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SCS #1402

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER REID,

A Scottish Covenanter.



WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

AND EDITED BY ARCHIBALD PRENTICE,
HIS GREAT GRANDSON.



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A STUDY OF QUANTUM ELECTRODYNAMICS
IN THE PRESENCE OF A STRONG ELECTRIC FIELD

SCS #1402

PREFACE.

THE following short memoir, in the handwriting of the author, was found amongst the papers of his son, the Rev. GEORGE REID, minister at Ochiltree, and was published, for the perusal of his descendants, in 1802, by DAVID and WALTER REID, grandsons of the subject of the memoir. As it was printed in a very slovenly manner, and full of typographical errors, I have been induced, by respect for the memory of my ancestor, to reprint it, and have added to it a few historical and biographical notes, in order that it may form in itself a brief history of a period which I

consider one of the most important in the annals of our island. To those who value the liberties we now enjoy, an account of the contest for their establishment, written by one who took a part in the conflict, cannot be uninteresting; and to all who hold the religious tenets of the Covenanters, and, like them, acknowledge no earthly head of the church, and no prelatic authority over its members, their sufferings in the good cause, and the heroic resistance they offered to the tyrannical measures of the heartless and profligate CHARLES, must be subjects of especial interest. To the descendants of ALEXANDER REID, for whom, principally, these particulars of his life are intended, I need offer no apology for their publication. Yet I may remark, that, humble as our ancestor was, and occupying a rank from which the biographer has seldom thought of drawing the subject of his eulogy, he was a pious man, and therefore entitled to our respect—he was a patriot, and therefore entitled to our gratitude. His name was not exalted by deeds of violence;—he was not found amongst

the mercenaries who sought to emerge from obscurity by implicit obedience to a tyrant's commands;—he was not one who valued that bad fame which is to be acquired by the destruction of his fellow-men: but, disregarding the renown which the page of history confers, his sole ambition was, to have his name recorded in the pages of the book of life. But the nation was grievously oppressed, and the man who dared to worship God in the manner his fathers had done, was in hourly danger of forfeiting his life for complying with the dictates of his conscience. In defence of civil and religious liberty our ancestor ventured into the field; and we find him, at the age of thirty-three, stimulated neither by the blind impetuosity of youth, nor the bigotry of age, but influenced by sound and liberal principles, raising his arm against the oppressor, and wielding his unbought sword in the sacred cause of freedom.

I trust that the perusal of these memoirs will excite in the minds of his numerous descendants, if they do not already exist

there, those principles of piety and of patriotism which actuated him; and, that respect for his memory will be followed by its legitimate effect—emulation of his virtues.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LORD'S
MERCIFUL PROVIDENCES TO ALEXAN-
DER REID, TENANT IN EASTER MAINS,
BROXBURN, AND TO THE CHURCH IN
HIS TIME.



I WAS born in the parish of Kirkliston, in the year 1646. I was educate and brought up under the ministry of Mr. Gilbert Hall; my parents living in that parish, and getting good by his ministry in that flourishing time of the gospel;* so that

* Burnett bears testimony to the excellence of the government of Scotland, during the period of Cromwell's ascendancy.—“There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we reckon those eight years of usurpation, a time of great peace and prosperity.” Reid has characterised the period, as a “flourishing time of the gospel.” The dispute between the *Resolutioners* and the *Protesters*, (into which denominations the clergy were divided) and the

they were such an example before me of seeking God, that many times, when I was very young, my father praying in the family, I thought "Oh, that I could pray," going along with the words of the prayer. I was instructed not to curse, or swear, or break the sabbath day; from which, by the mercy of God, I was easily restrained: and many times, upon my companions playing on the sabbath day, I durst not do it, although I had an inclination to it.

I was put to the school young, so that I learned to read the scriptures; in which, by the Lord's good hand that was with me, I greatly delighted; and the impression remained on my mind when I grew older. I read the scripture much after I was nine or ten years of age, and also preaching books; so that I was taught and brought up in presbyterian principles, which I saw clearly was according to the word of God. I was also, in my younger

exertions of both parties to obtain the support of the people, by extra zeal in the discharge of their duties, made religious matters more than ever the subject of constant discussion.—"It is scarcely credible," says Burnett, "what an effect this had among the people, to how great a measure of knowledge they were brought, and how readily they could pray extempore, and talk of divine matters."

days, instructed in our Catechisms and Confession of Faith, which contain the ground of our Christian religion; and coming to more age, and being so instructed, I clearly came to understand, that the nation, and I myself, by my baptismal vows and instructions, were engaged in our solemn covenants.

When I was about nine or ten years of age, I had an inclination to seek God; which I did sometimes, now and then; but had strong repulses, from the suggestions of Satan,* on the other hand; the one pressing me to duty, the other pressing me to neglect it. Having this suggestion, "It is soon enough yet;" and likewise

* To those who may imagine that this was a premature age for serious religious impressions, I quote the following passage from the work of a lady of high rank and exalted mind, who, in the memoirs of her husband, Col. Hutchinson, has shewn that *puritanism* could exist along with those "high-erected thoughts, seated in a heart of courtesy," which characterize the gentleman. Alluding to her own character, at an earlier age than this, she says, "It pleased God, that through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught. I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourses to good subjects."

this, “ You may live civilly, without
 “ wronging any body, and live under a
 “ good honest name; for if ye begin now,
 “ when ye are young, ye will but leave
 “ it off again, and then that will be a
 “ greater shame than if ye had never
 “ begun;” and suggested two men, who
 were great professors, that seemed to ex-
 ceed many, who turned away, and left
 their profession; and so, I thought, it
 might even be with me; so that, for a
 long time, I was mightily kept back: yet
 the Lord, in mercy, kept me, to look after
 him. While I was under these impres-
 sions, the sad and unhappy change of the
 government, from presbytery to prelacy,
 commenced. The first preaching that I
 understood any thing of, was that Mr.
 Gilbert Hall had at Kirkliston, before the
 sad change of putting the most part of the
 presbyterian ministers from their churches,
 which was in the years 1660 and 1661.
 At that time I was clearly convinced by
 the word of God, and converse with sound
 presbyterians, that the presbyterian way
 was the way of truth; so I thank the Lord
 that I resolved to adhere to and follow that
 way only, in opposition to the perjured
 prelacy that was pressed on the land, con-

trary to the clear rule of the word of God, and the lands solemnly engaged to the contrary. I resolved, and, through the Lord's assistance, stood in opposition to curates in joining with them, BE THE HAZARD WHAT IT WOULD. Notwithstanding the cruelty to our presbyterian ministers, the Lord did graciously provide the gospel for me and others, by some that continued in their kirks, after the rest were put out.*

* The following extract from an article in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, attributed to Dr. M'Crie, contains a brief account of the introduction of episcopacy. It forms part of a defence of the covenanters, from the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the *Tales of My Landlord*, a work which, being as destitute of literary merit, as of historical verity, seemed below the serious notice of the author of the *Life of Knox*. But such is the prevailing taste for light reading, and the ignorance in matters of history, that thousands of the "reading public" are contented to form a judgment of their ancestors, from the distorted paintings of a trashy novel-writer; and it becomes a matter of duty, to rescue the memory of the virtuous from such misrepresentation.

"During nineteen long years previous to the insurrection at Bothwell, the presbyterians of Scotland had smarted under the rod of persecution. Scarcely was Charles II. restored, when the scaffold was dyed with the blood of the noble Marquis of Argyle, who had placed the crown on the king's head; and of James Guthrie, whose loyalty, not of that passive, creeping, senseless kind which cavaliers and tories glory in, but enlightened, tempered, and firm, was proved by his refusing, during the whole period of the interregnum, to

There was one Mr. Robert Hunter, that preached for a time in Corstorphin kirk, whom we resorted to, and were much re-

acknowledge either the commonwealth or the protectorate. The people of Scotland were deeply rooted in their attachment to presbytery, from a persuasion of its agreeableness to scripture; from experience of the advantages, religious and civil, which it had produced; from the oaths which they were under, to adhere to it; and from the sufferings which they had endured for their adherence to it, both from the court and from the sectaries of England. Upon the restoration, a proclamation was sent down to Scotland, in which the king promised to preserve this form of church government in that part of his dominions. But this was merely an artifice to lull the nation asleep, until the court had gained over, or got rid of, the principal persons whose opposition they had reason to fear; and to prevent the general remonstrances which would otherwise have been presented from all parts of the kingdom, against the intended change; for it is beyond all doubt (whatever ignorance may assert to the contrary) that there was not then a party in Scotland, worthy of being named, which desired the restoration of episcopacy, upon religious principle. Accordingly, when the parliament met, being packed by the court, and slavishly submissive to all its wishes, it proceeded to declare the king supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; to devolve upon him the whole right of settling the government of the church; to condemn all resistance to the royal authority; and, at one stroke, to rescind all the parliaments from 1640 to 1650, even those at which his majesty and his father had been present, and all their acts, including many of the most enlightened and salutary which ever passed a Scottish legislature! Thus the liberties of the nation, civil and religious, were laid

freshed by his preaching, and more and more confirmed in the presbyterian principles: and we likewise resorted for a time at

at the feet of the monarch, and the foundations of all legitimate government shaken. 'This' says Bishop Burnet, 'was a most extravagant act, and 'only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It 'shook all possible security for the future, and laid 'down a most pernicious precedent. It was a mad, 'roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost 'perpetually drunk.' Had not the ancient spirit of Scotland been broken by repeated disasters, and had they not been basely betrayed, the nation would have risen at once, bound this mad crew, and thrown off the degrading yoke which was imposed on them. In the exercise of the powers with which he was invested, the king immediately restored episcopacy by a royal edict, which was soon after confirmed by another parliament. One principal cause of this revolution, and of all the confusions, horrors, and crimes, which it entailed upon the nation during twenty-eight years, was the base and unparalleled treachery of Sharp, who, having been sent to London by the presbyterians to watch over their interests, and supported there by their money, deluded them in his letters by the most solemn assurances of his fidelity, and of the security of their cause, while he had betrayed that cause, and sold himself to their adversaries; and who continued to practise the same consummate hypocrisy until he had no longer any reason for concealment, and took possession of the archbishoprick of St. Andrew's. All the authority, and all the force of government, were henceforth employed, almost solely, in enforcing subjection to a form of church-government, and to an order of men, that were odious to the nation. The Solemn League and Covenant, which was regarded with the greatest veneration, and had long been considered

West Calder kirk, to Mr. Patrick Shiels, by whose preaching I was yet more confirmed in the presbyterian way. And their

as one of the most sacred bonds of security for the national religion and liberties, was declared by statute unlawful, and all the subjects, as well as the king, who had sworn to it, were absolved from its obligation; those who were admitted to places of power and trust, were obliged explicitly to renounce it; and this renunciation soon came to be exacted from the subjects in general, under the heaviest penalties. All ministers who had been admitted to parishes after 1649, were ordered, before a certain day, to receive collation from the bishops, or else to leave their churches. In consequence of this, between three and four hundred of them were constrained to leave their charges, which were filled with men who were, in general, the very dregs and refuse of society. In giving them this character, we use the language, a little softened, of a bishop, who was at that time in Scotland, and was a writer in support of episcopacy. 'They were' says he, 'very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers ever I heard: they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and to the sacred functions; and were, indeed, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were despised.' Who can wonder that such men were despised and detested? Who but hypocritical infidels, and profligates, and dastardly souls, would have submitted to the ministry of such men, or have abandoned their own ministers, who had been highly respected, and were highly respectable? Accordingly, such of the people as had any sense of religion, or of decorum, and were not slaves to the court, or to deep prejudice, scrupled to hear

preaching was very savoury to me, for I had at that time a great memory to retain their sermons. I could have repeated the

the curates, and frequented the churches of those presbyterian ministers who had not yet been ejected. When this was not in their power, they craved instructions from their ejected pastors, who, considering the relation that had subsisted between them and their flocks as not dissolved, complied with their request, at first privately, and afterwards more publicly. This was the origin of separate meetings and conventicles, against which the vengeance of the government, and of the bishops and their worthless underlings, was now directed.

“Laws, with penalties, which were gradually increased, were enacted, and every person bearing the king’s commission had the power of executing them. The parliament had granted to the king a standing army, under the pretext of defending Christendom against the Turks, forsooth; but, in reality, to support his arbitrary government. The soldiers were dispersed in companies through the non-conforming parishes: the curate read over a catalogue of his parishioners on the sabbath-day, and having marked the names of such as were absent, gave them in to the person who commanded the company, who immediately levied the fines incurred by the absentees. In parishes to which the nonconformists were expected to repair, the soldiers used to spend the sabbath in the nearest inn, and when warned by the psalm that public worship was drawing to a close, they sallied out from their cups, placed themselves at the doors of the church, told the people as they came out, like a flock of sheep, and seized as their prey upon such as had wandered from their own parishes. Ministers who preached at conventicles were, when apprehended, committed to prison, and banished; those who attended their ministry were severely fined, or subjected to corporal punishment. Mas-

most part of them afterward, and wrote the substance of many of them after I went home; so that I greatly delighted to follow that way, and was kepted from hearing eūrates, which I desire to bless the Lord for; and did debate with those I met with against that perjured party, that had openly and avowedly broken the covenant, and persecuted the godly in the land. There were two scripture passages which confirmed me against that lordly prelacy, and convinced me that it was not approven of the Lord:—Luke xxii. 25. “And he
 “said unto them, the kings of the Gen-
 “tiles exercise lordship over them; and
 “they that exercise authority upon them,
 “are called benefactors. But ye shall not
 “be so; but he that is greatest among
 “you, let him be as the younger; and he
 “that is chief, as he that doth serve:”
 and that scripture, 1. Peter v. iii. “Neither

ters were obliged to enter into bonds that their servants should not attend these meetings, and landlords to come under these engagements for all that lived on their estates. If any dispute arose respecting the fines, the person accused was obliged to travel from the most distant parts of the country, and though found innocent, was often obliged to pay what was called riding-money, for defraying the travelling expenses of his accuser, who accompanied him.”

“ as being lords over God’s heritage, but “ being ensamples to the flock.” There was a minister over the water, in Dalgity, called Mr. Andrew Donaldson,* that I sometimes went to ; and likewise one Mr. John Charters, of Currie, that had not taken on with the bishops, an old man, but of very small gifts, which we resorted to ; and readily, in the afternoon, some outed ministers preached, at Baberton, Riccarton, and Curriehill ; and sometimes Mr. John Welsh,† and Mr. John Semple,‡ who af-

* Mr. Donaldson was ejected in 1664, for refusing to comply with the Bishop’s summons to the presbyteries. In 1676, he, along with Gilbert Hall, and many others, were *intercommuned*; that is, declared rebels, and all who rendered them the slightest aid in food or clothing, or received them into their houses, or *even conversed with them*, were considered as guilty with them of the same crimes. These *crimes* were, either hearing or preaching at conventicles, and refusing to appear when summoned.

† Welsh was a great grandson of the intrepid reformer Knox. He was ejected from his parish in 1663 ; and because some women opposed the settlement of his successor, 100 horse and 200 of the king’s guards were quartered on the inhabitants. Mr. Welsh joined the insurgents, who were defeated in 1666, at Pentland. In 1674 a reward of £400. sterling was offered for his apprehension ; and the detestable Claverhouse declared he would at any time ride 40 miles in a winter’s night to apprehend him : yet he continued to preach on every opportunity, and happily escaped every plan for his destruction.

‡ In 1660 Semple was imprisoned, along with

forded no small encouragement to our souls.

Now, all this time the persecution of the nonconformists grew greater and greater, by prelates and their adherents; so that all these ministers before mentioned, were casten out of their kirks, and the nonconformists in this part of the country were hard put to it, for preaching; but yet the Lord mercifully provided for his people, that Mr. Alexander Hamilton preached in the tower of Cramond, and Mr. Robert Hunter, at Camuck; so that we resorted thither; by whom we were confirmed more and more to adhere to that persecuted cause, believing that it was the cause of God.

After this, about the year 1666, the persecution grew still hotter and hotter, and grew very great in the west country, because of the multitude of nonconformists; for the great part of the people there withdrew from curates, especially in Gallo-way, where the persecution rose to a great height; so that one Major Turner was sent out with his soldiers, to spoil and cruelly oppose and oppress that people

elevn others, for addressing a humble supplication to Charles, for the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland!

mightily, as Naphtali doth declare fully ; so that people were forced, by that horrid cruelty, to rise in arms for their own defence, and the defence of their religion ;*

* “ Sir James Turner, who commanded a troop which lay at Dumfries, in 1666, had distinguished himself by his military exactions and plunder. A small party of his soldiers were one day ordered to a small village in Galloway, to bring in one of their victims. While they were treating him in the most inhuman manner, some countrymen ventured to remonstrate against their cruelty. This was resented by the soldiers ; a scuffle ensued, and the soldiers were put to flight. Knowing that this act would draw on them the vengeance of the military, the countrymen, being joined by numbers who could not but applaud their generous interference, disarmed the soldiers who were in the neighbourhood, and proceeding quickly to Dumfries, took Sir James Turner prisoner, and dispersed his troops. This incident produced the rising of the presbyterians in the west of Scotland, which was suppressed at Pentland Hills, by the king’s troops, under General Dalziel.

“ How far it was prudent for them to continue in arms, and to brave the fury of the government, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, we shall not judge ; but that they were chargeable with rebellion, we will not easily admit.—‘ We leave ‘ all those who afterwards thought it lawful to join in ‘ the revolution,’ says a sensible English author, who wrote *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, ‘ and in ‘ taking arms against the oppressions and arbitrary ‘ government of King James, to judge whether ‘ these good men had not the same individual rea- ‘ sons, and more, for this Pentland expedition : ‘ and it is answer enough for all that shall read ‘ these sheets, to say, that these men died for that ‘ lawful resisting of arbitrary power which has been ‘ justified as legal, and acknowledged to be justifi-

and their neighbours, hearing thereof, joined with them. Some of them knowing they were engaged in covenant with them,

‘able by the practice and declaration of the respective parliaments of both kingdoms.’

“An unsuccessful attempt to throw off a tyrannical yoke, serves in general to rivet it more firmly, and to aggravate the sufferings of the oppressed. It was so in the present instance. Besides those who suffered for being engaged in the late insurrection, the nonconformists throughout the kingdom were prosecuted with the greatest rigour. ‘A bone of contention,’ to use the phrase of their arch persecutor, was thrown in among them by the ‘royal acts of indulgence,’ as they were called, by which a certain number of the ejected ministers were permitted to preach upon certain conditions, and were confined by twos, like galley-slaves, within their parishes. Upon this, severer laws were enacted against conventicles. To preach at a separate meeting in a private house, subjected the minister to a fine of five thousand merks; if he preached in the fields, his punishment was death, and confiscation of property. The fines of those who countenanced these meetings were increased, and were proportioned to their wealth. For example, Sir George Maxwell of Newark, and Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, were fined in a sum amounting to nearly eight thousand pounds sterling each, in the course of three years, for absence from their parish church, attendance on conventicles, and disorderly baptisms. Landlords were now obliged to make it an article in their leases, and masters in their indentures, that their tenants and apprentices should regularly attend the established places of worship. Recourse was at last had to one of the most detestable measures of a tyrannical government. Letters of intercommuning were issued against a great number of the most distinguished presbyterians, including several ladies of rank, by which they

to defend one another in the common cause of religion, they, in conscience, joined with them, and laid hold on Turner, and took him prisoner, and his soldiers fled off for their safety.

This being done, not knowing what to do, thinking all the men of arms in the country would be set out on them, and ruin them, and that country altogether, they held conversation together; thinking the land was all obliged to own that cause, as well as they in Galloway, therefore they that were together there in arms thought they would draw eastward through the country, hoping the assistance of their friends, who were now *liable to the same hazard*, and under the same engagements. So they came through some parts of the west country, and their friends

were proscribed as rebels, and cut off from all society; a price, amounting in some instances to five hundred pounds, was fixed on their heads; and every person, not excepting their nearest relatives, was prohibited from conversing with them by word or writing; from receiving or harbouring them, and from supplying them with meat, drink, clothes, or any of the accommodations or necessaries of life, under the pain of being pursued with rigour, as guilty of the same crimes with the persons inter-communed. It is to be observed, that the highest offence of those who were thus excluded from the pale of society, was preaching at, or attending, field conventicles."—*M'Crice*.

that were zealous for that same cause, joined with them: and they came to Larnark, thinking it a present duty to signify to all friends and foes what was their design; and they thought it a duty to assemble themselves before the Lord, and renew their covenant engagements, which they did. But being pursued by General Dalziel, sent with the forces against them, they could not stay long in one place, and came still eastward, expecting more and more assistance. There did some join with them, indeed; but not so many as had been expected, for they were hard put to it, and being hastened, they were ill provided in horse and arms; and being pressed hard, they travelled forward, and came to Bathgate.

I did not hear of their rise till they came to Bathgate. I would gladly have gone to them, but could not have the opportunity. The Lord knows I had a great respect to them in that way, but I had neither skill, nor arms, nor opportunity; and it was my greatest grief to hear, how all the country was raised to oppose them, instead of assisting them; which was a grievous guilt of the nation. They came forward through Bathgate, east through

Broxburn, and along the New Bridge, and then towards Collington: and Dalziel followed hard after them, with the forces, and countrymen that came to his assistance. So they, being hard pressed, were forced to encounter in the evening, upon the east and south side of Pentland Hills, being both faint and wearied with hard and cruel usage in their journey; and so were broke that night, about the twilight. Some of these dear Christians lost their lives, and many were taken prisoners in the encounter; and many who fled were murdered in the way, to the great shame and grievous guilt of this nation.

Having used sometimes, for a recreation, to play a game at cards with our servant men, which that night they fell to, desiring me to play with them, I took the cards in my hands, and was quickly checked with the thought of being about an idle amusement, while the Lord's dear people were in the open fields. I did not know of the encounter, but such an overwhelming sorrow came over my spirits, that I was mightily crushed, and did cast the cards out of my hands, as an unsuitable exercise, and would not suffer these men to use them any more while they were

with me ; and I did never use them any more. On the morrow I heard of the break, to my great grief and anguish of spirit. And, after this, the people of God were very sore put to it, that would not comply with prelacy ; and several of the chiefest of our dear friends that were taken prisoners, did suffer death in Edinburgh, and other places in the land, by the cruel instigation of the bloody prelates, and their favourites. And the rest of the non-conformists of the land were deprived of their gospel ministers, who were driven to hiding-places and secret corners ; so that, for a long time, in the place where I lived, we had very few opportunities to hear the gospel :* but yet the Lord, in mercy, caused a glorious light to arise on the back of that darkness.

* Sharp, in reporting the suppression of this *rebellion*, as he called it, counselled a *more vigorous application* of the law for the extirpation of disaffection ! The consequence of this vigorous application of the law was, to justify resistance, and prepare the way for a revolution ; and its ultimate effect was, to overthrow that unscriptural form of church government which was attempted to be forced upon the people. Wickedness, fortunately, is generally accompanied by folly ; and the severity of the measures adopted by rulers for the support of unlawful power, only tends to accelerate its destruction.

The first occasion I had of hearing the gospel, was in the spring of the year; and about the hinder end of the winter, I got intimation of it very accidentally. That eminent servant of the Lord, Mr. Michael Bruce, preached privately at the house of Barnbougall: he insisted upon that text in the Psalms, "The Lord sent his word, and healed them." This I cannot pass, without a remark on the application of that doctrine. He had this expression: "I believe that I shall live, and see the delivery of the kirk of Scotland; being assured that the Lord will pity his church, and recover his work in this land." When that worthy man came over from Ireland, in the time of the great trouble in that country, when King William came over to England, I saw his prediction accomplished; for when the bishops were casten out by parliament, I heard this worthy man, after the overthrow of prelacy, preach in the New Kirk of Edinburgh. There is another observable thing, of my own experience. I heard this Mr. Bruce preach on another text, the same year the battle of Pentland was fought, in the latter end of April, upon Jeremiah ii. 2. "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love

“of thine espousals; wherein Israel was
“holiness to the Lord.” These were the
words he insisted on: “The days of thine
“espousals.” He was wonderfully assisted
of the Lord, holding out days of espousals
which the Lord had with Scotland in the
days of the reformation, when many were
converted, and brought in to him: and
likewise holding out the marks of young
converts; so that many of his hearers
burst out in great weeping, being con-
vinced that they were strangers to conver-
sion. As for me, although I had followed
the purest means in hearing the gospel;
yet I felt then I was a stranger to conver-
sion, and I weeped till I could weep no
more; and was in great trouble of mind all
that summer following, so that I cannot
express my sorrow and trouble of mind;
being mightily straitened in prayer, hope-
less and faithless, thinking myself a cast-
away, and at that time being, for the most
part, destitute of the gospel. I could not
make my condition known to my Christian
friends, living in a retired place, where I
had but little opportunity to do it; so that
I continued all that summer in great trou-
ble of mind, thinking myself a cast-away,
being challenged for neglect of seeking God.

Although the eight years by-gone, I had followed the purest ordinances, and greatly delighted to hear the word of the Lord, yet I thought I had never closed the bargain betwixt Christ and my soul; so that I was forced to cry out, “O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death!” I thought I was just in that condition spoken of in Ezekiel xvi. like that wretched infant, casten out, to the loathing of all flesh, lying polluted in my blood, whom no eye pitied.

That summer I could work little or none; but lying here and there in the fields, wrestling on the ground, mightily straitened in prayer many times; but would fain look after the Lord. I continued in so sad a condition, that I cannot express the soul-anguish I was in, till about Martinmas following, when the Lord had compassion, as I thought, upon the wretched infant, and took me up; and behold it was the time of love, and cast his skirts over me, and entered into covenant with me, that I should be his; and I thought I did enter into a covenant with him; so that I got my heart poured out before him with tears, and made a bargain with him, covenanting with him to be his fully, as I thought,

without reservation, committing my soul and body to him; and I engaged, through his strength, to be for him, and not for another, come well or come woe. I resolved, in his strength, though he should call me to quit all for his sake, I would do it, although it should be to the laying down of my life, as many of his people had done that year. I thought there was a formal bargain made between Christ and my soul. O, that was a joyful night, and heart cannot conceive, nor tongue express, what joy my soul attained to! Indeed, I thought that never any such joy could be attained here, under the sun. I thought, as Jacob did when he saw his vision, “Venerily, this is the house of God; this is the gate of heaven;” and for ten or fourteen days, comfort and joy continued; so that I could seek nothing in prayer, neither in private in the family, nor in secret before God. I could not supplicate, but only praise. I thought, “O, that all the creatures would praise with me; men, sun, moon, stars, and all God’s creatures, would praise with me!” so that I thought as the disciples did upon the mount, at the transfiguration, “O, to be here! O, to dwell here! O, to be evermore in this condi-

“tion!” and many times crying, as in the Song, “I am my beloved’s, and he is mine; “I am my beloved’s, and his desire is towards me.”* But I continued in this condition for a short time; fourteen days at the most, when I was set to my feet again; and the Lord withdrew, and hid his face. And Satan then came in with his temptations and suggestions, saying, all was but delusion; but I was persuaded that it was the finger of God, and, through all my suggestions and temptations, that this was the mighty power of God; and this was about the two and twentieth year of my age. But I thought it was my unguarded walk provoked the Lord to desert me; so that I was in hazard to raze the foundation of my faith. The Lord, after this, mercifully provided the gospel, mostly

* ——— “superior joy ———

Invades, possesses, and o'erwhelms the soul
 Of him, whom hope has with a touch made whole,
 'Tis heaven, all heaven, descending on the wings
 Of the glad legions of the king of kings:
 'Tis more—'tis God, diffused through every part,
 'Tis God himself triumphant in his heart.
 O welcome, now, the sun's once hated light,
 His noonday beams were never half so bright!
 Not kindred minds alone are call'd to employ
 Their hours, their days, in listening to his joy;
 Unconscious nature, all that he surveys,
 Rocks, groves, and streams, must join him in his
 praise.”

Cowper,

in the night-time, and stirred up his servants to preach the gospel in that time, because of hazard in the day-time, except in the remote places of the muirlands, where they preached by day, in mosses and mountains.*

The first field ministers that came out were Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Gabriel Sempel, Mr. Samuel Arnot, Mr. John Blackadder, Mr. John Dickson, Mr. Robert Archibald, Mr. Thomas Hog,† whom the

— * “ Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,
Dispart to different seas. Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat,
With green-sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye. In solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws.
There, leaning on his spear, (one of th' array
Whose gleam, in former days, had scathed the rose
On England's banner, and had powerless struck
The infatuate monarch and his wavering hosts,)
The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured
In gentle stream: then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad.”

Grahame's Sabbath.

† Mr. Dickson and Mr. Blackadder were afterwards imprisoned together, in the Bass, an insulated rock in the firth of Forth. The latter died in prison; the former was confined seven years. Their crime was preaching at conventicles, which they did not deny. It is told of Mr. Hog, that James II. had him

nonconformists heard, sometimes by night, sometimes by day; and I did hear them sometimes, amongst others, which was a mean to strengthen me and others to continue in one faith, and to hold by our profession. Some time after the encounter at Pentland, there were indulgences given by the council to some ministers, in our side of the country,—Mr. Alexander Hamilton, in Dalmeny, and Mr. John Primrose, in Queensferry; but after this they were cast out again, and we were taken by night and by day to wait on the gospel by the outed ministers, and the Lord eminently countenanced his servants, especially in the fields in these remote places, to the great joy of his people, though in great hazard. Many more of the presbyterian ministers took the fields in these remote places, and preached by night.

In other places of the country, these ministers, Mr. Welsh, Mr. Sempel, and Mr.

consulted with regard to affairs about the time of his accession; but the opinion he gave was so little relished by the king, that Hog thought it prudent to escape to Holland. He was there introduced to the Prince of Orange, who was then contemplating his accession to the English throne, and at whose court the expatriated Scottish clergy received much attention.

Arnot, preached, although there were great sums of money offered to any that would apprehend them; yet, for all this danger, it scared not others to come out. There were Mr. David Hume, Mr. John Rae, Mr. Archibald Rithel, Mr. William Sempel, Mr. George Barclay, Mr. William Main, Mr. Hugh Mackell, Mr. Robert Ross, Mr. John King, Mr. John Kid, Mr. William Bell, Mr. Patrick Anderson, Mr. James Donaldson, Mr. James Welsh, Mr. Donald Cargil, Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. William Lamb, Mr. John Killekine, Mr. Thomas Douglas, Mr. John Wallwood, Mr. John Mossman, Mr. John Blair, Mr. Alexander Hastie, Mr. Michael Potter, Mr. James Frazer, of Brae, with several others, who went out, and preached by night and by day, in great peril of their lives and liberties, and the people went out to hear them in no less peril; but it may be said, as it was of the children of Israel in Egypt, the more they were afflicted, the more they grew;* for multitudes followed after these

* The uniform fortitude of the sufferers, under the tortures which were inflicted to extort confessions, and the undaunted and even triumphant manner in which they met with death on the scaffold, and avowed with their latest breath their adherence to that Solemn Covenant, by

meetings, called *conventicles*. The prelati-
 party seeing this thing, was more and more

which they considered themselves as bound to
 unite together in defence of their religion, had the
 effect of confirming in others those principles
 which supported them so nobly in the hour of suf-
 fering. The account of the torture, trial, and death
 of M'Kail, an accomplished young man of 26, as
 detailed in Woodrow, fills the mind with detesta-
 tion of the inhuman miscreants who directed the
 proceedings, and admiration of the Christian heroism
 of the youthful sufferer. But the detail is of too
 great length to be inserted here. Burnet records his
 death in these terms:—"One Maccail, that was
 "only a probationary preacher, and had been chap-
 "lain in Sir James Steward's house, had gone from
 "Edinburgh to those who were in arms at Pent-
 "land. It was believed he was sent by the party
 "in town, and that he knew their correspondents.
 "So he was put to the torture, which in Scotland
 "they call the boots; for they put a pair of iron
 "boots close on the leg, and drive wedges between
 "these and the leg. The common torture was
 "only to drive these in the calf of the leg; but I
 "have been told they were sometimes driven on the
 "shin bone. He bore the torture with great con-
 "stancy; and either he could say nothing, or
 "he had the firmness not to discover those who
 "trusted him. Every man of them could have
 "saved his own life, if he would accuse any other;
 "but they were all true to their friends. Maccail,
 "for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture
 "of joy. His last words were—"Farewel, sun,
 "' moon, and stars—farewel, kindred and friends—
 "' farewel, world and time—farewel, weak and
 "' frail body—welcome, eternity—welcome, angels
 "' and saints—welcome, Saviour of the world—
 "' and welcome, God, the judge of all;"—which he
 "spoke with a voice and manner that struck all
 "that heard him."

enraged against the presbyterians, whom they commonly called *fanatics*; but the Lord eminently countenanced the labour of his servants, to the great comfort and consolation of his people; although they travelled far to remote places, in great hazard, both in their coming and going, and at their meetings; for there were parties both of horse and foot sent out, to search them out; which they did in all eagerness, killing some of them in the fields, apprehending others; so that the enemy's cruelty increased more and more from Pentland to Bothwell: but yet the Lord helped his people to wrestle on, sparing neither travel, nor expense, nor hazard. In all this time I attained not to the comfort in fellowship with God, which I attained to in the aforementioned time; so that I was forced to cry out, "O, that it were with me as in former times, and as in months past, wherein the candle of the Lord shined upon my habitation!" But the Lord, by the means of the gospel, helped me, in mercy, to follow him in his own way. I was enabled to renew the bargain at a communion in the fields, at Maybole, in Carrick; and afterwards at several other communions; one in the Merse, another at

Gallow-water, and at Bathgate communion; and at our communions at Uphall, and several other communions, I aimed to renew the bargain betwixt Christ and my soul.

Before Bothwell, the presbyterians being pursued in an hostile manner, in hazard of their lives, armed themselves for their own defence in several remote muirland places, as in Calder muir, Carnwath muir, and several parts in the west country: their enemies increased more and more in their cruelty, having taken a resolution to cut off and destroy, especially in the west country; for they sent forth an army of savage highlanders, with the militia of East Lothian, and savage grey coats of Angus,*

* “ Those who have heard of modern Highland hospitality, or been amused with fables of ancient Highland chivalry, can form no idea of the horror produced by the irruption of these *savages*, to the number of ten thousand; armed, besides their accustomed weapons, with spades, shovels, and mattocks, and with daggers or dirks, made to fasten to the muzzles of their guns; iron shackles, for binding their prisoners, and *thumb-locks*, to oblige them to answer the questions proposed to them, and to discover their concealed treasure. The rapine and outrage committed by this lawless banditti, often without discrimination of conformists from nonconformists, having obliged the government to order them home, the regular troops were sent to replace them, provided with instructions to proceed with

who went in a hostile manner to ruin and destroy the poor people in the west; but the Lord himself lifted up a standard against them, when they came in as a flood. The consciences of these very men who were sent against them, were convinced of that people's harmless and innocency; and they, as it were, stole away. Many of them came home, as if it had been a broken army. The power of God was so seen, that they went away as men ashamed.

In the time that these folk were preparing to go to the west, I was taken prisoner by one Baillie Glen, in Linlithgow, and kept a night or two, and challenged for being at conventicles, and baptizing children at them, which I did not deny. I was fined upon that account, paying 100 merks, although I had a great reluctance to give them fines, and so procured my liberty.

After this, the persecution went on against the conventicles, which the enemies called rendezvouses of rebellion. Several

the greatest severity against those who attended conventicles, and headed by officers who had shewn themselves best qualified for carrying these instructions into effect."—*M' Crie*.

fast-days were kept, both in fields and houses, and Claverhouse* was sent to the west, with a troop of horse, to pursue and

* “ Claverhouse was not in Scotland at the beginning of the persecution; but he had been employed in it as the captain of the independent troop, at least two years before the affair at Drumclog. His behaviour soon recommended him to his employers. Officers not distinguished for humanity, and sufficiently disposed to execute the orders which they received with rigour, had been previously employed by the court. But the deeds of Turner, Bannatyne, Grierson of Lagg, and General Dalziel, were soon eclipsed by those of Grahame, who long continued to be known in Scotland by the name of *Bloody Claverhouse*. His actions, as recorded in the history of these times, do certainly prove that he was not undeserving of this appellation. A brief reference to some of these will assist us in judging of his character. We shall not speak of the blood wantonly shed by him in the pursuit of the covenanters, after their rout at Bothwell, nor of the ravages and cruelties which he committed in Ayrshire and in Galloway, during that and the succeeding year; as it may be alleged, that revenge for the disgrace which he had suffered at Loudon Hill prompted him to acts not congenial to his natural disposition: but this feeling had sufficient time to subside before 1684. During that year he had the chief command in the west of Scotland; and he employed the most disgraceful and barbarous measures to discover those that were intercommuned, and, if possible, to exterminate the whole party. He sought out, and employed, persons who could with the greatest address feign themselves to be pious men, and friendly to presbyterians; and by this means discovered their retreats, or drew them from places where they could not be attacked by his troops. Having divided the country into districts, he caused his soldiers

destroy these meetings. He went west, in a great rage, vowing to raze them; and so apprehended that worthy servant of the

to drive all the inhabitants of a district, like so many cattle, to a convenient place. He then called out a certain number of them, and while his soldiers surrounded them with charged guns, and bloody threatenings, he made them swear that they owned the Duke of York as rightful successor to the throne. If they had formerly taken the test or abjuration oath, he interrogated them if they had repented of this? and then caused them to swear anew that they would not, under pain of losing their part in heaven, repent of it for the future. If any hesitated to swear, he was taken out a few paces from the rest, his face was covered with a napkin, and the soldiers were ordered to fire over his head, to terrify him into compliance. At other times, he gathered together all the children of a district, from six to ten years of age; and having drawn up a party of soldiers before them, told them to pray, as they were going to be shot. When they were sufficiently frightened, he offered them their lives, provided they answered such questions as he proposed to them, concerning their fathers, and such as visited their houses. Claverhouse scrupled not to take an active part in these disgraceful scenes, so as to fire his own pistol twice over the head of a boy of nine years of age, to induce him to discover his father. He frequently shot those who fell into his power, though unarmed, without any form of trial; and when his soldiers, sometimes shocked at the wantonness of his cruelty, hesitated in obeying his orders, he executed them himself. The case of John Brown, in the parish of Muirkirk, affords an example of this kind. He was a man of excellent character, and no way obnoxious to government, except for nonconformity. On the 1st of May, 1684, he was at work in the fields, near to his own

Lord, Mr. John King, and bound him as a beast. Going on to pursue others that were to meet at Drumclog, several of the

house, when Claverhouse passed, on his way from Lesmahago, with three troops of dragoons. It is probable that information of his nonconformity had been given to the colonel, who caused him to be brought from the fields to his own door, and after some interrogatories, ordered him to be instantly shot. Brown, being allowed a few minutes to prepare for death, prayed in such an affecting strain, that none of the soldiers, profane and hardened as they were, could be prevailed upon to fire; upon which Claverhouse, irritated at the delay, shot him dead with his own hand, regardless of the tears and intreaties of the poor man's wife, who, far gone in her pregnancy, and attended by a young child, stood by. The afflicted widow could not refrain from upbraiding the murderer, and telling him that he must give an account to God for what he had done; to which the hardened and remorseless villain proudly replied, '*To man I can be answerable, and as for God, I will take him into my own hand.*' The apologists of Claverhouse have been obliged to notice the fact of his becoming the executioner of his own sentences, in the exercise of military discipline. But, with their usual fertility in inventing excuses for his most glaring faults, and with their wonted ignorance of human nature, they impute such deeds of cold-blooded severity, to a desire on his part to do honour to the individuals on whom the punishment was inflicted! Thus Dalrymple, after telling us that the only punishment which Claverhouse inflicted was death, and that all other punishments, in his opinion, disgraced a gentleman, states that a young man having fled in the time of battle, he brought him to the front of the army; and saying that 'a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,' shot him with his own pistol. Those who recollect

people armed themselves for their own defence. Claverhouse and his troop assaulted them (leaving some few of their number

the case of poor Brown, who was neither a soldier nor a gentleman, will know how to treat this absurd and ridiculous allegation.

“The most hardened and irreligious persecutors do not always feel, upon reflection, that ease of mind which they affect. It is said that Claverhouse acknowledged to some of his confidential friends, that Brown’s prayer often intruded on his unwelcome thoughts; and it is not improbable that some degree of remorse at his late deed made him shew an unwonted reluctance to a murder which he committed only ten days after. In one of his marauding expeditions, he seized Andrew Hislop, and carried him prisoner along with him to the house of Sir James Johnston, of Wester-raw, without any design, it would appear, of putting him to death. As Hislop was taken on his lands, Wester-raw insisted on passing sentence of death on him. Claverhouse opposed this, and pressed a delay of the execution; but his host urging him, he yielded, saying, ‘The blood of this poor man be ‘upon you, Wester-raw; I am free of it.’ A Highland gentleman, who was traversing the country, having come that way with a company of soldiers, Claverhouse meanly endeavoured to make him the executioner of Wester-raw’s sentence; but that gentleman having more humanity, and a higher sense of honour, drew off his men to some distance, and swore that he would fight Colonel Grahame sooner than perform such an office. Upon this, Claverhouse ordered three of his own soldiers to do it. When they were ready to fire, they desired Hislop to draw his bonnet over his face; but he refused, telling them that he had done nothing of which he had reason to be ashamed, and could look them in the face without fear; and holding up his bible in one of his hands, and reminding them

to keep Mr. John King, lying bound on the ground) and attacked the meeting, designing to cut them off; but they courageously stood to their own defence, and put Claverhouse to the flight, and killed some of his troops, the horse he rode on was stabbed, but getting another, he escaped and fled to Edinburgh. All the forces in the west retired east to Edinburgh; and Mr. King was delivered from their hands, and set at liberty. Friends hearing of this, the number of the people increased to them, and gathered a considerable number in arms, for the defence of the gospel: so that there were gathered together a considerable number of men, indifferently armed, but for the most part hearty

of the account which they had to render, he received the contents of their muskets in his body.— Say, reader, who was the *hero*, and who the *coward*, on this occasion? We have no doubt that every person of genuine feeling, and whose judgment is unwarped by prejudice, will pronounce that this man met his death with truer and more praise-worthy courage, than Claverhouse afterwards did, when he died ‘in the arms of victory,’ to use the canting language of certain historians, ‘and wiped off ‘the stain which he had contracted by his cruelties ‘to the covenanters;’ a stain which no victory, however brilliant, could efface; and which all the art and labour of his most eloquent apologists, instead of covering, will only serve to bring more clearly into view.”—*M’Crie*.

and courageous, and such as one would have thought would stoutly debate with the enemy; but there arose some divisions among themselves, which discouraged many.

I went, having a good will to that cause, with some of my neighbours, and joined the people, being conscious that it was my duty to assist that party, according to my power, in the defence of the presbyterian principles: but all the forces in the land gathered together at Edinburgh, and all the militia in the north, with almost all the heritors in the land, or some for them.

The Duke of Monmouth came from England, with some troops of dragoons with him; so they gathered all together, and came west, to fight at Bothwell-bridge, where the presbyterian party was broken. The cause of the break was the difference amongst them, which discouraged many; and their horses were untrained. And although one would have thought they had a good opportunity at the bridge, yet it seemed good to the Lord that they were defeated upon a sabbath-day, to the effusion of the blood of many of that godly people, especially of the foot;* for many of

* It was computed that 400 were killed, and 1200 taken prisoners.

the horsemen escaped. But many of the foot-men that were not killed, were taken prisoners, and were very harshly dealt with; but I escaped on horseback. O, that was a dreary day to the well affected in Scotland; and a joyful day to the cruel malignants! for the prisoners were cruelly dealt with in their way to Edinburgh; and afterwards some of their lives taken, especially those two worthy ministers, Mr. John King, and Mr. John Kidd, with others, whom they cruelly martyred.*

A little after the break at Bothwell-bridge, there was an indemnity† given for a time to those that had escaped. A time was set to them to come in, and sign a

* ————— “ A patriot’s blood
 ————— may earn indeed,

And for a time secure, to his lov’d land
 The sweets of liberty and equal laws;
 But martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
 And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
 In confirmation of the noblest claim—
 Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
 To walk with God, to be divinely free,
 To soar, and to anticipate the skies.
 Yet few remember them. They lived unknown,
 Till persecution dragged them into fame,
 And chased them up to heaven.”

† This mock indemnity was published, with great show of rejoicing, on the very day that the heads of Mr. King and Mr. Kidd were severed from their bodies, and, with their right hands, placed on the Netherbow-port, or gate.

bond; and during this time of the indemnity, I came home to my own house, and was thinking of no hazard till the time of indemnity was over, wherein we were to advise about the signing of the bond: but they treacherously sent out a party of soldiers from Blackness, to apprehend William Carmichael and me. William Carmichael was not at home: I was at my own house; but by the good hand of Providence, I arose hastily after dinner, and went to a neighbour's house: and when I was got in, there came twenty soldiers, running in all haste, past the house where I was, and went to my own house, and made a search there, and round about the yards. I escaped their hands at that time, which I thought was very remarkable; and I withdrew, and was on my keeping till after harvest, when that cruel tyrant, the Laird of Carlowrie, after our corn was shorn, and put in the barn-yard, seized upon it, and put my wife out of the house, and closed the barn-doors; and she was obliged to go to a neighbour's house, with a child sucking on her breast.

One day I came to see her, when that cruel man came with some of his servants; so that I was surprised, and could not

escape. He caused his men to seize upon me, thinking to carry me to prison. Two of his men took hold of me, to lead me away prisoner, I essaying if possible to escape: my wife earnestly desiring one of them, who was an acquaintance, and related to me, to let me go; but he would not. His name is John Samuel. Another of Carlowrie's men, who was my own cousin, would not lay hands on me; but that John Samuel, and another of the laird's men, held me fast; and I essaying if possible to escape, my wife flew to the men, to loose their hands from me, but could not; and that terrible man threw her down many times on the ground, cruelly, without mercy. He, with a staff in his hand, struck her many times; he likewise broke my head with it, that the blood ran. I put my hand to my head, and in striking again he crushed my thumb, and almost broke it. Several women in the town came, beseeching him to let me go, but he would not; but seemingly he would have killed us, and then taken our possession, but some other women came, and violently loosed these two men's hands, my wife doing her utmost to hold the laird. I escaped their hand at that time. He took

possession of all our barn-yard, in which was corn and straw, which would largely be worth 1000*l.* Scots. My wife and her child were driven cruelly out of the town, under cloud of night, so that we had little, of all we had, left. For at that time we had taken a farm, under that noble lord, my Lord Cardross; and, notwithstanding all that Carlowrie took from us, that public oppressor of the Lord's people, Hallyards, (who was made donator by the council,* to seize upon those people's goods that were at Bothwell, in three shires; Linlithgow, Clydesdale, and Dumbarton); he also would have seized upon our cattle, had not my father-in-law agreed with him, and given him 100 merks. My wife, with some servants, laboured that farm at the east end of Broxburn for three years; I wandering to and fro, in daily hazard.†

* This act of council occasioned great oppression; for the *donators*, to whom a gift was made of the property of those who had been at Bothwell, plundered all whom they suspected.

† Those who were actively engaged at Bothwell, and who would not renounce the principles which induced them to take arms, were fortunate if they escaped the scaffold. Amongst this number was Archibald Prentice, whose son afterwards married the daughter of Alexander Reid. He was exposed to less persecution than his friend, having rode home after the disastrous conflict without being

One night these troopers were sent out to apprehend some that were in hazard ; but I, providentially, went from home that same day, before the troopers came ; who made a narrow search ; yet I escaped their hands, going to the Queensferry. On that same night there came a party to seek a com-

observed by any one that knew him, except a weaver, who lived on Calderwater. During the subsequent years of oppression, "when murder bared her arm," and a licentious soldiery inflicted summary punishment on all whom THEY suspected, the weaver used often to visit Stone, where he would remark "Oh, Laird, it was a lucky thing that naebody saw you at Bothwell but me." "Indeed it was," the Laird would answer, "but ye're a discreet body, and will say nothing about it; gang awa, and fill your poke with meal, for I fancy that's what ye're come for." The revolution of 1688, which restored the liberties of an oppressed people, relieved the Laird of Stone from the petty contributions of the weaver. Archibald was the second son of John Prentice, who, by extraordinary prowess and personal bravery, having saved the life of Lockhart, one of Cromwell's generals, was by him presented with the lands of Thorn, at a nominal quit-rent, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude. He afterwards held a subordinate office at Dunkirk, when that important fortress was reluctantly yielded up by Lockhart at the restoration ; so that he was amongst the last who submitted to Charles the Second ; and his son, who inherited his principles, was amongst the first to rise against that unconstitutional monarch when his intolerance and tyranny made resistance a virtue. Richard, the eldest son of John, is mentioned in Woodrow, as having been heavily fined for attending a conventicle.

rade of mine, whose house I went to at near twelve o'clock at night. He told me he had a way to escape if there was any hazard. I resolved to stay with him all that night; but we were scarcely laid down, when the troopers came to the door, and we hastily escaped out at a window, three stories high, and slid down the wall, without hurt, and mercifully and wonderfully escaped their hands.

There is one thing that deserves to be taken notice of, and recorded. When we were thus hardly dealt with, as is mentioned before, Mr. Walter Smith,* who was an intimate Christian friend of ours, heard in Holland of our trouble and cruel usage with that cruel man, Carlowrie; both violently driven out, and forced to go under cloud of night with a young child. He wrote to us, he was persuaded the Lord would raze that man and his posterity from their habitation, (which came to pass shortly after) but wonderfully provide for us and ours, which we cannot deny but he hath done in a wonderful manner.

* Mr. Smith was a man of great learning, talents, and piety, which gave him very considerable influence with the covenanters. He was clerk to the council of war, and commanded as an officer at the battle of Bothwell-bridge.

After this, my wife lived for a time in this farm at Broxburn; but persecution going on, ay, the longer the greater, one Westquarter got a commission from Lord Linlithgow, to hold courts, with instructions not to permit any to stay in the bounds, but those that would go to hear curates; so that my wife was put to it, if she would go? She asked my counsel what she should do: I said I would not bid her do the thing I would not do myself; she could not stay without being apprehended. Taking to consideration there was no staying without hazard; and the chamberlain pretending that my Lord Cardross and he were in great hazard for setting his land to us, (which indeed was true, according to their law) and having one Thomas Russel that was related to him, who offered that if we would go away peaceably from the farm, he would pay us for any thing of our goods we left behind; and seeing there was no staying, without going along with their sinful courses, in going to hear those perjured curates, my wife made a bargain with Thomas Russel; he promising to pay us for all he got, and she thinking to stay till our victual was threshed; so she bargained with that person, the

chamberlain pressing to the bargain, and pretending all favour if we did it peaceably. The time when this was done was very near Yule: our wheat seed was all sown. There was a bargain made for the wheat, and several other things, which amounted to 420 merks, for which they were to lay down present money, and my wife and some servants were to stay till the rest of the victual was threschen, to pay the farm, and what was over, a boll to ourselves. But when that treacherous man, Thomas Russel, was entered in possession, he would pay none of it, pretending we were rebels; and also when that was done, that cruel man, Alexander Higgins, who was chamberlain, threatened and compelled my wife to leave all, threatening to bring soldiers out of Blackness to take her; and would not suffer any of the servants to stay; so she was forced to leave all amongst their hands, corn in the barn and barn-yard, and did not so much as get our household plenishing, nor the clothes out of the beds; so that our family was driven away unmercifully in the midst of the winter; and those cruel men took possession of nearly all our corn, cattle, and plenishing; all we got away was about

300 merks of all we had, at the time of the spoiling of our goods.

There were some passages of scripture that comforted me, and bore me up. Those men aforementioned took from us what would fully amount to 2,000 merks, which was not easy for flesh and blood to bear with; but the Lord bore me up wonderfully by his word; Psal. cxlvi. 7. "The Lord executeth judgment for the oppressed." Psal. ciii. 6. "The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed." I saw for the time there was no justice from men; but I was confident the Lord would take it in hand, as he did shortly upon those men, in a manner which was plainly discernible to the people, and country side where they lived.* There was another passage, Heb. x. 34. "Ye took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and enduring substance." I saw that it had been the lot of the Lord's

* Without entering into the question of retributive justice, it may be remarked, that the subsequent poverty and miserable deaths of the most active persecutors—the extinction of their families—and the infamy with which their memory was loaded, naturally enough led those who had suffered persecution, to attribute such calamities to the avenging justice of God.

people formerly to meet with such trials as spoiling of goods, and I had reason to be content. There was another promise, that was a great comfort to me, Matt. xix. 29. "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life."

After we were driven from our possession in Broxburn, we went to Edinburgh, and retired into quiet places, because of the cruelty of the enemy; the persecution growing hotter and hotter; so that many of the nonconformists were apprehended, some shut up in prison, and the lives of many were taken in a cruel manner, and many put to wanderings. Both before and after Bothwell, many of our field-ministers were given up to their hands. Those worthy instruments, Mr. John Blackadder, Mr. Archibald Rithel, Mr. Patrick Anderson, Mr. John Dickson, Mr. John Rae, Mr. Alexander Peden, Mr. Michael Potter, were all imprisoned in the Bass. The Lord gave up his servants to the cruel hands of their enemies, so that the Lord's anger seemed to burn hot against his people; and in a

great manner we were deprived of the gospel; and ministers, and others that escaped, were pursued like partridges in the wilderness, so that many of the presbyterian ministers left the land. Some went to Ireland, some to England, and some to Holland; so that the poor people that were nonconformists were left desolate, and they could scarce get their children baptized with honest presbyterian ministers, because of the great persecution.

There were two ministers that were very useful for some time, who baptized many children privately, both by night and day, Mr. William Lamb, and Mr. John Rae, that were not apprehended for some time. Though the persecution went on, ay hotter and hotter, some ministers took the field, and preached and baptized, in great hazard; to wit, Mr. Donald Cargil, Mr. Thomas Douglas, and Mr. Richard Cameron. Mr. Richard Cameron was shortly after killed in the field,* and also some

* This was at Air-moss, where Mr. Cameron and his friends were attacked by a body of dragoons twice their own number. They defended themselves with extraordinary bravery, but they were overpowered, and nine were killed on the spot. Mr. Cameron's head and hands were cut off and sent to Edinburgh, where, by a refinement of cruelty, they were exhibited to his father, then in pri-

eminent Christians with him. Hackstone, being apprehended in the fields, was brought to Edinburgh, and martyred in a cruel manner, his heart being taken out while alive; so that the enemy went on in their persecution in a cruel manner.

Mr. Donald Cargil preached in the fields a long time, and was at length taken, along with some eminent Christians, and was martyred shortly after at the cross of Edinburgh, and other four with him, two of them hopeful expectants, Mr. Walter Smith and Mr. James Boog;* so that nothing looked but wrath-like. Many godly

son. "He took his son's head and hands and kissed them, and said, 'I know them, they are my son's, my dear son's. It is the Lord—good is the will of the Lord.'—His head was fixed on the port, and his hands by his head, with the fingers upwards."—*Crookshanks*.

* Mr. Cargil and Mr. Smith were apprehended in the parish in which the editor of these memoirs was born; and it is a circumstance creditable both to landlords and tenants, that the descendants of Andrew Fisher, in whose house at Covington Mill these undaunted preachers were taken, still occupy the same farm. Mr. Smith, who was an intimate friend of Alexander Reid, was the zealous assistant of Cargil, in his perilous efforts to preach the word of God. The firmness with which they justified their conduct on the scaffold, had such an effect on Mr. Renwick, who witnessed their execution, that he devoted himself to the same cause, and in his turn became a martyr.

men concluded, that the Lord seemed to leave the land. Many countrymen that were taken were banished to Carolina and New Jersey; and others that were not taken, went away willingly, with some ministers, having the sad apprehension of the Lord's departure from the land, and seeing no way of escaping the cruel enemy's hands, without dreadful compliance, and taking dreadful bonds; so many concluded the Lord was to leave Scotland, and set up his tabernacle in another place.

At this time I was in hazard, put to wanderings and hidings, being driven away from any thing we had, as is told before. But this one thing I must declare, there was an honest man who was taken prisoner, James Clarkson by name, a Linlithgow man; my wife, who went into the Tolbooth at Edinburgh several times to see him, asked his advice concerning me, knowing my daily hazard. He declared to her, that he saw nothing but seemingly the Lord was to leave the land, and desired her to tell me, and advise me, to go with them that were going away. She signified we had little to carry us over. He offered great encouragement in that particular. When she told me, I had an

aversion to leave the land, but my wife seemed to be more willing than I was; yet the honest man offering such encouragement, I had some thoughts it might be a call of Providence. He sent word again by my wife, desiring me to seek the Lord's mind, and then do what I had liberty to do; and being in a retired place in the country, I did set a day for this end as single as I could, to seek counsel of the Lord, what to do in this matter; and when I was about that work, that passage of scripture was suggested to me, Jer. xlii. 2. "And the
 " people desired Jeremiah to pray for them,
 " that the Lord might shew them the way
 " wherein they might walk, and the thing
 " they might do;" which the prophet did, and gives them the answer, verse 9. "And
 " said unto them, thus saith the Lord the
 " God of Israel, unto whom ye sent me
 " to present your supplication before him,
 " If ye will still abide in this land, then
 " will I build you, and not pull you down;
 " and I will plant you and not pluck you
 " up; for I repent me of the evil that I
 " have done unto you. Be not afraid of
 " the king of Babylon, of whom ye are
 " afraid; be not afraid of him, saith the
 " Lord: for I am with you to save you,

“and to deliver you from his hand.” This scripture I got, as I thought, from the Lord, to answer my suit, and from this time I resolved not to set my face to go abroad to the plantations for safety or bread.

This I remembered, when I heard that my worthy Lord Cardross was driven from his plantation by the Spaniards, because the Lord had work to do with him here, in his own native land.* He

* Lord Cardross was the great-grandfather of the present Earl of Buchan and of Lord Erskine. It is gratifying to observe the continuance in a family, of those public virtues, which entitle each generation to the gratitude of their contemporaries,—to see the house of Bedford continuing strenuously to advocate the principles for which the illustrious Russell perished on the scaffold,—and a descendant of Cardross, daringly and successfully exerting his unrivalled eloquence in support of the invaded liberties of the subject, and gaining the high distinction of having his name constantly associated with that mode of trial, which, when conducted in the spirit of its institution, is the best safeguard of our rights. To him whose fondly indulged anticipations of an ameliorated state of society, have met with constant and disheartening disappointment, whose

—“Soul is sick with every day’s report,
“Of wrong and outrage, with which earth is filled,”

it may be consolatory to think, that even his distant posterity, inheriting his views and feelings, may act upon them when he is mouldering in the grave.

was a zealous forward instrument for the overturning of that cursed prelacy, and the establishment of presbyterian government; and thus the Lord brought him back to be a famous instrument before his removal by death; so I resolved to stay in our land. Our persecution grew ay the hotter and hotter, the devil raging in wicked men, for his time was to be but short. Searches were made through all the country, whenever they heard where any of those whom they called *rebels* haunted: many falling in their hands, and they taking their lives in a cruel manner, not suffering them to speak on the scaffold; yea, some not to read, pray, or sing psalms: some of their lives were taken soon in the morning, some late at night, and some taken away to the scaffold as soon as ever they got their sentence. Great searches were made in Edinburgh, the ports closed, and guards set round about the town several times, because many persecuted people came, lurking privately in the town; for their cruelty went so on, that they took men's lives for their opinion, although they had been in no action; and not only men's lives, but women's also, for their opinion. Two young women suffered in

the town of Edinburgh; for they raged more and more.* There was one great search, in which I narrowly escaped from the enemy's

* The lives of Isobel Alison and Marion Harvey were taken, literally for their *opinions*, for no act was proved against them, unless it was that they had conversed with those who had been declared rebels. Their refusal to call lawful resistance rebellion, seemed to be the principal cause of their condemnation. Isobel Alison, when before the council, was asked, "Do you know the duty we owe to the civil magistrate?" She answered, "When the magistrates carry the sword for God, according to what the scripture calls for, we owe them all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws and ordinances upon them." This was a question by which the suspected were often tried; and the answer generally was, that obedience was due to the civil magistrate as long as he was "a terror to evil doers, and the praise of them that do well," and no longer. The advocates of passive obedience and submission, under every circumstance, to the powers that be, may here be told that the humble Isobel Alison and the great John Locke agree as to the extent to which submission was required by the word of God.—There appeared to be a disposition in the council to spare Marion Harvey, who was only 20 years of age, and she was asked, "Will you cast yourself away so?" To which she replied, "I love my life as well as any of you, but would not redeem it on sinful terms." It was reserved for the reign of the gay and gallant Charles to exhibit weak and timid women suffering on the scaffold for opinion, and nobly scorning that life which was to be purchased by an abandonment of principle. The gaiety of Charles covered a total want of sympathy with his species, and an utter indifference to

brands. I went to an uncle's house, near the West Kirk, and continued there all night. In the morning when we arose, there was a guard standing at the door. My aunt cried, that we should all be ruined, which was true according to their

their sufferings. Judge Jefferies, too, was a gay and jovial companion:—so little connection have social qualities with rectitude and humanity.

Executions still more appalling in their circumstances, and, if possible, more disgraceful to the perpetrators, followed the accession of James. In 1685 two women were DROWNED at Wigton, for nonconformity, and refusing to take the oaths then imposed. They were fastened to stakes within the flood-mark, till the flowing of the tide should cover them! The eldest, a widow of 63 years of age, was fixed a good way beyond the other, that the sight of her death might terrify the younger, a girl of 18, to take the detested oaths; but she saw her companion covered by the gradually rising tide, and remained unmoved. While calmly engaged in prayer, the water covered her also; but before she was quite dead, she was taken out, and asked if she would pray for the king? and one who was deeply affected, said earnestly, "Dear Margaret, say "God save the king; say God save the king:" to whom the youthful sufferer answered, with the greatest steadiness and composure, "God save him "if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." But this did not satisfy her executioners; for Winram, the directing murderer, charged her instantly to take the abjuration oath, which she deliberately refused, and was immediately thrust back into the water, where "she finished her course with joy, and "died a virgin martyr."—One wonders that ten thousand swords did not instantly leap from their scabbards, to avenge such deeds.

law ; for those that haunted them were in danger, as well as those that haunted with them. I desired her to hold her peace ; and putting on a meally-coat of my uncle's, got safely without the guard, and went to the country.

After this there was one Thomas Kennoway, a cruel persecutor of the people of God. He haunted at the Swine-abbey ; he lived at Calder before he took on to be a trooper. He was a most wicked instrument in these places, about Calder, Livingstone, and Bathgate parishes. Many days he watched the field-meetings, and led out parties upon them, knowing the ground ; and after the break of Bothwell, he oppressed all honest men that were in hazard in these places, and got money from many ; oppressing the country-side mightily. His cruelty was so great against his countrymen, that one James Nimmo, a Bathgate parish man, when in hazard, fled to the north for safety. This Kennoway got notice of it, and went to the north to search him out ; and having found him serving a gentleman, he attempted to pannel him ; but the young man escaped his hands. Kennoway immediately came home again, and was at Swine-abbey, with one Duncan

Stewart, another trooper, a comrade of his: upon a night they were both slain.* This occasioned a great persecution and search in that part of the country, and no man could travel without a pass, but was challenged and counted a rebel if he had not one, and bonds and oaths were put to the country people, and those that were apprehended. The persecution going on in this manner, some of my acquaintances went to the English border for safety; I, hearing of this, went thither also,† and was very kindly dealt with by Christian

* This was on the 20th November, 1684. Two days afterwards an act was passed by the council, authorizing the soldiers to put to instant death in the fields all who refused to answer their queries. Even the mockery of an indictment was now dispensed with, and the most wanton murders had the sanction of authority. The mind revolts with horror at the atrocities which marked this sanguinary period, and entailed upon the royal brothers a lasting infamy.

† During his absence his wife resided some time in Borrowstounness. She was a woman of great beauty, and the neighbours seeing her in a manner unconnected with relatives or friends, charitably chose to consider her as secretly the kept mistress of some cavalier. But she owed her safety to this misrepresentation, for it was not the profane and the profligate, but the religious and pure in heart that then suffered. When it was discovered who she was, she felt the necessity of seeking safety in flight, and exclaimed, with bitter indignation, as she was leaving the house in which she had resid-

friends in that country; and in a little time after I went there, I was employed to be grieve to a gentleman; for I had skill in husbandry, and continued about half a year in that service.

While I was there, King Charles died, and his brother, the Duke of York, was presently admitted to the crown. The Duke of Monmouth had fled to Holland before his father's death; for there seemed to be no safety for him here. The Earl of Argyle was there also, because he would not take that abominable test. So they being together there, with other noblemen and gentlemen in the like circumstances, and knowing there were many disaffected persons both in England and Scotland, (for any man that was not popishly inclined, saw that there was nothing but a design to advance popery in these nations, when a professed popish king was set upon the throne,) they determined to come over with arms, Monmouth to England, and Argyle to Scotland, and what men they had with them, (many of whom might

ed, "Oh, sirs, it is a sad time for Scotland, when
 " a woman is safe, as long as she is thought to be
 " a strumpet, and has to flee for her life whenever
 " it is found out that she is an honest woman!"
 She slept that night in a coal-pit.

have been officers, in respect of station) expecting the assistance of all that were true protestants in the nation; but it fell out otherwise, to the shame of protestants, for nearly all appeared against them; but the Lord thought it fit that they should not be the instruments of our deliverance; so that that valiant man and his army were broken in England,* and that worthy nobleman and others were taken in Scotland. Monmouth was taken after the battle, and was carried to London, and his life taken away by his bloody and cruel uncle; and Argyle's life was taken away at the cross of Edinburgh; so that these two noblemen suffered death for their attempt, with some others, who were worthy Christians.

There was one Colonel Rumbell, who was an Englishman, who came with the Earl of Argyle to Scotland, who was also apprehended. They took his life in a cruel manner at the cross of Edinburgh, by taking out his heart when he was alive: and they also took the lives of some others.

* It was after the defeat of Monmouth, at Bridgewater, that Judge Jefferies recommended himself to his royal master, by his merciless sentences on those who were concerned, or suspected of having been concerned, in the insurrection.

At the time when these worthy men came over from Holland, I was in Northumberland, where I was a grieve to a gentleman. In that country the militia horse were raised, to apprehend all that they suspected as friends to Monmouth or Argyle. The country was searched for any they suspected, especially Scotsmen. I being in that country, and they supposing me a stranger, I was taken prisoner at Wooler; but the captain, getting notice on the morrow that I was a servant to such a gentleman in that country, and had resided there for some time, let me go in the morning after I was taken. The overthrow of these noblemen, and those that were with them, was a very grievous stroke to all well affected people in the three nations: and not only the presbyterian party, but all protestants, expected nothing but ruin and desolation; for all outward hope was gone, and nothing looked for but the establishment of popery. In fact, no other thing appeared; for papists were put in all places of trust, in all the three nations; so that there were great fears to all honest people. But, in the mean time, there was a liberty granted to all sorts of religion in the nations, which was no less fear to honest people,

who thought that the intention of their enemies was to make them secure, that they might strengthen themselves, and cut them all off.

After this king James was settled king. He had no son, nor any children by his queen. The report went that she was with child; and according to the time they accounted, they said she brought forth a son; which was ground of great carousing and joy to the present courtiers. But, in the mean time, the people doubted greatly of the truth thereof, not only the presbyterians, but the protestants in all the three nations; and not only the three nations, but all neighbouring protestants, especially our neighbours the Hollanders, who became the mean of our delivery from that bondage.

The Lord stirred up the spirit of that worthy prince, the Prince of Orange, to overthrow their designs. The nobles of England, seeing they stood in slippery places, made an agreement with the prince, to come over to England, to frustrate the design of that popish king and his adherents; which he engaged to do, and raised an army to go with him, with the assistance of Scots and English nobility that

were with him. King James hearing of this, gathered together all the trained men of war in the three nations, and called them from Scotland and Ireland for his assistance; so that army amounted to more than 32,000 expert men of war. The Prince of Orange came over, and landed in England, with but a very small army, not being in the whole 14,000 men. He issued a declaration, shewing he was only for the protestant religion. The prince and many of the nobles of England having a confederacy, they went to him with what strength they had; and many of king James's army, hearing how matters went, declared publicly to his face they would not fight for his interest. So that they were discouraged and broken without hands, because it was the Lord's time to deliver his church and oppressed people from oppression and cruel thralldom. In the mean time, when the prince came over, there were sad fears among the people of God in Scotland; and prayers put up, because other essays had misgiven, that it might not be so in this, and many set days apart, for crying mightily to the Lord for deliverance.

The king was forced to retire for his safety: he was taken a little after, yet he

was permitted to make his escape. The Prince of Orange prospered, and was shortly after proclaimed king of England, and in a little time king of Scotland. This was the man the Lord raised up, to deliver our captives, to set at liberty our prisoners, to relieve our hunted and harried, and restore our ancient liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, to church and state: for there was a free convention chosen, and sat at Edinburgh, that chose members of a free parliament, which overturned prelacy, that cursed yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, and restored and set up presbyterian government again in our land, and also the civil rights of the people.

There is one thing I may notice as very remarkable:—In the time of the convention there were a set of men, commonly called the rabble, who, in a warlike posture, cast out the curates in many parts of the land, as soon as they got any access, although their practice was not approved of by many honest people. These men came, in a warlike posture, to the town of Edinburgh, in the time of the convention, and offered themselves to defend and assist our well-affected noblemen and gentlemen

who sat in the convention; and though there were many ill-affected in the town, yet they were received into it in a warlike posture, and guarded the men who might be in hazard. This is the more remarkable, that the town of Edinburgh used not to let any soldiers enter the city, but the citizens themselves guarded it.

These events shew us the mighty power of God; when he has a mind to deliver his church and people, none can withstand it. The break of king James's army, and what fell out here in Scotland, was evidently the hand of God; and the Lord was seen to own his church and people, and deliver them, as he delivered Israel from the Egyptian bondage; for which we may say, that the Lord brought back our captivity: and many of his people had that to say who waited on him, and kept his way; "Lo! this is our God, and we waited for him: we rejoice in his salvation."

A great part of this time we were meal-makers; and we were provided for in this way, without being troublesome to others; our stock was very little when we set to that employment; but the Lord did prosper us in it, and it became better; but it was not my inclination to follow that employment, for

having been brought up from my infancy in husbandry, it was my inclination, if I had my liberty, and the opportunity of taking a farm, to have taken it. The man that came to the possession which we were put wrongously out of, had taken a tack of nineteen years from my Lord Cardross and his chamberlain, so that hopes were gone of our returning to it. Besides, our stock was so small, that we could not think of plenishing that farm; yet there was a break in the man's tack at seven years, so that he came and quitted the farm to my Lord Cardross; who was unwilling that he should have done it, not knowing of a tenant to it. But, in the mean time, there was a man who was concerned in my lord's interest, hearing that the man was to quit the farm, and knowing that I came out of that farm, inquired of me if I would take our own farm again? I said I would gladly, but our stock was too small to plenish it. He said, "Fear not that, for I will help you to plenish it." I desired him to tell me when the man quitted it, and I would advise what to do; which accordingly he did, and I came in terms of the rent with him, and very nearly agreed.

My lord being but newly come home, I

went to him, and told him I would take that farm. He said, "I am glad of it ; there shall no man get it before you, if you can plenish it." I said, we should do our utmost. So within a little time after, we agreed : but I had my own perplexity how to get it done ; but that was not my greatest puzzle, thinking, if I should be able to plenish it, that I had been two times robbed already, and put out of two farms before this, and times seemed yet to be dangerous. What, if I should borrow from others, to lose their goods ? which would be my great perplexity and trouble while in this condition. A door being opened to return again where we were wrongously and violently put from, I desired to seek counsel of the Lord how to do in this case. And the Lord bore in that passage of scripture upon me, Is. lxii. 8. " The Lord hath
 " sworn by his right hand, and by the arm
 " of his strength, Surely I will no more
 " give thy corn to be meat for thine ene-
 " mies ; and the sons of the stranger shall
 " not drink thy wine, for the which thou
 " hast laboured ; but they that have ga-
 " thered it, shall eat it, and praise the Lord ;
 " and they that have brought it together,
 " shall drink it in the courts of my holi-
 " ness."

After this I took courage, and ventured, and got the farm plenished by the favour of friends. And the Lord prospered us so, that at this time there is little or nothing owing to any: and we are even as well in the world as those that complied with the enemy, and went over the belly of their light-hearted curates, and submitted to bonds and tests. This I say to the praise of the Lord's goodness, even in providing temporal things. And this I commonly said of the Lord's goodness to us, that we were among the first of the captives that returned to their own possession; and, as has been said, it was evidently the Lord's hand that brought us back, and blessed our endeavours. Being settled here, the Lord mercifully provided the gospel in the place and congregation, and we got that eminent servant of the Lord, Mr. George Barclay, which was my very choice. Thus ye see the Lord's good providence in providing both spiritual and temporal mercies to us, and to the church of God.

Some may ask, what is the reason that I set down these things, and record in writ the Lord's mercies to my body, to my soul, and towards the church of God, which has

been very remarkable in my days; of which
 I have given a small hint. There were
 these passages of scripture: Psal. cxlv. 3.
 "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be
 "praised; and his greatness is unsearch-
 "able. One generation shall praise thy
 "works to another, and shall declare thy
 "mighty acts. I will speak of the glori-
 "ous honour of thy majesty, and of thy
 "wondrous works. And men shall speak
 "of the might of thy terrible acts; and I
 "will declare thy greatness. They shall
 "abundantly utter the memory of thy
 "great goodness, and I shall sing of thy
 "righteousness." Psalm cv. 2. "O give
 "thanks unto the Lord, call upon his
 "name; make known his deeds among his
 "people. Sing unto him, sing psalms
 "unto him: talk ye of all his wondrous
 "works." Psal. lxxviii. 1—8. "Give ear
 "O my people, to my law: incline your
 "ears to the words of my mouth. I will
 "open my mouth in a parable: I will utter
 "dark sayings of old; which we have
 "heard and known, and our fathers have
 "told us. We will not hide them from
 "their children, shewing to the generation
 "to come the praises of the Lord, and his
 "strength, and his wonderful works that

“ he hath done. For he established a tes-
 “ timony in Jacob, and appointed a law in
 “ Israel, which he commanded our fathers
 “ that they should make them known to
 “ their children : That the generations to
 “ come might know them, even the chil-
 “ dren which should be born ; who should
 “ arise, and declare them to their children:
 “ That they might set their hope in God,
 “ and not forget the works of God, but
 “ keep his commandments : And might
 “ not be as their fathers, a stubborn and
 “ rebellious generation ; a generation that
 “ set not their heart aright, and whose spirit
 “ was not stedfast with God.—Psal. lxvi.
 16. “ Come and hear, all ye that fear God,
 “ and I will be declare what he hath done
 “ for my soul.” Considering these pas-
 sages, and living in a generation wherein
 I saw much of the mighty power of God,
 as has been shewn before, I thought I
 would, if I could, declare his mighty pow-
 er to the uprising generation, that they
 may set their hope in God, whatever their
 trials may be. For this I can say, from
 experience, he puts none in a warfare
 upon their own charges ; but grants suit-
 able supplies, as their necessity requires ;
 and does, with the temptation, grant a

way to escape, as the Lord has granted his people the experience of in all generations: and as not only my experience, but the experience of many in this generation, can testify; as our worthy martyrs have testified upon scaffolds; our banished can testify; our hunted and harried can testify; and as I do testify, who am one of the most unworthy that ever was hunted, spoiled, and robbed, for his name's sake: all these do testify. But especially our worthy martyrs, who have declared, upon scaffolds, they would not change their lot with their adversaries; that their lot was fallen in pleasant places, and that they had a goodly heritage; so that they have patiently endured the greatest cruelty that man could devise. Some were beheaded, some hanged, and some have had their hearts taken out while yet alive, and others have had their hands cut off; yet they have gone away triumphing and rejoicing, and have been conquerors, and more than conquerors, through Christ that strengthened them.

Now, my friends who fear God, I have declared what he hath done for my soul, when I was lying polluted in my own blood, like that wretched infant that is

spoken of in Ezekiel xvi. He took me up, and entered into covenant with me, and said unto me Live; and caused me to enter into covenant with him; so that there was a transaction between him and me; he, as it were, saying, I am thy God; and I, on the other hand, saying, I am thy servant.

And now, my friends, this I must declare unto you, that I have been many times like to raze all, and question the reality of the bargain; yet the Lord pitied me, and granted me some new manifestations of his love; although I was changeable, yet he was unchangeable, for he is God and not man, and whom he loves, he loves unto the end. By these and other promises out of his word, he hath helped me to this time, so that he will not forsake me now, as David says, "When I am old and grey-headed, until I shew thy strength unto this generation, and thy power unto every one that is to come." And this I say unto you, O Christian friends, who fight under the Lord's banner, I say unto you, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Fear not what devils and men can do; for if ye continue with him in his tenta-

tions, ye shall get a kingdom ; and if ye suffer with him, ye shall reign with him also. And as for you who are young, I earnestly desire you to close with Christ ; engage to be soldiers under his banner, for there never was one that rued when death and they met, that they had closed with him. I know many think they shall have sad melancholy days, if they fall seriously to seek the Lord, and their joyful and merry days shall be gone. But I will assure you of the contrary ; for ye shall have more true joy in half an hour, in attaining fellowship with God now, than ever ye can attain in your rants and carouses, in your piping and dancing, all your days ; for the joy the people of God attain to, is joy unspeakable, and full of glory, so that tongue cannot express that joy. But as Solomon, the wise man, saith, of the laughter of the wicked, there is sorrow at the ground of all that fancied joy ; and many have rued and lamented their slighting of time, and not closing with Christ, but spending their days in pursuing vanity ; but as I have said before, there were never any who have seriously sought and closed with him, that rued ; but have blessed the Lord that ever

he inclined their hearts to seek him. Now I have only a word unto you, my own children : I am brought low with sickness, my body is very weak, and seemingly I will not be long with you ; and this is my last advice ; or whether it be my last or not, yet I give it as my last in writ, exhorting you to seek the Lord in your young days. Be diligent in reading the scriptures when ye are young, and ye will remember them when ye are old : I know the experience of this. Be tender one of another ; and beware of out-castings and janglings amongst yourselves, for the Psalmist says, “ How sweet a thing it is, and how becoming well for such as are brethren, to dwell together in unity.” I have given you all up to be members of the visible church ; and not only so, but have resigned you, and given you up to the Lord, both secretly and privately many a time, that ye may not only be my children, as ye are his gift, but that ye may be the Lord’s children. Thus I have given you up to be soldiers under the Lord’s banner ; and this is my advice to you all, that when ye come to years of discretion, ye may transact and give up yourselves to the Lord, and close the bargain

between Christ and your souls ; and that will be your gain and advantage in time and in eternity. And my advice to you is, that ye follow the purest means, and the strictest presbyterians ; for presbyterian government is the only government approved of by the word of God ; and I engaged to bring you up in that way ; and likewise I was solemnly engaged to bring you up, as the lands were also engaged in the solemn league and national covenants, although there be little din of them now, for the most part, among many of our presbyterian ministers. But I advise you, through grace, to own our purest reformation and covenants, which our fathers owned, and the Lord countenanced eminently, as our fathers have told us. And truly I regret and lament, that these covenants seem to be buried, and, as I said before, little or no word of them, as though our fathers, the worthy reformers, had been fools, and our worthy martyrs who suffered at Pentland and Bothwell, yea, all who suffered during the bloody persecution, had been block-heads and madmen, who owned these covenants.* Yet the Lord owned them, and

* For an account of the covenants, see Appendix.

they died in the faith, that God will own and raise up these covenants, and that buried work of reformation. I exhort you to be zealous and forward in your stations and generation, and the Lord will own you.

Some may think there is some reflection here, upon both ministers and professors; but I cannot help it, for, indeed, it is my judgment, though I desire to reflect on none; but I must be free with you, expecting it will be my last advice in writ. My children, I desire all of you that may be alive after my death, if your mother be alive, that ye be kind to her: for she hath been afflicted in all my afflictions since she and I met, and carried courageously in our sharpest trials.

As I have exhorted you to be zealous in joining with the zealous party, and purest means, I also exhort you to beware of excess, either to the right or left hand, to join with any party, that would unnecessarily rend the mystical body of Christ by divisions, not according to the word of God, or the example of the best reformed churches; for ye see the sad example in our own days, of the Lord's wrath against such as those who followed that woful

person Gib, who pretended zeal; so that the Lord has given him up, and some with him, to work horrid wickedness; but has delivered some of them, who were simply led away with him, from *the fowler's snare*; so that here is a beacon to beware; so I shall add no more, but bid you all farewell, both my Christian and natural friends.

Alex. Reid died in 1706. His widow lived thirty-six years after his decease.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.



THE national covenant of Scotland, as it has been termed, was an engagement entered into by men of all ranks and conditions in that country, in defence of the reformation from popery; and in opposition to the superstition, idolatry, and tyranny of the church of Rome. Although such covenants have been often condemned, as unwarranted in a religious point of view, and dangerous in a political, yet they are affirmed to be completely defensible upon the principles both of reason and revelation; and by cementing union, by producing mutual confidence, and strengthening the motives to fidelity and diligence among those who are embarked in the same cause, they have frequently proved of the greatest utility, for promoting reformation in churches and nations, for maintaining a pure profession of religion after it had been attained, and for securing the religious and political privileges of men. The misapplication of them, when they are employed in a bad cause, and for mischievous ends, can be no argument against them when they are used in a legitimate way, and for laudable purposes. A mutual agreement, compact, or covenant, is virtually implied in the constitution of every society, civil or religious; and the dictates of natural right conspire with the declarations of scripture in ascertaining the warrantableness and propriety

of entering into explicit engagements, about any lawful and important matter, and of ratifying these even in the most solemn manner, if circumstances shall require it, by formal subscription, and by an appeal to the Searcher of hearts.*—It has been objected, indeed, that the enforcing of religious duties by civil pains and penalties, and in too many instances the blending together of the affairs of church and state, are inconsistent with the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom. But it should be remembered that the sacred rights of conscience were not at that time so fully understood, nor so clearly ascertained, as they have been since. Charity requires us to allow that our fathers acted conscientiously, and according to the best of their knowledge, in what they accounted their duty; and there can be no doubt that to their exertions, under God, we are indebted for the privileges, civil and religious, which we now enjoy.

In the year 1557 a covenant was framed and subscribed by many noblemen and gentlemen, in favour of the reformation, which seems to have been the first of those religious bonds by which the confederation of the protestants in Scotland was afterwards so frequently ratified. Those noblemen who subscribed this engagement were called *the Lords of the Congregation*, and the people who adhered to them were called *the Congregation*.—In the year 1559 the congregations of the west country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being assembled in the town of Perth, united in making profession of the reformed religion, by sitting down at the Lord's table,

* Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 181.

and entered into a solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the popish communion, and engaged to maintain and promote the pure preaching of the gospel, as Providence should favour them with opportunities.*—In the parliament which met in the year 1560, the reformers drew up a large *confession* of their faith, which was read in the house, and then openly avowed, passed, and ratified by them; for hitherto they had only the *Geneva* confession, which was reckoned too brief and general. This parliament also enacted several laws against popery, and in favour of the reformers, ordaining “that the bishop of *Rome*, called the *Pope*, has no “jurisdiction or authority within this realm in any “time coming; and that no bishop or other prelate within the realm use any jurisdiction for the “time coming, by the said bishop of *Rome’s* authority, under pain, &c.”—Thus the reformed religion was established by law, and church government by *prelates* virtually renounced; for prelates at that time possessed no power but what they derived from Rome.†

In the year 1580 a bond was framed for the maintenance of true religion, as well as the defence of the person and government of James VI., in opposition to all enemies foreign and domestic. This contained a confession of the protestant faith, a particular renunciation of the errors of popery, and the most solemn promises, in the name and through the strength of God, of adhering to each other in supporting the former, and contending

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 164. Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. 1, p. 181.

† Crookshanks' History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 6.

against the latter to the utmost of their power. This covenant was subscribed by the king and his household, together with a great many others, and afterwards by all ranks of people in the land. It is curious to observe the charge which James gave on that occasion to all commissioners and ministers within the realm. "Seeing that we and our household have subscribed and given this public confession of our faith, to the good example of our subjects: we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to crave the same confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers, according to our laws and the order of the kirk, delivering their names and lawful process to the ministers of our house with all haste and diligence, that we, with the advice of our council, may take order with sik proud contemners of God and our laws. Subscribed with our hand, at Halyroodhouse, 1580, the 2d day of March, the 14th year of our reign." *

In the year 1590 the king, the nobles, the clergy, and the people again subscribed this covenant with equal alacrity; and it is well known that the king particularly expressed, on that occasion, the warmest and most decided attachment to the cause of presbytery, as opposed to episcopacy. In the meeting of the general assembly at Edinburgh, on the 4th of August, 1590, he is described as standing up, and taking off his bonnet, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, said, that "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king of

* Collection of remarkable Sermons, &c. at the renewing and subscribing of the national covenant of Scotland, p. 533.

“the purest kirk in the world. As for our neighbour kirk of England,” he was wont to say “their service is an *ill-said mass* in English: they want nothing of the mass but the *liftings*,” meaning the elevation of the host. He awakened the jealousy of the English bishops, by declaring that “their order smelled vilely of popish pride; that the book of common-prayer was the English mass-book, and that the surplice, copes, and ceremonies, were outward badges of popery.” On one public occasion he said, “I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same.”*—These were fair promises, but not one of them was performed. James secretly hated the presbyterian cause, notwithstanding all his subscriptions and proclamations in its favour. He struggled hard to introduce episcopacy into Scotland; and no sooner did he become the king of an episcopal church, by his accession to the crown of England, than, as was natural to the spirit of prelacy, he became a persecutor of that very church, which, in the most solemn manner, he had declared to be the *sincerest* and *purest* church upon earth. His son Charles I. was indefatigable in prosecuting the same design. By the advice and assistance of some ambitious time-serving church-men, he sought to corrupt the worship of the church of Scotland, by imposing the episcopal ceremonies of the church of England, a service-

* Calderwood's History, 256. History of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 595.

book, and a book of prelatical canons, measures leading to a course of defection, which prevailed without interruption for many years.

At length it pleased God to revive his work throughout the land, by raising up at first a few of his servants and people, in the year 1637, to testify openly and boldly against the defections and apostacy of the time. This led, in the following year, to a renewal of the national covenant at Edinburgh, and within a few months throughout the whole land, with great solemnity, though with considerable alterations, adapted to the circumstances of the time. In the latter end of the year 1638, a general assembly, which had been regularly called and appointed, met at Glasgow, by whose decisions the corruptions introduced into the church by episcopal usurpation were removed, prelacy itself was abjured and abolished, and considerable progress was made in restoring that order and those institutions which had been observed in the purer times of presbytery. To these decisions great opposition was made by the popish and prelatical party; but the reformation thus begun and carried forward, was, notwithstanding, ratified and confirmed by the second parliament of Charles I. in the year 1640.— During the civil wars in England, the English parliament called an assembly of divines to meet at Westminster, for the purpose of consulting about religion and church-government, and for promoting a work of reformation in that kingdom. The solemn league and covenant, having for its object the union of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in one confession of faith, and one mode of church government and wor-

ship, according to the presbyterian form, was sworn to and subscribed in almost all parts of that nation. It has been affirmed that in twelve or fourteen counties of England there were not fewer than 793 ministers, who, under their hands, testified their adherence to this league and covenant. In Scotland likewise it was very generally received, being enforced by the civil and ecclesiastical authority in both kingdoms; and accompanied with a solemn acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties.

It is remarkable that Charles I. himself, notwithstanding his high episcopalian prepossessions, has left upon record the following declaration respecting the solemn league and covenant: "As things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me by keeping their covenant in honest and lawful ways; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the covenant, in such men's intentions, was to preserve religion in purity, and the kingdom in peace."*

At the coronation of Charles II. which was solemnized at Scoon, on the 1st day of January, 1651, the following form of oath was administered to him, which he swore standing, and with his right hand lifted up to heaven: "I Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the *national covenant*, and of the *solemn league and covenant*, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof

* Collection of sermons, &c. at the renewing and subscribing of the national covenant, p. 533.

“ in my station and calling; and that I, for myself
 “ and successors, shall consent and agree to all acts
 “ of parliament, enjoining the *national covenant*,
 “ and the *solemn league and covenant*, and fully esta-
 “ blishing presbyterian government, the directory
 “ for worship, confession of faith, and catechisms
 “ in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are appro-
 “ ven by the general assemblies of this kirk, and
 “ parliament of this kingdom; and that I shall
 “ give my royal assents to acts and ordinances of
 “ parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the
 “ same in my other dominions: and that I shall
 “ observe these in my own practice and family,
 “ and shall never make opposition to any of these,
 “ or endeavour any change thereof.”*

Such were the solemn engagements under which
 Charles II. accepted the crown of Scotland; and
 we are now to see how basely and shamefully he
 violated these engagements. The house of Stuart
 had always been inimical to the liberties of the
 subject, and strained hard for arbitrary power, in-
 somuch that notwithstanding the partiality which
 is generally felt for an ancient race of kings, their
 memory is offensive to the mind of every friend
 to the rights of human nature. Charles I. was so im-
 petuous in his usurpations, and invaded the rights
 of his subjects in so many instances, that our fathers
 found themselves unable any longer to submit to
 the yoke. One would have thought that the fate of
 the father should have been a lesson of instruction
 to the children, to beware of sporting with the rights
 or insulting the feelings of their subjects. Charles

* Collection of sermons, &c. at the renewing and
 subscribing of the national covenant of Scotland. p. 488.

II. however was no sooner restored to the throne of his fathers, than, contrary to the most solemn vows, he re-established episcopacy. His restoration by the parliament of England was without any conditions or limitations; the consequence of which was soon felt in the abandonment of all the testimonies and declarations which had been given in favour of reformation and uniformity in religion, and in the re-imposition in England of abjured prelacy, with the service-book and episcopal ceremonies,—a sad presage of what might be expected in Scotland. The *committee of estates* in that kingdom, with whom the government was intrusted till the meeting of parliament, being composed of such men as were disaffected to the work of reformation, gave orders for the apprehension and imprisonment of some eminent ministers, who had met for the purpose of addressing the king on his return, and with a faithfulness becoming their sacred office, of reminding him of his solemn obligations and responsibility. On that occasion a proclamation was immediately issued, discharging all meetings without the king's authority, and all similar petitions and remonstrances whatsoever, under pain of sedition.

When the Scottish parliament met in the year 1661, they proceeded to remove all the *legal securities* given to the constitution of the church, and the whole work of reformation, by rescinding all the acts of parliament from the year 1640 to 1651 inclusive, and declaring all the said parliaments null and void. They asserted the king's *supremacy* in all causes; declared all meetings, assemblies, leagues, and covenants without the king's authority, *unlawful* and *unwarrantable*; and

discharged the renewing of the *league and covenant*, or of any other public oath and covenant concerning the government of the church, without the king's warrant. Having thus removed all the legal fences from our ecclesiastical constitution, they surrendered the government of the church into the hands of the king, to be arranged and settled by him in the way that HE should judge most agreeable to the word of God, and to monarchical government.

At the second session of this parliament in the year 1662, it was declared, that the ordering and disposing of the external government and policy of the church properly belongs to the king, as an inherent right of his crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy, in all causes ecclesiastical; and that all acts of parliament or council, which might be interpreted as giving any power, jurisdiction, or authority, to the office-bearers in the church, and to their meetings, distinct from and not subordinate to the sovereign power of the king as supreme, were repealed and annulled; diocesan bishops were restored to their dignities, privileges, and jurisdictions; and all meetings of presbyteries and sessions, not authorised by the bishop, were forbidden and discharged. In their second act, all that was done in prosecution of the reformation from 1638 to 1650, was declared *rebellious and treasonable*; the national covenant as sworn in 1638, and the league and covenant, were declared to be *unlawful oaths*, imposed contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and a *dispensing* power was assumed, declaring the consciences of all those who had

taken the said oaths, free from the obligation of them. It was also declared *rebellious* and *treasonable* in subjects, on pretence of reformation, or on any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues or covenants, or to take up arms against the king; hereby maintaining the divine right of kings, and the obligation in all cases of the slavish doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*. In fine, all ecclesiastical acts and constitutions approving of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant, were annulled; and, in particular, the assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638 was declared an unlawful and seditious meeting, and that all the acts, deeds and sentences of that assembly were, in all time coming, unlawful, void, and null.

Two years had scarcely elapsed after the restoration of Charles, when about 2000 of the best ministers of the gospel in England, and upwards of 300 in Scotland, were violently torn from their affectionate people, prohibited from preaching the gospel, and deprived of the means of supporting themselves and their families. Nonconformity to the religion of the state became the greatest of crimes, and no man was any longer safe in his dwelling, whose conscience did not suffer him to submit to the authority of a worthless prelate, or to attend on the ministry of an ignorant or drunken curate. Acts of uniformity were passed and rigorously enforced; oaths and bonds were imposed, which laid a foundation for the most grievous persecutions. No alternative was left to our fathers between sinning against their conscience, and suffering for conscience' sake. The throne, which, consti-

tutionally erected, should be a blessing, was, during the reign of Charles and James his brother, a curse to the nation; arbitrary power was openly avowed; the most oppressive measures were adopted, and not only the property but the lives of our fathers were wantonly taken away. A power not only of suspending the enforcement of particular statutes, but of dispensing with the fundamental laws of the kingdom, was claimed and exercised by the crown. Even the charters of corporations were forcibly taken from them. Judges, without conscience and without humanity, were set over the people. They held their offices, not as the reward of their integrity, but by their devotion to the will of the monarch; and, of course, when they began to scruple and hesitate, though they had long sinned against the light of their consciences, they were turned out, in order to make room for men more wicked, and less feeling than themselves. Juries were packed, and forced by threatenings to bring in a verdict of guilty against the accused, when they could see no crime. Men were made offenders for a word: suspicions were admitted as proof: the *boot* and the *thumbkin* were employed, at least in Scotland, to extort confession; and the oath of a single miscreant was considered as sufficient reason for depriving many of the best men in the country of their substance and of their lives. The sufferings of many of these excellent persons are upon record. They chose to obey God, rather than man, and the inflictions they endured were severe, in proportion to their innocence and integrity. To enter a royal burgh upon any necessity whatever—to presume to approach within some miles of the

habitations of the suffering remains of their flocks, were crimes which subjected ministers to fines and imprisonment. Nor were these public calamities confined to ministers of the gospel. Every man who gave them countenance, or even declined approving of the measures of the times, met with a similar fate. To be three sabbaths absent from a parish church, filled by one who was neither able, nor perhaps inclined to instruct, subjected persons to a heavy fine. To assemble together for prayer, or for religious conference, was an act of rebellion: and to hear a presbyterian minister preach in the fields, exposed the persons offending to the mercy of barbarous dragoons, who, under the sanction of law, might maim or murder at pleasue. A simple non-compliance with the prelatical government then established, refusing the oath of supremacy, or the other oaths and bonds that were imposed, owning the obligation of our solemn covenants, and the lawfulness of defensive arms, and of resisting a tyrannical sovereign, were reckoned crimes of the highest nature, and subjected multitudes of all ranks to the most grievous sufferings. Some endured cruel mockings and scourgings: others, banished from their native country, or driven from the society of men, wandered in deserts and in mountains, being destitute, afflicted, tormented: others suffered long imprisonments, spoiling of goods, the most painful tortures, and the most cruel death. The laws were written in blood, and the land was defiled with the sanguinary executions of the innocent.

Such was the state of things in England, and particularly in Scotland, for twenty-eight years. The bishops of that period, especially the Scottish, as worth-

less a race as ever wore the mitre, were the great instigators of the persecution; and their curates, in general as worthless but more obscure, were the most diligent and active informers. If some of the sufferers took arms in their own defence, or renounced the authority of Charles and James, it was not from a factious restlessness nor a principle of disloyalty, for it is well known that no people could be more attached to their laws and to their prince than the Scots presbyterians were; and it will be no less admitted that whatever resistance presbyterians may have made during the sway of tyranny and arbitrary power, they have ever shown themselves faithful adherents and firm friends to legal and constitutional government. If, therefore, the sufferers resisted their persecutors, it was not till the oppression and tyranny to which they were subjected, was no longer bearable; not till after they had been denounced, inter-communed, and put from under the protection of the laws of their country.—That this is the view which we ought to take of their conduct, is manifest from the reversal by act of parliament, at the *revolution*, of the forfeitures passed during these two reigns, against those who had been most active in the defence of themselves, and their religious and civil rights; a plain evidence that they were considered as having suffered unjustly, and had been guilty of no crime in what they had done.—It has been alleged that many of those who were persecuted threw away their lives, and that they suffered only for trifles. But if this was the case, was it not base and infamous in ministers of state and others, during that dismal period, to shed the blood of so many innocent men for trifles? But it was

no trifle for which our fathers suffered. They were contending for the exclusive headship and supremacy of our Lord Jesus Christ over his church, and for the rights and privileges of his spiritual kingdom. They suffered because they would not act against their consciences, renounce their principles, and acknowledge, in the *very exercise of his usurpation*, the authority of a prince who had impiously usurped the authority of Christ over his church. They suffered, because they would not perjure themselves, nor imitate the example of the king and his ministers in their aggravated perfidy, dissimulation, ingratitude, and impiety. It has become the fashion in these days to decry the character, and to vilify the conduct of those pious and honourable men—those distinguished servants of God, and to represent them as dying, “as a fool dieth.” We cannot, however, without forgetting what we owe to their zealous and praise-worthy exertions, refuse to revere their memory, and highly to appreciate the cause for which they suffered and bled. Never should we regard with a careless eye, or with an insensible heart, their sublime faith, their astonishing fortitude, their unconquerable patience, their unwearied perseverance, and their joyful anticipation in the prospect of the eternal world. These faithful martyrs suffered for “the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ,” they resisted even unto blood; striving against sin, they “earnestly contended for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints,” passed through the flames of persecution into the joys of heaven, and their memory “shall be in everlasting remembrance.”



