000 merks for Mr. Dickson and each of his assistants; the soldiers were indemnified, and their assistants, if any were committed in apprehending them, in case any resistance was made, by which Mr. Dickson was exposed unto new dangers; but he escaped their fury for sometime.

* This family that pursued him is long ago extinct, and their house (as it was very publicly foretold in the hearing of many) after it had been a habitation for the foundation-stones were digged up. The inhabitants there could not be that those who were informers, accusers, and witnesses against Mr. Dickson (the magistrates then in the town,) were brought so low, that they were not able to support the charity of the parish. So hard a thing it is to meddle with the servants of Jesus.

† It was no doubt such faithful freedom that made that defamatory scribble his Presbyterian Eloquence, that he said in a sermon at Gallashiels, that even Charles II. was as bad as sacrificing to devils.

But after Bothwell-battle, the persecution becoming still hotter, and the searches more frequent, he was apprehended in 1680; and being brought in to Edinburgh prisoner by some of the guards, under caution, to answer before the Council, September 1. Accordingly the Council ordered him to be sent to the Bass, where he continued prisoner near the space of seven years.

While he was prisoner in the Bass, he wrote a most excellent letter to some friends, wherein he not only bewails and laments the apostasy of these lands from God, &c., demanding what our noble Scots Worthies would think or say, were they then alive to behold the same, but also gives many practical and suitable directions how to behave in following Christ, and owning his cause under the cross, and walking in the furnace of affliction and tribulation, &c.

After he got out of the Bass, he returned very early at the Revolution back to his flock at Rutherglen, where he again exercised his ministerial function, and that upon all hazards.* In 1698, October 4, at the sitting down of the synod at Ayr, he preached a very free and faithful sermon, upon the duty and qualifications of a faithful watchman, from these words, Isa. lxiii. 6. *I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, &c.*

And although Mr. Dickson still acceded to the Revolution-church, yet he was much grieved when he beheld how far inferior the glory of the second temple was to the first, which does most evidently appear from his own words, in a letter to one a little before his death, (which was in 1700,) and which may stand here for his dying testimony; the contents whereof are as follow:

"The conception you have of the dispensation of the Lord towards his poor plagued church, and the temper of the spirits of professors under this dispensation, are not different from what many of the Lord's people are groaning under. There is palpably a sensible difference between what the church now is and what it was many years ago; yea, what it hath been within these few years. The church hath lost much ground, and is still upon the losing hand; and it seems will continue so until it pleases the Lord to pour down his Spirit from on high, or else, by some sharp awakening dispensation, rouse up drowsy souls out of the slumber wherein they are fallen, &c. It is many years since the sun fell upon Scotland, many a dismal day hath it seen since 1649. At that time our reformation mounted towards its highest horizon; and since we left our building on that excellent foundation laid by our honourable forefathers, we have still moved from ill to worse, and are like to do still more, (unless our gracious God prevent it,) until we slide ourselves out of sight and sense of a reformation. We have been lately visited with a wonderful deliverance from the slavery of a heaven-daring enemy; but not one line of reformation is pencilled upon our deliverance.†

* Mr. Dickson being one who maintained and defended the lawfulness of defensive wars, either about this time or at the Restoration, before he was ejected, he kept the sacrament of the Lord's supper, probably at Rutherglen, while the people kept guard by sentries under arms the whole time of the dispensation thereof; which truly sets forth the danger and hazard of these times, and the aggravations of our sins in misimproving these liberties and privileges, which they could not peaceably enjoy.

† If these were Mr. Dickson's sentiments then of the Revolution-settlement, so much gloried in and boasted of by many, they must be either ignorantly blind, or under a delusion, who see not that things are a great deal worse (though the same as to the constitution) than in his day: for how many are the clogs and impositions that are annually (I may say daily) wreathed about the neck of the church, in these degenerate isles

We have the shell of ordinances and church-government, but want the kernel, the great things of Christ's law; as to contend for his interest wrapped under a cloud. It is a long time since our covenant and sole engagements looked pale. They have lost their colour and verdure in the rescinding our vows to God. These covenants are turned skeletons fearsome and affrighting; and former respect to them is like gradual to dwine away under a consumption. There are some few things that made them the glory of nations, that are turned to a shadow:

"(1.) They were the fruits of many prayers, fasting, tears, wrestle and indefatigable labours, of the greatest and best men that ever breathed in our nation, recovering a people sunk into Antichristian darkness, enjoy liberty due to them by Christ's purchase.

"(2.) The renewing them so many times in old King James's reign spoke out the fervency of these worthy spirits in ardour and affection to them, as so many jewels of so great value, that they were set as gems and pearls in Christ's crown, to wear so long as his interest remained the church.

"(3.) The blessing accompanying the entering into and renewing these covenants were so fluent in all church ordinances, both secret, private, and public, that whatever was planted in so fruitful a soil of the blessing and influence of the Spirit, could not but grow up as calves the stall, fat and full of sap.

"(4.) These covenants were to our forefathers, like the renting of their own clothes, as Elisha did, and taking up Elijah's mantle, and clothed themselves with it, 2 Kings ii. 12, 13.; enjoying of Moses's spirit, Deut. xxxiv.; and, like Joshua (chap. xxiv.) when dying, leaving a memorial of remembrance to posterity, by engaging them in these covenants.

"(5.) So long as our church cleaved to these our covenants, and went out with them as it did with King Asa, 2 Chron. xv. 2., that the blessing was with them while they were with him. But our fathers offspring forsaking God, he forsook them: from that day our covenants were dishonourably and minisiously treated unto this day; all calamities, as to our religious concerns, have fallen upon us.

"(6.) The late sufferings of all who shed their hearts blood in the fields and scaffolds, imprisonments, and banishments, were all dyed in the crimson blood of the covenant: from that day of the force and taking up Christ's march-stones, (which were the bounds set by the High, when he divided to the church of Britain its inheritance, compared the sons of Adam, Deut. xxix. 8.) the giddy church strayed in the wilderness is much fallen out of sight either of pillar or cloud of God's presence. Our intermixtures are turned pernicious to the glory and honour of Christ's house, which should not be a den of buyers and sellers. Alas! the sufferings of our late brethren seemed to be heavy to bear, yet their prime truths were sealed with their blood, (and that of the best, as of honourable nobles, faithful ministers, gentry, burghers, and commoners of all sorts,) which were never before sealed, either by the blood of primitive martyrs, or our late martyrs, in the dawning of our Reformation.

of the sea, Britain and Ireland. And could any thing be believed by an apostate nation, we should think that his words should be of some weight, who was no other but a member of the established church, yea and more, a seer in our Israel; and, as it may, one among a thousand, for as the man is, so is his strength, &c.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON OF PRESTON.

HAMILTON, (afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton,) brother to Sir John Hamilton of Preston, was born about 1650, and probably a son of Walter Hamilton the reformer, and lineally descended from that Sir John Hamilton of Preston, who was Commissioner for East Lothian, at that black parliament held at Edinburgh 1621, where he most stoutly voted against the ratification of the five articles of Perth; for which, and because he would not recall his vote, the King's Commissioner Marquis of Hamilton, and the Secretary, thought to have disgraced him, but found themselves utterly disappointed: for although they had desired the Bishop of Dumblane, and after him Lord Scone, for that purpose, they would not; and when desired by the Secretary to absent, he told him, he would stay and bear witness to the truth, and would render his life for the same; he had, before he would recall one word he had spoken; and that he would find him as true to his word as any Hamilton in Scotland. [Valderwood's Hist. p. 776.]

Hamilton having received a liberal education, (as is usual for men of that rank and circumstances,) before he was twenty-six years of age, or thereby, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, and, in his free and sovereign mercy, and by the efficacious working of the Holy Spirit, inclined his heart to fall in love with his service; and to that purpose he made him attend the free and faithful (though persecuted) gospel, at that time preached in the fields; whereby in a short time he came to espouse the true covenanted testimony of the church of Scotland, for which he was, through divine grace, enabled to bear true and faithful witness to the end of his life.

At the first of his public appearances, we find he made in defence of that cause wherein he had embarked, was in 1679, when (after consulting with the faithful Mr. Cargill) he, with Mr. Thomas Douglas and faithful Mr. Cargill, drew up that declaration, (afterwards called the Rutherglen declaration,) which they published upon May 27, at the market-cross of Rutherglen, after they had extinguished the bonfires; that day being a holy anniversary-day for the Restoration of Charles II. After this he returned with that little handful to Evandale, where he was by the King appointed to command in chief, June 1, at the skirmish at Drumclog, in which he shewed much bravery in putting Claverhouse, and that bloody party to flight, killing thirty-six or forty of them, Claverhouse himself being slain. But the Erastian party coming up to that little army, after this, created them, and Mr. Hamilton their general, no small offence, they being to them a snare upon Misgab, and a net spread upon the rock. —And although he most strenuously opposed them in all their sinful proceedings of defection and compliance, yet he was by them treacherously deceived, in giving his consent to their publishing the Hamilton declaration, —they promising to be faithful, in all time coming, in preaching the word of God, and the indulgence, and all the land's defections; and that what was promised in that declaration, should be, at the honest party's desire, and that what was wrong should be left out, and what was wanting should be supplied, before it was printed, or otherwise published, save the words of it that day:—one word of which they never fulfilled or kept.

It were a task too tedious here, to enumerate all the struggles and proceedings among them at that time; only it is to be remarked, that it

was through Mr. Hamilton's great, we may say deserved, confidence in Mr. Cargill's faithfulness, (who was the principal minister among those called the protesting party,) that he was again by the corrupt party pitifully ensnared in subscribing their declaration to the Duke of Monmouth, when they were about to engage with the enemy: for they being intent upon supplicating, the honest party consented only that an information should be drawn up by Mr. Cargill and Mr. Morton, and sent to him, of his own and his father's rebellion against God, by their blasphemy, persecution, and usurpation, in church and state, &c.; but the corrupt party, drawing up their own supplication, sent one of their own papers with it in the one hand, and pen and ink in the other, to Mr. Hamilton to subscribe, just as they were going to engage the enemy. Mr. Hamilton asked, if it was Mr. Cargill's work? he answered, Yes; whereas Mr. Cargill knew nothing of it. Whereupon, being in haste, and having no doubt of Mr. Cargill's veracity therein, he did that which was still more of great grief to him afterwards, as he himself, in a letter from Holland dated 1685, doth fully testify.

After their defeat at Bothwell-bridge, Mr. Hamilton was by the Presbyterian party and their accomplices, most horribly stigmatized and reproached, as that he should have betrayed them to the enemy, sold them for money, swept the priming off the cannon at the bridge, &c. But for all these he has been sufficiently vindicated by Wilson, in his *Impartial Relation of Bothwell-bridge*.

Shortly after Bothwell, he went over to Holland; upon which his estate was forfeited, 1684, and he sentenced to be executed, whenever apprehended. During his stay here, he was of great service and use to his own countrymen, and had the honour to be employed by them as a commissioner of the persecuted, true Presbyterian church of Christ in Scotland, having received commission from them to represent their cause, and crave the sympathy of foreign churches; and it was by his skill, industry, and faithfulness, in prosecuting his commission, that he prevailed upon the presbytery of Groningen, in 1683, to ordain the famous and successful Mr. James Renwick, a minister of the gospel for the persecuted Presbyterian church of Christ in Scotland. And afterwards, as a delegate with the presbytery of Embden, to ordain Mr. Thomas Ligonier, a minister of the gospel for the same church.

Mr. Hamilton, by virtue of his commissions, which about that time had received from the united societies,* went through several places in Germany in the end of 1686: for an old manuscript, given under his own hand, dated March 10, 1687, bears, that through many hardships and difficulties, he arrived about Oct. 10, at Basil, in Switzerland; whence he went to Geneva, about Nov. 16; and so into Bern, Zurich, and other places in Batavia and the Helvetian Cantons, not without imminent hazards and dangers. In which places he conferred with the most part of their professors, and other learned men, craving their consent and sympathy towards his mother church, and the poor persecuted people in the kingdom of Scotland.†

But having emerged forth of all these difficulties, he returned home at the Revolution, about which time his brother, Sir William Hamilton

* In the hands of some friends are yet to be seen two of these commissions, both wrote on parchment, one of which is a very beautiful copy on copperplate.

† See a more full account of his negotiations in the Netherlands for the same purpose, in a large letter of his, published in *Faithful Contendings*, p. 186—230.

of Preston died, and he fell heir to his estate and honours. And although after that he was still designed by the name of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, yet because he could not in conscience enter into, possess, or enjoy that estate, unless he owned the title of the Prince and Princess of Orange, as king and queen of these three covenanted nations, and in consequence of that, own the Prelatical government as then established, upon the ruins of the cause and work of God in these nations. He never entered or intermeddled with his brother's estate any manner of way; but with Moses he made that noble choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season; and did esteem a steadfast adherence to the cause of Christ, with all the reproaches that followed thereon, greater riches than all his brother's estate. For out of the love to Jesus Christ, his covenanted cause, interest, and people, he laid his worldly honour in the dust, continuing still a companion in the path, patience, affliction, and tribulation, of that poor, mean, and distressed handful of the Lord's witnesses in these lands, who still owned and adhered to the state of the Lord's covenanted cause in Scotland.

A little after his return from Holland, when Mess. Linning, Shields, and Boyd, were drawing and enticing those who had formerly been faithful to, and owning and suffering for the Lord's covenanted cause, into a conformity and compliance with the defection of that time, in a general meeting held at Douglas, 6th November 1689, he gave a faithful protestation against these proceedings as by them carried on, and particularly their owning the then government, while sworn to Prelacy, in opposition to our laudable establishment and covenanted work of reformation: as also, against the raising of the Angus regiment, which he took to be a sinful association with malignants: and likewise, against joining with Episcopalian ministers at that time, (from whom they had formerly most justly withdrawn,) without any evidence of repentance for the many gross sins and defections they were guilty of. And after these three ministers foresaid had yielded up that noble cause, and drawn many of the owners thereof into the same state of compliance with them, he had the honour to be the chief instrument in the Lord's hand, in gathering together out of their dispersion, such of the old sufferers as had escaped these defections that so many were fallen into, and in bringing them again into an united party and general correspondence, upon the former laudable and truest state of the testimony.

And farther, he had also a principal hand in drawing up and publishing that faithful declaration, published at Sanquhar, Aug. 10, 1692, for which he was apprehended by some of the old persecuting soldiers, at Hamilton, upon Sept. 10. following, and by them carried to Edinburgh, and there and elsewhere kept prisoner till May 5, 1693. When he was brought before the Council, September 15, 1692, there were present, the Baronet of Tarbet, President Lothian, Ker, General Livingstone, Lord Dalrymple, Lord Breadalbane, and Sir William Lockhart, solicitor. He was by them examined concerning that declaration; but he declined them, and all upon whom they depended, as competent judges, because they were not qualified according to the word of God, and our solemn covenants. And being interrogate, If he would take the oath of allegiance? he answered, No, it being an unlimited oath, not bottomed upon our covenants. If he would own the authority of K. William and Q. Mary? he answered, I wish them well. But being asked again, if he would own them and their government, live peaceably, and not rise against them? he answered, When they were admitted according to the laws of the

and holy submission to the holy will of God; and when drawing his journey's end, he gave a most faithful testimony to the Lord's cause and honourable cause, which he had so long owned and suffered for; and upon the account of this gentleman's being most unjustly aspersed * for running to some extremes in principles, both before and after the Revolution, a copy of his own dying testimony may perhaps be the best vindication of him from such aspersions, that at present can be produced; which is as follows.

THOUGH I have many things that might discourage me from shewing myself this way at such a time, when the Lord's controverted truths, the covenanted reformation, and the wrestlings of his faithful and slain witnesses, are things so much flouted at, despised, and buried, not only by the profane, but alas! even by the ministers and professors of this generation; yet I could not but leave this short line to you, who, have all intents in the world, have been my greatest comfort; being now come to the utmost period of my time, and looking in upon my eternal state, it cannot be readily apprehended by rational men, that I should dare to do any thing, but according to what I expect shortly to be judged, I might had such a long time to consider on my ways, under a sharp affliction. As for my case, I bless God it is many years since my interest in the kingdom was secured, and under all my afflictions from all airts, he hath afforded me a present help in time of my greatest need. I have been a man of peace, a man of contention; but praise to him, it was not for my own sake, but for the things of my Lord Jesus Christ. Whatever were my persecutions, yet his glory, the rising and flourishing of his kingdom, was the mark I laboured to shoot at: nor is it now my design to vindicate myself from the calumnies that have been cast upon my name; for when his slain witnesses shall be vindicated, his own glory and buried truths shall be raised up, in that day he will assuredly take away the reproaches from his servants, and will raise and beautify the name of his living and dead witnesses. Only this I must add, though that I cannot but say, that the reproaches have broken my heart, yet with what I have met with before, and at the time of Bothwell battle, and also since, I had often more faculty to carry humbly under the glory of his cross, than to bear the burden of it. O! peace with God, and peace of conscience, is a sweet rest.

Now, as to his public cause, that he hath honoured you in some measure to side with, stand fast therein: let no man take your crown, for it is the road he will take in coming to this poor land; and praise him for pouring such poor things as you are, as to make you wish well to his cause, when church and state, and all ranks, have turned their back upon me, and my humble advice to you, as a dying brother, is, to stand still, beware of all tampering with these betrayers of the royal interest and interests of Christ's kingdom, and listen to no conferences with the mini-

* And even Walker, and others who have pretended a great regard for the principles and memory of some of our late sufferers, such as Mess. Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick. In this they are not aware whom they have obliged; for it is pretty notour, that this man, and these Worthies, particularly the last, were the very same in principle to the end of their lives, as their own letters and testimonies do evidence; and so in condemning him, they have not only tacitly condemned them, but most avowedly relinquished the substantial part of the covenanted testimony of the church of Scotland in her purest sense: and what can the Archbishop of Canterbury require more, never once to mention the old covenant, a nullifidian, or lukewarm Presbyterian?

against every opposition, being equally superior to the influence of flattery, and was preferable to the most part of his station in that kind without flattery it may be said, he was an honour to the name of Hamilton, and to his nation. The faithful Mr. Renwick called him *father*, *my father*, and ever had a high esteem and regard for him, as the contents of most part of his letters bear: yea, in the very last letter he wrote, he accosts him thus: "If I had lived, and been qualified for writing a book, and if it had been dedicated to any, you would have been the man; for I have loved you, and I have peace before God in Christ, and I bless his name that ever I have been acquainted with you," And indeed he was not mistaken in him, for he was one who both loved and practised truth, was bold in Christ's cause, and had virtue, life, wealth, reputation, and all, in defence thereof. He was of a constancy of life and manners, that it might be truly said of him, *was said of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, In omnia vita sui nec ulla unquam in re mutatus fuit. Itaque vere fuit vir bonus, nec fictum ulajum quicquam habuit.*

Acrostic on his Name.

Sin wrought our death; death strikes, and none doth spare;
It levels sceptres with the ploughing-share;
Raging among poor mortals every where.

Religion's lovers death must also own,
Or this brave soul his life had not laid down.
But weep not. Why? Death challenges but dross;
Eternal gain compensates temporal loss:
Rest from his labour, sickness, grief, and pain:
This makes him happy, and our mourning vain.

Had he not reason rather to be glad,
At death's approach; that life he never had
Must meet him there? He enters now that land,
In view of which, believing, he did stand;
Longing for ling'ring death, still crying, come,
Take me, Lord, hence, unto my Father's home.
O, faithless age! of glory take a sight;
Nor death nor grave shall then so much affright.

MR. WILLIAM VEITCH.

WILLIAM VEITCH was born in Clydesdale, at Robertson, near Lanark, in 1640. He was the youngest son of Mr. John Veitch, who was minister of that place for about the space of forty-five years. His brothers were, Mr. John Veitch, who was minister of Westruthers fifty years; Mr. James Veitch, who was ordained minister in Mauchlin 1665; and Mr. David Veitch, the most eminent of them all, who was minister at Govan, cotemporary and copresbyter with the late Mr. Durham, to whom Mr. Rutherford gave this testimony at his death, "That the like of Mr. David Veitch, in his age, for learning and piety, he had never known."

William, being laureat at Glasgow in 1650, was resolved to follow the study and practice of physic, as having so many brethren in the

function of the ministry, and Episcopacy being apparently to be settled in the kingdom. And being then in the family of Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, great Mr. Livingston, minister of Ancrum, frequenting that house, as did other godly ministers, by many arguments dissuaded him from his intended design, and exhorted him to follow the footsteps of his brethren, who were then much esteemed in the church.

In 1663, he went to Murrayland, where he was sometime chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder's family; but at the instigation of M'Kenzie, then Bishop of Murray, he was obliged, about September 1664, to leave this family. He then returned home to his father, then dwelling at Lanark, being ejected from his own parish by the prelates: in which time he fell acquainted with Marion Fairlie, whom he married; and being a woman eminent for religion, she proved a great blessing to him afterwards.

In 1666, he was solicited, and prevailed upon, by Mr. John Welch, to join that party who were so oppressed by the inhuman cruelties of Sir James Turner and his forces, then lying at Dumfries. Accordingly, after the Galloway forces had taken Sir James, Mr. Veitch and Major Lermont went west and joined them on a hill above Galston. Next day they sent him with forty or fifty horse to take up quarters in the town of Ayr.

After some respite, they marched up the water of Ayr, towards Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, Dalziel and his forces having come as far as Strathaven in quest of them; but hearing they were at Lanark, turned his march after them. In the meantime, the honest party being above 1500 horse and foot, it was thought proper that both the national and solemn league and covenant should be by them renewed; which they did with great solemnity; and hearing that Dalziel approached, they concluded it would be best to abide sometime there, as the heavy rains had made Clyde impassable for him, except by boat, (and that being broken,) until the water decreased; and that fifty of their number might be able to stop his passage at the river, which might be both a dash upon the enemy, and encouraging to friends to join them at that place. But unhappily a letter came at that juncture from Sir James Stuart, (after the Revolution, Advocate,) to Mess. Welch and Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as possible, where they would get men and other necessaries. This made them break their resolution, and march for Bathgate, where, both night and snow coming on, they concluded to go forward to Collington.

Having taken up their quarters, they consulted how they should do in answer to Mr. Stuart's letter; and at last voted Mr. Veitch to go to Edinburgh, and converse with him anent the promised supply. This, against his own mind, at the importunity of Colonel Wallace, he undertook; and having disguised himself with a baggage horse, an old hat and cloak, Mr. M'Cormick convoyed him a little way, minding him of several things to communicate to Sir James Stuart. He had but gone a little till he met a brisk strong fellow, riding with a drawn sword in his hand, who asked which way he came? He said, Biggar way. But, says he, Did you not see all Collington on fire? I fear my house be burnt; for I hear the Whigs are come. Mr. Veitch declared his ignorance of this; and so they parted. Near Greenhill park he met three women, who told him, that if he went by Greenhill house he was a dead man; for there Lord Kingston was placed with a party to intercept all the

ings from coming to the town. This made him take a bye-road to Libberton Wynd. A little farther, he espied a sentinel on horseback, which obliged him to take Dalkeith way. But coming thither, some officers told him there was no getting to the town; all the ports were shut, and guards set upon them. This put him to a stand. Reason said, You must turn back; Credit cried, You must go forward, else lose your reputation. And so he proceeded, till taken by two sentinels, and carried to the Potterrow Port, where he was examined by the captain of the guard; and instead of being let into the city, was sent with a file of musqueteers back to Lord Kingston. Mr. Veitch, in this sad dilemma, had no other comfort but to put up his desires to God, that he would direct him what to do or say, if he had a mind to spare him any longer. He was examined by Kingston, to whom he gave soft answers. In the meantime an alarm rose, that the Whigs, as they called them, approached; Kingston called them to their arms; whereupon Mr. Veitch called for his sword, saying, he would go against them in the first rank. This made Kingston say, he was a brave fellow.

After the hurry was over, with great difficulty he got off into the country. But finding nothing could be got there, the next morning, hearing that the western forces marched toward Pentland hills, he ventured to return by Libberton way toward the House in the Muir; and making an escape at Pentland town, when passing through Roslin muir, coming to Blencross water, a frontier of Dalziel's horse had almost taken him, being within cry of Captain Paton, now lieutenant of the rear-guard of the western army, who beat back Dalziel's horse, and delivered him, saying, O Sir, we took you for a dead man, and repented sore we sent you on such an unreasonable undertaking. As they rode towards Pentland hills, they perceived their friends leaving the highway, marching their main body towards the hill, and a select body to the top; General Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills occasioned this. It was not twelve o'clock the 28th of November 1666. It had been snowed the night before; the day was pretty clear, and sunshine. In an hour, Dalziel's select party, under Drummond, fell upon their rear party, but was beat back, to the great consternation of their ranks, hundreds of whom, as they were marching through the hills, laid down their arms, and ran away. Drummond himself afterwards acknowledged, that if they had pursued this advantage, they had utterly routed Dalziel's army. McLeland of Barmaguhen and Mr. Crookshanks commanded the first party, who took some prisoners; Major Lermont commanded the second party, who beat the enemy again, where the Duke of Hamilton narrowly escaped, by the Dean of Hamilton's laying his sword upon the Duke's back, which warded off the countryman's sword upon him. Dalziel sending up a party to rescue him, Major Lermont's horse was shot under him; but he, starting back to a dyke, killed one of the four pursuers, mounted his horse, and came off in spite of the other three. The last encounter was at day-light going, when the colours were broke; and Mr. Veitch fell in amongst a whole troop of the enemy, who turned his horse in the dark, and violently carried him off with them, not knowing but he was one of their own. But they being down the hill in the pursuit, and he wearing upwards, the moon being clear, for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to steer off; and they perceiving, cried out, and pursued after him, discharging several shot at him: but their horses sinking, they could not make the

hill; and so he eloped, and came that night to a herd's house in Dunsyre common, within a mile of his own habitation.

A little after this, he met with another remarkable deliverance at the Laird of Auston's, when the enemy were there in pursuit of his son-in-law Major Lermont. After this, Mr. Veitch was obliged to abscond; and so he went off for Newcastle, where he continued sometime. Here he took the name of William Johnston, his mother being of that name. After a considerable time of trouble, when he had the flux through the fatigue and cold he had got in the winter, he went home to visit his wife, where he again narrowly escaped, and so returned again to Newcastle. From thence he was invited to London, where he preached sometimes for Mr. Blackie, particularly one Sabbath, on these words: *If thou hadst known in this thy day, &c.* After the blessing was pronounced, some of the auditors cried, Treason, treason; which surprised Mr. Blackie and the people, till one Colonel Blood stood up and said, Good people, we have heard nothing but reason, reason; and so he took off Mr. Veitch, which ended the business.

Thus Mr. Veitch travelled from place to place, sometimes at London, sometimes Nottingham, Chester, Lancaster, sometimes in Northumberland, especially in Reidsdale, till 1671, that he was persuaded to bring his wife and family to that county; which he did, and settled for sometime within the parish of Rothbury in Northumberland. But no sooner was he settled here, though in a muirish place, than the Popish gang stirred up enemies to him on account of this little meeting; which obliged him to remove five miles farther up the country, to a place called Harnam-hall, where many out of curiosity frequented his preaching. Likewise Anabaptists, who kept seventh-day Sabbaths, were punctual attenders.

Here he had no small success in the reformation of people's morals; several instances of which, for brevity's sake, must here be omitted. But the devil, envying these small beginnings, again stirred him up enemies, particularly one Justice Lorrain, who, at the instigation of the clergy, issued out warrants to apprehend him. But this misgiving, Lorrain, in one of his drinking fits, promised to go in person next Sabbath, and put an end to these meetings. But not many hours after, he, by an unusual and strange manner, got his leg broke, so that he could travel none for many weeks thereafter.

This design being frustrated, one Parson Ward of Kirkhails went up to the Bishop of Durham, and returned well armed, as he thought, against Mr. Veitch, having orders to excommunicate all such. But being detained by another curate, they drank all night together; and that he might be home against Sabbath, he so tired his horse, that he was not able to get him on alone. He hired the herdman of Harnam to lead him, taking his club to drive him on: but while he so unmercifully was beating the poor beast, it, without regard to his coat, canon, or the orders he carried, struck him on the cheek, till the blood gushed out; which made the boy that led the horse, seeing him fall, run to a gentlewoman's house hard by, who sent out two servants with a barrow, who carried him in, where he had his wounds dressed, and lay there several weeks under a cure; and so they were again disappointed.

Having continued there four years, he removed to Stanton-hall, where he found the country filled with Papists, and the parish-church with a violent persecuter, one Thomas Bell. This Bell, though he was his own

stryman, and had received many favours from Mr. Veitch's brother, was so maliciously set against him, that he vowed to some professedists, who were stimulating him on against that meeting, that he would either ruin Mr. Veitch, or he him. And, as the event proved, he is no false prophet; for he never gave over till he got one Major Methorp to apprehend him, which he did January 19, 1679.

After different turns he was brought to Edinburgh, and February 22, brought before a committee of the Council, where Bishop Sharp was present. The Bishop put many questions to him to see if he could ensnare him. One of them was, Have you taken the covenant? He answered, Your Honourable Board may easily perceive, I was not capable to take the covenant when you and other ministers tendered it. At which the whole company gave a laugh, which somewhat nettled the bishops. They asked, Did you never take it since? Ans. I judge I am obliged to repent myself away to God, and frequently to renew it. At which Mr. Paterson stood up and said, You will get no good of this man; it is all evasion. After other questions, he was required to subscribe his own confession, which he assented to, if *in mundo*, without their additions; which at last, through Lundy's influence, they granted. And though they could prove nothing criminal against him, he was remanded back to prison, and, by a letter from the King, turned over to the Criminal Court, which was to meet March 18, but was adjourned to two different times after, till the month of July, that sentence of death was to have been passed upon him, upon the old sentence in 1666. Mr. Veitch, now finding sentence of death was to be passed upon him, prevailed with his friend Mr. Gilbert Elliot to ride post to London; where, not having access to Lauderdale, he applied to Shaftsbury, and got his case printed, and a copy given to each member of parliament. The King, being appealed to, and threatened with a parliamentary inquiry, wrote a letter, and sent express to stop all criminal process against him; which expresses, secured at last by Lauderdale out of antipathy; to Monmouth, who was desired to have interceded to the King for him, he was liberated, under sentence of banishment to retire to England; which he did in a short time after.

Whilst these affairs were transacting, Bishop Sharp was cut off at Angus muir, the account of which it were needless to relate here, being touched elsewhere; excepting a circumstance or two somewhat different, more full than some others on that particular; that is, after they had fired several pistols at him in the coach, being pulled out, Burly having a brazen blunderbuss charged with several bullets, fired it so near his head, that his gown, clothes, and shirt, were burnt, and he fell flat on his face; they, thinking a window was made through his body, went off; but one staying to tie his horse's girth, heard his daughter call to the coachman for help, for her father was yet alive; which made him call back the rest, knowing if he was not dead, their case would be worse than ever, Burly (or Balfour) coming to him while yet lying on his face, taking his hat off with his foot, struck him on the head till his brains were seen; then, with a cry, he expired. Searching his pockets, they found the King's letter for executing more cruelties, as also a little purse with two pistol bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of silk, like an ordinary plumb, a bit of parchment, a finger-breadth in length, with two words written upon it which none could read, though the characters were like Hebrew or Chaldaic. This they took, but meddled with neither they nor watch.

After he was by the Council's order examined by two surgeons, the blue marks of the bullets were seen about his neck, back, and here where his clothes were burnt; but in all these places the skin was broke; so that the wound in his head had only killed him; which occasioned an universal talk, that he had got proof against shot from death, and that the forementioned purse contained the sorcery or charm. However, his brother got liberty to erect a marble monument to him, which, instead of honour, the only end of such sumptuous structures stands yet in St. Andrews as an ensign of his infamy to this day.

The rising of Bothwell immediately followed this. But being but an indemnity was granted to those concerned therein. But one of the conditions was, that no minister should preach without liberty given, which no faithful minister could assent to. However, Monmouth, by Shaftsbury's recommendation, inserted Mr. Veitch's name in the writ with the rest. But, by Bishop Paterson's means, his name was excluded. This made Monmouth say, he should get the matter done another way as soon as he came to London; which coming to Lauderdale's ear, the King, by means of Lord Stair, the King signed a warrant, turning sentence of death to banishment from Scotland; and so he was liberated and returned back to his old habitation in England.

But not long after his return, hearing they intended in these parts to apprehend him again, he retired westward to the English borders, where he frequently preached at Kilderhead, Wheeler, Causeway, Deadwater, &c. &c.

What wonderful success the preaching of the gospel had by him retiring thither under the persecuting period, and the repressing, year most extinguishing the feuds, thefts, and robberies so conatural to the places and people about the borders, has been worth a singular and curious observation.

Before his apprehending, he had preached with much success at Cairn in Lauderdale shire, and several places in the Merse and Teviot especially at Foggs-muir, upon these words, Psalm cii. *Thou shalt arise, have mercy on Zion, &c.* After which he had a very remarkable success from his enemies. After his return, upon a line from Mr. Temple went to Berwick. But the news coming in the meantime there, that Earl of Argyre was escaped from Edinburgh, caused no small confusion in that place; out of which he emerged; and at last having surmounted several difficulties, by means of his good friends and acquaintances, got to the house of Mr. Ogle, the outed minister of Berwick, and gained from the place. He desired him to stay till Sabbath was over, and detain an old promise of giving a sermon to one Hall and his lady, which might be assented.

Not able to get to bed after this confusion, he being weary, fell asleep, and was taken up by him, taking him to his house at Stanton-hall, more than thirty miles off, where he was beating the pot; which made him awake with no small contentment, and he carried, straggling home: but it not being time to rise, he fell asleep again, and made the boy do the same thing over again, awaking all in a sweat, and in a house hard by, where he took for a clear call to go home; and when he was in, where he heard, who called it a maggot, he excused himself under a cure; and so the jaird and lady, to whom he was to preach.

Having continued there a half from his own house, he was taken up, and he found the country filled with him, you are long looked for at your house, a violent persecuter, one Thomas the matter? and if his family is a stranger, (viz. Argyre)

longs to see you, and we have been for two days sending about 7 to find you.

meeting, and some converse, with his wife's consent, who was er time, he undertook to do his best for bringing the Earl safe ; and so he took Argyle, under the name of Mr. Hope, along o Midburn Grange, where he was to preach that Sabbath; and 7 he took him to a friend's house, between Newcastle and where he left Argyle, and went to Newcastle, and bought s for him at his own expense, the Earl being then scarce of fier which they came to Leeds, and then to Roderam, and ere one night. From thence they set off, and at last arrived ndon.

ying sometime in London, Argyle set off to join with Mon- Holland, and Mr. Veitch returned to his house in Stauton-hall. ing breaking out, he narrowly escaped being taken; and after netimes in one place and sometimes in another, he was obliged secretly to Holland, where he met with old friends and ac- s, Monmouth, Argyle, Earl of Melvill, Polwart, Torwoodlee, t Stuart. Monmouth and Argyle having agreed to make a one time, the one to England and the other to Scotland, several iends were sent over *incognita*, to warn their friends in both to make ready. It was Mr. Veitch's part to give Northumber- he Scots borders notice. Mr. Veitch had a verbal commission le to procure money for buying arms, drums, colours, horses, on men, especially Oliverian officers; somewhat of all which but the matter taking air, he was obliged to hide himself near head, even from his very friends, till the season for appearing re he narrowly escaped being taken, while hid on Carter-hill, th a turf of heather, Colonel Struthers and Meldrum's troop in quest of him and others.

enterprise failing, Argyle being defeated and taken in Scot- Monmouth in England, the design came to nothing; only a, besides his time and trouble, (wherein he was in many dan- about LN20 sterling, and its interest; and Argyle's son, the gave him repeated promises to reimburse him; yet never was thing of this kind done, his kindness being soon forgot.

or to this affair of Monmouth and Argyle, one tyrant was cut e way for another. But as the death of Charles II. is related y historians, it were needless to relate the whole affair here: ollowing circumstances seem more full, and somewhat differ- he accounts of the most part of writers in that period. The rlot, the Duchess of Portsmouth, (for so we may call her,) the Duke of York's direction, to give the King a treat on ight, was by him stored with wines, especially claret, which loved. After he was drunk, they bribed his coffee-man to put poison in his coffee, and then advised the Duchess to keep him and likewise knowing that when he first awaked in the morn- ally called for his snuff, they hired the Duchess's chamber- ut poisoned snuff into his box. Accordingly, having drunk at night, in the morning he awoke, and cried out he was deadly alled for his box, and took a great quantity of snuff. Then orse, he called for his servant, to put on his clothes; which staggered and got to the window, and, leaning on it, cried,

on the head, so that he died. It is said, his head swelled b
two heads, and his body stunk, so that they were obliged to ta
in the night, and bury him *incognito*.*

But to return. After the defeat of Monmouth and Argyle,
was obliged to lurk for sometime in a wood near Newcastle
storm was a little calmed ; and then he ventured to Newcastle
wife and family, where he met with some of his Scots relations
other good people of the town were also there. They spent a
night in prayer, and mourning over the sad case that the chu
tion were now in, the most part fearing they were never like
days again.

After this, Mr. Veitch being wearied with such toil and co
went with a Nottingham merchant to Yorkshire, and staid son
town called Southcave. From thence he was invited to pr
people of Beverly. Here he met with another remarkable d
for the mayor and aldermen compassed the house where he
ing, and caused the clerk mark down all their names : but Mr.
means of his landlord, got off under the name of William
and so he escaped, and hid himself sometime among bushes
went to a man's house two miles from town, where he preac
rest of his sermon to some people that followed that way, and
home with his landlord.

From thence Mr. Veitch returned to Yorkshire, where h
another deliverance ; for a Scots Jesuit priest, knowing him,
warrant to apprehend him ; but, by a divine providence, he es
hand, and so went toward Newcastle. From Newcastle he w
tingham. While there, King James's indemnity and liberty wa
ed ; and then he had a call from the people of Beverly to be
ter, which he complied with. At this place he had a numer
gation, and several times he was invited to preach at Hull, six
thence. There the people declared, there was never such a

that place. Some of the justices of the peace in that place, being
 vists, were greatly incensed against it, and used all means to break his
 teaching there; but were opposed by the people. Mr. Veitch never had
 the satisfaction of his ministerial work, as he himself says, than in that
 place.

Having preached six or seven months there, and settled a meeting-house,
 a people greatly reformed, he was strongly invited to his native coun-
 try by those who had accepted of the toleration then granted. And his
 being forward for his return, he took his leave of Beverly, a pleasant
 having preached his farewell sermon, where there were many tears.
 In his way home, he visited his friends at Darntoun, who persuad-
 him to stay sometime, where he settled a congregation, and left one
 Long for his successor to that people. After all impediments were
 removed, he returned to his native land; where the people in the parishes
 Oxnam, Creilland, Eckford, Linton, Morbattle, and Harnam, gave
 a call to preach to them at Whitton-hall; unto which charge he
 entered in April 1688. Here he continued that summer, and sometimes
 was invited to preach at Reidsdale, on the English side. But the Prince
 Orange having landed in England, Nov. 4, 1688, the ministers of Scot-
 land who had been outed thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh,
 and called all their brethren to attend there to consult of matters.

It fell out unexpectedly to Mr. Veitch, that the meeting voted him to
 preach the next day after he came, in the new meeting-house over against
 Robertson's Wynd. This he was most averse to, being a stranger to the
 transactions for the most part in Scotland for upwards of thirty years.
 His reasons not being heard, he was so perplexed what to do, that till
 half o'clock, he could not find a text: but, at length, falling upon
 Psalm cxix. 18. *Thou hast trode down all that err from thy statutes, &c.* he
 was taken up the whole night in thinking on it, without going to bed.
 When he came to the pulpit, seeing sixteen of the old ministers sitting,
 and the congregation greatly increasing, his fear increased also. How-
 ever, he delivered his thoughts upon the subject, with respect to the then
 circumstances, with such freedom and plainness, as offended the prelates,
 who afterwards sent him a message, that ere long they resolved to be
 done with him.—All the answer he returned them was, to put on their
 hats.—Upon the other hand, he seemed to give offence to the godly
 party, by some free expressions he had with respect to the present govern-
 ment, if Presbytery was erected.

When the Presbyterian church was restored, he had calls from several
 parishes, viz. one to Creilland, another to Melrose, and a third to Peebles;
 but he was persuaded by the Earl of Crawford and others to embrace
 the last; yet he met with such opposition there, from the old Duke of Queens-
 berry, that the church was so overawed as to loose him from that charge:
 he having a call from Edinburgh, one from Paisley, and another
 from Dumfries, the Assembly, hearing his aversion to Edinburgh, voted
 for Dumfries, after he had been minister of Peebles full four years,
 from September 1690 to 1694, when he was settled or admitted to his
 ministry at Dumfries.

He left Peebles with great aversion, not only with respect to the parish,
 but the country round about; and, upon a new call, struggled to be back;
 but lost it only by four voices. However, he lost all his legal stipend
 for four years, which, with the expenses of suit, amounted to 10,000
 Scots. Mr. Veitch's hard usage from the Assembly, with their illegal

removing him, merely to please the Duke, and to send him to Dumfries, made him resolve to leave the nation, and refuse to submit to their sentence. In the meantime his old friends in England, hearing this, sent a gentleman to Peebles to bring him back to them. Mr. Veitch went with him; but he refused to settle with them, till he had handsomely ended with the Commission of the church, to whom the matter was referred. Upon his return, they persuaded him to submit; which at last he did, and continued minister in that place until the day of his death, which fell out about the year 1720, being then about eighty years of age.

From the foregoing account two things are conspicuous: First, that the whole of Mr. Veitch's life, at least during the persecuting period, was attended with a train of remarkable occurrences of divine providence. Secondly, that in that time he behaved to be a most powerful and awakening preacher, from the influence he had upon the manners or morals of those who attended his sermons. Nor is it any disparagement to him, that that black-mouthed calumniator, in his *Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed*, has published to the world, "That he murdered the bodies as well as souls of two or three persons with one sermon, because, says he, preaching in the town of Jedburgh, he said, *There are two thousand of you here, but I am sure eighty of you will not be saved;*" upon which three of his ignorant hearers dispatched themselves soon after. Indeed, it must be granted, that, after the Revolution, in the latter end of his life, he became somewhat inimical and unfriendly to Dissenters, (*viz.* Mr. Hepburn,) at least some of those who professed to own and adhere to the same cause and testimony that he himself had contended and suffered somewhat for. Whether this proceeded from the dotage of old age, (as some would have it,) or from mistaken principles, or any thing else, we cannot, and shall not, at present determine.

JOHN BALFOUR OF KINLOCH.

JOHN BALFOUR of Kinloch, sometime called Burly, was a gentleman in Fife. He joined with the more faithful part of our late sufferers; and although he was by some reckoned none of the most religious, yet he was always zealous and honest-hearted, courageous in every enterprise, and a brave soldier, seldom any escaping that came into his hands. He was the principal actor in killing that arch traitor to the Lord and his Christ, James Sharp. After which his goods and gear were inventoried by the sheriff, and he forfeited in life and fortune, a reward of 10,000 merks offered to any that could apprehend him. He was a commanding officer at Bothwell and Drumclog. At Drumclog he was the first who, with his party, got over the ditch upon the enemy. At Bothwell he was still among the more faithful part, and at the fight behaved with great gallantry. At that meeting at Loudon-hill, dispersed May 5, 1681, it is said that he disarmed one of Duke Hamilton's men with his own hand, taking a pair of fine pistols belonging to the Duke from his saddle, desiring him to tell his master, he would keep them till meeting. Afterwards, when the Duke asked his man what he was like? he told him, he was a little man, squint-eyed, and of a very fierce aspect. The Duke said, he knew who it was, and withal prayed, that he might never see his

For if he should, he was sure he would not live long. After this he went mostly among his suffering brethren; and a little before the Revolution went over to Holland, where he joined the Prince of Orange, against King William, and having still a desire to be avenged upon those who persecuted the Lord's cause and people in Scotland, it is said he obtained liberty from the Prince for that purpose, but died at sea, on their arrival in Scotland; whereby that design was never accomplished, and so the land was never purged by the blood of them who shed innocent blood, according to the law of the Lord, Gen. ix. 6. *sheddest man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.*

Mess. ROBERT TRAILS.

MR. ROBERT TRAILS, the father and son, deserve a place among the Worthies, as they were brought to much trouble for their faithful zeal for our reformation-principles. Old Mr. Robert Trail, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, along with Mr. James Guthrie and others, retired to a private house in Edinburgh, and assisted in drawing up a petition and address and supplication to the King; but before it was finished, they were apprehended by the managers of the times, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, without a hearing. Matters went on at that time, that a simple proposal of petitioning the King for a redress of grievances was reckoned criminal. Mr. Robert Trail was brought before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the parliament, where he delivered an excellent speech in his own defence, and pointed out the cruelty and injustice then exercised, and the false accusations that were exhibited against him and his reverend brethren at that time. This excellent speech of his may be seen in Wood's History, vol. i. p. 73. After seven months imprisonment, he wrote to Thomas Wylie, minister at Kirkcudbright. He says, "I need not tell you how matters do here. This I must say, your imprisonments are kindly dealt with by our kind Lord, for whose cause and for whose sake we suffer; and if any of us be straitened, it is not in him, for we shall have a large allowance from him, could we take it. We know it fares the same with us, that you, and such as you, mind us at the throne. We are waiting from day to day what men will do with us; at best we are waiting for banishment: but our sentence must proceed from the Lord; whatsoever it shall be, it is good from him; and whithersoever he sends us, he will be with us, and shall let us know that the earth is full of the fulness thereof." This was the resigned Christian temper of the Worthies. He was afterwards banished, and took refuge in Holland. On the 19th of July 1677, their persecuting fury also broke out against Mr. Robert Trail. Being accused with holding field-conventicles, he was brought before the Council, where he acknowledged that he had held house-conventicles. But being asked, if he had preached at field-conventicles, he referred that to proof, because the law made it criminal. When asked if he had conversed with Mr. Welch when on the English borders, he answered that he was ordained to the ministry by Presbyterian ministers, at Glasgow, in 1670. But refusing to clear himself by oath, he was therefore committed to the Bass; Major Johnston got L.1000 Scots for apprehending

him. We have no account at what time he was released; but he was afterwards an useful minister to a congregation of Dissenters in London; where he continued many years, and laboured with great diligence, zeal, and success. Here he published his Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification, prompted thereto by his zeal for that distinguishing doctrine of the reformation; and his sermons on the throne of grace and the Lord's prayer, at the earnest desire of those who heard them. His sermons on Heb. x. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, entitled, *A Steadfast Adherence to the Profession of our Faith*, were published after his death, at the request of many of his hearers. The simplicity and evangelical strain of his works have been savoury to many, and will ever be so, while religion and scripture-doctrine are in request.

MR. ANDREW SIMPSON.

MR. ANDREW SIMPSON, minister at Dryburgh, was a man who cared so little for worldly things, that he scarce knew the current coin of the country; but was much taken up with his Bible and prayer. He was a most free reprover of whatever he accounted sinful; and on that account he was, by order of the parliament 1621, imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, where the Lord blessed his preaching and prayer with the conversion from Popery of the lady of Sir John Stuart, the captain of the castle. After a while, he was liberated, and returned to Dryburgh, where, and at Merton, he preached till his death. One time, when walking alone, he fell and broke his leg, and was found sitting with his broken leg in his arm, crying, Blessed be the Lord! O blessed be his name! and such like ascriptions: and when they asked him why he said so? he answered: We ought to bless the Lord for all that befall us, and that I brake not my neck rather than my leg.

MR. WILLIAM SCOTT.

MR. WILLIAM SCOTT, minister at Cupar in Fife, was a wise, learned, and prudent man. He understood the laws and customs of the nation among the best of his time. He was one of the eight ministers called up by the King before the pretended Assembly, which brought in Episcopacy in 1610, and by his prudence was very helpful to his brethren; so that their enemies got no advantage, and he acquired both love and esteem by it. It is said, that the Earl of Salisbury, having highly esteemed him, offered him a considerable pension if he would stay in England; but he got liberty to return home, and chose that rather than the Earl's offer. He died about the year 1642; and wrote the History of our Church from the year 1610 till Perth Assembly 1618.

Text of a Speech delivered by Lord Warriston, before the Assembly at Westminster, after the delivery of some Queries from the Parliament to them.

LOCUTOR, I am a stranger. I will not meddle with the privileges of another nation, nor the breaches thereof, but as a subject under one common Lord, a ruling elder in another church, a subject-man in another kingdom, having commission from both church and state, and at the desire of this kingdom assisting in their petition, I treat for your favour and patience to express my thoughts before you.

My subject is that which concerns Christ and these kingdoms, and above all, and which will be the chiefest mean to end our present troubles; and that not only speaking *humaniter*, and looking to the disposition of these kingdoms, but especially in regard of the occasion, which hath been so special and sensible in the rise and increase of these commotions, as I can neither be persuaded that they will be raised for, or will be calmed upon the settlement of civil rights, either of kings or princes, whatsoever may seem to be our interest; but I am convinced they have a higher rise from, and a better end, the settling of the crown of Christ in these islands, propagated from island to continent; and until King Jesus be set in his throne, with his sceptre in his hand, I do not expect God's blessing, so no solid peace from men in these kingdoms. But establish a durable peace will be found to follow that sovereign truth. I lay to heart what is before us, a work which concerns God more than most of any thing in agitation now under the sun, and for which we may be called to a more strict account than for any other in our life. Let us both tremble and rejoice when we reflect that this is under debate, and now in our hands.

I had to hear the parliament confess their willingness to receive whatsoever shall be shewn from the word of God to be his church's rights or due; albeit I was sorry to see any, in the exercise thereof, intermix any of their own personal asperity, any upon this Assembly, or reflections upon another nation; so in the law for Christ, wherein justice is offered, if he get not right by giving his patent from his father, and his church's from himself, counted your fault.

Christians are bound to give a testimony to every truth, when they are called to; but ye are the immediate servants of the Most High, messengers and heralds, whose proper function it is to proclaim his will, to preserve his offices, and assert his rights. Christ has had his testimonies given to his prophetic and priestly offices by the blood and sufferings of his saints, and in these latter days seems to be united unto his kingly office. A king loves a testimony to his honour; of any, as that which is tenderest to him; and confessors and martyrs for Christ's crown are the most royal and most stately of any persons; so, although Christ's kingdom be not of this world, and he did not fight therefor when he was to suffer, yet it is in this world that he was born for this end. To give a testimony to this truth, therefore, were we born, and must not be ashamed of it, nor deny it, but confess and avouch it, by pleading, doing, and suffering for it,

even when what is in agitation seems most to oppose it, and therefore requires a seasonable testimony. But it lies upon you, Sir, who have both your calling from Christ for it, and at this time a particular calling from many, that which the Honourable Houses require from you at such a time, when the settlement of religion thereon, and when it is the very controversy of the times; and the civil magistrates not only call you before you to aver the truth therein, but also giveth you a good example, cometh before you out of tenderness to their civil trust and duty, to maintain the privileges of parliament; to give a testament assentatory to their civil rights and privileges; and to forewarn you lest you break the same, and incur civil premonitions. Sir, this should teach us to be as tender, zealous, and careful, to assert Christ and his church, their privileges and rights, and to forewarn all, lest they endanger their souls by encroaching thereon; and lest their omissions and remissness bring eternal premonitions upon them, let all know that the spirit of your Master is upon you, and that Christ hath servants who will not only make pulpits to ring with the sound of his prerogative, but also, if they shall be called to it, make a flame of their bodies burning at the stake for a testimony to it, carry it aloft through the earth, like the voice in Sicily, that *Christ lives and reigns alone in his church*, and will have all done therein according to his word and will, and that he has given no supreme headship over his church to any Pope, King, or Parliament whatsoever.

Sir, you are often desired to remember the bounds of your commission from man, and not to exceed the same. I am confident you will make as much conscience not to be deficient in the discharge of your commission from Christ. But now, Sir, you have a commission from God and man together to discuss that truth, That Christ is a King, and has a kingdom in the external government of his church, and that he has set down laws and offices, and other substantials thereof; and a part of the kingdom for the which to come we daily pray, as Perkins shews well. We must not now before men mince, hold up, or conceal, any thing necessary for this testimony; all these would seem to me to be retiring and flying, and not to flow from the high spirit of the Most High, who will not flinch for one hour, nor quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Christ's robe-royal. These would seem effects of desertion, tokens of being ashamed, afraid, or politically diverted; and all these, and every degree of them, Sir, I am confident will be very far from the thoughts of every one here, who by their votes and petitions, according to their protestations at their entry, have shewed themselves so zealous and forward to give their testimony, albeit they easily saw it would not be very acceptable to the powers on earth, who would hamper, stamp, and halve it. But would ye answer to that question, If this were a parliament, and if it was a full and free one, would he not, and should he not be esteemed a great breaker of privileges, and *contemptor curiæ*? albeit we are not so wise, yet let us be as tender and zealous in our day and generation. Truly, Sir, I am confident you will not be so in love with a peaceable and external profession of any thing that may be granted to the church, as to conceal, disclaim, or invert your Master's right. That were to lose the substance for a circumstance, to desert and dethrone Christ, to serve yourselves, and enthrone others in his place: a tenant doing so to his lord or landlord forfeits all. Ye are commanded to be faithful in little, but now ye are commanded to be faithful in much; for albeit the salvation of souls be called *cura curarii*, the welfare and happiness of churches

made up of these) is far more; but the kingdom of Christ is *optimum maximum*; and to have it now under your debate, as it is the greatest honour God doth bestow upon an Assembly, so it is the greatest danger; for according now as God shall assist or direct you, you may and will be the instruments of the greatest good or evil on earth. Let us do all in, with, for, and by Christ. Remember the account we have to make to him, who subjects the standing or falling of his crown in this island to our debate. I speak *humaniter* for *diviniter*, I know it is impossible; and albeit we should all prove false and faint-hearted, he can and will soon raise up other instruments to assert, publish, and propagate his right to a *brum consistorii*. He will have it thoroughly pled and judged betwixt his kingdom and the kingdoms of the earth. And seeing he has begun to conquer, he will prevail over all that stand in his way, whether Pope, King, or Parliament, that will claim any part of his Headship, supreme prerogative, and monarchy over his own church.

Sir, some may think you have had a design in abstaining so long from asserting the divine right of church-government, now to come in with it only. Sir, I look upon this check as a good providence for your great pausing and abstaining in that point, and must bear witness to many passages of God's good hand in it, in not suffering us to make a stand of our queries concerning religion, either in Scotland or here, albeit we have often set down *mensura voti* to ourselves; but he has as often moved us step after step to trace back our defections, and make the last innovations reason to sweep out the former, and the King refused to be a mean to engage in a covenant with himself and others, and so has drawn us, against our wills, and beyond our desires, to perform our duty, and to give a testimony to his truth, that much of God and divine wisdom and design, and little of man and his politic projects, might be seen in the beginning, progress, and continuance of the whole work, by this good hand of God: and for this end, I hope, these queries are brought to your hand at this time.

Sir, your serving the parliament a while, I am confident, has been and will be still, not that they may serve you, but for to serve the Lord Jesus Christ; and that parliament will glory more in their subordination and obedience to him, than in the empire and command over the world.

Sir, we may hear much of the breach of privilege, and of the covenant, in relation to civil right. Let us remember in the covenant, the three orders in the title and preface, three main duties in the body, and the three effects in the close.—The covenant begins with the advancement, and ends with the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, as the substance and over-word of the whole.

The first article of the seven is Christ; an article like *dies Dominica* in a week; all the rest are *in Domino*, and subordinate thereunto: and all that is contrary to the will of Christ are acknowledged to be void in his kingdom; and so they should, with far greater reason than the constable's orders against the ordinance of parliament are void in law. But, Sir, Christ's throne is highest, and his privileges supreme as only King and head of his church, albeit kings and magistrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be balanced with his, nor posts to be set up against his, nor Korahs to be allowed against his Aarons, nor Uzziachs against his Azariahs. Is it so small a thing to have the sword? but they get not the keys also! Truly, Sir, I am confident that the parliament, of both nations, will acknowledge themselves engaged under this

authority, and as they would not be drawn from it; for we must deny our places, take up our cross, lay aside our love to father or mother, paternal or civil, yea, lay down our lives, to aver and confess this truth against all allurements and terrors, so ye would never endeavour to draw us to any other; and whatsoever reflection to the contrary was insinuated by the deliverer of this message, I cannot but impute it to personal passion, which long ago was known to the world; but will never believe the Honourable House will allow thereof, as being far beneath their wisdom, and contrary to your merit.

And, Sir, seeing these queries are before you, I am confident that whatever diversity of opinion may be among you in any particular, you will all hold out Christ's kingdom distinct from the kingdoms of the earth, and that he has appointed the government of his own house, and should rule the same; and that none of this Assembly, even for the gaining of their desires in all the points of difference, would, by their silence, concealment, and connivance, weaken, commute, or sell, a part of this fundamental truth, this sovereign interest of Christ; and that ye will all concur to demonstrate the same by clear passages of scripture, or necessary consequences therefrom, and by constant practice of the apostles, which are rules unto us.

Sir, I will close with remembering you of two passages of your letter,* sent by order of the House of Commons to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, that you will set out such discipline as, to the utmost of your power, you may exalt Christ the only Lord over the church, his own house, in all his offices, and present the church as a chaste virgin to Christ; and for this end that you were not restrained by the Houses in your votes and resolutions, nor bound up to the sense of others, nor to carry on a private design in a civil way, but by your oath were secured against all flattering of your judgment, and engaged thereby, according to the House's desire, to use all freedom becoming the integrity of your consciences, the weight of the cause, and the integrity and honour of such an Assembly. I will no more, Sir, trouble you, but with one word upon the whole matter, to desire you seriously to consider, if this business, whereon the eyes of God are fixed, deserves not a special day of humiliation and prayer, for the Lord's extraordinary assistance and direction of this Assembly.

BATTLE OF BOTHWELL-BRIDGE.

A Brief Account of the Causes of the Rising and Defeat at Bothwell, in the year 1679.

From what has been already related in this work, we may easily form a judgment of the dismal state of the nation, on account of the arbitrary proceedings of those who had the management of affairs, and the unaccountable severities, which many innocent people endured.

The rigorous and military execution of the sanguinary laws, now in force, could not but exasperate those who were by this means robbed of

* This letter was read August 17, 1643, in the Scots General Assembly, as it stands in the collection of the acts thereof from 1638 to 1649, p. 205.

ies and properties, and of every thing that was dear and valuable as oppressions of every kind were still increasing. All roads of redress were cut off from the poor suffering people. Could they do? Surely one may think, that it was incumbent on them to fall upon measures for getting from under the feet of oppressors; for who would choose to continue in misery, if, by any lawful and justifiable method, extricate themselves they were most averse to take arms, until they were forced to their own defence. And though they were obliged to have recourse to arms, yet they never desired to have an opportunity of making out, being declared rebels on this account, they were constrained to be in it, till the fury of the persecuters drove them to the sword now to give an account of.

They found that small meetings were more exposed to danger than assemblies, they altered their method, and resolved to assemble in those places which they apprehended stood in the way of the gospel, and where they might meet together with great privacy.

They who thus assembled were generally those who were not in the indulgence, and the accepters of it; and many came to it in defiance of the orders given to the soldiers, and the severe laws made on the Primate's death, tended to increase their numbers; but were occasioned by the unhappy indulgence were of great disadvantage to them, and at last proved their ruin.

The numbers of the persecuted party were considerably augmented. Mr. Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preston, and Mr. James Stewart, moved, that something might be done as a testimony against the persecutions of the times. Accordingly, after serious consideration they resolved to continue to hear the gospel, notwithstanding all persecutions to which they might be exposed, and to publish to the world the truth and cause which they owned, and against the persecutions of the times. In consequence of this resolution, the Laird of Preston, Mr. Thomas Douglas, one of their preachers, and Mr. James Stewart, were pitched upon to go to some public place to make their declaration, and burn the papers mentioned in it. They did so at the 29th of May was the most proper time for putting this on. Accordingly, the afternoon of that day, they came to Edinburgh, a small royal burgh, two miles from Glasgow, where they did so, and burnt the bonfires, put their resolution in practice, and affixed a public declaration to the market cross; the following is, according to the tenor thereof, subjoined to the informatory vindication.

Our Lord hath been pleased still to keep and preserve his interest in us, by the testimonies of some faithful witnesses from the beginning of our day, some have not been wanting, who, through the persecutions, have added their testimonies to those who have gone before us, by suffering death, banishment, tortures, forfeitures, imprisonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adversary to the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the land: we, owning the same interest of Christ, according to the word of God, and the nation and solemn league and covenant, desire to bear testimony to the testimonies of those Worthies who preceded us, and to be unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of the church of Scotland, and that against all things done prejudicial to his interest, from the beginning of the work of reformation, especially from 1648 to 1660,

but more particularly from the said year 1600, and afterwards, against the acts following. As against the act of supremacy, the declaration whereby our covenants were condemned; the act for the eversion of the established government of the church, and for establishing of abjured Prelacy; the act rescissory of all acts of parliaments and assemblies for establishing the government of the church according to the world; the act of Glasgow putting the same in execution, whereby, at one time, were violently cast out above three hundred ministers, without any legal procedure; likewise the act for appointing an holy anniversary-day to be kept every 29th of May, for giving thanks for the setting up an usurped power, destroying the interest of Christ in the land, whereby the creature is set up to be worshipped in the room of our great Redeemer, and a power is assumed which is proper to the Lord only; for the appointing of ordinances in his church, as particularly the government thereof, and the keeping of holidays, belongeth to no prince, prelate, nor person on earth, but only to our Lord Redeemer. And farther, we give our testimony against all sinful and unlawful acts emitted and executed, published and prosecuted by them, against our covenanted reformation. And, for confirmation of this our testimony, we do here this day, being the 29th of May 1679, publicly and most justly burn the foresaid acts at this cross of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the nether-ward of Clydesdale, as they perfidiously and blasphemously have burnt our holy covenants through several cities of these covenanted kingdoms. We hope none will take exception at our not subscribing this our testimony, being so solemnly given; for we are ready to do it, if necessary, and to enlarge it with all our faithful suffering brethren in the land."

When this declaration was published, Mr. Hamilton and the rest retired from Rutherglen towards Evandale and Newmills. This affair made a great noise both at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Mr. Graham of Claverhouse, (afterwards Viscount of Dundee,) having unlimited powers to kill and destroy all he found in arms, came suddenly upon the town of Hamilton on Saturday afternoon, the 31st of May, and in that neighbourhood seized Mr. John King, and about fourteen others, who were not in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge. They who escaped, and some who joined them in order to rescue Mr. King, repaired to the meeting, which they heard was to be at Loudon-hill next day, expecting assistance from thence.

Meanwhile Claverhouse, having likewise intelligence of that meeting, and resolving to disperse them, marched early from Hamilton on Sabbath morning the first of June, and carried his prisoners with him bound two and two, his men driving them before them like so many sheep. Public worship was begun by Mr. Douglas when they were informed of Claverhouse's approach. Wherefore all who were armed resolved to leave the meeting, face the soldiers, and if possible relieve the prisoners. Accordingly, about 40 horse, and 150 or 200 foot came up with Claverhouse and his party near Drumclog, and after a short and close engagement defeated Claverhouse, and rescued the prisoners. Claverhouse had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped: above 20 of the soldiers were killed, and several taken prisoners, whom they released upon their being disarmed. The country-men lost not above two or three.

The country people, after this action, resolved, since they could not separate without evident hazard, to keep together till they saw how matters would turn out. Mr. Hamilton marched that night to Hamilton,

and Claverhouse escaped to Glasgow, and alarmed the soldiers there. Next day Mr. Hamilton, and those who joined them in their march, being too much flushed with their success, marched to Glasgow, and entered the town about ten o'clock; but after six or eight were killed, and two or three wounded, they were obliged to quit the place, and retire to Hamilton, where they pitched a sort of camp.

Such was the inhumanity of the soldiers, that seven dead bodies lay in the street from eleven in the forenoon till night; and when they were taken into houses to be dressed for their burial, the soldiers came and stripped them of their dead-clothes; nay, when they permitted them to be buried, none durst appear to perform this service but women, whom, notwithstanding, the soldiers attacked, and cut the palls with their swords; and when the women used their plaids for palls, the soldiers took their plaids from them. In short, they were obliged to set the coffins in the house, near the High Church, where they continued till the soldiers left Glasgow.

Early on the 3d of June the Council met, and, having received a false account of those transactions, issued a proclamation against the *rebels*, as they called them. The Council issued another proclamation, ordering a militia to rendezvous, and to join and act with the regular forces, under severe penalties; and ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the King's host: and made all preparations they thought necessary for suppressing the *rebellion*, as it was termed.

Same day, Lord Ross, and the officers in Glasgow, finding that the gathering of the country people still increased, marched with the forces to Kilsyth, and carried with them in carts some of the wounded countrymen, who fell into their hands, and about the 6th were joined by the Earl of Linlithgow at Larber muir; but, being falsely informed that the western army was 8000 strong, they wrote to the Council, that it was the general sense of the officers, that his Majesty should be applied to for assistance from England.

Meanwhile, matters were so managed at Court, that the Duke of Devonmouth and Buccleugh was pitched upon to command an army for suppressing this insurrection. When the Council received the news of this, they, on the 15th, wrote to Court, and proposed that Dalziel might be made lieutenant-general under the Duke.

About the middle of this month, Lord Macdonald, a professed Papist, and the Macleans, having for sometime ravaged the lands of the Earl of Argyle, sent a petition to the Council, offering their service in suppressing the rebels in the west, whose addresses, say they, we have received, and praying that the Earl of Argyle might be required, in the meantime to desist, &c.

The success they met with at Drumclog, gave opportunity to many to join them from all quarters, considering the necessity there was to assist in this extremity, and that themselves were liable to the same common danger from their enraged enemies. They never, as Mr. Wodrow says, exceeded 4000, though Echard would have them to be 17,000, when they were routed at Bothwell: but then many were but ill armed, and it was their loss that they had not officers who understood the art of

When the King's forces left Glasgow, Mr. Welch and several others came thither from Carrick, and interred the bodies of those who had been killed in the late attempt, together with the heads of the sufferers

for Pentland. They shewed the like kindness to the heads and hands of those which had been set up at Kilmarnock, Irvine, and Ayr, and were well received by the good people every where; but the divisions that broke out among them occasioned the defeat of their designs at this time.

The principal thing they had in view was, to publish a declaration to the world, shewing the reasons of their conduct. Mr. Hamilton, who took upon him the command. Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Cargill, &c. were of opinion, that the indulgence should be condemned; but this was opposed by Mr. Welch, the Laird of Kaitlock, and others; but Mr. Hamilton and his adherents being more numerous, the following general declaration was agreed to by the majority.

“We, who are here providentially convened in our own defence, for preventing and removing the mistakes and misapprehensions of all, especially of those whom we wish to be and hope are friends, do declare our present purposes and endeavours to be only in vindication and defence of the true reformed religion in its profession and doctrine, as we stand obliged thereunto by our national and solemn league and covenants, and the solemn acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties, made and taken in the year 1648, declaring against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all things depending thereupon.”

At another meeting, Mr. Hamilton, and those of his sentiments, moved, that they might observe a day of fasting and humiliation before they should be engaged with the enemy. They who were of different sentiments from Mr. Hamilton would not agree to his reasons of humiliation, and so no fast was kept. And thus divisions broke this little army, before they were broken by the enemy.

When the cause of their appearing and continuing in arms came to be considered at a meeting of their officers, which they called a *council of war*, Mr. Hamilton and his adherents were for having it stated upon the footing of the Rutherglen declaration; but they who favoured the indulgence proposed, that the King's authority should be expressly owned, according to the third article of the solemn league and covenant. Against this it was argued, that, as they had made no declaration against him, so they must be excused, and not urged to declare positively for him; especially as he was now in a stated opposition to the interest of Christ, and had, upon the matter, declared war against his people, and all the present opposition, cruelty, and persecution in Scotland, for redress of which they were now appearing, were carried on in his name. The covenants, they said, only bound them to him, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms; but the King had actually overturned the true religion, set up Prelacy and Erastianism, ruined the covenanted work of reformation, invaded the liberties of the kingdom, persecuted to the death the asserters of both, and plainly broke the conditions of government sworn at his coronation. To this it was answered, That, in 1638, the Assembly and covenanters owned the King's authority, though he had declared war against them: that this method of throwing off the King's authority would obstruct the redress of their grievances, and frustrate the design of their appearance. But here the reader must observe, that Mr. Hamilton and his adherents proposed no declaration against the King's lawful authority, only would not positively mention him or his interest in the declaration: and it is certain that what they asserted, concerning the King's opposition to the true religion, &c. was fact. How far their inference was just, must be left

reader. However, they who opposed Mr. Hamilton and his friends so far prevailed, as on the 13th of June to get a declaration signed at Glasgow, called the *Hamilton Declaration*, wherein the King's cause is expressly asserted. The reader may easily see, that this little party had laboured under great disadvantages from their divisions, and their enemy was coming upon them.

They had been for some days about Hamilton, so it will be proper to return to the King's army. The army under the command of the Duke of Linlithgow was cantoned about Edinburgh, and on the 17th of June at Kirkhill Park belonging to Lord Cardross, who suffered from the want of provisions this time by the soldiers. On the 18th, the Duke of Buccleugh at Monmouth came to Edinburgh, and was admitted a privy counselor. On the 19th, the Duke went to the army, but marched slowly towards it. Next day he sent to the Council, complaining that their march was retarded for want of provisions, which were accordingly sent. But some think the reasons of his Grace's slow motions were, that he expected some application to be made to him by those now

on the 20th, the Council received a letter from the King, approving the proceedings, and requiring that they would prosecute the rebels by the sword and all other extremities of war. These were orders which the officers were ready enough to obey; accordingly they transmitted to his Majesty's letter to the Duke, whose army then lay within the bounds of the Kirk of Shots, and was about 10,000 strong, which was an advantage twice the number of those they had to deal with.

They were, at this time, pains taken to dispose those in arms to lay down their arms, and to be Duke their grievances, with professions of loyalty to the King; but their discords still increasing, did a great deal of damage; for the Duke's action approached, and their numbers decreased before the King's army came up. When they heard of Monmouth's arrival, a motion was made to remodel their army, and pitch upon such officers as were best qualified in military affairs. About this time a person unknown came into their meetings with a paper, as he said, from some ministers and lords, which they earnestly desired all might sign. The tenor of it was, "We, the officers of the Presbyterian army, do hereby declare, That we have no intention or design to overturn the government, civil or ecclesiastical, whereunto we are solemnly sworn by our national and solemn covenant; and that it is our judgment and opinion, that all controversies now in controversy be foreborn and referred to be determined by proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimited Parliament, and a General Assembly." But both these proposals were dropped for

on Saturday the 21st, the officers met, when those who were not of the sentiments of Mr. Hamilton and his adherents were most numerous, and the debates ran higher than ever, though the King's forces were in view. At this meeting it was urged, that all places in the army should be declared vacant, and officers harmoniously chosen, that they might be entirely united in the time of action. Mr. Hamilton, in opposition to his way of thinking, declared their willingness, on condition of a right stating of the quarrel. Upon this the indulgence was again shown upon the carpet, and the dispute was carried to such a pitch, that Mr. Hamilton, John Paton, William Carmichael, Andrew Turnbull, &c. were the meeting. Those that remained made choice of a new preses

and clerk, and entered upon business; but were unwilling to nominate officers when so many had withdrawn. However, being acquainted with Monmouth's willingness to receive application from them, and that being an affair which could admit of no delay, they unanimously voted a supplication to his Grace, wherein, after giving a general account of their grievances, they prayed that some of their number might have liberty under safe conduct, to come and lay before him their grievances and requests.

On Sabbath the 22d, the Duke and his army were come to Bothwell-muir, and their advanced guards to Bothwell town, within a quarter of a mile from the bridge. The country-men lay encamped on the south side of the river Clyde in Hamilton muir, and had an advanced party ready to dispute the passage at Bothwell-bridge, if the King's army should attempt it.—Early that morning, Mr. David Hume, the Laird of Kaitlock, and some say Mr. John Welch in disguise, went to the Duke with the supplication. They had easy access, and, besides the supplication, prayed, "That they might be allowed the free exercise of religion, and to attend gospel-ordinances dispensed by their own faithful Presbyterian ministers without molestation; that a free Parliament and a free General Assembly, without the clogs of oaths and declarations, should be allowed to meet for settling affairs both in church and state; and that all those who now are or have been in arms should be indemnified." The Duke heard them patiently, but refused to treat with them till they had laid down their arms, and submitted to the King's mercy. He sent them back to their friends, and ordered them to bring an answer in half an hour at farthest. In short, when the commissioners came to the army, they renewed their debates, and so no answer was returned.

The King's troops in the meantime had free liberty to plant their cannon; and Lord Livingston began the attack on the bridge with the foot-guards; the country-men stood their ground near an hour, and defended the bridge with much gallantry. Hackstoun of Rathillet, one of their commanders, shewed a good deal of bravery upon this occasion; but their ammunition failing them, and not being properly supported, they were obliged to quit the bridge where their main strength lay. Upon this the Duke ordered the whole army to pass the bridge with the cannon before them, and soon after the whole west-country army was routed.

Thus the rebellion at Bothwell, as it was called, was suppressed. There cannot be any just account given of the number of the slain, because they were murdered up and down the fields as the soldiers met them. It was reckoned 400 were killed, and 1200 surrendered prisoners on the muir, who were not only disarmed and stripped almost naked, but made to lie down flat on the ground, and not suffered to change that posture; and if any of them did so much as raise himself a little, he was shot dead in an instant. There had been a much greater slaughter, had it not been for the Duke, and the interest of several noblemen and gentlemen at that time with his Grace. Nevertheless, great were the severities used by the soldiers, of which the following are glaring instances.—Mr. William Gordon of Earlston, having his affairs to settle, could not join the country army, but sent his son Mr. Alexander before, who was in the action. Mr. William not knowing of the disaster of the west-country army, and riding as quickly as he could to join them, was met by a party of English dragoons, and refusing to surrender, was killed on the spot. His friends could not get him buried with the rest of his family, and therefore he lies

red in the church-yard of Glasserton. A pillar was erected over his grave, but no inscription was suffered to be upon it. Mr. Alexander Gordon, one of the predecessors of this ancient family, entertained the principles of the great Wickliff, and had a New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used to read in meetings in the woods near Airds. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Gordon narrowly escaped at this time, by the means of one of his tenants, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton after the defeat, made him dismount, put his horse-furniture into a dunghill, and obliged him to put on women's clothes, and rock the cradle, by which means he was preserved.

Several were murdered in cold blood by the soldiers that same day on the road near Hamilton. They were going to hear sermon in the camp, not knowing that the soldiers had got over the river, particularly James Beouller and Gavin Semple, in the parish of Glassford, John Brownings, Robert Stobo, William Hamilton, Robert Steil, William Pate, and Archibald Dick, all of the parish of Evandale, and Robert Finlay in that of Stonehouse, though they had no arms. Next day, Arthur Inglis in Cammenethan, reading his Bible in a furrow, was looked upon as a Whig by the soldiers who happened to perceive him, and therefore one of them fired at a distance, but missed him. The good man looked about, and not offering to move, the soldiers came and clave him through the skull, and so dispatched him; and indeed they scarcely spared any they met with near the field of battle.

Dreadful were the consequences of this fatal action; and had it not been for Monmouth's lenity, they had been much greater; for some of the officers proposed to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, and the country round Bothwell-bridge; but the General rejected the motion with indignation. Most of the gentlemen in the western shires were brought to inexpressible trouble. Sir Thomas Stuart of Cultness, son to Sir James Stuart, who was Provost of Edinburgh, was obliged to retire to Holland, orders being issued for apprehending him, though neither he nor any of his servants were there.

Dalsiel's commission to be lieutenant-general came down on the day of battle. The Laird of Lundin brought the first news of the action to the Council, who immediately sent dispatches to Lauderdale, and wrote to Colonel Struthers in Northumberland, to secure the borders, stop and imprison the rebels, and gave orders where they thought it proper to accomplish this end.

The prisoners taken at Bothwell were sent to Edinburgh, among whom was Mr. John Kid. In their journey they were generally tied two and two, made a gazing-stock in the places through which they passed, and exposed to the cruel mockings of the profane, who said, "Where is now your God? Take him up now, and Mr. Welch, who said you should win the day;" though Mr. Welch never said any such thing. When they came to Edinburgh, the Council ordered the magistrates to put them into the inner Grayfriars church-yard, with proper sentinels over them, viz. twenty-four to guard them at night, and eight in the day-time. The officers were to keep a list of the sentinels, that, if any of the prisoners should escape, the sentinels should throw the dice, and answer body for body. The officers were to be accountable for the sentinels, and the town of Edinburgh for the officers. These orders were put in execution, and the prisoners were all carried to the place appointed, except a few who were put in prison, and continued in that enclosure near five months, mostly in

the open air. Here they generally stood all day, and lay all night on the cold ground, without any other accommodation; and if any of them, in the night-time, had raised their heads for a little ease, the soldiers were sure to fire at them. It would be endless to recount all their hardships, and with what difficulty persons were allowed to bring them any necessary provisions; how the women were insulted and abused by the soldiers, for no man had access. It was esteemed a singular favour, that some huts made of deals were set up for them a few weeks before they were brought out of this place.

On the 26th, they issued a proclamation against the *rebels*, as they called them. Many names were inserted in this proclamation, and among others Mr. John King. The two brothers of the Earl of Galloway were named in the proclamation; but the Council afterwards declared that two had made it appear that they were not in the rebellion.

This proclamation made way for the soldiers to commit many cruelties through the country. A great many parties were dispersed through the west and south; but none were so noted for their barbarities as Claverhouse, and those under his command. Accordingly, upon any firm information, they attacked the houses of those whom they pretended had been in the rising, especially through the shire of Ayr, which had suffered so much the last year by the Highland host.

Claverhouse, marching into Galloway with some English dragoons, &c. scarcely made any distinction between those who had been at Bothwell and others, seized all the horses they could find, plundered the houses, particularly in the parishes of Carsephairn, Balmaclellan, and Glencairn; ravages, murder, and the most atrocious debaucheries, being his grand object.

Soon after this, the Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth published a pardon and indemnity to all tenants and subtenants who had been at Bothwell, in case they submitted themselves against such a day. There was likewise a bond required of the heritors in the west country, obliging themselves to use their utmost for securing those who did not accept of this favour. But as few of the tenants choosed to venture themselves into the hands of the magistrates at that time, so the heritors chiefly concerned refused the bond. On the 6th, the Duke took his leave of the Council, and in two or three days returned to England.

ARCHIBALD EARL OF ARGYLE.

A Short Account of the Trial, Escape, Return, and Execution of Archibald Earl of Argyle.

In the year 1681, matters were come to a very low pass; for, on the one hand, the generality of the Presbyterian ministers had so far complied with the indulgence, that they who strictly adhered to the principles maintained by Mr. Cameron and Mr. Cargill had no freedom to submit to them; and having none now to officiate among them as ministers, since the martyrdom of Mr. Cargill, they judged it expedient, in their present distressed circumstances, to form themselves into societies; and the better to maintain the common cause of religion and liberty, they united

al correspondence, to be kept up through the shires severally the shires conjunctly, where such as owned their testimony, Prelacy, Erastianism, and Tyranny, resided. By this though they were still the more open to the resentment of their s, yet they attained to a better understanding of one another, in a capacity to contribute more to their mutual advantage. their first general meeting on the 15th of December this year, gan-house, in the parish of Lesmahago, in the shire of Lanark, y agreed upon their testimony against the last parliament, the York, a Papist, as being commissioner; and appointed it to be at the market cross of Lanark, on the 12th of January next they held their general meetings once a quarter, or oftener, as most conveniently.

most remarkable thing about this time was the prosecution of the Earl of Argyle, for his explication of the test, which he had posed in parliament. This Noble Peer was the representative of the most ancient and powerful families in Scotland; and, by the offices he held, was comprehended under the test-act. he Earl was at Edinburgh, he was ordered by one of the clerks in council to attend next council-day, being the 3d of November, and est. The Earl, upon this, went to the Duke of York, and complained of this treatment, since the time appointed by the parliament was expired; but all was to no purpose. The Duke wanted to get the Noble Peer, who stood in the way of his designs. However, ere so managed, that the Earl, with the approbation both of the Council, was permitted to take the oath with an explanation, eed was no more than the Council themselves had done, which sir treatment of him the more base and unaccountable. Ac-, on the 3d of November, his Lordship came to the Council, a loud voice, made the following explanatory declaration: "I sidered the test, and am desirous to give obedience as far as I m confident the parliament never intended to impose contradictions; therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. gly I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself and the Pro- ligion: and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myself, in my nd in a lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration I he advantage of the church or state, not repugnant to the Pro- igation and my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of my hen the oath was administered to him; and immediately he place, as a privy-counsellor. Next day he waited on his Royal ; by whom he was told that his explication did not please him: ought it was to be a short one like Queensberry's; and added, passed with you, but it shall pass so with no other. The Earl d this as an acceptance; and that, if he had committed any Duke had passed it over, and would push the matter no far- it his Lordship was mistaken; for a design was formed to pro- for high-treason on account of his explanation: and the same ple was called before the Council, as a Commissioner of the again to take the test. Whether this was not requiring a vain of the oath, must be left to the reader. The Earl offered to est: as before; whereupon a member of the Council desired the ght be repeated. His Lordship, observing a design upon him, epeating- till, being urged by the Duke, he told, that he had

committed to writing what he had delivered, to prevent mistakes, which was produced and read. Argyle would have signed it; but perceiving their intentions, he waved that: upon which he was removed; and, after they had concerted their measures among themselves, was called in again, and told, that he had not given the satisfaction required by the act of parliament, and so could not sit in Council, nor act as a Commissioner of the Treasury. His Lordship made a proper reply, and removed. Next morning he waited on the Duke, and expressed his surprise that what he had said in his explication should be thought a crime. The Duke said, that the words were unnecessary and groundless, and that he was not tied up by the oath as he imagined; and, after a pause, added, As I have already told you, you have cheated yourself, you have taken the test. Then the Earl answered, that he hoped his Highness was satisfied. The Duke then complained, that the Earl had not voted the Council's explication. Argyle answered, that he was not present at the debates. The Duke insisted, that he could not but understand the affair; and added, with a frown, You, with some others, have designed to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, that would live peaceably however they were used; but it should light upon others. This was plain dealing, and shewed what was to be expected when he should have the whole management in his own hands. They parted, after the Duke had laid his commands on him, not to go out of town till he saw him again; which his Lordship complied with.

The design against the Earl being now formed, he was ordered that same night to continue at Edinburgh till next council-day, which was November 8, when the Council sent one of their clerks to command him to enter himself prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh before twelve o'clock next day; which he also complied with, and ordered the Advocate to pursue him for treason, or such other crimes as shall be thought most convenient, as the act of Council more fully bears; and at the same time they wrote an account of their proceedings to the King: but it is remarkable, that they ordered this Noble Peer to be prosecuted, as above, before they had any permission from the King. On the 22d of November, the King's letter, dated November 15, was read in Council, in which he signified his approbation of their proceedings against the Earl; only required them to acquaint him before they came to any sentence. But before the Council had this return, Argyle was summoned to answer a charge of leasing-making, and depraving the King's laws. And such was the baseness of his Lordship's persecutors, that they pretended, nay, one of them told him, that nothing was intended against him but to take his heritable offices from him. And when the Duke of York was told, that it was a hard measure, upon such grounds, to threaten such a person with the forfeiture of life and fortune, he answered, Life and fortune! God forbid! and, if he was privy to the designs then formed, he acted only suitable to his religion. When the King's letter was received, the Advocate was appointed to form an indictment for treason and perjury, as leasing-making, and depraving the King's laws, to which he was to answer before the Lords of Justiciary on the 12th of December next.

On the 12th of December, his Lordship was brought before the Justiciary, consisting of the Earl of Queensberry, Justice-General, Lords Nairn, Collingtown, Forret, Newtoun, and Kirkhouse. The indictment was read, in which he was charged with declaring against and defaming the act enjoining the test, by insinuating that the parliament had imposed a con-


oath, and that the said oath was inconsistent with itself, and Protestant religion, and consequently that the King and Parliament acted inconsistent with the Protestant religion; and for treasoning the royal legislative power, &c. as the indictment itself bears. An unbiassed reader, by comparing this nobleman's oath with his indictment, will see, that the crimes charged upon him without any solid foundation. Sir George Lockhart and Sir James Tymples pleaded with great accuracy and judgment for the Earl, and the debate continued till nine o'clock at night. There were but five Lords, with the Justice-General, at the debates. The Lord Chancellor was then old and infirm, could not continue all the time of the trial, and so went home to bed. The Lords Collingtown and Kirkcaldie testified that the Earl was not guilty of leasing-making and treason; the other two, viz. Newton and Forret, insisted that he was guilty, but not choosing to give the casting vote against the Earl, they were brought from his bed to the Court, that numbers might support the law and reason, and give his vote against the Earl. In the morning before these things were over, and then they adjourned till the next day, when the Lords pronounced their interlocutor, and they declared the Earl's defences with respect to perjury to be true, but not with respect to treason and leasing-making. A paper delivered by the Earl, containing his explication of the test, was produced as evidence against him; whereupon the jury withdrew, and in a little brought in their verdict, That the Earl was guilty of leasing-making, and leasing-telling, but not guilty of perjury. The Council then met, and wrote an account of what passed to the King: which it is evident, that a design was formed against the Earl's person. Burnet says: "No sentence, in our age, was more universal than this. All people spoke of it, and of the Duke who made it, with horror. All that was said to lessen that was, that Duke had restored the family with such an extended jurisdiction, that he was the master of all the Highlands; so that it was fit to restore them, that, by a new restoring them, these grants might be better

restored, all his friends were of opinion, that he ought to provide for

A gentleman was dispatched to Court by the Earl, who, as the King's mind, in answer to the Council's letter, was known, and outdrove the bearer of it. By him Argyle found, that the sentence of death was to be passed upon him, and that the King would not be prevailed with to yield to the execution; nay, before the gentleman's departure, the Lordship had notice, that on the 21st he was to be sent to the Tower, to which Peers used to be removed a few days before their execution; and therefore, on Tuesday the 20th, about eight in the evening, he came out in disguise, and very narrowly escaped.

The Earl got out, he rode, without stopping, to a country alehouse near the house of Mr. George Pringle of Torwoodlee, who, by appointment, was to meet him there, and conducted him to Mr. William Hope's house in Northumberland, already taken notice of. The Earl's name was Mr. Hope.

Mr. Hope and Mr. Pringle came safe to Mr. Veitch's, while he was at Edinburgh, visiting his friends. The beginning of the following week, Mr. Hope, Mr. Veitch, and two servants, set out for London; but they were parted with the two servants on the road, to prevent suspicion.



of the country, than any other man there; and since his Lordship communicated all the advices he received, the death of the late King, he judged he had a favourable opportunity to attempt the rescue of his country, from that Popery and Tyranny with which it was threatened by the accession of the Duke of York; he therefore resolved to make a descent upon Scotland, where he was joined by a number sufficient for answering his design; he first prevailed with the Duke of Monmouth to make a descent upon England; but Argyle wanted money, which could not be drawn back to this undertaking: however, that want was supplied by a rich widow in Amsterdam, who furnished him with £100,000. With this he bought a quantity of arms and ammunition, dexterously managed by one who traded at Venice, as if he were in the service of that republic.

On the 7th of April, there was a meeting at Amsterdam, where were present the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles Campbell of Glasgow, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Torwoodlee, William Denholm of West Shields, George Wishart of Dundee, John Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. George Wishart of Glasgow, James Stuart advocate, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot.

On the 28th the parliament sat down, which was just as the Earl of Argyle set sail from Holland.

The Earl of Argyle, being ready for his expedition, and the Duke of Monmouth having engaged that he would not stay in England after him, embarked, on the 1st of May, with three ships, and a considerable number of arms, and in three days reached Orkney, where he landed above 300 men in all.

From Orkney they steered their course by the inside of the islands; and, had they got in time to Islay, would have landed with a party of 400 or 500 men; but they came too late. They next dropt anchor near Tobermore in Mull, where they were detained three days, which was very much to their disadvantage. From Mull they sailed to Kintyre; and here they were disappointed.

honours or estate in the kingdom, and that all subjects be dis-
 from interceding for them any manner of way.

Lordship having arrived at Tarbet, he published a declaration to
 There he was joined with 1000 men, under Sir Duncan Camp-
 1, having modelled his little army into three regiments, each
 2 of not much above 500 men, he determined to have attacked
 3, who had not above 600 men with him: but Sir John Coch-
 4 d others with him, would not go in with this proposal. A coun-
 5 r was called, where it was resolved, contrary to the Earl's senti-
 6 invade the Lowlands.

Earl being disappointed in all his attempts, and finding it im-
 possible either to rally his friends, or return to Argyleshire, attempted
 7 se himself as a country-man: but he fell into one difficulty after
 8 till he was attacked at the water of Inchinan, on the 17th of
 9 two of the militia, who laid hold of him, one on each side, all
 10 back. He grappled with both, and one of them, with the Earl,
 11 he ground. His Lordship got up, and rid himself of them both,
 12 ating his pocket pistols; and would have made his escape, had
 13 more come and knocked him down with their swords.—When
 14 w who he was, they seemed to be much concerned; but durst
 15 im go. He was then brought in prisoner to the Earl of Dum-
 16 t Glasgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, under a strong
 17 and, according to the order of Council, dated June 20, was car-
 18 he street, with his hands tied behind his back, bareheaded, in the
 19 Captain Graham's guards: the hangman went before him; the
 20 ards before and behind: and thus his Lordship was conducted
 21 d procession to the castle, and there laid in irons.

22 was a great debate at Edinburgh, whether to bring him to trial
 23 resent attempt, or to execute him on the sentence pronounced
 24 him in 1681; but such was the zeal of the present managers,
 25 y would not seem to call the justice of their former sentence in
 26 , (though, by the way, all the world must look upon it as the
 27 righteous sentence that could be passed;) and therefore they
 28 pon him as already condemned.

29 the 29th, a letter from the King was read in Council, ordering
 30 bring the Earl to condign punishment in the space of three days
 31 receipt of it, and in the meantime, to bring him to a confession of
 32 iates and correspondents, &c. In consequence of this, his Lord-
 33 1 ordered to be beheaded next day, and his head to be affixed on
 34 ooth of Edinburgh, on a high pin of iron. He declared in the
 35 ; to a friend, that he had more joy and comfort this day, than the
 36 r he escaped out of the castle.

37 Lordship's demeanor, before his execution, was both pious and
 38 . He spent the 28th of June, which was the Sabbath before his
 39 n a most becoming way. The manner in which he took leave
 40 ster, the Lady Loudon, was very moving.

41 Lordship dined with a grave and becoming cheerfulness in the
 42 and being accustomed to sleep a little after meat, he retired to
 43 t, and laid himself down on a bed, and, for about a quarter of an
 44 pt as sweetly and pleasantly as ever. The time being come when
 45 must for ever leave the castle, he was, by the Council's permis-
 46 owed two Episcopal ministers to attend him, viz. Mr. Annan
 47 f Edinburgh, and Mr. Laurence Charteris, for they would per-

no Pre-byterian ministers to wait on him. Their discourse with him, and prayers on this tragical occasion, were very pertinent and becoming; and his Lordship delivered a very judicious and pious discourse to the spectators, in which, among other things, he said, "Job tells us, *Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble*; and I am a clear instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my sentence or escape, nor of the ground of my return;—that which I intend chiefly to say now, is to express my humble, and I thank God cheerful, submission to his divine will, and my willingness to forgive all men, even my enemies. I know afflictions spring not out of the dust, are not only foretold, but promised to Christians, and are not only tolerable, but desirable; for God chastises his own, to refine and not ruin them, whatever the world thinks. I know many, like Hazeel, 2 Kings vii. 13. go to excesses they never thought they were capable of. Let rulers and others seriously read and weigh Prov. i. 20. &c. 2 Chron xxv. 6—16. Prov. xxiv. 10—12. and xxviii. 16. and Isa. lix. especially verse 15. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good. For me, I hope, by God's strength, to join with Job xiii. 15. and the Psalmist, Psalm xxii. 4; and to trust, as Psalm cxl.iii. 11; and shall pray, as Psalm lxxiv. 19 &c. cxliii. 6. &c. and Luke i. 74. 75.; and shall hope, as Psalm xciv. 15. I do hereby forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place,—and pray that God may forgive them," &c.—When he had ended, he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated the words louder to the people, as he did when his Lordship spoke to the same purpose from the north side; and said, "This nobleman dies a Protestant." The Earl stepped forward again, and said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." Having taken his leave of his friends, he at last kneeled down, and, embracing the maiden, (the instrument for beheading, said, "This is the sweetest maiden I ever kissed, in being the mean to finish my sin and misery, and is my inlet to glory, for which I long." Then he prayed a little while himself, thrice uttering these words, "Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory;" and lifting up his hand, which was the signal, the executioner did his work.

Thus died the noble Earl of Argyle, a martyr not only to the Protestant religion, but also bearing his last testimony against Prelacy as well as Popery. His too great compliances with the managers, previous to the affair of the test, lay heavy upon him to the last: but nothing grieved him so much as the unhappy vote he gave against Mr. Cargill. Finally these things, as he was executed, not on account of his late attempt, but in pursuance of a sentence passed three years before, for his explanation of the self-contradictory test, his death was looked upon as to have been than murder.

On the 6th of July, Monmouth's army was defeated near Bridgewater, and himself soon after taken and beheaded.

As soon as the Marquis of Athole and Earl of Breadalbane heard of Argyle's being taken, they exercised great severity upon the Earl's friends, &c. Four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after having received quarter and protection when they surrendered, were sent to Athole by one of Argyle's near relations. The Marquis ordered them

and eighteen more to be put to death. He would have proceeded in that work, had not even the Council discharged more lives to be taken. Arties were afterwards sent to pull down houses, break millstones, and burn woods; and the whole shire of Argyle was dreadfully depopulated, trashed, and plundered, for 30 miles round Inverary. The Earl's estate was given to strangers, his children brought to extreme necessity, his creditors defrauded, his brother, Lord Neil Campbell, was forced to go, at the peril of his life to America, and leave his lady and family behind. In a word, the heritors and gentlemen of the name of Campbell, being generally averse to Popery and Prelacy, were universally oppressed throughout the kingdom,

COLONEL RICHARD RUMBOL.

Account of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution, of Colonel Richard Rumbol.

COLONEL RICHARD RUMBOL, one of Argyle's officers, and taken about the same time with him, was ordered, by the Council, to be conducted to the castle of Edinburgh in a cart, with a rope about his neck, fettered and bareheaded.

The hangman's man led the cart; Colonel Graham attended with the drum, with drums beating, and colours flying; and next day the Advocate was ordered to prosecute him before the Justiciary.

On the 24th, the Council issued a proclamation for apprehending those concerned with the Earl of Argyle. It is easy for the reader to conceive the strain of it. On the 25th they ordered Colonel Rumbol to be executed in the following manner: That, on the morrow, on his being found guilty by the Lords of Justiciary, he be taken from their bar to the low council-house, and from thence to be led down by the hangman, with his hat on, to the scaffold, and there to be drawn up the gibbet with rope about his neck, and immediately to be let down, his heart to be cut out by the hangman, and shewn to the people on the point of a sword or dagger, saying, "Here is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer; and then to be thrown into a fire prepared on purpose on the scaffold; after that his head to be cut off, and shewn to the people in the same manner; and then his body to be quartered, one part of it to be sent to the port or tolbooth of Glasgow, another at Jedburgh, a third at Dumfries, the fourth at Newtown of Galloway, and his head on a high pole at the West Port of Edinburgh. He bore the base insults of the Council with much composure, owned the cause he appeared for, and expressed his joy in his sufferings; whereupon one of them called him a confounded villain. He replied with the utmost sedateness, "I am at peace with God through Jesus Christ; to men I have done no wrong; what then can confound me?"

On the 26th he was arraigned accordingly before the Justiciary, found guilty, condemned, and executed. He was so weak, when brought to the scaffold, that, not being able to walk alone, he was supported by two officers. When, in his last speech, he blessed God that it was on no ill account, but for owning and adhering to the Lord's distress-

ed work and interest, that such a lot was carved out for him, the drums beat; at which he shook his head, and said, "Will they not suffer a dying man to speak his last words to the people?" and then went on, declaring his confidence of the righteousness of the cause he was engaged in; and, among other things, said, "I confess, enemies think they have got their foot on the neck of the Protestant interest now; but I am persuaded it is as true as I am this day entering into eternity, that Christ shall be glorious in these lands, and even in poor Scotland, and that shortly: and it is like, many who see me die this day may be witnesses thereof; yea, he shall govern these nations with a rod of iron, and that to the terror of his enemies." After this he prayed, and, when praying for the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and other superstitions, the drums beat again. He forgave the executioner, and all men, and, when he had again prayed within himself, he gave the signal, and was executed according to the sentence."

Thus fell Richard Rumbol. Burnet says, "This was the person who dwelt in Rye-house, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and present King. He denied the truth of that conspiracy. He owned he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when the King departed from the legal measures of government, the people had a right to assert their liberties, and to restrain him. He did not deny but that he had heard many propositions at West's chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had said, it would have been easily executed near his house; upon which some discourse had followed how it might have been managed: but he said, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or so much as resolved on." He farther said, "He did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest."

APPENDIX.

*The JUDGMENT and JUSTICE of GOD EXEMPLIFIED; or,
A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the Wicked Lives and Miserable Deaths
of some of the most remarkable Apostates and bloody Persecutors in Scotland,
from the Reformation till after the Revolution. Collected from Historical
Records, Authenticated Writings, &c. &c.*

But thou, O God, shalt bring them down to the pit of destruction. Bloody and deceitful
men shall not live out half their days. PSALM lv. 23.

He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death: he ordained his arrows against
the persecutors. PSALM vii. 12.

It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you.
2 THESS. i. 6.

—Immemores Dei
Genes mors inopina
Æternis tenebris premit.

PSALM ix. 17.—BUCHANAN,

The Introduction.

IT is presumed, that any person, who has diligently perused the history
of the lives of our noble Scots Worthies, will by this time be able to form
some idea in their own minds of the religious, virtuous, and faithful lives,
joyful and comfortable deaths, and of a certain number of Christ's noble
witnesses, confessors, and martyrs, who, through much tribulation emerged
out of all their difficulties in much faith and patience, and are now in-
heriting the promise in that land, and celestial Jerusalem above, *where the
wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary be at rest.*

It now follows of course, that another scene should be brought to the
reader's view, viz. a short index or memorial of the wicked, apostate,
perfidious, flagitious lives, and miserable and lamentable deaths, of some
of the most particular persons that opposed and oppressed the church of
Christ, and maltreated and persecuted them. But previous to the open-
ing of this tragical train of examples, let the following few particulars be
observed.

1st, Let none think that this is a subject foreign or remote to either

scripture, apocrypha, or history. No: we might instance Cain, the proto-persecutor and murderer; Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red Sea; Corah and others, who were swallowed up quick, and burnt before the Lord; Saul, who finished his own regicide; wicked Joram, whose bowels fell out; apostate Joash and Jehoiakim, who burnt the roll, came to ignominious ends; Ahab and Zedekiah, false prophets, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire; Haman, who was hanged; Antiochus Epiphanes, who was eaten of vermin, and rotted while alive; Menelaus the apostate, who was smothered to death in ashes; Herod, who killed the children of Bethlehem, and had the same fate with Antiochus; Herod Antipas, who killed John Baptist; Herodias, and Salmon the dancer, came to fearful ends; Judas and Caiaphas became their own executioners; Pilate also ended his own wretched life; Herod Agrippa was eaten up of worms; Nero and all the succeeding emperors, authors of the ten persecutions; Philip II. of Spain, Charles IX. Henry III. and IV. Kings of France, Dukes of Guise, Anjou, Austria, &c. the Cardinals Wolsey and Pool, bloody Mary of England, Bishop Gardiner, with an immense number, both of this and inferior ranks too tedious here to mention, came all to deserved wretched deaths, suitable to such wicked and bloody lives.—Nay, God will have such reverence paid to what bears the name of Deity and religion, that even amongst the very heathens, who had not the knowledge of the true God, those who blasphemed or affronted the gods, robbed their temples, or maltreated and persecuted their priests, did not pass without some public mark of divine displeasure, (of which a number of instances from history might be given, were it needful.) And should such as are favoured with an objective revelation of the true God, and way of salvation in and by him, who destroy his heritage, persecute his people, blaspheme his name, and make a mock of religion, go unpunished? Nor,

2dly, Is the collecting of such exemplary instances without precept or precedent? Moses, by the Lord's direction, commanded the censers of those who were burnt up when offering strange fire to be made broad plates for a covering to the altar, for a memorial to the children of Israel.—And passing other instances in scripture, historians, and martyrologers, we find the reformed church of the Netherlands, at the famous synod of Embden, 1575, amongst other things, enacted and ordered the Lord St. Atergonde to write the history of the persecution by the Duke de Alva, with the visible judgments that befell the persecutors at that time. The same thing was agitated and concluded upon by the united societies in Scotland, both before and after the Revolution, which, had their resolutions been accomplished, had either anticipated this publication, or rendered it more complete than what it can otherwise be expected. Nor,

3dly, Can it be expected, that all our Scots apostates and persecutors are here narrated? No: there have many of God's eminent saints and dear children made their exit out of this world, without any note or observation: in like manner, every wicked and notorious offender has not been made a Magor Missabib, a wonder to themselves and others. We can ascribe this to nothing but divine wisdom and sovereignty. But there have been as many instances of both kinds as may serve as a monitor both to saints and sinners, to encourage the one, and deter the other, and *that others may bear and fear*. Again, there have been several of these wicked enemies of God even in our land, whose deaths have been as remarkable as those now related, which have either not been recorded, or else the

ve been lost, and cannot now, after such a long time elapsed, d.* And,

This may be observed, that though numbers in this black catalogue nothing different as to the taking away of the life temporal, of heading, hanging, &c. from what has befallen God's dear and martyrs, yet it is the cause of their death, their disposition at that time must only cast the scale of balance. Jesus, as the obstinate malefactor on the cross, are an illustrating proof of it, while the one goes off the stage triumphing in the justice of it, under the manifestations of God's gracious presence, crying well friends and relations, holy scriptures, duties, sun, moon, created enjoyments:—welcome death, scaffold, gibbet, for Christ; welcome eternity, glory, angels, spirits of just men made welcome Jesus Christ, Spirit of all grace, God the Judge of all, for evermore:—the other, (although we do not meddle with the civil state, as being nowise our province or prerogative to determine,) at least those we have here condescended upon, died either secure, supine stupidity, or else belching out the most fearful and imprecations against themselves or others, or worse, if not, roaring out in despair, in the most dreadful horror of an conscience, under the sense of God's wrath and fiery indignation to be poured forth upon them for their former wicked lives; it is one of the most exquisite torments in this life, as express-poet,

—————*Siculi non invenere Tyranni*
Tormentum majus.—————

we have had very wicked lives, or actions in life, and yet through God's goodness have obtained mercy at last; though none of this our knowledge, as far as could be discerned, are brought into view.† And,

Let none think that we have dragged any in here, because they were a king, a queen, or bishop: no, there are others here; it was because they were tyrants, apostates, perjured wretches, wicked persecutors, and unchristian men: a Charles on the throne, a Lauderdale in the state, a Jeffrey at the bar, a Dalziel in the army, and a Darnley in the church, amongst others enrolled in the annals of Scotland (we may fear in eternity too,) are terrible monuments of this.

All this black group attained not the same altitude of wickedness—they all acted from the same principle, and bended toward the same end, and that was to propagate Satan's kingdom, and persecute the people of the Most High, as far as their power, station, and office

Bartholomew, the Laird of Meldrum, Livingstone, bloody Douglas, Major; as for Lieutenant Drummond, Captain Widdrum, Lieutenants Bruce and Gordon went over with the rest of the Dundee Officers to France, they died at the battle of Marston in 1693 and 1694, miserable enough.

scripture-instances, such as a Manasseh amongst the thorns, a penitent thief amongst the thieves, the late Earl of Argyll, who was executed 1685, was a member of the Covenant for many years; but this he lamented at his death, particularly his casting away the stone which he had thrown at the Covenanters. Cargill; and for ought we can learn, in charity, we must suppose he obtained mercy. And the youngest bailie in Edinburgh, who gave the covenants out of his hand to the hangman to be burnt, was afterwards thought to be a good man, and ever after acted as such, and did much service to Christ's prisoners after: yet the Lord will offer him to go unpunished in this life; for, it is said, he never had the use of his hands after; and for all his stately buildings, they were burnt to ashes in 1700.

would allow, (although some of them were more humane than others;) yet they must all be brought to the same standard, seeing divine sovereignty has ordered it so.

6thly, It is here hoped, that none of the offspring of those will be offended at what is related of their ancestors, unless they approve of their deeds; seeing no man can help the evil qualities of his forefathers. A good Jehoshaphat begat a wicked Jehoram and a wicked Ahaz, and Amnon begat a good Josiah. And though the Lord has declared that he will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, yet he has also said, The son shall not die for the iniquity of his father; if he turn from it, he shall live. It is granted, that virtuous and religious lives are necessary to be set before us for our example; and why should not the contrary vices be eschewed, by viewing a portrait of the reverse qualities? for he who has said, that the memory of the just shall be blessed, has also said, that the memory of the wicked shall rot; that is, they shall either sink into oblivion, or else, in consuming away, shall become nauseous unto posterity, as says the prophet, *Their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten.*

Lastly, For the following examples, though there be severals of them touched at in the lives of the Scots Worthies, as connected with the subject, yet they are brought into this composition, that the reader may view them all at once; they are also arranged as near the order of time when they died as could be guessed, and as concise as possible, being restricted to such narrow limits. As for the authority of the authors from whom they are collected, they are much the same with those of the lives of the Worthies, historical faith being all that can be claimed in human and imperfect compositions.

And for a conclusion, let us, through the foregoing mirror and following prospect, view the Lord's admirable goodness to his own dear children, even when walking through the furnace of affliction, with his just and severe indignation and resentment, even in this life, upon his and their enemies. Let us behold the one wafted over the dark river in the arms of a Redeemer, though sometimes on a bloody bottom, unto the flowery banks of Immanuel's land; while the other is with an awful gloom of horror hurled headlong into the pit of destruction. Let us by faith apprehend those thousands of thousands at Christ's right hand, singing, *Allelujah! true and righteous are his judgments; he hath judged the great whore, and avenged the blood of his servants; with a numberless throng, on his left hand, of these miscreants sentenced unto that place of torment and wo, where they shall have an eternity to bewail their infidelity, impiety, avarice, ambition, cruelty, and stupidity.* And, in fine, if the following hints shall serve for no other purpose, they will stand for an incontestible evidence of the very first principle of religion, that there is a God to reward the righteous, and punish the wicked; so that men shall say, *Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

The Judgment and Justice of GOD Exemplified, &c.

JOHN CAMERON, sometime Bishop of Glasgow, was a most wicked wretch: he not only committed many acts of avarice and cruelty upon the poor people of his diocese, but also encouraged those in place and power to do the like: so that he became the author of almost all the mischief in that part of the country. But in this he did not long escape the just judgment of God; for, in the night before (what they call) Christmas-day 1446, as he lay in his own house in Lockwood, about seven miles from Glasgow, he seemed to hear an audible voice summoning him to appear before Christ's tribunal, to give an account of his doings. He got affrighted, and called for his servant, to bring a light, and sit by him: himself took a book, and began to read; but the voice was heard a second time, louder, which struck all his servants with horror. His servant being gone, the voice called a third time, more terrible than before; which the Bishop was heard give a groan, and so was found dead in his bed, with his tongue hanging out of his mouth; and so came to an end deserving of such a life.—*Buchanan and Spottiswood's Histories.*

SIR GEORGE STEEL, a parasite and flatterer of James V. but one of the greatest enemies to God and his people that was in all the Court, being such a bigotted Papist, that one day, in a large audience, he renounced a portion of Christ's kingdom, if the prayer of the Virgin Mary did not bring him hither. But one day, while in presence of the King, he dropped down dead from his horse, and never spoke a word.—*Knox's History.*

JAMES HAMILTON, a natural brother to the Earl of Arran, was, by the Popish clergy's influence, advanced in the reign of said James V. and was so cruel and terrible against all such as were supposed to favour the Protestant religion, that even some of his own relations were brought under his power; being, by the intercession of these Popplings, by the King, made Judge, or Lord Justice, for that purpose. But while he was employing himself to crush the gospel in the very bud, his cousin, James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, whom he caused to be banished before that account, returned home, and accused him of treason; and in spite of all the Popish clergy could do in his behalf, he was arraigned, condemned, beheaded, and quartered at Edinburgh, and his quarters placed upon the public places of the city.—*Buchanan and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

THOMAS SCOTT, a Privy Counsellor and Justice-Clerk to the said James V. was a notable enemy and persecutor of those professing the reformed religion. But falling sick at Edinburgh, he fell into despair: he was most vexed for what he had done against Christ's witnesses, and still cried out, *Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum*; I am condemned by God's just judgments, and damned without remedy. And, it is said, when the monks began to comfort him, he charged them to be gone with their factions and trumperies, saying, "Till now, I never believed there was God or devil, heaven or hell." I acted only as a politician to get preferment and money, and for that purpose I joined the Bishop's side, and prevail.

ed with the King to cast out their adversaries. All your masses can do me no good: the devil has me already in his gripes, to carry me to hell and torment me eternally." In this situation he died the same night: he appeared to the King, when lying at Linlithgow, with a company of devils, and uttered these words to him, O wo to the day that ever I knew thee or thy service; for the serving of thee against God, against his servants, and against justice, I am adjudged to endless torment.—*Knox's History, Appendix to Spira's Relation.*

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, a Dominican friar, a man of wit and learning, who though he agreed almost in every point with Patrick Hamilton, yet being more desirous to save than hazard his life for the truth, was prevailed upon by his friends, not only to prefer a public accusation against the said Patrick, but even when bound at the stake in the fire, over the belly of his own conscience, continually cried out, "Convert, heretic; call on our lady: say, *salve regina*," &c.; to which the martyr said, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, thou messenger of Satan." But while this friar roared out these words with great vehemency, he said again to him, "O thou vilest of men, thou art convinced that these tenets which thou now condemnest, are certainly true, and shalt confess to me that they are so. I cite thee against a certain time before the tribunal seat of Christ Jesus." &c. In a few days after, Campbell turned quite mad, and died in Glasgow as one in despair.—*Buchanan's Knox, and others.*

JAMES V. son to James IV. who began to reign 1514, notwithstanding a quick genius, and inclination at first to sobriety and justice, yet soon became corrupted with licentiousness and avarice, the bane of that age, and, being wholly under the direction of the Pope, and his Popish agents in Scotland, he turned a most violent persecutor of the professors of the true religion, which then began to dawn; insomuch that Patrick Hamilton of the royal stock, behoved to suffer the flames; many others were oppressed, and banished the nation as heretics. Nay, such was his furious zeal, that he was heard to say, that none of that sort need expect favour at his hand, were it his own sons, if guilty: and it appears he would have been as good as his word, from a paper or list of their names given to the clergy, found in his pocket at his death, had not Divine Providence interposed; for being pushed into an unjust war with the English, by the advice of Oliver Sinclair and others, his army was shamefully defeated at Solway moss, where this Oliver, his general, fled and was taken, which James fell into a delirium, still crying out, "O fled Oliver, O Oliver taken?" After visiting some of his mistresses, he went to Linlithgow, after he had some frightful dreams at Linlithgow; and hearing the Queen was delivered of a daughter, he broke forth into this desperate expression, "The devil go with it; it came with a woman, and will go with a woman," &c. But still his continued cry was, Is Oliver taken? &c. till Cardinal Beaton came, whose intrigues with the Queen were before known, and by whose direction it was supposed the King received a dose, of which he soon expired in that situation, 1542.—*Buchanan's History.*

DAVID PANTHER, Bishop of Galloway, was a violent enemy to the gospel. For advancing the Queen Regent's interest, he got an embassy to France. He would by no means admit of a disputation with any of the reformed; but recommended fire and sword for the only defence of the Catholic religion. "Our victory," said he, "stands neither in God nor his word, but in our own wills; otherwise we will no more be found the

we are called, than the devil will be approved to be God," &c. Against other extravagances, he became a notable Epicurean, eating and drinking becoming the only pastime of his life, and in that excess he fell down and expired.—*Knox, &c.*

—DURY, a fowl of the same nest, was, for his filthy course of life, Abbot Stottikin. But being a furious Papist, he obtained the see alloway, and became such a persecutor of the reformation, that he vowed, that, in despite of God, as long as the prelates lived, that called GOSPEL should never be preached in this realm. But his reign lasted not long; for being suddenly seized by death, the articles of belief, or dying words, were, "Decarte, you, ha, ha! The four and all made, the devil go with: it is but a varlet from France; ought to have got a ruby, but we got nothing but a cohoobie." So this filthy enemy of God ended his life.—*Knox, &c.*

WID BEATON was made Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by the Pope made Bishop of Scotland. But, being a man of a cruel disposition, he set himself to crush the professors of the reformed religion with fire and fagot. Captain Borthwick was by his influence accused, but fled to England; four men were by his direction burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh 1538; as were Russel and Kennedy the year after. Thus he continued at this game, at the same time wallowing, like a hog in a sty, in manner of filthiness, till 1546, that he got that man of God, George Wishart, brought to the flames. While he was at the stake, before the Cardinal's castle at St. Andrews, that the Cardinal might gratify his eyes with this desirable sight, the cushions were laid for him and his company upon, while looking out at the windows. After the fire was kindled, the martyr said, amongst other things, "This fire torments my body, but no ways abates my spirit: but he who now looks down so proudly yonder lofty palace," pointing to the Cardinal, "and feeds his eyes with my torment, shall ere long be hung out at that window as ignominiously, as he now there leans with pride." Accordingly some gentlemen vowed to avenge Mr. Wishart's death. The wicked monster getting their notice, said, "Tush, a fig for the fools; a button for the bragging heretics. Is not the Lord Governor mine? witness his oldest sword with me as a pledge. Have not I the Queen at my devotion? Is not she my friend? What danger should I fear?"—But in a few days, James Lesly, John Lesly, and the Laird of Grange, entered the castle in the morning, just as one of his harlots, Mrs. Ogilvie, was gone to bed from him. The noise soon alarmed the Cardinal, who was a little before fallen asleep. He got up and hid a coffer of gold in his chamber. Afterwards, with some difficulty, they got in. John Lesly drew his sword, and in sober terms told him their errand; but could not find him to no signs of repentance, or preparation for death. Whereupon they stabbed him: upon which he cried out, "I am a priest: fy, gone;" and so he expired. The provost and his friends came in and demanded what was become of him, and would not depart; so they made them hang his carcass over the window, according to Mr. Wishart's words; and then they departed:—after which he lay a considerable time unburied.*

Beza mentions not his burial. *Knox* says, they gave him salt enough and a spade, and set him in the sea-tower to see what the bishops would procure for him. *and Clerk* say, he lay seven months unburied, and then like a carrion was thrown

with the Lords to preach at St. Andrews, he raised 100 spearmen to oppose him. He had a hand in most of the bloody projects, in the Regent's management. In her daughter Mary's reign, he followed the same course. He had a hand in Henry Stuart's death, and was afterwards one of the conspirators of the death of the good Regent, the Earl of Murray; but the reformers getting the ascendant, he was obliged to flee to the castle of Dumbarton, and was there taken, when it was besieged by the Regent Earl of Marr, and for his former misdemeanors was hanged by the neck like a dog at Seething, about the year 1572.

WILLIAM MAITLAND, commonly called in history young Lethington, though a man of no small parts or erudition, yet became sadly corrupted by the Court. He was made secretary to Queen Mary, and with her became a prime agent against the reformation. He sometimes disagreed with Mr. Knox, and at last gave in a charge of treason against him on account of religion. And one time, he was so chagrined at the preaching of the gospel, particularly Mr. Craig, that he gave himself to the devil, and after that day he should care what became of Christ's ministers, they should blow as hard as they would. He had a prime hand in the Queen's marriage with Darnly, and against the Lords who professed the reformed religion. After the Queen fled to England, he was the principal manager of all the Popish plots and tragical disasters that for sometime happened in England and Scotland. But the Queen's affairs growing desperate, he fled to Edinburgh castle, which was then held for the Queen by the Laird of Grange. Mr. Knox sent a message to them of their danger, and what would befall them. But Lethington made a mock of Mr. Knox and his advice; but the castle being taken 1573, he was imprisoned in the steeple of Leith, where six escaped further ignominy by his punishment. It was said he poisoned himself, and lay so long unburied that the vermin upon his body were creeping out of the doors of the house, in under the ground of the steeple.—*Calderswood's History*.

JAMES HERBURN, Earl of Bothwell, was a wicked and vicious man from his infancy. At first he seemed as inclined to the Protestant side, but becoming the Queen's principal minion, he apostatized to Popery, and made it his religion. He vigorously opposed the work of reformation, attempted to murder the good Earl of Murray, but was prevented. After the slaughter of Rizio, he succeeded in his place, and became partaker of the King's bed. After which he murdered him, and afterwards the Queen, although he had three wives living at that time. He desired to have murdered James VI. then a child, but was prevented by the Lords, who rose in defence of religion and their liberties. They were by them made to abandon him, which made him flee to Shetland, where he became a pirate; but was obliged to flee from thence to the Orkneys, where, near after ten years confinement, he became distracted and died mad.

JAMES DOUGLAS, Earl of Morton, was a man of no small natural endowments, but a man of a covetous and lecherous disposition. As Chancellor, he got the Fulcan bishoprics erected,* that the bishops should have the title and honour; but the nobility got the profit, or church revenues. After he became Regent, though things came to a more moderate state, yet, for his own political ends, he oppressed the people, but

* Mr. John Douglas, once a great Presbyterian, was the first Bishop that was created by Prelacy in Scotland; after which he became slothful and negligent in his office, one time coming into the pulpit, at St. Andrews, he fell down in it, and died.—

cially the clergy, by promises to assign them stipends in parishes. He wrested from them the rights to the thirds of the benefice, and often made one minister serve four or five parishes, while he took all the stipends but one, so that by the end of the century, some ministers had but till and some but the half, and miserably paid. He was the first that introduced Prelacy into Scotland.—Says a historian, “He threatened some of the ministers, disliked general assemblies, could not endure the free and open rebuke of sin in the pulpit, maintained the bishops, and pressed his own injunctions and conformity with England; and had, without question, stayed the work of God, had not God stirred up a faction of the nobility against him.” For, first the King took upon him the regency; then he was accused of the late King’s murder. He had amassed great sums of money together; but it was partly embezzled by his friends, and partly conveyed away in barrels and hid; so that when brought to Edinburgh, he had to borrow 20s. for the poor. Thus having lost both his friends and his money, which might have procured him friends, he was condemned and executed at Edinburgh, June 2, 1581. And so, for advancing the King’s authority and supremacy over the church, and introducing bishops into it, he was by him and them but poorly rewarded.—*Calderwood, and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

JAMES STUART, son to the Lord Ochiltree, was from a single sentinel, advanced to a captain in King James’s minority; but becoming still greater at Court, he assumed unto himself the title of Earl of Arran. He became the King’s only favourite, and was by him advanced to the helm of affairs; and then he set himself to ruin the church of God: for he got the King’s supremacy in all causes, civil and ecclesiastic, asserted by the parliament; and then he got a set of wicked and profane bishops, like himself, again reinstated in the church. In a word, this ambitious, covetous, bloody, seditious Cataline, and scorner of religion, and enemy to the commonwealth, was the author of all the broils and disorders in church and state, from 1680 to 1685; and would have done more) being now made Chancellor, and captain of the Castle of Edinburgh,) had not the Lord, by his own immediate hand of providence, disposed in behalf of his church; for so, by being disgraced at Court, while on the pinnacle of dignity, he was tumbled down to his first original; then taking a tour through Kyle, came near Douglas, and was at last set upon by James Douglas (afterwards Lord Fotherald) in the valley of Carslakes, in revenge for his accusation of his friend the Earl of Morton, and thrown from his horse, and killed with a spear, and his body lying exposed to be devoured of dogs upon the King’s highway.—*Calderwood, Spottiswood, and Melvil’s Memoirs.*

MARY STUART, daughter to James V. first married the Dauphin of France, and after his death returned home, and took on her the regal government of Scotland. Though some historians represent her for a woman of a quick judgment and good natural abilities, yet it is evident she was of a revenegful temper and lecherous disposition; and being brought up in Popery from her infancy, her opposition to the Protestant reformed religion seems all of a piece. It would fill a volume to recite the wickedness, mischiefs, and tragical disasters, that, through her instigation, by her command or example, were committed during her reign. For, not to mention her intrigues with Rizio, and Chattelet the French dancer, whom she was at last to be hanged, the Court rung with all manner of wickedness, impiety, and profanity. About 1566, she entered into a marriage with Charles IX. of France, to extirpate the reformed religion

and her favourites robbed the church of the patrimony to maintain the Court: so that they could all have scarce 2000*l.* yearly. Nor upon all their petitions, though in a starving condition, could they get any redress from her. She married Darnly, then fell in adultery with Bothwell, then they concerted his murder: and after she married the regicide, lifted arms against the professors of the true religion, by whom she was obliged to flee to England. In a word, every dreary year of her unfortunate reign was blackened with some remarkable disaster, and by such acts of impudence and injustice, as corrupt nature and Popish cruelty could suggest. After her elopement to England, the Popish faction, of which she was the head, kept the nations in continual intestine broils, till a scheme was by them laid, to marry the Duke of Norfolk, a Papist, get rid of her son James, and Queen Elisabeth, and grasp both kingdoms into their hands; but this proving abortive, she next endeavoured to have herself declared second in England: whereupon Queen Elisabeth signed a warrant somewhat precipitantly for her execution; and so she was beheaded in Fotheringay castle, February 18, 1586, or according to some 1587. She died with some fortitude; but would have nothing to do with the Protestant clergy at the place of execution, saying, she would die in the Catholic religion, wherein she was bred and born, willing only to have her confessor: at last she lifted the crucifix and kissed it. And so she ended her days as she lived; and with her ended barefaced Popery for a time in Scotland.—*Knox, Melville, and Spottiswood, &c.*

MR. PATRICK ADAMSON, first minister of Paisley, was a preacher of much repute in the church; but ambition and private interest had more sway with him than the interest of Christ. And having wrought himself into the King's favour, by undermining the government and discipline of the church, he was declared bishop by Morton about 1578. But he got the bishoprick of St. Andrews 1584; after which he not only spoke and wrote in favour of Prelacy, but became a persecutor of his faithful brethren. In the height of his grandeur, he used to boast that three things could not fail him, his learning, the King's favour, and his riches. For the first, in the just judgment of God, he could not speak a word of sense before or after his meat. For the second, he lost the King's favour, till had his bishoprick taken from him, and was heard to say, he was as the King cared more for his dogs than for him. And for his riches, he was so reduced, that he had to get charity from those ministers whom before he harassed. Before, for his pride, contumacy, and other enormities, he was excommunicated by the church; but being now in extreme poverty and sickness, he made a recantation and confession, supplicating the church he might be absolved from the censure; which at last was them granted. Whether this repentance proceeded from constraint to get a little outward sustenance, as was suspected, we cannot say; but in this situation he died, in great want and extreme misery, about the year 1591.—*Fulfilling of the Scriptures, &c.*

MR. JAMES NICOLSON, a creature of the same make, one eminent in parts and learning in these times, and at first a great opposer of Prelacy. But being still gaping for riches, honour, and preferment, shifted from one benefice to another, till he got the bishoprick of Dunkeld: yet so forward was he to establish Prelacy, that he behaved to be one of those who assisted the King at Hampton Court, against eight of his brethren, who were more faithful than himself, in 1606. But his honour continued not long; for being stricken with sickness of body, and seized with melancholy of mind, and horror of conscience, he could have no rest.

Physicians being brought, he told them his trouble was of another kind, for which they could give him no cure; for, said he, "The digesting of bishoprick had racked my conscience. I have against much light, and over the belly of it, opposed the truth, and yielded up the liberties of Christ, to please an earthly king," &c. And so in great horror of conscience he made his exit, August 1609.—*Calderwood, &c.*

GEORGE HUME, Earl of Dumbar, one of King James's creatures, and the only instrument, we may say, used by him at that time to overturn the Presbyterian form of church-government and discipline, and introduce Prelacy into Scotland; for which purpose he was by him sent Commissioner to both the General Assemblies 1608 and 1610. He sought some English doctors, to persuade a strong guard to intimidate the faithful, and money to bribe those of a contrary disposition; which he distributed to those mercenary creatures for their votes. He so far succeeded, as to get a new set of bishops erected, and then returned to England, where, with the wages of iniquity, he built a sumptuous palace at Berwick. When he intended to keep St. George's day, and solemnize his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden, the Lord pulled him down from the height of all his honours by a sudden and surprising death. *His day his thoughts perished*, and, with the builder of Jericho, for all his acquisitions in Scotland and England, in a short time there was not a footbreadth of land left of it to his posterity.—*Calderwood, Fulfilling of the scriptures, &c.*

MR. GEORGE GLADSTONE, at first was such a zealous Presbyterian, that he vowed he should never be Bishop of St. Andrews, because they were hated, and came all to untimely ends. But his motives not being good, he returned from Court 1605, with a presentation to the very same bishoprick. Again, when called up to Court next year, to assist the King against the faithful Scottish ministers, he was adjured by his brethren of the ministry in the presbytery of St. Andrews, that, as he should be answerable to God, he should do nothing to the prejudice of the Church of God; he took God to witness, it should be so. But they soon found the contrary, to their sad experience: for he not only became a cruel enemy to his brethren who continued faithful, but also a lazy time-serving hireling, oft-times loitering upon his bed in the very time of sermon. Instance, being one time on his bed in time of afternoon sermon, when he and the congregation were alarmed with the cry of *Murder*, his son in the house having killed his cook with a dagger, as he was making ready his supper. At this rate he continued till 1615, that he was seized with a fearful and strange disease, which historians forbear to name, and, what was worse, with obstinate and senseless stupidity, approving of his former courses; and in that situation he died May 2, 1615.—*Calderwood and others.*

MR. ALEXANDER FORBES, a bird of the same feather, was first made Bishop of Caithness, then of Aberdeen. He was not only an enemy to the faithful servants of Christ, but even of such a poor, low disposition, and such a table friend and flattering spunger, that he was nicknamed *the table*; because so impudent and shameless, that he would follow the words of Session, advocates, &c. when they went to dinner, and cringe about, and sometimes follow them uncalled, and sit down in their houses at table. At last he was seized with sickness at Leith, and fell under the remorse of conscience for his past life: he sent for Bishop Spottiswood, and would gladly have communicated his mind to him; but it seems he

would not leave his playing at cards, albeit it was on the Sabbath and so he in this condition died.—*Galaerwood.*

MR. ANDREW FORRESTER, sometime minister at Dunfermline sent to the General Assembly 1610, was by his brethren adjured as he should answer to Jesus Christ, he should consent to no alteration of the government of the church: yet, having received 50 merks for bar, (a small equivalent to the cause of Christ,) he voted for it. After which, he was convicted of taking silver out of the poor's box by false keys, and then fell into a tearful distemper; insomuch, that some words of the Chancellor, apprehending he should be hanged out of the pulpit one day when going to preach, in a fit of distraction confessing he had sold Christ at that Assembly. He was also seized with madness. Mr. Row made him a visit, and found him in a lamentable condition. He asked, if he was persuaded that God had called him to the ministry? He answered, "Nay, I ever sought the world, and so is now." He next asked, what he got at the Assembly for selling the church? He answered, fifty merks; at which his horror apprehending that he was instantly to be executed. Mr. Row urged him to pray; he said he could not. Mr. Row prayed, in time the buttons burst off his breast, and the blood gushed terribly from his mouth and nose. After prayer, he asked if he was prepared for death? He answered, No, woe me! Next day he made him another visit, and found him senseless and stupid, and so left him. After which he lived in great infamy, poverty, and misery. Nor was Mr. Paton, who had the same stamp, much better. This and more was declared and proved by Mr. Row, before the Assembly at Glasgow 1638.—*Stewart.*

MR. WILLIAM COOPER, sometime minister at Perth, witnessed great zeal against Prelacy, both doctrinally and from the press; but through covetousness and court-preferment, he was made Bishop of Moray: after which none was more forward for the corruption of the times. He left his diocese, says the historian, and took up his abode in the Canonicate of Edinburgh, and committed his ministerial duties to others, by whom was extorted the enormous sum of 100,000 merks. In his visits once in two years, he behaved most impiously, thrust his hands into the pockets of persons to cures, and admitted his servant to the ministry at his side; desired the presbytery of Kirkcudbright to dispense with a woman with him in fornication; and, above all, was a presser of the King's injunctions for keeping Christmas, &c. and in his advice, 1619, for punishing those who did not comply. Before his death, he took a hypochondriac distemper, apprehending his head was all glass, which much affrighted him. Some brought him sermons or discourses to him to reconcile, which disquieted him more. At his pastime at Leith, he apprehended he saw armed men come to him: the company shewing him the contrary, he fell a-trembling home and took bed; and being in great anguish and trouble he would often point with his finger to the earth, and cry, "a fallen star, a fallen star!" and so he ended his life in great horror and confusion of mind.* On his court-advancement, Mr. Simson of Strathgry

following line,
Aureus, heu! fragilem confregit malleus urnam.

* Mr. Clark, in his Lives, represents Mr. Cooper as an eminent minister, who had his credentials from the bishops. But we must rather follow Mr. Collier, the author of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures.

MR. PATRICK GALLOWAY was another of this fraternity; for, when minister of Perth, he was not only a strenuous opposer of Prelacy in the church, but also, for his faithful and free rebukes to Arrian and Lennox, he was carried on the court-affairs then, he was persecuted and obliged to fly for sometime about 1584. But afterwards, being carried down in the current of the times, he was transported to Edinburgh, where he became a mighty stickler for Prelacy, especially the five articles of Perth; insomuch, that by the year 1620 he pressed kneeling at the sacrament with much impudence and indecency; and though he would not preach on Sabbath, yet he believed to preach on Christmas. At his Christmas sacrament 1621, he commanded the communicants to kneel, and he himself bowed with the one knee, and sat with the other. Thus he continued to the dotage of old age, and at last died upon the stool, abusing himself; and, as worthy Mr. Welch had before foretold, without the least sense or signs of true repentance.

—**HAMILTON**, the Marquis of Hamilton, for his many good services to King James against the Presbyterian interest, was by him appointed Commissioner to the Parliament 1621, on design to have the five articles of Perth (viz. 1. Kneeling at the communion; 2. Private communion; 3. Private baptism; 4. Observation of holidays; 5. Confirmation of children) ratified: all the faithful ministers being by him discharged, the city and the parliament guarded, that no protestations might be got offered. Through threats and flattery, he got that dismal affair effected; but not without a notable mark of divine displeasure: for, in that moment he rose to touch the act with the sceptre, a terrible flash of fire came in at the window, followed with three fearful claps of thunder, upon which the heavens became dark, and hailstones and a terrible tempest ensued; which astonished every beholder, and made the day afterwards be called the Black Saturday; because it began in the morning with fire from earth, and ended in the evening with fire from heaven. And on the Monday, when the act was read at the cross of Edinburgh, the fire and thunder again recurred. However, the Marquis having got the King's design partly accomplished, returned to Court; and not long after, for such services, it is said, he was poisoned by the King's principal minion, the Duke of Buckingham.—*Calderwood, &c.*

JAMES STUART, son to Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland, was in his youth educated by the famous Buchanan, and brought up in the true reformed Protestant Presbyterian religion, then established in Scotland, which was by him more than once ratified when he was in his swaddling clothes; as one well observes, Christ reigned in Scotland in his minority. The church had its various turns according to the dispositions of the regents, the King's favourite flatterers and court parasites; but whenever he began to think of obtaining the crown of England, he began to introduce Episcopacy into the church of Scotland, to gain the English nation. And though he was a habitual gross swearer, and such a master of dissimulation, that what he exalted at one time, he set himself to destroy at another; he carried still a face of religion in profession while in Scotland. The church had many struggles; sometimes Israel prevailed, and sometimes Amalek prevailed; but as soon as he ascended the throne of England, he wholly assumed an arbitrary power, and absolute supremacy over the church, which before he had long grasped at. And though he had sworn to maintain the Presbyterian form of church-government and discipline, &c. his desire of unlimited authority made him now relish Episcopacy to the highest degree: the Bishops were his creatures. By

bravery, falsehood, and persecution, he introduced Prelacy into Scotland, created such bishops whom he knew would stick at nothing to serve his purpose. Such as opposed his measures in both kingdoms, especially in Scotland, shared deep in his persecuting vengeance; some were imprisoned, others deprived of their offices; while numbers fled to foreign countries, where they might serve God with a safe conscience. Toward the end of his reign he waxed still worse: a high commission court was by him erected 1610: a set of wicked profane bishops installed about 1618; by the help of whom, and other corrupt clergy, he got the five articles of Perth agreed to by a patched Assembly that year, in 1621. He got them ratified by act of parliament, and then they began to be pressed with rigour. In England matters were but little better: a declaration was omitted for using sports and gaming on the Lord's day after sermon; which profanations continue there to this day. He had before wrote against the Pope, threatening a malediction upon any of his posterity that should apostatize to Popery; but now he hastened towards Rome; for, upon the match of his son with France, he agreed to the following articles: 1. That all laws formerly made against Popery should not be executed: 2. That no new laws should be made against Roman Catholics; but they should have a free toleration in England, Scotland, and Ireland. At the same time, to the Archbishop of Embrun he acknowledged the Pope's authority, and, it is said, concluded on a convocation for that purpose, at Dover or Boulogne, in order to effect a more full toleration for Papists. By his management in favours of Popery, his son-in-law, the Protestant King of Bohemia, lost a kingdom. In Scotland, several were incarcerated and fined for nonconformity. He had commanded Christmas communion to be kept at Edinburgh; but, by the Lord's immediate hand in the plague, he was in that defeated. The next year, being 1624, he resolved to have it kept with great solemnity; but before that he was cut off on March 27, by what they call a quartan ague, in the 59th year of his age,* but rather of poison, as has been supposed, with such suspicious circumstances, says a historian, as gave occasion of inquiry into the manner of his death, in the first two parliaments of his son; all which came to nothing by their sudden dissolution. *Welwood's Memoirs, Calderwood's Burnet, Bennet's Memorial of Britain's Deliverances, &c.*

PATRICK SCOTT, a gentleman in Fife, being a violent enemy to the cause of Christ and religion, after he had wasted his patrimony, had to take himself to several wretched shifts at Court; and, amongst others, set forth a recantation under the name of Mr. David Calderwood, then under banishment; in which, it was thought, he was assisted by the King. But this project failing, he set off for Holland, in quest of Mr. David, with a design, as appeared, to have dispatched him. But providentially he was detained in Amsterdam, till he heard that Mr. Calderwood was returned home. This made him follow. After which he published a pamphlet full of lies, entitled *Vox Vera*, but as true as Lucian's *Historia*. But from all his unlawful shifts, he became so poor, and at last died so miserably, that he had nothing to bury him; so that the Bishop had to contribute as much as got him laid below ground for the good service he had done the King and bishops.—*Calderwood.*

* This King's reign has by historians been represented with different features; some making him a just, religious, and wise prince; but whatever his abilities were, and what advantage the church got in his minority, yet it is sure his reign was always one of affliction to Christ's faithful witnesses, and laid the foundation of the great schism that followed.

WILLIAM FORBES, (perhaps a son of the forementioned Forbes,) made Doctor in Aberdeen 1621 and 1622. When the people of the burgh had made choice of faithful Mr. Andrew Cant for their provost sent and brought this Forbes, as one whom the Episcopal faction knew would please the King; and in this they yielded to their desire; for he was not only a violent presser of Perth but he also preached up Arminianism, and essayed to reconcile the Presbyterians and the church of Scotland together against justification. And complained of by some of the bailies of Edinburgh, all the redress was to be brought before the Council, and by the King's order severely, by fining and banishment. When Charles I. came to Perth, 1633, he erected a new bishoprick there, to which he nominated Forbes for bishop, as one staunch to his interest. No sooner was he in his power than he began to shew his teeth, by pressing conformity both by word and writing; and for that purpose, sent instructions to the presbyteries within his jurisdiction. The people of Edinburgh were also threatened by the Bishop's thunder; for on the first of June, finding them not so obsequious as he would have had them, he threatened that, if his life was continued, he should either make them communicate kneeling, or quit his gown; and who doubts his intention to do as he had promised? But he soon found he had without his host: for before he could accomplish that, God ordered to cut him off on the 12th of April following, by a fearful execution of blood, after he had enjoyed this new dignity about two years. Burnet says, he died suspected of Popery.—*Burnet's History, and the Author's History. vol. 1.*

JOHN SPOTTISWOOD was first minister at Calder; but by his ungodly practice he got himself wrought into the bishoprick of Glasgow a Lord of the Session, 1609. From thence he jumped into the bishoprick of St. Andrews 1615, and aspired still higher, till he was Chancellor of Scotland. He was a tool every way fit for the court, as he could be either Papist or Prelate, provided he got profit and preferment. When in France with the Duke of Lennox, he went to the aid in Scotland he had a principal hand in all the encroachments on the church and cause of Christ from 1696 to 1637. And for profligate character scarcely ever filled the ministerial office. An ignorant, a simoniac, a drunkard, tipping in taverns till midnight, a profane of the Lord's day, by playing at cards and jaunting through the country, a falsifier of the acts of Assembly, a reproacher of the navegant; for which crimes he was excommunicated by the Assembly at Glasgow 1638; after which, having lost all his places of profit and preferment, he fled to England, the asylum then of the scandalous and profligate, where he died about 1639, in extreme poverty and misery; and to Mr. Welch's words, he should be as a stone cast out of a window, in the hand of God, and a malediction should be on all his posterity, which all came to pass; his eldest son, a baron, came to beg his pardon; his second son, President of the Session, was executed in Montrose; his daughter, who married Lord Roslin, was soon rooted out of her estate and honours. *Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and root them from amongst the children of men.*—Calderwood, Stevenson, &c.*

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, who wrote Spottiswood's life, now prefixed to his History, is celebrated for moderation, patience, and piety, as one of the greatest saints that ever lived; he was always beloved of his Master, and the only instrument for pro-

JOHN LOGIE, student in the university of Aberdeen, was such a malignant enemy to the work of reformation and the national covenant, that when commissioners were sent from Edinburgh there in 1638, in order to reconcile them to the covenant, while Mr Henderson was preaching in the Earl Marshal's close for that purpose, he threw clods at them with great scorn and mockery. But in a few days he killed one Nicol Ferrie, a boy, because the boy's father had beat him for stealing his pease; and though he escaped justice for a time, yet he was again apprehended, and executed in the year 1644. Such was the consequence of disturbing the worship of God, and mocking the ambassadors of Jesus Christ.—*Stevenson, &c.*

CHARLES I. succeeded his father James VI. and exactly trod in the same steps, and with no better success. He grasped at the prerogative; and to establish absolute power, Prelacy, superstition, and Arminianism, seemed his principal aim. In England he infringed the liberties of parliament, and by his marriage the nations became pestered with Papists. In Scotland he pressed Perth articles, the service-book, and then, by Laud's direction, the book of canons which he and the rest of the bishops had compiled for them about 1607, contrary to his coronation-oath, taken at Edinburgh 1633. But in these he was repulsed by the Scots covenanters, 1639 and 1640. Again, when he was confirming all oaths, promises, subscriptions, and laws for establishing the reformation in the Scots parliament 1641, in the meantime he was encouraging his Irish cutthroats to murder betwixt 2000 or 3000 innocent Protestants in Ireland, the letters that he had sent for that purpose being produced afterwards. After his return to England, matters became still worse betwixt him and the English parliament; so that both parties took the field, in which by his means a sea of innocent blood was spilt, (the Scots assisting the parliament, as bound by the solemn league), that he might overturn the covenanted interest in that land. Notwithstanding all his solemn engagements, oaths, and confirmations of acts of parliament, by his direction, Montrose was sent down from Court to raise an insurrection in the Highlands; by whom the bloody Irish were invited over, whereby in a few years many thousands of the covenanters, his best subjects, were killed. But all his bloody schemes for overturning that covenanted interest, that he had so solemnly bound himself to defend and maintain, proving abortive, he fell at last into the hands of Cromwell, and the Independent faction, who never surceased till they brought him to the block, January 30, 1649. At his death, notwithstanding his religious pretences, being always a devotee of the church of England, he was so far from repentance, that he seemed to justify the most part of his former conduct.*—*Civil Wars of Great Britain, Baillie's Letters, Burnet, Welwood, and Guthrie's Memoirs, &c.*

JAMES Duke of Hamilton, though none of the most violent prosecutors of the malignant interest against the reformation, yet was always one who conformed to his master's (Charles I.) measures, and was by him sent down Commissioner to the Assembly 1630, which he commanded to dissolve, though they did not obey, and left it. He published the King's

pagating Episcopacy in Scotland, to which he gave a testimony in his dying words; with much more fulsome stuff!

* The highlanders and English historians lay the blemishes of this reign on the covenanters, and make Charles I. the martyr. As to his eternal state, it is not our business to determine; God has judged him; but sure, he was the prime instrument of all the blood and bloody disasters that took place in the end of his reign.

declaration against the covenants and covenanters. And though none of the most rigid, yet he may be justly accounted the head of the malignant faction in Scotland, from 1638 to 1648, since he, contrary to the solemn league and covenant, raised a large army in Scotland, and went to England in behalf of the King. But he was shamefully defeated by Cromwell, and taken prisoner to London. After a short confinement, he was executed.—*Baillie's Letters, Civil Wars, &c.*

JAMES GRAHAM, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Montrose, in 1638, took the covenanters side, was a prime presser of the covenants, was one of the commissioners sent to Aberdeen 1638 for that purpose, and in 1639 was sent north to suppress the malignant faction of the Huntley's. The same year he was ordered north again to quell Aboyne and the Gordons, whom he routed at the bridge of Dee. He commanded two regiments of the covenanters under General Lesly 1640, and led the van of the fray for England. But shifting sides 1643, he offered to raise forces for the King, came from Court, and set up the King's standard at Dumfries. From thence he went to the north, and joined M'Donald, with a number of bloody Irish, where they plundered and wasted the country of Argyle, marched southward, and gained six battles over the covenanters, viz. at Uppermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochry, Alfoord, Aldearn, and Kilsyth, where they, some say, thirty thousand, of the covenanters were killed: but he was last defeated at Philiphaugh by Lesly, 1645. For this conduct he was excommunicated by the General Assembly. He went abroad, and there remained till 1650, that when the treaty was on the very anvil with Charles II. he received another commission from him to raise a new insurrection in the north, but was defeated by Colonels Strahan, Kerr, and Halket, and afterwards taken in the Laird of Ason's ground, and brought to Endluish, where he was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, and then quartered, and his legs and arms hung up in the public places of the kingdom, May 21, 1650. Mr. Blair and some other ministers were sent to him to use means to persuade him to repentance for his apostate and bloody life; but by no means could they persuade this truculent tyrant and traitor to his country to repent. He excused himself, and died under the censure of the church, obstinate, and utterly impenitent.—*Montrose, Gubrie, and Blair.*

WILLIAM MONRO, a kind of a gentleman in the parish of Killearn, as a hater of God and every thing religious; for while Mr. Hog was minister there, sometime before the Restoration, a gentleman in the parish having one of his family dead, intended to bury in the church: but this being contrary to an act of the General Assembly, Mr. Hog refused it. But Monro, being a brisk, hectoring fellow, promised to make their way good in spite of all opposition. Accordingly, when they came to the church-door, Mr. Hog opposed them; whereupon Monro laid hands on him, to pull him from the door; but Mr. Hog, being able both of body and mind, wrested the keys from the assailant, telling him, that if he was to repel force by force, perhaps he would find himself no gainer; which, telling the people, that that man had grieved the Spirit of God, and that they should either see his speedy repentance, or else a singular judgment upon him. He went on in his wicked courses a few months, till in one of his drunken revels, he attacked a mean man, and threw him into the fire. The poor man in this extremity, drew out the wretch's own sword, and thrust it through his belly, on which his bowels came out, and so he expired in a miserable condition.—*Memoirs of Mr. Hog.*

JOHN Earl of MIDDLETON, at first lifted arms with the covenanters, and had a share of the victory of the Gordons, at the bridge of Dee. Yea, he was so zealous in that profession, that one time having sworn the covenants, he said to some gentlemen present, that it was the pleasantest day he ever saw; and if he should ever do any thing against that blessed day's work, he wished that arm (holding up his right arm) might be his death. But finding Presbyterian discipline too strict for a wicked, vicious life, he shifted sides, and became major-general to Duke Hamilton 1648, and came upon a handful of covenanters, at a communion at Mauchlin muir; and, contrary to his promise, killed a number of them. He became a great favourite of Charles II. and laid a scheme to take him from the Convention of Estates to the north, to free him of any further covenant-engagements, for which he was excommunicated by the church; and though the sentence was taken off upon his feigned repentance, yet it was never by him forgot, till he got the blood of the pronouncer, Mr. Guthrie. After the Restoration, he was advanced to great honour, and sent down Commissioner to the parliament 1661, where he got the covenanted work of reformation wholly overturned by the infamous act rescissory,—oath of allegiance,—act establishing Episcopacy and bishops in Scotland,—the act against the covenants, &c. But this would not do, he must have a glut of the blood of Argyle and Mr. Guthrie; and more, he behoved to come west, and grace that drunken meeting at Glasgow, by whom several hundreds of the faithful ministers were thrust out. From thence, he arrived at Ayr, where he and some more drunken prelates drank the devil's health at the cross, at midnight. It were endless almost to sum up the cruelties by his orders exercised on those who would not conform to Prelacy, for the space of two years insomuch, that he imposed no less than the enormous sum of one million seven thousand and three hundred and fifty pounds in the parliament 1662, of fines. So that in the south and western parts of Scotland, many either lost their consciences or their substance: but being complained of at Court, that he had amerced large sums into his own hands, he hastened up, but was coldly received by the King, (who had now got his work done by him,) Lauderdale being now his rival. He lost his office and honour, and lived sober enough, till, as an honourable kind of punishment, he was sent off as governor to Tanquairs, on the coast of Ayr; but he lived but a short and contemptuous life there, till the justice and judgment of God overtook him; for, falling down a stair, he broke the bone of his right arm; at the next tumble, the broken splinter pierced his side; after which, he soon became stupid, and died in great torment. This was the end of one of those who had brought the church of Scotland on her knees by Prelacy.—*Wodrow.*

ROBERT MILNE, bailie (or according to some provost) sometime of Edinburgh, swore the covenants with uplifted hands; but soon after the Restoration, to shew his loyalty, did, in a most contemptuous manner, take the said covenants, the Causes of Wrath, *Lex Rex*, Western Remonstrance, with several other acts of church and state, at the cross; and to grace the solemnity, French and Spanish wine was distributed most liberally, which in the King's and Queen's healths were drunk. But this vile paganism, similar to Balshazer's quaffing in the holy vessels, did not pass long without a note of observation; for though Milne had scraped together much riches, yet, in a short time, he became an insolvent bankrupt, and was

cause Lauderdale would not remit this, it is said he attempted to assassinate him. However, he was obliged to leave the King's dominions, and go over to the wars in the low countries, where, at the siege of Graves, as he was walking somewhat carelessly, being advised to take care of himself, he said, cannons kill none but fey-folk. At that very nick of time, a cannon-ball came, and severed his heart from his body, to a considerable distance, according to a wicked imprecation often used by him in his ordinary discourse, that if such a thing were not so, he wished his heart might be driven out of his body.—*Wodrow*.

MR. JAMES HAMILTON, brother to Lord Belhaven, but of the clerical order. Before the year 1638, he had received Episcopal ordination; but upon the turn of affairs then, he became a zealous covenanter; and being settled minister at Cambusnethan, such was his zeal, that he not only bound his people to these covenants, but excommunicated all from the tables who were not true to them; using Nehemiah's form, shaking the lap of his gown, saying, *So let God shake out every man*, &c. But how he himself kept them, the sequel will declare. For his cunning, time-serving temper made him too volatile for a Presbyterian; for no sooner did Prelacy again get the ascendancy after the Restoration, than he got himself into the first leet of bishops, and must needs go up to London to be consecrated. The bishoprick of Galloway came to his share; and then he began to shew his teeth against the covenanters, and procured letters from the Council against several of the field-preachers; and having got Sir Thomas Turner south for that purpose, he oft-times hunted him out, beyond his intention, to many outrageous oppressions, though Turner was one like himself every way qualified for such exercises. Thus he continued for about twelve years, till at last he was called before the supreme tribunal to answer for his perfidy, apostasy, treachery, and cruelty, by a death suitable and similar unto such a life. The circumstances of which, for want of certain information, we are not able to relate at present.*

MR. ANDREW HONEYMAN, son to a baker, who dedicated more than one cake to the muses; for all his four sons were scholars. Mr. Andrew, the eldest, was first minister at Ferry-Parson, then transported to St. Andrews; and being zealously affected to Presbyterian church-government, and one of good parts, he was employed by the presbytery to draw up a testimony for the same, about 1661. Nay, such was his zeal, that he said, if ever he spoke or acted otherwise, he was content to be reckoned a man of a prostitute conscience; and that, if he accepted a bishoprick, he wished he might worry on it. But on an interview with Sharp at Balmain Whins, he first got the arch-deanery of St. Andrews,

* Here observe, that Mr. William Vilant, formerly minister at Ferry-Parson in 1661, was indulged to Cambusnethan 1699, (whom Mr. Wodrow calls a man of singular prudence, moderation, and temper,—perhaps because he wrote a pretended answer to the history of the indulgence.) Upon a time, hearing some relate Mr. Cargill's faithfulness and diligence in preaching at all hazards, &c. Mr. Vilant said, What needs all this? we will get heaven, and they will get no more. This being again related to Mr. Cargill, he answered Yes, we will get more; we will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven. However, Mr. Vilant outlived the Revolution, and was sometime minister of the established church, being one of those nominated by the General Assembly 1706, to visit the south of Tay. While on his deathbed, one of his brethren came to visit him, and asking how it was with him now? his answer was, "No hope, no hope." Whether this terminated in his final destruction or otherwise, we know not; but ours is only say with the Psalmist, Thou tookest vengeance of their inventions.

and then the bishoprick of Orkney; and having always followed greedily after the error of Balaam, from a zealous covenanter he became a fiery bigot for Prelacy, and was the first after the Restoration that wrote in defence of that constitution (against Naphtali,) for which that hand, upon the wrist, received the pistol-shot intended for Sharp, 1668. But this did not deter him from his former wicked practices, till about the year 1677, he met with harsher treatment (says the historian) from a more dreadful quarter, when he died at his house in Orkney.—*Sharp's Life, Wodrow.*

MR. THOMAS BELL, born in Westruther in Berwickshire, was, by Mr. John Veitch's generosity, put to school, and being minister there, he procured also a bursary for him; but after his laureation, falling into drunkenness, he went over to the English side; where, shifting sides, he obtained a parsonage, and became curate of Longhorsly, and was a violent persecutor of the Presbyterians; especially those who had fled from Scotland, and particularly Mr. William Veitch, (brother to his former benefactor,) then at Stanton-hall; and being one time drinking with some Papists who were stimulating him on against Mr. Veitch and his meeting, he vowed he should either ruin him, or he him: in which he was as good as his word; for having brought him to many hardships, he at last got him apprehended, and sent off to Edinburgh, 1679. He did not long continue this trade, for, meeting with a gentleman, he boasted that this night Mr. Veitch would be at Edinburgh, and to-morrow hanged. But in three days, he himself being abroad, and drinking at a certain place till ten o'clock at night, must needs set home. The curate of the place urged him to stay, the night being stormy, and the water big, but he would not: so setting off, and losing his way, and coming to the river Pont, where, as was supposed, he alighted to find the way, by reason of the snow; and stepping over the brink of the river, to the armpit, where the old ice bare him up, and the new ice, by reason of some days thaw, froze him in; so that, after two days, he was found standing in this posture, with the upper part of his body dry. Some went to help him out, but few could be got to give his corpse a convoy; so that they were obliged to lay him across a horse's back, with a rope about his neck, and through below the beast's belly, fastened to his heels, and so he was carried off by death, suitable enough to such a wicked, malevolent life.—*Veitch's Life at large.*

MR. JAMES SHARP was son to William Sharp, and grandson to the piper of——, so much famed for his skill in playing a spring called Coffee. However, the wind of the bag procured James a handsome education; after which, he obtained a regent's post in the University of St. Andrews. To relate every thing in the black and dismal story of his life, would fill a volume. We shall only point at the principal lineaments thereof. While regent, he furiously beat one of his colleagues, honest Mr. Sinclair, on the Lord's day, at the college table. He took up his lodging in a public inn, and there got the hostler, one Isabel Lindsay, with child. When she came to be delivered, he prevailed with her, upon promise of marriage, to consent to murder the infant; which he himself effected with his handkerchief, and then buried it below the hearth-stone. When the woman, after he was bishop, stood up once and again before the people, and confronted him with this, he ordered her tongue to be pulled out with pincers, and, when not obeyed, caused her to be put in the branks, and afterwards banished with her husband over the water. For this, and the striking of Mr. Sinclair, he pretended a great deal of repent-

tance, and exercise of conscience; and being one eloquent of tongue, he soon received the ministry, and was by them advanced to be minister at Crail; and then to make sure, he took the covenants a second time. In Cromwell's time, he took the tender, and became a thorough-paced Cromwellian. When the time of his advancement approached, at the Restoration, being one of a zealous profession, his brethren sent him (as one whom they could confide in) over to Charles II. at Breda, that they might have the Presbyterian form of church-government continued. In the meantime, he, in their name, supplicated him to have Episcopacy restored; because he saw it would please the malignant faction. After the King's arrival, he was again employed in the same errand; and, while at London undermining that noble constitution, he made his brethren believe all the while, by letters, how much he had done for their cause, till he got it wholly overturned; and then, like another Judas, he returned, and for his reward obtained the archbishoprick of St. Andrews; and, according to some, 50,000 merks a-year, and counsellor and primate of Scotland. No sooner was the wicked Haman advanced, then he began to persecute and harass all who would not comply with his measures. He perjured himself in Mr. Mitchell's case, had an active hand in all the blood shed on scaffolds and fields, from 1660 till his death; and kept up the King's orders of indemnity, till the last ten of the Pentland men were executed. Nor was he any better in his domestic character; for sometimes he would, when at table, whisper in his wife's ears, the devil take her, when things were not ordered to his contentment. In a word, the ambition of Diotrefes, the covetousness of Demas, the treachery of Judas, the apostasy of Julian, and the cruelty of Nero, did all concentrate in him. But to come to his death, having hunted out one Carmichael to harass the shire of Fife, a few Fife gentlemen went out in quest of the said Carmichael, upon the 5d of May 1679. But missing him, they providentially met the Bishop his master; which they took as a kind of providential call to dispatch him there. And having stopt his coach, commanded him to come out and prepare for death. But this he refused. This made them pour in a number of shot upon him; after which, being about to depart, one behind heard his daughter, who was in the coach, say, There is life yet. This made them all return. The commander (Barly) finding him yet safe, and understanding shooting was not to do his turn, commanded him to come out, and told him the reason of their conduct; namely, his opposition to the kingdom of Christ, murdering of his people, particularly Mr. James Mitchell, and James Learmond. The Bishop still lingered, and cried for mercy, and offered them money. He said, *Thy money perish with thee.* He again commanded him to come out, and prepare for death and eternity. At last he came out; but by no means could they prevail with him to pray. Upon which they all drew their swords, and then his courage failed him. The commander struck him, which was redoubled by the rest, until he was killed. And so he received the just demerit of his sorceries, villanies, murders, perfidy, perjury, and apostasy. *Then Phineas rose, and executed justice.—Vide his Life, Wodrow.*

JOHN, Earl (afterwards Duke) of ROTHES, was son to that famous reformer the Earl of ROTHES. He at first set out that way. But, after the Restoration, being one of a profane, wicked life, he exactly answered the taste of King and Court. So he was made President of the Council, and on Middleton's fall, Commissioner, with many other places of power

and trust heaped upon him; all which titles, &c. died with him. After Scotland, with others he made a tour through the west, and caused twelve more of the Pentland men to be executed at Irvine and Ayr.—He perjured himself in Mr. Mitchell's cause, and was the contriver of that baronous, unheard-of cruelty, exercised on worthy Hackston of Rathillet. Nay, such was his zeal in serving his master Charles, (or rather Diabolous,) that he professed his willingness to set up Popery in Scotland at the King's command; for which, with his other flagitious wickedness, such as uncharity, adultery, ordinary cursing, swearing, drunkenness, &c. he was one of those excommunicated by Mr. Cargill at Torwood, Sept. 1680. Thus he continued to wallow in all manner of filthiness, till July next year, that death did arrest him. Mr. Cargill being then in custody, he threatened him with a violent death; to whom Mr. Cargill answered, that die what death he would, he should not see it: which came to pass; for that morning (Mr. Cargill was to be executed in the afternoon) Rothes was seized with sickness, and a dreadful horror of conscience; some of his wife's ministers were sent for, who dealt somewhat freely with him; to whom he said, "We all thought little of that man's sentence, (meaning Mr. Cargill,) but I find that sentence binding on me now, and will bind me to eternity." And so roaring out, till he made his bed shake under him, he died in that condition.—*Wodrow, Walker's Life of Mr. Cargill, &c.*

HUGH PINANEVE, factor to the Lady Loudon, while the Earl was a refugee in Holland, was a most wicked wretch, both in principle and practice, and an inveterate enemy to the sufferers; insomuch, that being at a market at Mauchlin, sometime after Mr. Cameron's death, when drinking in a room with one Robert Brown, before they took horse, he broke out in raillery against Mr. Cameron and the sufferers: Mr. Peden, overhearing him in the next room, came to the chamber-door and said, Sir, hold your peace, ere twelve o'clock, you shall know what sort a man Mr. Cameron was: God shall punish that blasphemous mouth and tongue of yours, in a most remarkable manner, for a warning to all such railing Rabshakehs. Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, hastened the factor home, and went to his own house, and Hugh to the Earl's house. But when casting off his boots, he was suddenly seized with great pains through his whole body. Brown, using to let blood, was immediately sent for.—But when he came, he found him lying, and his mouth gaping wide, and his tongue hanging out: he let a little blood, but to no effect; he died before midnight, in this fearful condition.—*Peden's Life, &c.*

JOHN NISBET, factor to the Archbishop of Glasgow, was a drunkard, a hater of all religion and piety, and such a professed malignant wretch, that when Mr. Cargill was brought in prisoner to Glasgow, July 1681, looking over a stair to him, in way of ridicule, cried three times over, Will you give us one word more, (alluding to a word Mr. Cargill sometimes used in his pathetic way of preaching.) To whom Mr. Cargill, with much regret and concern, said,—“Mock not, lest your bands be made strong. Poor man, the day is coming ere you die, that you shall desire to have one word, and shall not have it.” Shortly he was suddenly struck by God, and his tongue three days successively swelled in his mouth, so that he could not speak one word. Two Glasgow men made him a visit, and desired him to commit to writing the reason of his, and if he desired to speak; to whom he wrote, “That it was the just judgment of God, and the saying of the minister verified on 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, but died in great torment and seeming horror.—*Wodrow, Walker, &c.*

J— ELLIES, was employed by the bloody managers about Bothwell affair; and being a lawyer, he behaved to shew his parts in pleading against the servants of Jesus Christ, namely, in the trial of Mess. Kid and King: and though he got their lives pleaded away, and his conscience kept quiet for a little, yet shortly death did arrest him; and then his conscience awakened, and under the horror of that he died in a very pitiful and shocking manner.—*History of the Sufferings, &c.*

JOHN, Earl (afterwards Duke) of LAUDERDALE, at first set up for a prime covenanting, and swore them more than once; and, if we mistake not, was the same called Lord Maitland, ruling elder from Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, and had a principal hand in the whole management during the second reformation period; but falling in with Charles II. he soon debauched him. After the Restoration, he became a furious malignant; and being one whose nature and qualifications did exactly correspond with the King's, he complied in every thing that pleased him, for which he heaped upon him titles, places of power, profit, and preferment, all which died with himself. He was made Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Commissioner to the parliament 1669, where he got that hell-hatched act of supremacy passed, which has plagued this church and nation ever since. At the instigation of Dr. Burnet, he set the indulgence on foot 1670; got the act against conventicles made, which occasioned so many hardships and bloodsheds in this land: nay, such was his fury, that when they would not comply, he uncovered his arm to the elbow in Council, and swore by Jehovah he would make the best of them submit. In a word, he was the prime instrument of all the cruelties exercised for a number years, while he obtained the King's ear. Nor was this all; for he became notorious for a wicked, profligate life and conversation; a thing common with apostates: a Sabbath-breaker, gaming on the Lord's day, a profane swearer and blasphemer, a jester on scripture and things religious, one time saying to Prelate Sharp, *Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* He perjured himself in Mr. Mitchell's case, promising in Council he should be indemnified to life and limb, and then swearing before the Justiciary, that there was no such promise or act made. For these, with his other sins of adultery, counselling the King, and assisting him in all his tyrannies, in overturning the work of reformation, and murdering those who adhered to these covenants that he himself had engaged in, he was also one of those excommunicated at Torwood, 1680. Towards the end of his life, he became such a remarkable Epicurean, that it is incredible the flesh, or juice of flesh, it is said he devoured in one day, eating and drinking being now his only exercise and delight. His scheme of management had rendered him odious to the English patriots. Now his effeminate life made him unfit for business; so, about 1681, he was obliged to resign his offices: after which, by old age, and vast bulk of body, his spirits became quite sunk, till his heart was not the bigness of a walnut: and so at last upon the chamber-box, like another Arius, he evacuated soul, vital life, and excrements all at once; and so went to his own place.—*Burnet and Wodrow's Histories, and Walker's Remarks.*

J— WYLIE, though of no great note, yet for a wicked life and practice, was a tool fit enough for the dreary drudgery of persecution:

h he got a party of soldiers to assist him as often as he would. devilish employment, amongst other instances, he got a party of as's troop 1683, and came upon John Archer, while his children ck, and himself ill of the gravel; yet he must needs have the of the children too, though she could not leave them in that con-

While he insisted, one of the dragoons said, "The devil ding ck in twa: have ye a coach and six for her and the children?" with cursing, answered, "She shall go, if she should be trailed lge;" which was his common bye-word when hauling poor people n. However, he got Archer, and five small children, to Kirkaidy 2. But what then? In a little after, having taken a gentleman s, he went with him to a public house near Clanie, in the parish plassic, to see some public matters accommodated; but not agree- ylie made a great splutter, and, amongst other imprecations, said, devil take me, if I carry him not to Cupar tolbooth this night." atleman's man, a young hardy fellow, told him roundly, his master not go there. Upon which Wylie gave him a blow: the fellow a smith's shop, and getting a goad of iron, made at Wylie. A ensued, in which he broke Wylie's back in two; which obliged et two sledges, and tie him across on them, and so carry him and in a short time he died in great agony. *The Lord shall break of the wicked.—Wodrow.*

FRANCIS GORDON, a volunteer in the Earl of Airly's troop, but so from a principle of wickedness. He had committed several s upon the suffering people of God, and intended more, as ap- from several of their names in his pocket to be taken at his death. God cut his days short; for he and another wicked companion r troop at Lanark, and came with two servants and four horses sagow, searching for sufferers. Gordon rambling through the offered to abuse some women; at night coming to East-seat, s's comrade went to bed, but he would sleep none, roaring all r women. In the morning, he left the rest, and with his sword and, came to Moss-plat. Some men who had been in the fields t, fled; upon which he pursued. In the meantime, seeing three ho had been at a meeting in the night, flee, he pursued and over- m; one of them asked, why he pursued them? He said, to send hell. Another said, That shall not be; we will defend ourselves. said, Either you or I shall go to it just now; and so, with great m his sword at one of them, which missed his body, but went his coat. The said person fired at him, but missed him; where- reared out, God damn his soul; another fired a pocket-pistol, took his head; and so he fell down dead. Thus his assiduity t him to his end, near four miles from the troop, and one from panion.—*Walker.*

as KNOWAY, an officer of the guards, and another booted for the propagation of Episcopacy, was with Dalziel at Pentland, he apprehending of Mr. M'Kail at Braid's craigs, and the appre- of Mr. King after Bothwell. He attacked a meeting at Bath- not, one dead, and took fourteen prisoners, who were afterwards 1:1691. He came with a party to Livingston parish; where he xuss, broke open chests, abused women with child, took an old d, his son, and offered to hang them on the two ends of a tow- of the Lord's day in drinking, saying, he would make the pri-

soners pay it. He was a profane adulterer, a drinker, a scarr phemer, curser, and swearer. He would sometimes say, Hell wot good winter, but a bad summer quarters. One asked him, if never afraid of hell? He swore he was never afraid of that; but sometimes afraid the rebels (so he called the sufferers) should shu dead at a dyke-side. In the midst of his career, he comes out a burgh, Nov. 1683, with a roll of 150 persons, probably of his on giving, to be apprehended. He alights at Livingston, where he one Stuart. When drinking, he shewed him his commission, a him, he hoped in a few days to be as good a laird as many in the try; but regretted he was now so old, and would not get it long ed. They came to Swine's-abbey, where they continued some days ing, laying their projects. But on the 20th of November, being what alarmed, they ran to the door of the house, thinking none be so bold as attack them; but were instantly both shot dead spot.* And thus their wicked lives were ended, and their malevol signs left unaccomplished.—*Wodrow.*

JAMES IRVINE of Bonshaw, at first a trader in Irish horses, highwayman, but one who loved the wages of unrighteousness;—f ing got notice of Mr. Cargill, Mr. Smith, &c. he went to the Coum got a commission and a party, and surprised them at Coventou This made him cry out, "O blessed Bonshaw! and blessed d; ever I was born! that has found such a prize!" meaning the merks set on for Mr. Cargill's head. At Lanark, when tying M gill's feet hard below the horse's belly, Mr. Cargill said, "Why do me so hard? Your wickedness is great: you will not long escape judgment of God; and if I be not mistaken, it will seize you ne place." Nor was this all; having apprehended George Jackson, I the Lord's night, he offered to set him on a horse's bare back, and head and feet together, and offered hm the King's health, which fused. On the morrow, when setting him on the horse, he caus a trumpet to his ear, and bade sound him to hell: at which the smiled. In the same year, having apprehended twelve prisoners, ried them to Hamilton, then to Lanark, where they were augm thirty. They were cast at night into a dungeon, without fire or t next morning, he tied them two by two on a horse's bare back, a legs twisted below the horses bellies, to the effusion of their blood, drove them to Edinburgh at the gallop, not suffering so much at the poor prisoners to alight to ease nature. But being now arr the very summit of his wicked cruelty, he returned to Lanark; the very place where he had bound Mr. Cargill, one of his drunke panions and he falling at odds, while he was easing himself on t hill, his comrade coming out with a sword, ran him through th till the blood and excrements came out. His last words were, "Ge my soul eternally, for I am gone."—*Wodrow, Walker's Remarks.*

CHARLES II. succeeded his father Charles I. He was from his such a dissembler, that he could metamorphose himself into any sion that was most for his carnal ends and political interest. In s he confined himself to Popery. When he came to treat with th for a crown, he became a Protestant, and a Presbyterian too.

* The author of Claverhouse's Memoirs, says, that they were shot by James chael, Laird of Little Blackburn, and fifty Whigs.

the covenants twice in one year, at Spey and Scone; and emitted iration at Dunfermline of his own sins, and his father's wickedness. his being again expelled these dominions, he turned Papist again, me under obligations to promote that interest, if ever he should be d again. No sooner did that event take place, than he restored pacy in England, and by the help of a set of poor, time-serving es, got the work of reformation overturned in Scotland; and then pacy, Prelacy, and arbitrary power began to shake its bloody The persecuting work began; Presbyterian ministers were driven heir charges, and killed or banished. He got himself advanced f the church, and then commanded these covenants he had more nce sworn, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; and then the gainst covenanters were written in blood, and executed by dra-

It were almost endless to relate all the cruelties exercised upon or wanderers during his reign, before, at, and after Pentland, by ghland hot.—At and after Bothwell, boots, thumbkins, and cut- f of ears, came in fashion. Some put to death on scaffolds; some fields, and some made a sacrifice to the manes of Sharp; some ed on ship-board; some women hanged and drowned in the sea- some kept waking for nine nights together; some had their breasts , and their hearts plucked out, and cast into the fire; others not d to speak to the people in their own vindication, for the beating ns, &c. Nor were things in England much better: two thousand rs were thrust out by the Bartholomew act, and laid under a train d hardships, even such as were a shame to any Protestant nation. f the English patriots were murdered; Essex, Russel, and Sidney, o the razor and the block. And for his practice, he was now sunk manner of uncleanness and filthiness. For all the number of ets and harlots he had, his own sister, the Duchess of Orleans, not be exempted. But drawing near his end, the Popish faction k; his brother, grew stronger, on suspicion that he intended to curb

To cut the matter short, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, or got a dose of poison: he formerly professed to caress the church land; now, in views of death, Father Huddleston was brought to ster the Popish sacraments of the host, and extreme unction, ab- n, and the eucharist. The host sticking in his throat, water was it instead of wine, to wash it down. Afterward Bishop Ken came onounced another absolution on him. And here observe, that he as justly excommunicated by a lawful minister of the church of rd, for his gross perjury, contempt of God and religion, lechery, ry, covenant-breaking, bloodshed, &c. was now absolved; first by sh priest, and then a prelate of the church of England, and all t any of the least signs of repentance; else he would never, in his rds, have recommended the care of two of his harlots (one of being in bed beyond him, his Queen being elsewhere) to the care brother. And so, having drunk his death in a Popish potion, he nlamented. For his character, in all respects, in nature, feature, anners, he resembled the tyrant Tiberius; and for all the numer- ood of bastards begot on other men's wives, he died a childless n, having no legitimate heir to succeed him of his own body, ac- g to the Divine malediction, *Write this man childless: for no man of I shall prosper, sitting on the throne of David, and ruling any more in*

THOMAS DALZIEL of Binns, a man naturally fierce and rude, but more so from his being brought up in the Muscovy service, where he had seen little else than tyranny and slavery: nay, it is said, that he had there learned the arts of devilish sophistry, that he sometimes beguiled the devil; or rather his master suffered himself to be outwitted by him. However, he behaved to return, and have a share of the persecuting work; and after murdering a number of the Lord's witnesses at Pentlands, he came west to Kilmarnock, where he committed many unheard-of cruelties; for instance, his putting a woman in the thieves-hole there, in the Dean, amongst toads and other venomous creatures, where her shrieks were heard at a distance; but none durst help her, and all because a man pursued ran through her house; and also his shooting one Findlay at a post, without the least crime or shadow of law; with the many cruelties exercised upon the country after Bothwell; for these, and his uncleanness and contempt of marriage from his youth, drunkenness, atheistical and irreligious conversation, he was another of those who was excommunicated at Torwood. After which, he waited sometime on the Council at Edinburgh, to assist them in the persecuting work there; till the year 1685, that one William Hannah was brought before the Council, and when pleading, he was too old to banish; Dalziel told him roughly, that was not too old to hang; he would hang well enough. This was among the last of his public manoeuvres: for that same day, August 22, when at his beloved exercise, drinking wine, while the cup was at his head, he fell down, (being in perfect health,) and expired.—*Wedrow, Hind to King Nabstali, &c.*

GEORGE CHARTERS, sometime a kind of factor to the Duke of Queensberry, in imitation of his master, was such an assiduous persecutor, that he could boast that he had made twenty-six journeys in a year, in pursuit of the Whigs.* And, if the same with bailiff Charters, who was executed on the scaffold with John Nisbet of Hardhill, and though the martyr was most meekly there, yet this Charters was rude to him. But that he had a child overlaid in the bed, and in two days fell into a great terror of conscience, crying out, Oh! for the life of John Nisbet! His friend thought to have kept it secret, and diverted him; but he became worse and worse, still crying out, Oh! for the life of John Nisbet! until he fell into a terrible distraction. So that he sat night and day wringing at his nose, and roaring ever, John Nisbet, to the terror of all around him.—*Appendix to the Cloud of Witnessess, and Lady Earlstoun's Letter from the same, in manuscript.*

MR. — EVANS, a man of no great note, but abundantly qualified to make merchandise of the people of God; for being master or commander of a ship wherein 190 of Christ's prisoners were put to be banished in 1685, to the West-Indies, during their voyage of three months' space, he made them endure the most excruciating hardships. They were crowded in so close, night and day, that they could have no air; and oppressed with hunger and thirst, that they were obliged to drink their own urine; whereby thirty-two of them died. After their arrival in Jamaica they were imprisoned and sold for slaves. But Evans fell sick, and his body rotted away piece-meal, while alive: so that none could come near him for stink. This wrought horror of conscience in him; whereupon he

* We have no account of Charters's death; but it is more than probable he died in that condition, as few or none of that tribe we read of were ever again recovered.

called for some of the prisoners, and begged forgiveness, and desired them to pray for him, which they did; so he died. Howard's case, who got the price, was still less hopeful; for he fell down betwixt two ships, and perished in the Thames. Nor were the ship's crew who assisted them much better; for forty of them took a pestilential fever, and turned mad, and leapt overboard and perished.—*Wodrow*.

SIR ROBERT LAURIE of Maxelton, was another enemy to the poor people of God. When Cornet Baillie had met with W. Smith in Glencairn parish, 1684, his father being one of Sir Robert's tenants, went to beg favour for his son. But Sir Robert instantly sentenced him to present death. Baillie refused to execute it, because illegal. But the cruel monster threatened him to do it without delay; and being shot, Maxelton refused him burial in the church-yard. The same day, being the day of his daughter's marriage, his steward declared, that a cup of wine, that day, being put into his master's hand, turned into congealed blood. However, in a short time, he fell from his horse and was killed.—*Wodrow, Appendix to the Cloud, &c*

— WHITEFORD, son to Whiteford, pretended Bishop of Brechin, (who was excommunicated by the Assembly 1638,) went first to England; thence to Holland, where he killed Dorislaus; and being turned Papist, to be out of Cromwell's reach, he went over to the Duke of Savoy's service, and was there when the terrible massacres were committed upon the poor Vandois, about 1655, where he committed many barbarous murders upon them with his own hands. He returned home, and it appears was made a captain of the guard, and had a share in the persecuting work. However, he had a small pension given him for such service. But he sickened before York's parliament sat down, 1686; and being haunted with an intolerable horror of conscience for the execrable murders he had committed, called for some ministers, and told them his abhorrence of Popery: "For," said he, "I went to priests of all sorts; they all justified me in what I had done, and gave absolution. But now I am persuaded by an awakened conscience." And so he died as one in despair, roaring out against that bloody religion that had undone him.—*Burnet's History, &c.*

PHILIP STANDFIELD, son to Sir James Standfield of New-mills, was a mocker of God and all things religious. While student at the university of St. Andrews, he came to a meeting where Mr. John Welch was preaching in Kinkell close: in the time of the sermon, out of malice and mockery, he cast somewhat that hit the minister, who stopped and said, he knew not who it was that had put that public affront upon a servant of Christ; but he who it would, he was persuaded there would be more present at the death of him who did it, than were hearing him that day; and the multitude was not small. However, this profligate went home, and continued his wicked courses till the year 1688, that he murdered his own father; for which he was taken to Edinburgh, and executed. In time of his imprisonment, he told some, he was confident that God was now about to accomplish what he had been before by his servant forewarned of.—*Wodrow*.

JOHN ALLISON, sometime chamberlain to the Duke of Queensberry, to please his master, became a most violent persecutor of God's people. It were needless to condescend upon particular instances: the way and manner of his death plainly shew what his conduct had been, and upon what principle he had acted; for being seized with a terrible distemper,

wherein he had the foretaste of hell, both in body and soul; in body he was so inflamed, that it is said, he was put in a large pipe of water, and the water to shift successively as it warmed. But the horrors of his awakened conscience they could by no means cool: but still he cried out in despair, that he had damned his soul for the Duke his master, till he died.—*M.S. and Appendix to the Cloud, &c.*

GEORGE LORD JEFFERIES, an Englishman, was born about 1648. He first studied the law, then he became serjeant of the city of London; he next stepped to the recordership of the city; and from thence he became Chief Justice of the city of Cuesler; and in 1683 was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In this, as in all his other offices, he behaved most indecently; for, besides his being scandalously vicious, he was almost every day drunk, besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper, by which he brought the Lord Russel, and the famous Algernon Sidney, unto their ends. He also handled Mr. Baxter and others severely. But the most tragical story of his life fell out 1685. After Monmouth was defeated, and himself and many of his little army taken, Jefferies was sent by his master King James to the west, as ordinary executioner to try the prisoners; and here his behaviour was beyond any thing ever heard of we believe in a Christian nation. He was perpetually after drink or in a rage, liker a fury than a judge: where no proof could be had, he commanded the pannels to plead guilty, if they desired mercy; and that, if they confessed any thing, they were immediately hung up. In a few towns in the west of England, he pronounced sentence of death on 800 or 600 persons; 292 of them received this sentence in an hour's space; and of these 600, 250 were executed; others had the benefit of his rage; for pardons were by him sold from 10 pounds to 14,000 guineas. He sentenced the Lady Lesly for harbouring a stranger one night. *John* Gaunt was burnt. A poor man was hanged for selling threepence worth of hay to Monmouth's horse. Some were hanged at the stanchions of windows; others had their bowels burnt, and their bodies boiled in oil, and hung round the town. Bloody Kirk put in for part of the money. At Taunton he hanged nine, without suffering them to take leave of their wives and children. At some places they cast off so many with a health to the King, and a number more with a health to the Queen, drinking at every turn; and perceiving the shaking of their legs in the agonies of death, they said, they were dancing, and called for music, and to every one cast over, a spring was played on pipes, hautboys, drums, and whistles, with a huzza and a glass of wine. Jefferies sentenced one Tutchin for changing his name, to seven years imprisonment, and whipped through all the market-towns in the shire, which was once a fortnight during that time; which made Mr. Tutchin petition the King for pardon. Many other cruelties were then committed; but the foregoing swatch may suffice. Jefferies returned to London, where his master, James, for his good services, made him Lord Chancellor. Being now above the reach of envy of the people, he set himself to assist his master to bring in Popery; but their mad hasty zeal spoiled the project, and so his master having to flee his dominions, Jefferies, disguised in a seaman's dress, essayed to escape after, and in imitation of his master; but was taken and severely drubbed by the populace, and then brought to the Lord Mayor. Jefferies, to be freed of the people, desired to be sent to the Tower; because they were waiting with clubs upon him. The Mayor seeing this, and the Chancellor in such a gloomy appearance, was so struck that he fell into fits, and soon died. Jefferies, being sent to the Tower, continu-

with few either to pity or supply him. At last a barrel of oysters being sent him, he thanked God he had yet some friends left: but when a barrel of oysters, with or without oysters, a strong cord halter fell out, which made him change countenance on the prospect of his future destiny. A listemper, with the gravel, seized him, contracted through his former intemperate, wicked, bloody life, and the horrors of an awakened conscience: and at last, whether nature wrought out itself, or if he himself helped the fatal stroke, as is most likely, is uncertain, 1698.—*Vide his Life, and the Western Martyrology, or Bloody Assizes, &c.*

JOHN GRAHAM of Claverhouse, in Angus, a branch of the house of Montrose, another champion for the prince of the kingdom of darkness. To improve the cruelty of his nature, he was sometime in the French service. He returned to Scotland 1677. The vivacity of his genius soon recommended him to Charles and James, who bestowed upon him the command of a troop of horse: and then he began the spoiling and killing the people of God; wherein he was always successful, except at Drumclog. One of his exploits was at Bewly-bog, where the writer of his Memoirs says he killed seventy-five, and took many prisoners. After Bothwell, had Monmouth granted it, he would have killed the prisoners, burnt Glasgow, Hamilton, and Strathaven, and plundered the western shires. To enumerate all the cruelties, bloodshed, and oppression, committed by him, while he ranged up and down the country for ten years space, were a task here too tedious; in which time, it is said, he killed 100 persons in cold blood. In Galloway, he and his party ravished a woman before her husband's eyes, took a young boy, tied his two thumbs with a cord, and hung him to the balk or roof of the house. Another they took and twisted a small cord about his head with their pistols to his scull. In 1682, he pursued and shot one W. Graham when escaping from his mother's house. In 1683, he shot four men on the water of Dee, and carried two to Dumfries, and hanged them there. In 1685, he caused shoot one in Carrick; and in the same year, most cruelly shot John Brown, at his own door in Moorkirk, and a little after shot A. Hislop in Annandale. These and such services procured him a high title of honour: he was created Viscount Dundee, and made Privy Counsellor. In York's reign, his conduct was much of a piece, running up and down the country, making people swear they would never lift arms against King James. He was always stanch to Popery; and when the convention met at Edinburgh, he went off with some horse to the north, and raised the clanships for James's interest; where he shifted from place to place, till June 13, 1689, that he came to a pitched engagement with General Mackay, on the braes of Gillicrankie, on the water of Tumble. The battle was very bloody, and by Mackay's third fire, Claverhouse fell, of whom historians give little account; but it has been said for certain, that his own waiting-servant taking a resolution to rid the world of this truculent bloody monster, and knowing he had a roof of lead,* shot him with a silver button he had before taken off his

* Perhaps some may think this anent proof of shot a paradox, and be ready to object there, as formerly concerning Bishop Sharp and Dalziel, "How can the devil have or give a power to save life?" &c. Without entering upon the thing in its reality, I shall only observe, 1. That it is neither in his power or in his nature to be a saviour of men's lives; he is called Apollyon, the destroyer. 2. That even in this case, he is said only to give enchantment against one kind of mettle, and this does not save life: for the lead could not take Sharp and Claverhouse's lives, yet steel and silver could do it: and for Dalziel, though he died not on the field, he did not escape the arrows of the Almighty.

own coat for that purpose. However, he fell, and with him Popery, and King James's interest in Scotland. *Behold thou art taken in thy mischief, because thou art a bloody man.*—*Claverhouse's Memoirs, History of the Sufferers, Defoe's Memoirs, &c.*

ALEXANDER GORDON of Kilstners in Galloway, set out amongst the suffering remnant, joined the United Societies, who followed faithful Mr. Renwick, and was for sometime most zealous for that cause; for which he was apprehended, but rescued at Enterkinpath, August 1684, when going to Edinburgh; at which some of the sufferers were not a little (if not too much) elated. But never being right principled, as Mr. Peden perceived, when he refused to sail the sea with him from Ireland before this. He first fell in with Langlands and Barclay, in favour of Argyle's attempt, 1685; and from that time he became a most violent traducer and reproacher of Mr. Renwick and the faithful party, both by tongue and pen, to render them odious; then he fell into a kind of profligate life, (as Mr. Renwick often said, that those who fell from strictness in principle, would not long retain strictness of practice.) At last being at Edinburgh, he got drunk, and then must needs fight, as is usual with such miscreants; and having in the squabble lost much blood, his head became light, so that when going up stairs, he lost his feet, and falling down, brained himself, and so expired.—*Faithful Contendings, Walker's Remarks.*

SIR GEORGE M'KEWZIE of Rosehaugh, was another notorious apostate; for after he had made no small profession of Presbyterian principles, and holiness of life, he, after the Restoration, not only apostatized from that profession, but fell into a most wicked and flagitious life and conversation; which were qualifications good enough then to gain him the post of Advocate. Sometime after Pentland, he pleaded the sufferers part; but afterwards shifted sides, (being advanced to the King's Advocate,) and pleaded most strenuously against them, and even with such a degree of fury, that neither Prelate nor bloody manager could ever charge him with the least thing that looked like moderation. It were needless to relate what hand he had in the bloody work at that time, seeing he pleaded away almost the lives of all that were executed from 1677 to 1688. Nay, such was his rage at the cause of Christ and his people, that before they escaped his hands, he would charge them with what in his conscience he knew was false: and if they would not answer questions to his mind, he would threaten to pull out their tongues with pincers. At the same time, he pleaded that murderers, sorcerers, &c. might go free. In one of his distracted fits, he took the Bible in his hand, and wickedly said, it would never be well with the land till that book was destroyed. These and the like procured him a place in that black list excommunicated at Torwood. After the persecuting work was over, he went up to London, where he died with all the passages of his body running blood, (like Charles IX. of France, author of the Paris massacre.) Physicians being brought, could give no natural cause for it, but that it was the hand of God on him for the blood he had shed in his own land.—*Vide West's Memoirs, and History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.*

SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE of Wester-raw (alias Westerhall,) another of the same kidney, was an egregious apostate. He was such a zealous professor, that when the test was first framed, he could boast that he was an actual covenanter, and so scorned it. But, on the first trial, he not only

work it, but furiously pressed it on others; and, having gathered the parish for that purpose, 1683, he, in one of his rages, said, "The devil damn his soul; but before to-morrow's night, they should all be damned by taking it as well as he." And for persecuting work, he exacted £1,000 in Galloway by oppression, digged a man's body out of the grave, plundered the poor widow woman's house where he died, because he was one of the sufferers, and caused Claverhouse, somewhat contrary to his mind, to shoot A. Hislop, because taken on his ground. He lived till after the Revolution, that he died in great torture of body, and grievous torment and horror of conscience, insomuch, that his cries were heard at a great distance from the house, as a warning to all apostates.—*Wadrow, Appendix to the Cloud, &c.*

SIR JOHN WHITEFORD of Milton (Carluke parish,) was a wicked man, and such a persecutor, that he was said, with his servants, to have murdered severals when flying from Pentland, and had a principal hand in informing against Gavin Hamilton in Mauldslee, who was taken and executed with others at Edinburgh, Dec. 7, 1666; and was one of the test-witnesses 1683. This, and other pieces of the like employment, made James Nicol, a martyr, say, That the world would see that house a desolation, and nettles growing in its close;—which came to pass soon after the Revolution, when he became insolvent, his estate sequestrated, and orders obtained to apprehend him; which at last was effected, although he defended himself sometime with stones from the battlement. The lands changed many masters, and for some years lay desolate; and it has been observed, that till of late no man dwelt in it above the space of seven years.—*M.S.*

— DOUGLAS, Laird of Stenhouse, was another of this fraternity. He assisted Maxwellton at the murder of William Smith in Hill; and, though but a man of mean estate, for this and his excessive harassing, spoiling and fining the people of God, and because a professed Papist, he was advanced to the honour of being sometime Secretary to King James VII. (whether it was he that was advanced to be Earl Milford, we know not,) but his wicked honours were short-lived; his name soon became extinct, having neither root nor branch, male nor female, for a remembrance left of him. *Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their seed from among the children of men.*

WILLIAM DUKE of QUEENSBERRY, was a prime instrument in managing the persecuting work in that period: he once said, they should not have time to prepare for heaven, hell was too good a place for them to dwell in. He was, while an Earl, for his zeal in suppressing the rebels, (as they called them,) made a Chancellor and Treasurer in 1679.—He was afterwards made a Duke, and appointed commissioner by James VII. to the parliament 1685, where he got an act made for taking the test,—act of regularity,—act for taking the allegiance,—and that heaven-daring act declaring it treason to take the covenants,—with a great number banished during the parliament. Such was his vigilance, by his factors and emissaries, that saints' blood was shed like water, and his own tenants were cruelly spoiled and harassed; and though he fell somewhat out of King James's favour in the last years of his reign, yet he still retained his persecuting spirit, even after the Revolution; for he opposed Mr. Veitch's settlement at Peebles, and for seven sessions pleaded it both before the Lords and the church, till he got him removed, 1694.—But all this did not pass without a note of observation of divine

vengeance even in this life; for, taking a fearful disease, it is said, that, like another Herod, the vermin issued in such abundance from his body, that two women were constantly employed in sweeping them into the fire. Thus he continued, till the fleshy parts of his substance were dissolved, and then he expired.*—*M.S. History of the Sufferings, &c.*

JOHN MAXWELL of Milton, commonly called Milton Maxwell, another of the persecuting tribe, caused apprehend George M'Cartney, and was president of the assize, who condemned those ten of the Pentland sufferers that suffered at Ayr and Irvine 1666; after which he harassed the poor persecuted people in Galloway, particularly on the water of Orr. After Neilson of Corsack's execution, he came with a party upon his house, and rifled it, carrying away every thing portable: he destroyed the rest, and turned out the whole family, with the nurse and sucking child, to the open fields, Lady Corsack being then at Edinburgh. But, with all this ill-gotten gain, then and afterwards he was but ill served; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to seek from his betters, and amongst other places came to the house of Corsack, and cringed for an alms from the same Lady Corsack, before her window, which she generously gave him; but at the same time reminded him of his former wicked life, particularly his persecuting the people of God. He went off, but with small amendment; and sometime after ended his wretched life. *Samson's Riddle, A—d—k—n, &c.*

— NISBET, commonly called Lieutenant Nisbet, a man of no high extraction, but born of creditable parents in the parish of Loudon; being enlisted a soldier, obtained, for his good services in the persecuting work, sometime after Bothwell, a lieutenant's post, which he managed with fury against the poor persecuted wanderers for the cause of Christ, as made him break over all limits or bonds of religion, reason, or natural affection or relation; so that he apprehended James Nisbet, a cousin-german of his own, while attending a friend's burial, who was executed at Glasgow; where the said James was also executed; and, while ranging up and down the country, like a merciless tiger, he apprehended another of his cousins, John Nisbet of Hardhill, and with him George Woodburn, John Fergushill, and Peter Gemmel, in the parish of Fenwick; which three last he took out, and immediately, without sentence, shot dead; and then carried Hardhill, after he had given him seven wounds, to Edinburgh, where he was executed. He also apprehended several in the said parish that were banished; and upon their return at the Revolution, he was amongst the first they saw at Irvine after they landed. At first they were minded to have justice executed upon him; but on a second

* Concerning the death of the Duke of Drumlanrig, alias Queensberry, we have the following relation:—That a young man perfectly well acquainted with the Duke, (probably one of those he had formerly banished,) being now a sailor and in foreign countries, while the ship was upon the coast of Naples or Sicily, near one of the burning mountains, one day they espied a coach and six all in black, going toward the mount with great velocity; when it came past them, they were so near, that they could perceive the dimensions and features of one that sat in it. The young man said to the rest, if I could believe my own eyes, or if ever I saw one like another, I would say that is the Duke. In an instant, they heard an audible voice echo from the mount, Open to the Duke of Drumlanrig; upon which the coach, now near the mount, vanished. The young man took pen and paper, and marked down the month, day, and hour of the apparition; and upon his return found it exactly answer the day and hour the Duke died. Perhaps some may take this representation of his future state for a romance; but it is, as it has been oft-times related by old men of good credit and reputation.

ought referred him to the righteous judgment of God. After the Revolution, he soon came to beg his bread, as old soldiers oft-times do; and it was said, that coming to a certain poor woman's house in the east country, he got quarters, and for a bed she made him what we call a make-down, before a mow of peats, being all her small convenience could afford; on which he lay down. She going out on some necessary errand, a little after, when she returned, she found the wall of peats fallen upon him, which had smothered him to death; a very mean end for such a courageous soldier.—*Wodrow, &c.*

JAMES GIBSON, called sometime Bailie Gibson of Glasgow, brother to the merchant, but one qualified to barter the bodies of Christ's suffering members. He got the command of his brother's ship, with those sufferers that were banished to Carolina in the year 1684. The inhumanity he exercised upon them in their voyage is incredible: they were thrust below hatches, and a mutchkin of water allowed them in twenty-four hours; so that some of them died of thirst, although they had fourteen hogsheds to cast out on their arrival. Those who were sick, were miserably treated; and two endeavouring to escape, were by him beat eight times a-day, and condemned to perpetual slavery. Nor could they have liberty to serve God: when they began to worship, they were threatened by him in an awful manner. After their arrival, they were by him sold for slaves, and for the most part died in that country. He returned to spend their price till 1699, that he again set out captain of the *Rising Sun*, with that little fleet for the settlement at Darien. But being one of the most wicked wretches that then lived, and some of the rest nothing better, the judgment of God pursuing him and them, they fell from one mishap into another, until put off by the Spaniards from thence, they went to Jamaica; from thence every one made the best of their way to their own country. Captain Gibson set off from Blue-fields, July 21, 1700; but before he made Florida, their masts were off by the boards, which made them with much difficulty come up to Carolina, and making Charlestown bar, the very place where he had landed Christ's prisoners, just as one of the ministers were gone out, and some more with him, a hurricane came down, September 3, and staved the ship all in pieces, where Gibson and 112 persons perished in the surges of the rolling ocean. *The Lord is known by the judgments which he executeth.—Wodrow, History of Darien, &c.*

JAMES Duke of York, a professed Papist, and another excommunicated tyrant, used no small cruelties while in Scotland 1679, 1681, and 1684; but after his ascension to the crown 1685, he threw off the mask, and set himself with might and main to advance Popery, and exterminate the Protestant religion in these nations, and for that purpose set all his engines at work to repeal the penal statutes against Papists; but that not speeding to his wish, he had recourse to his dispensing power, and to an almost boundless toleration; of which all had the benefit, except the poor suffering remnant in Scotland, who were all harassed; spoiled, haunted like partridges on the mountains, and shot in the fields. Nay, such was his rage, that he said, it would never be well till all the west of Scotland and south of Forth were made a hunting-field; and to recite the cruelties by his order exercised in the west of England, by shooting, beheading, hanging, and banishing over seas, those concerned in Monmouth's affair, beggars all description. However, matters go on: he sends Castlemain to the Pope; the Pope's nuncio arrives in England;

the King declares himself a member of the royal society of Jesuits; imprisons the seven bishops in the Tower, and threatens to convert England to Popery, or die a martyr. But the Prince of Orange arriving in England, and his army forsaking him, he sets off in a yacht for France; but is taken for a Popish priest by some fishermen, and brought back. His affairs becoming desperate, he sets off again for France; from thence, with 1800 French, he landed next year in Ireland, being joined by the bloody Irish Papists. He, like his predecessors, had no small art in dissimulation. Now, he told them in plain terms, he would trust to give commissions to no Protestants; they stank in his nostrils; he had too long caressed the damned church of England; but he would now do his business without them. Accordingly a Popish parliament was called, wherein 3000 Protestants were forfeited, and to be hanged, and quartered when taken, whereof many were plundered and killed; his court throats boasting, they would starve the one half, and hang the other; but hurt, they expected nothing but another general massacre. But being defeated on the banks of the Boyne by King William, July 1, 1691, he set off to France, never to return. Here he continued till 1700, or by some 1701, that he took a strange disease, which they were pleased to call a lethargy, wherein he became quite stupid and senseless, and so died at St. Germain's, in that situation, after he had lived ten years a fugitive exile. *He poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the wilderness, &c.—History of Popery under James, Martyrs in Flames, &c.*

SIR ARCHIBALD KENNEDY of Colzet, was another violent persecutor in Carrick and parts adjacent; for having got the command of a troop of militia, he ranged the country in quest of the sufferers; and, amongst other cruelties, killed one William M'Kigue, at Blairquachen-mill, 1685; and the same year, surprised a meeting for prayer, near Kirkmichael, and shot Gilbert M'Adam, for essaying to escape. And though he got over the persecuting work, he obtained no reformation of a cruel and wicked life, for some time after the Revolution.—The remarkable occurrence at his burial, is sufficient to indicate in what circumstance he died; for, if we shall credit one present, as soon as the gentlemen lifted his corpse, a terrible tempest of thunder arose; to the terror of all present; when going to the church-yard, it ceased a little; but when near the place of interment, it recurred in such a fearful manner, that the flashes of fire seemed to run along the coffin, which affrighted them all; nay, from the lightness of the bier, it is said, that some were apt to conclude the body was thereby consumed, or else taken away by the devil from among their hands, before they got to the place of interment. *Upon the wicked he shall rain fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest.—Crockshanks, A—d R—n.*

DUNCAN GRANT, a tripple, with a tree leg, who vaunted of his wickedness, was another of this hellish crew. His leg did not hinder him from running, or rather riding up and down the country, oppressing and killing God's people. In Clydesdale, he uplifted 1500*l.* of fines. And being one of Lord Airly's petty officers, he got a commission 1688 to hold courts in East Kilbride parish, upon which he quartered his party, and harassed them in a cruel manner. He spoiled the house and goods of John Wilson in High-Flat, to the value of 673*l.* seizing crops and land and all; and though he got the gift of some land there, he did not long possess it; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to extreme poverty, and went through the country now begging, instead of robbing, until the day of his death. He at last came to a kind of gentleman's house, in

country, for quarters. The gentleman, coming to the hall, and in a dejected and melancholy situation, asked the reason. At last he told him, that, by a former pacton, the devil was to have his hand and body, that night. Whether the gentleman believed the story, or rather took him to be crazed, we cannot say; but it was given him such advice as occurred to him, to break off his sins and iniquities, and implore God's mercy, who was able to pardon and preserve him from ruin. He went to bed in the gentleman's barn. It appears, that he had no company. However, he was not like to open the door next morning, which made them at last break it open; where they found him lying dead on the floor, and his skin and quarters in such a position, that they could not call for him, lest they should shock the humane mind.—*History of the Sufferings, &c. A—d R—s.*

UNDER HUME, commonly called Sheriff Hume, probably employed by the sheriff, or sheriff-depute of Renfrew, as a kind of officer, and of that kind to persecute, pursue, and oppress the poor, in which he proved a most industrious labourer, wherein he was not upon the least notice of any field-preaching, and harass people, especially in the parish of Eaglesham, where he mostly resided; for when he heard that Mr. Cameron was preaching at a place in that parish called Mungo-hill, he and one Robert D—p, another of these vassals; and while in the tent, they laid hold on it to pull it down, as it was on Eglinton's ground. Mr. Cameron told them, he was the ground of the great God of heaven, unto whom the earth and all things did belong, and charged them in his Master's name to forbear; they were detained by the people till all was over. Sometimes the aforesaid D—p, would go to the outed people's houses, and brow beat them down, or inform against them, whereby he got sums of money, or other considerations. But all this, besides a large patrimony of rents of some thousands of pounds, did not serve him long; for he fell to beggary, wherein he was so mean as to go to some of those houses he had offered, or laid hands on, to cast down, some of them, and served him liberally. We ought not to be rash in drawing conclusions from the occurrences of Divine Providence; but people could not be so silly, that, having a little pretty girl, who was one moon-shine, playing with the children in the village, a mad dog came and bit her, and bit her, and bit her; whereof she grew mad, and it is said she was killed to death; whereby his name, and offspring of a numerous family of seventeen or eighteen children, became extinct. At last he died in misery, and was buried. Upon his grave the school-boys cast stones, (the school being then in the church,) till it became a kind of a hill, and so remains to this day.—*A—d R—s.*

GIBB, from the largeness of his body, commonly called meikle Gibb, shipmaster and sailor in Borrowstounness, set out amongst the persecutors of the sufferers; but being but badly founded in principle, in the year 1681, he associated three men and twenty-six women to form a society, and, on a pretence of religious zeal to serve God, took the journey towards the west of Scotland; where, from their often singing mournful psalms, they were called the sweet singers. But they long continued thus, till they fell into fearful delusions, disowning themselves; for, laying more stress upon their own duties of fast-keeping, than upon the obedience, satisfaction, and righteousness, they soon came to deny part of the scripture, and to reject the

Psalms of David in metre; which began first to be discovered at Lochgoin in Fenwick parish. But returning eastward towards Darnead, faithful Mr. Cargill had a meeting with them, and used all means with this madcap and his hair-brained followers to convict or reclaim them; but to no purpose. And when some asked his mind anent them, he said, he was afraid some of them would go great lengths, but he happily reclaimed; which came to pass.—“But for Gibb, there are many devils in him,” said he: “wo be to him; his name will stink while the world standeth.” They were all taken to Edinburgh tolbooth; and about the first of May gave in a paper to the Council, shewing how many days they had fasted all at once; how they had burnt the Psalms, and renounced the Confession of Faith, covenants, reforming acts of Assembly, the names of days, months, &c. These extravagancies much pleased York, then in Edinburgh, who dismissed them: after which, Gibb, the three men, and two women, went west to the Frost Moss, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, one night with a great light around them, with the most fearful expressions. Gibb and some of them were again apprehended, and taken to the Canongate tolbooth; where they took such fits of fasting for several days, that their voices changed like to the howlings of dogs. Gibb became so possessed of a roaring devil, like another demoniac, that the sufferers could not get exercise made in the room; which made two of them by turns lie upon him that time, holding a napkin to his mouth. But George Jackson, martyr, coming there, he asked, if that was his fashion? they said it was. He said, he would stay his roaring. After threatening to no purpose, he caused them to stop in worship, till he beat him severely: after which, when they began, he would run behind the door, and, with the napkin on his mouth, sit howling like a dog. About 1684, he and one D. Jamie were banished to America; where, it was said, Jamie became an atheist, and Gibb came to be much admired by the poor blind Indians for his familiar converse with the devil, and sacrificing to him; a thing then more common than now in these parts. In consequence of such a wretched life, he died a dismal death, as far down as 1720.—*Wodrow, Walker's Remarks.*

SIR ROBERT GRIERSON of LAG, was another prime hero for the promoting of Satan's kingdom. We think that it was sometime after Bothwell, that he was made sheriff or sheriff-depute of Dumfries. But to relate all the fining, spoiling, oppression, and murders committed by this worthy of Satan, or champion of his kingdom, were beyond our intention. Besides 1200l. of fines exacted in Galloway and Nithsdale shires, he was accessory to the murdering, under colour of their iniquitous laws, of Margaret M'Lauchlan, aged sixty-three years, and Margaret Wilson, a young woman, whom they drowned at two stakes within the sea-mark, at the water of Bladnock. For his cold-blood murders, he caused hang Gordon and Mr. Cubin, on a growing tree near Irongray, and left them hanging there, 1686. The same year, he apprehended Mr. Bell of Whiteside, D. Halliday of Mayfield, and three more, and, without giving them leave to pray, shot them dead on the spot. Whiteside being acquainted with him, begged but one quarter of an hour to prepare for death; all he got from him was, “What the devil, have ye not got time enough to prepare since Bothwell?” and so he was shot. The same summer, Anandale having apprehended G. Short and D. Halliday, and having bound them, after quarters granted, the monster Lag came up, and, as

ly on the ground, under cloud of night, caused shoot them immediately, leaving their bodies thus all blood and gore. Nay, such was audacious impiety, that he, with the rest of his bon companions and tutors, would, over their drunken bowls, feign themselves devils, those whom they supposed in hell, and then whip one another, as upon that place of torment. When he could serve his master this no longer, he wallowed in all manner of atheism, drunkenness, swearing and adultery; for which he was excommunicated by the church, the Revolution; and yet; by the then powers, was made justice of peace, sometime before 1714; a disgrace to any civilized nation, notwithstanding a Presbyterian profession. Death's pangs at last arresting and all other refuges failing him, under the views of his former wicked, nefarious life, in imitation of his master Charles, he feigned himself the Popish profession; because a Popish priest made him believe, money, he could pardon all his sins; and even when in purgatory for he could bring him to heaven. He died Dec. 23, 1733; and there no doubt went down to Tophet, with a lie in his right hand, and so as in spite of all the priest could mutter over him, as the author of *Egypt* in his master's name well expresses it:

For when I heard that he was dead,
A legion of my den did lead
Him to my place of residence,
And there he'll stay, and not go hence.
This Lag will know, and all the rest,
Who of my lodging are possess;
On earth they can no more serve me;
But still I'll have their company, &c.

AMELIUS ANDERSON, who was one of those ten sentenced to die at London and Irvine 1666, to save his own life became executioner to the king (when the executioner would not do it;) for which divine vengeance did pursue him: for, coming down from the gibbet, the boys pulled him out of the town; and the noise of such an infamous action going faster than his feet could carry him, made him be hated of all his men. This, and horror of his own conscience, haunting him, made him go over to Ireland, where he was little better: almost no man would give him work or lodging. At last he built a little house upon a piece of common ground, near Dublin, which, in a little after, accidentally took fire; and so he and it were both burnt to ashes.—*Crook's History, Walker's Remarks.*

THOMAS INGLIS, son to Captain Inglis, with a party, in May 1685, seized ten or twelve men at a night-meeting for prayer, at Littlewood, (Kilmarnock parish,) took ten prisoners, and shot James Stewart, cut off his head with an axe, and carried it to New-mills, where the men were then playing with it for a foot-ball. Inglis procured a warrant to the rest, had they not, in the meantime, been relieved by the king's party. Whether it was Patrick himself, or one of the dragoons, we do not say; but, it is said, he who used the martyr's head thus, going up to the top of the garrison-house there, a little after, when easing himself of the battlement, fell backward over the wall, and broke his neck; ended a wicked life, by a miserable, ignominious death.—*Crook's Appendix, A—d R—n.*

WILLIAM SMITH in Moor-mailing, with his brother, when returning from Pentland, having stepped aside to a neighbour's house, when

near home, upon a certain errand; but not coming out soon, his brother went to seek for him. But when going past the window, he had a glance of two men and a woman standing round his brother, and a spit run through his throat: this made him flee for his life. William was not to be found, and, as things then went, his brother durst make no inquiry after him. Near thirty years after, sometime after the Revolution, he was found in a cleft of a moss, standing as if he had been put down wanting the head. His brother came upon the first notice, and not minding the situation, grasped him in his arms; upon which he crumbled all down to dust. His remains they gathered up and buried; upon which a stone was erected with a motto, which is to be seen to this day. But let us hear what became of these murderers. One of the men, it is said, died in great horror of conscience; and would have discovered the fact, had not his brother and sister, accomplices, thrust a napkin into his mouth, and so he expired. Sometime after, the other brother being abroad, was got lying dead upon the way, in drink as was supposed. Last of all, the woman hanged herself, and was buried in two or three lairds' grounds clandestinely, but still raised by orders of the proprietors; till, being wearied, the buriers threw her carcass into an old coal-pit, and so the tragical story ended.—*A—d R—n.*

THE EARL of ARGYLE (as already mentioned) having fallen, and several of his officers and men being taken, the gallant Col. R. Rumbold of Rye-house fled westward, and would, it is thought, have extricated himself, had not a number of cruel country-men risen, and taken him west from Lismahago. It is said, they were so cruel, that, while defending himself against three in number, one of them came with a corn fork, and put it behind his ear, and turned off his head-piece; to whom he said, "O cruel countryman! that used me thus, when my face was to mine enemy." However, he was by them taken to Edinburgh, and from the bar to the scaffold, drawn upon a gibbet, then let down a little, and his heart taken out by the executioner while alive, and held out on the point of a bayonet, and then thrown into a fire; his body quartered, and placed in the public places of the nation.—But let us hear what became of these ungrateful wretches.

MARK KERR, one of the principal actors, and who was said to wound him after he was taken, and who, it is said, got his sword, was afterwards killed on a summer-evening at his own door, (or run through by the same sword,) by two young men who called themselves Col. Rumbold's sons; and, as it is said, went off without so much as a dog moving his tongue against them, &c.

GEORGE MAIR, being abroad, when returning, wandered and fell over Craignethan craigs; got one of his limbs broke, and stuck in a thicket, and when found next day, was speechless; and so died in that condition.

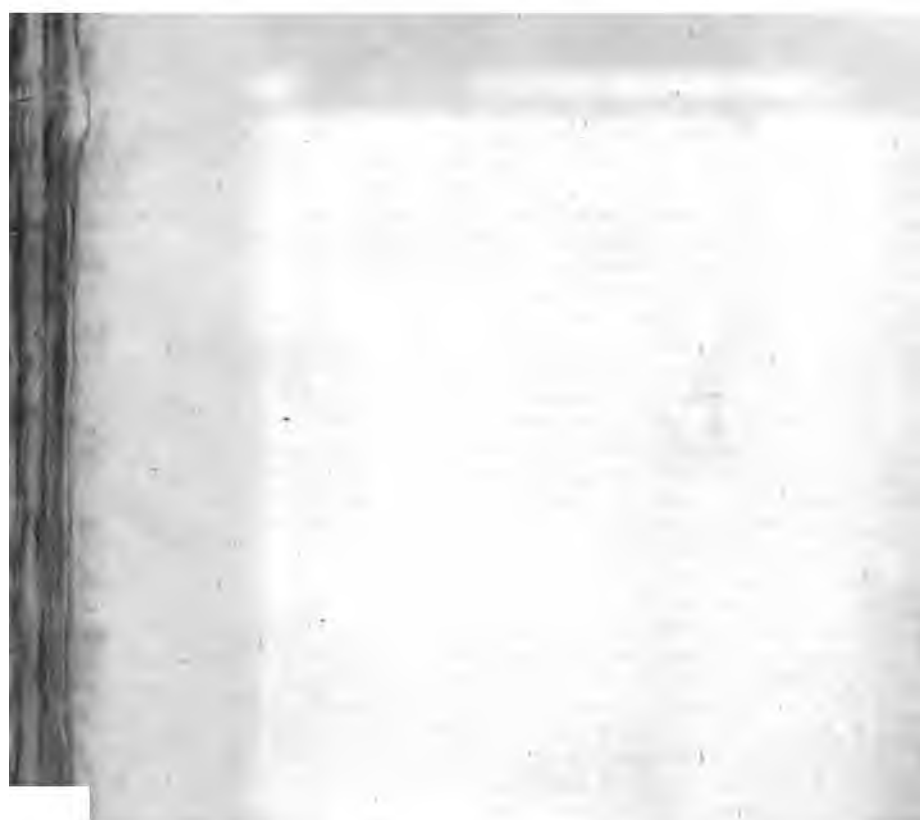
One — WILSON was killed by the fall of a loft. Another in Hamilton, (commonly called the long lad of Nethertown,) got his leg broken, which no physician could cure; and so corrupted, that scarce any person, for the stink, could come near him, &c.

— WEIR of Birkwood fell from his horse, and was killed: and his son, not many years ago, was killed by a fall down a stair in drink, after a funeral.

GAVIN HAMILTON, who got his buff coat, (out of which Rumbold's blood could by no means be washed,) lived a good while after, a wicked man's life; yet his name and memory is become extinct, and his habitation is razed out, and become a plain field.—*M.S.*

FINIS.







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