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2. Everlasting Espousals. By
M^r Tho^s Boston.
3. The Mystery of Christ in the
form of a Servant. By S. Boston.
4. Christ the Covenant of the People.
By M^r J. Bisset.
5. Memoirs of the Life of M^r
Robert Blair.
6. Memoirs of Walter Pringle
of Greenknow.

Contents.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. ROBERT BLAIR,

Minister of the Gospel sometime at BAN-
GOR in IRELAND, and afterward at
ST. ANDREWS in SCOTLAND.

In TWO PARTS.

The *First* PART wrote by himself, and the *Second*
by Mr. WILLIAM ROW sometime Minister of
the Gospel at CERES.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for ANDREW STEVENSON Writer.

MDCCLIV.

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN ADAMS

BY

W. C. CROFT

NEW YORK

1887

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE *Publisher* reckons himself obliged to observe, that the first and only part of the following *Memoirs*, wrote by Mr. *Blair*, having been intended chiefly for his own family, and made out by him at a time of life when the faculties of the mind use to be on the decline, the same must be supposed to want that correctness and accuracy which it might have had, if the worthy author had prepared the same for the press in his younger years.

To prevent, as far as possible, all misconstructions on this account, I have taken the trouble to compare my copy with several others which I have seen of these *Memoirs*, and particularly with a copy of both parts in the hands of Mr. *Blair's* grandson, which he avouches to be genuine; and, not satisfied with this, I offered mine to be revised by that gentleman and his friends, who no doubt have greater liberty to improve upon the original than any other. But this they have not thought fit to take the trouble of; so that, after patiently waiting for this purpose a considerable time, and repeated solicitations to publish.

lish this *Life*, from many to 'whom I had imparted my design, I now bring it forth with these variations only. *First*, Because what is here written doth not contain a full relation of the author's life, but only some of the most material passages thereof, I chuse to give it the additional appellation of *Memoirs*. *Next*, Whereas Mr. *Blair* divides *his part* into chapters, several of which seem only breathing-places, or stops, I follow the writer of the *second part*, who more naturally divides the same into periods. And, *lastly*, I have ventured to make a few alterations in the style, in order, if possible, to adapt the same a little more to the modes of expression used in the present age; but these alterations are inconsiderable. Doubtless the following *Memoirs* might have admitted of more amendments; but, such as they are, I am persuaded that all lovers of piety and useful history will reckon them highly acceptable, and a monument due to the memory of *precious* Mr. ROBERT BLAIR, as an eminent divine, his intimate contemporary †, did fitly call him.

† *Livingston's Life*, p. 5. and *Memorable Characteristicks*, p. 28.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. ROBERT BLAIR.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING met with great variety and vicissitudes of conditions in my lifetime, and drawing now near to the close of it, (my 70th year being almost expired) and having had experience of the constant care and kindness of my unchangeable LORD, I think myself obliged to leave some notes concerning the chief passages that have occurred to me in my pilgrimage, that my wife and children, at least, may have these to be a memorial of the way that I kept in the world, and that they may be the better furnished to answer the calumnies and reproaches that have been, and possibly may be cast upon me, and that so much the more because this hath been often required of me by near relations*, and some others.

PERIOD

* Mr. Blair was born at *Irvine* in the year 1593. His father *John Blair*, a merchant-adventurer at sea, was son to *Alexander Blair* of *Windyedge*, a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of *Blair* of that *Ilk*. His mother was *Beatrix Muir*, of the ancient

P E R I O D F I R S T.

From my childhood to the year 1613. when I took my degrees in the college of Glasgow.

TO begin then with my younger years, my father (of whose piety, when I came to age, I got certain information, particularly how much he was addicted to prayer, and how tenderly he walked, refusing to enrich himself by buying commodities from pirates, as several of his neighbours did, altho' he was twice spoiled at sea by pirates), was taken from me in the sixth year of my age, and, at his interment, I shewed my childish sympathy, in attempting to be in the grave before him. I was the youngest of six children left upon the hand of a widow-mother who was not well furnished, and, shewed little concern about her soul till many years thereafter, (for she lived near 50 years a widow after my father's death), when it pleased the lord to shew her mercy under the ministry of his worthy and faithful servant Mr. *David Dickson* †.

Being so left the LORD owned me early; for having, through indisposition in the seventh year of my age, been left alone upon a *Sabbath-day*, he began to catechize me, and caused my conscience to pose me with this query, *For what servest thou, unprofitable creature?* Unable to answer, I looked out at a window, and seeing the sun shine brightly, and a cow with a full udder, I understood that sun was made

cient family of *Rowallan*: He had three brothers, *John*, *James* and *William Blairs*; the two eldest were honoured with the office of chief magistrate or provost of *Irvine*, and Mr. *William* was first a regent in the university of *Glasgow*, and afterwards minister of the gospel at *Dumbarton*. *Row's Supplement*, p. 2.

† Mr. *Blair's* mother lived till she was a hundred years old. *Row's Supplement*, p. 2.

made to give light to the world, and that cow to afford nourishment; but for what end I was made I was ignorant. For some time I went pensive up and down a gallery wherein I then was, and, perceiving neither young nor old upon the streets, I remembered that the people used to meet often together in a very large house called *The kirk*, and doubted not but they were about a duty which I had not yet laid to heart.

Upon a Lord's day, soon after this, a stranger entering the pulpit, (who I afterward learned was an *English* minister censured by their bishops for non-conformity, and was waiting at *Irvine* for a passage to *Ireland*) his countenance, and especially his band, (as I had not seen the like before) attracted my eyes to gaze upon him, and, while I was thus employed, he uttered these words, *It is good for me to draw near to God*. This being the text whereon he preached, he frequently repeated the same, and every time he did so my heart was much affected, and heartily approved that truth; and I verily believed that the LORD had given me the answer of the question which my conscience had put to me: And these words were afterwards so sweet unto me, that I resolved, if ever I were honoured to preach the gospel, to make that text my theme. Accordingly, in the very entry of my publick ministry, I handled the same; and, tho' it be now sixty three years since I heard that minister, his countenance, carriage and accent remain fresh upon my memory.

After that time I durst never play upon the Lord's day; yea, tho' when the school-master, after catechizing his scholars upon that day, would have dismissed us with express orders not to go to the town, but to the fields to play, I obeyed him in going to the fields, yet I refused to play with my companions, as against the commandment of God.

But,

But, as I remember those early mercies, so also the sins of my youth. In a time of rioting, commonly called *The holy days of Yule*, not long after the former instances took place, having perceived what liberty some took who were elder than I, to the end I also might play the fool more boldly, I feigned myself drunk, tho' I was as fresh as at any time; and, being challenged for staying at play till after supper time, I pretended that I was mourning at my father's grave. By this imposition I indeed escaped correction, but set my mother a-weeping. These things I did easily digest till several years thereafter, when reading holy *Augustine* his confessions, I observed how much he did in his old age lay to heart his childish faults, such as the breaking into orchards and stealing apples, not for want, having abundance of the same in his father's house, but least he should seem inferior to his comrades. Now, tho' I was free of that sin, yet I was thereby stirred up to ponder the paths of my youth; for sinful self-love is so strong, that tho' the LORD'S word gives clear warning of the heart's deceitfulness above all things, and desperate wickedness, yet we do not believe the same until we feel it actually breaking out in our lives.

About this time the Lord was pleased to visit me with a deadly-like disease, a bloody flux, of which my father died; and, when all prescribed means proved ineffectual, the gracious God was pleased to suggest to myself a cure, which, when I had used, seemed at first to kill me outright, but, having fallen into a deep sleep for above twenty four hours, I awakened perfectly recovered, and called for meat, tho' I had tasted little for twenty three days before. Nevertheless the corruption of my nature did manifest itself more vigorous than before, and did break out in contention and unruliness toward my two sisters. But then the LORD did again cast me suddenly into

a bed of affliction, which produced the taming of my spirits, and a detestation of all strife and contention.

In the twelfth year of my age, the supper of the Lord having been celebrated in *Irvine*, I was admirably taken with the sermon; and, my spirit having been likewise greatly ravished with the first exhortation at the table, I earnestly desired to communicate, but having got breakfast, I durst not, for it was then a generally received opinion, that the sacrament behoved to be received fasting; and, being also greatly moved with the second exhortation, I secretly lamented that my bodily breakfast should bereave me of a soul-banquet: But observing these words *after supper*, in the third exhortation, I thus reasoned with myself: Did CHRIST and his disciples celebrate this sacrament after supper, and can it be a fault in me to celebrate the same after breakfast? Sure it can be none; and so I sat down at the next table, and communicated. This was the Lord's work to his poor child, to make me his covenanted and sealed servant.

About this time the minister ordered that Mr. *Welsh's* catechism should be publickly repeated in the kirk before sermon, both before and after noon, and I was made choice of to repeat all the answers. Thus the Lord, who had a mind to make me a publick orator for him, was pleased to cause me timeously pronounce words whereby his people were edified.

Having profited well in my childish studies, I was found fit for the university, and entered to the college of *Glasgow* about the Year 1608. where I studied hard, and made as great progress as any of my fellow-students; but, lest I should have been puffed up with my proficiency, the Lord was pleased to visit me with a tertian fever for full four months, to the great detriment of my studies.

After this nothing remarkable occurred till the 20th year of my life, when, I remember, I could not willingly want the exercise of my body, by archery,

and the like ; and, lest my studies should be hindered, I resolv'd to be busy at them, every other night, so quietly as not to be perceived. For this purpose I could find no place so fit as a room wherein none was permitted to ly by reason of an apparition that used to frequent it ; yea, wherein I myself had seen one in the likeness of one of my fellow-students, whom I supposed to be really he, and, having a candle in my hand, I chased him into a corner of the room, where he seem'd to conceal himself, but, when I offer'd to pull him out, I could find nothing ; yet even there I resolv'd to spend my watching nights, and did so for a whole summer, without ever being in the least troubled. And, tho' I was influenced to this only from an ardent desire of prosecuting my studies diligently, yet the LORD had another design, and overruled this to a better end, even to act faith on himself ; for thus he taught me, that devils are reserved in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day, that they dare not appear, and far less molest any without the divine permission, and that if GOD had permitted such a thing to me, he would have made it work for my good : But withal, by this he taught me how necessary it was to pray seriously and fervently, and to live always as under his all-seeing eye ; and so, during that time, I studied the one night without any fear, or the least distraction, and the other night I slept very sweetly. Glory be to my blessed protector for ever.

P E R I O D S E C O N D .

From the time I was made MASTER OF ARTS, anno 1613. to the Year 1623. when I demitted my office as a regent in the university of Glasgow.

HAVING now finished my course of philosophy, under the discipline of my brother Mr. *William Blair*, I engag'd to be an assistant to the aged

aged and decayed school-master at *Glasgow*, who had above 300 scholars under his instruction, the half of whom were committed to my charge, where I remember not of any thing remarkable that befel me, except that I made so much conscience of my employment, that I often went to bed without supper, not for want, but for weariness, my strength and spirits having been exhaulted with the toil of the day.

At that time Mr. *Robert Boyd* of *Trochrig*, then a minister, and professor of theology at *Salmure* in *France*, was called home, by king *James*, to be principal of the college of *Glasgow* and minister of *Gowan*. At the hearing of Mr. *Boyd*'s inaugural oration I was not a little refreshed and stirred up to the discharge of my duty with diligence and chearfulness. On this occasion one moved a question to him, 'That, seeing he was a gentleman of a considerable estate, whereupon he might live competently enough, what caused him embrace so painful a calling, as both to profess divinity in the schools, and teach people also by his ministry?' His answer was, 'That, considering the great wrath under which he lay naturally, and the great salvation purchased to him by JESUS CHRIST, he had resolved to spend himself to the utmost, giving all diligence to glorify that Lord who had so loved him.' I thought with myself, there is a man of God, there is one of a thousand. Who am I in the very entry to weary of painfulness in serving my Lord, tho' in a meaner employment? From that day my heart was knit to that learned and holy man, in whose hand the Lord did, as it were, put the key of my heart, whenever I heard him in publick or private. I profited little by others; but he, as sent from God to me, did speak words of eternal life, whose lessons I carried away written in my heart, and thereafter did write them on paper for my own use.

After

After two years I was admitted in the room of my brother Mr. *William*, now settled minister at *Dumbarton*, to be a regent in the college of *Glasgow*, tho' not without opposition from archbishop *Law*, who had promised that place to another, and was desirous to detain me in the charge I was in, his son being under my instruction, (for as yet I had not laid to heart the controversy about church-government, so as to make myself disagreeable to him on that account) but neither the principal nor regents would give way to his motion.

When admitted to this charge, my elder colleagues, perceiving that I had considerable insight in humanity, urged me to read the classical authors, in order to hearken to the motion, I began to peruse the most ancient of them, and read over all *Plautus*; but the Lord, being displeas'd with that design, diverted me thus: I having the charge of the library, and meeting with *Augustine's* confession, wherein he inveighs sharply against the education of youth in heathen writings, I therefor betook me to the reading of the holy scriptures and the ancient fathers, especially *Augustine*, who had another relish, and breathed out much piety; and, tho' I perceived that our reformed divines were purer, and their opinions more consistent with the scriptures, than several of the ancients, yet I resolv'd to peruse these ancient monuments, beginning at the oldest, and made considerable progress in the hours I could spare from my charge.

In summer 1616. I was entred on trials for the ministry, and it was laid upon me to preach in the *College-kirk* the very first *Sabbath* after my licence. After several years I was told by some of the hearers, better acquainted with religion than I was, that in that first sermon the LORD did speak to their hearts, which greatly surpris'd me, and stirr'd me up to follow after the LORD. X

x See an additional fact of That
importance respecting the mind
of his late m^r *Fallick*, which
is explained p. 53 dit. 1671.

That year having, upon an evening, been engaged in company with some irreligious persons, when I returned to my chamber, and went to my ordinary devotion, the LORD did shew so much displeasure and wrath, that I was driven from prayer, and heavily threatned to be deserted of GOD : For this I had a restless night, and resolved to spend the next day in extraordinary humiliation, fasting and prayer ; and, toward the evening of that day, I found access to GOD, with sweet peace, through JESUS CHRIST, and learned to beware of such company ; but then I did run into another extream of rudeness and incivility toward such as were profane and irreligious, so hard a thing for short-sighted sinners to hold the right and straight way.

Some days after this, being in conference with worthy Mr. *David Dickson*, my elder colleague, who was once my master, I learned that, on the very day which I had set apart as above, he also was in the same way employed ; this custom we resolved to keep up in time coming, and from this did arise most entire friendship betwixt us, and a covenant of mutual remembrance frequently before the LORD.

About this time I learned also that it was my duty, not only to teach my students according to the laws and customs of the college, but also, according to the law of GOD, to teach them piety, and found that my reproof had more weight upon them, after this, than the rod had formerly.

Hitherto I observed little controversy about religious matters in the church of *Scotland* ; for, tho' there were bishops before this time, they took little upon them, and were very little opposed until the assembly at *Perth*, in the year 1618. when several articles, which had been canvassed in the two former assemblies at *St. Andrews* and *Aberdeen*, such as kneeling at the communion, the observation of holidays, &c. were much talked of as innovations to be introduced

introduced by that assembly; and the time of its meeting coinciding with the college-vacation, I resolved to go thither to see how matters were conducted.

In the entry of that assembly there was some contest about moderating in the meeting. The archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who opened the assembly with a crafty sermon, pretended that the precedency belonged to him of right; but venerable worthy ministers opposed this, affirming that it was against the liberty and freedom of a general assembly, that any should intrude themselves into that place; and that, in all assemblies since the beginning of the reformation, the moderator was always elected by the suffrages of all the constituent members: As also they affirmed, that even the late pretended assemblies had not, by any act, conferred the privilege of presiding in the general assembly upon the bishop, who had crept in contrary to the ancient constitution of the kirk of *Scotland*. Notwithstanding the archbishop usurped the chair, against which the brethren gave in a written protestation, and then the assembly proceeded to their business. The king's letter for concluding those articles in that assembly was read, and disputation ensued thereon, which lasted for some days, *Mr. William Scot* at *Cowpar*, *Mr. John Carmichael* at *Kilconquhar*, and *Mr. Alexander Henderson* at *Leuchars*, reasoning against the innovations, and the doctors *Lindsay*, *Gladstones* and *Philp* making answers such as they were. They frequently urged the king's will, but for reasons I heard none except one argument offered by doctor *Lindsay*, which was easily blown away. The reasoners against kneeling asked, whether their opponents urged the gesture of kneeling in reverence to the elements of the sacrament, yea or not. It was answered by *Dr. Gladstones*, Not as to elements, but as to holy signs; at which answer a great number of the assembly murmured,

mured, as a most dangerous and superstitious conceit, yea, his very party shewed their displeasure; and yet the act for kneeling carries the same notion, not obscurely, in the very bosom of it. To instance only in one particular more, the history of that assembly being well known. The dispute being carried on with more strength by the brethren than their antagonists, were like to overcome, the archbishop bursted out in a great passion with these words, *This matter shall not be carried either by arguments or votes; if it were but we bishops, with his majesty's commissioner, we will conclude and enact the matter, and see who dare withstand it.*

Matters being thus carried, I did not doubt then, nor ever since, on what side truth stood; yea, I then perceived that prelacy itself is destructive to the purity of the gospel, and the worst of all ceremonies, and became fixed in my judgment never to approve that way. From that time I studied the controversies concerning bishops and ceremonies, and was still more and more persuaded of their being weighty corruptions. This change introduced a persecution of honest ministers and professors who would not practise these ceremonies, yet nothing so hot and violent as that which now † rages against the church of CHRIST.

About that time I happened, in looking for one book, to light upon another, called *Petronius Arbitr.* This book I heard some commend for an excellent *Latin* diction, both in prose and metre, and upon this account I bought the same, yet till that day I had never read any part of it; but then, opening the book, I found, under the veil of elegant words, the most base and bawdy matter; and, turning over one or two other places, I still found filthy poison sugared and gilded over with very ornate language. Now, thought I with myself, if any thing in the world be
the

† Anno 1663.

the devil's bait to defile and intangle souls, this is eminently so, and, wishing there had been no more copies of it in the world, I committed it to the flames. Thereafter I learned that this author was called *Arbiter*, because he was the inventor and minister of wicked pleasures to that monster of cruelty and filthiness the emperor *Nero*. O, with how great circumspection ought all, especially young ones, consider what books they have or read, lest unawares they swallow down soul-poison, which, as poison to the body, though it be vomited up, yet always leaves a noxious dreg!

Not long after that I met with a most rare and admirable mercy; I tasted abundantly of the LORD's loving-kindness that is better than life, and somewhat of that joy that is unspeakable and glorious; and thus it was: One of my colleagues being indisposed I made him a visit after supper, and, finding him troubled with a crudity in the stomach, I proposed that he would cause make a posset of wine and milk for it; he knowing that I could scarce taste wine, yielded to the motion providing I would drink with him. To this condition I agreed for his sake, and so the drink was made; but the college-servants, not well skilled in posset-making, put in more wine than the milk could qualify; of this I took a draught, and found no harm for the present, but about two two hours after, being in bed, I was cast into a burning fever, and, having never felt the like, I apprehended that death approached. I was the more susceptible of this apprehension, that, for about thirteen years before, I had often meditated upon death, and lived under impressions that I would never see thirty years, of which I then wanted only four or five. The burning heat still increasing, as it uses to be in a quotidian fever, I concluded that I would not see the sun-rising, tho' it being the month of *July*, the night was then very short: Yet at this I was not dismayed;

on

on the contrary, I began to rejoice greatly in the expectation that shortly I would get rid of sin and sorrow, and thought I was fair before the wind to arrive where holiness and glory dwells, to enjoy God eternally; and tho' that scorching fever was burning my body, yet, the love of God burning more fervently in my soul, I felt no pain at all. It was not possible for my tongue then, nor is it possible for my pen now, to express the great gladness and exulting of my spirit. I extolled my Lord and Saviour, yea I sang to him, especially the 16th *psalm*, for I felt within me that which is written in the end thereof, *Thou wilt shew me the path of life, in thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore*: And thus I reasoned, If I be so full now of joy and pleasure in this valley of tears, how infinitely greater shall those joys and pleasures be when the soul shall be elevated and enlarged to enjoy God eternally without interruption. But, after I had been some hours in the banquetting-house, under the banner of love, there bursted out a great sweat, which did wet my body and shirt, and even the whole clothes about me, the vehemency of the fever abated, and I perceived that the time of my perfecting was not yet come, which caused me to utter many love-sighs, and the vehemency of my rejoicing also abated. At sun-rising I fell asleep, and when, about six o' clock, I began to stir, not being fully awakened, I thought at first, O what a pleasant dream have I dreamed! notwithstanding, when I awaked fully, I considered all the passages, and how I had shifted myself, and that yet all was wet about me, so that it was no dream, but a real manifestation of the loving-kindness of the LORD. When I arose, I resolved, tho' I found my body much shaken, and that the fever was not yet quite gone, to ride two miles to the kirk of *Gowan*, where the blessed Mr. *Boyd* did preach. There, in time of the first sermon

I had another fit of the fever, which ended with sweating, during which my joy in GOD was renewed, tho' not so high as the former. After both the sermons, having returned to town in the company of that man of GOD, I opened to him how it had been with me the former night; at which time he told me, that was not the daily fare of the people of GOD, but a delicate reached to me from the hand of my heavenly Father, to strengthen my faith, to quicken my hope, and to prepare me to endure temptation and affliction chearfully and courageously for Christ's sake, and advised me not to have frequent expectations of the like, but to lay it up as an earnest of the glory that is to be revealed at the appearing of JESUS CHRIST.

About that time I was frequently invited to preach publickly, which I did willingly, and thereby became acceptable to the good people of that town and country, particularly to the parishioners of *Stewarton*, where the Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them, who were at first under great terrors, and deep exercise of conscience, did thereafter attain to sweet peace and strong consolation. I preached often to them in time of the college-vacation, residing at the house of that eminent saint the lady *Robertland*, and had frequent conference with them, and did profit more by them than I think they did by me: Tho' ignorant and proud secure livers called them the *daft* people of *Stewarton*. Mr. *Robert Boyd*, of whom I have formerly made mention, came from his house in *Carrick* to meet with them; and, having conferred both with men and women, he heartily blessed GOD for the grace of GOD in them. The countess of *Eglinton* did countenance them much, and persuaded her noble lord to refrain from his hunting and hawking for some days, to confer with some of them, whom she had sent to for that effect; and, after conference, his lordship protested that he never conversed with the like of them, and wondered at the wisdom which they discovered in
their

their speech. As many of them as were able to travel, being encouraged thereto by their minister, went to the *Monday* market of *Irvine* with some small commodities, but their chief intention was to hear the lecture, which ended before the market began, and, by their example, many were incited to go from other parishes, whereby the power of religion was spread over that part of the country.

I bless the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people, and for the help I had by corresponding with blessed Mr. *Dickson*, after he left the college and settled at *Irvine*. By these I was helped to sympathize tenderly with such as I knew to be tempted, and lay under heavy pressures of conscience, whereby I still learned more of the wicked wyles of Satan, and of the blessed ways of God.

In the sixth year of my profession in the college, many faithful ministers having been exposed to suffering, for not conforming to *Perth articles*, I conceived that suffering might also be my lot, and I got special warning of this by *Monsieur Basnage*, a grave and gracious *French* minister, sent from the *French* protestants to receive contributions in *Scotland* to be employed for the use of the distressed *Rochellers* †. This gracious man, coming to *Glasgow* to receive the contributions there, told me that he had carried indifferently to the several parties in our kirk, lest he had marred the errand he came upon. But now, having done his work, he might more freely declare his sentiments; and thereupon he added, that he had heard well of me from those he loved best; withal he assured me, that the bishops and their faction were sore displeased with me, and that in his judgment, ere a year ended, I would find the truth
of

† In *August* 1622. Mr. *Basnage* granted receipt to *William Dick* and *James Spiers* collectors, for 20,424 l. 6 s. 8 d. *Scots*; and in *June* 1632. he granted receipt for the farther sum of 23,237 l. 13 s. 6 d. all from the church of *Scotland*.

* This was Benjamin Basnage minister of Cabrentan & Saingt more eglise in Normandy. He marriedlictionaine de Basnage He was grand father to Samuel & William Basnage

of what he foretold me. He encouraged me against this evil day; exhorted me, if I were troubled, to come to *France*, where I would be very welcome, and the more so for my suffering, and assured me that I should no sooner come than I should have a place in a college to teach philosophy, till I learned the *French* tongue so well as I might serve in the holy ministry there.

What I was thus forewarned of came to pass; but, before I relate particulars, it will be proper to declare how the LORD prepared me for the same, what rubs and hindrances I met with in his service, and what encouragements and furtherances I had from himself.

And, *first*, I declare that I did find great sweetness and easiness in worshipping the LORD for a considerable space, so that I had little prospect of any great difficulty to ensue: Satan was bound up from tempting, and my corruption from breaking out; much sweetness was as it were milked in from the Lord, and his tender love encouraged me in his ways before I did find difficulties: But when I began to set more closely to duties, as in special to the sanctifying of the *Lord's*-day, I met with such opposition by the wandering of my mind, and injections from Satan, that the more I aimed at watchfulness, the less speed I came, and seemed farther from gaining my point than when I endeavoured it less. I was put to a *non-plus*, and knew not what to do; to slack my endeavours I durst not, and to bend them more I could not. When I endeavoured it, I was beaten back with loss, and for some space I walked in heaviness. At my first awaking I knew the *Lord's*-day from another, by the opposition of my heart unto the duties of the day, before ever my eyes were opened. One day my brother finding me in this case, by my frequent sighings, inquired what ailed me: Was I in doubts or fears about my soul's salvation? I told him that

is not the case, I have Christ to be my righteousness, and by his merits I hope to be saved. What can trouble you then, said he? I answered, This troubleth me, that I cannot get the Lord my God served chearfully and constantly, especially on his own day, as some times I have done, or at least seemed to myself to do. He laboured to encourage me, and to chide me out of that heaviness, but that took no effect; still I lay under the same, till, on a *Lord's-day* on which I had been much perplexed in private, as I was entering the place of publick worship, the Lord did by his spirit speak to my soul, out of the 71st psalm, *I will walk in the strength of the Lord, and will make mention of thy righteousnesses, even of thine only.* With this, great light shined into my soul, discovering the ignorance and darkness in which I was walking; as, *first*, That when the Lord took me by the arms, and taught me to go, I observed not that it was the Lord's secret upholding and furnishing me with strength to go from step to step, but imagined I had got a stock of grace in my keeping, that would suffice to carry me through all difficulties; and then, *2dly*, I looked upon this as my own, which no doubt did highly provoke the Lord to blast my endeavours, and to withdraw his gracious assistance, that so I might learn better what I was, and what was my own, *viz.* weakness, folly, wandering, deadness, backsliding, &c. then did I see that strength to walk with God was not committed to my keeping, but was in the Lord's hand, who did withdraw that he might embrace; then compared I with the words now cited, that which often occurs in scripture, *The Lord is my strength and my song, he also is become my salvation.* (*Exod. xv. 2. Psal. cxviii. 14. Isa. xii. 2.*) By these and the like passages of holy scripture the Lord did then teach me that the stock and strength of sin was within myself, and that I carried about with me a body of sin and death, a bitter root of sinning;
sin

sin budding and breaking forth; and that even when the Lord quickened the soul, putting the life of God therein, and putting down sin from reigning, yet it remained and sought to reign, and frequently prevailed; so that the new creature was assaulted and led as a captive, retarded in doing good, and hurried away to evil, and that strength to resist was to be looked for from a Redeemer: Yea, I perceived then that sin, which seemed to be dead, had too much of vigorous life. This appeared most evident, when the spiritual law accurately urged obedience, according to what is written, *Rom. vii. 8.* where the apostle, bearing the person of a combatant in this warfare, saith, *Sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence, for without the law sin was dead; for I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.* Thus the Lord was pleased to humble and to teach me not to trust in myself, but in God *who raiseth the dead, (2 Cor. i. 9.)* Then began I to learn the truth of that christian paradox, and better to understand the meaning of it, *(2 Cor. xii. 10.) When I am weak, then am I strong.* The Lord gives a proof of his own strength and power, where he makes a discovery to us of our own weakness, according to verse 9. *My strength is made perfect in weakness;* and so way is made that the power of Christ may rest upon such.

If any think this was no great manifestation of an important truth, for who that knows any thing of God can be ignorant of this, that every good duty must be performed by strength and furniture from the Lord himself? I answer, It is one thing to know a truth notionally, (*Jude ver. 10.*) or by a gift of common illumination, so as to discourse thereof, both accurately as to matter, and elegantly as to style; this many gifted students and others attain, and yet the Lord's word pronounceth such an one *proud, knowing nothing,*

nothing, but doting about questions, (1 Tim. vi. 4.) yea he may be a great disputant (as the following verse doth intimate) but a great deal of this brain frothy knowledge cometh to nothing; it puffeth up, and will be a witness against him that hath it, though it may, through God's blessing, edify others. This differeth essentially in kind or specie, as I may say, from the true and saving knowledge of God, 1 Jo. ii. 4. and iii. 6. and iv. 8. the scripture aboundeth herein. True and spiritual knowledge is affectionate and practical; it floweth from the spirit of grace, carrieth with it a stream of holy affections, and stirreth up to endeavours and earnestness in the practice of holiness; a little of this reacheth very far. Now, according to this distinction, I, no doubt, knew formerly this truth notionally, but as to the affectionate and practical knowledge of it, upon good grounds, that appeared to me a new lesson, and a great light, whereby to order my conversation aright, out of the infinite stock and store of divine strength communicated to and influencing the soul from time to time, as felt necessity earnestly sought the same; and in this way I came to understand, to purpose, what is written, *Isa. xl. 29, 30, 31. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength; even the youth shall faint, &c.* That is to say, when quick-witted and well-gifted persons shall sit up, and fall away, possibly both from profession and practice, the weaker, resting upon the strength of the LORD, shall persevere in profession, and abound in the practice of holy duties: This, thro' God's blessing, proved to me a great, long, and strong stroke of the oars, to set me foreward for a considerable time, walking in the strength of the Lord in self-denial, and magnifying the grace of God and his gifted righteousness: But my gracious Lord, who intended to lead me on in holy practice, according to gospel principles, did, in process of time, suffer the great help and assistance
 gotten,

gotten, by what hath been now mentioned, to drink in and decay. Then was I put hard to it what to do next. I found no stock in my own hand to trade with, and that strength and furniture from the Lord did not flow in as of late. When I was reduced to this restless pass, and was, as it were, put out of all ways, the words of our Saviour, *I am the way, and the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me*, (Jo. xiv. 6.) were suggested unto me. Then was I thus rebuked and upbraided: What meanest thou, dark-minded man, to live as if *the Desire of all nations* were not come, as if the *Light of the Gentiles* were not shining? To live as if he were not published, in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, and out of whose fulness we are to receive, even grace for grace? For tho' thou be oft speaking of CHRIST, and to him, yet thou art not directly making him *the Way*, that is, the guide or leader, the new and living way unto the Father. What marvel tho' the strength and power of the Lord influence not thy soul, seeing thou makest so little application to God, and address to him by his Son: Tho' thou seemest to know, yet thou consideredst not, that all power in heaven and earth is put in his hand; and, as it was of old with his shadow *Joseph in Egypt*, all granaries were shut or opened, all sacks were filled or emptied, all comers, or seekers, were roughly or gently dealt with at his direction and pleasure; so now, in the kingdom of heaven, all petitioners and traders are to come directly and expressly to the *Man* in whom the fulness of the God-head dwelleth bodily, and all the debursings or out-givings to traders and dealers in his kingdom cometh through his hand. Thus was I rebuked, and, as it were, chided unto Jesus Christ. This was to me as the discovery of a new world, and I began to lament that so many like myself, who had fled from the pursuing wrath of God, to the satisfaction given by

Christ

Christ to the justice of God, in order to their reconciliation and absolution, and were exalting, extolling and setting him on high, yet knew little or nothing what use to make of Christ for sanctification.

Then began I, in earnest, to study his person, his natures, and his offices, how he is made to us of God, not only *Wisdom* as the great promised prophet, *Righteousness* as our justifier and absolver, but also *Sanctification*, as our king to reign in us, and work that which is well-pleasing in his sight. Then looked I with pleasure upon his human nature, wherein he is sib to us. Comfortable was the report, that *unto us a child is born, and a son given, (Isa. ix. 6.) who shall be the peace when the Assyrian shall come into our land, and when he shall tread in our palaces, (Mic. v. 5.) and who, being made like one of us, partaking of flesh and blood with the children, both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, (Heb. ii. 11.)* And the consideration of his human nature, wherein he is *touched with the feeling of our infirmities*, issued in strong consolation; for upon this ground we are exhorted to *come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need*: And so our Saviour was made fit to be a sacrifice to satisfy for sin, and more familiar, to whom we might have recourse for sanctification to help us against all temptations as our need requireth, seeing for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil, (1 John iii. 8.) Now, as the consideration of his human nature proves thus comfortable, in order to our sanctification, so also his divine nature; for the *Child* that is born to us; the *Son* that is given to us, his name is *The mighty God, The everlasting Father*.

When our spiritual enemies are terribly mustered up before us, and impudent Satan, as God of this world, claimeth an independent supremacy, (for this

is one of his stratagems against heartless sinners, to bear in temptations with importunity, as having uncontrollable power both to command and compel) then he is to be knocked on the head with that divine word, as a sword, *The God of peace shall bruise Satan under our feet shortly*, (Rom. xvi. 20.) But especially the kingly office of Christ, in order to our sanctification, is most considerable, and that both in order to our enemies, Satan, sin, the world and death, and in order to ourselves, as a victorious king to reign in us, through the abundance of his grace *to make us kings and priests to the Father*, (Rev. i. 6.) When sin offers to reign, and really doth much prevail, he not only exhorts, *Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies*, (Rom. vi. 12.) but also (v. 14.) by his princely power, determines the case, saying to all who have fled to him for refuge, *Sin shall not reign or have dominion over you, for you are not under the law, as a covenant that curseth the sinner, but under grace, that supplies and supports.*——And so now, when the fulness of Christ and the riches of grace were made patent to me, as a well furnished magazine and an inexhaustible store-house, how sweetly and satisfyingly did this refresh my soul? I saw then that the sacrifice once offered for sinners remained still to be a strengthening feast, and that we are exhorted while we live to *keep the feast*, (1 Cor. v. 8.)

While thus I was feasting on and with Christ, looking on him as King and Lord, and drawing virtue from him, I perceived that, as Christ hath a kingdom within us, (Luke xvii. 21.) *consisting of righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, (Rom. xiv. 17.) so also that he doth administer his spiritual kingdom externally, in governing his house, which is his church, by his appointed servants and officers, *the government being on his shoulder.*

This put me to a new examination of the point of church-government, considering, *first*, the scripture, and

and then authors who debated those questions. In searching the scriptures I found that our Saviour did, upon several occasions, forbid lordship and dominion even to his extraordinary commissioners, (*Luke xxii. 24,—26. Matth. xx. 25, &c*) and consequently to all that shall at any time bear office in his kirk. In which prohibitions these things are remarkable, 1st, That in the gospel of *Luke* was given out at the celebration of the sacrament of his supper, Christ our Lord giving to the disciples their sacrament upon it. 2^{dly}, It is observable, that in both the evangelists, where our Saviour discharges dominion and lordship in kirk-officers, he asserts and allows civil and kingly government, and the titles of honour due thereto, and thereby refutes that conceit that goes too current, *no bishop no king*. - And, 3^{dly}, it is remarkable, that, with the discharging of dominion in church-officers, he also prohibits titles of honour to be assumed by them, or given to them, saying expressly in *Luke*, *It shall not be so with you*. Also the apostle *Peter* (on whom especially the hierarchy is built) discharges this dominion, saying, *Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock*, (*1 Pet. v. 3.*) And wherever bishops are named in the *New Testament*, no other thing is meant than pastors, presbyters or ministers; so that bishop and presbyter, in the language of the holy scripture, is nothing else but two names for one and the same office. So much is confessed by the most learned of the prelatick writers, and is so manifest, *Acts xx.* and *Philip. i.* that it cannot be denied without great impudence.

For this reason the wiser sort of prelatists, shunning scripture-authority, do betake themselves either to the authority of the civil magistrate, or to the ancient custom of the kirk, or to the good end for which this superiority of bishops was ordained; but
 none

none of these can be a ground sufficient to build their superiority upon, much less their sole power.

Touching the *first* of these, it may justly be accounted a profane conceit, to imagine that Christ hath not ordained and instituted the substantials of a government, (of which the office-bearers are a principal part) whereby to govern his house and kingdom; and it contradicts the perfection and sufficiency of the holy scripture. Who will think the man a wise governor of his house, that leaves it to the servants to chuse rulers over them without his direction and appointment? And how high a crime would it be accounted in a kingdom, to appoint office-bearers, especially the highest under the king, without his appointment?

As to the *second*, of pretended antiquity, *1st*. It is no absurdity to call every substantial change, after the closing of the canon of scripture, a corrupt novelty. And, *2dly*, is well known to all versant in the writings of the ancients, that the change at first was very small, yea, that for near 400 years, the person to whom the name of a bishop began to be appropriated had nothing above the presbyter but ordination, as *Jerome* witnesseth in his time; thereafter, as purity decayed, and corruption increased, more was added, from time to time, till it came to the height it is now at.

And for the *third*, namely, the end for which this superiority was ordained, *viz.* to keep unity, it is the truest plea of all the rest, but very weak and insufficient; for, as learned *Whitaker* observed, when disputing this point, the remedy proved worse than the disease; and, in very deed, granting once the expediency and lawfulness of a lordship over a diocese, to keep unity therein, and of a primate's grace to keep unity in a kingdom. it cannot be denied that, upon the same ground, it is fit and necessary, that there be an universal bishop and pope over all the churches and kingdoms of the world.

The truth is, the dominion of bishops has been the greatest ground of division and contention that ever was in the christian world. And here it is very observable, that, when the blessed apostle *Paul* is exhorting to unity, (*Ephes. iv.*) and gathering arguments to promote the same, if it had been the mind of the Lord to appoint the superiority of bishops, and to bless that as a mean to preserve unity in the kirk of Christ, it had been seasonable there to suggest the same; but, on the contrary, after apostles and evangelists (who were extraordinary commissioners, and in that wherein they were extraordinary they had no successor) he nameth only *pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*; where it is plain, that, according to the wisdom of God, it is not the lording superiority of a prelate over a province, or a primate over a kingdom, or a pope over all the churches of the world, that is the mean to keep unity, but that it is the blessing of Christ upon the labours of his sent pastors and teachers, jointly acting and carrying on the work of the ministry, that doth perfect the saints, bringing them to unity, and making them to grow up to the strength and stature of the grace of God.

This discourse may seem a going out of the way to meet with an adversary, but in very deed it is no digression; for studying sanctification, and the progress of holiness, does belong to the kingly office of Jesus Christ, whereby he, reigning in his people, destroys in them what is opposite to his kingdom, and brings up their hearts to a conformity with him. While I was about the study of the inward part of Christ's kingdom, I saw it incumbent on me not to slight his kingly government of the church, and to search from the register of his own will, not neglecting the learned writings of the most able disputants, concerning the
controversies

controversies on that head : And here I declare and protest, that, according as I attained any progress in piety, under the influence of the grace of Christ, I attained to farther confirmation of the truth of the government of his church by his appointed officers, and not by intruders and usurpers. To these I durst not give the accustomed titles of honour, being prohibited by the Lord as well as the usurpation itself; and tho' I saw many who were clear enough against that usurpation, make no scruple of giving titles of honour to the usurpers, following that maxim, *loquendum cum vulgo, sentiendum cum sapientibus*, we ought to speak as the common people do, but think as wise men, I durst not follow that loose principle, altho' I knew my not doing so might hasten on trouble; and in this I was confirmed by what is written, *Job xxxii. 21, 22.* where *Elibu*, that grave (tho' young) moderator of the controversy betwixt *Job* and his friends, reproving them both as injurious to God, and to one another, saith, *Let me not accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man — in so doing my Maker would soon take me away.* In his eyes the giving of undue and flattering titles was not a trifling thing, that needed not to be stuck upon; in doing so he feared destruction from God, and so did I also. Honourable titles are indeed due to them who are dignified with them by a king or state; but tho' the sovereign Lord, who authoritatively gives out indispensable laws, both for giving and receiving of honors, and the titles due to the same, allow such as are invested with them to be called *benefactors*, (*i. e.* gracious lords, or your grace) as in that before-cited 22d of *Luke*, yet to church-rulers he says, *It shall not be so with you;* and therefor they may neither require nor admit the same, nor may others, by so flattering, harden them in their usurpation.

But now to proceed, in opening up the steps of practical light, wherein the Lord did lead me in those times,

times, I thought with myself, that, having thus found opened to me the mystery of Christ incarnate, in order to a full satisfaction for sin, as also his kingly office in order to carry on sanctification, and so made to me all and in all, I concluded that there was no more to do, but in humble sincerity to follow on that way; and then, that I might know better how it was with my soul from day to day, having heard of the practice of some diligent christians, who daily took brief notes of the condition of their soul, marking both what failings and escapes they were overtaken with, as also what progress they made in the ways of God, I followed the same course in some passages, using a dark way of writing *, and kept it up above sixteen

* Amongst the various instances which Mr. Row gives of this way of writing, take the following for a specimen, 1626. *February* 8. This day being a day for private humiliation, I could do nothing, only I concluded the Lord worthy still to be sought. Entering with the family exceeding dead and dull, I resolved to pass the first prayer in few words, but I could not end my heart melted so wonderfully: Honoured be thy majesty! That kindness which were unlawful to be shewn among men, (*Jer. iii. 1.*) the Lord shewed to me; O more than wonderful! Again, in *November* that year, lamenting the leaving off to remark his estate, he says, 'Oh gross omission, O miserable backsliding, bringing sensible loss and great discouragements! especially on the 29th of *October*, when I had the communion to celebrate without help, many strangers were then present, with a great appetite, and my heart bursted before I entered; yet thou, O Lord, didst graciously assist, and made me both to preach, and effectually to feel that thy yoke is light and easy. When we are yoked by the one side there is no kindly drawing; when the burden hangs upon the houghs it is uneasy, but hoist it up and it is lighter. Thy help was sweet and sensible at entry and ending, and all (honoured be thou!) more accepted for some time after, than for a long time before; yet, Satan being sensible of his harm, was diligent to make up his loss; for *November* the 27th being appointed for a private fast, no preparation, greatly kept back, and all the company, yet at night thy Majesty graciously helped and held me up, and I felt the lightness of thy yoke: Magnified be thou for ever! *November* 28. Thou awakenedst me, O Lord, graciously musing

sixteen years; so that every *Lord's-day* the notes of the preceeding week were considered and laid to heart;

' musing, in my very sleep, on the power of the sacrament, the matter that raised me up the day before. In wrestling we should strive to make use of the sacrament, whereby our communion with Christ is sealed up: Blessed be thy Majesty!' Again, 'when I get access to thy Majesty, my heart is enlarged for thy services, and flies thro' them; I find it a notable help to renew daily the covenant,' *Row's Supplement*, p. 100.

' 1629. *Febr.* I was in some measure prepared for thy holy table, to which I went at the spurs both in soul and body. Thy Majesty helped me in the sermon afternoon, to stir up to the new song, *Psalms* xcvi. wherein thou, O Lord, madest my tongue as the pen of a ready writer.' And yet hear him in the same month bemoaning himself thus: 'What is me for the disposition of my heart, 1. Idle. 2. Vain. 3. Wicked. 4. Exceeding stiff and strong in evil; but, O how good art thou, who challenged sharply, humbled quickly, and made all work together for my good; but never shall any find the good of counter-poison till they first find the evil of it,' *Ibid.* p. 108.

1631. He records it as one of his experiences, that lawful actions, done without an eye to God, are so many steps leading away from him; and that he was troubled, if at any time, tho' on week-days, he had entertained too much worldly conference, adding, 'Lord give me amends of the body of sin; I find one lust help another; my Lord help thou me against them all.' *Row's Sup.* p. 112.

' 1632. *Feb.* 10. Lord, thou wast highly lifted up in the sanctuary, thou hast ascended on high, &c. my soul was chearful in thee, blessed be thy holy name,' *Ibid.* p. 114.

1633. *April ult.* he says, 'My time is short, I thank thy Majesty who gives me a mind and occasion to be busy. How gracious hast thou been, O my Lord, this communion-time? I was more afraid for it than formerly, yet, because men were challenging thy work and workmen, my soul claimed the greater right to thee, and expected the greater help from thy Majesty.—Next *Sabbath* I was in greater fear, by reason of the former assistance, for so ordinarily have I been exercised with temptations of that kind, but never spoke I so in publick as that day. O what melting in the prayer with great liberty, and what zeal gavest thou in preaching on that Lamb of God? And upon *Monday*, altering of necessity the text I had meditated upon, and handling *Philipp.* i. 27, 28. thy Majesty gave gracious assistance.

' O what

heart; and at the end of every month the notes thereof were perused, and at the end of the year a view was taken of the whole.

By this strict course I perceived some new obstruction to arise, whereat I was not a little afflicted, having before thought that the discovery made to me of the riches and fulness of grace in Christ should have reached farther without any stop. Thus was I again put to a stand, and made with great sorrow for my shortcoming, to wonder how I could obtain a favourable outgate: Sometimes I thought that deeper humiliation, for not improving a discovered Christ, would clear the way to me, and, at other times, I thought of more diligence in the practice of religious duties; and that tho' ordinary diligence did not carry the matter, extraordinary would do it; but still I missed my expectation.

While I was thus perplexed, that great oracle, *The just shall live by faith*, sounded loud in my ears, and this put me on a new search of the scriptures, where I did find great weight laid upon that grace, both in coming at the assurance of our justification, and in making progress in sanctification; yet I was not satisfied with our divines, who commonly described rather the high degrees and effects of that grace, attainable in this life, than the nature of it: So I went about, inquiring for light, till *Mr. Ezekiel Curvelweal's Treatise of Faith* came out; and his notions of faith being the same with what are since published by the *Westminster assembly*, I was thereby much satisfied and confirmed.

By this study of the nature of precious faith, and especially of the text before mentioned, I learned,
1st. That nominal christians, or common professors,
 E were

' O what a strange mourning was among the people—and what abundance of tears were shed—Lord prepare me to bear thy sweet cross patiently and comfortably! ' *Id.* p. 116.

were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only do papists err, who place faith in an implicit assent to the truth which they know not, and that is it better defined by ignorance than by knowlege, (a way of believing very suitable to Antichrist's slaves, who are led by the nose they know not whither) but also secure protestants, who, abusing the description of old given of faith, say, that it implies an assured knowlege in the person who believes, of the love of God in Christ to him in particular. This assurance is no doubt, attainable, and many believers do comfortably enjoy the same, as our divines prove unanswerably against the popish doctors, who maintain the necessity of perpetual doubting, and miscall comfortable assurance as the protestants presumption: But notwithstanding that comfortable assurance doth ordinarily accompany a high degree of faith, yet that assurance is not to be found in all the degrees of saving faith; so that, by not adverting to this distinction, many gracious and sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ, and rested on him as he is offered to them in the word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all. On the other hand, many secure and impenitent sinners, who have not yet believed the Lord's holiness and abhorrence of sin, nor their own ruined state and condition, do, from self-love, imagine, without any warrant of the word, that they are beloved of God, and that the foregoing description of faith agrees well to them.

Secondly, I perceived that many who make a right use of faith, in order to attain to the knowlege of their justification, make no direct use thereof in order to sanctification; and that the living of the just by faith reached farther than I formerly conceived, and that the heart is purified by faith. If any say, Why did I not know that precious faith, being a grace, is not only a part of our holiness, but does promote o-
ther

ther parts of holiness? I answer, That I did indeed know this, and made use of faith as a motive to stir me up to holiness, according to the apostle's exhortation, *Having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.* But I had not before that learned to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, tho' it may be I had both heard and spoken that by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose, that they who receive forgiveness of sins are sanctified thro' faith in Christ, as our glorious Saviour taught the apostle *Paul, Acts xxvi. 18.* Then I saw that it was no wonder tho' my not making use of faith for sanctification, as hath been said, occasioned an obstruction in the progress of holiness; and I perceived, that making use of Christ for sanctification, without directly employing of faith to extract the same out of him, was like one seeking water out of a deep well without a long cord to let down the bucket and draw it up again, or like a child that opens the mouth to the breast, but does not lay the tongue about the top of it, so that the milk doth rather run into the mouth than that there is kindly sucking. Then was I like one that came to the store-house, but got my provision reached to me, as it were, thro' a window. I had come to the house of mercy, but had not found the right door; but by this discovery I found a patent door, at which to go in and receive provision and furniture from Christ Jesus. Thus the blessed Lord trained me step by step, suffering many difficulties to arise, that more light from himself might flow in. ✱

I hoped then to make better progress with less stumbling, yet shortly after I met with another difficulty, and, wondering what discovery would next clear the way, I found that the spirit of holiness, whose immediate and proper work was to sanctify, had been slighted and thereby grieved; for the

Paragraph omitted. (Corinth (New York) p. 330 atq.)

the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of him and to him frequently, and seeking the out-pouring thereof, and urging others to seek the same, yet that discovery appeared to me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to cherish, and not quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth, according to the scriptures, by that blessed guide; and that by that heavenly comforter I might be encouraged in all troubles, and sealed up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

About that time the Lord did set me on work to stir up the students who were under my discipline earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in secret seeking of the Lord, and my endeavours this way were graciously blessed to several of them.

But then, the teaching of philosophy became irksome to me, and was as sand betwixt my teeth. I began to think that reading and meditating on philosophick notions, and teaching the same, was a greater hindrance to piety and holiness than handy labour could possibly be, because in the one the mind was left free to contemplate on the divine Majesty and holy duties, which could not be so easily attained in the other. Nevertheless I durst not slack my diligence in instructing the youth; and my prejudice at that employment was not a little mitigated with the consideration, that diligence in the meanest lawful calling is service acceptable to God, when conscientiously performed, according to that of the apostle, *Col. iii. 23, &c.* 2dly, I was taught to intermix holy ejaculations to God with all my studies and teaching of philosophy. And, 3dly, I had access also to teach the grounds, and to urge the practice of piety; and so I got the rest of my time and labour there (which continued but for a short while thereafter) comfortably endured.

After

After *Perth Articles* were ratified, (1621.) kneeling at the communion was strictly urged. Many faithful ministers were deposed from the ministry for not practising the articles, amongst whom were Mr. *Henry Blyth* at *Holy-wood-house*, Mr. *Richard Dickson* at *West-kirk*, Mr. *David Forrest* at *Leith*, and Mr. *David Dickson* at *Irvine*; and at *Glasgow* kneeling in time of receiving the elements was so hardly pressed, that archbishop *Law* removed from the Lord's table some students, tho' well known to be godly young men.

With this conduct *Trochrigg*, the principal of the college, having been much offended, went, with the other masters of the university, to the bishop's lodging, where he freely admonished and reprov'd him for driving so many from the table, whom doubtless Christ made welcome; adding, that the table was not his, but Christ's, and yet he had dealt as imperiously as if removing his horse-boys from the by-board. The archbishop was so incens'd with this admonition, that his passion hindered his expression for some space, and so soon as he recovered himself, he vented his indignation in very high words, and in end he extoll'd *Perth* assembly, where those articles were concluded, alledging that all their conclusions proceeded upon weighty grounds. Upon this I was oblig'd (none of the rest having been present at that assembly) to remind him that the moderator of that meeting said openly, in time of the disputation, that *these articles should be carried neither by arguments nor voices; and that tho' no others were for it than them, (the bishops) with the king's commissioner, they would conclude the same.* The archbishop denied not that it was true which I said, yet he pour'd out his indignation against me in very injurious expressions; and tho', after this, he spar'd not to commend my parts beyond the truth, yet, when I was present to any charge, he oppos'd the same notwithstanding he attempted nothing against me till after *Trochrigg* retired

tired from the college, (for that shining light, finding it impossible to sit in *Rome* and strive with the pope, thought proper, for peace sake, to yield up his charge there in winter 1621-2.) but after that, doctor *Cameron* having been put into his place, that learned man made the archbishop still the more my enemy; but before I set forth the particulars of this matter, it will be necessary first to relate what it was did irritate him against me. Dr. *Cameron* having been called home from *France* by king *James*, and settled principal of the college of *Glasgow*, of purpose that he might bring that university to conform to *Perth Articles*, finding, after some endeavours used, to gain the other regents, that his chief difficulty lay in persuading me, he set all his art on work to attract me; and hearing that I intended a journey to visit the faithful servants of Christ who were confined in the north by the high-commission court, and suspecting that his work would be the harder if I had once made that visit, he would needs accompany me, as he pretended, tho' I afterward learned he intended only a visit to the doctors of *Aberdeen*; but I having been, beforehand, engaged to go north with some people from *Edinburgh*, this afforded me a plausible excuse for not going with him; however, when I came to *Edinburgh*, the company I had made a tryst with were in providence hindered from going at that time; yet I found other and very unexpected company, and sweet passages of divine providence, and my spirit was much refreshed with the observation of the Lord's conduct from day to day.

When I went north, the fellowship of the sufferers, especially of Mr. *David Dickson* confined at *Turriff*, and of Mr. *Robert Bruce* who was now for the second time confined at *Inverness*, did admirably refresh me. This old, venerable and heroick man, considering I had come so far on his account, it being computed near 140 miles betwixt *Glasgow* and *Inverness*, did impart

to me, the most remarkable passages of his life, and, that he might be the less liable to forget the same, he had committed them to writing, and they, together with some valuable letters to and from him, made a pretty large volume: In general, I remember that he had therein narrated what sad and deep exercise his soul had met with both before and after his entry to the ministry at *Edinburgh*, (how that for three years space he was so assaulted with temptations, that during all that time he never said My God, but his conscience challenged him for the same) and some of the strong consolations where-with the Lord had comforted him, among which two most eminent were vouchsafed him before he fell under the king's displeasure, by which the Lord did strengthen him against that tryal. Farther particulars I have now forgot. In my return I also met with several remarkable passages of providence, some were drowned in rivers, and others killed by robbers, from which (however bitter they were to others) the Lord enabled me to suck sweetness.

On my return to *Glasgow* I was informed that *Trochrigg* lay sick, and therefore I made haste next day to visit him at his own house in *Carrick*.

Some time after this I learned that these my visits gave offence to the promoters of conformity, and particularly, thro' doctor *Cameron's* ignorance that it was my custom in vacation time to visit gracious ministers and eminent christians, that by their conference and fellowship I might be furthered in the good ways of the Lord, he became suspicious that I was negotiating some plot among the suffering ministers, in opposition to the innovations which had lately crept into the church of *Scotland*.

The vacation being ended doctor *Cameron* began his prelections, which I attended, and took notes of every thing I judged material, and, in his private discourses, he endeavoured to persuade me to conform to the

the *articles* of *Perth*; but I answered his arguments with as much discretion as I could, so that we parted good friends for a considerable space.

About that time came to my hand the history and acts of the famous synod of *Dort*, together with the writes of the *Belgick Remonstrants*, all which I perused diligently in my night-studies, and so much the rather, that doctor *Cameron* having, as was reported, confuted one *Tilanus* an *Arminian*, I hoped that the doctor in our publick disputes which we had weekly, and private conferences, wherein he was very communicative, would resolve all my doubts on that subject, but I soon found my mistake.

For a *French* student, who accompanied the doctor to *Scotland*, having for theses maintained *that election did proceed upon foreseen faith*, and it having been laid on me to oppugn the same, I had not proceeded far, when the doctor, who was preses of that meeting, did bewray a byass to the side of his theologue. This unexpected encounter surpris'd me greatly, and I was at a *non plus* what to do, because I supposed the dispute in hand had driven them to assert as they had done, rather for argument's sake than that it was their fixed judgment; and I was afraid least my opposing them too much might make them resolute and fixed on that point, and therefore I did not answer directly to the point in hand, but contented myself with reminding my antagonist, that the synod of *Dort* had lately determined contrary to what he asserted. Upon this the preses gave me the lie, and, calling for my proof, I was obliged either to take with his charge, or to dispute, which I undertook, and continued till the tolling of the bell did dissolve the meeting.

Many of the students having been present on that occasion, different reports of what passed were quickly spread abroad, some affirming that doctor *Cameron* and his disciple had openly maintained a point of

Arminianism,

Arminianism condemned by the synod of *Dort*, and others, that I had only charged them with having done so; which, coming to the doctor's ears, did augment his wrath, and made him resolute on having amends of me.

Wherefor, against next meeting, I was challenged to dispute again, but, fearing that might tend to no good purpose, I declined the same, till a young gentleman, a student, came to me in the name of his fellows, and told me that the preses would give them no other theses till I disputed the former, and that they were much grieved at my aversion to gratify them: By which, and the like motives, he urged me so vehemently that I yielded to dispute.

When the time came for this new encounter I proceeded in the argument where we formerly left off, but, finding my antagonist would neither directly defend nor retract what he had formerly said, I thought needful, both for the satisfaction of others present, who were more numerous than welcome, and that I might bring the defendant to a point, to resume the state of the question, and the arguments which had been advanced on both sides.

This rehearsal did much displease the doctor, who finding his theologue in the mire, and himself in hazard of being besmeared, bursted out in opprobrious language against me as an unfair reasoner; whereupon I made as if I were to leave them, saying, *I will not dispute contentiously*. But the preses not willing to let me part so, framed this dilemma for me, 'Either you have charged us with contention, which were a proof of your arrogance, or yourself, which would be an evidence of an evil conscience.' To which I answered, *Sir, my speech neither charged you nor myself with contention, but I endeavoured, by yielding, to prevent the occasion thereof*. My answer was commended by the auditors, but the preses was otherwise disposed, and vented himself in very injurious and

menacing words against me, wherewith Mr. *Robert Scot*, rector of the university, and minister of the high-church, was much offended, and publickly reprov'd him.

That grave man having, by his reproof, thrown water upon the flame, one of the *French* students offered to revive the dispute, but he was soon put to silence, and the meeting broke up.

After the principal and regents had convoyed the rector to the out-gate of the college, I stayed behind for a little space, and having intreated the rector, and those who were with him, to tell me ingeniously, while the matter was recent in their memory, whether I had given any just cause for that great indignation which the doctor shewed against me, they answered, with one consent, that, to the best of their observation, I had given him none. One of them added that so great wrath did bode a storm, and he judged rightly; for the doctor, having missed his aim in persuading me to conform to *Perth articles*, reckoning himself also affronted in our conference, and being possessed of as strong passions as parts, could not contain his humor from violent outbreacking against me, which soon determined me to demit my office.

However this I did not immediately, for, by the influence of Mr. *James Robertson* my senior colleague, an agreement was in appearance made up betwixt the doctor and me, but, like *Jnah's* gourd, it was of short continuance; for, in a meeting of the moderators of the university, the dean of faculty having asked, if, at any time before this age, the observation of the day of Christ's nativity was questioned in the christian church, the doctor answered in the negative, and, pretending the authority of *Augustine* in his epistle to *Januarius*, he affirmed that it was kept thro' the whole world.

I having lately read that letter, and judging it my duty to detect the fallacy of this assertion, so boldly uttered

uttered in confirmation of a superstitious rite, defiderated proof of *Augustine's* opinion. Upon this Mr. *Cameron*, of whom it was said that he knew not what it was to forget, had recourse to the book, and, after fumbling some time with it, (some of the company looking upon me all the time, as the barbarians did upon *Paul* when the viper fastened on his hand) was obliged to throw it aside, saying, *I wonder that St. Augustine did forget this!*

This affront added new fuel to the flame, and tho' he concealed his wrath at that time, his malice was secretly employed in endeavouring to work my ruin; for, in a few days after, I having gone out of town to avoid disputes during the abused days of *Yule*, the doctor engaged one *John Gardner*, who, of all that had been my students, loved me least, to search my dictates on *Aristotle's* ethicks and politicks, and to bring him whatever he could find, either of magistrates, laws or obedience †.

Some passages capable of wresting *Gardner* excerpted, and brought to Mr. *Cameron*, which he presented to the archbishop, and, to accomplish this plot the better, three or four more were drawn into it, and an oath of secrecy exacted from them; but one of them, being struck with a strong remorse for his accession thereto, sent me information of the whole, and advised me to make my escape; but I abhorred that motion, as calculated for betraying my innocence, and the Lord established my heart with confidence that he would clear my integrity: Whereupon I prepared a written apology, and required a publick hearing

† Not long after this informer was apprehended for stealing books, and put in the bishop's stocks, from which he made his escape, leaving a paper, which was sent by a friend to Mr. *Blair*, then in *Ireland*, bearing, *That the judgment of God was upon him ever since that Lord's-day whereon he was seduced to inform against Mr. Robert Blair.*

hearing before the magistrates and ministers of the place.

That request being granted, I answered so convincingly, that all present professed their entire satisfaction with me; yea, one of the city-ministers, who had been influenced against me, said, in the face of the meeting, *Would to God king James had been present, and heard what answers that man hath given.* The archbishop also having wrote to the king concerning me, which letter he shewed to me before he sent it away, an answer was returned by my lord *Alexander*, who, as having been my scholar, used his interest for me, that the king saw no cause to be offended with me. Afterward the archbishop wrote to my brother at *Dumbarton* to dissuade me from going out of the country, and promised that I should be placed in a considerable charge; and *Dr. Cameron* likewise importuned me, with seeming earnestness, not to give up my charge: But, being now weary of teaching philosophy, and trusting little to the fair promises which were made to me, I demitted my place in that university, to the great grief of the most of my fellow-regents and students, and the good people of *Glasgow*, who were pleased to encourage me with their testimony; for the praise of worthy persons, which at other times may be the occasion of a dangerous temptation, is very comfortable in a time of trouble and reproach.

And tho' this piece of my tryal took its rise wholly from *Dr. Cameron*, yet, before I left the town, I went to his chamber, and peaceably took my leave of him, and, as long as he lived, I made conscience to pray for him, that his great gifts might be useful to the church of God, fearing, if I had omitted this, lest I had been left to harbour spleen in my breast. X X

Notwithstanding the calumny of anti-monarchical and disloyal principles was thus clearly wiped away, yet, that a blow might be reached to the famous assembly

*See the character of yo^r di-
vine Bayle's Dictionary Art.
Cameron, & see the*

sembly which sat at *Glasgow* anno 1638. for transporting me to *St. Andrews*, the author of the book, called *The large Declaration*, thought fit to revive that reproach, with this addition, that I was expelled the college of *Glasgow* on that account, but, by the good providence of God, a gentleman, who was a ruling-elder, having heard a surmise of my story, did openly desire to be satisfied concerning it, which he soon obtained; for I, having been a member of that assembly, and in the place where that calumny took its rise, and Mr. *Robert Baillie* and Mr. *George Young*, who were witnesses to that whole business, being present, I, and these two brethren, did fully satisfy the assembly of the injustice of my accusers, and, which is much more, Dr. *Balcanqual* dean of *Durham*, who penned *The large Declaration*, sent to me, when I was at *London* sometime after that, intreating a meeting with me, and promising to satisfy me concerning that misrepresentation, and to tell me his informer. But I returned for answer, that his book was under the consideration of the commissioners of both kingdoms, who, I doubted not, would do me justice among others, and therefore I could not make any transaction with him for my own private satisfaction.

But, to return to the history of my trouble at *Glasgow*, that which afflicted me most was, that being beloved of many gracious people thro' the land, I knew they would be grieved on my account, some for my trouble, and others for fear lest I had given occasion for that imputation: Alas! even when we seem to be prepared for suffering, how far are we from it? When the Lord sees meet to suffer pain, loss, and especially reproach, to touch us, innocence and integrity themselves are sometimes overwhelmed, but, when he brings trouble on his own, he will make it issue in their sanctification, and will have them, as it was with the apostle *Paul*, (2 *Cor.* i. 1, 8, 9.) pressed
out

out of measure, and above their strength, that they may learn not to trust in themselves, but in God who quickeneth the dead. Was the chosen vessel, that had carried the name of Christ so long, and with so great success, in need of learning, not to trust in himself, but in the living God, and behoved he to be pressed beyond any stock of grace he had received, how then can younger apprentices think themselves hardly dealt with, when they are so used under their tryals? They need not wonder if all their gifts, graces, experiences and consolations, not only shrink, but even sink under them, when they offer to rely thereon. The Lord, in love to the souls of his servants, will not endure that piece of heart-whorishness, that gifts be rested on rather than himself. Gifts, and examples in others, and experiences in ourselves, may be of use, as pinnings in a wall, to encourage and advance our faith, so may also the diligent use of the means and ordinances of life, but, if they be laid in the foundation, they are out of their own place, and will be soon crushed with their burden. The Lord *Jehovah*, in whom alone is power, the Father, I say, in his Son and Spirit, without partners, will be the only object of our faith and hope, (*Psalms*. lxi. 2, 5, 6.) Hence learn, that we do not truly wait on, trust and hope in God, when we do only exclude means and helps, outward or inward, from being the object of faith; and likewise, that when the Lord brings his servants under such pressures, he intends not only the refining of their faith, which is more precious than gold, but, by vouchsafing his strong consolations to them, he thereby fits them to comfort others, with the consolations wherewith he hath comforted themselves.

The day I left *Glasgow*, riding to *Dumbarton* in the company of Mr. *William Castlelaw* minister at *Stewarton*, in whose pulpit I had often preached, I was so filled with the consolations of the Holy Spirit,

that.

that I could not conceal my joy ; and most part of the way, which is about ten miles, he and I sang to the Lord's praise with great chearfulness.

About this time I received a comfortable letter from *Trochrigg*. This gentleman had got a call to teach divinity in the university of *Edinburgh*, and to be one of the city-ministers ; but the resort of gracious people and eminent persons was so great to his preaching and converse, that the other ministers there, especially *Dr. Forbes*, who thereafter was made the first bishop of *Edinburgh*, being moved with envy against him, procured an order from the king, to the town-council of *Edinburgh*, to remove him from that charge ; and afterwards he was confined to his own house in *Carrick*.

So much for the *Second Period* of my life, wherein, tho' I studied brevity, I could not more briefly dispatch the same.

P E R I O D T H I R D .

From the time I left the college of Glasgow, to the year 1631. when I was first suspended from the ministry at Bangor.

ALTHO' I was presented to several charges in *Scotland*, and had an invitation, and a great inclination, to go to *France*, yet the sovereign Lord, who hath determined the bounds of our habitation, thrust me over to *Ireland*, altogether contrary to my inclination ; and thus it was.

Next day after I demitted my charge in the college of *Glasgow*, an invitation was sent to me from the lord *Clanniboy*, patron of the kirk of *Bangor*, in the county of *Down* in *Ireland*, to be minister of that parish. The bearer, *Mr. James Hamilton* of *Kirktonholm*, told me, what indeed appeared from its date, that

that the said commission had been in his custody for a considerable time, but that, as he had no freedom while there was a prospect of my continuing in *Glasgow*, to deprive that university, and the good people in the place and neighbourhood, of my labours, he had kept up his orders, and begged me to have him excused.

Such was my aversion to *Ireland*, that I prayed him to speak no more concerning it, and rashly repelled that motion with a flat denial, telling him that I had an invitation to *France*, which I intended now to embrace.

Yet, notwithstanding this precipitant answer, it was my request in my daily prayer to God, that he would be pleased to dispose of me according to the good pleasure of his will; and one day, being in prayer, I did find myself as sensibly rebuked as if one standing by me had audibly said, *Thou, fool, art taking the disposal of thyself, not submitting to me; thou must either preach the gospel in Ireland, or no where at all.* In this way I was several times rebuked, so that I found myself bound in spirit to set my face toward a voyage to *Ireland*.

Passing from *Irvine* in a fair day, toward the evening there arose a contrary wind, and I became very sea-sick; and, during this disaster, the tempter shrewdly objected calumnious accusations against me. These I could not for the present repel; and therefore, admitting they were true, I fled for refuge to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus; but, when the storm, both outward and inward, was calmed, I found those objections were most groundless and impudent lies.

When I landed in *Ireland*, some men parting from their cups, and all things smelling of a root called ram-pions, my prejudice was confirmed against that land; but next day, travelling towards *Bangor*, I met, unexpectedly, with so sweet a peace, and so great a joy, as I behoved to look thereon as my welcome thither, and, retiring to a private place about a mile above

Craigfergus,

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Craigfergus, I prostrated myself upon the grass, to rejoice in the Lord, who proved the same to me in *Ireland* which he had been in *Scotland*.

Nevertheless, my aversion to a settlement there continued strong; and when my noble patron renewed his invitation and offer, I was very careful to inform him, both of what accusations had been laid against me, of disaffection to the civil powers, and that I could not submit to the use of the *English* liturgy, nor episcopal government, to see if either of these would prevail with him to pass from his invitation. But he having been informed by a minister present of my altercations with *Dr. Cameron*, he said, I know all that business; and, for the other point, he added, that he was confident of procuring a free entry for me, which he quickly effectuated. So all my devices to obstruct a settlement there did vanish and took no effect, the counsel of the Lord standing fast in all generations; yea, his wisdom over-ruled all this, both to procure me a free and safe entry to the holy ministry; and that, when after some years I met with trials for my non-conformity, neither patron nor prelate could say that I had broken any condition to them.

Having been invited to preach by the patron, and by *Mr. Gibson* the sick incumbent, I yielded to their invitation, and preached there three *Sabbath*-days. And after that, several of the aged and most respectful persons in the congregation came to me by order of the whole, and informed me, that they were edified by the doctrine delivered by me; intreated me not to leave them; and promised, if the patron's offer of maintenance were not large enough, they would willingly add to the same. This promise I slighted, being too careless of competent and comfortable provision; for I had no thoughts of any greater family than a boy or two to serve me: But on the former part of that speech,

importing the congregation's call, I laid great weight; and it did contribute more to the removing of my unwillingness to settle there than any thing else. Likewise, the dying man did several ways encourage me: He professed great sorrow for his having been a dean; he condemned episcopacy more strongly than ever I durst do; he charged me, in the name of Christ, and as I expected his blessing upon my ministry, not to leave that good way wherein I had begun to walk; and then drawing my head towards his bosom with both his arms, he laid his hands on my head, and heartily blessed me. Within a few days after, he died, and my admission was accomplished as quickly as might be.

But before I set forth the same, it may not be amiss to relate in what state the north of *Ireland* was at that time. The most part of the lands there were of old possessed by the *English*: But the civil wars in *England*, betwixt the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, drew from *Ulster* (the northern province in *Ireland*) all the able men of the *English* nation, to assist their countrymen at home; and, in their absence, the native *Irish* in *Ulster* murdered those of the *English* who remained, or expelled them out of the country; and not only so, but *Ulster* being, for supposition, like the thumb in the hand, which is able to hold against the four fingers, the natives in *Ulster* did exceedingly molest the *English* in the provinces of *Leinster*, *Munster* and *Connaught*, which obliged many of them also to retire out of that kingdom.

And tho' the civil wars in *England* ended in the beginning of the reign of king *Henry VII.* the suppression of the *Irish* rebels was much neglected, till the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, partly thro' intestine seditions, and partly thro' their wars with *France* and *Scotland*.

Yet, notwithstanding, this happy queen, who indeed was a blessing to all the reformed churches, did
much

much to finish the rebellion in *Ireland*; she could not fully extinguish the same; for the *Scots Highlanders* joining sometimes with the *Irish* rebels, and at other times acting for themselves, the possession of those northern counties by *English* protestants was much obstructed, till the accession of king *James VI.* to the crown of *England*.

For these reasons, the *English* who inhabited those counties, possessing only some towns and castles, with a small part of the adjacent land, the greatest part of the country lay waste, till the accession of this peaceable prince. But, after that time, the desolate land began to be inhabited, both by *English* and *Scotsmen*; and particularly the parts of *Scotland* lying nearest to *Ireland*, knowing at what an easy rate the fertile land in *Ulster*, &c. might be had, sent over abundance of people and cattle, whereby that country was in a short time sufficiently peopled.

Altho' amongst those whom divine providence did send thither, there were several persons eminent for birth, education, and parts; yet the most part were such as either poverty, scandalous lives, or, at the best, adventurous seeking of better accommodation, had forced thither: so that the security and thriving of religion was little seen to by those adventurers, and the preachers were generally of the same complexion with the people.

But as in almost every general case there are some exceptions, so there was in this: For in *Holywood*, the very next parish to *Bangor*, Mr. *Robert Cuningham*, a godly man, was settled before me; as was also Mr. *John Ridge*, a gracious man, at *Antrim*; and Mr. *Hubart*, a gracious and able minister, who had been settled at *Craigfergus*, died a little before I went over.

My acquaintance being made with Mr. *Cunningham* of *Holywood*, was comfortable to us both; and grew to such intimacy, that we frequently visited one another,

^ of countries

ther, and spent many days and hours together in prayer and godly conference.

But the consideration of the state of that part of the country proved as water to our wine ; they having been generally drowned in ignorance, security, and sensuality.

And now to proceed to my settlement : The viscount of *Clanniboy*, (who was first made a knight, afterward a viscount, and died earl of *Glanbriffel*) my noble patron, did, on my request, inform bishop *Knox*, how opposite I was to episcopacy and their liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honourable terms ; yet lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, and found him yielding beyond my expectation. He told me, that he was well informed of my piety, and therefore would impose no conditions upon me inconsistent with my principles ; only that he behoved to ordain me, else neither of us durst be answerable to the law. I answered him, that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles : But he replied, both wittily and submissively, *Whatever you account of episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbytery to have divine warrant ; will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cuninghame, and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter ?* This I could not refuse ; and so the matter was performed.

Being thus settled, my charge was very great, consisting of about six miles in length, and containing above 1200 persons come to age, besides children, who stood greatly in need of instruction. This being the case, I preached twice every week, beside the *Lord's* day ; on all which occasions I found little difficulty, either as to matter or method. But finding still that this fell short of reaching the design of a gospel-ministry, and that the most part continued vastly ignorant

norant, I saw the necessity of trying a more plain and familiar way of instructing them; and therefore, besides my publick preaching, I spent as much time every week as my bodily strength could hold out with, in exhorting and catechising them.

Not long after I fell upon this method, the Lord visited me with a fever; on which, some who hated my painfulness in the ministry, said scoffingly, that they knew I could not hold out as I began. But in a little space, it pleased the Lord to raise me up again, and he enabled me to continue that method the whole time I was there.

During the first year of my ministry, I resolved not to go thro' a whole book or chapter, but to make choice of some passages which held forth most important heads of religion, and to close this course with one sermon of heaven's glory, and another of hell-torments: But when I came to meditate on these two subjects, I was the whole day held in great perplexity, and could neither fix upon matter or method till night; when, after sorrowing for my disorder, the Lord, in great pity, brought both matter and method to my mind, which remained with me till I delivered the same in publick.

With these discourses the people were much affected; and my learned and judicious patron intreated, that the next *Lord's-day* I would repeat the same again, altering my order, and speaking of that in the forenoon, (when the people who lived at a great distance were present) which formerly I delivered in the afternoon. But after hearing the difficulty I had in studying them, and that I had nothing in writ of that which flowed to me in time of delivery, for illustrating and explaining my general heads, he accepted my excuse.

About this time I met with a notable deliverance, which ought never to be forgotten: For staying in a high house at the end of the town, till a manse was built

built for me, and having sat so late at my studies, that my candle was done, and calling to my land-lady for another, she went to bring one from the room under which I lay ; when, to her astonishment, a joist which went under my bed, had taken fire. Had I, as usual, been asleep at that time, the consequences would, in all probability, have been dreadful to the most part of the town, as well as to me ; for the wind blew strong from the north, and the house stood upon the north end of the town. But by the timely alarm given, this misery was prevented. For learning that the same was occasioned by an hearth-fire, which had gone through the bricks, and seized on a joist, I immediately pulled up the bricks, and, with my land-lady's help, extinguished the fire. Thanks be to the Lord for this great deliverance.

The first time I dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's-supper, the solemnity was like to have been disorderly on this account. My noble patron and his lady would communicate kneeling ; and even after reasoning, his lordship continued obstinate ; so that I parted from him with sorrow, and resolved to delay that work until another time. But his lordship remembering that his pew joined to the upper end of the table, and was so inclosed, that only one's head could be discerned in it, he promised not to kneel, on condition he received the elements within his own pew.

For peace sake, I rashly yielded to this offer ; but was so much discomposed by it next day, that when I came to the publick, I was for half an hour so much deserted of God, that I was about to give over the work of that day. But the Lord, in great mercy, pitied and helped me: For preaching upon the words of the institution, *1 Cor. xi.* and handling these words, *This cup is the new-testament in my blood* ; as soon as I began to discourse of that new covenant or testament, I found light and life flowing in upon my soul, en-

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larging it, and opening my mouth to speak with comfort and courage; and with this assistance I went to the table, and administered the sacrament. The action being ended, my patron, and especially his lady, professed their great satisfaction with that day's service, and proved my most tender and real friends ever after.

Another memorable passage of divine providence occurred in the second year of my ministry. The crop was very great, but the harvest proved very bad, especially in my parish, for the soil being mostly strong clay, the harvest was generally later by ten or twelve days, than in the neighbourhood; and there having been constant rains for the space of a month, the whole corns were growing almost a finger-length, and in the utmost hazard of perishing. In this deplorable situation, we resolved solemnly, by humiliation and fasting, to beseech the Lord to avert the threatned famine. When the day came, it rained heavily from morning till night; so that the Lord seemed to be thrusting out our prayers from him: But that same night, he sent a mighty wind, which did fully dry the corns, and checked the growing; and this wind continuing to blow fair for two days, the people ceased neither night nor day, till the whole corns were got in.

During these two days, I, and two neighbouring ministers, were continuing our supplications and thanksgiving to the Lord for this great mercy. The wise heritor, and whole possessors of these lands, were so sensible of it, that they also gave glory to the Lord for hearing our prayers, and proving our help in time of so great need; and this notable act of divine providence prevailed with very many, besides their secret prayer, to set up the worship of God in their families, a duty which I had been formerly inculcating often upon them, but without success with respect to the most till now.

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But even then I found that Satan was endeavouring to sow his tares, and to persuade some, that whatever ailed them, their children, or substance, there was no need of using any other mean but prayer. This I learned by consulting a devout man (whom I knew to be skilled) concerning my horse; which was seized with some distemper; for he, taking me aside, told me, that I needed only to go to my closet, and pray for him, and he should be well. But after some difficulty, I detected this error as a tempting of providence.

The knowledge of God increasing amongst that people, and the ordinance of prayer being precious in their eyes, the work of the Lord did prosper in the place; and in this we were much encouraged, both by the assistance of holy Mr. *Cunningham*, and by the good example of his little parish of *Holywood*; For knowing that diversity of gifts is entertaining to the hearers, he and I did frequently preach for one another; and we also agreed to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's-supper four times in each of our congregations annually; so that those in both parishes who were thriving in religion, did communicate together on all these occasions.

About this time, Mr. *James Hamilton*, nephew to the viscount of *Glanniboy*, a learned youth †, prospering greatly under those means of grace, Mr. *Cunningham* and I entered him on trials for the ministry; and being satisfied with his gifts, I invited him to preach in my pulpit in his uncle's hearing, who, till then knew nothing of this matter: For Mr. *Hamilton* having till then been his uncle's chamberlain and chief manager of his affairs, we were afraid the
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† Mr. *Hamilton* having been deposed by the bishop for nonconformity, came over to *Scotland*, and was settled at *Dumfries*, anno 1638. from whence he was afterward transported to *Edinburgh*, but after the fearful change in the 1660. he was ejected by the privy-council. *Livingston's Characteristicks*, p. 33.

viscount would not part with so faithful a servant ; but he having once heard his nephew, did put more respect upon him than ever before. Shortly thereafter, Mr. *Hamilton* was ordained to the holy ministry at *Balwater*; where he was both diligent and successful : And notwithstanding he had many temptations to espouse episcopacy, and might easily have obtained promotion in that way ; yet the Lord did graciously preserve him from being ensnared with those baits, and made him very instrumental in promoting his work.

But now to return to the history of my own ministry : My heart having, when I first celebrated the Lord's supper, been lifted up in speaking of the new covenant, I resolved, in the view of administering that ordinance a second time, to go back to the same inexhaustible source of consolation. For that purpose, I set seriously about the study thereof ; and coming over to *Scotland* about that time *, I received no small assistance in it from Mr. *David Dickson* ; who was restored to his flock at *Irving*, and was studying and preaching on the same subject.

While the Lord was dealing thus graciously with me, and the people to whom he sent me, the murderer Satan stirred up a wicked man, the chief constable of the parish, to stab me. One day, when I was observing a family-fast, this man came to my house, with a tenant of his, who had a child to be baptized. After I had examined the parent, and instructed and exhorted him as I judged necessary, (as was ever my
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custom),

* It seems to have been at this time, that Mr. *Blair* married his first wife, *Beatrix Hamilton*, a very gracious, modest, and wise woman, descended from the family of *Bardue*. She had three sisters, all of them excellent, wise, and prudent women, viz. *Marion*, who was married to *Bartholomew Fleming* merchant in *Edinburgh* ; *Bessie*, married to Mr. *Richard Dickson* minister, first at *Westkirk*, afterward at *Kinniel* ; and *Barbara*, wife to *John Mien* merchant in *Edinburgh*.
Row's Supplement. p. 99.

custom), his master sent him away; and, staying behind, he wanted to speak to me by myself. When I looked to him, his eyes appeared fierce and fiery; yet I yielded to his motion; and conducting him into the kirk, he fell a-trembling, and became speechless. I desired him to sit down; but his trembling increased, so that he was in hazard, had I not held my arms about him, of falling out of his seat. At last the trembling abated; and when he recovered his speech, he told me, that the devil had, at different times, appeared to him, and tempted him to commit murder, and promised to reward him largely, with this further assurance, that the better the persons he should kill were, the service would be the more acceptable; and that Satan's suggestions had prevailed so far with him, that his hanger had been several times drawn, and carried under his cloak (as it then was) for that purpose; but that an invisible power did still prevent him: And then he again fell a-trembling, and crying lamentably. I endeavoured, as the Lord enabled, to exhort and instruct him; and so we parted for that time.

About two weeks after, I was sent for to see the same man, then confined to his bed; at which time he told me, that the night before, as he was returning home, the devil appeared to him again, and challenged him for opening to me what had passed betwixt them; claiming him as his, and pulling the cap off his head, and the band from about his neck; adding, that on *Hallow-evening* he should have him soul and body, in spite of the minister, and all who would oppose him. The man's wife also concurred with him, as to the disorder, confusion, and terror he was in when he entered his house. And he requested me, for Christ's sake, to be with him against the time that the devil threatened to be with him. I instructed him as I could, prayed with him, and promised to attend him as he desired; providing he

would

would flee to Christ for refuge, and not to me, who was but a weak and wretched creature.

Before the set day came, I resolved to spend it in fasting, as I had done the day on which the man thought to have killed me; but forgot my resolution till toward the evening of that day; when, after recollecting myself, and spending some time in my closet in great perplexity, whether to slight my promise, or to adventure on that pitched conflict so unprepared, I was encouraged to go, trusting in his gracious goodness, who is *the preserver of man*, against the wiles and violence of Satan.

When I reached the village where the sick man dwelt, I called to an elder of the congregation, who also resided there, imparted my errand to him, and desired him to acquaint his neighbours, that I was to be that night in the house of the sick man, without letting them know the special occasion of it.

Accordingly, I spent the night in prayer, explaining the doctrine of Christ's temptation, and praising, with some short intermissions. While I was thus opening up that portion of scripture, the man, at whose bed-side I was, laid his hand on me, whenever he understood not aright, and requested me to make it more plain, which I endeavoured to do; and in the morning he took courage, and defied Satan and all his wiles. He seemed very penitent, and not long after he died.

Having made mention of an elder, I am thereby brought to the remembrance of another thing fit to be observed, *viz.* That in my congregation, we had both deacons for the poor, and elders for discipline; and so long as we were permitted to exercise it, the Lord blessed that ordinance. Of this I shall only give an instance. A cunning adulterer, who had continued long in that sin before I went to *Bangor*, and, by bribing the bishop's official, had concealed his wickedness, having been present at a sermon which I had

had on the parable of the sower, it pleased the Lord so to reach his conscience, that he made confession of his great sin with many tears, and sought to be admitted to the publick profession of his repentance. This the session did readily agree to; and he appeared publicly, for several days, under very deep conviction, to the great affecting of the congregation, and lived ever after a reformed man, so far as could be perceived. Others also did willingly submit themselves to discipline, till a proud youth, the heir of a considerable estate, falling into a scandal, proved refractory, and appealed to the bishop: After which the order of our discipline was broken; and it became fashionable for the rich to compound with the bishop's official; and tho' the poor were sent to do publick penance, as they call it, yet I never saw a blessing accompany that ordinance thereafter, nor edification to the people. Nevertheless the Lord's husbandry there did prosper, and his work was promoted by instruments the most unlikely.

At *Craigfergus* lived one Mr. *James Glendonning* a lecturer, who met with great applause for his learning. My curiosity being on this account raised, I went one day to hear him; but perceived, that he did but trifle away the time in citing passages from learned authors whom he had never seen nor read. After sermon I communed freely with him on that matter; and he was so much convinced that his ministrations did not edify the people of that place, that he quickly retired to *Oldstone*; where, as it was a country-place, and the people very ignorant, he hoped to do more good.

Accordingly the Lord was pleased to serve himself by him: For no sooner was he settled at *Oldstone*, than he began to preach diligently; and having a strong voice, vehement delivery, and treating much of the law and its threatenings, he roused up that people, and awakened them with terrors; but not
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having understood the gospel well, nor been well grounded in learning, nor of a solid judgment, he could not pacify the conscience with the gospel-offers, nor silence the objections, and resolve the doubts of the awakened.

To supply this defect, Mr. *John Rigg*, the judicious and gracious minister of *Antrim*, perceiving many people on both sides of the *Six-mile water* awakened out of their security, made an overture, that a monthly meeting might be set up at *Antrim*, which was within a mile of *Oldstone*, and lay central for the awakened persons to resort to; and he invited Mr. *Cunningham*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and my self, to take part in that work, who were all glad of the motion, and heartily embraced it †.

This meeting was continued for many years. In the summer-day four did preach; and when the day grew shorter, only three: And, thro' the Lord's blessing on our labours, religion was spread thro' that whole county, and into the borders of some others.

At *Antrim*, Sir *Hugh Clotworthy* was very hospitable to the ministers who took part in that work; and his worthy son, the first Lord *Mazarine*, with his mother and spouse, both of them very virtuous and religious ladies, did greatly countenance the same.

Mr. *Glendonning* also was at the first glad of the confluence of people; but we not having invited him to bear a part in the monthly meeting, he became so emulous, that, to preserve popular applause, he watched and fasted wonderfully. Afterward he was smitten with a number of erroneous and enthusiastick opinions, such as, that persons turning in bed after they fell asleep, was an evidence of the want of the truth of christianity; condescending upon a certain short
day

† Mr. *Blair* was a chief instrument of that great work at *Six-mile water*, and elsewhere in the north of *Ireland*; and this not only by his own ministry, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but also by stirring up others. *Livingston's Memorable Characteristicks*, p. 28:

See Description of the ...

day as the day of judgment; and affirming, that whoever would join with him in a ridiculous way of roaring out some prayers, lying with their faces on the earth, would undoubtedly be converted, and the like.

Some judicious gentlemen to whom he had imparted these conceits, having formerly received benefit by his ministry, sent an express for me to repair to him with all expedition. Accordingly I made haste to visit him, and found him so drowned in his delusion, that he endeavoured to convert me to his opinion; and even adventured to put his foot in the fire, in expectation of his persuading me by a miracle; which I prevented by mere force: But finding him resolute in his madness, I humoured him in the disclosing of his notions, and then from his own mouth I convicted him of contradictions and absurdities. Whereupon he made a motion to pray; and ere ever I had considered well what to do, he was flat upon the earth, roaring out his absurdities and repetitions, in such a way as surpris'd all who were within hearing. Finding him thus add sin to his folly, I required him, in the Lord's name, to be silent; and kneeling down, (several other persons occasionally present also joining in the duty), I prayed with humble confidence for a considerable space. And when I had made an end, Mr. *Glendonning* took me aside, and confessed he saw himself mistaken, and intreated that the matter might be concealed. Yet this delusive distemper was not at an end; for some time thereafter he fell again into it, and embracing one error after another, he set out at last on a visit to the seven churches of *Asia*.

Mean time I, and those that were with me, thanked God for the present respite, and for the display of his wisdom, power and goodness in that matter: For tho' (as that man was very instrumental in first awakening many out of their security) we doubted not that Satan had a deep design in this way to disgrace the work of God in that country, neither man nor

woman (except Mr. *Glendonning's* own wife, of whom few had a good opinion ere that happened) were ever stumbled by his fall; but took warning thereby to avoid the extravagancies to which he went, and were taught to work out their salvation with the greater fear.

Having thus lost this one instrument, the Lord was pleased to add unto us three more worthy, *viz.* First. From *Scotland* came over Mr. *Josiah Welsh*, son of the famous Mr. *John Welsh*, who both in *Scotland* and *France* was instrumental in converting and confirming many. A great measure of that spirit which wrought in and by the father, rested also upon the son. The last time I had been in *Scotland*, I met with him; and finding of how zealous a spirit he was, I exhorted him to hasten over to *Ireland*, where he would find work enough, and I hoped success too. And so it came to pass: For Mr. *Welsh* having been settled at *Temple-Patrick*, became a great blessing to that people; and he having at the time been under deep exercise of spirit, did with great eagerness convince the secure, and sweetly comfort those who were dejected †. Next Mr. *Henry Colvert*, an *Englishman*, helper to Mr. *Edward Bryce* at *Broadisland*, was settled at *Oldstone*. This able minister having been of a fervent spirit, and vehement delivery in preaching, and withal very diligent, he was a blessing to that people. And after these two, the Lord brought over to *Lochlearn* old Mr. *George Dumbar*, after he had been deposed from his ministry at *Ayr* by the high commission, and banished by the privy council. At *Learn*, the Lord did greatly bless his ministry; and he and the other two having joined the monthly meetings, the word of God grew mightily;

† Mr. *Josiah Welsh* was provided of the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the *Six-mile water*, on whom Mr. *Glendonning* had wrought some legal convictions. After preaching some time at *Oldstone*, he was settled at *Temple-Patrick*, where he had many seals of his ministry. *Livingston's Memorable Characteristics*, p. 32.

mightily, and his gracious work prospered in our hands.

In *March* 1627. my noble patron having had a great esteem of primate *Usher*, would have me to accompany him to a meeting of the nobility and gentry of *Ulster* with the primate. Accordingly I went, and had a kind invitation to be at his table, while I was in town. But having once met with the *English* liturgy there, I left my excuse with my patron, that I expected another thing than formal liturgies in the family of so learned and pious a man. The primate excused himself, by reason of the great confluence that was there; and had the good nature to intreat me to come to *Tredaff*, where his ordinary residence was, and where he would be more at leisure to be better acquainted with me.

I complied with the primate's invitation, and found him very affable, and ready to impart his mind. He desired to know what was my judgment concerning the nature of justifying and saving faith. I told him, in general, that I held the accepting of Jesus Christ as he is freely offered in the gospel, to be saving faith. With this he was well satisfied; and by a large discourse confirmed, and further cleared the same, by the similitude of a marriage, where it is not the sending or receiving of gifts, but the accepting the person, that constitutes the marriage. From this he passed on to try my mind concerning ceremonies; wherein we were not so far from agreeing as I feared: for when I had freely opened my grievances, he admitted, that all these things ought to have been removed, but the constitution and laws of the place and time would not permit that to be done. He added, that he was afraid our strong disaffection to these would mar our ministry; that he had himself been importuned to stretch forth his hand against us; and that though he would not for the world do that, he feared instruments might be found who would do it;

it; and he added, that it would break his heart, if our successful ministry in the north were interrupted. Our conference ending, he dismissed me very kindly, tho' I gave him no high titles; and when trouble came upon us, he proved our very good friend, as will appear in the sequel.

About the year 1630. Mr. *John Livingston* helper at *Torphichen*, and who was greatly beloved by good people there, having been oppressed by the bishops in *Scotland*, came over to *Ireland*; and bishop *Knox* of *Rapho* refusing no honest man, Mr. *Livingston* got in by this chink, and was settled at *Killinchie*; where, being a man of a gracious melting spirit, he did much good, and the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry. And much about the same time, Mr. *Andrew Stuart* a learned gentleman, and fervent in spirit, was settled at *Dunager*, and was a successful minister during the short time he lived, for he died in the midst of our trials.

The blessed work of conversion, which was of several years continuance, had now spread beyond the bounds of *Antrim* and *Down*, to the skirts of neighbouring counties; and the resort of people to the monthly meetings and communion-occasions, and the appetite of the people, were become so great, that we were sometimes constrained, in sympathy to the people, to venture beyond any preparation we had made for the season.

One time, I having been an assistant to Mr. *Welsh* at the administration of the sacrament in his congregation, and having delivered one discourse on the *Saturday*, I was to preach again on the *Sabbath* evening, which exhausted all the provision I had made for that time: But many at a distance, who had been hindered by the rising of the waters from coming up on the *Saturday*, arrived on the Lord's day; so that I behoved to turn aside with a considerable auditory, to the court of the *Castle-yard*, where I taught them

as the Lord furnished; and, at night, closed with the doctrine of thanksgiving.

Having already preached once more than I intended, I was far from expecting that I would be more employed upon that occasion. But the Lord thought otherways: For on the *Monday* morning, many of the people having, on account of the croud, gone into the kirk very early, some of the elders came to me, and intreated that I would go and read a piece of scripture to them, if I could do no more, till the appointed preacher was ready to come in. My want of preparation might have been accepted for excuse, especially considering how often I had been engaged already; but they would take no nayfay. So to the kirk I went; and standing below the pulpit, I offered such notes as did cast up from the reading of a portion of scripture, not doubting of my being relieved in due time. But when the minister of the place (upon Mr. *Edward Bryce's* refusal to preach that diet) was entering the church to relieve me, the people without, who generally were those who had heard me in the *Castle-yard* the day before, laid hands on him, and, without much ceremony or many words, they carried him to the same place; and sent an elder to acquaint me, that I needed not expect any preacher to assist me at that time.

This message troubled me so much, that, as some of the spectators afterward told me, the blood went out of my face in a moment. In this perplexity I knew not what to do. To frustrate the expectation of so many people as had waited there since day, in expectation of the word of life, grieved me exceedingly; and to go to the pulpit altogether unprepared as I was, especially at a time when much was expected, and when there were several persons present who were eminent for learning and knowledge, this looked like tempting of Providence. Yet, after some short ejaculations, and looking to him who *is a present help*
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in straits, I adventured to go to the pulpit; and in my preface before prayer, tho' I never durst do the like before nor since, I promised a blessing from God to those who would seek the same, and open their hearts to receive it, seeing neither art nor industry had any part in that exercise. After calling upon the name of the Lord, and earnest wrestling for his presence to be with us, I read out a text; and the Lord so assisted, that after a little explication of the words, a proposition to speak on was presented to me: and as I was just closing that, a second, and after that a third, occurred to me, the discussing whereof exhausted an hour-glass; and when that was run, three weighty points, all concatenated together, were offered to me, the uttering of which might, I think, take as long time as all I had delivered. After I had ended speaking to the people, I closed with prayer and praise; and then hastened to my chamber, to spend some time in admiring the Lord's condescension. And tho' in all this I was but the voice of one crying, and that he who sent me to preach the gospel might have been seen to be my prompter; so much applause was given me, that the next time I was invited to the like occasion in that county, I was sore tempted to be wholly silent. But dear Mr. *Cunningham*, tho' he approved my jealousy, yet he reprov'd my backdrawing, and did chide me out of that snare. In my haste I had vowed not to set my foot in a pulpit at that time; yet I yielded standing below to be doing somewhat, which I learned thereafter was followed with no small blessing. And indeed preaching and praying were, so pleasant in those days, and hearers so eager and greedy, that no day was long enough, nor no room great enough, to answer their strong desires and large expectations.

At that time, I said in the hearing of many, *Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebbing, and no doubt a restraint is near, and our trials are hastening*

ca; which shortly followed. But before I speak of these, it will be proper to name a few obstructions from different quarters, which threatened to mar our progress in the good ways of the Lord.

Dr. *Ecklin*, bishop of *Down*, was the first whom we discovered to lay snares for us; but because the people did generally approve our labours, he did this under covert. And, first, he wrote to me to be ready to preach at the primate's triennial visitation; for tho' Dr. *Usher* was then in *England*, two bishops and a doctor, his delegates, were to go that course for him.

Before the appointed day came, bishop *Ecklin* sent me notice, by word of mouth, that another was to supply the part he had assigned me. But this verbal message contradicting his written order, I concluded, that the last was of purpose calculated to leave me in an uncertainty, that he might pick a quarrel with me; and therefore I prepared a discourse for that occasion. If any ask, how I durst countenance these prelatick meetings? it would be considered, that we were not then under an explicit covenant against them, as we are now; and being still left at our liberty as to the full and free exercise of our pastoral office, I judged it my duty to *be instant in season, and out of season*. Accordingly having meditated upon 2 *Cor.* iv. 1. *Therefore seeing we have this ministry, &c.* I endeavoured especially to shew, that Christ our Lord had instituted no bishops, but presbyters, or ministers; and proved this, *first*, from the holy scriptures; *next*, from the testimonies of the more pure among the ancient fathers and divines, that have been seeking reformation these 1300 years; and, *lastly*, from the testimonies of the more moderate divines, both over sea and in *England*, not forgetting to rank the learned Dr. *Usher*, their primate, among the chief: And then I concluded with an exhortation to them, to use moderately that power which custom and human laws had put in their hand. And indeed they took with this advice,
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without challenging my freedom. Only the bishop of *Dromore*, who was brother-in-law to Dr. *Usher*, exhorted me privately to behave as moderately towards them, as they had done to me, and then bade me farewell.

This snare being broken, the crafty bishop set about weaving a more dangerous web: For knowing that one of the two lords justices, who came annually to the northern circuit, was a violent urger of conformity to the *English* ceremonies, he wrote to me to make ready a sermon, to be delivered before them against the next assizes. And this was the more dangerous, that it being *Easter*, the judges were to communicate that day.

Against the time appointed, I came to the place where they sat, committing the matter to the Lord, who hath all hearts and mouths in his own hand. Some *Scots* gentlemen, who attended the justices, knowing one of them to be well-disposed, they took the freedom to hint to him the inconvenience of spending the *Saturday* immediately preceding their communicating, wholly upon civil affairs; and suggested the necessity of being more religiously employed before so solemn an approach.

This advice was well received by the judge, who promised to procure a hearing to any minister who had a sermon in readiness. Whereupon the gentlemen, without consulting me, undertook for my readiness. And accordingly, one being sent to me for that purpose, I preached the same evening, and next day likewise, without ever taking the least notice of their communicating.

After sermon, on the *Lord's* day, one of the judges wanting to confer with me, sent for me to his lodging; where, after professing his satisfaction with what I had delivered, especially in my last sermon, 'For therein (said he) you opened a point which I never heard before, viz. the covenant of redemption made with Christ the mediator, as head of the elect,'

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he intreated me to go over the heads of that sermon with him: And, opening his bible, he read over and considered the proofs cited; and was so well satisfied, that he protested, if his calling did not tie him to *Dublin*, he would gladly come to the north, and settle under such a ministry. In end, he told me, that I would be sent for to supper; and warned me to be cautious in my answers to his colleague, who was zealous for the *English* ceremonies: And, before he left the place, he sent for the bishop, and charged him to be careful, that no harm nor interruption should come to my ministry. And thus the only wise Lord, to whom I had committed myself and my ministry, did break this snare also, and brought me off with comfort and credit.

But tho' bishop *Ecklin* had seasonably met with a check, this did not hinder some of the conform clergy to provoke me to a dispute with them, concerning those points wherein we differed. But a modest excuse, founded upon the danger of my launching far out that way, was sustained. After this, a dean was sent to reside at *Craigfergus*, that he might counteract and defeat our measures. But some of our number, in name of the rest, waited on him, and invited him to concur with us in the monthly meeting. We did not indeed expect a compliance with this invitation; yet our civility to him mollified him so far, that he proved no enemy to us.

The next attack made on us, was from two friers, who had been trained up at the university of *Salamanca* in *Spain*; for ever after the intended marriage betwixt prince *Charles* and the infanta, the papists in *Ireland* were on the increase, and had their convents in almost every county, and even in the city of *Dublin*. These two men provoked us to a dispute; and giving us a defiance, the challenge was accepted by Mr. *Welsh* and me. The particular heads of disputation were condescended on, and time and place appointed;

ed; but when we came, as had been agreed on, these friers, for all their boasting, did not appear.

Some separatists at *London* expected also, it seems, to have fished in muddy waters; for they came and pitched their head quarters at *Antrim*, in the very midst of us. But they not having attended our worshipping assemblies, our people were the more aware of them, and in less hazard of being seduced by their conversation. Mr. *Rigg* and I conversed with them; but they either concealed their opinions from us, or had not formed their schemes well, so that we left them as we met with them; and except one person of great tenderness, over whom this seducing spirit prevailed for a short time, none of our people were in the least hazard of being caught in that snare; the Lord's hand having been about us still.

Mr. *Freeman*, an *English* conformist, made the next attack upon us. He began boldly to propagate the *Arminian* tenets; and having a strong constitution, he did, by watching and fasting, make himself very popular; and, by his strictness of life, and conference with the people, he did insinuate himself much into their affections; and having thus gained admirers, he began boldly to vent his opinions, both in his sermons, and by spreading erroneous papers and pamphlets, one of which did bear the foolish inscription of *The three generations of noble Christians*. And at length, having accompanied Mr. *Rowley*, a generous gentleman, his chief patron, to the monthly meeting, he undertook to confute and silence us all. The brethren who attended there, having been thus provoked by him, and fearing, if he was not put to silence, that the people would be seduced by his errors, they appointed me to encounter him; which I did.

When we met, he proposed the decree of reprobation for the subject of our dispute, and immediately he began to oppugn. But his objections were easily answered,

swered; and the absurdities he alledged, retorted upon himself. When he came to another proposition, the Lord smote him with such confusion, that he did speak nonsense; the clerk could not commit what he said to writing; and the spectators fell a laughing at him. On which I made a motion to allow him till next day to recollect his thoughts; which was readily gone in with.

Next morning I returned to the place appointed; and missing my antagonist, I went to his room, where I found him and his patron, writing out arguments from *Grevinchovius*, an *Arminian* author, as I learned by snatching the book out of his hand; and having thus found out his deceitful dealing, I asked him whether he believed that all events come to pass according to the determined counsel of God? This he answered in the negative, and brought a blasphemous confirmation of his denial. Amazed at this, I said, Know you not that it is written, *He hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord?* But you say, you will take a course of your own, and will not seek the the Lord. What blasphemy, and contradiction to the scripture is this? All the reply he made, was an assertion, that what I cited as scripture, was not written in the bible. On which I desired his patron to cast up *Acts xvii. 26, 27.* which when he had heard, he was struck with confusion; and Mr. Rowley was so much convinced of his error, and ignorance of the scripture, that he gave up with him in our presence. After which, he was deserted of the people; and at last turned very dissolute, and fell into mischievous practices.

The gospel thus flourishing by the ministry of his servants, and all opposition falling before it, we looked for a respite; but, to our great grief, Satan was at last let loose, to contrive a pernicious device to dishonour God. By this time there were many converts
in

in all our congregations, who, being the objects of Satan's envy, he set himself to perplex them, and discredit the work of God upon their hearts, playing the ape by this stratagem. He counterfeited the work of the Holy Spirit upon several people about *Lochlearn*, causing them fall a mourning and crying, during the time of publick worship; and some of them were afflicted with pangs like convulsions. Their number increased daily; and, at first, both pastors and people pitied them, and had charitable thoughts concerning them, hoping that the *Holy Spirit* was at work with them: But thereafter, when they conferred with these persons, they did neither discover any sense of their sinful state, nor any panting after a Saviour. Yet, not content with this trial, the minister of the place wrote to his brethren, inviting them to come and examine the matter; and when we came, and had conferred with them, we perceived it to be a mere delusion and cheat of the destroyer, to slander and disgrace the work of the Lord.

The very next Sabbath, an ignorant person in my congregation made a noise, and stretching of his body: But incontinent I was assisted to rebuke that lying spirit, which disturbed the worship of God; and I charged the same in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, not to molest that congregation; and thro' God's mercy we met with no more of that sort.

P E R I O D F O U R T H.

From the year 1631. when I was first suspended from the ministry, to November 1634. when I was deposed.

I Formerly made mention of my strong expectation of trouble being near. And now the thing that we feared, came upon us apace, by the means of one Mr. *Henry Leslie*, dean, and afterward bishop of *Down*, a violent and vain-glorious man; and of Mr. *John*

Maxwell, one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*, who was then gaping for a bishoprick. The former envied our credit among the people; and in the year 1630. while I was in *Scotland* visiting my friends, *Mr. John Livingston* and I having assisted old *Mr. Vanse* at the celebration of the Lords supper at the *Kirk of Shots*; where there was a great confluence of zealous people; and an extraordinary outpouring of the Holy, Spirit especially on the *Monday*; this did also foment *Mr. Maxwell*, who was a correspondent of *Mr. Leslie's* against us. So these two did cook the matter betwixt them, in such a way, that *Mr. Leslie* formed, and *Mr. Maxwell* carried to court, a most false accusation against us, as if we had taught the necessity of bodily pangs and throws in the new birth.

This matter having come to the ears of *Mr. Ecklin*, the timorous bishop of *Down*, he thought it time to bestir himself; and therefore he did suspend † *Mr. Livingston* and my self, from the office of the holy ministry. Upon this I had recourse to *Dr. Usher*; who had got full information of the bodily pangs of some of the people, and said, I had reason to bless the Lord, for assisting me so confidently to conjure that lying spirit. And immediately he wrote to bishop *Ecklin* to relax that erroneous censure; which was accordingly done; and we went on in our ministry, till a letter came from court, ordering trial to be made of the truth of the before mentioned accusation, and to censure accordingly.

But the bishop knowing perfectly well that he would succumb in that accusation, he did conceal his order, and went to work another way. He caused cite us two, with *Mr. Dumber* and *Mr. Welsh*, before him; and urged us to conform, and to give our subscription to that effect. We answered, that there was then

† This was in harvest 1631. *Livingston's Life* p. 17; and *Rsw's Supplement*.

then no law nor canon in that kingdom requiring this. Notwithstanding he had the cruelty to depose us all four from the office of the holy ministry †.

Application was again made in our behalf to archbishop *Usher*. But he told us, he could not interpose, because the two lords chief justices had an order from the king concerning us. And when we had recourse to their lordships, they remitted us to the king, from whom only remede could be had.

The brethren being thus shut up, they did weigh the expediency of an application to court. On the one hand, we saw that the tide for conformity did run very high; and we knew likewise, that bishop *Laud* did not only rule, but domineer in *England*: Yet, on the other hand, we knew we were innocent of the matter wherewith we were accused. We hoped likewise, that several of the *Scots* nobility having been friendly to us, and the lord *Alexander*, eldest son to the secretary for *Scots* affairs, having been my scholar, that by this door we would find access to his majesty, as the ordinance of God to the oppressed. And so I was persuaded, after frequent addresses to God for direction, to undertake a journey with a petition to the king, that we might be tried in the matter laid to our charge; and if found innocent, that we might be acquitted, and restored to our flocks; committing the event of all to him who over-ruleth the spirits of princes, and is a king over kings, and a lord over lords and courtiers.

Having procured letters from several nobles and gentry, both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to their friends at court in our behalf, I set out on my journey, leaving many holy persons wrestling with God for a comfortable issue. And indeed they were a praying people for whom I undertook this journey. At my house

† This was in *May* 1632. *Livingston's Life* p. 18. and they continued deposed till *May* 1634. *ibid.* p. 19.

house two nights were spent every week at prayer; and tho' those who did bear chief burden therein were not above the rank of husbandmen, yet they abounded in the grace and spirit of prayer. Other places were not short of, but rather excelled in that duty; and even in congregations who yet enjoyed their own pastors, many prayers were put up on our account, as I learned at my return.

After my first outset, I was suddenly afflicted with the gravel in my kidneys; and I cried earnestly to the Lord, that he would be pleased to spare me till I were better accommodated for such a trial; which petition was granted as soon as put up, and I went on my way rejoicing.

When I reached *Greenwich*, where the court then lay, I had speedy recourse to the Earl of *Stirling* secretary; who promised, if my petition were sent him, to procure a dispatch to my mind without expence. This he undertook the more readily, that the king being then on a progress for the hunting, he doubted not that his majesty would be gone ere that petition were got ready. But I supposing all the hazard lay in not getting it ready before the king set out, did bend up all the earnestness I could of prayer, with dexterity of endeavours; and getting the petition ready in due time, went with it to the secretary; and was so overjoyed in hopes of the issue, that I did literally exult and leap. But when the timorous man saw my forwardness, he fearing bishop *Laud* more than God, did faint, and break his promise.

At this disappointment I was greatly dejected; and passing to a quiet place in *Greenwich park*, poured out my complaint unto God; and after I had been thrice employed in that way, and in offering up myself and all my enjoyments to him for the sake of the gospel, my heaviness was removed, my prayer taken off my hand, and, as I conceived, my request granted.

Accordingly

Accordingly I took courage, and found secretary *Cook* the mean of procuring a hearing from the king. This man being esteemed rigid for conformity, it was highly probable he would not be a happy instrument in any such matter; but *the thoughts of the Lord are not as ours.*

The king having been then at the forrest of *Bewly*, at a distance from the bishops, my petition was put into his hand, and met with a gracious answer: For the secretary having wrote the deliverance thereon, and addressed it to archbishop *Usher*, which the king reckoned improper; his majesty caused the secretary direct it to *Strafford*, and with his own hand he did insert a clause which I durst not petition for, *viz.* 'That if the information made to him proved false, the informers should be punished.' This induced me highly to esteem and commend the kings justice; and many years thereafter, when I was attending his majesty at *Newcastle*, having reported this story to him, he was much satisfied that he had done me a pleasure. And so having obtained my errand, I gave the secretary's clerks three *Jacobus's*, (himself taking nothing); and made all the haste I could back to *London*, and thence to *Ireland*.

One thing of importance I must here insert, tho' it may seem a digression. While I was at *London*, in the house of *Thomas Livingston* in the *Strand*; toward the middle of *July*, about two o'clock in the morning, was represented to me in my sleep, my wife dying, with all the circumstances and persons that were about her, when thereafter it really came to pass. Astonished with this, I awakened, and put on my cloaths quickly, that I might pour out my heart in prayer. But first I took my bible, purposing to turn to my ordinary, to see what the Lord would say unto me; when unexpectedly opening the book at the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, mine eyes were presently directed to these words, *Sen of man, I take from thee*
with

with a stroke the pleasure of thine eyes ; but thou shalt neither weep, mourn, nor lament. Amazed at this doubling of the warning, first in a vision, and then by the word of truth, I said, it is enough ; and kneeling down, I humbly craved of the Lord submission to his will, and patience and comfort under his correcting hand ; for I supposed, that what had been thus strongly and lively represented to me, had been actually done. After prayer my spirit was calmed, and my heart somewhat comforted, with the consideration, that my Lord could do me no injustice, and would do me no harm. So that day, the court being gone to *Oatlands*, I purposed to be doing in the business I was sent upon, and set out on my journey. But being got out of the city, my sorrows were renewed, and the bitterness of my mind increased, upon this ground, that I had made an idol of a gracious companion, and thereby had provoked the Lord to smite me grievously, by taking her from me. Nevertheless, after I had spent about two hours travelling slowly, and with a covered face, it was suggested to me as sensibly as if an audible voice had spoken it, *The person thou lamentest for, is neither dead nor sick ; but the Lord hath shewed to thee what he is to do in due time.* On which I was still and settled for the present.

If any of my relations who may read these things, shall be offended, that I have mentioned the revelation to me of some events to come, seeing revelations have now ceased, and that we are to keep close to the will of God revealed in the scriptures ; I answer, for their satisfaction, That if any creature, be he angel or man, add any thing to that perfect rule of faith and manners, or reveal any thing contrary thereto, let him be accursed. This we leave to papists and sectaries. But, in the mean time, it ought not to be denied, that the Lord is pleased sometimes to reveal to his servants, especially in a suffering condition, some events concerning themselves, and that part of the church

church of God wherein they live. Innumerable instances of this might be produced, and not a few of these within our own land; as the blessed martyr Mr. *Wishart*, Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Davidson*, Mr. *Welsh*, and Mr. *Patrick Simpson* at *Stirling*; tho' I write this under protestation, that I do not account my self worthy to be compared with any of these.

In my return home, forgetting that dependence which I ought always to have upon divine providence, I began foolishly to dote upon the goodness of my constitution, which endured such sore travel without any trouble. But within an hour after, I wearied so much, that I was not able to keep my cloak upon my shoulders, nor to sit on the saddle. Then alighting from my horse, I tried if walking would refresh me; and finding that neither would this mend the matter, my conscience began to upbraid me with this question, What is now become of thy strong constitution wherein thou didst trust? Having been thus rebuked, I drew to an advantage, and getting on horseback with some difficulty, I threw my cloak over my face, and bewailed my folly in forgetting the God of my strength; and immediately my weariness vanished, and I went on my way with cheerfulness.

After this, the conference of a silenced non-conform minister whom I accidentally met with, did not a little refresh me; a deliverance from the danger of the sea on *Solway* sands, which was in upon me, and in hazard of inclosing me ere ever I was aware, did also encourage me; and at last reaching *Dumfries*, my country air and diet were comfortable to me.

In passing from *Dumfries* to *Port-Patrick*, I had a desire to visit Mr. *Samuel Rutherford* at *Anwoth*, and *Marion M'Knight* at *Kirkcudbright*: But not knowing how to compass both, when I came to the parting of the way, I laid the bridle on the horse-neck, and prayed the Lord to over-rule as he saw cause. The beast took the way to *Kirkcudbright*; and there I found
both

both the persons whom I wanted to see, and was greatly refreshed with their conference.

Next day, being a day of humiliation in that place, Mr. *Glendonning* their aged pastor invited me to supply his place; a motion which I did the more gladly comply with, that for thirteen weeks before I had been silent. I was much refreshed with that service; and losing no time, I set out early next day for the port, where I had a ready passage, and was landed within the parish of *Bangor*.

There I was received with great joy, especially when they heard that I had brought with me a just and favourable letter from the king's majesty. But they were much dejected, that he to whom it was directed was yet in *England*, not like to come over in haste; and indeed he came not for almost a twelve-month after this. Yet this was no great loss, but rather an advantage to us: For tho' this letter did not take off the sentence of deposition; yet by putting the matter to a new trial, it did weaken the same: And therefore we went on teaching our people; only, for form's sake, I did not go up to the pulpit, but stood beside the precentor.

At last, that magnificent lord having come over to the lieutenancy of *Ireland*, I went to *Dublin*, and presented his majesty's letter to him, adding, that I hoped for a ready compliance with it. But the haughty man did altogether slight that order, telling me, that he had his majesty's mind in his own breast. He reviled the church of *Scotland*, and upbraided me, bidding me come to my right wits, and then I should be regarded. Which was all the answer I could get from him.

With this intelligence I went to archbishop *Usher*; which was so disagreeable to him, that it drew tears from his eyes; but he could not help us.

Yet at last this mighty man became more propitious. By his rigidity he disoblinded several of the
English

English nobles in *Ireland*, and lost the affection of the subjects. But that good and wise man Sir *Andrew Stewart*, afterward lord *Castlestewart*, having made him a visit, proposed, that he would restore the deposed ministers; and assured him, that by this he would gain the affections of all the *Scots* in the north. Accordingly he wrote to the bishop of *Down*, to grant us six months liberty.

When the news of this unexpected freedom was brought to me in *May* 1634. I was so astonished, that I slept not for three nights thereafter. The first of these was wholly spent in admiration; the second in thanksgiving to God, in fellowship with those of my charge; who used solemnly to pray with me; and on the third night, we being now at full liberty to exercise our publick ministry, and the ordinary day of my lecture at *Bangor* following next, I prepared for the work of that day; when I found a large congregation, consisting not only of my own flock, but also of many others from neighbouring congregations, who had come thither without any advertisement. To these I preached on *Isaiab xxxviii. 15. What shall I say? He hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done it.* At which time the people were melted down into tears for joy.

The night before, while Mr. *Welsh* and I were coming from the bishop's house together, he recollected a passage concerning my wife, who about six months before that departed this life, in the exact manner which was before shewed to me when at *London*, viz. That he having in my absence made a visit to her, and professing his fears concerning the issue of the business I had gone upon; she said, *Let none of you who are now silenced doubt of obtaining full liberty to preach in your own pulpits; but;* added she, *that freedom will be of short continuance.* He was offended (adds he) at her being so peremptory; but now he perceived, that she knew more of the mind of

God than he did. Which report laid a new weight upon my spirit, that so fervent a supplicant had not seen the event which she foretold; but I quickly corrected myself with the consideration of her more glorious enjoyment. After Mr. *Wells* had preached a few weeks in his own pulpit, he also was perfected; a loss to the surviving, which was most justly bewailed. But leaving this,

When the silenced ministers preached again at the monthly meeting, the joy of the people can hardly be expressed. The liberty prolonged to us, was, thro' God's blessing: well improved by all; and the people made more progress in the ways of God, than ever before.

Our liberty drawing to a close, the excellent gentleman who procured it, did obtain a further prorogation of other six months to us. But that violent man, Bp. *Bramble* of *Derry*, had the influence with *Strafford*, to recal his second letter, so far as it respected Mr. *Dumbar* and me. And so all hopes of farther liberty having been cut off, we closed with celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and solemnly delivered up our people to the great Bishop of souls, from whom we had received our charge.

Upon the back of this, † we were conveyed before the bishop for the third time, and a sentence of deposition was pronounced against us. At this time I cited the bishop to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to answer for that wicked deed. Whereupon he did appeal from the justice of God, to his mercy. But, replied I, your appeal is like to be rejected, because you act against the light of your conscience.

Soon thereafter the bishop was smitten with sickness; and when Dr. *Maxwell* the physician enquired at

† This was in November 1634. *Livingston's Life*, p. 21. See the conversation in MS. Dou. Lib. 4^{to} 24. Prob. III. 3:2. ~~out~~.

at him what he complained of, he was silent for a good space; and at last, with great difficulty, he uttered these words, *It is my conscience, man.* To which the doctor replied, Sir, I have no cure for that. I heard that the bishop's friends did endeavour to conceal this his confession. But the countess of *Andes*, yet alive, having heard it from the doctor's mouth, whom she knew worthy of credit, said, *No man shall get that report suppressed; for I shall bear witness of it, to the glory of God, who did smite the bishop for suppressing of Christ's witnesses.*

THE END of the FIRST PART.

N. B. *The references to Mr. Livingston's life, thro' the preceding part, are to the 8vo edition, printed for the publisher of this Life.*

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT by the
PUBLISHER concerning the
SECOND PART.

THUS far had worthy Mr. *Blair* proceeded in recording the most remarkable passages of divine providence which concerned him; and in thankfully acknowledging God's fatherly care, in conducting him thro' all the difficult steps of his pilgrimage; when the Lord was pleased to lay his chastening hand upon him, and shortly after to remove him by death.

To supply what was wanting, Mr. *Blair* having left short notes of several of the most remarkable passages of his life, as well after as before the period, at which he leaves off writing the former part; and his youngest son, Mr. *David Blair*, one of the ministers of *Edinburgh* after the revolution, having, with the assistance of his mother, and others of his father's acquaintance, added some other things memorable concerning him; Mr. *William Row*, sometime minister of the gospel at *Ceres*, who married *Jean Blair* his daughter of the first marriage, was pleased, by a large supplement of two parts, to continue the history of the most remarkable passages of his life; and, together therewith, he hath given such a full relation of publick matters, as may, in his opinion, be called, *The history of the times*. But in regard such a full enumeration of publick transactions seems not to consist with Mr. *Blair's* design in the former part; and as the publick may be otherwise supplied with the history of that time, what follows, contains no more of that supplement than what doth properly respect Mr. *Blair's* after life, with some hints of such of the publick occurrences of that time as Mr. *Blair* had some connection with.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. ROBERT BLAIR.

PART II.

PERIOD FOURTH *continued.*

From November 1634. when Mr. Blair was deposed for the second time, to September 1639. when he was transported from Ayr to St. Andrews.

Notwithstanding Mr. Blair, and his three brethren, were deposed and maltreated, as formerly related, he ordinarily preached in his own house, which was ordered by a discreet old servant, and sometimes in other houses among his friends and acquaintances, especially in *Holywood*; and sometimes he and his brethren did go into their churches: And as they had done formerly, when deposed, *anno 1632.* so now they prayed with their people; and after one had read a chapter, they discoursed thereon by way of lecture.

In the beginning of the year 1635. Mr. Blair began to think of marriage with *Katharine Montgomerie*, daughter to *Hugh Montgomerie*, formerly of *Busbie*, in *Ayr-shire*, and at that time of *Ballishary* in *Ireland*:
And,

And, in the spring-season 1635. he came over to *Scotland*, to advise with his own and last wife's friends, concerning this his purpose.

When come over, he was much in *Edinburgh*, where there were many private meetings of eminent professors for prayer and christian conference; several of which he attended, and was often well refreshed in them. And,

In *April*, he accompanied bailie *William Rigg* of *Athernie* over to his house in the parish of *Carnock*, in *Fife*; where the honest minister of the place, *Mr. John Row*, being old and infirm, and it being much desired by many, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered at *Carnock*, while *Mr. Blair* was there; he condescended to their request, and had almost the whole burden of that solemn work laid upon him: For, on the *Saturday*, he preached on *Isa. lxiii. 15, 16.* and on *Sabbath*, he first preached on *Ephes. iii. 14, 15, 16.* then he served seventeen tables; for, besides the people of the place, many others were attending there from *Edinburgh*, and the west parts of *Fife*: And, in the afternoon, he preached on *Psal. lvii.* In all which he was well assisted, to the comfort of many.

Shortly after this, *Mr. Blair* returned to *Ireland*, and was married *May 12th. 1635.*

The first time they did visit *Mrs. Blair's* father after their marriage, they met with a merciful deliverance out of a deadly danger, in their return home. For, in riding the water of *Belfast*, which was higher than he apprehended, his horse having been almost at swimming, his wife was carried off, and at some distance down the stream, before he adverted that she was from behind him. *Mr. Blair*, perceiving his wife in so extreme danger, did immediately force his horse to the side of the river; and resolving rather to hazard his own life, than be an idle spectator of the loss of his wife's, he waded into the water almost shoulder-deep,

deep, (for the current of the water was flow at that place); and reaching out his staff to her who had hitherto been mercifully kept by her coats above the water, she caught hold on the same; and by that he pulled her to him, and so both were preserved.

Matters continuing in such a situation, as the deposed ministers had no prospect of being reponed, they, with a number in the north of *Ireland*, and a few in *Scotland*, who had some thoughts of transporting themselves to *New-England*, before they were reponed in *May 1634*. came now to a resolution of prosecuting that design; and having received a kind invitation from the governor of *New-England*, with large promises of accommodation, they built a ship of about 115 tons, called *Eagle-wings*, which set out from *Lochfergus* the 9th of *September 1636*. having on board about 140 passengers, amongst whom were Messieurs *Blair*, *Livingston*, *Hamilton* and *Maclellan*, ministers, provost *Stewart* in *Ayr*, and one *Andrew Brown* of the parish of *Lern*, who, tho' he was born deaf and dumb, and had been of a vicious loose conversation, yet of late years was so remarkably changed to the better, not only in forsaking his evil ways, but also joining himself to religious company, going a-part at least mornings and evenings for secret prayer, attending on the publick worship of God, and even weeping in time of sermons, and the like, that, with the consent of all the ministers who used to meet monthly at *Antrim*, he was admitted to the Lord's table.

Before this adventure, many days were spent in fasting and prayer, for direction and a blessing upon the same, and all were abundantly satisfied of the warrantableness of it. Yet, after they were about 3 or 400 leagues from *Ireland*, they met with a terrible hurricane; and were thereby exposed to extreme danger, by the breaking of one of their main joists, the springing of a leak, and dislocating of the rudder,

rudder, so that the ship would not work ; and the master and sailors gave up all as lost. But the rudder being got fixed again, and the leak stopped, upon a motion from Mr. *Livingston*, they resolved to attempt holding on their way for 24 hours longer ; and if, in that time the weather did not calm, that they should return. But that day, and the night following, the storm increased, so that almost all began to think of returning. Only Mr. *Blair*, who had a chief hand in that adventure, was not yet fully determined. So the rest laid it upon him to pray ; and if after that he should continue unresolved, they would hold on their way. Mr. *Blair* hearing that the determination of so important a point was devolved upon him, fell into a fit of fainting ; and when he recovered, he was determined to be of their mind. So the next morning they turned sail ; and, after some tossing, they came, upon the 3d of *November*, to the harbour whence they loosed.

This crossing providence occasioned great thoughts of heart, and the more so that they were like to afford laughter and mockery to the wicked, at their enterprise. But as their intentions in that voyage were, that they might spread the gospel in *America*, they trusted, that their stop proceeding from God alone, he had work for them at home. And when they were nigh relanding, Mr. *Blair*, in his last lecture at sea, upon *Psal. lxxv. 7.* did, with great confidence assure his brethren and companions, that as the Lord had given them a wonderful proof of his omnipotence and kindness, in stilling the winds and the sea ; so would he still, and calm the unruly spirits and tongues of wicked people. And at their return they found that to be the case. The hearts of some had relented, and others were struck with fear at their return : So that they were allowed to live in peace for some time ; and did occupy themselves, sometimes in
 - preaching

preaching and and lecturing privately, and exhorting their people, as God gave them opportunity.

Yet, after about four months continuance in that way, one *Frankhill* of *Castleleah*, who used to come sometimes to meetings, wherein Mr. *Blair* and Mr. *Livingston* preached, went to *Dublin*, and informed the state. Whereupon a warrant was issued out against them. But the effect of it was mercifully disappointed thus. One *Andrew Young* servant to Mr. *Barr*, who lived nigh Mr. *Livingston's* house, being occasionally in *Dublin*, overheard a pursuivant give orders to provide horses for him and another, who were to set out next day for the north, to bring up two deposed ministers. Upon this he immediately called for his own horse; and continuing his journey homeward with all speed, night and day, gave information of what he had heard: Whereby the designs against those ministers were frustrated; for immediately they went out of the way, and came over to *Scotland*, whither several other deposed ministers came about the same time.

When they came to *Irvine*, they were frequently employed to preach by Mr. *Dickson*, tho' not without hazard of the bishop's resentment against himself. But he durst not discountenance the Lord's suffering servants.

Soon after they came there, Mr. *Cunningham* of *Holywood* departed this life, the 29th *March* 1637. with great joy and peace, and gave a large testimony to the grace and goodness of God. Mr. *Blair* wrote an epitaph to his worthy memory, which was engraven on his grave-stone in the church-yard at *Irvine*, of the following tenor.

*Hic Cuninghami recubat Roberti
Corpus. O qualis genius latebat,
Quam divinus fragili involutus
pulvere in isto!*

M

Acrius

*Acrius nemo intonuit superbis ;
Nemo dejectos magis erigebat ;
Sed Dei laudes celebrando, vicit
Seque aliosque.*

After Mr. *Blair* had remained some time at *Irvine*, his wife and children of his first marriage came over to him. At which time he got another evidence of the Lord's merciful providence, in preserving his family from death, by the boat's being driven by the violence of the wind beside the harbour, and sticking on the bar of *Irvine*, till loosed by the next tide. Mr. *Blair* saw from the church-yard, the danger which the boat was in ; but he knew nothing that his wife and children were in it ; yet he prayed earnestly for their preservation, and they were delivered.

All the summer 1637. Mr. *Blair* was as much employed in publick and private exercises, as ever before ; mostly at *Irvine*, and the country around, and partly in *Edinburgh*. For at that time the bishops having urged the practice of the service book upon ministers, many serious christians met for prayer and conference, thro' all the corners of the land, especially in *Edinburgh*.

Matters being at that time in great confusion, Mr. *Blair*'s old inclination for *France* revived ; and he had an invitation to be chaplain to colonel *Hepburn*'s regiment in the *French* service, then newly inlisted in *Scotland*. With these he embarked in a ship bound from *Leith*: But some of the recruits, who were mostly highlanders, being desperately wicked men, who rejected his reproofs with contempt, and threatened to stab him ; he resolved to quit that voyage. So calling to the shipmaster to set him ashore, without imparting his design of returning, a boat was immediately ordered to his service. At which time he met with another deliverance : For his foot sliding, he was in hazard of going to the bottom : But the
Lord

Lord having so ordered, he got hold of a rope, and hung by it till relieved.

Mr. *Blair's* return to *Edinburgh*, gave great satisfaction to his friends there, who were much set against his voyage, and looked upon his back-coming as an answer to some of their prayers. And it appeared by the event, as if that had been the case: For Mrs. *Mien* having urged him, on his return, to petition the privy council for liberty to himself, and his persecuted brethren, to preach the gospel wherever they should get a call, from ministers or people, and promised to put it into the treasurer's hand, as he went into the council; Mr. *Blair* condescended to her request. And she also was as good as her word: For the council-day immediately following, there convened a great number of religious matrons drawn up in order, from the council-house door to the street, who agreed to put it into the hands of *Alison Cockburn*, widow of Mr. *Archibald Row*, as the eldest of their number, to be by her presented to the treasurer. But his lordship having shuffled aside the weak old woman, Mrs. *Mein*, as better shapen out for such adventures, pulled the paper out of Mrs. *Row's* hand, and coming up to *Traquair*, gripped him by the arm, saying, *Stand, my lord, in Christ's name I charge you, till I speak with you.* This peremptory summons behoved, no doubt, to be obeyed. So the lord treasurer looking back, replied, Good woman, what would you say to me? *There is*, said she, *a humble supplication of Mr. Blair's. All he seeks, is, that he, and his brethren in the like situation with him, may have liberty to preach the gospel, &c. I charge you to befriend the matter, as you would have God to befriend you at your death.* The charge, tho' rude, was obeyed; and the desire of the supplication granted by the secret council. So that those banished ministers were not only suffered to stay at home, but declared capable of receiving an
orderly

orderly call, whenever they should be favoured with the same.

The door being thus opened, Mr. *Blair* got a call some time in the spring-season *anno* 1638. to be colleague to Mr. *William Annan* at *Ayr*. And upon *Wednesday* the second of *May* following, being the presbytery-day, Mr. *Blair* having preached from 2 *Cor.* iv. 5. was, at the special and earnest desire of all the people, (the provost, bailies, and town-council, having for the most part been present with the presbytry), admitted minister, and fellow-helper to Mr. *William Annan*; as the act of that presbytry bears. And much about the same time Mr. *John Livingstone* was admitted to the ministry at *Stranrawer*.

These two ministers being thus settled on the nearest coasts to the kingdom of *Ireland*, several of their old parishioners came over, and dwelt under the drop of their ministry; and several hundreds more would have come over, at a time, to sacramental occasions.

Shortly thereafter, the covenanters having happily prevailed with king *Charles* to indict an assembly and parliament, the general assembly sat at *Glasgow* in *November* this year; the most solemn one which had ever been in the kingdom. And in respect the see and university of *St. Andrews* was deserted of its prelate and doctors, and but badly supplied by those who remained, they, upon the call of the town-council of *St. Andrews*, and others having interest, made an act, transporting Mr. *Blair* from *Ayr* to *St. Andrews*, as a proper minister for that high watch-tower. But the very reasons which determined this assembly to transport Mr. *Blair*, did deter him from complying with that transportation. And so the burgh of *Ayr*, where the Lord had begun to bless his labours, had the favour of his ministry for another year.

But the general assembly which sat at *Edinburgh* in *August* 1639. agreeable to an article of the pacification

tion betwixt the king and his *Scots* subjects at *Berwick*, having been offended with Mr. *Blair* for not obeying the act of the former assembly, they peremptorily ordered him to transport himself to *St. Andrews* instantly; and that he might the more cordially submit to that order, the assembly did transport Mr. *Samuel Rutherford* from the ministry at *Anwoth*, to be professor of divinity in the new colledge at *St. Andrews*.

Accordingly, upon the 15th day of *September*; Mr. *Blair* intimated that act of transportation to his congregation at *Ayr*; and, with their consent, resigned his place and ministry in favours of Mr. *John Ferguson* minister at *Ochiltree*; and shortly thereafter was admitted to the ministry at *St. Andrews*. And much about the same time Mr. *Rutherford* was admitted his colleague; for Mr. *Rutherford* refused to be transported, except upon that condition: Which office he chearfully executed without any additional stipend; the preaching of the gospel having by him been accounted his *one eye*, as he expresses it in his excellent letters.

One incident more is all that remains to be said concerning Mr. *Blair* during this period. In the time of the sitting of the last assembly, and on a *Lord's* day, after the ringing of the last bell, word having been brought to the *Great kirk* of *Edinburgh*, where the members of assembly did sit, that the minister appointed to preach there was unable to attend; the earl of *Rothes* hearing this, and looking thro' the church to several of the ministers, called to Mr. *Blair*, acquainted him with their disappointment, and intreated him, that if he should do no more than read a piece of scripture, and pray, he would do it, and keep them together, as they could not now expect accommodation in other churches. Whereupon Mr. *Blair*, without answering any thing, went to the desk, and taking the bible from the reader, (for at that time it was usual for the precentor to read a portion

portion of scripture as a subject of meditation to the people, until the minister came in), heread the fifty-first chapter of *Isaiah*, the same which the other had read before him; and tho' he had studied the same no more than occurred during the reading, when no such disappointment could be expected, he lectured pertinently and pathetically upon that chapter, to the great satisfaction and surprize of the numerous and learned auditory.

P E R I O D F I F T H.

From the time Mr. Blair was settled in the ministry at St. Andrews anno 1639. to the time he was summoned to appear before the parliament 1661.

IN the year 1640. the king, by advice of his clergy, and the earl of *Strafford*, burnt the articles of treaty with the *Scots*; and prepared to chastise them with a royal army, to which his advisers contributed very liberally. The *Scots* resolving not always to play after-game, and to be wise behind-hand, raised a gallant army; with which (being thereto encouraged by some of the *English*) they invaded *England*, and routed about 4000 of the *English* at *Newburn*. Whereupon the rest of the *English* army retired with great precipitation; and the *Scots* had *Newcastle* surrendered to them, with the king's magazine there; and within two days after, they made themselves masters of *Durham*, and took free quarters from the *English*, for such as were not otherwise provided: Which produced a new treaty, begun at *Rippon*, and concluded at *London*, more favourable for the *Scots* than the former treaty.

With this army the church sent an able minister for every regiment, who were jointly vested with the powers of a presbytery. Mr. *Blair* went with the
lord

lord *Lindsay's* regiment; and when the treaty was set on foot, the committee of estates with the army, sent him up to assist the commissioners with his best advice.

Amongst all the *Scots* army, there was scarce a man wanted a bible; and a great part of them were devout and religious persons: So that when they came to their quarters, there was little else to be heard, but reading, prayer, and solemn melody.

The large treaty having been concluded, the general assembly convened at *St. Andrews*, July 20. 1641. and after a pertinent sermon by Mr. *Blair*, was transferred to *Edinburgh*, where the parliament were called to meet. Thither the king came in person, and gave the royal assent to that treaty, and to the preceding work of reformation in *Scotland*.

In *October* this year, a most horrid rebellion did break out amongst the papists in *Ireland*; and the most inhumane murdering and massacring of some hundred thousands of protestants, that ever was heard of in the world; which did almost depopulate the northern counties of that kingdom, and scarce left a protestant minister in the country.

Wherefore the inhabitants of those counties who survived that storm, being generally *Scotsmen*, made application to the general assembly in *Scotland*, anno 1642. for supply of ministers: And for several years thereafter, eight ministers were annually sent over to them, two at a time; who were to continue there for three months together, till relieved by other two. Probationers for the ministry were also dealt with to go thither. And the ministers who went over at this time, were, with the ministers who went over with the *Scots* army, which had been sent thither, in *April* preceeding, under general *Monro*, to suppress the rebellion there, ordered to establish sessions or elderships, and to try and ordain such young men as offered themselves to the ministry there.

In those messages, none of the *Scots* ministers who formerly were settled in *Ireland*, were omitted; and Mr. *Blair* went over with the first.

During all the three months he was in *Ireland*, he generally preached once every day, and twice on *Sabbath*, and frequently in the fields; the auditories being so large, that no house could contain them: and in some of these he administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

But because many of the people had formerly, thro' constraint, taken an oath imposed by the lord deputy, abjuring the national covenant of *Scotland*; Mr. *Blair*, after a pathetick discourse, laying out the guilt of that black oath, charged all whose conscience accused and condemned them, to separate themselves from amongst those who were not involved in that grievous provocation. And they having willingly done so, and stood in a body on his left hand, he as a son, first of thunder, and then of consolation, did, with great vehemency, energy, and warmth, set before them, the awful threatenings held forth by the holy law against such transgressors; and then endeavoured to display the exceeding greatness of God's mercy and grace, exhorting them to fly to God for reconciliation and pardon thro' Christ. And after the guilty had willingly, and with great expressions of grief and sorrow, confessed their sin, they were received as sincere penitents, and admitted to the holy communion.

Of that solemnity, several old experienced christians declared, that they never saw the like, nor ever heard the gospel so powerfully preached, and pertinently applied, with such variety of threatenings, promises, exhortations, motives, comforts, and cordials; and that they never saw such commotion and heart-melting among hearers, both guilty and innocent: So that it might be truly said, that, *they gathered together to that place, and drew water, and poured it out*

out before the Lord, and said, we have sinned against the Lord, 1 Sam. vii. 6.

During this short visit to *Ireland*, both ministers and professors had many sweet and soul-refreshing days of the gospel, and some solemn high *Sabbaths*; the like of which Mr. *Blair* seldom enjoyed in *St. Andrews*.—Likeliest to those were some communion-*Sabbaths* where Mr. *Blair* assisted in some of the north parts of *Fife*, especially betwixt the years 1650 and 1660.

After Mr. *Blair* had for some time laboured amongst his people at *St. Andrews*, he found his burden insupportable, by reason that his congregation was vastly numerous, the common people very ignorant, and the gentry and citizens generally not only profane and dissolute, but very superstitious and prelatical: And, that he might be eased of a share of that burden, he parted with a considerable part of the emoluments due to his office, *viz.* the vicarages, and what else properly belonged to the archdeanry, and with all the teinds of certain lands in the remote part of his parish; and having obtained the consent of the several heritors concerned, he got the same, with a part of *Ceres* parish, disjoined from these several parishes, by an act of parliament, and united into one parish. And after he had thus got a competent legal stipend allotted to the same, he set a voluntary contribution on foot, for the building of a new church and manse; which was collected by *John Martin* of *Lathness*, a man zealous for that good work. And the same having been accomplished in a convenient time, Mr. *George Nairn* was, *anno.* 1646, ordained first minister of that new parish, by Mr. *Blair*; who was thereby much eased of the weighty burden laid upon him.

The affairs of church and state were various and weighty during the years 1643 and 1644: And particularly, in *August* 1643, the committee of the general assembly, whereof Mr. *Blair* was one, with

John earl of Rutland, and other four commissioners from the parliament of *England*, and Messieurs *Stephen Marshal* and *Philip Nye*, ministers, agreed to a solemn league and covenant, betwixt the two kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*.

When the draught of the same was read to the general assembly, our smoking desires for uniformity did break forth into a vehement flame, and was so heartily embraced, and with such a torrent of most affectionate expressions, as none but eye and ear witnesses can conceive. When the vote of some old ministers was asked, their joy was so great, that tears did interrupt their expressions.

As one of the conditions stipulated with the *English* commissioners, the convention of estates ordered an army to be raised for the assistance of the parliament of *England*, then at war with the king, and marched into *England* in the end of the year 1643. In this expedition, Mr. *Blair* was, by the commission of the assembly, appointed minister to the earl of *Crawford's* regiment; with whom he staid till the victory obtained by the *English* and *Scots* over the king's army, commanded by prince *Rupert*, at *Marston-moor*, in the beginning of *July* 1644: In which month he returned to his charge at *St. Andrews*.

In *August* following, the earl of *Montrose*, who from a zealous covenanter, turned an inveterate enemy to the covenanters, took the field against them, with a number of bloody men, mostly *Irish*, who came over for his assistance under *Alaster Mac Donald*, a blood-thirsty papist; and with these, and several unnatural countrymen who gathered unto him, he routed several parties of the covenanters, some of them far more numerous than his own, but hastily, and sometimes confusedly, drawn together; as at *Perth*, *September* 1. 1644; at *Aberdeen*, *September* 13. at *Inverlochy*,

verlochy, February 2. 1645; at *Oldearn*, May 6. at *Alford*, July 2. and at *Kilsyth*, August 15. 1645.

In these circumstances, church and state did what they could to oppose the enemy. But, the strength of the nation being then in *England*, and the Lord's anger having gone forth against those at home, the destruction decreed did overflow for near two years; in which time near 30,000 of the covenanters were laid in their winding-sheets.

October 1. 1644. the synod of *Fife* met at *Coupar*; and after a sermon by Mr. *Blair*, from *Job* xvii. 8. 9. who tho' he was not moderator of the former synod, was pitched on as the fittest to speak a word in season, both to ministers and people, in a time of so much wrath, they drew up overtures for humiliation, and reformation of the shire of *Fife*; and ordained the Lord's day, October 20. and the *Tuesday* and *Thursday* following, to be observed with solemn fasting and humiliation.

The parliament, and commission of the kirk, sat at *Perth* in July 1645. The parliament was opened with a sermon by Mr. *Blair*; and the 26th and 27th of that month were kept as solemn days of humiliation. After Mr. *Blair* had, upon the forenoon of *Sabbath* the 27th, preached again to the parliament, he rode out to the army, then incamped at *Forgandenny*; and in the afternoon preached to *Crawford's* and *Maitland's* regiments, to the first of whom he had been chaplain. He told that brigade, that he was informed, that many of them were now become dissolute and profane; and assured them, that tho' God had covered their heads in the day of battle, so that very few of them were killed at *Langmarston*; yet they should not now be able to stand before a less formidable foe, unless they repented. This freedom coming from one who they knew loved them, and had a care both of soul and body, was taken in good part: Yet it was too little laid to heart. And according

ing to the sad threatening, *Crawford's* regiment was almost wholly cut off at *Kilsyth*, within three weeks thereafter.

After the defeat at *Kilsyth*, the heritors of *Fife-shire* had several meetings for consultation; at which *Mr. Blair*, and certain other of their ministers, were called to be present. Some were for treating with *Montrose*. But *Mr. Blair* opposed acknowledging him upon any account, tho' never so specious. That meeting concluded nothing; and *Montrose's* party over-running the shire, *Mr. Blair* removed with his family to *Dundee*, as a place of more strength, and which had in *April* preceeding held out one assault from his forces.

About this time the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people; and the committee of estates saw cause to recal major-general *David Leslie*, with 4000 horse and 1000 dragoons, from *England*. To oppose these *Montrose* marched southward; but was shamefully routed at *Philiphaugh*, upon the 13th day of *September*, many of his forces were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself hardly escaped.

Amongst the prisoners taken, there were, *Sir Robert Spotswood* president, *Sir John Hay* Clerk-register, *Sir William Rollock*, *Sir Philip Nisbet*, *Nathaniel Gordon*, &c. some of whom, viz. *Sir William Rollock*, *Sir Philip Nisbet*, &c. were tried by the committee of estates which sat at *Glasgow*, and condemned to die; and others of them were continued till the sitting of the parliament which was to meet in *November*.

The 26th of that month, the parliament and commission of the kirk sat down at *St. Andrews*; for at that time the plague raged in *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, and other parts of *Lothian*. *Mr. Blair* preached before this parliament; he also prayed at the constitution of their several sessions; and was at much pains to accommodate a difference betwixt the *Hamiltons* and *Campbells*, but without success.

At this parliament, several of the prisoners taken at *Philiphaugh*, were tried; and three of them, *viz.* Sir *Robert Spotswood*, *Nathaniel Gordon*, and Mr. *Andrew Guthrie*, were executed on the 17th day of *January* thereafter. Mr. *Blair* visited these men often, and was at great pains to convince them of their sin. With Mr. *Gordon* he prevailed so far, that he seemed very penitent, under a sense of his bloodshed, and joining in that cause; and sought to be relaxed from the greater excommunication, which had been pronounced against him. Mr. *Blair* did accordingly, by the authority of the church, relax him from that sentence; and obtained great satisfaction from him. But of his labours bestowed on the other two, he found no good effect; *Spotswood* dying with the most invidious reproaches on honest ministers, who had been faithful to their trust; and *Guthrie* died stupidly impenitent. These two were bishops sons; *malis corvi malum ovum*.

In the end of the year, major-general *David Leslie* left a considerable number of forces to maintain the peace, under *Middleton's* command, who was then looked upon as a religious valiant man; and he himself returned to *England* with the rest.

In *March* 1646. a new flame did break out in the north. *Seaforth* and his adherents presented to the committee of estates, a dangerous and seditious bond, under the name of *An humble Remonstrance*. Against this, the commission of the church, whereof Mr. *Blair* was one, did emit a declaration. But *Seaforth* being resolved to effectuate the ends of his remonstrance, raised an army of 5000 men in his own country; while *Montrose* ranged about *Inverness*, *Alaster MacDonal* with his *Irish* in *Argyle's* bounds, *Cgilvy* with the *Athol-men* and other *Highlanders* infested the *Stormont*, and the *Gordons* infested the north

Upon

Upon these commotions, *Middleton* divided his army into several parties for the suppression of the rebels, and marched northward; where having defeated the *Gordons* in the fields, and chased them out of all their strong-holds, this so dispirited the rest, that they never durst look him in the face.

While our forces were thus regaining their ground at home, the parliament-forces in *England* were so victorious over the king's army, that he thought fit, *April 27. 1646.* to escape in disguise, and put himself under the safeguard of the *Scots* army, whose head-quarters were then at *Newark* off *Trent*.

News of this having been brought to *Edinburgh*, commissioners were sent to compliment him in the parliament's name: And the king, by a proclamation, ordered all who had appeared for him in *Scotland*, to lay down their arms; and promised heartily to comply with the counsels of his parliament of both kingdoms, and to settle religion by the advice of the divines of both churches.

The general assembly sat down at *Edinburgh* the beginning of *June* following; and *Mr. Blair* was chosen their moderator. Amongst other things, that assembly ordered the moderator, with *Mr. Andrew Cant* and *Mr. Robert Douglas*, to repair to the king at *Newcastle*, to concur with *Mr. Alexander Henderson*, and others who were there before them, in endeavouring to persuade his majesty, to lay to heart the great bloodshed committed within his kingdoms, by himself, and others by his authority; and to reconcile him to presbyterial government and the covenants.

When those three ministers got a hearing, the room was immediately filled with several sorts of people to see their reception. At which time *Mr. Andrew Cant*, as the eldest of the three, having begun a speech to the king, briskly insinuating, with his wonted plainness and zeal, that the king favoured popery; *Mr. Blair* interrupted him, and modestly hinted,

hinted, that their audience was neither in a fit time nor place. The king looking earnestly to him, said, that honest man speaks wisely and discreetly; therefore I appoint you three to attend me to-morrow at ten o' clock in my bed-chamber. The ministers attended as appointed, but got little satisfaction. Only, when Mr. *Blair* asked his majesty, if there were not abominations in popery which he abhorred? the king, lifting off his hat, said, *I take God to witness, that there are abominations in popery, which I so much abhor, that ere I consent to them, I would rather lose my life and crown.*

For some time thereafter Mr. *Blair* attended at *Newcastle*, waiting the issue of a treaty which was then set on foot, not only betwixt the king and the *Scots*, but also betwixt the king and his *English* parliament; and having, with Mr. *Henderfon*, (for these two the king favoured most), been several times admitted to private conference with the king, they earnestly urged him to satisfy the just desires of his subjects. But he obstinately refused, tho' they, with some others, besought it upon their knees, and with tears. — Renewed commissions were for this purpose sent from the states of *Scotland*, but all to no good purpose. So Mr. *Blair* returned to *Scotland*, in the company of our commissioners.

August 19. the famous Mr. *Alexander Henderfon* died at *Edinburgh*. And no sooner did the king hear of his death, than, to prevent importunity for his post as his chaplain in *Scotland*, in favours of one who might not be acceptable; he immediately ordered a patent for it in favours of Mr. *Blair*. When news of this was brought to Mr. *Blair*, he was in a great difficulty, fearing he might be insnared. But after he had wrestled with God, for direction in that matter; and consulted with Mr. *David Dickson*, whose advice, in matters wherein conscience was concerned, he highly esteemed; and reflecting, that Mr. *Henderfon*

derfon held fast his integrity to the end, amidst equal temptations, he was encouraged to accept that employment, and applied himself to the same with great faithfulness and diligence. Every day he prayed before dinner and supper in the presence-chamber, the king and all the court attending on the diets; and on the *Lord's* day he lectured once, and preached twice: Besides, he sometimes preached at *St. Nicholas* church on week-days; and had much conversation with the king, sometimes dealing earnestly with him, to condescend to the just desires of his parliaments, and at other times debating concerning prelacy, liturgies, and ceremonies, &c.

One day, after prayer, the king asked him, if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy? Mr. *Blair* taking the hint, answered, that he thought he had determined no controversy in that prayer. Yes, said the king; you have determined the pope, the bishop of *Rome*, to be antichrist; which is controverted amongst orthodox divines. To this Mr. *Blair* replied, Sir, to me that is no controversy, and I am sorry it should be so accounted by your majesty. Sure, it was no controversy to your father of happy memory. This silenced the king; for he was a great defender of his father's opinions; and his testimony had more weight with him, as Mr. *Blair* knew well, than the testimony of any divine. After a few months stay, Mr. *Blair* was permitted to visit his flock and family.

At this time the debates run high betwixt the *English* parliament and our commissioners, concerning the disposal of the king's person. The *Scots* claimed a joint interest in that matter. But the *English* having no more need of their assistance, carried very different from what their commissioners undertook for them at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1643; and being deep in arrears to the *Scots* for their bypast services, they refused to pay up these, till the *Scots*, should yield the

the other point; and they voted, that the king should leave the *Scots* army, and go to *Holmby-house*, 55 miles from *London*: The *Scots* considering, that to keep the king with them would raise intestine commotions in their own country, and quickly bring the seat of the war within their own bowels, the parliament and commission of the church found it necessary to give up the king to the *English*, on condition *he should be with them in honour, freedom, and safety*.

After the sitting of the *Scots* parliament, and commission of the kirk, Mr. *Blair* made another visit to the king at *Newcastle*, to solicit his compliance with the desires of the *Scots* commissioners, which at that time were again sent up to him; and urged him, with all the earnestness and arguments he was master of, to subscribe the covenant, and abolish episcopacy out of *England*; and then he was confident all honest *Scotsmen* would espouse his quarrel against his enemies in *England*, and hazard their lives and fortunes on his account. To this the king answered, That he was bound by his great oath to defend episcopacy, with the liturgy and ceremonies of that church; and that ere he wronged his conscience, by violating his coronation-oath, he would rather lose his crowns and his life. Mr. *Blair* asked the king, what was the form of his oath? His majesty answered, To defend and maintain in *England* episcopacy, with the liturgy and ceremonies of that church, *to the uttermost of my power*. Then, said Mr. *Blair*, your majesty has maintained and defended all these, not only to the utmost of your power, but so long and so far, that now you have no power: And therefore I think, if the bishops in *England* have any true love to your majesty's honour, and re-establishment on your throne, they should advise you not to strive any further to keep that oath. But by nothing that he said, could he gain any thing upon the king: And so he left his majesty with

with a sorrowful heart, and returned again to *St. Andrews*.

In *February* 1648. the *Scots* army returned home; and the king was, by the *English*, conducted to *Holmby-house*; where we shall leave him for some time.

From the time the king came first to the *Scots* army in *England*, there were two factions in *Scotland*, of which *Hamilton* and *Argyle* were the two heads. *Hamilton's* party aimed at bringing down the king to *Scotland*; the other opposed this, as threatening to make *Scotland* a field of blood. And when the parliament and army of *England* had discovered their attachment to sectarianism, and designs against the king, *Hamilton's* party prevailed so far, that in the committee of estates, it was agreed to levy an army and invade *England*. Against this *Argyle*, *Cassilis*, &c. and many commissioners of shires and burghs, protested. The commission of the kirk did also emit a declaration against it, in regard the king was still as opposite as ever to the renewed demands of our commissioners; and the levees were every where almost opposed. But a party of the opposers having been worsted at *Mauchlin*, the levees went on more successfully after that. And in *July* 1648. duke *Hamilton* marched into *England* by *Carlisle*, with an army of about 20,000 *Scots*; but was shamefully defeated by *Cromwel* at *Preston*; and the duke and many of the commanders taken, and executed by the *English*.

The engagers being thus worsted, the others resumed the management of affairs. But the remains of the engagers, being no less desirous of the mastery, called home general *Monro* with his forces from *Ireland*; and made such head against the anti-engagers, as threatened the destruction the one of the other.

Mr. *Blair* and other ministers were at great pains to draw the two parties to an accommodation; but

but without success, till *Cromwel* pursuing his victory, entered *Scotland* with his army; when the engagers, to avoid his fury, were constrained to yield their plea.

Shortly after this, *Cromwel* came to *Edinburgh*, and gave in a paper to the committee of estates, shewing how far the late engagment had injured *England*; and desiring, that none who had any hand in it, might be permitted to carry office in *Scotland*. Upon this the committee of estates made an act, called *The act of classes*, debarring engagers, or any having accession to it, from places of power and trust, in judicatures or armies, &c.

The commission of the kirk who sat at the same time, knowing how much *English* affairs were now managed by *Cromwel*'s direction, sent three of their number, viz. Messieurs *David Dickson*, *Robert Blair*, and *James Guthrie*, to deal with him for promoting uniformity in *England*. When they came to *Cromwel*, he entertained them with creamy speeches, confirmed with tears, and solemn appeals to God, as to the sincerity of the *English* intentions. But Mr. *Blair*, who, as having some acquaintance with him, was appointed to speak for them all, said much in few words; and among other things, he told *Cromwel*, that he, and his brethren, the ministers of *Scotland*, saw no party or power that now hindered the reformation of religion in *England*, and uniformity betwixt the two churches, but only their army: And as they were shrewdly suspected of by-ends, he begged his answer to three questions. 1. What was his opinion of monarchical government? To this *Cromwel* answered without hesitation, That he was for monarchical government, and that in the person of the king and his posterity. 2. What was his opinion anent toleration? He answered as confidently, That he was altogether against toleration. And, 3. What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? O now! Mr. *Blair*, you article me too severely, (said *Cromwel*);

Cromwell), you must pardon me, that I give you not a present answer to this. I must have time to deliberate. This he shifted; because, in conversation with Mr. *Blair* before that time, he had several times confessed, that he was for independency. After they came out, Mr. *Dickson* said to his brethren, I am glad to hear this man speak no worse. Whereunto Mr. *Blair* replied, If ye knew him as well as I do, ye would not believe one word he says. He is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar.

This year 1648. the general assembly taking to their consideration, the great apostasy and backsliding among all degrees in the land, (for even some ministers had dealt deceitfully in the matter of the covenant, and in the business of the late engagement; endeavouring, in the time of the last assembly, to have got the engagement approved; for which subdalous plots, Mr. *Henry Guthrie*, dux factionis, and some others, were deposed), thought, that there was an inevitable necessity forcing them at this time to renew the solemn league and covenant. So, *Thursday* the 16th. of *December* having been spent in humiliation and fasting, for the former breach of covenant, they renewed that covenant the day following; and sent the directory for renewing it, and concerning the debarring of certain persons from taking the covenant, to the several presbyteries.

While *Scots'* affairs were thus brought to some order, matters in *England* were in a woful confusion. Their army being new-modelled, and about forty one of the best affected members of Parliament excluded, the king, who for some time past had been used by them as a prisoner, was, upon the motion of their sectarian army, brought to a trial, before a packed court of commoners, called *The high court of justice*.

In the month of *October* preceeding, the earl of *Lothian*, Sir *John Chiesly*, and *William Glendonig*, were sent

sent from the committee of estates to the parliament of *England*, and Mr. *Robert Blair* from the commission of the kirk, to the assembly of divines, for the preservation and promoting of uniformity. When these commissioners understood the designs of the *English* against the king's life, they petitioned the parliament, not to proceed to any trial against the king, till the advice of the *Scots* nation was obtained; and having wrote to *Scotland*, informing of what was in agitation at *London*, the representatives both of church and state sent up instructions to their commissioners at *London*, to oppose that trial, by all means possible. But tho' they remonstrated and protested against the same, in the name both of the church and state of *Scotland*, that court never ceased, till they brought the king to the block, *January 30. 1648-9.*

While the trial was in dependence, the king was desirous of the company and converse of his *English* chaplains; and being denied these, did, shortly before his death, desire, that Mr. *Blair*, whom he esteemed for his piety and prudence, might be permitted to come to him. But tho' Mr. *Blair* used all means to obtain access to the king, and to be with him so long as he chose his company; that was flatly refused; so cruel were they to his majesty's soul as well as his body.

News of this tragedy being sent to *Edinburgh*, the committee of estates did presently proclaim the title of the young prince, then in *Holland*; and ordered their commissioners at *London*, to go over and congratulate him in their name; and resolved, that another minister, with an elder from the kirk, should meet them at the *Hague*, with a commission, articles, and instructions. The commissioners at *London* prepared themselves for their journey. But before they could reach *Gravesend*, they were, by order of the *English* parliament, brought back, and confined, till they should be assured from the estates of *Scotland*, that they

they acted by their commission ; and even when that was obtained, they were not liberatéd, but attended to *Berwick* with a guard.

During this catching, Mr. *Blair* was fore pained with the gout, and sometimes more with the gravel ; whereby his healthy constitution was broken, and he came not so much out to church-judicatures after that, as formerly.

In *July* 1649. both parliament and assembly sat at *Edinburgh*. Their only contention was, who could contribute most for the interests of religion. Among other things, the parliament repealed patronages ; and this, and the former assembly, appointed certain of their number in different parts of the kingdom, to visit sundry places, and to purge out corrupt members : which did much good ; for many profane, scandalous, insufficient, and unfaithful ministers, were deposed, especially in *Angus*, *Mearns*, and *Stirling* shires.

In *October* following, the committee of estates sent another commission, with new propositions, to the young king ; who returned a very discreet answer, and appointed a treaty to be betwixt him and the *Scots*, at *Breda*, in *March* 1650. For this purpose, the estates named *Lothian*, *Liberton*, *Sir John Smith*, and *Alexander Jaffrey* ; and the church named Mr. *John Livingston*, Mr. *James Wood*, and Mr. *George Hutcheson*, ministers ; with *Cassils* and *Brodie*, ruling elders. The result of this treaty was, the bringing over the king, without sufficient security given for religion ; contrary to the inclination of Mr. *Livingston*, and some other of the commissioners ; and crowning him with great solemnity at *Scoon*, the first of *January* 1651. ; at which time he swore the covenants, and engaged to maintain presbyterian government, &c.

While this treaty was upon the anvil, *Montrose* landed in the north of *Scotland*, with the king's commission, and raised some forces. But his small
army

army was defeated by a few troops sent out against him, under the command of the colonels *Ker*, *Sra-chan*, and *Halket*; and he himself was shortly thereafter taken prisoner, in the laird of *Affen's* bounds, and brought to *Edinburgh*; where he was condemned by the parliament, and executed there the 21st of *May*, in a way, as was thought by some, too ignominious.

During his trial, the commission of the kirk sent Mr. *Blair*, and some other ministers, to him, to persuade him to lay to heart his great bloodshed and wickedness. But he excused himself, by his commissions from the king, and died obstinately impenitent.

At this time the *Scots* nation being daily dunned with the news of an intended invasion by the *English* sectaries, under the command of *Cromwel*, who, upon *Fairfax's* declining that particular service, was appointed general of the *English* forces; the parliament ordered a levy of 10,000 foot and 3000 horse, to be instantly raised, to join with the standing forces, against the invaders; and after that a second levy was resolved on.

It was not long ere there was occasion for all these. *Cromwel* invaded the kingdom, in *July* 1650.; and several of the *English* ships of war came up the *Frith*, and stopt all communication betwixt the two coasts.

Some time was spent in declarations by *Cromwel*, of his and the *English* parliament's sincere intentions in the present invasion, and blaming the *Scots* for espousing the quarrel of *Charles Stewart*, the head of the malignants, as they called the king. To which both church and state answered, by counter-declarations. Some skirmishes also ensued; in which our army found they had to do with an enemy every way as alert as themselves.

Upon this the ministry thought fit, that there should be a fast; and one of the causes condescended on, was, the not purging of the king's family, &c.

Wherefore

Wherefore the committee for purging the army, set about purging out all who were concerned in duke *Hamilton's* engagement. There was another committee, called a *council of war*, which gave orders, even to the general, when to fight, and when not. And the committee of estates, and commission of the kirk, did agree on a declaration to be subscribed by the king, acknowledging his own sin, and the sin of his father's house. This declaration the king refused to sign. Wherefore the commission of the church, by an act at *Westkirk*, *August 13. 1650.* declared, by a majority of one person, That until the king disclaimed all the sin and guilt of his house, both old and late, they could not own him and his interest, in the state of the quarrel betwixt them, and the enemy that had invaded the kingdom. And the committee of estates did, by an act of that date, approve the same.

The king thus shut up, found it necessary to swallow over that declaration, as he had formerly done the covenants. And now the only question was, how to beat off the invaders, who had for several weeks retired, and advanced to and again about the skirts of the town of *Edinburgh*.

At length, about the end of *August*, our army having come out of their trenches, wherein they had kept themselves till the arrival of their forces; the *English*, who were wasted with great sickness, and it was suspected, were scarce of provisions, retired eastward. Our army followed them at the heels, and pent them up so at *Dumbar*, that it was supposed, they might have starved them all without fighting them. But beyond and above all mens expectation, upon the 3d day of *September*, that army, which lately seemed so despicable, gave ours, which was reckoned near double their number, a most lamentable defeat; killing and taking prisoners to the number of about 10,000 of our forces; and coming

ing back to *Edinburgh*, plundered the houses, which were forsaken of their inhabitants, and quartered their army upon the rest: So that it was hard to tell, whether those who fled, or they who remained, were in the most deplorable condition.

Another consequence of this defeat was, that every one blamed the other; the one side, for purging out too many who might have been of service against the enemy; and these again blamed their opposites, for being too remiss, and not well enough purged. And thereupon ensued divisions, both in church and state: For the king wanting a coalescence betwixt both, against the common enemy, had the influence to get the consent, both of church and state, first, for the counteracting, and afterward for rescinding the act of classes. In consequence of which, many who formerly had been excluded, as persons dissaffected or suspected, were now admitted to places of power and trust, both in the army and in the state.

Those in church and state who opened the door for this readmission, were called *Resolutioners*, and some of them *Malignants*; and the others, *Protesters*, or anti-resolutioners, and afterwards *Remonstrators*. And

Hinc illæ lachrymæ. Both church and state began now to act in divided capacities, and to look almost as suspiciously upon one another, as upon the common enemy; and several presbyteries were split into two. The resolutioners had by far the majority; yet the protesters would not acknowledge their authority. And as it was in the church, so also in the army. The colonels *Ker* and *Strachan*, &c. would not serve with the king's army, but retired to the *West*; and some officers, and many soldiers, who were esteemed the most religious in the army, followed them. The resolutioners alledged, that Mr. *James Guthrie*, and some others of the protesters, did what they could to discourage and weaken the king's ar-

my, and strengthen that in the *West*. And it was not disguised, that *Strachan's* troop was levied and maintained upon the expence of the ministers: And yet because they were known to be good men, *Mr. Blair*, and many others, who did not love their acting in a divided way, hoped for good from them, and heartily wished and prayed for their success.

By these divisions, the relief of the country was obstructed, and the work of the invaders done to their hand. Shortly thereafter *Cromwel* did over-run the country; and a part of his army dissipated the association in the *West*, and several parties of the king's army. And the king, unable to make head against the enemy, tacked about for *England*, in *July 1651*, in hopes of proper aid from that kingdom. But *Cromwel* left general *Monk*, with a part of his army, to keep under the conquered *Scots*, and suppress those of them who were yet in arms; while he and *Lambert*, with the most of the horse, and a great number of foot, pursued the king.

About the end of *August*, our army had the city of *Worcester* surrendered to them. But *Cromwel* and *Lambert*, having received a strong reinforcement from *Fleetwood*, sat down before the city; and our army having been in want of provisions, marched out, *September 3d* and gave the enemy battle. The fight continued for a time very obstinate; but the enemy having been at least two to one, our army was woefully routed. The enemy pursuing, and the country-people (*mobile vulgus* always joining with the victors) rising in great abundance, all our nobles and officers, for the most part, at the very first were taken, *viz. William duke of Hamilton*, (who died of his wounds in a few days), *Roths, Lauderdale, Leslie, Middleton, Dalzell, Sir Robert Montgomery, &c.* Few or none of note escaped, except the king, and the duke of *Buckingham*.

While the two armies were attending one another's motions

motions at *Worcester*, *Monk* surpris'd a number of our nobles, gentry, and ministers, who were conven'd at *Elliot* in *Angus*, *August* 20. to concert measures for raising some forces, for the relief of *Dundee*, which was then besieged; and made prisoners of general *Leslie*, the earls of *Crawford* and *Marshall*, the lords *Ogilvie* and *Bargeny*, with the lairds of *Humby*, *Lees*, *Collington*, *Pourie*, &c. and Messieurs *Robert Douglass*, *James Hamilton*, *John Smith*, *Mungo Law*, and *James Sharp*, &c. ministers. All these were presently sent prisoners to the *English* ships, which lay at anchor before *Broughty*. And upon the back of this the *English* storm'd *Dundee*; who knowing nothing of that surpris'e, held out the town, in hopes of relief promised them by general *Leslie*; and near a thousand of the inhabitants were killed without quarter, amongst whom were several of good quality; and the town was plundered. After which, general *Monk* sent away all the foresaid prisoners, with the two ministers of *Dundee*, by a ship, to *London*. And

Shortly thereafter, *Argyl*, *Callender*, *Wemyss*, *Home*, &c. who had fled to the *North*, did capitulate with the enemy, and returned to their houses. *Huntly* also, and the vassals of *Athol*, did claim the benefit of *Monk's* protection. *Glencairn* and *Belcarres*, were the only persons of note who stood out after this; nor were they able to keep the field much longer.

In these circumstances, what true-hearted *Scotsman* could calmly behold the misery of his country, and the cruel bondage under which they groined, without mourning and lamentation; more especially as our divisions served as oil to the flame, and were the wormwood and the gall in all these calamities?

Mr. *Blair* had little hand in the foresaid divisions. He was at *London* when they first broke out; and the injury that his health received by that last journey, broke his constitution, and disabled him from attending

ing judicatures as he was wont; yet when he came, abroad his great endeavour was to be a peacemaker betwixt them.

For this end, he had a chief hand in procuring a meeting of the synod of *Fife* at *St. Andrews*, in *October* 1651. But such threatenings were sent from *Monk*, as deterred them from continuing at that time. Again, in the synod of *Fife*, which met at *St. Andrews*, in *April* 1652, he was the first who proposed that letters should be wrote to all the synods, to convene for a friendly conference, at *Edinburgh*, in *May* following; and was one of eight ministers sent for that purpose from the synod of *Fife*. But the *Resolutioners* were so liberal of censuring their opposing brethren, and barring access to the ministry to such as differed from them; and the *Protesters* so high in their demands, and in opposing the two last assemblies at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee*, that no mediation betwixt them could prevail.

When *Mr. Blair* found his endeavours this way frustrated, he left the meeting with grief of heart, and returned to *St. Andrews*; where, and in the neighbouring congregations upon sacramental occasions, his labours were more remarkably blessed than had been the case for a long time before.

While the church was thus wofully divided, the several shires of the kingdom, forgetting the oath of God, shewed too great a propension toward a sinful compliance with the *English*, both in religion and politicks. And in this none were more forward than those who were reckoned malignants; nor any more averse than the ministers, a very few excepted.

In the end of *January* 1653, several persons gave in printed overtures to the *English*, aiming at the abolishing of presbyterial and monarchical government, the granting a toleration, the levelling of noblemen, and embodying *Scotland* into one common-wealth with *England*.

1652.

This

This paper coming abroad, the four presbyteries of *Fife* did, upon the motion of Mr. *Blair* and a few others, meet at *St. Andrews* for these two ends especially: First, To give testimony against so sinful a compliance with the enemies of God, and his truth; and, secondly, To cultivate union among themselves, in those things wherein they all agreed. At that meeting, Mr. *Blair* shewed his detestation of the gross and sinful contents of that paper; he did speak much for healing measures amongst church-members, and avoiding dangerous extremes on both hands. And as for *Scotland's* embodying with *England* in the present circumstantiated case, he looked upon that as the simple bird's embodying with the hawk, who would soon eat it up.

Upon the 6th of *February* 1652, proclamation was made, that *Scotland* was henceforth to be governed according to the laws of *England*: And in the latter end of the same month, there was a meeting of the commissioners of shires and burghs, with *Lambert, Monk, Fenwick, Vane, Deans, St. John, Tishburn,* and *Holloway*, the *English* deputies, at *Dalkeith*; where there was an engagement tendered by the *English* to the *Scots* commissioners, for incorporating the two kingdoms into one commonwealth. This engagement, commonly called the *Tender*, was accepted by the most; except the commissioners from the *West* and *Galloway*, who generally refused it. And in *May* following, the several shires and burghs who had accepted the tender, were required to choose new commissioners, to meet at *Edinburgh*, *August* 20. and out of that number to choose 14 to represent the shires, and 7 for the burghs; who were to repair to *England*, *October* 1. and to do all things necessary for perfecting the union betwixt *Scotland* and *England*.

Accordingly, in the beginning of *August*, the lords *Carnegie* and *Linton*, with the lairds of *Durie, Garthland, Ricarton, Drummond, Garroch, Orbiston, Keir,*
Tainoch

Tannoch of St. Leonards, Glenfarquhar, colonel Lockhart, Renton, and Swinton, were elected for the shires; and *John Joycie, John Mill, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, James Sword, Daniel Wallace, George Guilan, and Andrew Glen*, for the burghs. But when they came to *London*, they were looked upon rather as petitioners than commissioners.

Next year (1653) church-differences increasing, and *Mr. Blair* despairing of being able to bring about harmony, he made an overture to such in the presbyteries of *St. Andrews* and *Coupar* as were like-minded with himself, that they should meet monthly for prayer, that the Lord would heal our incurable-like wounds; and for conference concerning the likeliest means for advancing the study and practice of holiness in their several parishes, and for suppressing sin and profanity among their people. Which monthly meetings were kept up for some time, with great harmony and satisfaction to all the members, until some of the most rigid resolutioners, especially *Mr. Andrew* (afterwards bishop) *Honeyman*, at that time *Mr. Blair's* colleague, began to vent their jealousies, that the others were plotting against them; a suspicion, than which nothing could be more groundless.

In *July 1653*, those of the ministers who were for the *publick resolutions* met in assembly at *Edinburgh*. But before they were constitute, they were commanded to disperse, by a party of the *English*. *Mr. David Dickson*, the moderator of their former assembly, who opened up this, answered, That they had power from *Jesus Christ* to convene for the affairs of his house. But the officers disregarding such topicks, the assembly were commanded, in the name of the parliament of *England*, to dissolve presently. Against this usurpation *Mr. Dickson* protested, in the assembly's name.

1. Because they had power and authority from *Jesus Christ* to convene in his courts.
2. Because their meeting was warranted by the unrepealed laws of the land.

land. And, 3. Because the *English* were, by the first article of the solemn league, bound with them, to defend the doctrine, discipline, and government of the kirk of *Scotland*. But he had scarce done speaking, when they were conveyed by a party to *Burntsfield-links*. Next day, a number of the protesters against the publick resolutions having likewise convened, the *English* got notice of their meeting, and served them with the same sauce they had done their brethren. Against which those ministers did also protest; and sent a copy of their protestation to *Lilburn*, commander in chief of the *English* forces in *Scotland*. Nevertheless, presbyteries and provincial synods met with very little disturbance.

The year 1654 began with devolving the power of the parliament of *England* upon *Oliver Cromwel*, under the title of LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND: Who took more power upon him than ever the king had.

In *March* following, *Mr. John Livingston*, and other two of the protesters, were wrote for to give the protector advice, in settling the church of *Scotland*. *Mr. Livingston* refused to go, until *Lilburn* told him, that if he would not go as a free-man, he would send him as a prisoner. When at *London*, he behaved with more courage than many thought prudent: For being called to preach before the Protector at *Whitehall*, where fundry *Scotsmen* were present, he prayed for the king thus: *God be gracious to him, whose right it is to rule in this place, and unjustly is thrust from it. Sanctify thy rod of affliction to him: and when our bones are laid in the dust, let our prayers come forth in thine appointed time, for doing him and his family good.* And touching the usurper, he only said, *As for thir poor men that now fill his room, Lord be merciful to them.* Whereat some were greatly incensed. But *Cromwel* having by this time found his end disappointed, in
taking

taking the lives of Mr. *Christopher Love* and Mr. *Gibbons*, two *English* ministers, and knowing how much Mr. *Livingston* was esteemed by the *Scots*, said, Let him alone, he is a good man; and what are we but poor men in comparison of the kings of *England*? And so he was allowed to return home.

The same year an ordinance was issued by the council of state, empowering certain ministers of opposite persuasions, and Mr. *Blair* amongst the rest, to plant vacant churches, &c. But this ordinance was so *erastian*, that few of the ministers named in it did accept the same; and none did more detest it than Mr. *Blair*.

Of all the ministers now in *Scotland*, none were more like-minded than Mr. *Blair*, and the learned and pious Mr. *James Durham* minister at *Glasgow*. These two meeting together at *St. Andrews*, had the influence to draw on a meeting betwixt the chief of the *Resolutioners* and *Protesters*, at *Edinburgh*, in the end of the year; where, especially by the means of Mr. *Patrick Gillespie*, harmony was like to prevail. But the Lord's anger being still drawn out against us, for our sins, these promising beginnings were blasted, and all hope of agreement did *evanish*.

Yet, notwithstanding, thro' the Lord's wonderful condescension, these bitter waters were sweetened by his blessing remarkably the labours of his faithful servants. This was the case, not only at *St. Andrews*, and at *Coupar, Forgen, Dunbog, Ceres, Kemback, Scoonie*, and other places where Mr. *Blair* assisted on communion occasions; but in several other places thro' the land, and even in some places in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, a great door, and an effectual was opened to many.

Ann^o 1656, in a meeting at *Edinburgh* of two ministers from every *synod*, it was agreed to send up one of their number to the Protector, to prevent misinformations, and take care that the established order received

received no more prejudice by the protesters planting kirks, and deposing ministers, &c. ; and Mr. *James Sharp* minister at *Crail*, afterwards too well known by his infamous practices, was pitched on for that purpose.

When he came to *London*, he got a favourable reception. But the marquis of *Argyle* being then at *London*, procured that the protesters might have an equal hearing. And so Mr. *James Simpson* at *Airth*, one of the three ministers deposed by the assembly 1651, was sent up by the protesters. And in the beginning of the year 1657, Mr. *James Guthrie* at *Stirling*, and Mr. *Patrick Gillespie* at *Glasgow*, the other two ministers deposed by that assembly, together with the lord *Warriston*, were sent up to assist Mr. *Simpson*.

Mr. *Blair* was utterly against those messages, judging it very unmeet to make the Protector umpire of our sinful and shameful divisions ; but he could not prevent them. All these commissioners went up ; and after mutual jangling before the fox-like and crafty Protector, who did cast more oil into the flame, and judged that their jarrings were his security, they were dismissed for a time ; and afterward had liberty to go home, and accommodate their differences as they best could.

Upon the 3d of *September* 1658 *Oliver Cromwell* lord protector died. It was observed that he used to call that day his, because on it he routed our armies at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, in the years 1650 and 1651 ; and on that same very day the king of terrors routed him, and God the just judge of all called him to an account.

After this, his son *Richard* governed for a short space ; till the army, wearying of one person, deposed him, and brought in the remains of the long parliament, outed by the army in the year 1648 ; who being reduced to about 60 now living of 240 members,

were called *The Rump Parliament*. And these bore sway, till the kingdom, being quite sick of distractions, restored king *Charles II.* anno 1660; the particulars of which restoration, and the woful consequences of it, are otherwise well known.

On this last occasion, Mr. *Blair* did again bestir himself to procure union betwixt the resolutioners and protesters: But tho' he obtained a meeting for that effect, his endeavours were frustrated; and no reconciliation could be obtained, till both sides were cast into a long and hot furnace of persecution.

About this time Mr. *Blair* began to be weary of his charge, and to wish for a transportation, hoping that his labours might be more useful elsewhere; for of late years he was suspected by both the contending parties, and by none more than his two opposite colleagues, Mr. *Rutherford* and Mr. *Wood*, by whom (as he used to say) he was cuffed upon both hands. And no sooner was his inclination divulged, than he got a call to *Glasgow*; and some time after that, a call from his old congregation at *Bangor*; the last of which he rather inclined to follow. But the presbytery and synod having refused to transport him, he was constrained to abide at *St. Andrews*.

P E R I O D S I X T H.

From the time Mr. Blair was summoned before the parliament 1661, to his death anno 1666.

AS in the former part of these Memoirs there is little coherence betwixt many of the facts related, the main thing intended being a relation of facts, rather in the order of time than purpose; the same rule shall be followed here.

This year, Mr. *James Sharp*, knowing the doctorate to be, according to the canon law, a stirrup to
mount

mount him to prelacy, was admitted to that place in the college of *St. Andrews*. *Mr. Blair* and *Mr. Rutherford* did what they could to obstruct his access; but now the tide of the time being turned, he found it possible to get in nill they would they

Mr. Blair having often before this bewailed his insufficiency for discharging his duty fully to all his parishioners, did bestir himself to get a landward parish erected to the north-west of *St. Andrews*, as formerly he had obtained to the south-west. But when he had this point near effectuated, doctor *Sharp*, who knew better how bowls rolled at court, and that he himself being designed for archbishop of that see, would be thereby deprived of a part of his living, had the address to get that good design stopt.

In *September 1661*, *Mr. Sharp* coming to *St. Andrews*, and the presbytery having had assurance of his deceitful carriage at court, and of the probability of his being made archbishop of *St. Andrews*, sent *Mr. Blair* and another to him; who discharged their duty so faithfully towards him, that *Sharp* did not greatly disguise his resentment, and was never at ease till he got *Mr. Blair* rooted out.

And as all things concur for the great ends which God hath before ordained, so was it in this case: For *Mr. Blair* being afraid lest he had behaved with too great silence, took occasion, in a sermon he had from *1 Pet iii. 13, 14.* to move the question, Whether suffering for presbyterian government was suffering for righteousness sake? and resolving it in the affirmative, and giving his testimony to the covenants, and work of reformation, and against the sinful and corrupt courses of the time, orders were sent to the magistrates of *St. Andrews*, to bring hm over to attend the secret council. Accordingly, when the council-day came, *November 5.* the advocate and some noblemen were appointed to converse with

His great appearance on the second there
 was 6 Oct 1661. (not books shut betwixt)

with Mr. *Blair*; and, at meeting, posed him on the following points: 1. Whether he had asserted presbyterial government to be *jure divino*? 2. Whether he had asserted, that suffering for presbyterial government was suffering for righteousness sake? And, 3. Whether in his prayers against popery he had joined rotten prelacy with it? And having answered all in the affirmative, and professed his surprise how they could doubt his opinion in these points; was first confined to his chamber in *Edinburgh*; and thereafter, upon his earnest supplication for liberty from so close confinement, and attestations by physicians of the injury he sustained thereby, he was permitted to retire to *Inveresk*, whither he went about the 12th of *January* 1662.

About 12 years before this, upon a motion from Mr. *David Dickson*, the general assembly had resolved upon a new explication of the holy bible. For that purpose the several books were divided amongst a number of the most godly and learned of the ministry. And the books of *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* were assigned to Mr. *Blair*, as his portion: But as he affected to treat on such parts of scripture as favoured more of the gospel, he neglected that task till now, that being rendered in a manner useless for other purposes, he set about writing, and finished his commentary on the *Proverbs*, in the beginning of the year 1666.

Mr. *Blair* continued at *Inveresk* till *October* following, enjoying much of God's presence, and inward joy and peace of mind, amidst great outward trouble to others. At which time, archbishop *Sharp* wanting to have his place filled with a more pliable neighbour, a messenger was sent with an order, to bring him before the secret council. But Providence having so ordered, that Mr. *Blair* was bad of the gravel; and that in the messenger's company he passed some stones; and a physician, with the minister of the place,

place, attesting his indisposition, he was excused till next council-day.

Shortly after, Mr. *Blair* hearing that the council had declared his place in *St. Anderws* vacant, he, to prevent further trouble, sent in his presentation to that cure. This the council construed as a giving up his pastoral charge, and insisted no further against him at that time. But Mr. *Blair* meant no more, than the giving up with his claim to a legal benefice; which he could not enjoy, tho' he had kept that presentation.

About this time Mr. *Blair* sent a petition to the council, representing his incommodious situation, and supplicating for liberty to remove from that place. And by the chancellor *Glencairn's* favour, especially, he got liberty to go to any place he pleased, except *Edinburgh*, the *West-country*, and the presbytery of *St. Andrews*. So he removed to *Kirkaldie*, whither some other of the deprived ministers did also retire.

While Mr. *Blair* was at *Kirkaldie*, it was his custom, seeing he was precluded from publick preaching; and that many serious christians, amongst whom were sometimes persons of quality, resorted to his family-worship, to lecture and pray every day twice in his family; and, with some of the good people of that town, to observe the last day of every month, as a day of fasting and humiliation, for the ruinous state of his mother-church. For his recreation, he taught his younger sons the *Greek-tongue*, and *Logick*; and composed some small poetical pieces, as a poem in commendation of *Christ Jesus*, another for the refutation of the *Popish* errors; with some short epigrams, as one upon seeing the ship wherein his dear brother Mr. *Livingsten* was carried to *Holland*, pass by *Kirkaldie*.

But archbishop *Sharp*, envying the repose which Mr. *Blair*, and some other ministers in like circumstances,

stances, did enjoy, procured an order of council, prohibiting any outed minister to reside within twenty miles of an archbishop's see, or within three miles of a royal burgh. Whereupon Mr. *Blair* removed from *Kirkaldie* in the end of *February* 1666; and dwelt at *Meikle-Couston*, an obscure place in the parish of *Aberdour* till his death, which fell out the same year. X

For some time after Mr. *Blair* went to *Couston*, his health was much better than it had been the preceding winter; which he considered as a new obligation laid upon him, to serve the Lord in fear, and to rejoice with trembling; and he still kept up his ordinary custom of fasting the last day of the month; in which he was joined by several persons from *Kirkaldie* and *Burntisland*, and by some also about *Couston*.

Notwithstanding the obscurity of the place, Mr. *Blair* received many visits, particularly from the silenced ministers; and he many times sadly regretted, that so many were hindered from the exercise of their pastoral office, amongst the flocks over which the *Holy Ghost* had made them overseers. But still he encouraged them; and exhorted the young among them, to be improving in their studies, and preparing for more publick employment, if it should please the Lord to open a door unto them.

Upon the 10th of *August*, Mr. *Blair* being worn out with old age, and his spirits sunk with sorrow and grief, for the desolations of the Lord's sanctuary in *Scotland*, he took his last trouble; and entertained most serious thoughts of near approaching death, ever commending and extolling his glorious and good master, whom he had served from seven to seventy-three. His sickness increasing; he was visited by many christian friends and acquaintances, whom he strengthened by his many gracious and edifying words.

At

At one time when they told him of some severe acts of council, newly made upon archbishop *Sharp's* instigation, he prayed, that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance and mercy, if it were his will. And to Mrs. *Rutherford*, at another time, he said, he would not exchange conditions with that man, tho' he was now on his bed of languishing, and the other possess'd of great riches and revenues; nay, added he, tho' all that was betwixt them were red gold, and given him to the bargain. When some ministers asked him, if he had any hopes of a deliverance to the people of God? he said, he would not take upon him peremptorily to determine the times and seasons, which the Lord keeps in his own hand and power; but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was casting the prelates out of the affection of all ranks and degrees of people, and even of some who, tho' they were most active in setting them up, were now beginning to lothe them for their pride, falshood and covetousness.

To his wife and children, he spoke christianly and gravely; and after he had solemnly blessed them, he severally commended or admonished them as he judged expedient.

After he had done so, his son Mr. *David*, saying, The best as well as worst of men have their thoughts, and second thoughts; now Sir, God having given you time for after thoughts on your way, and carriage, we would hear what they now are: He answered, I have again and again thought upon my ways, and communed with mine heart; and as for my publick actions and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would just do as I have done. He often repeated the 16th and 23d *Psalms*, and one time *Psal.* lxxi which he used to call his own *Psalms*. About two days before his death, his speech began to fail, and he could not be
well

well understood. Some things however were not lost. For speaking of some eminent saints then alive, he prayed earnestly, that the Lord would bless them; and, as an evidence of his love to them, he desired Mr. *George Hutcheson*, who was then with him, to carry his christian remembrance to them. When Mr. *Hutcheson* removed from his bedside, he said to his wife and others who waited on him, That he rejoiced in suffering as a persecuted minister. Is it not, added he, persecution to thrust me from the work of the ministry which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which is my joy and crown of rejoicing; and to chase me from place to place, till I am walled with heaviness and sorrow, for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogatives, interest, and cause? What he said after this, was either forgotten or not understood. At length, about four o'clock in the morning, *August 27. 1666*, he died, in the 73d year of his age. His body lies buried near the kirk-wall, in the burial-place at *Aberdour*; and upon the church-wall above his grave, was erected a little tomb or monument, with this inscription only, the iniquity of the times permitting no more.

*Hic reconditæ jacent mortales
 Exuvia D. Roberti Blarii S. S.
 Evangelii apud Andreapolin
 Prædicatoris fidelissimi. Obiit
 Augusti 27. 1666.
 Ætatis suæ 73*

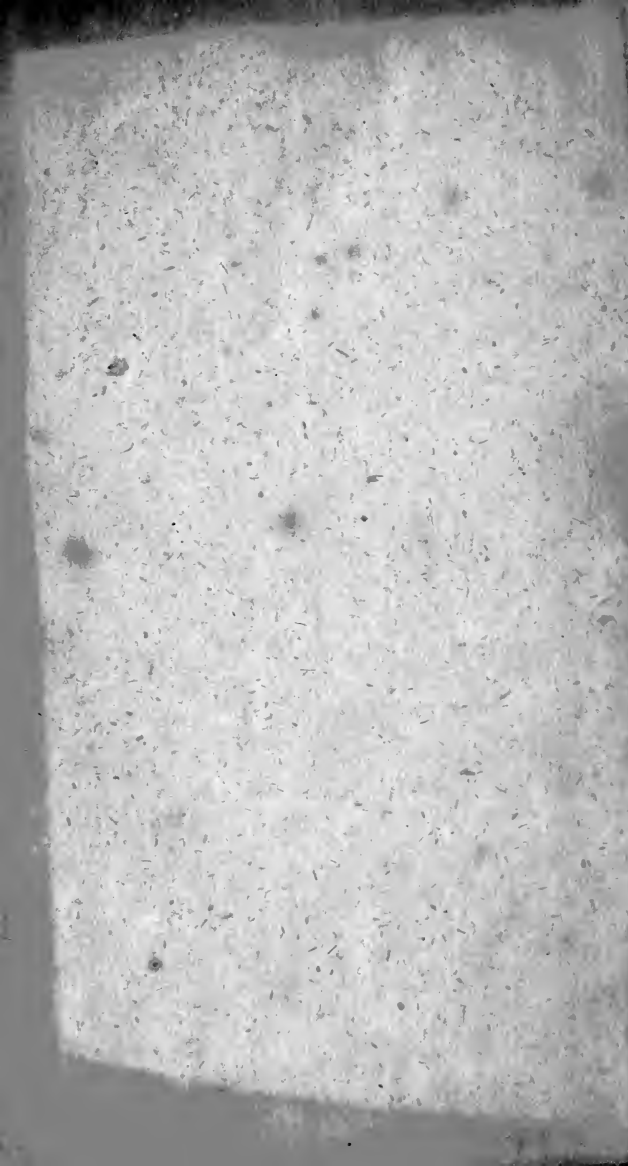
F. I. N. I. S.

Page 99. line 2. after 15. add 1646

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the office of Justice of the Peace for the County of ...

The names of the persons who have been appointed to the office of Justice of the Peace for the County of ... are as follows: ...



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